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FORT BROOKE: FRONTIER OUTPOST, 1824-42

by Donald L. Chamberlin

The great port and city of Tampa, Florida, originally owed its existence to a little known military post called Fort Brooke. Today there is only a small marker to designate its location, and few citizens of the area have even heard its name. But for over fifty years and at the cost of hundreds of soldiers' lives, Fort Brooke protected settlers from Indians, pirates, and lawless whites. It played a vital role in the development of the Tampa Bay area and the entire west coast of Florida.

The United States acquired Florida from Spain in February, 1821. President James Monroe appointed General Andrew Jackson governor of the newly acquired territory. After Jackson's resignation in late 1821, William P. Duval was appointed territorial governor of Florida. One of the most pressing problems facing Jackson and DuVal was the disposition of the Seminole Indians. It was a problem that became more and more complicated over the next two years, and it was directly responsible for the establishment of Fort Brooke.¹

By 1823, the federal government had decided to establish an Indian reservation somewhere in south Florida. Governor DuVal thought the Indians should not be allowed to remain on the valuable territory between the Suwannee River and the Alachua region. Thus, the policy which would push the Seminoles off their coveted lands was being formed. In April, 1823, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun appointed Colonel James Gadsden and Bernardo Segui to act as commissioners to conclude a treaty with the Seminoles. Their instructions were to place the Indians south of Charlotte Harbor, or if not enough suitable lands were available there, as far north toward Tampa Bay as they deemed necessary. It was wishful thinking to believe the Seminoles could sustain life on the land south of Charlotte Harbor. Gadsden and DuVal, after exploring parts of the territory, subsequently recommended that the reservation boundary be extended northward.²

In June, 1823, Gadsden consulted with several Seminole chiefs and fixed a conference for September 5. The conference was held at a small military post on Moultrie Creek, five miles south of St. Augustine, and the resulting Treaty of Moultrie Creek was signed September 18, 1823. The principal provisions of the treaty called for: creation of an Indian reservation extending about thirty miles north of Tampa Bay but no nearer than fifteen miles from the gulf coast nor twenty miles from the Atlantic coast; a subsidy of \$6,000 plus \$5,000 annually for twenty years; establishment of an Indian agency with a school; the furnishing of provisions for one year to the Indians while they moved their homes and became established on the reservation; allowing the northern boundary of the reservation to be extended if the commissioners became convinced that the reservation did not contain enough good tillable land; and six separate, small reservations in Florida for six Apalachicola chiefs and their followers who otherwise would not sign the treaty. The last provision affected only 214 Indians.³

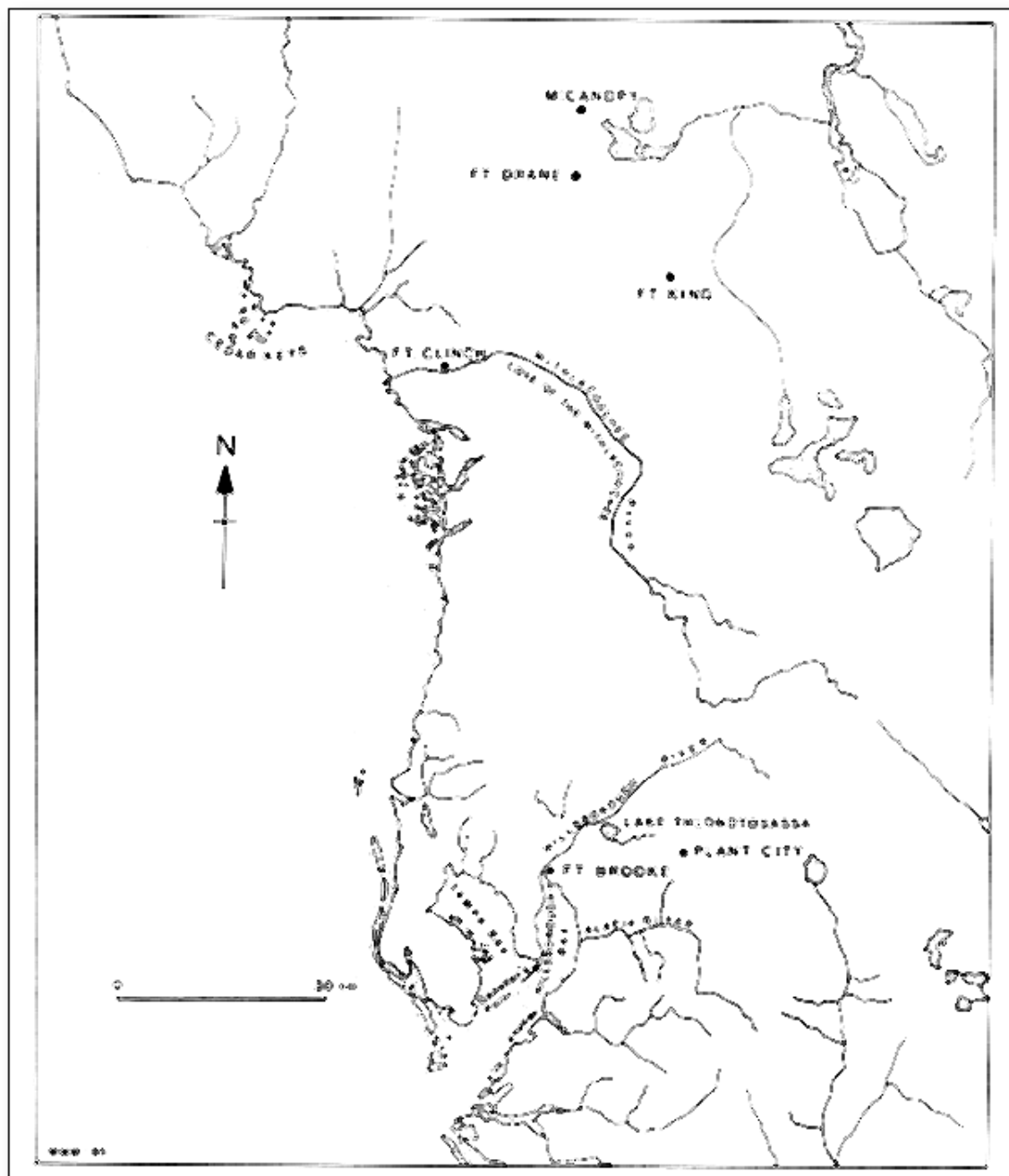
The commissioners sent the treaty to Secretary of War Calhoun and urged that military posts be established at Tampa Bay, Charlotte Harbor, and near Cape Florida. They concluded that justice had been done the Indians, yet the Seminoles' erratic disposition necessitated the establishment of forts. Gadsden also volunteered to run the boundary line of the reservation. He urged that it be done promptly without waiting for ratification because delay would cause postponement for a year, owing to the impossibility of operating in Florida during the so-called sickly season, which ran roughly from the end of March to October. On November 4, 1823, Calhoun advised Gadsden that President James Monroe had approved his proposal and had authorized establishment of a military post at Tampa Bay.⁴

On November 5, 1823, the commanding general of the U.S. Army ordered Brevet Colonel George Mercer Brooke to proceed from Pensacola, Florida, to Tampa Bay with four companies of the Fourth Infantry in order to establish a military post which would afford good health and proximity to Indians.⁵ Colonel Brooke was apparently an excellent choice for the undertaking. Although not a graduate of West Point, he had received rapid promotion because of his meritorious service in the War of 1812. One of his lieutenants, George A. McCall, later described his commanding officer in a private letter.

