Fort Dallas and the Naval Depot on Key Biscayne, 1836-1926

By NATHAN D. SHAPPEE

EARLY WRITINGS ON FORT DALLAS

When Dr. Walter S. Graham began publication of the *Miami Metropolis* in April, 1896, he planned to publish occasionally articles on local history. The first of these appeared in the issue of November 20, 1896 and was a sketch of Fort Dallas.

Earlier in the year Dr. Graham had written to the War Department requesting data on the local monument of the Seminole War. He was informed that another person had already asked for data on Fort Dallas. This person proved to be Mrs. Julia D. Tuttle who owned Fort Dallas and desired information about her property. Dr. Graham then approached Mrs. Tuttle for permission to receive the War Department's account and to publish it in the *Metropolis*.

The published article consisted of the department's article in full and as it was written. To this Graham added data which he had collected as additional local highlights on the topic. In his earlier capacity as a land buyer and title searcher for Henry M. Flagler and his East Coast Railroad, he had collected interesting and personal memoirs on Fort Dallas.

The first article, however, had been compiled from records in the Adjutant General's Office and, because of this, related almost exclusively only the Army's role in this protracted conflict. The compiler did not consult the records of other services of the government which, as it has turned out, had large amounts of data on Fort Dallas and the events of the Seminole War in the Miami area.¹

Actually it was the Navy which appeared first on Biscayne Bay in 1836 to establish patrols of the coast and to set up a post or fort. Lieutenant Levin M. Powell was ordered to prevent any commerce between the Indians and traders from Cuba or the West Indies. This first post was established

on Key Biscayne and was called Fort Dallas after Commodore Alexander J. Dallas, commander of the West Indian Squadron.²

In this activity of the Navy in South Florida the Marines also saw much active service. With all proper credit to the Army for its work on the lower east coast and at Fort Dallas, it is an established fact that the United States Marines were at Fort Dallas, Key Biscayne, and on New River for ten years before they crashed into the Halls of Montezuma.³

BACKGROUND AND EARLY INCIDENTS OF THE SEMINOLE WAR

Some incidents relating to the start of the Seminole Wars are pertinent to an understanding of this amazing and exasperating conflict in which the Army and the Navy suffered defeats at the hands and superior tactics of the Indians. In the early engagements the Seminoles swept the field. At the time of the start of hostilities in December, 1835, the Army had just completed arrangements to start the removal of the Indians and had set January, 1836, as the time to remove the Indians from Tampa to their new lands west of the Mississippi. However, the Indian removal authorities had the consent of only about one-third of the chiefs who had signed earlier the removal treaties: Fort Moultrie, Payne's Landing and Fort Gibson. The rest of the chiefs remained aloof or had changed sides for fear of their lives. Some of the pro-removal figures had been killed and others had been kidnapped to prevent their assisting in the removal.

With the assembly for emigration scheduled for January, 1836, the West Florida Seminoles by three cleverly staged ambushes, smashed and destroyed the government's plans to remove. By separated and independent actions on December 28, 1835, one group of Seminoles massacred Major Dade and nearly a hundred men of his command on the Withlacoochee River⁴ and another party raided Fort King where they killed and scalped five men. There the most important person killed was General Wiley Thompson, the Seminole agent and the officer in charge of the emigration. Also killed were Lieutenant Constantine Smith; the fort's sutler, Erastus Rogers, and two of his employes. In this explosive rejection by the Seminoles of the plans to remove them from Florida, perhaps Indian revenge was revealed in the fact that General Thompson received fourteen bullets and the fort's sutler seventeen.⁵

Three days later on December 28, the Indians ambushed General Clinch and his force on the Withlacoochee. Clinch was directing the construction

of a bridge over the river when the attack took place. His soldiers had stacked their arms in an exposed pine barren some distance from the work at the river's edge.⁶

Governor R. K. Call was the next victim of the Indians' boldness and daring. On September 9, 1836 he marched from Fort Drane to attack the Seminoles in their stronghold on the Withlacoochee. After he had arrived there, his officers reported that there were only a few days' rations for the action which would take at least a week. Governor Call then, without engaging the enemy, marched his troops back to Fort Drane, leaving the Seminoles secure and, no doubt, smiling.

The last of this exasperating series of reversals in West Florida occurred to Colonel Harney whose small force was massacred on the Caloosahatchee on July 23, 1839. He had gone to the river for a council with some Indians who did not keep their time for the meeting. After making camp, Harney went to Sanibel Island for a day's sport of hunting wild hogs. He returned to his camp at ten in the night. He was so exhausted that he did not inspect his camp and threw himself down on his cot after having removed only his boots. At daybreak he was awakened by the gunfire of the Seminoles attacking the camp. His men were beyond saving, so he fled in his bare feet to the river bank where he escaped in a canoe which was hidden there. He daubed his face with mud, Indian fashion, to avoid detection.

This embarrassing set of reversals frayed the nerves and the tempers of the authorities in Washington. Commanders came and went while territorial governors and other civil authorities were installed and then removed in the desperate attempts of the late Jackson administration to stabilize conditions in Florida and to gain victories over the elusive Seminoles. Officers in charge of the removal program estimated that the Indians numbered around 4,000 persons. When the war started General Clinch commanded fourteen companies aggregating about 700 soldiers. Nearby states contributed volunteers for the war until there were about 8,000 troops in Florida but still no victories. After the resignation of General Clinch, General Scott was placed in charge of the Army but he presently became involved in a jurisdictional dispute with General Gaines and Scott was recalled, being replaced by General Thomas S. Jesup. It was Jesup who defeated the East Florida Seminoles and started the removal. Among the lesser military figures who were removed from command by reverses were Generals Call and Clinch and Colonel Harney. Governors Eaton and Call were political casualties of the reverses of the war in Florida.

With the Army being unable to contain the shifty Indians, the government and the neighboring states used the draft to build up the forces needed. The presence of out-of-state militia in Florida irritated the territorial officials who kept the congressional delegate to Congress from Florida complaining from one official to another.

On February 15, 1837, the Florida delegate, Joseph M. White, reported on an interview he had had with President Jackson, who was due to leave office presently. The object of White's visit was to protest against any further draft for troops for central Florida. In the exchanges of a discussion which rapidly got out of control, Jackson denounced the Floridians as "damned cowards" and declared that "he could take fifty women and whip every Indian that ever crossed the Suwannee" and that the people of Florida

. . . had done less to put down the war, or to defend themselves than any other people in the United States. He said they ought to have crushed it at once, if they had been men of spirit and character. He said if five Indians had approached into the white settlements of Tennessee and Kentucky not one would have ever got out alive. He said the men had better run off or let the Indians shoot them, that the women might get husbands of courage, and breed up men who would defend the country. He maintains that there never was 600 Indians.

When he had finished his harangue, which, of course, was not very agreeable to me, I said to him, your Army and all your generals, have been in the field, why have they not conquered these 600 Indians? and why are the people thus reproached for not doing what all your regular troops, and Tennesseans, have failed to accomplish? . . .

Among other things, I told him that if he would mount his horse, after the 4th of March, I thought he could soon put an end to the war, but that it was not every son of Achilles, who could wear the armor or wield the sword of his father.

