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The
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STEPHEN RUSSELL MALLORY

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM FLORIDA AND CONFEDERATE
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

by OCCIE CLUBBS

Perhaps Charles Mallory, as he worked at his carpenter's bench ¹ somewhere in New England, dreamed that some day he might have a son to work beside him or to follow him at the same bench; and later, now a building superintendent and contractor in the island of Trinidad off the coast of South America, he may have dreamed again that the little Stephen playing about his shop or office, might become a great man. But if so, the reality far surpassed his dreams-for the boy became a member of the foremost legislative body of the world, and later was one of a handful of earnest men who sought to make a nation out of a group of half-unwilling states, and strove with them to win its independence and a place for it among the world's great nations.

It is not known where Charles was born and grew to manhood, but the bench was probably in Redding, Connecticut. ² Certainly he and his son seemed to be imbued with the stout heart and intrepidity of the Nantucket whalemens and the Gloucester fishermen.

Six years after Trinidad came under the British flag, the original Port of Spain, the capital city, was burned, and undoubtedly Charles Mallory was attracted there by the building activity engendered. Likely he had a part

NOTE - Through the kindness of the surviving members of the family of Secretary Mallory, the writer was privileged to have in her keeping during the writing of this study, two diaries of the Secretary's. These are arbitrarily numbered 1 and 2. The first covers the period from the outbreak of the War for Southern Independence to November 1862. The second was begun in prison in 1865. Obviously, he made no effort to record the dates accurately; and much, written long after the events narrated, is of the everyday experiences of his life recorded for the edification and guidance of his family, especially Stephen R. Mallory, Jr.

The *Diaries* are now in the Southern Collection, University of North Carolina.

1. Mallory states in his *Diary* that his father was "trained as a carpenter in all of its branches."
2. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, "Stephen Russell Mallory", Vol. V. pp. 183-184.

in building the governor's residence so beautifully set in the botanical garden, "a bit of transplanted England."³

Ellen Russell, an Irish girl, a native of Carrick-on-Suir, County Waterford, where she was born in 1792, also came to Trinidad. Two of her mother's brothers were early settlers in the island; and by 1805, three years after the cession to the British Crown, they were well established as planters. When Ellen was thirteen she came out to live with her bachelor uncles, and meeting Charles Mallory in the romantic setting of the three peaks which had suggested the island's name to Columbus, she married him before she was sixteen. Their two sons were born there, John about 1811, and Stephen about a year later.⁴

Because the health of Charles Mallory had become impaired, the family left the "Gem of the Caribbeans" and went to New York. The little family is found about 1820 in Mobile, Alabama.⁵ When the Mallorys arrived

3. Kendall, Amelia R., "A Visit to Our Southeastern Neighbors", *The Journal of the Florida Education Association* (November, 1935, p. 30).

4. An appeal to the Registrar-general's Office, Port of Spain, brought this reply, "The Registration Ordinance of this Colony (Trinidad) dates from 1848 and there are no records of Births or Marriages before that date." (Letter, dated July 14, 1932.) On the gravestone in St. Michael's Cemetery in Pensacola, "1812" is given as the birth year of Secretary Mallory. This stone was placed and the epitaph written by Stephen R. Mallory, Jr. (*Statement* of John B. Jones, law partner of Stephen R. Mallory, Jr.). Ruby Mallory Kennedy, a daughter of Secretary Mallory, placed her father's birth in 1813. ("Unpublished Chapters of History, Last Days of the Confederate Government", *McClure's Magazine*, December, 1900, p. 99). 1812 is given in *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1929*, "Stephen R. Mallory", p. 1284. 1813 is the year of birth in Scharf, John R., *History of the Confederate Navy*, (p. 29). See also: *Dictionary of American Biography*, Boston, 1879, p. 654. The *Rockbridge Citizen* (Lexington, Va.) states: "Hon. Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Confederate Navy, died Wednesday at Pensacola, Florida, aged sixty-three," (*Letter*, July 29, 1933, from India W. Thomas, Assistant House Regent, Confederate Memorial Literary Society, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Va., with excerpts from *Rockbridge Citizen* and the *Daily Dispatch*. In its issue of Nov. 24, 1873, the *Dispatch* stated, "The late Mr. Mallory was born in the island of Trinidad in 1814." The records of St. Michael's Catholic Church, Pensacola, from which Mallory was buried in 1873, have since been destroyed by fire and with them perished a possible source of information.

5. Mallory, *Diary* 2, p. 163.

there, Mobile was just recovering from a yellow fever epidemic and from the Diary we learn that the desolation of the place was one of the factors which led the family on to Key West, or Thompson's Island as it was called then. The elder son, John, died soon after their arrival in Key West, and Charles Mallory decided to send Stephen to school at The Village, which was across the bay from Mobile. Luckily, a friend named Whitehouse was about to start on a journey there and little Stephen was placed in his charge. He lived with him at The Village and attended the country school there.

The youngster was left to his own devices much of the time, but declares that two years passed quite happily and though he learned to read he spent much more time riding, shooting and swimming. There were apparently many contests between the larger boys of the school and the master who was "a man of fair attainments, good practice with the hickory, and fondness for whiskey."⁶ Following the skirmishes between schoolmaster and older boys, there was a holiday but Stephen seemed not to have had to await these for he relates that he spent most of his time in the piney woods and on the sand beach of the sea. Thrown on his own resources so much, the boy developed strength of character and the ability to think for himself. Saturdays were given over to crabbing and hunting, the older boys permitting Stephen, the smallest boy in the school, to share in all their sports. One memorable Saturday five of the boys went out with an old-fashioned single-barreled shot gun, with which they took turns. When about three miles from The Village, while Stephen had the gun, he saw an animal about four feet long scrambling up a tall pine tree with a dog after it. Taking three buckshot which he had been hoarding for a long time for some such occasion, Mallory "took a neat deliberate aim"⁷ and fired. A wild-cat fell to the ground and there was a fierce fight with the dog. Stephen went to help the dog but his companions took to their heels. With the aid of a club and the dog, the cat was killed. The incident left

6. *Ibid.*, p. 163. 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.

its mark. Not only was Stephen thereafter regarded as a hero by the other boys, but it gave him self-reliance and self-esteem. The weapon was so big and Stephen was so little that he had to hold the stock under his arm, and receive the jar and kick on cheek and nose, which always brought tears to his eyes.

On one occasion Stephen and the other boys spent several days at Mobile Point. The journey was made on a brick-laden schooner and Mallory relates that he got so interested in a school of porpoises that he fell overboard, which created a great stir. The seamen were greatly alarmed and excited. A small boat was put out and he was rescued. When he had recovered the mate took him to the beach and taught him to swim.⁸

What tricks destiny plays! Forty years later the youth was at the head of the Confederate Navy and on Mobile Point stood Fort Morgan and in the stream was the *Tennessee* to contest the progress of the *Hartford* and the lashed double file of Farragut's might.

Charles Mallory died from consumption while Stephen was at The Village and Ellen Mallory having an opportunity through some revenue officers to get him safely home, sent for him. However, as there were no adequate schools in Key West, Mrs. Mallory shortly enrolled him at the Boarding School for Young Gentlemen at Nazareth, Pennsylvania.

THE MORAVIAN SCHOOL AT NAZARETH

The Moravians had bought a 5,000 acre tract in Nazareth township in 1741 and established their school. The writer visited the community in 1933 in a search for the records of Mallory's attendance there.

The charm of a century ago still greets the visitor as he follows the course of the willow-draped Bushkill across "the plains of upper Northampton, dwarfed-oaked and slaty, and rich in pheasants and stemless cyripedia"⁹ and around knobs dotted with ricks of new-

8. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

9. Jones, Maurice C., *A Red Rose from the Olden Times*; Philadelphia, 1872, pp. 5-6.

mown hay. Above a rabbitry are many bird houses. The homes, often of dated brick but usually of rubble stone, and invariably with shutters displaying ponderous pendent turnbuckles, are topped with gleaming lightning rods between the hood-shaped chimneys which are flush with gables. Cupolas and many-sected roofs are silhouetted against the sky. Exigencies of topography place most houses diagonally on their plots, sometimes directly on the streets, thus facilitating business from the home as well as establishing the property line, but some measure of privacy is assured by the side entrances. Much wrought-iron is seen about the stoops and the omnipresent dormer windows. Vegetable gardens are always in the rear of the homes, so close to the sidewalks in some cases as to leave little room for the pedestrian to pass. Sometimes flowers are planted with the vegetables. Cold-frames and market-gardens seem as plentiful as vineyards, windmills and outside entrances to cellars. Sunflowers are marshaled in regular phalanxes beside dahlias and asters. The palisades for stock are gone. Now there is every variety of improved farm machinery, hydro-electric plants and some "Dehydrated Alfalfa Farms, the World's Pioneer."

Early of a Sunday morning, church bells herald one's approach to Nazareth. From everywhere family groups troop to church. Many seek the Lutheran; others, holding fast to the faith of their fathers, ascend to the old Moravian Church on the hill. There, many influences that bore fruit in the later life of Stephen Mallory are revealed, as they are also in Whitefield House, the Museum, nearby.

Though only a moderate-sized church, there is an organist, an assistant-organist, a chorister, a trombone choir, and an orchestra. Long after the congregation has departed, the voices of the choir can be heard. No stanza of the hymn is omitted, the last line of each being sung a *cappella*. A feeling of intense interest, even awe, grips the hearer. The sincerity of the singers bans criticism. Incidentally, in the foreword of the songbook, it is stated that the Moravians compiled the first hymnal

in 1501 in Prague, Bohemia. The old pipe organ which accompanied the songs of Stephen and his fellows in 1826 is still preserved. Schooled in such an atmosphere, music became a part of his life and found its expression in the piano and his flute. In the old records of Nazareth Hall is much poetry, some lengthy, some fragmentary. The love of poetry thus ingrained was lifelong as is evidenced in the *Diary*. The frequency and depth of Mallory's Biblical references in his speeches in the United States Senate doubtless show the influence of the Moravians. According to an old letter, the youngsters of Nazareth in their play had "the wounds and the blood" for their favorite theme.

It was in 1826 that Mallory enrolled at the Boarding School for Young Gentlemen. Considerable speculation has arisen regarding Stephen Mallory, a Roman Catholic, attending a Moravian school. Whatever may have been the reason, there is no doubt about the preeminence of the schools maintained by the denomination. Comenius was the motive force. To this Moravian bishop is ascribed much eighteenth and nineteenth century educational theory. Especially did he make an earnest effort to introduce the new science studies into the schools. He tried to fit the youth for the needs of the contemporary world. His textbooks were free from the intense gloom of the age as well as its sectarian bigotry and his instruction was based on knowledge of the child and constant appeal through sense-perception.

To Stephen, then in his early teens, this environment was wholly new. Instead of the sandy beach of a wafer-like, subtropical key, with frame buildings encircled by wide verandas, he found himself in the crisp air of the rolling lands of eastern Pennsylvania ; the tranquillity of his southern home replaced by the bustle and stir of housewives engaged in cooking, spinning and weaving while the laborers in the fields of wheat, the orchard, or the brewery pursued their tasks with equal zeal. With the advancing winter, the Bushkill was soon webbed with ice and the fields covered with snow, so different from Key West where fireplaces and heating stoves were un-

known. The massive Whitefield House must have impressed the young boy as colossal in size as well as foreign in material, design, and ornamentation. Near it, the log house of "old Nazareth" built about 1746, still standing and still occupied, must have seemed equally strange to him.

A school for boys was founded at Nazareth as early as 1743 and drew patronage from Montreal to Savannah. First on its honor roll is the name of Stephen R. Mallory but there are others who rose to fame. Nazareth Hall ended its educational work in 1929 "after a long and honorable history of 186 years."¹¹ Its termination was due to several factors, probably the strongest being the development of the public school throughout the country.

Mallory declared Nazareth "an admirably managed school." The one hundred twelve youths of his time ranged in age from eight to twenty, with the oldest preparing for college. He states that teachers and administrators were both conscientious and kind, and that he was happy there. Eager to take advantage of the opportunities offered, Stephen studied a little Latin, mathematics, German, and the customary English branches. In music, he chose the piano for his instrument.

After spending about three years at Nazareth, Stephen returned to Key West. This ended his formal school days but he was a zealous student all of his life. Indicative of this is the fact that through self-instruction, he learned to speak French and Spanish, correctly and fluently. He found pleasure and satisfaction in several specialized fields, and he gave detailed study to the tragic march of events of his era.

In after life Mallory recalled his school days at Nazareth with evident satisfaction and pleasure: "We were the happiest set of boys I ever met."¹² As further adjuncts of happiness, he thought the setting was beautiful and healthy, the residents of the community kind and considerate, and all those connected with the school "sensible and clever."¹³ When Ellen Mallory withdrew

11. The Rev. A. D. Thaeler, Arlington, N. J., *Letter*, August 17, 1931.

12. *Diary* No. 2, pp. 165-166. 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

her son from the school he had attained, states the *Diary*, proficiency in writing, but there were many faults in his spelling and he depreciated his achievements in comparison with those of his schoolmates. Still he had learned much arithmetic, book keeping, geography, grammar, astronomy, and ancient and modern history; he "could recite distinctly, feelingly & well; could talk modestly & intelligently to others, could perform pleasingly on the piano, [and] write a ready & good letter".¹⁴

In the knowledge of his own character which retrospection brought, Mallory was not boasting when he declared himself honest and possessed of a chilvaric sense toward women. He practiced his religion devotedly at Nazareth although he was the only Catholic youth enrolled and no instruction in his faith was given there. A small gold cross secured about his neck with a slender gold chain and placed there by his mother seemed to have covenanted him with his church and with his mother. His religion was very near and omnipotent with him, for he records:

"To pray & bless myself was a habit; and I can never forget how boldly I could confront real or imaginary danger, that others frequently shrunk from, after blessing myself, & invoking Heaven's protection."¹⁵

The *Diary* is replete with references to his mother. He writes that she would have deprived herself of anything to help him, when explaining that it was poverty and not choice that caused him to return to Key West before completing his course "at a period & age when I had but just commenced to make fair progress."