No one is more liberal or more amiable than he, Colonel Brooke; and though he may have his weak points or queer conceits, which are as undisguised as they are harmless, yet his many sterling qualities will always gain him the affection and warm regard of those around him. [H]is kindness and generosity on all occasions, has left a lasting impression upon my mind. . . Beloved of his men, the Colonel is the most indulgent of commanding officers, without ever losing sight of what is required of every man in the discharge of his appropriate duties.⁶

Colonel Brooke cooperated with Colonel Gadsden in finding a location for the new fort at Tampa Bay. Gadsden arrived in the area by overland route from St. Augustine on January 8, 1824. After a voyage from Pensacola, Brooke's ship entered Tampa Bay on January 20, and the other two ships of his company arrived within the next few days. An arm of land juts down from the northern end of Tampa Bay and divides the upper bay into two lesser bays. The west bay is known as Tampa Bay, whereas the eastern bay is called Hillsborough Bay. It was on the southern tip of this arm of land that Brooke spotted a staff with a piece of muslin flying from it. Upon examination a note was found from Gadsden describing his whereabouts on the eastern bank of the Hillsborough River where the river flows into Hillsborough Bay. Gadsden asked Brooke to meet him at that point. Since Hillsborough Bay was too shallow for Brooke's ship, he had to go overland across the arm. After a rendezvous on January 22, the two officers surveyed several locations before deciding upon the original meeting point as the best site for the post.⁷

When work on the encampment commenced, Gadsden insisted that the camp be named in honor of its founder, Colonel Brooke. The latter deferred until learning the pleasure of the War Department, but the name "Cantonment Brooke" was soon authorized by the adjutant general. Meanwhile, Colonel Brooke honored his fellow officer by choosing the name Gadsden's Point for the tip of land where he had first landed.⁸



Map by William M. Murray

In reports to their superiors, both officers were enthusiastic about the site they had selected for the fort. Gadsden reported that the “location is judicious. . . There is a small body of good hammock land already cleared and well adapted for gardens.” Colonel Brooke explained that the choice of the site had been influenced by the quantity of cleared land.⁹ Neither man mentioned

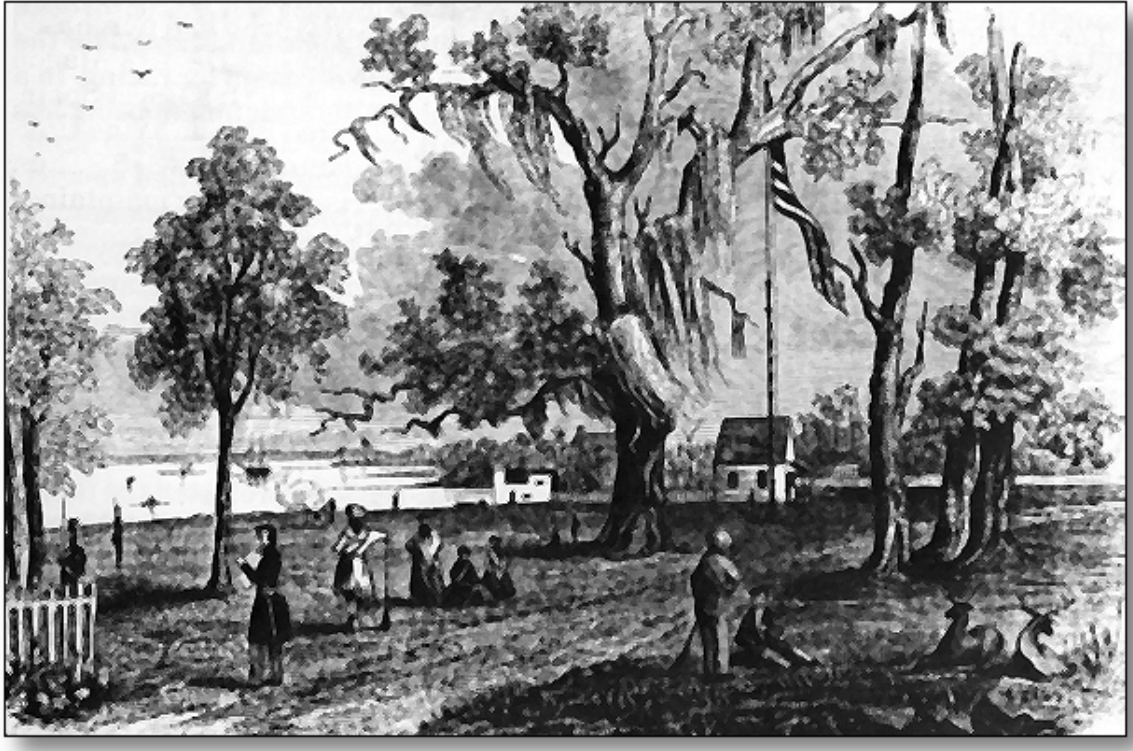
why or by whom the land had been cleared. Indeed, they chose not to report that they had evicted a man who otherwise would have been Tampa Bay's first permanent American settler.

The settler was Robert Hackley, son of Richard S. Hackley who had purchased approximately eleven million acres of Florida from the Spanish Duke of Alagon in 1819. The duke had received a land grant from Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, in February, 1818. The Adams-Onis Treaty, which transferred Florida to the United States, had nullified all Spanish grants made after January 24, 1818. Thus, the transaction with Hackley was voided. Nevertheless, Hackley later maintained his claim was valid, as it had been made in good faith, and furthermore, the Adams-Onis Treaty was not ratified until 1821. Hackley's heirs subsequently brought suit to get back the land. In affidavits sworn in 1834, both Gadsden and Brooke admitted that they had taken over the clearing and a house built by Robert Hackley, the son. However, the courts ultimately ruled against Hackley's heirs.¹⁰

Meanwhile, the army had proceeded to construct Fort Brooke. Colonel Brooke had come from Pensacola reasonably well stocked with building supplies, including several thousand bricks, and three months of provisions. Construction went quickly. In a letter of April 25, 1824, Colonel Brooke reported that a "very fine commissary and quartermaster's storehouse, and an excellent bakehouse" had been completed.¹¹ He described the structures as "the best log buildings I have ever seen. . . 260 feet in length and 12 feet from floors to loft."¹² He expected the hospital and officers' quarters to be finished about the first of June if additional supplies arrived in time. Some delay in construction had already been caused by the near loss of the brig *Mary* loaded with building materials. The *Mary* was thirty-five days in passage from Pensacola to Tampa Bay, and she was feared lost at sea or captured by pirates.¹³ Other delays in completing the fort may have been caused by various problems with the troops. Of the approximately 200 men present in April, 1824, twenty-three were under arrest or in confinement, eleven were sick and seven had deserted. The early privations of the men exacted a price. In April, Private John McKenney died of consumption—the first fatality of the Army at Tampa Bay. Despite the obstacles, Fort Brooke was a reality by June, 1824.¹⁴

Although many Indians lived near Tampa Bay, the early years at Fort Brooke were marked by a tranquility that was unusual for a military post on the frontier. Important Indian villages in the area included Hickapusassa, which was located near or at present-day Plant City, and "Thlonotasassa," the nearest to Fort Brooke, which was about twelve miles to the northeast and contained about 200 Indians in 1824. Colonel Brooke was able to establish friendly relations with the Indians in the vicinity of the fort. For some weeks after the troops' arrival, the Indians stayed away, but then Colonel Brooke sent an officer and an interpreter to Thlonotasassa to assure the Indians that the Army came as a friend and to invite the chief to visit the fort. Within a few days, the village chief, Tustenuggee-thlockko, came to the fort with half a dozen braves, and a formal ceremony was held. The conference was a relief to Colonel Brooke, who earlier had feared an Indian attack.¹⁵

With nearby Indians posing no immediate threat, the officers and men stationed at Fort Brooke settled down to make the best of their remote situation. A view of the soldiers' daily life was recorded by Lieutenant George A. McCall, whose letters to his father and brother provide some good insights into the leisurely duty of the officers, if not the enlisted men, at early Fort Brooke.



Early sketch of Fort Brooke's buildings and inhabitants, from *Yesterday's Tampa* by Hampton Dunn.

McCall was a West Point graduate, class of 1822, who served under Colonel Brooke when Fort Brooke was established. He served at Fort Brooke all or parts of the years 1824, 1825, 1826, and 1829. Later, during the Second Seminole War, he again came to Tampa Bay.¹⁶

Deer hunting and fishing were popular pastimes among both officers and enlisted men. Occasionally, rather long hunting and fishing excursions were enjoyed. Lieutenant McCall told of one such trip with Colonel Brooke and several other soldiers which took them to Mullet Key at the mouth of Tampa Bay and from there northward along the coast to the Anclote River, near present-day Tarpon Springs. The trip, made in Colonel Brooke's small schooner, was sheer delight for Lieutenant McCall. The men shot deer on Mullet Key, pulled redfish from the gulf, and even sampled Flamingo tongue. One activity which provided both sport and food was the catching of large sea turtles which came into the bays between the string of narrow keys and the mainland. The expert at catching turtles was one Maximo, a Spaniard who had worked at fisheries in the Charlotte Harbor area. Maximo was the pilot for Colonel Brooke's schooner and had been in his employ for some time. Years later, when Maximo became a homesteader, his name was given to a point of land on the southern tip of Pinellas peninsula.