BEGINNING OF THE SEMINOLE WAR IN SOUTHEAST FLORIDA

While these dismal and embarrassing engagements were taking place between Tampa and Fort King, the Seminoles in the Okeechobee and Big Swamp area ravaged the southeastern coast and drove out the settlers. Here, too, the attack was sudden and unexpected. On January 6, 1836, the Indians raided New River and massacred the family of William Cooley who was absent from home when the attack took place and thus escaped with his life.¹⁰

Cooley and the other settlers fled to Miami where they warned the residents there of the impending attack. This frightened band of people then fled to Key Biscayne where they were joined by John Dubose, keeper of Cape Florida Lighthouse, and his family. All of these settlers then went to Indian Key and stayed there. The Indians did destroy the buildings at Miami but not lighthouse structures in this initial raid.¹¹

The lighthouse keeper, John Dubose, appears as a shepherd among this small band of people. He led them to Indian Key and then sought more security by staying in Key West for over two months before he returned to his lighthouse. He refused to return to his post on the grounds that he would be in mortal danger. His superintendent, William A. Whitehead, in Key West tried different means to get him to return and he carried on a steady correspondence about Dubose with his superior, Stephen Pleasanton, Fifth Auditor of the Treasury.¹²

While Dubose remained adamant against his return to Cape Florida, William Cooley, who had gone to Key West from Indian Key, offered to go to Cape Florida and maintain the light, provided that he was given an armed guard for protection. Whitehead, then, on the spot promised Cooley Dubose's salary of \$50 per month and \$100 additional to employ six armed guards. Cooley and his guards then departed for Cape Florida and resumed the keeping of the light. However Pleasanton in Washington took a narrow view of these additional expenses without previous permission. He did allow Cooley the keeper's salary of \$50 but cut the \$100 per month for the hire and maintenance of six guards back to \$80 and pencilled instructions on the letter to Whitehead to take the money out of the allotment for repairs. When Whitehead explained this to Cooley, he told Whitehead that he could not maintain the guards at that figure and he returned to New River.¹³

With the prospect of more money for his services, Dubose then agreed to return to the Cape if he could have the \$80 for the armed guard. Whitehead agreed and Dubose returned to his lighthouse on March 16. He stayed at the Cape until July 18, when he removed his family again to Key West. However before Whitehead agreed to give him the \$80, Dubose had addressed a memorial to the Secretary of the Treasury for an armed guard. This letter was referred back to Pleasanton and then to Whitehead for explanation why the extra money had not been paid. Pleasanton then ordered the guard for Dubose and the payment of the money. Presently Whitehead reported that Dubose had reduced the guard to three, one of whom was his own son whom he used as a pilot for the boat he was allowed. 15

In June Commodore Dallas received petitions from the residents of Key West and Indian Key, requesting the assignment of a naval patrol vessel to protect the residents of the Keys. John Dubose was one of the signers from Key West. When Whitehead reported the petitions to Pleasanton, he saw Dubose's hand in the matter, telling Whitehead that

Dubose's fears, while they may have been without foundation, as Pleasanton implies, were borne out on July 23, 1836, when the Seminoles raided Key Biscayne and burned the lighthouse. The destruction of Cape Florida Lighthouse and the attack on the two guards left there is one of the more dramatic incidents of the whole Seminole War. On the day of the attack. Irwin Thompson and Aaron Carter, a Negro, barely had time to reach the tower before the Indians rushed them. The two men barricaded the door into the tower and went up to the top of the building. The Indians then tried to build a ladder tall enough to reach the platform but failed. Then they built a fire against the door which did burn through and then consumed the wooden stairs. Once the door was gone, the draft of the blaze roared upward and its heat forced the men out on to the stone platform surrounding the light. Here the men lay with the intense heat of the fire threatening to burn them crisp and the Indians shooting at them any time a part of their bodies showed. In his agony and frenzy, Thompson hurled he remains of a keg of gunpowder down into the furnace of the tower. This explosion did kill most of the fire in the tower but it also cracked the walls of the building. Carter was shot through the head when he tried to peer down from the platform. Thompson was shot through both ankles when he tried to get his feet to a cooler position. The Indians maintained the seige until the next day when Thompson was rescued by the crew of the transport vessel, Motto, which had been sent to New River to salvage thirty tons of lead from a sunken vessel. Thompson was taken to Key West where he recovered from his ordeal. Later he published a pamphlet about his thrilling experience.18

THE NAVY ESTABLISHES FORT DALLAS

The foregoing account explains some of the complications of the Seminole War, both in the west and in the east and sets the stage for the establishment of Fort Dallas and the role it played in the Seminole War.

Fort Dallas was a distinctive post, if not a distinguished one. Its establishment was started as the result of an order of the Secretary of the Navy, Mahlon Dickerson, to Commodore Alexander J. Dallas, Commander of the West Indian Squadron, to cooperate with the Army in the prosecution of the Seminole War. Actually the Navy took orders from the Army. This cooperation lasted from the outbreak of the war until 1858 when the Army closed its posts in Florida.

Fort Dallas was established in 1836 after the destruction of the light-house. It had three different locations, the first on Key Biscayne as a Navy depot; one on the south bank of the Miami River at its mouth, and the last and most pretentious on the north bank of the Miami. Two buildings of Fort Dallas in this last location survived until fairly recent times, when high prices of downtown real estate forced the destruction of the larger building, which was the home of Mrs. Julia D. Tuttle, and the removal of the other to its present location in Lummus Park where it serves as the meeting quarters of the Everglades Chapter of the D.A.R.

The post was never protected by a wall or palisades. Until the last phase of the war, it consisted of tent barracks and one small framed wooden structure. The military men resented a land fort being named after a naval officer. In this earliest occupation of the post, the Army, when ordered to close the Fort and to remove supplies to Key Biscayne and turn them over to the Navy, used the names of Fort Russell or Fort Bankhead for their storage depot. The first of these commemorated an officer who had been ambushed by the Seminoles in 1838 and the other was named after an early commander of the post. Supplying Fort Dallas was difficult due to the very shallow draft in the Bay at the mouth of the river and the presence of a sandbar where it emptied into the Bay. Supplies had to be freighted to the fort in lifeboats or lighters, For this reason, periods of naval occupancy were always centered at the naval depot and supply base on the ocean side of northern Key Biscayne.

Fort Dallas was one of three posts maintained at the mouths of rivers in south Florida. At the mouth of New River was Fort Lauderdale. Near the junction of the Loxahatchee and Jupiter Inlet was Fort Jupiter which served as headquarters for General Jesup who commanded the forces in Florida in the period between the recall of General Scott and his appointment as Adjutant General.

When Powell was ordered to establish a land post near the mouth of the Miami River, he is reported to have built blockhouses which the Indians were supposed to have burned. This fact comes from a statement in Richard Fitzpatrick's claim for damages to his plantation which the Army occupied in the last phase of the war. Since he also owned the land on the south bank of the Miami, his land was the location of both sites of the fort at the mouth of the Miami. The naval records do not reveal that Powell. in establishing the post in 1838, built any structures for Fort Dallas but the Fitzpatrick claim is so close to events of the time that there actually could have been a blockhouse. The fact that Powell was ordered to establish a post on land did not necessitate building of permanent structures and the lack of archival corroboration argues against it. Powell was ordered to patrol the southern coast and to prevent the Seminoles from being supplied arms and ammunition by sailors from Cuba and the West Indies. He did patrol the coast and undertook land forays when ordered to do so by General Jesup. The naval and army depots on Key Biscayne have proof for their establishment but the blockhouse has not vet been proven.

Assisting Powell on his cruising was Lieutenant Thomas T. Sloan in charge of a detachment of the Marines, commonly a force of twenty men. Their work with Powell's force in these earliest days in Fort Dallas adds a new locale for their early activities.