Apparently, Mallory's withdrawal was precipitate for instead of remaining at Nazareth until he had an opportunity to go direct to Key West, he was a guest at the home of his cousins, the Wilsons, in New Jersey. Lydia Wilson, who was later such a help in his romance, was still at home then as were her two sisters. Stephen was welcomed into the family circle and stayed there about two months.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

It must have been at this period of his life that the youngster built up a philosophy in a set of resolutions. Experience seems to have taught him the laws of habit formation, for he narrates that he wrote the rules out and kept them where he could always be confronted by them, but at the same time they would be meaningless to others who might come into his room. The cryptic "*rennam*"¹⁷ was "*manner*" spelled backwards. The youth had come to the conclusion that he needed this reminder because he felt he was opinionated and apt to express his own views too aggressively, thus preventing others from voicing theirs. Analyzing this trait, this unusual boy concluded that he was depriving himself of much information which he might have obtained from others, was incurring dislike, and probably gaining the reputation of being egotistical. Remember that this was recorded in later years from his recollections and for the guidance of his son.¹⁸

With "*rennam*" before him, he learned to be a good listener. At the same time he avoided lessening the good esteem which a man normally has for himself. Mallory testifies that with this watchword as his guide his store of knowledge was constantly increased, for he found that he could learn something from every man with whom he came into contact. He came to the conclusion that self-control, governing good sense and good nature, produced good manners. Surviving anecdotes bear witness of the truth of Mallory's statement that he would be as deferential to his washerwoman as to the first lady in the land. He writes that he would hold his umbrella over the head of his laundress or would pick up her shawl in the street. When speaking to a lady in the street, he kept his hat off until she bade him replace it. To make this courtesy more emphatic, the father writing for his son, states that women more than men determine a man's place in society, and he also alludes to the refining influence on the individual of knightly conduct. This indiscriminate tribute led Mallory into a situation which he compares to that of Don Quixote in

17. *ibid.*, p. 176. 18. *Diary* 2, p. 176.

his devotion to Dulcinea except, in Stephen's case, the heroine was Arabella Stout, a Dutch girl of Nazareth. He philosophizes that perhaps it is better to fall in love with an ideal than to experience reality like Henry VIII. At any rate, Stephen found it necessary to give "a bloody nose & some very fair punishment in the breast and ribs" to one who had dubbed Arabella a "fat overgrown Dutchman".¹⁹ So salutary was this punishment that the aggressor handsomely concluded that Arabella was not a Dutchman, that he meant no harm, and that he really thought the girl very good looking. Six years' seniority, triple weight, and a "sweet German accent" could not dissipate romance!

BACK IF KEY WEST

In the vessel on which Mallory sailed as a passenger back to his Florida home was William A. Whitehead who became his fast friend and who later was a prominent official and editor of Key West.²⁰

It was an interesting and a cosmopolitan town to which Stephen returned. There were Bahama wreckers, fishermen from Mystic, Connecticut; gentlemen refugees from Virginia, Georgia and the states along the Gulf; business men, mechanics and commercial adventurers from the more northerly states; and wanderers from the far corners of the globe.²¹ "Shipwrecked sailors, deserters, and discharged men from the army, navy and marine corps; men who had knocked about all over the world and developed personalities of their own, which they retained, were indeed a rare aggregation."²²

Contemporaries of Secretary Mallory still surviving tell of the charming personality engendered and augmented by his heritage and this environment. It is impossible to estimate these first influences, to gauge the depth of the impression which the heart of a man is

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

20. Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism*. DeLand, Florida. 1926. p. 62.

21. Browne, Jefferson B., *Key West, The Old and The New*, St. Augustine, 1912, p. 7.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

capable of receiving from them ; but the old Key West home and its sweet memories must have been the source of many of Senator Mallory's allusions to home and country which characterized his speeches during the ten years that he served in the United States Senate. These sentiments are epitomized in a speech on July 18, 1854,²³ wherein he paints a stirring panorama from the subjection of the wilderness through youth to old age, the recurring emphasis is the influence of home and native land and the spirit of "high-minded men".²⁴

It was in the society composed of these heterogeneous elements that Ellen Mallory found herself a widow at the age of thirty. Bereft of one son through death, she nevertheless sent away the other and was left desolate, not only while her grief was new, but while she was confronted with the solution of the pressing economic problems of existence itself. The verdict of those who knew her best and longest reveals how this remarkable woman met the trials and the opportunities that came her way.

Stephen states that upon his return to Key West he found that his mother was conducting a prosperous boarding house, her clientele being limited to a few of the leading gentlemen. The youth at once planned how he could aid her and, adhering to his plan zealously, he assisted his mother in her purchases and did her writing for her-doubtless the bookkeeping. When not directly helping her, Stephen spent his time reading, writing and studying. Without friendly counsel and no suitable companions, he writes that much of his labor was fruitless. Cutting himself off from practically all amusement, he read anything and everything which came to hand, and though he realized that much of his time was wasted or ill-spent, he saw no help for it.

By 1830, Mallory had saved about two hundred dollars through copying and other work, and went to New Orleans hoping to better his condition. But he was

23. *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, July 18, 1854, p. 1095.

24. Jones, Sir William, "What Constitutes a State?" quoted by Mallory in speech mentioned above.

not successful there, and returned to Key West determined to earn a living. He embraced the opportunity of spending about a year on New River, then returning to Key West on a visit, he was offered the position of Inspector of Customs. Accepting the place which paid three dollars a day, he devoted himself to his duties, saved what he could, and spent all his leisure in study.

He fitted up a little room, bought some books, borrowed others, and after the manner of the period, kept a journal of his reading and progress. He studied systematically now and reduced his hours of sleep to the limit that his health would allow. After the indecisions and frustrations which had hitherto beset him, his path was now clear before him. He was going to become a lawyer, and some day go to Congress.²⁵ He congratulated himself that he was an abstainer from intoxicants and had never touched tobacco. In a crossroads community of the world like Key West and in a period when most men drank freely, these abstinences were remarkable and Mallory implies they required some determination on his part.²⁶

Though his life's goal was now plain to the young man, his attainment of it was still befogged with heterogeneous reading and "a vast store of trash & but a small proportion of useful knowledge, simply because I did not know how to study & had no one who I could advise with."²⁷

Mallory's phrase, "an odd collection"²⁸ which he applied to his reading is amply borne out by such works as Hume, Smollett, Gibbon, Shakespeare, Dante, LaFontaine, Cooper, Goethe, Wordsworth, Steele, Voltaire, Mungo Park, Cervantes, Vattel, Moliere, Blackstone, Aesop, Paine, Aristotle, Plato, Montesquieu, Chesterfield, Miss Edgeworth, Miss Porter, Monk Lewis, the Bible, the Koran, Swift, De La Perouse, Newton, Galileo -and there were many more. No wonder our reader had to tie up his head with a wet towel in order to keep awake.

25. *Diary* No. 2, pp. 171-172. 26. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172. 27. *Ibid.*, p. 171. 28. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

Mallory tells us that he not only read these works but better ones and others "not so good." Besides these there were periodicals, law cases and Congressional debates. He realized that much that he read was valueless to him but he tried to preserve the best for future use by jotting down what he wanted to remember; and these references were most useful to him in the speech-making of his later life. In prison at Fort Lafayette, he turned back to some of these books, and he recorded that he read the works of Samuel Johnson, Miss Bronte, Dickens, Cooper, Scott, and others. At that time too he made a further study of the Spanish language.

Writing in his prison cell, Mallory reveals that that method of his young days gave him such a varied and wide information that his friends thought that he crammed for each occasion. The true explanation, he states, was that he had accumulated an encyclopedic store of facts and quotations. It is surprising that he could converse equally well upon such subjects as flying machines (a century ago), the chances at cards or dice, Confucius, belief in ghosts, origin of gold and of diamonds, the training of ferrets, luna rainbows, origin of the terms Whig and Tory, or the strange effects of grief and joy. Lacking even a formal high school education, what part did reading and the effort it required play in his success in life-in his reaching the goal he set for himself?

Application made up for formal academic training, for Mallory goes on to explain the pattern which enabled him to inscribe a full page in his life span:

"I allowed nothing to interfere with reading [but] . . . some times went over to Cuba for a brief visit, hunted upon the adjoining Islands near Key West ; occasionally mingled with men, learned to fence, to box, to shoot, to dance, to play the flute, and studied French and Spanish enough to read them. - As Inspector of Customs I sometimes acted as Collector. I had important duties and these I ever attended to most faithfully. I read law a great deal, but without method, and thus lost time."²⁹

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

Through his attention to business he accumulated property, was promoted to Collector of Customs, and secured a large part of the law practice of the District. By taking every ease offered to him, he got abundant practice in legal procedure and made many friends among the poor and friendless.

Key West was incorporated as a city in 1828; and under the charter granted by the territorial council in 1832, P. B. Prior was selected as marshal, but he did not qualify and Mallory was chosen in his stead. As this was evidently his first public office some indication of the obligations that devolved from the position are relevant. We can envisage young Stephen with unflinching steadfastness in the role of sereno. For five minutes at nine thirty P. M., we hear the town bell intone for the cessation of nocturnal business and pleasures. Then the young enforcement officer might throw into the calabozo any negroes, bond or free, appearing upon the street without authority—the slave without the permission of his master, and the other without a permit from the mayor or aldermen. To the flogging or service on the streets, there were added sentence if there were merrymaking by fiddle, drum, “or any other kind of noise”.³⁰ Perhaps our marshal had to give more than a warning to some shopkeeper, seeking the back wash profit after the ordained hour of closing.

Sponge fishing, turtle pegging, and salt manufacturing—important industries—gave distinctive problems to the officers. A visiting journalist from Pensacola writing in 1842 speaks enthusiastically of the fish and vegetables but bemoans the lack of “roast beef and other fixins.”³¹ He might have regaled himself with a turtle steak. Turtle harpooning or pegging was an important means of livelihood. More interesting, perhaps was “egg robbing”. At Key West, on the Tortugas (which means *turtles*), and along the coast, the turtle would crawl up on the sandy beach and lay her eggs, covering them with sand. To find the one hundred or more round, soft eggs was

30. Browne, *op cit.*, p. 51.

31. *Pensacola Gazette*, “Key West”, June 18, 1842.

not difficult, as the tracks of the great green turtle could not be mistaken. If the turtle were found, turning her over on her back, secured her. Sponges-sheep's wool, yellow, grass, velvet, and the least valuable, glove, were so plentiful that a trident or long-handled fork would secure them. But the buyer had to beware of "loading," as weight could be secured by secreting gravel, sand and even molasses. With the importance of seafood, salt was most necessary as a preservative. The warm, year-round temperature and equable nights hastened evaporation of sea-water. A red or gray tint in the salt that inevitably resulted from the base of flat soil, did not impair the flavor or efficacy of the salt. When one reviews the primitive conditions of the period, he raises another paean to the memory of Ellen Mallory as the head of a first-class boarding-house. And this on an isolated island where cisterns were the sole dependence for fresh water.

After he had served for a number of years as an inspector of customs, President Polk appointed Mallory Collector of Customs for the Key West district. While holding the former position, Mallory studied law with Judge William Marvin, at that time the presiding officer of the United States District Court at Key West. Mallory, one authority states, was admitted to the bar in 1829.³² He attained a reputation as a skillful practitioner of the law, enjoyed an extensive practice, and followed the profession in Key West until 1858.

His experiences in the customs service furnished Senator Mallory with some cogent arguments later in the United States Senate. In July 1854 he took issue on the floor with Senator Adams of Mississippi who argued that a custom house should not be built in a place where the customs did not equal the expense of collection. Mallory parried that the position taken was based on the assumption that a custom-house was only for the collection of revenue. He contended that the most important duties of custom officers in many cases were to maintain the coasting trade. Collection of fees was incidental to the transaction of business. Continuing, Mal-

³². *New National Encyclopaedia of American Biography*.

lory recalled to his colleagues that some years before, when the offices of the Treasury Department were burned, had it not been for the records in the various custom-houses over the country, confusion and chaos would have prevailed, for the Treasury Circulars since 1794 constituted the law on the subject.³³ It was also pointed out that the nationality of vessels and records of naturalization of seamen are kept in the custom-house. To indicate the efficiency with which collections were made, Mallory stated :

"In the district where I reside, and which had been a collection district since 1821, so long as the bonded system prevailed, and up to this hour, there never has been a bond forfeited, altogether, beyond \$450; or in other words, that is the entire sum that has been lost by the Government in the collection of some millions of dollars upon merchandise in that district."³⁴ Mallory also took issue with Senator Hannibal Hamlin and others on other aspects of the subject.

Of Judge Marvin, Mallory's legal instructor, it is said of a text by him, *A Treatise on the Law of Wreck and Salvage*, that it is the source of highest authority on the subject comprehended. As wrecking was then the peculiar and principal business of Key West, the importance and necessity of Marvin's volume, are apparent. He had a large share in promoting wrecking from a species of refined piracy to a legitimate and necessary business wherein justice was done to wrecked, wreckers and underwriters.³⁵ Later, through appointment by President Andrew Johnson in 1865, Marvin became Florida's provisional governor.³⁶

Mallory rose rapidly in his profession, having been elected judge for Monroe county, retaining the office

33. *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, July 25, 1854, pp. 1909, 1911.

34. *Ibid.*, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session, Feb. 21, 1855, p. 858. "Judge" Mallory's zeal in enforcing the law against "bringing negroes into ports of States, the laws of which excluded them," brought a protest from the British minister in 1847, 30th Congress, 1st Session, Senate, Rep. Com., No. 242, Note by J. D. W[escott], 1848, p. 96.

35. *Fla. Hist. Quarterly*, "Key West and Salvage", July, 1929, p. 53.

36. Rerick, Rowland H., *Memoirs of Florida* Atlanta, 1902, vol. 1, p. 288.

when the title was changed to Probate Court, and serving on the bench from 1837 to 1845. A grand jury of the period complains of the desecration of the Sabbath-coffee shops, billiard rooms and grog shops being kept opened. Along with the wasted hours and profligacy, the jurymen were convinced that abolitionists were corrupting the slave population. One who loved the city and its citizens, however, wrote of this time:

"Who that knew our island in the charming days of the past will ever forget the retired spot, now and then busy with salvages or wrecks, watering and provisioning vessels, and then relapsing into the serene ordinary quiet and order, with but one mail or at most two mails per month, to break the long monotony. The society was most cordial and agreeable. It was in the days of Judges Webb and Marvin, Ministers Adams and Howe, and Marshals Stone, Eastin and Moreno. There was then plenty of old-fashioned hospitality, with all its true charm; and when everybody knew everybody . . . the times of broad acres and wide hospitality." ³⁷

A number of activities of the young Stephen Mallory are indicative of the personal tastes which unfolded in attributes of manhood. Instead of becoming individualistic, his life broadened into community affairs and a career of civic usefulness, which at length became national in scope.