Judging from McCall's letters to his family, the officers had considerable leisure time at Fort Brooke. McCall told about spending many mornings perched in a large tree, which was used as a lookout post. There he would while away the hours "reading, gazing, and contemplating."¹⁷

Some time was also spent shooting alligators. The 'gators gave the garrison a tangible enemy to deal with when it was thought they were responsible for the loss of a cow belonging to Colonel Brooke and a horse belonging to another officer. Horses provided some amusement for the garrison. They were used in hunting and on at least one occasion for racing. In a letter to his brother, Lieutenant McCall was frank about his assignment being less than onerous.

We have little military duty, while various building, block houses, storehouses, powder magazines, stables, and a hundred others are occupying the attention of the quartermaster and the commanding officer, and demanding the labor of all the enlisted men. The officers, when not engaged in these duties, have abundant time to hunt and fish.¹⁸

As the fort's commanding officer, Colonel Brooke had more to worry about than some of his officers. One of the colonel's concerns was enforcing the law in the section of Florida which the fort controlled. In August, 1824, he protested the illegal seizure of timber near Hillsborough Bay. There was also the growing problem of adventurers who wished to trade with the Indians, using whiskey as an enticement. In 1825, Colonel Brooke was alarmed by certain Spanish fishermen settled to the south who were trading with the Indians, and he requested permission to break up those settlements. Another cause for concern was an Indian report of a brig loaded with 150 African slaves which had allegedly sailed into the lower bay. This report, along with Colonel Brooke's own observations that the area was probably a pirate depot, must have had the colonel concluding that his potential problems were large.¹⁹

Steps were taken early to establish direct communication with other military stations by building roads. Fort King was about 105 miles to the north, near today's Ocala. The nearest post office was at Wantons, just above present day Micanopy, about thirty-five miles north of Fort King. The assistant quartermaster, Captain Isaac Clark, was given the task of constructing a road from Fort Brooke to Wantons. After completing the Fort King Road early in 1826, Clark proposed creation of a regular military express, consisting of two mules, between Fort Brooke and Wantons so that mail could then be received from Washington, via St. Augustine and Wantons, in twenty days. This express was authorized by the quartermaster general in May, 1826.²⁰

General Edmund P Gaines, commanding officer of the Western Department of the Army, conducted an official inspection of Fort Brooke in January, 1827. General Gaines' report was generally complimentary.

The *interior police* at Fort Brooke was very good, particularly so in everything regarding the health, comfort and efficiency of the troops. The *instruction* appeared to have been somewhat deficient in the company movements. It is, however, due the officers and men that I should remind the general-in-chief that most of them have been occupied for nearly a year past in opening the military road from Tampa Bay to Alachua. . . The airy position and judicious construction of the barracks, with the vigilant attention paid to every branch of police, upon which the health of the troops depend, contribute to render Fort Brooke one of the most healthful posts south of New York.²¹

Fort Brooke was in fact relatively free of disease. While Pensacola had a yellow fever epidemic in 1827 and Key West suffered a similar epidemic in 1829, Fort Brooke had no epidemic of any kind. A visitor to Fort Brooke in the early 1830s commented, "Not one death has occurred by fevers of any kind. Indeed there have been very few deaths of any cause."²²

Although the military life at Fort Brooke dominated activity around Tampa Bay, white settlers also contributed to the growth of the area. In addition to Robert Hackley who left the Tampa area after the Army had confiscated his property in 1824, another white settler who had come to Tampa Bay before the Army was Levi Collar. The Collars had lived along the Suwannee River for ten years before Levi came to Tampa to select a new home site in 1823. While Collar returned to the Suwannee to gather his family, the site he had chosen was claimed, first by Hackley and then by the Army. Collar then staked out a spot on the opposite, or west, side of the Hillsborough River, and the Collar family became the first permanent civilian settlers in the Tampa Bay area.²³ In 1828, a tradesman, William Saunders, arrived at Tampa Bay. Saunders received permission to build a log store at the northern edge of the clearing where the garrison was located, and his establishment was the first general store on the west coast of Florida.²⁴

Growth around Fort Brooke was soon hampered by the creation of a military reservation around the garrison. Recalling previous complaints about timber being cut illegally near the fort, the War Department finally decided to take some action toward preserving the area around Fort Brooke. In September, 1828, Colonel Brooke recommended that the boundary line for the military reservation "should commence from Gadsden point. . . along the eastern shore of Tampa [Bay], to its head, from thence, a due north course, to the Indian boundary line, then east, along this line, to a spot opposite, the eastern side of the Thlonotasassa hammock, and (including said hammock) and from thence, a due south east course, til it strikes the Allaphia [Alafia] river."²⁵ These directions may have been a little unclear. At any rate, when the War Department established the reservation in December, 1830, it set aside a perfectly square area encompassing sixteen square miles. Apparently no immediate effort was made to remove civilians from the reservation although they could no longer make any legal claim to the land.

In the meantime, Fort Brooke had bade goodbye to the man who had founded and commanded the fort for five and one-half years. As early as June, 1828, Colonel Brooke had requested a transfer to the recruiting service in the New York City area where his wife was then living. However, Colonel Brooke remained at his post for more than a year after that. One of his last duties in Florida was to establish a military post at Key West. He received orders to that effect in January, 1829, and replied that he would leave for Key West immediately. Later in 1829, the colonel departed Florida for good, leaving behind a post which must have been the envy of other frontier commanders²⁶ John Williams, who visited Fort Brooke in the early 1830s, paid a tribute to its founder, calling Fort Brooke "a beautiful station, that does honor to the judgment and taste of the veteran General [*sic*] who formed it."²⁷

In November, 1829, Brevet Brigadier General Duncan Lamont Clinch left Pensacola, where he had been a popular local figure, to take command not only of Fort Brooke but of all Florida forces. With him, the headquarters of the Fourth Infantry also moved to Tampa Bay. Accompanying General Clinch were his wife, Eliza, and their children.²⁸

General Clinch was plagued by the War Department's stinginess in regard to expenses and troops for Florida. He was advised that a token show of force was all that was required to keep the Indians in line. Working with a limited number of troops, General Clinch was concerned about the lack of a garrison at Fort King, which had been evacuated. In January, 1830, he wrote the commanding general of the Army, Alexander Macomb, urging that troops be stationed at Fort King instead of having the area serviced out of Fort Brooke. Macomb replied that if Clinch used proper vigilance there would be no danger.²⁹ However, the garrison at Fort Brooke was cut in half. The annual reports of the Secretary of War showed Fort Brooke had sixteen officers and 205 enlisted men in 1829, but only seven officers and eighty-four enlisted men in 1830. Many troops from Florida were sent to Louisiana in early 1830, possibly in connection with the removal of other eastern Indian tribes.³⁰



Duncan L. Clinch, from *History of the Second Seminole War* by John K. Mahon.

Accounts of life at Fort Brooke during Clinch's command are rare. The *Pensacola Gazette* had no item concerning Fort Brooke except for the shipping notices indicating a regular passage of ships to and from Tampa Bay. Lieutenant McCall wrote of a tornado striking the garrison in July, 1830, though the date given in the letter may be wrong. It is more likely it occurred in 1829 when McCall was definitely at Fort Brooke. Commenting on the storm and its damage, McCall wrote that it

carried away the north-east corner of the Hospital piazza and the southwest corner of the piazza around the Surgeon's quarters. The latter is about 50 yards from the former in a diagonal line, but measuring perpendicularly across the path of the hurricane [*sic*], not more than thirty. Therefore, as the whole body of the storm passed between these two buildings, not moving a shingle or the bough of a tree on either side, the circle of the whirlwind could not have been more than five-and-thirty feet.³¹

Some evidence that life at Fort Brooke was not always dull is found in Karl Grismer's historical account of the development of the civilian community which was growing near the garrison despite the lack of claimable land. According to Grismer, "Gamblers began drifting in, eager to help the soldiers and frontiersmen get rid of their hard earned money. A few women of easy morals set up business in huts along the waterfront."³²

A post office was established at Tampa Bay in November, 1831. William G. Saunders, the storekeeper, was named the first postmaster, but he was replaced eight months later by Augustus

Steele. A postal contract advertisement appearing in the *Florida Herald* at St. Augustine indicated that Fort Brooke received mail once every two weeks.³³

Meanwhile, changes continued to reduce the garrison at Fort Brooke. General Clinch was soon transferred to Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The general return of the Army for 1831 showed Fort Brooke under the command of Brevet Major James S. McIntosh. In that year, Fort Brooke still had two companies, comprising eighty-five enlisted men and three officers. By 1832, only a token force was left at Fort Brooke. The Army Register for 1832 revealed that Major McIntosh was still in command, but many of his troops had been sent elsewhere. In July, 1832, Lieutenant William Graham took Company D of the Fourth Infantry from Fort Brooke to Fort King.³⁴

The departure of this company appears to have signaled the temporary abandonment of Fort Brooke. An order directing the abandonment of the fort had been received in June, 1832. In July, troops departed to help control Indian problems elsewhere, three companies leaving Florida and the one company to Fort King.³⁵ There are no post returns for Fort Brooke from September, 1832, to November, 1834. It seems likely that the post was at least in the hands of a caretaker as there were buildings and other property to be guarded. For the time being, the civilians in the Tampa Bay area had to protect themselves. When the Army returned to Fort Brooke in 1834, the Indian menace in Florida had grown to alarming proportions.