Three naval officers conducted the major part of the naval services around the lower east coast. In order these were Lieutenant Powell, Captain Isaac Mayo and Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin. Each of these made a different contribution by the Navy in support of the military. Naval records reveal many names of the vessels which came to Biscayne Bay during the naval operations from 1836 to 1842. In the first occupation of 1836, the transport, *Motto*, brought sailors and supplies.²⁰ In 1839 and 1840, the schooner, *Medium*, and the steamers, *Cincinnati* and *James Adams*, anchored here. Captain Mayo commanded the steamer, *Poinsett*, until he convinced his superiors that the vessel was unseaworthy.²¹ Lieutenant McLaughlin's vessel was the *Flirt*.

Lieutenant Powell in 1838, while scouting the coast, engaged a party of Seminoles in what is called the battle of Jupiter River. On a scouting mission, Powell's force of 96 men captured an Indian woman and instructed her to take them to the camp. She led them inland to the Indians who were concealed in the borders of a swamp. The Seminoles attacked the force and drove it back to the boats. Five men were killed in this action. Powell immediately reported the engagement to Commodore Dallas.²² Three weeks later he forwarded a supplementary report to Secretary Dickerson in which he analyzed the reasons for his defeat at the hands of the enemy:

It is now too late to refer to the original composition of the expedition which was not in accordance with joint instructions of the Secretary of War — yours, and my own. The seamen were all landsmen and three-fifths of the regulars were volunteers. I could have taught them to make watches as easily as to learn the one to handle an oar and the other a musket. Nor do I say this in reproach to either, but to those that service like this required men who had nothing to learn of the business before them. . . .

Giving way to his bitter thoughts on the matter, Powell added a postscript on one of the outer folds of his letter:

of the 96 sent

1 was a petty officer

8 were seamen of which 1 deserted

16 were 0 Seamen

64 Landsmen 1 deserted

9 boys.

amongst the above there were the lame — blind — deaf and idiotic to be found making the most important component of the expedition fatal to its success.

L. M. Powell.23

General Jesup in a letter of March 5 to Commander Dallas insisted that . . . Lt. Powell has not failed, he has cooperated with me most efficiently and is now at the point where he can enter the everglades. He will penetrate them as soon as I shall have placed a force on New River sufficient to protect his movements which will be in a few days. His affair in this vicinity was most gallant though he was compelled to retreat to his boats with some loss.²⁴

In this same letter, Jesup thanked Dallas for attaching the Marines in his squadron to the general's forces. As the war dragged on, the cooperation of the naval forces with the Army increased. Their combined operations finally forced the Indians either into smaller areas or to flee these combined operations. In one such maneuver, Captain Burke from Fort Dallas joined forces with Lieutenant McLaughlin who had entered the southern Glades from the seacoast.²⁵

The second of the naval figures who was ordered to assist General Jesup was Captain Isaac Mayo. His command was created by Secretary of the Navy, J. K. Paulding, on April 5, 1839. He was given command of the U.S.S. *Poinsett*, the schooner *Wave* and a number of barges. Two of the latter were gun barges. One was stationed at the Key Biscayne naval depot and the other at Indian Key after the massacre of the settlers there in 1840.

Captain Mayo was at Key Biscayne in July, 1839 when Colonel Harney arrived there from the west coast after the massacre of his detachment on the Caloosahatchee. On July 29, Captain Mayo entertained Chief Mad Tiger on board his ship when an Army boat came along side. Mad Tiger and his party, recognizing the craft as an Army boat, hurriedly went over the side. Mayo then ordered pursuit:

Skerrett to follow with the cutter; After three hours pull I picked up the Canoes. Lieut. Davis one, and Lt Sloane of the Marines another. I pushed on after the Chief who I found on the other side of the Bay, and after a long chace I caught him; he used every exertion to make his escape, managing his sail and paddles with a great deal of skill. After getting him in my boat, he made an attempt to regain his Canoe which I had in tow, but was easily subdued, in all there were nine men and six squaws. I have taken them to Col Harney as hostages.²⁷

Later in the year, Mayo, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, gave a full description of the difficulties of the ailing *Poinsett* which he was going to take to Savannah "for funds, and breakout, and (to) cleanse the *Poinsett*." The captain also deprecated the earlier and generally held belief that the Indians were being supplied guns and ammunition by the Spanish and British traders:

. . . The illicit traffic supposed to be carried on with the Indians where she could act, does not exist, the whole coast from Key Biscayne South is lined with wreckers who are jealous of foreigners, and are ready to prevent their ingress, and this useful class of men are too much interested in the extirpation of the Indians to refuse any assistance they can render for this purpose.²⁸

When Captain Mayo left for the north, Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin assumed charge of the patrolling of the southern coast. On his way from

Key West he stopped at Tea Table Key to add Mayo's barges to his flotilla. His duties were the same as his two predecessors: transport the Army and land sailors and marines for joint actions with the military. McLaughlin, in December, 1839, secured the department's approval for the capture of Indian women and children as a means of forcing the men to surrender. Secretary Paulding outlined the procedures for the suggested plan:

. . . You will therefore furnish yourself with a sufficient number of large flat bottomed boats to carry all the men that can be spared at any time from the vessels under your command and in addition to these procure a life sufficiency of long plantation Canoes, as it is believed they are called. Thus with your barges you may approach as near as possible to the point of operation with the flat bottom boats, proceed as far as the depth of water will permit and with the light swift Canoes penetrate wherever there is water. By this means, the Department cannot but hope, you will be able to penetrate the Everglades further than has yet been done by white men, supprise and capture the Indian women and children, and thus end the war, which has cost so many millions. . . . 29

It was McLaughlin who reported to Paulding the capture of Indian Key and the massacre of its settlers on August 8, 1840. The citizens of this island had petitioned Commodore Dallas in 1836 for a naval vessel to protect them. At that time a vessel had been sent to patrol the coast between Key West and Indian Key. Arms and ammunition had also been sent. But constant patrol of the coast had not been maintained and the Indians broke through in one of the unprotected moments.

McLaughlin's patrol and transport services were vigilant and steady. Colonel W. J. Worth, writing to him from headquarters in Tampa in February, 1842 told him the results of his activity:

. . . By your occupation of Fort Dallas, etc., I am able to simplify operations south and greatly reduce expenses. I have directed the withdrawal of the garrison at Fort Lauderdale. If the position will be of any service or convenience to you the place will be left entire. 30

McLaughlin, writing to Secretary Upshur in January, 1842, pointed out the basic importance of Fort Dallas in the activities of the war:

Although the point referred to, Fort Dallas, which has been under the occupancy of the land forces since the early stages of the war, cannot be approached within eight miles by the vessels of this squadron, yet its contiguity to the Everglades fits admirably for an auxiliary depot for our operations in Canoes into the Glades, and elsewhere on the east coast of the peninsula.

I shall hasten therefore to take possession with a detachment of marines, so soon as arrangements can be effected for the transfer of Major Childs.³¹

At the end of 1839, McLaughlin's force consisted of the schooners, Flirt, Wave and Otsego. In August, 1841, the schooner, Phoenix, and three revenue cutters, the Madison, Jefferson and Van Buren were added. This fleet of seven vessels was the largest naval force ever stationed in Miami.

This capable officer was imaginative in devising means to penetrate the Everglades by barges and plantation canoes. As a naval officer he is prominent for not resenting assignments with the military even though they entailed tasks far beneath the ordinary range of duties. His tasks were frequently menial and the capture of Indian women and children must have grated on his sensibilities.