To mark the centenary of George Washington's birth in 1832 which occurred before Stephen had reached his majority, a banquet was given in celebration by the patriotic citizens of Key West. It is recorded that,

"The programs and toasts were of a high order and deserve to be perpetuated in history; not only as a lesson in patriotism but as an illustration of the thoroughness of the journalism of that day." ³⁸

Besides the thirteen toasts which had been planned, there were twenty-two impromptu proposals. The gallant group greeted the President of the United States with six cheers but "The American Fair" with twelve. Extemporaneously, Stephen Mallory proposed "Daniel

37. Browne, *op. cit.*, Appendix V, p. 225. 38. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Webster, Changeless as the Northern Star of whose fixed and resting quality there is no fellow in the firmament." ³⁹ At the moment in the city of Washington, the great American orator was probably delivering his oration which began:

"I rise, Gentlemen, to propose to you the name of that great man, in commemoration of whose birth, and in honor of whose character and services, we are here assembled. . . .". In his grand peroration, Webster predicted the Bi-centenary of Washington,

"And then, as now, may the sun in his course visit no land more free, more happy, more lovely, than this our country! Gentlemen, I propose- *The Memory of George Washington.*" ⁴⁰

That his spiritual faith transcended the bounds of denomination is apparent upon the establishment of a Protestant Episcopal church in Key West in 1832. As there was no Roman Catholic church there, Mallory's name appears as one of the thirty who enrolled in the first Episcopal congregation at the close of the service on Christmas day. This was the first time that a regularly ordained priest had held a religious service on the island. Others who were to be his life-long friends were among the organizers : Fielding A. Browne, John W. Simonton, Asa Tift, and Oliver O'Hara. It was not until twenty years later that the first Catholic church was dedicated there. ⁴¹ Mallory, Fielding A. Browne and Asa Tift were delegates to the third annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Florida, in Trinity Church, Apalachicola, in 1840. ⁴² A library was established in connection with the church and to support it, it was agreed that the members of the city council who were absent from council meetings, would pay a fine and the money would go to the library.

In October 1834 the first fire department was organized in Key West, and bore the name of Lafayette, prob-

39. *Ibid.*, Appendix F., p. 202.

40. Webster, Daniel, *The Character of George Washington*, p. 13.

41. Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 34.

42. *Journal of The Third Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Florida.* p. 5.

ably because of the French hero's death in the previous May. It is of interest that Asa F. Tift was vice president and he and Mallory were members of the election committee. Early experiences were disastrous, for no response came to an alarm in January 1835 to quench the flames consuming an outbuilding in Judge Webb's yard. Because of that failure, Mallory reorganized the company and about twenty-five volunteers enrolled. Disgust with the inefficiency of a hand engine, purchased by popular subscription, was climaxed in 1843, when the machine through carelessness and neglect, proved impotent to stay the fire destroying the large wooden warehouse of Fielding A. Browne. Probably nothing more than a spectacular parade property was lost, when the citizens rolled it to the end of the wharf and dumped it into the sea.

In the journalistic field, Mallory's name appears both as an editorial writer and as a correspondent. With William A. Whitehead and Lieutenant Francis B. Newcomb, he wrote editorials for the *Enquirer*, the third newspaper to appear in Key West. This later became *The Inquirer* and was published until the latter part of 1836, the first issue having appeared October 15, 1834. "These papers were well edited and would do credit to the Key West of today."⁴³ As a correspondent, Mallory contributed to *The New York Herald*,⁴⁴ at that time the most popular out-of-state newspaper in Florida. One may form some idea of the future senator's journalistic talent from his account of the hurricane of 1835:

"One of the schooners was driven by a gale upon a bank, which, when the wind had somewhat abated, was left high and dry, but her persevering master with eleven men actually cut a canal two hundred yards long, and in twenty-four hours after it was commenced the ship was again at sea and obtained cargo. Another one lost both her masts, all her anchors, cables, boats and rigging, but the conviction that he had nothing else to lose seems to have aroused the stout-hearted master to greater exertion, and with the aid of two small jury-masts, and an old gun for an anchor, he succeeded in reaching the wreck and relieving her of a large and valuable cargo. Such exertions are worthy of commendation and verily will meet with their reward."⁴⁵

43. Browne, *op cit.*, p. 141.

44. *Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 894. Milton, U. S. Senator W. H., statement, Marianna, Florida, August 2, 1933.

45. Mallory, Stephen R., quoted by Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

Mallory returned to journalism as one of his activities after the War for Southern Independence as editor of the West Florida Commercial in Pensacola. In the one editorial that has survived he saw a glowing future for the city upon completion of the Alabama and Florida Railroad to a junction with the Mobile and Montgomery. Besides five-story buildings and a wharf to thirty feet of water, he pictured "palatial residences erected in New Town, and the city extending out in summer retreats as far as Oakfield."⁴⁶

In Key West's population of less than a thousand souls, there was, among a few, a scrupulous elegance and correctness of dress. Perfectly laundered white linen duck suits were worn by the gentlemen in summer, while on Sundays frock coats and silk hats were general. Far from the uncouthness of a pioneer community, "This particularity in dress was accompanied by a dignity of deportment, and elegance of demeanor, rarely found elsewhere in so small a community, and neglected in the new Key West."⁴⁷

Judge William Marvin in writing of Key West when he first landed in October 1836 says he found Stephen R. Mallory an Inspector of Customs:

"Among the young men about town are to be named Amos and Asa Tift, Stephen R. Mallory, Joseph B. Browne, John P. Baldwin, and Saint Benjamin Alvord, United States Army, afterwards paymaster general of the army. . . . Nothing pleased Mallory better than to take his flute and get one or two friends, and Roberts, a colored man with his fiddle, to join him and go out into the beautiful moonlight nights and serenade some lady or ladies."⁴⁸

One of the most thrilling periods of Mallory's life was that of the Seminole War, for which he volunteered and during which he served in active operations against the Indians, 1835-1837. He learned something of the Seminole language that he might be more useful to his command, and marksmanship became an avocation with

46. *The Sentinel*, Tallahassee, Apr. 9, 1868, "Pensacola."

47. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 174. 48. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

him. About twenty years later in the United States Senate, upon Senator Isaac Toucey's proposing that rifles be bought at thirty dollars each, the Floridian suggested that the amount, \$90,000 be unchanged without specifying the number, for he stated, "I am using one of these very rifles myself, and I know their value."⁴⁹ Upon this suggestion from Mallory, the Senate passed the amendment without delay.

But young Stephen's experiences with the Indians had already begun, for he went with Colonel Fitzpatrick to New River on the Florida coast to aid him in establishing a plantation. He states that he spent a year in that part of the country and not only hunted and fished but learned woodcraft from Indian companions. The outdoor life and sunshine improved his health which had become weakened through violent attacks of fever. While hunting deer, days and even weeks were spent in the open. There was also an abundance of turkeys, bears, ducks, partridges and salt and fresh water fish. He writes that their number was so great that neither labor nor skill was needed to get them. Besides Colonel Fitzpatrick and a Mr. Cooly and family, there were few other frontier people in the region, but Stephen declares that he was so enchanted with the wild life of a hunter and the genial climate that he seriously debated with himself the question of remaining there forever. He writes :

"In 1836, I obtained leave of absence and joined the Naval Forces under Commander L. M. Powell operating against the Indians in South Fla. I had a very pleasant and somewhat independent position assigned to me, with the command of a fine body of seamen, and my superb long, centre board schooner-rigged whaleboat, and our party was most successfully employed from Jupiter inlet to Tampa, through the Everglades and around the coast, beating up the quarters of the Indians ashore and afloat. . . . From the pleasant association of the officers the campaign was to me a most agreeable one. In the fall

49. *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, August 3, 1854, p. 2190.

following I again joined Capt. Powell in a similar service, over the same ground, with a larger force, which rendered timely aid to the Indian service; though I never killed or wounded an Indian, I enjoyed capital health, good spirits, and reaped much useful experience, self reliance, and benefit generally from my service."⁵⁰

So menacing were the Indians at this period, that each family of pioneers dwelt in a fortified homestead and a land patrol of the most eminent citizens was organized at Key West. It operated until the spring rains set in. Then the members surveyed the situation from their verandas. Finally, even this precaution seemed unnecessary, though every night the island was circled by a water patrol.⁵¹

It was from Key West that Major Francis Dade and his command took their departure for Tampa, in mid-December, 1835, and in less than two weeks all but three were massacred on the march between Fort Brooke and Fort King. The war dragged on and five years later Dr. Henry Perrine and others lost their lives in the famed Indian Key massacre. Soon after the arrival of the Perrine family at Indian Key, Stephen Mallory and Judge William Marvin went over in a small sail boat to welcome the Doctor and family to the island. But great was the chagrin and disappointment of the young gentlemen -and of the daughters, Hester and Sarah, too - for Dr. Perrine explained that "My daughters are only school girls, sir";⁵² and the girls from behind the blinds mourned their failure to become "Belles of the Reef."⁵³

The knowledge he acquired at first hand of the character and life of the Florida Indians was useful to Senator Mallory on several occasions. An instance in 1853 illustrates this, as well as showing Mallory's resourcefulness in the rough and tumble of debate. An appropri-

50. Mallory, *Diary* No. 2, p. 185.

51. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

52. *Florida Historical Quarterly* (July, 1926) V. p. 22: Hester Perrine, Walker, "Massacre at Indian Key, August 7, 1840 and the Death of Doctor Henry Perrine".

53. Dr. Perrine was U. S. Consul at Yucatan, 1827-1837, Jelks, Edward, "Dr. Henry Perrine", *Jacksonville Historical Society Annual 1933-1934*, pp. 69-72.

ation for the removal of the red men from Florida was under discussion. Senator Hale declared that "A constable in his country . . . would take care of them."⁵⁴ Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan interposed that if the bands were of roving Indians, he was not now prepared to remove them as there were probably such Indians in each state of the Union. In part, Secretary Mallory's retort was :

"I desire to say to the honorable Senator from Michigan, in reply to the remarks which he has made, that the Indians in Florida are not now in a state of hostility, but that they stand defying the authority of the United States, and preparing for hostilities. The special agent has returned and reported his proceedings to the President. A message of the President upon the subject now lies upon our table. He says that if Congress determines that the Indians may remain; he will let them remain; but if Congress determines that the Indians shall remove in conformity to the treaty, then he wished the action of Congress."⁵⁵

Senator Sam Houston although so strongly predisposed towards Indians, complained that there had hardly been a session but what the claims of Florida had come up for suppression of Indian hostilities. He doubted if even Billy Bowlegs would invade Florida unless he were to be benefited. The Texan's irony got the rejoinder from Mallory:

"Sir, who are these Indians for whom all this sympathy is expressed, and who are spoken of here as heroes who have been driven off their soil by a sovereign State? Who are they: The remnant of an Indian tribe which by treaty engaged to go west, which was paid for so doing, which received the pay, and then sped to the woods and refused to go."⁵⁶

To show how ominous was the situation, Mallory continued:

"It is not the fault of the State of Florida that

54. *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Feb. 24, 1853, pp. 801-803.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

money has been expended to remove these Indians. The attempt has been made by almost every general of the United States army, from the General-in-Chief down, and every one has failed-failed, in the judgment of every man who understands anything of Indian character, by adopting the modes of civilized warfare among a parcel of savages. . . . Men familiar with the character and warfare of the Indian would be much more dangerous to them than those who did not understand them."⁵⁷

He subtly alluded to the predilections of his antagonist but was hardly sincere in seeking him as a mentor:

"I concede that the Senator from Texas is *au fait* in all matters relating to the Indians; but I should like to appeal to him for information on the subject, and consult him about Billy Bowlegs, and the chiefs and the Indians in Florida. There is scarcely a farm in that state which has not lost a relative among those Indians. They must know something of the character of these Indians."⁵⁸

He was incisive in his denial when his state was placed in the wrong light:

"The Senator alluded to certain Florida claims. Now, I have not presented a claim since I have been on this floor for services in Florida; and though he says that that state has received as much or more for defensive purposes than any other, I absolutely deny it, and I call upon him to prove it . . . the larger portion of the expenditures of the Florida War went into the pockets of your quartermasters and commissaries from the dif-

57. Houston's persistence in protecting the Indians from fraud made him unpopular in Washington. He was "delicately" reprimanded by the Speaker of the House after mauling Congressman William Stanberry of Ohio. Francis Scott Key defended him. In the U. S. Senate, 1847-1859, various Indian touches marked his dress. He fought secession. "He could love Texas, to which he had given so much only as a State in the old Union," Seitz, Don C., "Sam Houston, Savior of Texas", *Liberty*, June 9, 1928.

58. *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Feb. 24, 1953, pp. 801-803.

ferent States of the Union, and not a single man in the State of Florida was ever enriched by it."⁵⁹

Mallory showed in the course of his speech that removal of the Indians would curtail continual expense and would be the most humane disposition of the problem for the Indians themselves. He added his endorsement to an amendment offered by Senator Bell of Tennessee, about two years later, which provided bounty land benefits for officers and enlisted men of wars in which the United States had been engaged, even though these men had not been called actively into service. He stated that two companies were organized in Florida immediately upon the outbreak of Indian hostilities in 1849 and did good service both to the State and the nation, though neither was formally mustered into the service of the United States.⁶⁰

(Continued in the following issues)

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59. David Yulee confronted, while a territorial delegate, with the intimation that the Florida War was prolonged for the benefit of Florida citizens, fat contracts, and civilian hangers-on, refuted by counter-charging that those who opposed removing, wished Florida as a haven of runaway slaves. Besides economic loss which he estimated up to 1840 to have amounted to eight and a half million dollars, there had been fiendish barbarity. Holding up an Indian arrow, he told Congress it has been taken from the body of a slaughtered child, the father having been killed, the three children were set up as targets and shot to death with arrows, the mother, stripped and pierced with seven arrows, witnessing all and surviving long enough to relate the story, Rerick, *op cit.*, vol. I, p. 206.
60. *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Feb. 24, 1853, pp. 801-803. Mallory's own claim for bounty land for military service was granted and he located the warrant on the SW 1/4 Sec. 5, T. 96 N., R 3 W. Allamakee county, Iowa; but "Apparently the Senator never established his ownership of this land for we find that the entire tract was sold at tax sale", Hummell, A.L.P., Allamakee Title & Abstract Company, Waukon, Iowa, *letter*, March 22, 1936; Frank Antoinette Fund, Asst. Coms'r., U. S. Dept. of Interior, Genl. Land Office, Washington, March 16, 1936; Bailey, E. L., Director, Dependents Claims Service, Veterans Administration, Washington, *letter*, May 27, 1936.