As relations between white settlers and Indians worsened, pressures increased to end the abandonment of Fort Brooke. In November, 1834, the inhabitants of newly created Hillsborough County addressed a memorial to the War Department asking for:

a sufficient number of troops. . .stationed at Tampa Cantonment Brooke in order to keep the Indians in check and to protect the lives and property of the now helpless settlers. Since the removal of the Troops from this place very serious losses have been sustained by the holders of stock and we have every reason to suppose much greater will be sustained unless we have some protection from the millitary [*sic*], our cattle are daily killed and scattered through the forrest [*sic*] and in many instances driven entirely off.³⁶

In response to these pleas, on November 24, 1834, the War Department directed three companies of artillery to occupy Fort Brooke and one additional company to reinforce Fort King. In late December, three companies of the Second Artillery arrived at Fort Brooke. They were under the command of Brevet Major Richard A. Zantzinger. Seven other officers and 153 enlisted men were reported present on the last day of 1834.³⁷

From mid-1835 to the end of the year, events tumbled wildly toward a climax. On August 11 the Army's mail express rider was murdered and scalped by Indians twenty miles out of Fort Brooke on his way to Fort King. Parties were sent out from Fort Brooke to apprehend the Indians, but they escaped in the direction of Fort King.³⁸ There were no indications of further hostility, but alarm must have swept the community at Tampa Bay. Besides the growing military force at the garrison, there were "twenty or thirty families. . .a majority of them quite poor living nearby."³⁹ These people were totally reliant on the protective arm of the military, or the friendly disposition of the Indians.

Not all of the Indians created trouble. Eight friendly chiefs and their followers agreed to emigrate to Arkansas under the terms of treaties signed in 1832 and 1833. After much stalling, it was decided that they would assemble at Fort Brooke beginning January 1, 1836. Transports in Tampa Bay were preparing for their reception. The government was anxious to begin before hostilities broke out. On November 30, Indian Agent Wiley Thompson reported that four to five hundred Indians were camped near Tampa Bay, and he described their condition as deplorable due to the lack of provisions. A week later Thompson reported that Indians were disappearing into the interior. A number of friendly Indians were still encamped near Fort Brooke, but their pitiful condition and exposure to hostile Indians made it questionable whether they could be retained long enough to get them on transports. Captain Upton S. Fraser at Fort Brooke was requested to issue provisions to them. Fraser considered the Indians, in general, to be “decidedly in a state of hostility.”⁴⁰

On December 12, 1835, Captain Francis S. Belton arrived at Fort Brooke and assumed command of the post. He immediately wrote the War Department and described the situation at Fort Brooke.

The excited state of the Indians in this vicinity and the hostility demonstrated by the plunder and burning of property has induced extraordinary exertions by my predecessor in Command, Capt. Frazer [Fraser] 3 Art [Third Artillery] to place the position in a state of defence, which has been accomplished by great energy and perseverance. Three more companies from N. Orleans and Key West are daily expected. Two comps of the garrison here, and two of those expected, are by existing orders to be detached to Fort King, leaving Dades, Zantzingers and my own for this defence, perhaps 90 effectives. The sick reports are large from fevers and inflamatory diseases. The garrison with about 100 citizens and families, are every night within the pickets, as well as the publick property. The supply of ammunition is scanty, for musquetry as well as for our 2 6-pdrs. A few hours since about 40 Indians, joined (with horses and families) our friendly party, across the river. Before this may leave ... I may be able to report whether they are driven in, or whether they are seceders from the hostile party, and indicate a dissolution of the mass. Our communications with Fort King are entirely broken up. . . Provisions may hold out—Indians will receive rations for work, but as prudently as possible.⁴¹

Several settlers’ families took refuge in the fort, and Captain Belton added that about thirty citizens had formed a ranger patrol. A store thirty miles from the fort had been plundered, and the plantation of Daniel Simmons near Plant City had been burned.⁴²

While Fort Brooke bustled with activity in the final month of 1835, Fort King was also the scene of great apprehension and preparedness. On November 28, the commanding officer of Fort King predicted an imminent attack and appealed for reinforcements. In response, General Duncan L. Clinch, who had command of all Florida troops, ordered reinforcements from Fort Brooke. Two companies, commanded by Captain George W Gardiner and Captain Fraser, were to leave for Fort King on December 16.⁴³ However, Captain Belton at Fort Brooke apparently decided to delay the march “on account of intelligence I had received of the force of the Mickasukies, a hostile bank of Indians and their strong position near the forks of the

Withlacoochee.”⁴⁴ Captain Belton also may have been waiting for Major Francis Dade’s Key West company, elements of which would be added to Gardiner’s and Fraser’s companies. Dade arrived at Fort Brooke on December 21.

The presence of a woman at Fort Brooke then caused a strange twist of fate. Captain Gardiner had been placed in command of the two companies ordered to Fort King. However, on the morning of December 23, Captain Gardiner’s wife was serious ill. As the expedition was due to leave the next day, Major Dade proposed that he take Gardiner’s place in command. This arrangement was made. Later, when a ship was found to be leaving immediately for Key West, where Gardiner’s children and grandparents were, Gardiner placed his wife on board the ship and joined the expedition to Fort King. Major Dade, however, remained the commanding officer and thus gave his name to a tragic episode in Florida history.⁴⁵

At six o’clock on the morning of December 24, 1835, Major Dade got his column underway. Besides Dade, there were six officers, ninety-nine enlisted men, the surgeon and the guide, Luis Pacheco. Women from the garrison made knapsacks and filled them with homecooked food, presenting one to each of the soldiers before the march. Major Dade remained in communication with Fort Brooke by messenger until the evening of December 25, then mutual contact was lost. It was presumed Major Dade would reach Fort King about the 29th of December.⁴⁶

During the afternoon of December 28, Indians suddenly attacked the Indian agency at Fort King. Led by Osceola, the raid was swift and vicious. Among the victims was Agent Wiley Thompson, who had labored earnestly in the attempted removal of the Florida Indians. Thompson and Lieutenant Constantine Smith were shot down as they strolled near the agency. The sutler’s house was then attacked, and the sutler and two of his clerks were killed. All of the dead except a boy clerk were scalped and mangled. At nearby Fort King, the slightly depleted company of regulars remained within the fort’s protection, because they feared an all-out Indian attack. Escapees from the raid on the sutler’s house reached the fort and gave details of the massacre. An official report was prepared by Lieutenant Joseph Harris, who added that the Fort King garrison was still looking for the two companies from Fort Brooke—“it is strange they have not arrived before.”⁴⁷

As Lieutenant Harris wrote his report at Fort King, Major Dade and 105 of his men lay dead in the barren pine woods some thirty-five miles to the south. The Indians had decided on war and had carried out their first attacks with astounding success. The ambush of Dade’s command was accomplished on December 28, 1835, the same morning as Osceola’s attack on the Indian Agency. News of Dade’s massacre reached Fort Brooke by one of the two survivors of the attack. On December 31, severely wounded Private Ransom Clark returned to Fort Brooke. The following day, Private Joseph Sprague, also wounded, completed the sixty-five-mile trek back to the astonished garrison at Tampa Bay. Except for the black interpreter, Luis Pacheco, they were the only survivors of the event which is considered to be the start of the Second Seminole War. Pacheco joined the Indian attackers. One other man, Private John Thomas, escaped death by the good fortune of being injured in the crossing of the Hillsborough River a day or so before the battle. He returned to Fort Brooke with no knowledge of the fate of his comrades.⁴⁸

Fort Brooke itself was rudely shaken out of its eleven-year slumber. The commanding officer, Captain Belton, wrote his report of the massacre and conditions at the fort just four days later, on January 1, 1836. His comments help to give a picture of the post after the massacre.