A final observation of the naval and military activities in the area and the volume of it is the fact that Postmaster General Amos Kendall established a postoffice at Key Biscayne in 1839. Information on its operation and length of existence is not available at this writing.³²

ARMY OCCUPATION AND ACTIVITIES AT FORT DALLAS

The first two occupations of Fort Dallas were by the Navy, Powell having been sent there in 1836 and again in 1838. Operations for these short periods were those of deposit, repairs and rests after duty. Powell prepared the post for the Army in 1838 and Mayo opened it again for the military in 1839. After General Jesup defeated the Seminoles on the Loxahatchee on January 24, 1838, Fort Dallas was occupied in order to assist in rounding up the Indians and preparing them for emigration. These operations usually had Jesup in the north and forces at Forts Lauderdale and Dallas going north to join him. Hoping to prevent the Seminoles from scattering, Jesup ordered Powell to proceed with subsistence and forage to Key Biscayne where he would be joined by a company of artillery. The general ordered Powell to establish a post and depot on the river "if he could do so without exposing his small force to attacks by the superior forces of the Indians."33 Fort Dallas was planned to be used for a barrier to the Seminole advance into south Florida and also as an avenue of entrance by the Army into the Everglades.

Army authorities at that time were not sure that white soldiers could stand the rigors of the tropical climate sufficiently well to perform effective

duties. Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, directed field commanders that the soldiers should be confined to light exercises and limited patrol during the summer months.³⁴ Jesup, in a letter to Captain L. B. Webster at Fort Dallas in February, 1838, briefed the officer on the necessities of life and existence in south Florida:

. . . Your post, however, will be kept up during the summer, and I desire you to make your men as comfortable as possible. If you learn that there are too many mosquitoes, you must send to the Quartermaster at St. Augustine for mosquito bars unless you can purchase them from the wreckers.

You should obtain garden seeds and plant an extensive garden for your men. You may be able perhaps to obtain them from the settlements on some of the Keys, if not, send to St. Augustine for them. 35

However this concern for the comfort of the soldiers did not extend to Powell and his command. The Navy was frequently used while the Army was inactive. Some of their tasks took them into unknown places. In February, 1838, Jesup ordered Powell on an exploration, asking him if he could "enter the Glades at Miami and come out through New River?" Actually such a passage did exist and was used after the war by hunters and settlers. In this letter the general told his trusted officer that the "supplies at Key Biscayne are more than sufficient for every purpose." Later Jesup ordered Colonel Bankhead to Key Biscayne to enter the Glades and force the Indians to the coast. These events started the work of the Army from Fort Dallas. These

The first military occupation of the post lasted only from February into April of 1838. An order from Jesup on March 29, 1838 directed Colonel Bankhead with two companies of the Fourth Artillery to "cause a post to be established on the Key — it will be garrisoned by Captain Webster's company. Subsistence for the garrison and subsistence and forage (for) Lieut Harney's command for sixty days." The succeeding paragraph of the order stated "The post at Fort Dallas will be abandoned and the stores removed to Key Biscayne or disposed of as provided for in Par 2 of this order." 38

In the occupation of Fort Dallas in 1839, Jesup's order stated that:

Captain Webster will proceed with his company to Key Biscayne with the supplies ordered to that place. He will, if he can do so without too much hazard, caused the country to be reconnoitered and a proper sight [sic] for a post to be selected.³⁰

Incidental to this short occupation in the spring of 1839 was the only Seminole attack ever made on armed forces at Fort Dallas. On February 28, 1839, Captain S. L. Russell, who had established a bivouac a few miles up the river and which was called Fort Miami, was killed by the Indians as his force prepared to return to Fort Dallas.⁴⁰

The first long occupation of Fort Dallas began in October, 1839 and lasted until January, 1842. The preliminaries to occupation this time were the same as on the other occasions: the naval forces moved the supplies from Key Biscayne over to the post and then the military arrived with house already set up for them. Due to the shallow draft in the Bay and the river, this was the only way the army could re-occupy. This time Captain Mayo performed the services:

Off the Miami Oct 12 1839

Landed Lieut Smith in charge of 22 Seamen and 8 marines to establish a fort at the mouth of the Miami.

Captain Martin Burke with Company I of the third Artillery and a part of Company I of the Second Infantry re-established Fort Dallas on October 22, 1839, having been rowed across the Bay by the sailors. On his first post returns he felt it necessary to explain why his post carried a commodore's name:

It is proper to remark that Captain Mayo, U.S.N., had a party of men previous to our arrival, but the name, having previously existed in orders, was adopted by Captain Burke.⁴²

This first extended occupation conditioned the soldiers to army post life and duties in south Florida. Fort Dallas had no permanent structures yet and was merely a tented camp. The post registers kept a faithful record of things which the War Department demanded and noted the receipt of all orders. In this third occupation of the post, 144 different orders from four issuing offices found their way to Miami.

A common practice during this period was to assign two companies, one of infantry and the other artillery, to duty at the fort. Each company carried about fifty men. Sometimes a third company appeared and on two or three occasions Fort Dallas housed four companies. The post commanders were usually captains and once in a while a brevet major or a first lieutenant. The officers commonly tried to get a sixty day leave each summer even if the leave sent them to another fort in Virginia or to West Point. Fort Dallas also received raw recruits into the service. Considering that the

aggregates averaged one hundred men at the post, exclusive of officers, a record of only seven deaths in this occupation of twenty-seven months attests to the salubrity of the climate and the survival of the men to camp cookery. Some of the dead men were buried in the Indian Mound which was located between Fort Dallas and the Royal Palm Hotel in later Miami. The mound was leveled off in the building of the hotel. Dr. Graham, in local comment to the article from the Adjutant General's Office, related that one such grave, with a painted headboard, was in the mound when he first visited Miami in 1893. The most unique set of notations on the returns of this period reported that Captain Martin Burke was arrested and relieved of command on November 23, 1840 and confined "in arrest." In December he was reported "Capt again." Apparently the trouble was cleared because the return for February, 1841, notes that "Burke Assumed Command and Post Feb. 17, 1841."44

The returns of four different months in 1841 list the amounts of subsistence, forage and ammunition at the fort and the supply depots on Key Biscayne. In the month of December, 1841, the post had four companies on the returns, the largest number of men ever stationed there. Supplies had been accumulated for this large complement. The lists in rations make it difficult to convert into units or measures but the amounts are impressive. Then, as now, the Quartermaster's Department piled supplies into the depots far beyond the actual needs of the fort. The inventory for June listed 16,000 rations of candles, 17,201 rations of vinegar and 10,616 of coffee. Also in stock were two barrels of cauliflower and two of sauerkraut. The whiskey was down to 1,880 rations.

The end of September reported 340 gallons, almost seven barrels, of whiskey. Rations of candles had been increased to 29,700; soap amounted to 11,200; vinegar up to 26,000 measures. The amount of sauerkraut had been increased to six barrels and eight kegs of pickled onions had been received.

During October the inventories were reduced. During the month, 121 men and six officers had consumed sixty-five gallons of whiskey, bringing that precious solace down to five and a half barrels. Candles were down to 20,000 rations and vinegar stood at 20,000 measures. The clerk who made the stores inventory for November 30, merely recorded 13,000 rations of subsistence, 400 rations of forage and 30,000 "B & ball cartridges." 45

When Fort Dallas was closed down in January, 1841, the three companies stationed there were sent to the "western side of the peninsula," to

Tampa Bay and to Fort Lauderdale. Lieutenant T. W. Sherman turned the post over to the Navy.

In October, 1849, Fort Dallas was occupied again; this time by a single company except for the first month. The occupation lasted fifteen months but the post registers indicate a very quite time of it.