CAPTAIN BUNCE'S TAMPA BAY FISHERIES,
1835-1840

by DOROTHY DODD

The known facts about William Bunce can be stated briefly. He was a sea captain from Baltimore,¹ who engaged in the mercantile business at Key West from August, 1824, until 1829.² In 1832 he was listed as a customs inspector in the Key West District.³ In the same year he commanded the small sloop *Associate*, out of Key West, in which George W. Murray, W. R. Hackley, and P. B. Prior visited Carlos bay and Charlotte Harbor to locate a site for a settlement on the Allagon Grant.⁴ Bunce's activities on the coast of southwest Florida naturally made him familiar with the Spanish fisheries of that region.

The business of supplying dried and salted fish for the Havana market was well established early in the English occupation (1763-1783) and must have carried over from the first Spanish period. Both Bernard Romans⁵ and James Grant Forbes⁶ describe the fisheries, which centered around Carlos bay, Charlotte Harbor, and Tampa bay, as being conducted by small vessels from Havana that made seasonal visits to the Florida coast. During the second Spanish period (1783-1821), permanent establishments were made from the Caloosahatchee river to Tampa bay. These establishments were run by a few Spaniards who intermarried with the Indians.

Commodore David Porter, in 1824, sent the U. S. schooner *Terrier* to investigate the Spanish fisheries in connection with his war against Caribbean pirates. Lieutenant Commander James M. McIntosh, captain of the

1. *Pensacola Gazette*, October 1, 1825.

2. H. Rep. 189. 30th Cong., 1st sess. [524], p. 36.

3. S. Doc. 154, 23rd Cong., 2d sess. [269], p. 35.

4. John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (1837), p. 289. The abortive settlement probably was the towns of Senybal and Murray, mentioned by Williams, p. 32, and incorporated by the Legislative Council in 1833 (Florida [Ter.], *Acts*, 1833, pp. 118, 119).

5. P. Lee Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans* (1924), p. 124.

6. *Sketches Historical and Topographical of the Floridas* (1821), pp. 117, 118.

Terrier, described as follows a fishery on Punta Rosa key:

"The inhabitants . . . are Spaniards and Indians. The Spaniards are extensively engaged in fishing, making seines, or cultivating the soil. A considerable part of the key is cleared, and under fine culture of corn, pumpions, and melons. There are nine neat well thatched houses, with an extensive shed for drying fish, and a store house for their salt and provisions. Ten or fifteen bushels of salt, a small cask containing a few gallons of molasses, with a little salt provisions, were all I could discover they had."

"There are also two other places of a similar kind," McIntosh continued, "one situated about a mile within the entrance of the Coosahata river, the other on a small key near the entrance of Boca Grande, or Charlotte harbour. . . . There are Spaniards living on this last key who have resided here for 30 years. . . . They have attached to each of these establishments a small schooner from 20 to 25 tons, and are licensed as fishing vessels by the Captain General of Cuba. . . ." ⁷

Seven years later, William A. Whitehead, collector of the Key West District, visited the Charlotte Harbor fisheries. "They appear to have been occupied by the Spaniards for a number of years prior to the cession of Florida to the United States as fishing places for the supply of the Havana market," he wrote, "the head fisherman having resided himself at one of them for forty-seven years. . . . At the four establishments, there may be 130 men, half of which number probably are Indians, and about 30 Indian women, with from 50 to 100 children. They live in palmetto huts, and in the most simple manner, their chief articles of food being the fish they catch. They salt and send to Havanna (each establishment having a small schooner for the purpose) from 6 to 8,000 quintals ⁸ annually, the usual price being from 3 to 4 dollars per quintal. Charlotte's harbor being within this district, their vessels regularly enter and

7. *Pensacola Gazette*, October 16, 1824.

8. A quintal equals 101.43 lbs.

clear at this port [Key West], paying their tonnage duty, and the supplies they may bring from Havana. The salt, with which they cure their fish, is also regularly imported."⁹

The "head fisherman" referred to by Whitehead was undoubtedly one Caldez, who lived on Toampe island, about five miles south of Boca Grande. He was, according to John Lee Williams, "a stout, healthy, old white-haired Spaniard, very industrious," who, in 1832, was said to be 90 years old. His business was sufficient to keep "two small schooners running to Havana with fish and turtle." His village, said Williams, "is built on the west end of the island and consists of from eighteen to twenty palmetto houses, mostly occupied by various branches of his numerous family." The Caldez family, like the inhabitants of the other fisheries or ranchos, lived principally on fish, turtle, and coonti - a diet that was supplemented by cuba corn, peas, melons, and such tropical fruits as coconuts, limes, and oranges.¹⁰

The exports of the four Charlotte Harbor fisheries in 1831 were valued at \$18,000. They consisted "of dried fish and fish roes, fish oil, and articles of American manufacture."¹¹ What the "articles of American manufacture" may have been is unknown, unless they were the birds, mentioned by Williams, which the Indians caught with "bird-lime from the juice of the Gum Elemi, which they call Gumbo-limbo," and "sent to the Havanna in neat willow cages."¹² Although we have no report at this time of fisheries at Tampa bay, which was not in the Key West district, there can be little doubt that similar ranchos were operated there as profitably as at Charlotte Harbor.

It is not surprising that this business should attract Yankee competition. New England seamen had fished in Florida waters since the change of flags, selling their live catch most profitably in Havana. In 1832, Americans began to dry and salt fish for that market, which ap-

9. H. Doc. 201, 22d Cong., 1st sess. [220], p. 2.

10. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 33, 294.

11. H. Doc. 201, 22d Cong., 1st sess. [220], p. 1.

12. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

parently could not be glutted with fish.¹³ It is not unlikely that William Bunce was one of the first Americans to enter this business. Certainly, in 1834, he established the rancho at the mouth of the Manatee river that is described in the following documents. At this and his subsequent fishery on Palm island, he employed Spaniards and Indians, a fact which seems to have caused the destruction of the latter. How far any actions of Bunce, himself, may have caused the destruction is hard to determine.

Soon after the start of the Seminole War an outcry arose against the Spanish fishermen, who were believed to be aiding and encouraging the Indians.¹⁴ Bunce, a leading citizen of Hillsborough county,¹⁵ does not appear to have been suspected at first of any subversive activity in spite of the fact that, as executor of the estate of Antonio Pachecho, he hired out the Negro Lewis as guide for Major Dade's ill-fated expedition.¹⁶ Indeed, he was described by an army officer in 1836 as "one of the most intelligent men on the coast . . . and highly respectable."¹⁷

In the summer of 1837 a report reached General Thomas S. Jesup, at third-hand and a full year late, of an incident that, if true, indicates that in the spring of 1836 Bunce advised the Indians to resist removal. Bunce's "talk" - as reported to Lieutenant J. A. Chambers by Jim Boy (Tustemuggy Emurthla), a friendly Seminole, who had it from Athlugee, a Creek, who had it from George, a nephew of Cloud, and Antonio, the Seminole Negro - was as follows: "Bunce told George and Antonio, you Indians are all fools, and have no sense; the whites only want to get you all in here [to Tampa bay], when they will send you away off to a very bad country, where all of your old people and children

13. H. Doc. 201, 22d Cong., 1st sess. [220], p. 2.

14. See *Floridian*, February 13, 1836; H. Doc. 78, 25th Cong., 2d sess. [323], pp. 320-323.

15. He was appointed one of the first justices of the peace for that county in 1834 and reappointed in 1836 (Florida Legislative Council, *Journal*, 1834, p. 38; 1836, pp. 114, 115).

16. H. Rep. 187, 30th Cong., 1st sess. [524], p. 2.

17. H. Doc. 78, 25th Cong., 2d sess. [323], p. 144.

will die. You Indians don't know anything about reading and writing, but I look into the papers and see it all. If you wait a little while, you will have plenty of people to come here and assist you. The reason the white people want to get you off from here as quick as they can, is, because they know if you remain that you will have people to come and assist you." According to Jim Boy, Bunce enjoined that his name be kept secret.¹⁸

Jesup immediately communicated this report to Joel R. Poinsett, secretary of war, in a letter of June 15, 1837. The statement was corroborated, he said, "by information received through other channels, but, as it comes through Indians and negroes, there is no testimony that would convict a white man." He, himself, seems to have been convinced, for he continued, "If the war should recommence, I am clearly of opinion that the individual whose name is mentioned in the statement should be removed from the country."¹⁹ On second thought, however, he wrote Poinsett on August 21, asking that his references to Bunce be considered confidential. Publication of the statement, he said, "without the explanations or defence of Captain Bunce, might inflict a serious injury on him, when he may be entirely innocent or only have talked imprudently."²⁰ Jesup had left Florida by the time hostilities recommenced. No evidence has been found that Bunce was ever called upon for an explanation.

Whatever his true relations with the Indians may have been, Bunce retained the respect and confidence of his white neighbors. In 1838, they elected him delegate to the St. Joseph Constitutional Convention from Hillsborough county. On January 11, 1839, he affixed his signature to Florida's first constitution.

This is the last action of Bunce's of which record has been found. General Armistead's reference, in his letter of January 9, 1845, to "sheds previously owned by Captn Bunce deceased" would seem to indicate that he died before the burning of his fishery in October 1840. Cer-

18. *Ibid.*, App., pp. 166, 167.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

tainly his death occurred before January 21, 1842, for in a letter of that date General Jesup referred to him as "the late Captain William Bunce, of Tampa Bay."²¹ On January 2, 1844, Henry Wright was appointed by the register of wills of Baltimore county, Maryland, as administrator of his estate.²² The documents that follow, from the United States Senate Files in the National Archives, were the result of Wright's efforts to recover damages from the United States for the burning of the Palm island fishery. He was successful to the extent that on March 3, 1847, Congress appropriated \$1,000 as compensation for the damage inflicted.²³

Territory of Florida)

Hillsborough County) Ss

Personally appeared before me Edmond Lee, Judge of the county court for said county, Manuel Ollivella, who being duly sworn deposes, that he was well and intimately acquainted with the late Captain William Bunce, and that in the year 1834, said Bunce established a fishery in that year at the mouth of the Manatee river in Tampa-bay, about thirty miles below Fort-Brook which was at that time & has since been my residence. Said Bunce continued the business at that place untill compeled to remove from there by the commencement of Indian hostilitys in the autumn of 1845 [*sic*]. The outlay for this fishery as stated to me by said Bunce, consisting of numerous fishing boats, canoes, seines, fishing tackle, buildings and every [thing] necessary, including a smack & a small sloop, calculated in all for the employment of one hundred & fifty men, was about eight thousand dollars, and the anual profits were estimated at between five & six thousand dollars nett. In the year 1836 the danger of his position from hostile Indians compelled him to move this large establishment from the main land

21. H. Rep. 187, 30th Cong., 1st sess. [524], p. 3.

22. Record Book of Hillsborough County, Territory of Florida, 1838-1846 (typed copy by Florida Historical Records Survey, 1938, from original MS. owned by D. B. McKay, Tampa, Fla.), p. 413.

23. 9 U. S. Stat. 703.

to an Island near the mouth of Tampa-bay known as Palm Island, leaving therefore his original place with all its buildings, wharf & improvements untill a prospect of security should enable him to return to it, he was compeled to incur a new all the expenses of erecting the same number of buildings, and clearing the land, building a wharf &c &c, at an expense at between one thousand & fifteen hundred dollars. Having again renewed this establishment, his business was renewed with equal success and profit, and with flatering prospects of increasing prosperity, the distruction of this establishment by order of General Armstead in 1840 by fire & the previous burning of his buildings at the mouth of the Manatee, by officers of Commodore Dallas squadron in 1837 completely blasted his prospects and subjected him to loss injury & damage, which beyond the costs of the buildings, could not be less than ten thousand dollars. It is proper to add that no charge of misconduct on the part of Captn. Bunce or his people in his employ was alledged as the cause of the burning either the Rancho or fishing establishment, but on the contra he & his people were loyal to the Government, many of them being employed in important trusts, & conformed in all respects to the military regulations and requirements & the laws of the Territory. My acquaintance with said Bunce was of the most friendly & neighborly character having resided for months in the same house. Deponent further deposeth that he has no interest in the beforenamed establishments nor has he any interest in any business pecuniary or otherwise with the Heirs of the late captain Bunce, other than a desire to do justice to a worthy, enterprising, industrious, honest and energetic man and do justice to his children, further deponent sayeth not.

(signed) MANUEL OLIVELLA

Sworn to before me & subscribed at Fort Brook
Tampa, May 6." -1844-

EDMOND LEE, Judge
H. C. C.

Territory of Florida)

Monroe County)

Personally appeared before me Stephen R. Mallory Judge of the court for Monroe County Fielding A Brown Merchant at Key West, who, being duly sworn deposeth that he was intimately acquainted with the late Captain William Bunce of Tampa Bay Hillsborough county Territory of Florida, and that he sayd. Brown was the sole Agent for said Bunce for many years, was well acquainted with sayd. Bunces business & with his fishery (or Rancho) at the mouth of Manatee River & on Palm Key & for which he say^d Brown acted as Agent making purchases for & receiving returns for sale of the fish for said rancho, was well acquainted with the profits arising from say^d business prior to the rancho on Palm Key being burned & say^d business being broken up by said burning and that the buildings burned down & distroyed, were worth & cost one thousand dollars or more & that the business of said fishery yeilded a yearly nett income of between five and six thousand dollars & that the business would have increased the income, had said Bunce not have been disturbed & broken up in his business. Said Brown further deposeth that he has no interest in any way in said fishery or rancho, further deponent sayeth not.