The defences have been somewhat extended and strengthened; the old cantonment has been entirely abandoned; and we anxiously await ordnance and ordnance stores. The garrison is healthy, and I have caused to embark on board of the return transport to New Orleans several families, made widows and orphans by the fatal battle.

Another report on the same day was written by Brevet Major John Mountford.

The whole force at this place are now entrenched within the picket and blockhouses; our force consists of about 180 fighting men and officers, to which are [attached] a party of citizens rangers, about thirty strong, and also in the immediate neighborhood is a party of about 100 friendly Indians. . . We are hard at work day and night, in strengthening our fortifications in every possible manner, our men in fine spirits, and anxious to revenge their fallen comrades.

One other account came from an unidentified officer.

We expect every moment to be attacked, as the savages have sworn we should all be massacred before the 6th of January. . . Officers and men are like brothers, encouraging each other, and determined, with their last breath, to avenge their fallen comrades.⁴⁹

The anticipated revenge was a long time in coming. Probably none of the soldiers at Fort Brooke in January, 1836, was in Florida seven years later when the Second Seminole War was declared at an end. The war became one of attrition, with few battles that rose above the stature of a skirmish. Fort Brooke was never attacked, but it did become the most important fort in Florida—often the headquarters of the Army in Florida and the focal point of Indian removal.⁵⁰

In the weeks following the opening fireworks, the garrison at Fort Brooke remained apprehensive. On January 9, 1836, Captain Belton wrote the following report:

No attack has yet been made on this post, though we have constantly expected it, as the enemy is around us, and as we suppose, in force, and very audaciously stealing horses and cattle close to our picket. Six horses were carried off yesterday, and a negro, from whom they will doubtless get what information they want. . . We are without any information from headquarters.⁵¹

If Captain Belton had been in communication with General Clinch, he would have felt somewhat relieved. General Clinch with three companies of regulars and Richard Keith Call with a brigade of Florida volunteers had engaged the largest part of the hostile Indians as early as December 31. The action took place along the Withlacoochee River, some seventy-five miles north of Fort Brooke. Such military intelligence as existed correctly placed the Indians in the twenty-five mile long band of swamps and dense hammocks known as the Cove of the Withlacoochee. Thus, Fort Brooke was not in danger. After the first critical weeks it rapidly recovered

from its brief role as a cringing outpost threatened with extinction and became once again a true military camp.⁵²

Fort Brooke soon became the largest and most important base of operations against the Indians. Token reinforcements arrived in the last few days of January. Approximately sixty-five marines came from Pensacola and Key West.⁵³ The pressure on the fort was not substantially relieved until General Edmund R Gaines arrived on February 9. With headquarters in New Orleans, General Gaines was the commanding officer of the Western Department of the Army which had supervision over western Florida. When General Gaines learned of the outbreak of hostilities, he did not wait for orders, but immediately called into service a regiment of Louisiana volunteers. Along with several companies of regulars, they left quickly for Tampa Bay. Accompanying General Gaines to Fort Brooke was George McCall who had been stationed at Fort Brooke during its earliest years. A McCall letter reveals the situation at Fort Brooke when he arrived in February, 1836.

We found Major Mountfort. . .shut up in pickets, where he has been confined for some weeks. We have now encamped around him four hundred and fifty regulars and about six hundred volunteers. In addition to which force we have about one hundred friendly Indians. . .A small party of them had a brush with a detachment of the enemy yesterday, a few miles from the pickets.⁵⁴

General Gaines did not wait long to get into action. His command took the field four days after his arrival at Fort Brooke. General Gaines marched northward. His command was the first to see Dade's battleground, reaching that site on February 20. His men buried the near-skeletons before pushing on to Fort King. Among those of Dade's command who were buried that day was Captain Upton Fraser, a former commanding officer of Fort Brooke. The consequences of General Gaines initiative soon began to catch up with him. Operating without orders from the War Department, the general found that supplies in Florida were quite limited and designated for other commands. Gaines had left Fort Brooke with only ten days' rations, and he was able to procure only an additional seven days' rations from Fort Drane. Furthermore, a predictable conflict in command developed. Major General Winfield Scott, commanding officer of the Army's Eastern Department, had received orders on January 21 to take command of the Florida Army. When Scott learned of Gaines' action, he resented the division of authority. The fact that he and Gaines were long time antagonists did not help.⁵⁵

General Scott arrived at Fort Drane on March 13 and took over field command of all Florida troops. He presented Gaines with a War Department order which politely ordered Gaines out of Florida. Thus, the command situation was unsnarled, and General Scott had cleared the way for his plan to crush the Florida Indians. His plan called for a three-pronged attack on the Indian stronghold known as the Cove of the Withlacoochee. General Clinch, accompanied by General Scott, was to move south from Fort Drane. Brigadier General Abraham Eustis was to move from St. Augustine south along the St. Johns River to Volusia, just south of Lake George, and then sweep to the west. The third part of the plan called for Colonel William Lindsay to lead a northward thrust out of Fort Brooke. Colonel Lindsay had been instructed by Scott to raise a regiment of Alabama volunteers. He did so, arriving at Fort Brooke in early March, about three weeks after the departure of General Gaines' force.⁵⁶

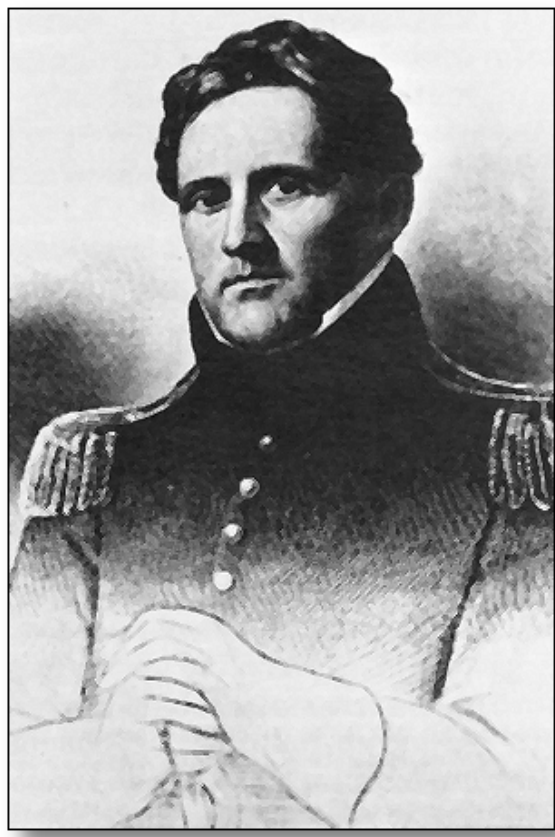
General Scott's plan failed. The three forces made contact with the Indians in varying degrees, but where confrontation did occur the enemy avoided defeat by slipping away. Various obstacles prevented the three forces from making their planned rendezvous on the Withlocochee. The brief campaign was the temporary undoing of General Scott. He returned to St. Augustine and was soon called to Washington to explain his failure before a court of inquiry. Despite its failure, the campaign did bring the importance of Fort Brooke into focus. All three forces made Tampa Bay the terminus of their thrust through Indian country. Many soldiers saw Tampa Bay for the first time, and their impressions often generated enthusiasm.⁵⁷

The accounts of some of the men who served in Florida breathe life into wartime Fort Brooke. One such person was Alexander Meek, an ensign in the Alabama volunteers. His journal sheds light on the life at Fort Brooke, and his description of the post itself is valuable.

It is a picket fort, with two block houses and is no doubt impregnable to any assault the Indians could make. It is surrounded, except at the entrance, by wide deep holes about eight feet deep and three feet wide with a long sharp stake in the center reaching to within two feet of the surface and all covered over with straw as to conceal it. . . [Fort Brooke] is situated immediately on the water's edge in a corner of one of the most beautiful and regular groves I ever saw. The grove is of live oak and orange trees and resembles more an ornamented college green than the encampment of a large army. We encamped throughout this grove which is about a mile square and perfectly level.