The last occupation of Fort Dallas began on January 3, 1855 and lasted until May, 1858, when the Army abandoned its Seminole War forts in Florida. The post was moved to the north bank of the Miami River and occupied the unfinished stone buildings of Richard Fitzpatrick's plantation. This pretentious undertaking dated to the 1840's but Fitzpatrick had fled to Key West during the war and had gone to California during the gold rush days. The Army leased the buildings and grounds from Fernando I. Moreno of Key West, a former U. S. marshal and agent for Fitzpatrick. Yearly rental was \$250. Fitzpatrick and his nephew, William F. English also owned the land at the mouth of New River on which Fort Lauderdale had been established.⁴⁶

The War Department authorized a considerable amount of new construction at Fort Dallas in addition to making the stone buildings habitable. Surveys and estimates of the cost to put the post in usable condition were made by officers in Miami and forwarded to Washington and the improvements were ordered. The larger of the stone buildings had been constructed for a mansion house, two stories high but having no roof. Closeby was a long one-story structure, 95 x 17, with no roof, which had been erected for slave quarters. The mansion house was floored and roofed and divided into rooms for the officers. The slaves barracks received a second story of wood and were also roofed. This building was used by the soldiers for barracks.

When the fort was reopened in January, Lieutenant L. O. Morris, acting assistant quartermaster, examined all the aspects and problems of making Fort Dallas a permanent establishment. On January 11, 1855, he reported to Captain B. H. Hill, commander, on the problems of securing lumber locally. The trees which could be used for timbers were two miles distant. Trees nearer than this distance were "crooked, due to the storms that prevail, on this coast" and could not be used for building purposes. Local lumbering operations were impracticable "because of the great weight of this pine timber, the logs cannot be rafted down the river from which they are a distance from a quarter to a half mile." Morris reported that there was not enough palmetto in the neighborhood "to cover even a small portion of the roofs of the buildings required." Palmetto for thatching the hospital was brought in

boats from four miles up the river. The men carried the fronds a mile through the hammock to the boats. Having already experienced these difficulties, Morris recommended to Captain Hill that shingles for the roofs and structural timbers be purchased in the north.⁴⁷

On July 1, 1855, Morris submitted to General Jesup in Washington, a list of new buildings that were needed, estimating that these would cost \$3,500. This construction would provide two frame buildings, each to contain two rooms, for officers' quarters. The rooms were to be fifteen feet square, separated by an eight foot hall and having an eight foot piazza in front and back. Morris said these would cost \$1,500. He also requested permission to erect frame buildings and a kitchen, each 15 x 20 feet. These would cost \$1,200. In addition he wanted a guard and prison room, a clothing storehouse and lathing and plastering of the officers' quarters. 48

About a year later, Lieutenant W. M. Graham, the acting assistant quartermaster at the post then, reported on the progress of Morris' work. Additions, alterations and repairs had provided one set of officers' quarters with outbuildings; the lathing and plastering of all quarters, the hospital mess room; and the construction of three log buildings for a subsistence storehouse, a guard house and a magazine. He requested an additional outlay of \$756.10 for additional construction and for "extra duty men." He wanted one more set of officers' quarters with outbuildings, a roof on one set of barracks, two log houses, 30 x 30, for a carpenter shop and a blacksmith shop and a "Stable (palmettoed shed) 75 x 31 for public Animals, to contain 24 stalls." 49

With the officers better housed than they had ever been at Fort Dallas, Lieutenant R. H. Tillinghast in November, 1856, requested permission to purchase a cooking stove for the officers' mess, explaining that

. . . the mess consists of six persons, and used the quarters and kitchen of the common army officers. The kitchen had no fire place, and there are no brick at the Post. Under the circumstances I consider the purchase of a stove, economy.⁵⁰

Presently Captain Hill requested General Jesup to assign a schooner to Fort Dallas. He wanted a vessel of twenty to thirty tons and "drawing when loaded not over three feet." The ship could serve as a lighter and for communication with Key West or Fort Lauderdale. At that time the mail contractors were required to make only one trip a month along the coast. Hill said that the last supplies sent from New York had to be freighted in from the distance of a mile and a half out in the Bay.⁵¹

The necessity for the stable was due to the construction of a military road from Fort Lauderdale to Miami. This was completed in February, 1857. This was the last major work done at the post.⁵² Inventories were made of the harness and blacksmith's supplies but the great bulk of these things were reported unusable and ordered destroyed.

Notations on the very last post returns contain unintended and inadvertant humor. These report:

There are no blank post returns at hand for another Month.
. . . Fort Dallas to be abandoned. 53

In the mind of the commander's clerk perhaps the chain of events did not appear illogical.

The officers attached to Fort Dallas were career men of the regular army. Cursory examination of the later careers of these men show that sixteen of them served in the Mexican War where one of them died. Of the remaining fifteen of the Fort Dallas officers, four of them ended their careers as major generals, ten as brigadier generals, and one as a lieutenant colonel. In the Civil War, three returned to the South to serve in the Confederate Army while all the others served in the Union forces.

Some of these became very well known even if for different recognitions. Brigadier General John Henry Winder was Commissary General of all Federal prisoners east of the Mississippi before he was placed in charge of Andersonville Prison in 1864. He died there in February, 1865. Common report declared that he, and not Wirz, would have been hanged for his administration there if he had lived.

Most fondly remembered of the Fort Dallas officers is Brigadier General Abner Doubleday, the organizer of baseball. He was in charge of the battery at Fort Sumter which fired the first salvo against the Confederates in Charleston. After the war, he built the first cable-car system in San Francisco. Major General Truman Seymour also was a captain of Artillery at Fort Sumter. The Civil War posts held by these officers were about evenly divided between field commands and supply services.

THE FITZPATRICK CLAIM

Before the Army occupied the stone buildings on the Fitzpatrick plantation, its owner had already had two claims before Congress for damages committed by the Indians; occupation by the armed services of the United States and for removal of timber from his lands.

This claim, which has a remarkable legislative history in Congress, started in 1841 with a claim for \$60,320 and ended in 1886 with an award of \$12,000. During this long period Fitzpatrick had died, his nephew and purchaser of his lands, had died and the money finally went to J. M. English, a nephew of William, who lived in Brownsville, Texas.

Richard Fitzpatrick came from South Carolina to Key West before 1830. He began to buy the lands on Biscayne Bay at New River shortly afterwards. These were "donation grant," given by the government to early settlers shortly after the American possession of Florida. On December 1, 1830, he purchased the James F. Hagan, or Egan, grant on "the Sweet Water or Miami River" for \$400. One hundred acres of this land had been deeded to him by the Spanish in 1808. In June, 1831, he purchased the section of Rebecca Hagan for \$640. Mary Lewis sold her donation to Fitzpatrick for \$500 in 1832. His last purchase of land in Miami was in April, 1835, when he bought the Jonathan and Ann Lewis section for \$300. Thus for \$1,840, Fitzpatrick bought more than four square miles of land at the mouth of the Miami and along Biscayne Bay. For another \$500 he obtained a fifth section, that of Frankee Lewis, at the mouth of New River.

He began to improve his lands soon after he had secured them. At the time of the Seminole raid on New River in January, 1836, he had an overseer and a gang of slaves clearing the Fort Dallas site. There is no evidence that Fitzpatrick himself stayed with his men or underwent the rigors of land clearing. When the war broke out Fitzpatrick volunteered his services to Governor Call and became an aide-de-camp to General Clinch.