F. A. BROWN

S. R. MALLORY

Judge of the county court, M C Fa
at Chambers
Key West April 3^d 1844

Territory of Florida)

Hillisborough County)

) Ss

Personally appeared before me Edmond Lee, Judge of the county court for said county, Manuel Oliguela, who being duly sworn deposeth that he resided in the fall (October) of the year eighteen hundred and forty on Palm Key (near the mouth of Tampa Bay) at the Rancho

Key, that then and there said Capt S M Plummer did land with command on said Key), that the buildings were standing at the time of the landing of said Capt. S. M Plummer and that the buildings of said Rancho were burned & distroyed directly after the landing of said party. The buildings although of cheap materials except the dwelling house of Capt Bunce could not have cost less (in their erection alone) than fifteen hundred Dollars, there being at said Rancho about Thirty buildings more or less, besides a covered wharf for the security & repairing of boats; said deponent understood at the time of the destruction, that it was done to prevent liquor smugglers from harboring there and not from any malconduct of the fishermen residing at and belonging to said rancho furthermore that deponent has not any interest pecuniary or otherwise in said Rancho

JOHN J. W. WEISE

We the undersigned do hereby certify that we are well acquainted with Mr John J. W. Wiese, that he has for some years been a resident of these Keys & that he is respectable & a man of veracity & standing.

Ceder Keys May 3rd 1844) J G PUTNAM
) M C BROWN
) Witnesses E H RICHARDS

Sworn to before me and)
 subscribed to this third day)
 of May 1844 at Ceder Keys Fa)
)
 J. G. PUTNAM J P)

Upperville
 January 9" 1845

Dear Sir

I received your letter of the 4" Inst and have in reply to state to you and those concerned, that in the summer of 1840 while I had to command the Army, I ordered some sheds previously owned by Captn Bunce deceased to be burned, these buildings thatched with Palmetto, and situated on Palm Island, they were at the time I havd [?] them burned (distroyed) as a cover and hiding

HENRY MORRISON FLAGLER

by S. WALTER MARTIN

The German Palatinate produced the ancestors of Henry Morrison Flagler, American oil magnate, railroad builder and developer. The Fleglers (as the name was then spelled) left the Palatinate in 1688 as a result of the devastating wars of Louis XIV, and went to Holland for safety. Among the family was one Zacharra Flegler, who strayed away from Holland to England, and worked for several years in Walworth as a carpenter, among other Palatines who had fled their native home. Life offered little in England as compared to the stories he had heard concerning America, so he left Walworth early in 1710, and arrived in New York in June of the same year. He settled in Dutchess county, New York, and here on the banks of the Hudson river was planted the Flagler background in America.¹

One generation after another sprang from New York soil and they were a factor in the growth of that state for many years. Their families were large and many became scattered, but only a few left their native state. Solomon Flegler, one of Zacharra's grandsons, changed the spelling of his surname, becoming Solomon Flagler. He gave the name Flagler to eleven children, the fifth of which was named Isaac, born April 22, 1789.²

Isaac Flagler was a pious lad, and heeding a call to the ministry, was ordained a Presbyterian minister at Pleasant Valley, New York, in 1810, exactly one hundred years after his great-grandfather arrived in this country. As his third wife he married Mrs. Elizabeth Caldwell Harkness, widow of David Harkness of Bellevue, Ohio, and settled at Hammondsport where he was minister of a small Presbyterian church. On January 2, 1830, Eliz-

Note - Dr. Martin, Professor of History at the University of Georgia, and author of *Florida During Territorial Days*, is at work on a full biography of Henry M. Flagler, and this paper is one result of his extensive research. *Ed.*

1. Harry Harkness Flagler, a son of Henry M. Flagler, to the author, October 25, 1945. From the Flagler family records, now in his possession.
2. *Ibid.*

abeth Flagler gave birth to a son, whose name became Henry Morrison Flagler.³

Isaac's salary did not exceed \$400 a year, and that was not enough to sustain a family of four persons, so his son, our subject, had to begin work very early in life and what little education he got was from his spare time. Realizing that he had to shoulder some of the family responsibilities, and much against his parents wishes, he decided to go away and find a job. A half brother, Daniel M. Harkness, lived in Republic, Ohio, and arrangements were made for Henry to join his kinsman who would help him.

The journey began at Medina, New York, where the boy boarded a freight boat on the Erie canal and traveled westward to Buffalo.⁴ Little did he know then of the untimate outcome of his departure from the drowsy village of his birth nor the brilliant future which lay before him. In Buffalo the youth took a Lake Erie boat for Sandusky and from there pushed on to Republic, where he arrived with only a French five-franc piece which passed in this country for a dollar, a five-cent piece, and four pennies.⁵

Republic, a town of about one thousand people in 1844, had very little to offer an ambitious lad like Flagler. Young Harkness got him a job in a general store which paid \$5.00 a month, plus room and board. He was a hard worker, and did so well carrying bundles and selling candles, soap, and shoes, that in ten months his pay had been increased to \$12.00 a month. His lessons and experiences in this job were many. All kinds of merchandise were stocked in the store, and as Flagler later reminisced, "We sold everything from a pint of molasses to a corn plaster."⁶

In this job Flagler learned to be methodical and economical, and within a short time he had saved a little money. He soon left Republic and went to Fostoria, Ohio, not far away; and then continuing his hard work he

3. *Ibid.*

4. *New York Tribune*, December 23, 1906.

5. *New York Times*, May 21, 1913.

6. *Ibid.*

moved to Bellevue where he proved equal to the opportunities which came his way.⁷

Among the town's leading citizens were his relatives the Harkness family who gave him employment in their mercantile business. Flagler showed much promise in his new work and won the favor of L. G. Harkness the senior member of the firm. In 1852 the business was reorganized under the name of Harkness and Company, with our youth, now but twenty-two years of age as a partner.⁸ The new firm grew rapidly and later expanded into the grain commission business.

Flagler's friendship with the Harknesses grew intimate and the next year he married Mr. Harkness's daughter Mary.

Flagler's business maturity made him a much sought-after partner in various ventures. His varied interests became a distinguishing mark for him. Continuing as a member of the firm of Harkness and Company, he became associated with Barney York in Bellevue in the produce business. He also became interested in the distillery business, which at that time was flourishing. He became the principal grain shipper in the town, and it was in this connection that he made the acquaintance of John D. Rockefeller, who was at that time a commission merchant in Cleveland. Young Flagler shipped grain to Rockefeller to be sold, but little did either of these men realize that some day they would be associated in so great an organization as the Standard Oil Company.⁹

The "salt strike" in Michigan in 1860 created a great deal of interest throughout Ohio, and Flagler got excited over the possibilities. Salt had been mined in Michigan as early as the 1840's but on no such large scale as resulted from the strike of 1860.¹⁰ Flagler could not resist the temptation to try the salt business and the urge to expand into something more speculative got the better of him. Having been spared from military duty in

7. W. W. Williams, *History of Huron County* (Chicago, 1909), I, 184.

8. W. W. Williams, *History of Firelands* (Cleveland, 1879), 417.

9. *The Outlook*, CIV (May 31, 1913), 232.

10. James C. Mills, *History of Saginaw County, Michigan* (Saginaw, 1918), I, 431.

the Civil War, he pulled stakes in 1863 and invested all of his Bellevue earnings, which amounted to about \$50,000, in a salt mine in Saginaw, Michigan.¹¹ Flagler knew nothing about the salt industry, and skill was necessary in order to make money out of it. Soon the industry began to feel the effects of overproduction, and when the crash came Flagler was swept under, like many others. He emerged from the failure greatly in debt and discouraged, but it taught him a valuable lesson. He borrowed enough money from his wife's family to pay up his debts, and then went to Cleveland where for a year he held various jobs trying to get back on his feet.¹²

The years 1865 and 1866, were not very happy ones for Flagler. It was a period of despondency. He could easily have depended wholly on his wife's family, he could have ceased all attempts at success, but he was not that kind of man. He was now thirty-six years old, and, though he had gained some valuable experiences, he was still trying to get started in the business world.¹³ His financial reverses were a challenge and gave him a great determination to succeed in his next attempt, and he did. Now he became associated with Clark and Sanford, commission merchants, in Cleveland and his acquaintance with John D. Rockefeller was renewed. Success came to him at last, and within a few months he was making money as of old. His lean years were over, and he was soon to become a business associate of John D. Rockefeller.¹⁴

Rockefeller had become interested in the newly developed oil business in the early 1860's, and in 1865 became part owner of a small refinery in Cleveland with Samuel Andrews.¹⁵ The partnership prospered and the oil business looked extremely promising. Rockefeller had kept Flagler in mind as a possible business associate because he valued the latter's ability very highly. The

11. "He Made Florida", *Literary Digest*, XLVI (May 31, 1913), 1241.

12. Edwin Lefevre, "Flagler and Florida", *Everybody's Magazine*, XXII (February, 1910), 181.

13. *New York Tribune*, December 23, 1906.

14. Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller* (New York, 1940), I, 250.

15. Ida M. Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1904), I, 44.

two men saw each other frequently, having offices in the same building, and Flagler, who was trying to reestablish himself in business after the Saginaw debacle, was encouraged by the advice and counsel of Rockefeller. In 1867 he was asked to join the partnership of Rockefeller and Andrews, and a new firm was organized under the name of Rockefeller, Andrews, and Flagler.¹⁶ Flagler moved into the same office with Rockefeller, they lived only a short distance apart, and were frequently seen together on the streets of Cleveland; they did their thinking and planning together.¹⁷

Flagler added vigor and energy to the new organization. His actions were an inspiration to Rockefeller, because he possessed a driving force which invariably placed him ahead in anything he undertook to do. Much of the early success of the business was due to the aggressiveness of Flagler.¹⁸

The firm of Rockefeller, Andrews and Flagler prospered and its possibilities were almost limitless. It consisted of two refineries, and a business house in New York for the selling of oil. Although Rockefeller was at the head of the business, Flagler played an important role. He handled the transportation for the company and did his work very skillfully. It was his duty to negotiate all of the freight rates for shipments from the oil regions in Pennsylvania to Cleveland, where the oil was refined, and from Cleveland to New York, where it was sold. The rates Flagler secured on oil shipments were amazingly low and this gave his company the edge on all the other shippers.¹⁹

Rockefeller and Flagler hit upon the idea of bringing new capital into their business by means of reorganizing into a joint stock company. They did not intend to sell shares to the general public, but only to other oil refiners. This was the beginning of the Standard Oil Company. Cleveland's leading newspaper announced January 19, 1870 that:

16. *Cleveland Leader*, March 4, 1867.

17. John D. Rockefeller, "Random Reminiscences of Men and Events" *The World's Work*, XVII (November, 1908).

18. *Ibid.* 19. Nevins, *op. cit.*, I, 254, 256.

On the 11th inst., one of the most flourishing oil companies of this city, commencing business with a full paid capital of one million dollars, was incorporated under the name of the "Standard Oil Company." The incorporators are John D. Rockefeller, Henry M. Flagler, Samuel Andrews, Stephen V. Harkness and William Rockefeller. The company has purchased of Rockefeller, Andrews and Flagler all their real estate, factories, offices, etc., in Cleveland, Oil City [Pa.] and New York. Their real estate in Cleveland amounts to about fifty acres in the heart of the city. The offices and factories possess all the requisites found in business establishments of the highest order.²⁰

A meeting of the directors of the Standard Oil Company was held on January 13, 1870, at which time John D. Rockefeller was elected president, and Henry M. Flagler, secretary and treasurer. Other officers included William Rockefeller, vice-president and Samuel Andrews, superintendent. The main office of the new firm was in the Cushing block, Cleveland, with a branch office in New York.²¹

There can be little doubt that Flagler was largely responsible for the formation of the Standard Oil Company. His foresight and ingenuity were at the bottom of the move. He knew the possibilities of the oil business, and realized that the firm of Rockefeller, Andrews, and Flagler could easily expand to meet the great potential demand. Some years later John D. Rockefeller was asked if he were the person who had conceived the idea for the corporation. He answered, "No, sir. I wish I'd had the brains to think of it. It was Henry M. Flagler."²²

Ida M. Tarbell, in her *History of the Standard Oil Company*, says that Flagler was, next to John D. Rockefeller, the strongest man in the new firm. He was young

20. *Cleveland Leader*, January 19, 1870.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Lefevre, "Flagler and Florida," *loc. cit.*, 183.

enough to have vision and insight, and a passion for making money, yet old enough to have maturity of thought and judgment. His efforts to enlarge the business were untiring. Miss Tarbell believed that "He had no scruples to make him hesitate over the ethical quality of a contract which was advantageous." As a young business man his purpose in life was to make money. "He was not a secretive man, like John D. Rockefeller; not a dreamer, but he could keep his mouth shut when necessary and he knew the worth of a financial dream when it was laid before him."²³ It was evident that the Standard Oil Company would grow under the supervision of men like Flagler and Rockefeller.

The first objective of the newly created organization was to single out a group of principal refineries in Cleveland and ask them to combine with Standard Oil. By controlling the major oil interests in the city they could produce more oil and could sell it cheaper by getting concessions from the railroads. In this way they could drive out competitors and force consumers to buy their products from them on their own terms. "They could finally dictate market prices on crude oil, stabilize the margin of profit at their own process, and do away at last with the dangerously speculative character of their business."²⁴

Flagler was in the thick of the fight, and was personally instrumental in forcing several smaller firms to bow to Standard Oil. This movement was much like a tidal wave in the Cleveland area, engulfing every refinery in its path. A few firms balked but were forced to give in sooner or later. Criticism of the methods of Standard Oil began to mount. The little refiners claimed they were being "frozen out" of the oil business, especially if they were paid cash for their property. If they were given stock in the Standard Oil Company in lieu of cash, they considered they were being "rooted out." Flagler called this idea a ridiculous one, and used the following story to back up his contention:

23. Tarbell, *Standard Oil Company*, I, 50.

24. Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons* (New York, 1934), 116.