When Meek arrived at Fort Brooke, there were about 150 troops composed of the U. S. Marines and some Louisiana volunteers left behind by General Gaines. Across the river from the fort were about 300 Florida volunteers who had become "pretty much weatherworn." The soldiers were principally occupied by routine drill and guard duty. Meek had a low, commissioned officer status which entitled him to more privileges than the ordinary soldier. For example, he was able to "eat dinner and supper at the houses." This probably meant that he was welcome at several houses which accommodated the regular Army officers and the few civilians.⁵⁸

Meek had little to say about the civilians at Fort Brooke who included the Collar and Simmons families. However, he mentioned another civilian, Augustus Steele, the U. S. Customs House



Winfield Scott, from *History of the Second Seminole War* by John K. Mahon.

officer. Steele was a native of Connecticut who had moved to northern Florida in 1825. In July, 1832, his influence had become such that he was awarded the customs collection job at Tampa Bay. The same month, he was appointed postmaster of the Tampa Bay post office. Steele had been very influential in the creation of Hillsborough County in 1834 and was a strong force in Tampa Bay politics for years.⁵⁹

Though impressed with the beauty of Fort Brooke, Meek also had complaints. He found the water nauseating because of its high sulfate of iron content. He added wine or molasses to the water to make it more palatable. He found several luxury items, such as oranges, at the sutler's store, but he thought the prices charged were exorbitant. Though Meek's health remained good, he often referred to others troubled by diarrhea and various fevers. However, Meek's most persistent complaint was directed against Colonel Lindsay. Meek frequently mentioned the soldiers' low opinion of Colonel Lindsay.

There was still a great deal of tension at Fort Brooke caused by the possibility of Indian attacks. Meek on several occasions wrote of the proximity to danger, but the incidents were usually false alarms. On one occasion a sentinel fired on a mass of shadowy figures only to discover, quickly, that they were a battalion of Florida volunteers. Except for the peril of jumpy sentinels, the soldiers usually were safe from attack as long as they stayed close to the fort. However, there were occasional casualties. One of the friendly Indians was killed when he and about fifty others attempted to lure a large band of hostile Indians close the fort. Meek described the funeral at Fort Brooke:

The wife of this warrior and several of his relatives made great lamentations over his corpse, chanting in slow and melancholy dirge over his remains. He was buried by the regular soldiers with military honors.⁶⁰

By May, 1836, the great flurry of activity was temporarily over. Gone were the masses of volunteers who had erected large tent encampments near Fort Brooke. In May, the post returns from Fort Brooke showed eleven officers and 317 enlisted men present. This was in contrast to the approximately 4,800 men who had converged on Fort Brooke in early April at the conclusion of General Scott's fruitless plan. Gone, too, was the high state of tension. Experience had demonstrated that the Indians liked to pick places of attack to their own great advantage. They were not likely to attack a post as large and defensible as Fort Brooke.⁶¹

The war progressed sporadically after Scott's campaign. Isolated contact was made, but even victories were overshadowed by the futility of tracking down a highly mobile enemy. New troops poured into Florida. About 1,200 Tennessee volunteers arrived in September, and new Florida volunteers were brought into central Florida. About 750 friendly Creek Indians were signed as volunteers under the command of a regular Army officer. The combined force of Creeks, Tennessee and Florida volunteers, and regular Army participated in frequent fights during November on the eastern fringe of the Cove of the Withlacoochee. The action on November 18 was the largest of 1836, and the outcome was exceptional. Twenty-five Indians and blacks were left dead on the battleground. Since the Indians always tried to remove all of their dead after a battle, it may be assumed that they were beaten that day. However, after a month's hard fighting the hostile forces were still intact.⁶²

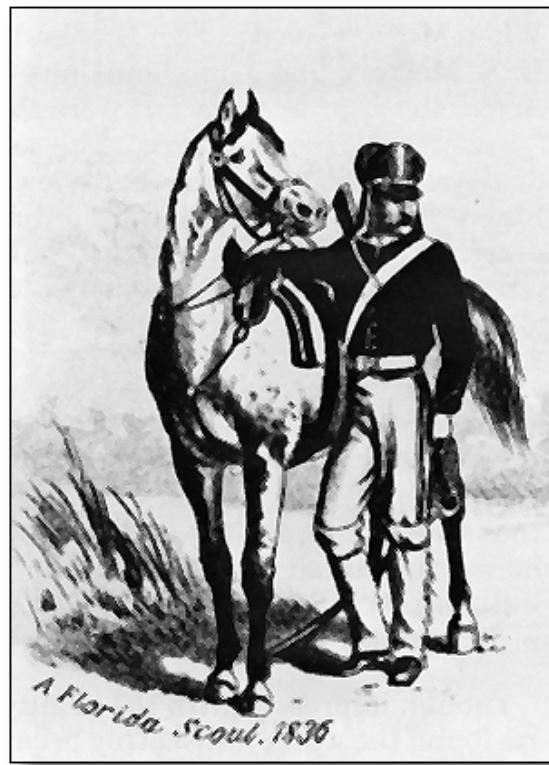
By November, 1836, Fort Brooke had seen many troops come and go. It had played host to nearly every principal officer and to every commanding officer. Though details are lacking, it seems certain that docking and storage facilities were expanded. A map drawn in January, 1838, reveals that Fort Brooke had become a sprawling base of operations.⁶³

Another report of life at Fort Brooke came from an altogether different personality, Bartholomew Lynch. A regular Army private who arrived at the fort in July, 1838, Lynch was exceptionally well educated for a private in those days. He was witty and cynical and indulged in the enlisted man's most common pastime -ridiculing the officers. Lynch greatly admired the area.

Tampa Bay is too romantic and lovely a place for one to attempt describing it. I wish some perfumed, cigar smoking, novel writer, city man monkey was here, he could not describe it, he would die of a fit of reality. Tampa is a perfect Arcadia. It is impossible to form any idea of the climate of Fla. it must be seen and felt. Florida could be made a heaven on earth. . .The more I see of T. Bay the more I like it, it is a romantic and truly picturesque place. . .Tampa, Tampa what a beautiful heavenly and luscourious [sic] spot thou are.

Lynch was at Fort Brooke from July, 1838, to June, 1839. In that time, his experiences were probably typical of the enlisted man in Florida. He claimed to have traveled at least 1,500 miles on various missions, often accompanying supply wagons. As late as March, 1839, Lynch said he had never seen a hostile Indian. In the first few months that he was at Fort Brooke, Lynch had few duties.

Nothing to do except to parade or retreat and take care to have our carbine bayonets as bright as a new born dollar, no matter about anything else. No scouting, except little parties now and again who accompany the capt. a fishing and hunting, mount guard once in 3 weeks or so. . .Times are too good to last for long. Never were soldiers happier than we Florida warriors. Who would think it, books to read, newspapers, periodicals, fresh beef to eat, fish in abundance, whiskey at 50¢ a gill, plenty women in the market absolutile [sic] at the disposal of the highest bidder. Nor church or meeting house parson or any thoughts or Religion to mar the liberty so universally enjoyed here.⁶⁴



Calvary scout in the field during the Second Seminole War, from *From the Everglades to Canon* by Theodore F. Rodenbough.

Lynch praised the cool and comfortable quarters, the hospital, the library, and the theatre. Not described in detail, the theatre was a building at least partially constructed of brick, probably located in the civilian community north of the actual grounds of Fort Brooke. On one evening, Lynch saw a program of comic songs, recitations and an animated Egyptian mummy. In attendance the same night were about twenty Indians, including squaws and papooses. There were also “a good many Negroes. . .and the beautiful, virtuous ladies of Tampa.” To Lynch life in Florida was very good.

When love sick misses, and affectioned mothers think that their sweethearts and darlings are fighting Indians by the bushel; here we are enjoying ourselves at the theatre. God send me no greater calamity than a war in Fla., a fortune making war truly [*sic*], although a good many lives are lost in it, some unnecessarily. Verily, verily, society did not lose anything by the fall of some of the Fla. Warriors. They were not angels. . .If all the wars all over the world were carried on as this Fla. War it could not be considered a curse by the people. Any man, unless an enlisted soldier, no matter wheather [*sic*] mechanic or laborers or loafer or dandy can make a fortune in Fla. Long live the Fla. War, so says the sutlers.