When the first phase of the war was over, Fitzpatrick returned to South Carolina and borrowed \$21,391 from his wealthy sister, Mrs. Harriet English of Richland County. He pledged himself to repay this amount on or before January 1, 1844. For this money he assigned his lands in South Florida, a grant on the Suwannee in Alachua County and eleven slaves with their increase. This mortgage was finally satisfied in 1888, long after his death. 55

In May, 1843, a little more than a year after he had borrowed from his sister, Fitzpatrick deeded his lands in Dade County to his nephew and son of Harriet, William F. English for \$16,000. English appears to have been more interested in founding a town at the mouth of the Miami than in creat-

ing a large plantation, although he did put up the stone walls of the mansion house and slave quarters at Fort Dallas. He laid out the Town of Miami and sold lots in it in 1844 and 1845. In April, 1845, he deeded Lot No. 98 to Harris Antonio for \$1 on the condition that he erect on it a "good frame building." On this same day he sold Lot No. 97, located on Porpoise Street, to Antonio for \$25. Lots numbered 93 to 96 were sold to A. Antonio for \$160 to be paid for in four equal installments with interest.⁵⁶

The sale of lots in the Town of Miami at such prices and the number sold did not yield too much return for him. When news of the gold rush reached Florida, both uncle and nephew went to Philadelphia to start for California. They purchased the *Commodore Stockton* and left for the west. Before leaving Miami they arranged with Fernando I. Moreno of Key West to act as agent and custodian of their lands. The Fort Dallas plantation was vacant from 1849 until 1855 when the Army occupied it through a lease for \$250 per year.⁵⁷

When Fitzpatrick and English took off for California, then Harriet English, through papers prepared in South Carolina and recorded in Monroe County, regained legal possession of the local lands that had been pledged on her mortgage. Fitzpatrick died in Texas and English in California.⁵⁸ Mrs. English kept her Miami lands and the tract at New River until 1869. In November of that year she sold the two Hagan grants to Dr. Jeptha V. Harris of Key West for \$1,480.⁵⁹ In 1874, possibly as a result of repossession or failure of a note in the sale, she deeded this same grant to George M. Thew of Augusta, Georgia.⁶⁰ She disposed of the remainder of her Miami lands and the section at New River to Mary Brickell on February 25, 1874, for \$3,500.⁶¹

When the railroad boom in Miami started in 1895, Robbins and Graham, land attorneys for the Florida East Coast Railway, paid the heirs of Harriet English \$3,000 to extinguish all claims to lands in Miami. At the same time the attorneys secured a quit claim for Julia Tuttle's Fort Dallas property for \$1.

As can be seen from the above recital of facts, the men relatives of Harriet English were not very astute business managers. Fitzpatrick had gone through his assets by 1841, when he filed his claim against the government for damages. The reverses in this suit and the long delays in it forced him into the mortgage with his sister. Still short of money, he sold his lands which he had already pledged on his mortgage to his nephew for \$16,000. When he failed to strike gold in the west, he was through.

His claim against the government for \$60,320 is interesting because it shows what he had accomplished at Fort Dallas by the time of this inventory of April 1, 1840:

CLAIM OF RICHARD FITZPATRICK

One hundred thirty acres of sugar-cane worth \$100 per acre-	\$10,000
Thirty acres of corn and pumpkins	1,200
Five acres of sweet potatoes worth	500
Four thousand plantain and banana trees	4,000
Twelve acres of Bermuda arrow-root	500
Lime grove destroyed	2.000
Nursery of tropical fruit trees destroyed	2,500
Six hundred bushels of flint corn	1,500
One hundred head of hogs	1,000
Poultry, viz: ducks, fowls, turkeys and guinea fowls	200
One large flat boat, 60 feet long, cost	1,300
One clinker-built boat	120
One cedar boat	60
One schooner	1,500
One framed house	2,300
Two corn-cribs	200
One kitchen	50
One poultry-house	50
One hewed log house	100
Twelve negro houses	1,600
One framed house, south side of Miami River	300
One framed house, smaller	100
Two framed houses and out-buildings, purchased from Lewis	
Plantation tools, blacksmith's tools, carts, plows, axes, hoes,	2,000
grubbing hoes, cooking utensils, etc	500
Furniture, bed clothing, books &c.	2,000
Three years occupation on my plantation by the United	_,000
States troops at Fort Dallas, Miami River	18,000
Forty thousand shingles	240
Three hundred cords of wood cut from my land, to first of	
April, 1840, for the use of the United States steamers	
employed on the coast of Florida at \$6 per cord	1,800
Two hundred cords of wood cut from my land, at New	
River, for the United States steamboats at \$6 per cord	1,200
House and improvements, including fruit trees, wharf, etc.,	
purchased of William Cooley on Little River	2,500
	60,320 63

The amount of this claim remained the same through the four different presentations of the case to Congress. The claim appears very large for about four years' work in the southern wilderness which Miami was at that time. Since the damages were for property which had been burned or carried off by the Seminoles, the Committees of Claims in the houses of Congress had no way of settling on the value of the property. As a result, testimony and affidavits usually turn on what the land was worth in rents and what price should be paid for the wood cut for the use of the naval vessels. One claim, presented but rejected by one house of Congress, would have allowed \$10,000. On the other hand, some witnesses felt that the use of the land as rented property was worth at least \$6,000 per year. In the bill which cleared both houses in 1887, the government paid \$12,000 to the grandnephew of Fitzpatrick.⁶⁴

While he lived, Fitzpatrick always claimed in correspondence on the claim that the war had been his ruin, stating in one letter that:

The Florida war has ruined me and made me poor, and I am not one of those fortunate beings who are supposed by members of Congress to have fattened upon the Indian War from Florida. 65

After his first claim had been rejected, Fitzpatrick, by another action, sought to have his services in the Seminole and Mexican Wars recognized by the government in order to obtain land warrants and also to qualify for a pension. During the Seminole war he had served for nine months and was discharged as a colonel. In the Mexican War he had served in a regiment of mounted Texas volunteers. On January 5, 1855 the House of Representatives reported favorably on a bill for the "relief of Richard Fitzpatrick," which ordered him to be paid whatever was due him for his services.⁶⁶

THE LAST DAYS OF FORT DALLAS

The military buildings at Fort Dallas remained intact until 1874 when a hurricane razed all of the wooden structures. Dr. J. B. Holder, who published a four-installment article, "Along the Florida Reef," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1871, gave the following description of the post:

The old garrison of Fort Dallas is in full view as we approach. The neat cottage barracks with broad verandahs, arranged pleasingly around a fine sloping parade — tall cocoas, lime trees and rich groupings of poincianas and elders loaded with their brilliant blossoms — altogether form a cheerful scene of much beauty. . .67

After the Army left Fort Dallas, the place became a piece of real estate — the most valuable in south Florida. The property had four major

owners between 1871 and 1893 when Mrs. Tuttle came to Miami and set up house at Fort Dallas. Disposal of the Fort Dallas tract to different purchasers gave Mrs. Tuttle the complicated task of buying the pieces to secure the original 744 acres of the Hagan grant.

When Dr. Harris came to Miami, the place was occupied by W. H. Hunt, custodian for Mrs. English. When he sold the land, the property was turned over to J. N. Whitner who acted as agent for Thew and then the Biscayne Bay Company. Whitner was succeeded by Dr. W. W. Hicks and he, in turn, by J. C. Lovelace. About 1876, J. W. Ewan became the superintendent of the estate. He rented out part of the mansion house to the county commissioners for county offices. Merchants rented space in the slave barracks.