When I was selling flour and grain in Cleveland I had a certain German for a customer. He owned a bakery in the suburbs, and I often trusted him for a barrel of flour when collections were slow and money was scarce. One day I met him on the street, and he surprised me by saying that he had sold his bakery and was running a little oil refinery. Usually Mr. Rockefeller and I walked down town in the morning to talk over private matters. Next day I told him about the little German baker who had gone into the oil business without my knowledge. We bought the refinery for \$5,200. The German owed \$5,000. At my suggestion he took \$2,700 in money, with which he pacified his creditors for the time being, and \$2,500 in Standard stock. We made him superintendent of our stove department, and sent him into the woods, where he rose to a salary of \$8,000 a year. I was pleased later to ask him for his \$2,500 in stock and to issue in its stead \$50,000 of stock in the larger corporation. Still later he received \$10,000 more in a stock dividend.²⁵

This was just one of the many small refineries which Standard Oil took over, but some of the refiners did not sell out as cheerfully as this one. Some of those who took money for their property, rather than Standard stock, later became disgruntled at Flagler and Rockefeller as they saw the stock rise in value from year to year. The annual dividend was limited to fifteen percent. The surplus was kept in the treasury, and helped eventually to raise the capital of the Standard Oil Company from \$3,500,000 to \$70,000,000.²⁶

Flagler was exceptionally successful in securing rebates for his firm. When Standard Oil was organized he was placed in charge of the company's transporta-

25. *New York Tribune*, December 23, 1906.

26. *Ibid.*

tion. He worked diligently to out-do all the other refineries in the field of rebates, and he did. Standard won out over other companies mainly because of a secret agreement with the railroads. Flagler secured better rates than were given to his competitors; at the same time he received rebates. He also secured the extraordinary privilege of taxing his competitors without their knowledge. A certain percent of the freight rates they paid to the railroads was turned over by the roads to the Standard Oil Company.²⁷

There were still new horizons to explore, and the Rockefeller-Flagler combination was always ready to undertake the job, if it meant an increase in the volume of their business. They seized upon the idea of a combination of enough of the refiners and shippers to control the business throughout the country. The new organization was called the South Improvement Company.²⁸ It is not certain with what man the idea originated, but both Flagler and Rockefeller were responsible to some extent for its creation. The Standard Oil Company had been successful in bringing about combinations in the city of Cleveland, and now the South Improvement Company undertook to do the same throughout the United States.

After the combining process had gotten under way, the railroads were won over. They included the Central, the Lake Shore, the Erie, the Atlantic and Great Western, and the Pennsylvania. Very little trouble was encountered with these various roads as the practice of giving rebates had been common for several years. The railroads had been fighting among themselves for the oil business and they often had to cut their rates so low to get consignments that their profits were practically

27. Samuel E. Moffett, "Henry Morrison Flagler", *The Cosmopolitan*, XXXIII (August, 1902), 417.

28. Ida M. Tarbell, "The Rise of the Standard Oil Company," *McClure's Magazine*, XX (December, 1902), 121. The name South Improvement Company had no special meaning. It was chartered on May 1, 1871, and its powers were wide and vague. It included authority "to construct and operate any work, or works, public or private, designed to include, increase, facilitate, or develop trade, travel, or the transportation of freight, livestock, passengers, or any traffic by land or water, from or to any part of the United States."

nothing. In view of these conditions, the railroads were willing to make any sort of agreement that would insure them their share of the oil traffic and at the same time give them a profit on it.²⁹

The creation of the South Improvement Company tipped off an oil war between Flagler and Rockefeller, and the Petroleum Producers Union which was organized in 1872. The newly created union agreed to sell no oil to anyone connected with the South Improvement Company, and at the same time selected a committee to go to the Legislature and ask for the repeal of the charter of the South Improvement Company.³⁰

Violent criticism was heaped on the heads of Flagler and Rockefeller, but the *Cleveland Leader* lent them warm support.³¹ At any rate, the South Improvement Company was doomed to a short life, for an investigation of the scheme was made by Congress and the charter was soon revoked. Another idea conceived by Flagler and Rockefeller, the Pittsburg Plan, also failed due to its rejection by the producers.³² Most of the explanation made to the producers was by Flagler, giving rise to the belief that it was an outgrowth of his mind. The main differences in the new plan and the old South Improvement Company was that the former was an open concern, whereas the latter plan was clothed in secrecy and uncertainty.³³

The Standard Oil Company continued to grow, despite these few reverses. Its critics were rapidly increasing in number, and several local investigations of the company began in 1879. The grand jury of Clarion county, Pennsylvania, brought an indictment against Rockefeller, Flagler and their associates on April 29, 1879, but there was so much delay in the matter that the suits were finally withdrawn. In the summer of 1879, the Hepburn Investigation took place in New York, but very little information was gathered from Flagler or any of

29. *Ibid.*, 123.

30. Ida M. Tarbell, "The Oil War of 1872", *McClure's Magazine*, XX (January, 1903), 48.

31. *Cleveland Leader*, February 24, 26, 27, March 5, 1872.

32. Josephson, *op. cit.*, 265.

33. Tarbell, *Standard Oil Company*, I, 106, 107.

the other Standard Oil officials.³⁴ Flagler was keenly aware of the mounting opposition to the Standard Oil Company.

Due to expanded business interests, Flagler moved to New York in 1878.³⁵ Mrs. Flagler, who had been ill for some time, was now virtually an invalid. There were two children, Harry and Jennie.³⁶ Mrs. Flagler died on May 18, 1881, and for the next year Flagler suffered from melancholia.³⁷ During this time, however, the Standard Oil Trust was organized (1882), and he was one of the nine trustees.³⁸

But Flagler's active participation in the Standard Oil Company was rapidly drawing to a close. Since 1867 he had given all of his time to the creation of a monopoly in which he firmly believed. He had taken no vacations, made no trips, and had gotten little pleasure from life other than that which came from making money. Within him there was much kindness and generosity, but his great desire to get ahead in the business world had suppressed these characteristics. The older he got, the less urgent was his desire to make money. His fortune was made. There was no need to increase it.

On June 6, 1883, he married again to Ida Alice Shourds, the daughter of a Philadelphia minister.³⁹ He was fifty-three at the time and his bride was thirty-five. Having spent most of his life at hard work, he set out to find some of the pleasures he had heretofore overlooked. He purchased a beautiful summer home at Mamaroneck, New York, for the sum of \$125,000.00, and named it Lawn Beach. Here he spent many happy hours in rest and relaxation. Their friends visited them frequently. Alice Flagler, who was socially inclined, entertained with much grace and charm. Having a husband with wealth, she spent money freely on herself and her friends. With a pleasing personality, she was popular with men and women alike. The Flagler home in the city,

34. Nevins, *op. cit.*, II, 42, 43.

35. Harry H. Flagler to author, November 26, 1945.

36. (Cleveland) *Plain Dealer*, May 21, 1913.

37. Memorandum from the Kenan Collection.

38. Josephson, *op. cit.*, 277.

39. *New York Times*, June 6, 1883.

at Fifth Avenue and Fifty-fourth Street, became a place of gaiety and merriment.⁴⁰

Florida

In the winter of 1883-1884, Flagler made a trip he had long desired to take, when he and his family went to Florida and spent several weeks in St. Augustine. This was the beginning of his interest in the state. He went there for two reasons: to find rest and relaxation, and with a faint idea that Florida might easily be developed into a resort center. As early as 1870 many persons were seeking the warm climate of this southernmost state, and many with pulmonary trouble were advised by their doctors to go to St. Augustine.⁴¹ The most convenient way of travel in Florida was by water. Picturesque river steamers plied up and down the St. Johns river, and along its banks there grew up a number of small resorts.

This was all very interesting to Flagler. Then, too, he was attracted by the quaint old city of St. Augustine, whose history dated back to 1565. From this time on, Flagler's main interest seemed to center in Florida, rather than in the Standard Oil Company. He returned to New York greatly enthused over the potentialities of developing St. Augustine, and determined to return there again for a longer visit.

The next winter, 1884-1885, he visited St. Augustine again and during his stay he made the acquaintance of Andrew Anderson, who later became his closest personal friend. Anderson was a native of St. Augustine, having been born there on March 13, 1839, while Florida was still a territory. He was graduated from Princeton in 1861, and from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, in 1865. He then returned to St. Augustine, and spent the rest of his life there in the practice of his profession.⁴²

40. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1913.

41. George W. Nichols, "Six Weeks in Florida", *Harper's Magazine*, XLI (October, 1870), 661.

42. Clarissa Dimick to author, February 28, 1946. Andrew Anderson died in St. Augustine, December 1, 1924.

The two men saw each other frequently and Anderson had a great deal to do with influencing Flagler to begin a vast building program in St. Augustine, which resulted in the remaking of the city. The two men talked enthusiastically about St. Augustine's future, and in Dr. Anderson's home in April 1885 the idea of the Ponce de Leon hotel was conceived. Flagler returned to New York, but left Anderson in full charge of arrangements and details pertaining to the beginning of the project. Throughout the summer of 1885 Anderson was busy buying certain pieces of property, clearing titles to land, and making plans for the beginning of the construction. Flagler spent a busy summer, too, despite the fact that he remained in New York.⁴³

Excavation for the foundation of the Ponce de Leon was begun on December 1, 1885, and though Flagler hoped to finish it by January, 1887, it was not opened until January 12, 1888.⁴⁴ Construction costs alone approximated two million dollars, which was a large sum in those days; it was one of the most elaborate structures of its kind in America. The structure embodied the characteristics of Spanish architecture, with sunny courts, fountains, towers, and decorations, all suggestive of the history of the city. Its designers, Thomas Hastings and John M. Carrere, were just entering the architectural field, and they, like Flagler, took great pride in making it exceedingly elaborate and beautiful.⁴⁵

Flagler's career as a railroad builder began with the purchase of a narrow-gauge railroad in December 1885 which connected St. Augustine and South Jacksonville.⁴⁶ This line was improved and in 1888 Flagler purchased a narrow-gauge road from St. Augustine southwestward to East Palatka on the St. Johns river. This line included a twelve mile branch road to Toco, which was down the St. Johns river from East Palatka. In the same

43. Henry M. Flagler to Andrew Anderson, August 1, 1885, Dimick Collection.

44. *Florida Times-Union* (Jacksonville), January 13, 1888.

45. Charles B. Reynolds, "Architecture of the Hotel Ponce de Leon". (Printed pamphlet in Kenan Collection), 1-3.

46. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1912.

year, he pushed further south by purchasing the St. Johns and Halifax River Line, from East Palatka to Daytona on the east coast. With his railroad now running from South Jacksonville to Daytona, Flagler next built a bridge across the river at East Palatka, connecting that village with its sister community, Palatka, on the west bank. In 1889 a steel bridge was constructed across the St. Johns river at Jacksonville, connecting his road with water traffic from the North.⁴⁷ Up to 1892 Flagler merely bought old properties, which he improved or enlarged ; soon he was to launch his own building program.

In the meantime he was busy providing other hotels for the accommodation of the people whom his railroad was constantly bringing to St. Augustine. In the same year that the Ponce de Leon was opened, work was begun on a second Flagler hotel in St. Augustine, the Alcazar. It was opened with seventy-five furnished rooms in the fall of 1888 but was not completed until the next year. Spanish Renaissance architecture prevailed in the Alcazar, with a patio and flower gardens within its walls.⁴⁸ The Cordova, a hotel adjacent to the Alcazar and built by Franklin W. Smith was purchased by Flagler in 1889. For a number of years it was operated as a separate hotel, but in 1894 a connection was made with the Alcazar and it was operated in conjunction with the latter establishment.⁴⁹ The Ormond hotel, located between the Halifax river and the ocean, just north of Daytona, was purchased by Flagler in 1890. It was enlarged from time to time, and became one of the most prominent on the East Coast, attracting especially golf enthusiasts to its beautiful eighteen-hole course.⁵⁰

The East Coast was sparsely settled below Daytona, and railroad construction in that section of the state was backward. Flagler first inaugurated steamer service on the Halifax river to New Smyrna. The citrus industry in

47. Lefevre, "Flagler and Florida", *loc. cit.*, 176.

48. *Ibid.*

49. William R. Kenan, Jr. to author, March 8, 1946.

50. *Florida East Coast Railway*. (St. Augustine, 1912), 25, 26. Hereafter cited as *Official Program*.

that vicinity made this service very profitable, and led to the construction of a railroad from Daytona to Cocoa. This road was completed in January 1892. Each lap of the system called for another, and on February 1, 1893, the first passenger train reached Rockledge.⁵¹ It was a day of great celebration, and as the little train chugged into the station hundreds of persons were present to welcome her. Among the interested visitors was Henry B. Plant, himself a railroad builder on Florida's West Coast. Flagler's Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Indian River Railroad, as it was then called, was soon running regular schedules from Jacksonville to Rockledge in five and one-half hours.⁵²

It was a long jump from Rockledge to Palm Beach, but Flagler pushed on southward through undeveloped territory, the tracks reaching Ft. Pierce on January 29, 1894. Work was continued and on April 2 of the same year regular trains were running into West Palm Beach, three hundred miles from Jacksonville.⁵³

West Palm Beach in 1894 was in its infancy, being nothing more than a strip of Lake Worth frontage covered with scrub palmetto and stunted pines, with a few settlers living in shacks and tents. Across Lake Worth on the ocean was Palm Beach, a much more imposing and older town, but Flagler had designated the new community to be the terminal point of his railroad.

Early in 1894, Flagler began construction of the Royal Poinciana hotel, fronting on Lake Worth in Palm Beach. As the railroad had not been completed to West Palm Beach at this time, material for this mammoth structure was difficult to transport to the scene of construction. It was taken from the end of the road by steamers down the coast and across Lake Worth.⁵⁴ In 1895 the hotel was opened, having accommodations for 1,200 guests, plus spacious drawing rooms, lounges and verandas. The building, a wooden structure, was vast in

51. *Florida Times-Union*, January 23, 1912.

52. *The Tatler of Society in Florida*, February 4, 1893.

53. *Florida Times-Union*, January 23, 1912.

54. J. E. Ingraham, "The Story of the East Coast", *Picturesque Florida*, I (January, 1910), 4.

expanse, but was only six stories high. With its tennis courts and gardens, it covered 32 acres. Later it was enlarged to accommodate 2,000 guests. It soon became the winter gathering place for society from the East.⁵⁵

Another hotel, the Breakers, was opened in 1896, and was located on the ocean front, directly back of the Poinciana, half a mile away.⁵⁶ Laborers on these two hotel projects lived across the Lake at West Palm Beach, commuting daily to their work in small boats, as there was no bridge spanning the half mile across. More and more people migrated to West Palm Beach; the town prospered and the railroad became a chief factor in its growth. A bridge was constructed across the Lake to Palm Beach, but that place remained a haven for pleasure seekers and the socially prominent from other states.