Another night at the theatre drew a pointed comment from Lynch—“crowded house, the aristocracy of Tampa present, dgs [dragoons], whores, Indians, darkies, soldiers, sailors, marines, hurrah hurrah for the War in Fla.”⁶⁵

In May, 1840, Brigadier General William Armistead took command of Florida forces. Fort Brooke by then had only four officers and seventy-two enlisted men, reflecting the drop in the level of hostilities. However, Armistead built up his force, and in October there were thirty officers and 933 enlisted men present.⁶⁶

The increase in troop strength served chiefly as a show of force. The Indians avoided major conflict. In fact, for the balance of the war, no large scale fighting took place. The Indians had dissolved into roving bands, each with one or two leaders of prominence. Perhaps only a half dozen important bands were intact. Yet as long as they remained intact, no soldier or settler could feel secure. The strategy of the Florida generals was to apply constant pressure and harassment, while trying to get Indian leaders to surrender peacefully. They offered food, whiskey, gunpowder, clothing and money as inducements. Each Florida commanding officer had a varying degree of success. General Armistead was fortunate in persuading the obstreperous leader Coacoochee, also known as Wildcat, to come to Fort Brooke for talks in March 1841. He agreed to collect and surrender his band within a short time at Fort Pierce on the east coast. Coacoochee repeatedly stalled, appearing long enough to receive supplies and then begging to return to the interior to collect members of his band. Suspicious of his intentions and impatient with his behavior, the Army ordered him siezed, bound, and sent to New Orleans in mid-June, 1841. By that time General Armistead had departed from Florida. His successor was his next-in-command, Colonel William J. Worth.

Operating mostly out of Fort Brooke, Colonel Worth began a series of moves in 1841 which brought the war to a conclusion a year later. An important contribution was his policy of giving a free hand to unit commanders stationed at the approximately thirty active posts in Florida. His

orders were simply, "Find the enemy, capture, or exterminate." The policy led to greater pressure on the Indians, and surrenders became more frequent. Yet the usual difficulties of confronting the enemy still plagued the Army.

Colonel Worth knew his greatest weapon was the use of intermediaries to persuade the Indians to come in peacefully. Consequently, he dispatched a party to New Orleans to bring back Coacoochee. On the fourth of July, 1841, Colonel Worth visited Coacoochee on board a ship in the harbor near Fort Brooke. Coacoochee and several of his warrior friends were in chains. In one of the most dramatic episodes of the war, Colonel Worth spoke softly but firmly to the Indian leader, praising his strength and courage and impressing on him the need to end the long struggle. Finally, the colonel delivered an ultimatum. Coacoochee was to send several trusted warriors into the interior to induce his former band to surrender. If they failed to return by a prescribed deadline, Coacoochee and the rest of his friends on board the ship would be hanged from the yardarms of the vessel. Before the deadline, on the last of July, seventy-eight warriors, sixty-four women and forty-seven children surrendered at Fort Brooke. Shortly there after, Coacoochee was freed to contact another hostile leader, Hospetarke. He returned with Hospetarke and eighteen warriors to confer with Colonel Worth. When they refused to surrender, they were arrested and prepared for emigration.



Coacoochee (Wild Cat), a Seminole leader, from *The Origins, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* by John T. Sprague.

Coacoochee was detained in Florida a while longer in order to take advantage of his influence with key Indian leaders. The salesmanship of such leaders and Colonel Worth's acuity were the techniques which finally ended the war. By October, 1841, over 200 Indians were assembled at Fort Brooke in preparation for emigration. Fearing the possibility of another mass escape by the capricious Indians, the Army had 200 soldiers on guard duty around the clock. An eerie spectacle resulted when beacon lights were used to illuminate the two-mile-square camp. On October 12, 1841, Coacoochee and 210 others were shipped to New Orleans.

Hot pursuit and continuing solicitations of Indian leaders slowly brought the war to a halt. In February, 1842, another band of 230 Indians was shipped from Fort Brooke. That month, Colonel Worth estimated that only 300 Indians, of which perhaps 100 were warriors, remained on the peninsula. Colonel Worth was convinced that the government would be wasting men and

money if it continued a full scale effort to eradicate the Indians. He dismissed some troops and asked for permission to institute a nonpursuit policy. Fort Brooke's troop strength fell from 1,103 officers and enlisted men in October, 1841, to only sixty-eight in April, 1842.

The government did not immediately approve Colonel Worth's plan of nonpursuit. Pressure on the Indians continued to be applied. In April, 1842, 100 recent Indian captives emigrated from Fort Brooke. In May, President John Tyler finally authorized Colonel Worth to terminate the war at his discretion. In August, Colonel Worth went into the interior to meet with three of the remaining chieftains: Billy Bowlegs, Tiger Tail and Octiarche. An arrangement was made giving those Indians and their followers a reservation in the southern portion of Florida. In return, they would cease hostilities. On August 14, 1842, Colonel Worth officially proclaimed an end to the Florida War.



William Jenkins Worth, from *History of the Second Seminole War* by John K. Mahon.

The war was a tragedy for most of the parties involved. Perhaps, as Private Lynch suggested, the sutlers, contractors, and various profiteers benefited, but for those officially engaged, and for the private frontier settlers, the price was heavy.

The Army alone suffered 1,446 deaths; the Marines sixty-six and the Navy twenty-three. Those figures did not include soldiers who subsequently died from illnesses or wounds incident to the war. They did not include non-military deaths of frontier settlers and civilians employed by the military. In addition, there was a significant, but difficult to enumerate, loss of life among the thousands of volunteers who participated throughout most of the war. For that cost in lives, 3,824 Indians had been removed from Florida. The financial cost of the war was estimated at between thirty and forty million dollars.⁶⁷

Thus ended a colorful era in the history of Florida. A visitor to Fort Brooke in early 1841 captured the drama of the war years.

The temperature climate of the coast, and the commanding neighbourhood of the fortress, made it a pleasant and safe residence from the miasma and disorders of the interior country. It was also the depot for military stores, the arsenal for ammunition, and the harbour for the gun-boats. Civilized and savage warfare here displayed their pomp and colouring in close relief. The painted savage allies with their wives camped daily by the walls or traded with the sutler; the Indian runners, who alone could thread the inner wilderness, came and went to distant outposts. . . Here came the young recruit, emulous of fame, with armour newly dight, and hither returned from the cypress



Officers stationed at Fort Brooke could relax after duty hours under the large shade trees that grew in front of their living quarters, which survived to be photographed in the 1890s.

Photograph courtesy of University of South Florida Special Collections.

swamp or pathless everglade the soldier whose brief campaign sent him home wounded, wasted, broken, with his weapons untarnished, save by the rust, and his glory unmade, except by his sufferings.⁶⁸

The fort had undergone changes during the war. Captain Nathaniel W Hunter, who was at Fort Brooke in the final years of the war, described the change in appearance.

There is scarcely a vestige of the old fort left. Major Belton in 1836 caused nearly all the buildings to be pulled down and many improvements destroyed in anticipation of an attack from the Indians. How he has been cursed for it. The Alabama Volunteers picketed their horses to the orange trees and cut down the live oaks for firewood. What sacrilege. Tampa is still a pretty place.⁶⁹

The orange and oak trees were not all destroyed. Their number may have diminished, but few visitors who later came to Fort Brooke failed to comment on the beauty which they lent to the picturesque fort.

The Second Seminole War proved the wisdom of Fort Brooke's founders, Colonels Gadsden and Brooke. Designed to provide a safe location and healthy environment for U.S. troops, the

fort clearly afforded both for the thousands of soldiers who passed through Tampa Bay during the costly war. Fort Brooke also had become the nucleus for the small civilian community of Tampa that grew up next to it. The frontier outpost had attracted the first permanent white settlers who came in search of economic opportunity under the protective arm of the military.

¹ Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "The Governorship of Andrew Jackson," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 33 (July 1954): 3; Jackson to James Monroe, November 13, 1821, in Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territory of Florida, 1821-1845*, vols. 22-26 of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1934-1956), XXII, 275-76. (Cited hereinafter as *Territorial Papers*.) This article is based on Donald L. Chamberlin, "Fort Brooke, A History" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1968).

² DuVal to John C. Calhoun, September 22, 1822, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 533-34; Calhoun to James Gadsden and Bernardo Segui, April 7, 1823, *ibid.*, 659-61; Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman, Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 112-14.