Mrs. Tuttle repaired the mansion house into a fine home. She tiled the main floor with Spanish tile she had salvaged from a ship wrecked off the coast. She organized the Fort Dallas Land Company to dispose of her property. All the land was sold by this firm except the thirteen acres around the homestead.68

The old fort survived down into the boom days of the '20's even though downtown sites were sold and resold for fantastic prices. North of Fort Dallas was the Miami Women's Club which had a fine property on Flagler Street which they sold for \$350,000. In 1923, the women leased the Fort Dallas properties for \$5,000 for eighteen months. They spent another \$2,500 on repairs and renovations to the buildings. The women used the Tuttle homestead for their quarters and a library they operated. The barracks were turned into a tearoom and quarters for the Everglades Chapter of the D.A.R. When the lease expired in 1925, the property was sold to Dr. R. C. Hoge for a hotel site. When the Women's club vacated the Tuttle house, the edifice was razed.69

There remained then only the old barracks and these were to be torn down to clear the land. The Miami Women's Club then joined forces with the members of the Everglades Chapter in a campaign to save the barracks. They were given the building if they could have it off the lot in two weeks. The city of Miami offered them a free site in Lummus Park for their reassembled building. The women raised \$7,000 to have the barracks torn down, transported to the new site and reconstructed. Each stone was numbered to aid in the reconstruction. The removal of the barracks and the re-assembly took from April to May, 1925. When completed the quarters were occupied by the Seminole Chapter as it had been in the old location. Other rooms were used as a museum.

THE END OF THE NAVAL DEPOT ON KEY BISCAYNE

The government became a land owner on Key Biscayne in June, 1827 when it purchased three acres across the southern end of the island for a lighthouse. The land cost \$300. This site was used for the location of both lighthouses that were built on the key. By an executive order in August, 1847, the ocean side of Key Biscayne was reserved for military and lighthouse purposes. These lands had been surveyed in 1845 when Florida entered the union.

In 1849 the Board of Engineers of the War Department, with Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee as "Recorder to Board," toured the entire coast of Florida to select sites which could be used for the defense of the coast and which also had value in fighting the Indians. This group recommended the reservation of "Cay Biscayne" and "Soldier Cay" for such purposes. With the ocean side already being reserved, the Engineers' report merely continued the government possession. 12 In 1884 the government relinquished its reservation of the land for military purposes and turned the land over to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior. The following year the State of Florida, which had always owned the bayside of the key, gave patents to purchasers of plots which crossed the island. Controversy arose over the grants which were known as "Tampa Patents," but they cleared the courts. President Cleveland, in 1897, reserved the lighthouse lands on the key for military purposes. In 1916, President Wilson declared the lands were useless for military purposes.

With the government relinquishing its reservation of the lands, other parts of the key were eagerly bought up. Prominent local owners of lands on Key Biscayne were the Matheson Family and James Deering. Through some sort of oversight or poor inventory, it was found that the government still owned seven acres odd on the northeastern coast of Key Biscayne. Since President Wilson's order of 1916 had declared the lands useless for military purposes, the Department of the Interior then prepared to sell this remaining parcel of valuable land (this was Miami in 1926 before the break of the boom). After all the protracted search had been made the government in January, 1926, advertised the sale of the parcel by public sale. The government divided the land into parallel strips of about an acre each. A value of \$1,000 per lot was placed prior to the sale.

The sale of the last of the Key Biscayne depot took place in the City Hall Court Room on March 19, 1926. Hugh M. Matheson bought all the parcels for a total price of \$55,055 to add them to his other holdings around this final plot.

Thus, ninety years after Lieutenant Powell established Fort Dallas, all remains of the fort and the naval depot had been destroyed except the slave quarters of the Fitzpatrick estate which had been relocated in a new and meaningless location.⁷⁵

FOOTNOTES

- National Archives, Early Wars Branch, Adjutant General's Office, "Notes on Fort Dallas," Record Group 94, Document File No. 44540.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 National Archives, Naval Records, Captains' Letters, 1836-1842; Officers' Letters, 1836-37. passim.
- 4 "Copy of a Letter of a Highly Respected Gentleman of Florida," Charleston, January 20, 1836. American State Papers: Military Affairs. Volume VI, p. 20; Letter of William A. Whitehead to Commodore Alexander J. Dallas, dated Key West, January 11, 1836. Territorial Papers of the United States: Territory of Florida. Volume XXV, p. 222; M. M. Cohen, Notices of Florida and the Campaigns. (Charleston, 1836), pp. 82-86; [Woodburne Potter], The War in Florida: Being an Exposition of Its Causes and an Accurate History of the Campaigns of Generals Clinch, Gaines and Scott by a Late Staff Officer (Baltimore, 1836), pp. 104-9.
- 5 Letter of Lieut. Joseph W. Harris to Gen. George Gibson, dated Fort King, Florida, December 30, 1835. American State Papers: Ibid. pp. 561-2.
- 6 "Report of the Major General of the Army," Washington, November, 1836 from the "Report of the Secretary of War," December 3, 1836. American State Papers: Ibid., p. 817; Letter of James Gadsden to President Jackson, dated Tallahassee, 14 Janry, 1836. Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XXV, pp. 224-6.
- 7 Letter of Governor R. K. Call to the Secretary of War, dated Fort Drane 19th Octr, 1836. Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XXV, pp. 357-9.
- 8 Letter of Lt. Col. W. Harney to Maj. Gen. Alexander Macomb, dated Biscayne Bay, August 7, 1839, reporting the massacre of ten men of his detachment at his camp on the Caloosahatchee, July 23, 1839.
- Letter of Joseph M. White to J. Knowles, Esq., dated February 15, 1837. Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XXV, pp. 378-9.
- Letter of William A. Whitehead to Stephen Pleasanton, Dated Key West, January 12, 1836. Lighthouse Letters. Volume 11; [Dan. J. Dowling], Sketch of the Seminole War, and Sketches during a Campaign. (Charleston), 1836, pp. 50-3.
- 11 Lighthouse Letters, Volume 11.
- 12 Material from several letters between Whitehead and Pleasanton. Ibid.
- 13 Letter of W. A. Whitehead to Pleasanton, dated Key West, February 15, 1836. Ibid.
- 14 Letter of Pleasanton to Whitehead, dated May 27, 1836. Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.
- 26 Petitions of the Residents of Key West and Indian Key, dated June 15 and 16, 1836, requesting the protection of those settlements by naval cutters. Captains' Letters. June, 1836.
- 17 Letter of Stephen Pleasanton to W. A. Whitehead, dated May 27, 1836. Lighthouse Letters. Volume 11.
- 18 Letter of A. Gordon, for William A. Whitehead, to Pleasanton, dated Key West, August 1, 1836; Whitehead to Pleasanton, Dated Perth Amboy, N. J., August 14,