Flagler had little idea of extending his railroad any farther south. His extraordinary services to Florida's East Coast seemed to have run their course, but something happened which caused him to continue his work.

Florida experienced one of her most destructive freezes in the winter of 1894-95. It killed orange trees, ruined vegetable crops, and affected coconut palms as far south as Palm Beach. The land of warm winters had been dealt a heavy blow. Flagler heard about, and saw for himself, some of the results of the freeze. There were citrus growers who needed help, so Flagler went to their aid. He lent money in large sums for rehabilitation. His money relieved much suffering and within three months after he started giving aid, quantities of vegetables began to move northward, first in small lots then by the carload.⁵⁷

The lasting result of the freeze was the building of the railroad, by this time known as the Florida East Coast Railway, to Miami. James E. Ingraham, who had joined the Flagler enterprises in 1892, was sent south of Palm Beach to determine the result of the freeze in that section. He was surprised to find that farther south fruit

55. *Palm Beach Tropical Sun*, March 5, 1937.

56. George M. Chapin, *Official Program*, 25.

57. Harry G. Cutler, *History of Florida, Past and Present* (Chicago, 1923), I, 66. Hereafter cited as *Florida*.

trees and vegetables were virtually untouched by the frost. At Biscayne bay he visited Mrs. Julia D. Tuttle, who had acquired a large tract of land on the north side of the Miami river in 1891, and who hoped to attract settlers there from various parts of the United States. She had visions of a thriving city rising in the vicinity of Biscayne bay. The climate was unexcelled anywhere, and she knew it would not go long unnoticed. The one great need was a railroad, and only Henry M. Flagler could furnish that. Mrs. Tuttle impressed Ingraham with the region's possibilities. He hastened to tell Flagler, who was at St. Augustine, about his findings. Flagler's interest was awakened, and he visited Mrs. Tuttle. In June 1895 Flagler definitely decided to extend the Florida East Coast railroad to Biscayne bay. Mrs. Tuttle made available some of her choice land, as did the Brickell family, who were pioneers of that region. Flagler agreed also to construct a large resort hotel, lay out streets, build water-works and an electric light plant, and make other improvements. Thus Miami became a reality. Settlers moved in rapidly, and Miami was incorporated on July 28, 1896.⁵⁸

In the summer of 1895 work began on the railroad south of West Palm Beach and was pushed with all speed over the sixty-six mile distance. The line was cut through a virtual wilderness; nevertheless the towns of Delray, Ft. Lauderdale, and Dania were laid out as the road crept southward.⁵⁹ Finally on April 15, 1896, the road was completed, and on April 22 the first train bringing passengers arrived in the small settlement. The Royal Palm hotel was begun during the summer and opened for the season of 1897. There were only 502 persons in Miami when it was incorporated, but four years later it had grown to 1,681.⁶⁰ That was only the beginning.

The terminal point of Flagler's road remained at Miami for several years, but he was not satisfied. The rich Redland agricultural district south of Miami needed

58. E. V. Blackman, *Miami and Dade County, Florida* (Washington 1921), 19.

59. *St. Augustine Record*, May 30, 1913.

60. *Florida Times-Union*, April 22, 1946.

tapping, and despite the fact that he was growing old, he set out to accomplish this feat. The railroad was built to Homestead near the end of the peninsula in 1903. Most men would have stopped here. With his money and accomplishments he could have lived contented the rest of his life, but not Flagler. He had a vision of extending the railroad over the Florida keys to Key West. These keys extend southward some 128 miles from the mainland. They number among the hundreds, some large and some small. Most of them are low reefs of coral or limestone with ocean between. Engineers called the job an impossible one, for it meant spanning the sea by rails. Miles of sea would have to be crossed, but Flagler had his mind set on doing it, so it was done.⁶¹

Seventy-five miles of the distance was built over water; concrete viaducts bridged the distance from key to key. This was one of the most interesting and costly phases of the work. The water varied in depth, and in most places it was exposed to the full gales of the Atlantic. The concrete was mixed in barges and placed in position by powerful boom derricks. In some places the molds were formed by driving piling, which held watertight framework in place.⁶²

There were seventeen miles of marsh between the mainland and the first key, through which steam dredges wallowed slowly, piling up an embankment for the road as they went. Many of the keys are merely tiny spots of land just above the ocean. Here too, dredging work was done. In all, forty-nine miles of such work was necessary. The rest of the construction was unusual within itself because of the character of the surroundings, as some of the keys were covered with dense jungles, so the construction required perseverance against numerous hardships.⁶³

Many dangers, too, slowed the progress of the Key West extension. The laborers had to live in floating camps

61. J. M. Rockwell, "Opening of the Over Sea Railway to Key West", *Collier's*, XLVIII (January 20, 1912), 16. Hereafter cited as *Over Sea Railway*.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Cutler, *Florida*, I, 69.

near their work. Water, food, and other supplies had to be brought from the mainland at regular intervals. Sickness and disease had to be taken into consideration also. There were four destructive hurricanes which hit the keys during the course of the work, the one of 1906 costing the lives of 130 men, and destroying much property.⁶⁴ The road was finally finished, and on January 22, 1912, the first passenger train rolled into Key West.⁶⁵ There was a great celebration; the little city, whose chartered history dated back to 1828, had never before been dressed in such gala attire. Flags and gay bunting flew from stores and homes.⁶⁶ Henry M. Flagler's dream had come true, his work was finished.

Flagler's greatest expenditure in Florida was for the overseas extension. It cost him twenty million dollars to construct, and was his great mistake as far as finances were concerned, since it never produced the volume of business Flagler expected. His hotel system cost twelve million dollars, and his railroad construction, not including the Key West extension, about eighteen million dollars. The total of his Florida expenditures, amounted to fifty million dollars, and this amount does not include numerous gifts to cities, several memorial churches, and other properties in Florida.⁶⁷ His estate was valued at nearly one hundred million dollars.⁶⁸

The last few years of Flagler's life were spent at his two million dollar palace-home, Whitehall, at Palm Beach. He divorced his second wife, Ida Alice Shourds, on grounds of insanity, in 1901, and in the same year, at the age of seventy-two, married thirty-four year old Mary Lily Kenan, of Wilmington, North Carolina.⁶⁹ Her

64. Rockwell, "Over Sea Railway", *loc. cit.*, 16.

65. The 1936 hurricane destroyed part of the railroad, and it was never rebuilt. The Florida State Highway Department has used much of the road bed for a modern highway to Key West.

66. *Florida Times-Union*, January 23, 1912.

67. Chapin, *Official Program*, 21.

68. Figures from records in Kenan Collection.

69. *Palatka Times-Herald*, August 30, 1901. Flagler's second wife Alice Shourds, became insane in 1896, and was placed in an institution in Central Valley, N. Y. The doctors gave no hope for her recovery. In 1901, the Florida legislature passed a law making incurable insanity grounds for divorce, whereupon Flagler was granted freedom from her. Alice Flagler died in 1930 in Central Valley.

companionship must have added years to the life of the aging Flagler. His modesty and retiring disposition, two qualities which had characterized him from his early life, persisted to the end. He died in Palm Beach on May 20, 1913, after a brief illness, and three days later was interred in the mausoleum in the Memorial Presbyterian Church at St. Augustine.⁷⁰

Flagler's life naturally falls into two parts : the making period and the spending period. During his years with the Standard Oil Company all of his energy was directed towards accumulating great wealth. Thus he became one of the richest men in America. After he went to Florida he befriended many people by helping them financially, and through his extensive developments aided tens of thousands of others, either directly or indirectly. The older he grew the more liberal he became in his views; and he gave generously of his time and money to many worthwhile causes, all of which will keep his name alive for years to come.

70. *St. Augustine Record*, May 30, 1913.

ALL GOVERNORS OF TERRITORIAL FLORIDA HAD BEEN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

by JAMES B. WHITFIELD

Andrew Jackson, the first American Governor of East and West Florida in 1821 had been a Member of Congress and a United States Senator from Tennessee and was then a Major General in the United States Army. He was in 1828 elected President of the United States and was reelected in 1832. He was born near the North Carolina-South Carolina boundary line March 15, 1767 and died at his home "The Hermitage" near Nashville, Tennessee, June 8, 1845.

William Pope DuVal, the first Territorial Governor of Florida, 1822-1834, was born in Mount Comfort, Virginia, in 1784. He moved to Kentucky and was a Member of Congress from that State, 1813-1815. On May 18, 1821, he was appointed United States Judge of East Florida. In 1822 he was appointed the first Territorial Governor of Florida and served four consecutive terms of three years each. In 1838 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention at St. Joseph, Florida, and was President of the Territorial Senate in 1841. He moved to Texas in 1848 and while on a visit to Washington, D. C., he died there March 19, 1854.

John Henry Eaton, the second Territorial Governor of Florida, was born in Halifax county, North Carolina, June 18th 1790; moved to Tennessee; was appointed and elected a United States senator from Tennessee in 1818, when he was 28 years of age. He was Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Andrew Jackson. From 1834 to 1836 he was Governor of Florida; then was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain, 1836 to 1840. He died in Washington, D. C. November 17, 1856.

Richard Keith Call, the third Governor of Florida Territory was born near Petersburg, Virginia, October 24, 1792. He came to Florida with General Jackson's army and in 1823 was elected a Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Florida. He was appointed Governor of the Territory of Florida in 1836 and served until 1840; was appointed again after Governor Eaton's

term and served 1841-1844. He died in Tallahassee, December 14, 1862.

Robert Raymond Reid was born in Beaufort, South Carolina, September 8, 1789. He moved to Augusta, Georgia and was a Congressman from that State 1819-1823. From 1832 to 1839 he was United States Judge of the East Florida District. He was President of the St. Joseph Constitutional Convention 1838-9; and was appointed Governor of the Territory of Florida in December 1839 and served until March, 1841. He died at Blackwood, near Tallahassee, on July 1 of the same year.

John Branch, the last Territorial Governor of Florida, was born in Halifax county, North Carolina, November 4, 1782. He was Governor of North Carolina, United States Senator and later Member of Congress from his native State. He became a resident and a large cotton planter but not a citizen of Florida, and after several years residence near Tallahassee, he was appointed Governor of the Territory in 1844, and served until June 1845 when Florida became a state. Later he returned to his native State and died there on January 3d, 1863.

THOMAS FREDERICK DAVIS

Thomas Frederick Davis died on October 17 last.

For many years there have not been many of his days in which Florida history did not claim at least an hour or two. His research was a continual search for the truth, not an effort to write history as he wished it to be. Only when the evidence seemed indisputable did he suggest his conclusions; more often he spread the result of his research before the reader and left it for each one to draw his own conclusions.

There is a brief biographical sketch of Mr. Davis in the *Florida Historical Society Number* of this QUARTERLY (XIX, p. 62, July 1940) ; but that scarcely indicates the large part he had as treasurer in keeping our Society going for the years when interest in it was limited, nor does the listing of his writings there show what he accomplished for our State's history.

His early historical work was on Jacksonville. In 1911 he published *The History of Early Jacksonville, Florida*, a volume of 199 pages. He continued his research on Jacksonville history, and in 1925 the Florida Historical Society published his *History of Jacksonville, Florida, and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924*, an octavo volume of 513 pages, which is a full history of the city and its district.

Then, going into the larger field of Florida history, he wrote several monographs and numerous articles, including the *Ponce de Leon Number* of this QUARTERLY, and "McGregor's Invasion of Florida, 1817," also published herein. In addition to other separate articles, he has contributed to these pages the series of narratives from early contemporaneous sources which we have called "Pioneer Florida." These have appeared in each issue of the QUARTERLY since October 1943.

His most important work for the benefit of Florida historians is his *A Digest of Florida Material in Niles' Register* which is fully described in this QUARTERLY (XVIII, p. 227). That important periodical might be regarded as a continuous, contemporaneous and semi-official history of the United States for the years of its publication, 1811-1849. Mr. Davis, in his spare time dur-

ing the greater part of two years, extracted all of the Florida historical material from the 76 volumes of the *Register* and condensed it into a single volume. This has not been printed, but he placed copies of the work in the principal historical libraries of Florida and in the Library of Congress, so it is available to any one. That volume is as much a monument to him as is his *History of Jacksonville*.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Prince in their Midst: The Adventurous Life of Achille Murat on the American Frontier. By A. J. Hanna (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1946. pp. xi, 275, illustrations, bibliography. \$3.00)

It has long been known that Floridians once had a prince in their midst and that his name was Murat. So much, and little more, was knowledge ; beyond that was legend compounded of rumor, gossip, exaggeration, and outright invention. Out of this came our indistinct image of Murat as a man of mystery and glamour to be remembered, if remembered at all, only for his reputed eccentricities.

Such a legendary character is a direct challenge to the historian, and Professor Hanna undertook the task of piercing the encrusting legend to discover the Prince within. His investigation could draw little help from printed material; it was only by examination of manuscript sources, especially the letters of Murat himself, that even the ordinary facts of Murat's life could be gleaned. The author located these letters in Italy, France, Austria, and in various collections in the United States. They revealed the facts of Murat's career; Murat's more formal writings added their revelations of his ideas and principles. So extensive was the search for materials that the reviewer cannot believe that any vital source has been overlooked. Neither can he believe that from the sources now existing any more complete biography of Murat could be written.

The Prince Murat who emerges from this painstaking study is a Murat quite different from the Prince of popular fancy. The glamour has gone with the mystery. This impression of departed glamour is strengthened by the art of the author in telling his story: the style is restrained, matter-of-fact, sedate, studiously dispassionate. Only occasionally does a sly innuendo or a caustic epigram remind the reader that the author of *A Prince* is also co-author of *The St. Johns*. The style is fashioned, if not to the author, at least to the subject, of the biography.

Murat, aged 22, seeking relief from an irksome life of regimented exile in Austria came to the United States in 1823 and after a short visit with his Uncle Joseph in New Jersey went on to Florida, being influenced thereto by that original Florida booster, Richard K. Call whom he had met in Washington. He brought with him certain assets and liabilities. His assets were the glory of his name, and his consuming ambition to win fame and fortune for himself; his liabilities were an impetuous temperament and a pronounced incapacity for patient application. With scanty deliberation, or none, he bought a plantation near St. Augustine, but after a year of something less than success as a planter he followed the rainbow to the frontier of the present Jefferson county where, within some fifteen miles of the new capital Tallahassee, he acquired a plantation ("Lipona"), married the widow Catherine Gray, and set out again in pursuit of his double goal. Here, but for a two-year sojourn in New Orleans, he continued to make his home until his death in 1847.