³ John T Sprague, *The Origins, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York: D. Appleton, 1848), 20-24.

⁴ DuVal to John C. Calhoun, Sept. 26, 1823, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 747-5 1; Calhoun to James Gadsden, November 4, 1823, *ibid.*, 783-84.

⁵ Jacob P. Brown to George M. Brooke, November 5, 1823, *ibid.*, 784.

⁶ McCall to Archibald McCall, March 28, 1823, in George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontier* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1868), 135-36, 183. A short sketch of Colonel Brooke's career is found in an article written by Theodore Leslie in the *Tampa Tribune*, January 20, 1957, "Pioneer Florida" section.

⁷ Gadsden to John C. Calhoun, January 27, 1824, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 841-43. Accounts of the establishment of Fort Brooke are given in James W. Covington, "The Establishment of Fort Brooke," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 31 (April 1953): 273-78.

⁸ Brooke to Jacob P. Brown, February 3, 1824, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 845; McCall to Archibald McCall, March 28, 1823, McCall, *Letters from the Frontier*, 137.

⁹ Gadsden to John C. Calhoun, January 27, 1823, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 841-43; Brooke to Jacob P. Brown, February 3, 1824, *ibid.*, 844-46.

¹⁰ Karl Grismer, *Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg, Florida: St. Petersburg Printing Co., 1950), 39, 51-54, 58-59, 88-89.

¹¹ Brooke to Thomas S. Jessup, April 25, 1824, *Territorial Papers*, XXII 930-31.

¹² Brooke to Jacob P. Brown, April 6, 1824, *ibid.*, 918.

¹³ Daniel E. Bunch to Thomas S. Jessup, April 22, 1824, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 927; Brooke to Jessup, April 25, 1824, *ibid.* 930-31.

¹⁴ Post Returns, Fort Brooke, 1824-1882, in Returns from U.S. Military Posts, Microcopy 617, Rolls 147-49, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Cited hereinafter as Post Returns.)

¹⁵ Grismer, *Tampa*, 65; McCall to brother, Summer, 1823, McCall, *Letters from the Frontier*, 140-41; Brooke to Jacob P. Brown, April 6, 1824, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 918.

¹⁶ George W Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868), I, 233.

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- ¹⁷ McCall to brother, March 30, 1828, McCall, *Letters from the Frontier*, 200.
- ¹⁸ McCall to brother, March 30, 1830, *ibid.*, 207.
- ¹⁹ Calhoun to Brooke, August 12, 1824, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 3 7; Gad Humphreys to DuVal, January 20, 1825, *ibid.*, 163-64; Brooke to Winfield Scott, August 29, 1825, *ibid.*, 314; Brooke to Jessup, November 30, 1825, *ibid.* 365-66.
- ²⁰ Clark to Jessup, September 29, 1825, *ibid.*, 328; Clark to Jessup, March 26, 1826, *ibid.*, 492-93, Jessup to Clark, May 2, 1826, *ibid.*, 526-27; William M. Goza, "The Fort King Road-19631" *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 43 (July 1964): 52-70.
- ²¹ Gaines to Roger Jones, January 30, 1827, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1832-1861), IV, 115-16.
- ²² John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York: A.T. Goodrich, 1837), 16.
- ²³ Grismer, *Tampa*, 61. Grismer spells the name Levi Coller. A pamphlet written by a descendant, Cynthia Farr, has it spelled Collar. In two Historical Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, replicas of old Hillsborough County records, one has the spelling Collar, and the other, Collier or Coller.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.
- ²⁵ Brooke to Roger Jones, September 9, 1828, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 69-70.
- ²⁶ Brooke to Roger Jones, June 6, 1828, *ibid.*, 23-24; Alexander Macomb to Brooke, January 10, 1829, *ibid.*, 133-34.
- ²⁷ Williams, *Territory of Florida*, 24.
- ²⁸ Rembert Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963), 63-64.
- ²⁹ Samuel Cooper to Clinch, November 30, 1829, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 297-98; Clinch to Macomb, January 4, 1830, *ibid.*, 319-2 1; Macomb to John H. Eaton, January 28, 1830, *ibid.*, 339-40.
- ³⁰ U. S., Dept. of War, Annual Report, 1829, 21st Cong., 1st Sess., S. Doc. 1, p. 58, Serial no. 192; *idem*, Annual Report, 1830, 21st Cong., 2d Sess., H. Doc. 2, p. 90, Serial no. 206.
- ³¹ McCall to Archibald McCall, July, 1830, McCall, *Letters from the Frontier*, 216.
- ³² Grismer, *Tampa*, 65.
- ³³ Trueman Cross to Arthur W Thornton, January 11, 1832, *Territorial Papers*, 628; *Florida Herald*, October 25, 1832.
- ³⁴ U.S., Dept. of War, *Annual Report, 1831*, 22d Cong., 1st Sess., H. Doc. 2, pp. 68-69, Serial no. 216; Army Register for 1832, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, IV, 847; William M. Graham to Roger Jones, July 18, 1832, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 663.
- ³⁵ Post Returns, July, 1832.
- ³⁶ Joshua Stafford and others to Lewis Cass, November, 1834, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 69-70.
- ³⁷ Lewis Cass to Zantzinger, November 24, 1834, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, VI, 56; Post Returns, December, 1834.

³⁸ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, VI, 80.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 545.

⁴⁰ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, VI, 80; *ibid.*, 560.

⁴¹ Francis S. Belton to Roger Jones, December 12, 1835, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 210-11.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Mark F. Boyd, "The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 30 (July 1951): 88.

⁴⁴ *Niles Weekly Register*, January 30, 1836.

⁴⁵ Boyd, "The Seminole War," 88.

⁴⁶ Frank Laumer, *Massacre!* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968), 44-45.

⁴⁷ *Niles Weekly Register*, January 30, 1836.

⁴⁸ Laumer, *Massacre!*, 158-59.

⁴⁹ *Niles Weekly Register*, January 30, 1836.

⁵⁰ For a full treatment of the war, see John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1967).

⁵¹ F. S. Belton to Roger Jones, January 9, 1836, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, VI, 563.

⁵² *Niles Weekly Register*, January 30, 1836.

⁵³ Grismer, *Tampa*, 78.

⁵⁴ McCall to Archibald McCall, February 9, 1836, McCall, *Letters from the Frontier*, 294.

⁵⁵ Meyer M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (New York: B.B. Hussey, 1836), 97; Sprague, *Florida War*, 113.

⁵⁶ John Bemrose, *Reminiscences of the Seminole Indian War* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), 78-81; Sprague, *Florida War*, 117.

⁵⁷ Patrick, *Aristocrat*, 130; Bemrose, *Reminiscences*, 88-90.

⁵⁸ Alexander Beaufort Meek Journal, March 6-15, 1836, microfilm copy, RK. Young Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, (hereinafter cited as Meek Journal.)

⁵⁹ Grismer, *Tampa*, 66-67.

⁶⁰ Meek Journal, March 8, 10, and 12, 1836.

⁶¹ Post Returns, May, 1836; Sprague, *Florida War*, 146.

⁶² Sprague, *Florida War*, 66.

⁶³ Grismer, *Tampa*, 63; Erna Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army: A History of the Corps, 1775-1939* (Washington, D.C.: Quartermaster's Historian's Office, Office of the Quartermaster General, 1962), 22 1.

⁶⁴ Felix R McGaughy, Jr., ed., "The Squaw Kissing War: Bartholomew M. Lynch's Journal of the Second Seminole War, 1836-1839 (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1965), 129, 138, 192.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 132, 158, 161, 166.

⁶⁶ Post Returns, May, 1840 and October, 1840.

⁶⁷ Sprague, *Florida War*, 260, 265, 274-65, 277, 286-303, 321-22, 438, 452-53, 475-77, 485-87, 548-50; Ruby Leach Carson and Charlton W. Tebeau, et al., *Florida: From Indian Trail to Space Age*, 3 vols. (Delray Beach, Florida: Southern Publishing Co., 1965), 1, 160.

⁶⁸ Charles W. Whitehead, *Wild Sports in the South* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Derby and Jackson, 1891), 196-97.

⁶⁹ Reynold M. Wik, ed., "Captain Nathaniel Wyche Hunter and the Florida Indian Campaigns, 1837-1841," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 39 (July 1960): 72.