- 1836. Lighthouse Letters. Volume 11; Irwin Thompson, "The Story of the Killing," Miami Metropolis, October 1, 1897.
- Letter of Lewis Cass to Governor R. K. Call, dated War Department, May 16, 1836.
 American State Papers: Ibid. p. 439; Letter of Mahlon Dickerson to Lewis Cass, dated Washington, May 18, 1836. Ibid., p. 440.
- 20 Letter of Mahlon Dickerson to A. J. Dallas, dated Washington, January 30, 1836; Letter of Commander M. P. Mix to A. J. Dallas, dated U. S. Ship Concord, Pensacola Bay, August 5, 1836; Naval Records, Information relating to the Services of the Navy and Marine Corps. pp. 73, 74.
- 21 Letter of A. J. Dallas to John Boyle, Acting Secretary of the Navy, dated U. States Frigate Constitution, Pensacola Bay, 19th August, 1836; letter of Captain Isaac Mayo to the Secretary of the Navy, dated U. S. Steamer, Poinsett, St. Augustine, Nov. 18, 1839. Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XXV, 650-2.
- ²² Letter of L. M. Powell to A. J. Dallas, dated Camp Pierce, Indian River, January 17, 1838. Naval Records, Officers' Letters, January, 1838.
- 23 Letter of L. M. Powell to Mahlon Dickerson, dated Indian River Inlet, Feb. 6th., 1838. Ibid., January-February, 1838.
- 24 Letter of Maj. Gen. Thomas S. Jesup to A. J. Dallas, dated Camp Jupiter, March 5, 1838. Naval Records, Information relating to the Services of the Navy and Marine Corps, p. 92.
- 25 Ibid., p. 105.
- 26 Letter of Secretary of the Navy, J. K. Paulding, to Isaac Mayo, dated Navy Department, April 5, 1839. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
- ²⁷ Letter of Isaac Mayo to the Secretary of the Navy, dated U. S. Steamer *Poinsett*, Key Biscayne, July 30, 1839. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- ²⁸ Letter of Isaac Mayo to the Secretary of the Navy, dated U. S. Steamer *Poinsett*, St. Augustine, Nov. 18th, 1839. Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XXV, p. 651.
- ²⁹ Letter of J. K. Paulding to Lieut. J. T. McLaughlin, dated Navy Department, Dec. 2, 1839. Naval Records, Information relating to the Services of the Navy and Marine Corps., pp. 25-6.
- 30 Letter of Col. W. J. Worth to Capt. J. T. McLaughlin, dated Tampa, Feb. 4th, 1842. National Archives, Early Wars Branch, Record Group 94, Document File 44540.
- 31 Letter of J. T. McLaughlin to A. P. Upshur, dated Flirt at Indian Key, Janry 16, 1842.
 Naval Records, Information relating to the Services of the Navy and Marine Corps., p. 109.
- ³² Amos Kendall, Postmaster General, to Secretary of War, J. R. Poinsett, dated Post Office Dept., Nov. 15th 1839. Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XXV, p. 650
- 33 Letter of T. S. Jesup to L. M. Powell, dated at Camp on Jupiter River, Jany 27, 1838.
 Record Group 94, Document File 44540.
- ³⁴ Letter of Lewis Cass to Governor R. K. Call, dated June 20, 1836. Territorial Papers of The United States. Volume XXV, p. 314.
- 35 Letter of T. S. Jesup to Capt. L. B. Webster, dated Camp near Fort Jupiter, February 25, 1838. Record Group 94, Document File 44540.
- 36 Letter of T. S. Jesup to L. M. Powell, dated Camp near Fort Jupiter, Feb. 25, 1838.
 Ibid.
- 37 Letter of T. S. Jesup to Brig. Gen. R. Jones, Adjutant General, dated Camp near Fort Jupiter, March 11, 1838. Ibid.
- 38 Special Order No. 37, Fort Jupiter, Fla. March 29, 1838. Florida War Headquarters, Army of the South. Early Wars Branch, Adjutant General's Office, Orders and Special Orders. Volume 10, 1837-1838.

- ³⁹ Orders No. 57, Fort Pierce, Florida, Jany 15, 1839. Florida War Headquarters, Army of the South. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
- 40 "Notes on Fort Dallas," Record Group 94, Document File 44540.
- ⁴¹ Letter of I. Mayo to the Secretary of the Navy, dated S.S. Poinsett. Off the Miami. Oct. 12, 1837. Naval Records, Information relating to the Service of the Navy and Marine Corps., p. 148.
- 42 "Notes on Fort Dallas." Ibid.
- 43 Miami Metropolis. November 20, 1896.
- 44 Fort Dallas, Post Returns, November, 1840-February, 1841.
- 45 Fort Dallas, Post Returns, Commissioned Officers. June, September, October, November, 1841.
- 46 Miami Metropolis. November 20, 1896.
- ⁴⁷ Letter of Lieut. Lewis O. Morris to Capt. B. H. Hill, dated Fort Dallas, Jany 11, 1855. Record Group 94. Document File 44540.
- 48 Letter of L. O. Morris to T. S. Jesup, Quartermaster General, dated Fort Dallas, July 1st, 1855. Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Letter of Lieut. W. M. Graham to Gen. T. S. Jesup, dated Fort Dallas, June 30th, 1856. Ibid.
- 50 Letter of Lieut. P. M. Tillinghast to T. S. Jesup, dated Fort Dallas, Nov. 18th, 1856.
 Ibid.
- 51 Letter of B. H. Hill to T. S. Jesup, dated Fort Dallas, 17 Jany 1855. Ibid.
- 52 Letter of L. O. Morris to T. S. Jesup, dated Fort Dallas, October 1, 1855; Letter of Lieut. L. L. Langston to T. S. Jesup, dated Fort Dallas, September 11, 1856. *Ibid*.
- 53 Fort Dallas, Post Returns, Commissioned Officers, May, 1858.
- 54 Dade County, Deed Record, Book E, pp. 511-12; Book B, pp. 216-17; Book D, pp. 269-71.
- 55 Ibid., Book A, pp. 269-71.
- 56 Ibid., Book D, pp. 237-8.
- 57 Ibid., Book A, passim; Miami Metropolis, November 20, 1896.
- 58 Miami Metropolis, Ibid.
- 59 Dade County, Deed Record. Book A, pp. 99-102.
- 60 Ibid., Book A, pp. 175-7.
- 61 Ibid., Book A, pp. 267-8; Book O, pp. 242-4.
- 62 Mrs. Julia D. Tuttle did not buy from the English Estate. She bought the Hagan, or Egan, donation in three parcels to reassemble the complete section. This purchase took from 1887 to 1893 to complete and cost Mrs. Tuttle \$4,100. Deed Record. Book C, p. 136; Book E, p. 253; Book H, p. 193 Book O, pp. 242-4.
- 63 49th Congress, First Session. House Bill No. 2244: "An Act for the Relief of J. M. English, Administrator for the Estate of Richard Fitzpatrick, deceased." May 24, 1886.
- 64 United States Statutes at Large. Volume 24, p. 931.
- 65 Letter of Col. William Y. English and R. Fitzpatrick to Hon. D. Levy, dated New Orleans, December 28, 1842.
- 66 33rd Congress, Second Session, House Bill No. 616, Report No. 7, "A Bill for the Relief of Richard Fitzpatrick," January 5, 1855.
- 67 Dr. J. B. Holder, "Along the Florida Reef," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Volume 42 (March, 1871), p. 515.
- 68 Miami Daily News, February 22, 1948.
- 69 Miami Herald, August 6, 1950.
- 70 Estelle L. Crow (Mrs. Lon Worth Crow, Sr.), History of the Miami Women's Club, p. 21; Miami Daily News, March-May, 1925.

- 71 Department of the Interior, General Land Office, Letter of William Spry, Commissioner, to the Secretary of the Interior, dated June 14, 1924, Abandoned Military Reservations, Box File on Key Biscayne; Letter of D. K. Parrott to D. M. Clement, dated July 3, 1924. Ibid.
- 72 War Department, General Joseph C. Totter, Chief Engineer, letter of transmission of a "Report of the Board of Engineers," dated U. S. Schooner *Phoenix*, off Savannah, 12th March, 1849, signed R. E. Lee, Recorder to Board.
- 73 Letter of William Spry to the Secretary of the Interior, dated June 14, 1924. Abandoned Military Reservations. Box File on Key Biscayne.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Department of the Interior, General Land Office, Circular No. 1046, January 8, 1926, telegram of C. A. Obenchain to William Spry, dated Miami, March 19, 1926; Miami Daily News. March 20, 1926.