His life in Florida divides itself into two periods of ten years each. The first period, 1825-1835 is a time of ambition, of striving and of constant hope; the second, 1837-1847 is a period of hopelessness, of resignation, and of abject submission to Giant Despair. It was in the first period that Murat made his failure, in the second period that he acknowledged it. He failed to gain wealth. As a planter his application was too inconstant for success; as a business man his judgment was too warped by his visions. As a prelude to a coveted public career he studied law, was admitted to practice and had law offices in Tallahassee and at his plantation home. The law brought him some remuneration and a modest recognition, but as a stepping-stone to political preferment it proved altogether vain, and Murat was beaten in the only race he ever ran, for a seat in the Legislative Council. The only political office he ever held was that of county judge of Jefferson county, and he held this by appointment. Other appointive offices were those of postmaster (at "Lipona") and of inspector of West Point; for neither of

these positions did he apparently have any qualification other than his name. His nearest approach to success was in his writing, much of which was done in England at a period of enforced idleness while waiting in vain an opportunity to re-enter Continental politics. His two books describing American life and explaining American government were designed for Europeans and were popular enough to receive translation into German, Dutch, Swedish, and English.

The second period of Murat's life finds him bankrupt as a result of extravagance and participation in wildcat business. The sordid tentacles of the Union bank dragged him under, the panic of 1837 drove the price of cotton to its nethermost depths, a rampant, if somewhat out-at-the-elbows democracy denied him political preferment. Murat had fought a good fight but he had finished his course. He gave himself up to intemperance and let himself sink into sloth. He was an old man at forty. He was growing bald and was becoming as fat as his Uncle Napoleon. Incapable of further effort to escape the slough of despond he died April 15, 1847.

As a factor in Florida history Murat was of negligible importance. It is impossible to believe that he was ever able to influence the course of events in the territory or, to any great extent, even in his own section. This judgment does not imply that the author's work has been wasted. There are times when the most valuable thing the historian can do is to establish a negative. The author thinks that Murat never became an American; that his heart, consciously or sub-consciously was always in Europe. That may be; but at least he became a Southerner, espousing and expounding the Southern view of slavery and tariff. The author thinks, also, that, for all his trying to become a democrat, he always remained an aristocrat. It would seem not impossible to be both.

The reviewer recognizes in this book but one misstatement of fact: Murat's plantation is said to have been fifteen miles west of Tallahassee whereas it was really east. This is evidently a slip of the pen. It can be presumed that "Wascissa" is a variant, not a misspelling,

of Wacissa, and that DuVal was the contemporary form of Duval. The strictures on Lafayette are harsh and the author's view of the settling and revolt of Texas seems inconsistent with the facts established by Professor Barker.

None of these things affects the value of the book, and that value is high. For Floridians its highest value is not that it extends the Bonaparte saga or reconstructs a picture of the Southern frontier but that with clarity and finality it ends the myths and legends surrounding Murat by the simple (and much neglected) device of establishing the facts. It may occur to the remembering reader that the same author once performed a similar task in identical fashion in a book called *Flight into Oblivion*.

R. S. COTTERILL.

Florida State College for Women
Tallahassee

Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or God's Protecting Providence. Being the Narrative of a Journey from Port Royal in Jamaica to Philadelphia between August 23, 1696 and April 1, 1697. Edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews. (Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, XIX.) New Haven, Yale University Press, 1945. pp. x, 252, illustrations and maps. \$3.00

God's Protecting Providence, the journal in which Jonathan Dickinson recorded a "remarkable deliverance" from the savages of Florida, was originally published in Philadelphia by Reinier Jansen in 1699, the first of twenty issues and editions in which the work was brought out at various times and places within the ensuing two centuries. Among the earliest of the Indian Captivities, it remains for many of us second in interest to none of its successors.

Note - Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth, who has given us this review, is librarian of John Carter Brown Library, in which is a noteworthy collection of early editions of Dickinson's *Journal*, seven prior to and including that of 1774. For other of the earliest and rarest of Florida historical material see *Source Materials of Florida History in the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University* in this QUARTERLY, xx pp. 3-46 (July, 1941).

Dickinson's journal is a literate narrative written by a Quaker of good education and of good position among the planters and merchants in his native island of Jamaica. On September 23, 1696, the barkentine *Reformation* in which he was sailing upon a trading voyage from Jamaica to Philadelphia, was wrecked off Jupiter Island, Florida, near the mouth of Jupiter Inlet into which flows the Loxahatchee River. Taken into a rigorous custody by the Jobeses Indians of that area, the ship's company suffered in that captivity, and in their escape from it, hardships which in the reading seem almost unendurable. It was probably because of certain terms in the agreement between England and Spain, made effective by the Treaty of Madrid in 1670, that the Spanish officials in Florida proved themselves extremely helpful to the unfortunate Englishmen. It was the efforts of the Spanish governor, added to their own initiative, which brought Dickinson and most of his company, including his wife and infant son, safely to St. Augustine. Well received at that place by the authorities and generously aided in the matter of money, food, and clothing, they were soon afterwards guided thence to South Carolina. Arriving at Charleston late in December, 1696, Dickinson proceeded to Philadelphia, which he reached in April of the following year. His later life in that city forms no part of the narrative, but an appendix to the Andrews edition of the book before us carries on adequately with his biography as trader, citizen, and member of the local Society of Friends.

The narrative of Dickinson's experience, aside from its moving quality as a human document, has direct interest for the historian in the glimpses it offers of Spain in Florida in the period when, her power declining, she yet was holding tenaciously to what she had long ago established in that outpost of her American dominion. The documentation of that period is sparse, certainly so far as printed works are concerned, whether in English or Spanish. Dickinson's account of the nature and customs of the Indians by whom he was held or through

whose country he passed is another valuable feature of his journal, even though he tells as much by omission or by implication as by direct statement. His book stands, for example, with Father Pareja's *Catecismo* and *Confessionario*, with Le Moyne's and Hawkins's narratives, and with brief passages in one or two general works as basis for what is known today of the Timuquan Indians. Ten years after he saw those people in relative prosperity and contentment there began the complete annihilation which was their fate as adherents of the Spanish in the war with the English for dominion in Florida.

The book is generously planned by the editors, Evangeline Walker Andrews and the late Charles McLean Andrews. It begins with an introduction written by Mrs. Andrews, who concludes her comprehensive historical sketch of the background of the Dickinson voyage with the sentence, "It makes me proud and happy to have my name appear with his on the title-page of this reprint of Dickinson's *Journal*, which represents the last of our many voyagings together, as we explored, he as captain, I as mate, the enchanted realm of American Colonial History." Mrs. Andrews's introduction is followed by a reprint of the narrative from the text of the first edition. In a series of full and leisurely appendices, Dr. Andrews discusses the contemporary evidence which supports the truth of the narrative, and presents biographical sketches of Dickinson and the more important of the companions who shared with him the rigors and terrors of the adventure. The place of the Bahama Channel in Spain's American policy is clearly stated. An important section deals with the history of the Florida Indians and their state in the late seventeenth century. Mr. Samuel A. Galpin contributes a note on barkentines. A final section of the book is devoted to the bibliography of the narrative, with discussion of each edition and issue, locations of copies, and reproductions of title-pages. * Dr. Andrews's fresh account of Reinier Jansen, the Philadelphia printer, and of the Quaker printers in London is a contribution

*Vide - *Florida Historical Quarterly* XXI. 107-126; Charles M. Andrews, "God's Protecting Providence, A Journal of Jonathan Dickinson."

of value to the history of the press in the United States. Four maps make a pertinent addition to the clarification of the additional narrative.

The character of the Dickinson narrative and its historical implications would have been enough to engage the attention of Dr. and Mrs. Andrews even if their Florida home had not been upon the summit of the shell mound which rises beside Jupiter Inlet. Their love for that spot was additional incentive to the intensive study they made of the book. Dr. Andrews's great knowledge of American colonial origins and his experience in the ways and methods of research are here applied to what may seem to be a series of minor problems in connection with a source book of secondary importance. It is unnecessary to say that through his learned treatment of the book it is no longer a source of secondary importance. He has made of it, in the edition before us, one of the primary books for the study of the Southeast of the United States.

LAWRENCE C. WROTH.

REGIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A joint program meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society and other members of the Florida Historical Society of that district was held on November 13 with the view of bringing about closer cooperation and association. Dr. Mark F. Boyd, president of the Florida Historical Society, was to address the meeting and discuss the relationship of local and regional societies with the State society, but due to illness in his family this was postponed.

The meeting brought together a large number of members and others interested in Florida's history, including a delegation from Fernandina who told of the progress of a movement to organize a local society in that historic town—a project which was initiated and encouraged by the Jacksonville Historical Society.

The program was both informative and historical. Mr. Lewis G. Scoggin, under whom the Florida State parks are being developed, spoke of the historical interest of the parks and of the important aid which local historical societies can give in that development. Mr. John W. Griffin, appointed to the newly created office of Florida State Archaeologist, emphasized that archaeology is a part of history, and joined with Mr. Scoggin in asking the cooperation of local historical societies.

Miss Katherine F. Sproull spoke on the historical background of the Jacksonville area, and of the series of forts which each era built, from Fort Caroline, through the block-houses of the Seminole War, to the earthworks of the Civil War period—each representing another struggle for possession.

Mr. Richard P. Daniel, president of the Jacksonville Historical Society, presided, and expressed the regret of the meeting at the cause of Dr. Boyd's absence. There were reports from the Society's treasurer, and from the editor of the next issue of the Jacksonville Historical Society's annual, which is to appear soon.

THE MADISON HISTORICAL SOCIETY
by EDWIN B. BROWNING

(The Madison County Historical Society has long been one of the most active in the State. With the thought that it might be of service to other local and regional societies, Mr. Browning, past president of that society, was asked to give us some account of what the society has been doing, of what they plan to do, and especially of their educational program.)

The Madison County Historical Society has been re-activated, following a war-time suspension of activities, and is again attempting a full-scale effort, including its part in an educational program open to all the schools of the county. The major features of the program are:

The County Society seeks to organize Junior Historical Societies in the schools of the County, which are issued charters when certain conditions have been met. Membership is open to all students from grades 7 to 12. A Junior Society must consist of at least ten members and not over twenty-five. Groups wishing to secure a charter must : (1) have permission of the principal of the school ; (2) have a sponsor who is a member of the faculty; (3) elect officers and agree to hold regular meetings during the school term; (4) agree to send representatives to meetings of the County Society, and (5) adopt an activities program including research, publicity, public appearances-things related to fostering an interest in and a love for the history of the County.

The great need in carrying on this phase of our work is teachers, particularly social studies teachers, who realize the importance of local history in building culture. Where we have had interested and able teachers, the Junior Societies have enriched the school life and the lives of students.

The County Society, on an informal basis, furnishes consultative services on matters related to County and local history, carrying collections of materials before classes and before Junior Societies in an effort to stimulate the collection of items of historical interest. Guide service is given to classes or groups wishing to make field trips to places of historical interest. We strongly recommend well-planned historical tours as stimulants to

teacher and student interest; one has already been conducted this year-an all-day affair, with a picnic lunch. Brief explanatory talks are given on actual sites of historical importance.

Our Society plans to mark some of our most important sites with permanent markers, and the students have expressed the keenest interest in this work. We have supplied facts on the organization of the State Baptist Convention in this County on November 20, 1854, and given impetus to a movement which has resulted in erecting a monument on this significant site. Two years ago we assisted in writing the scripts for a May Day program based on the historical background of Madison County, and more recently we have prepared "Backward Glances" for student presentation on general occasions.

Local history studied aright is far more than ancestor hunting. "A great past calls us to a greater future."

NOTES

KEY WEST

During the late war Dr. A. W. Diddle, Lt., M.C., U.S.N.R., was stationed at Key West, and, after much research, wrote several articles of a medical nature relating to the town. One of these, first appearing in the *Quarterly of Phi Beta Pi*, was reprinted in the *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* (xxxii, p. 207).

Under the title "The African Depot of Key West" it is an account of the establishment of an encampment there in 1860 for the internment of more than 1,400 Negroes, in effect temporary slaves, from intercepted slave ships seized by the Navy. These Negroes were kept there several months until accepted by the American Colonization Society and sent to Liberia. A full account of the encampment and the Negroes is given from surviving documents. Due to the conditions on the slave ships, where as many as five hundred were crowded nude between decks of medium-size or small vessels, and to the unreadiness at Key West to receive such an unexpected influx, nearly three hundred died there notwithstanding the efforts made to care for them by the government officials.

Another result of Dr. Diddle's research is "Medical Events in the History of Key West," published in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* (May, 1944). Here is an account of the Marine Hospital which, under the United States Health Service and its predecessor, rendered hospital facilities to seamen and citizens of Key West for ninety-eight years. There is also some description of the numerous yellow fever epidemics and other medical happenings there. Dr. Joseph Y. Porter, the first Florida State Health Officer (1889-1917), of course comes into the narrative, who ". . . during his term of office contributed much to the elevation of medical standards in the state, particularly in the fields of sanitation and disease control."

FLORIDA HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The first lot of a series of microfilms of documents of every kind relating to Florida in the National Archives is now available. This lot consists of eleven rolls of films of eleven volumes of "Territorial Papers, Florida, 1777-1824." Positive films of the lot can be purchased from the Division of State Department Archives, The National Archives, Washington, D. C. for \$21.30. These films are now available for reading in Florida State Library and P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. These documents and records are of great value to Florida historians.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A joint program meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society and the Florida Historical Society was held on November 13, an account of which will be found on another page.

While this issue of the QUARTERLY is in press a joint meeting is being held with the Historical Association of Southern Florida, on December 9. A full account of this will be included in our next issue.

NEW MEMBERS

Floyd Warren Newman Jr, Jacksonville
Wilbur D. Jobe, Jacksonville
Perry C. Hull, LaBelle
Rev. Lamar J. Genovar, St. Petersburg
Los Angeles Public Library (subscriber to the Quarterly)

DECEASED MEMBERS

Charles O. Andrews, Orlando
Edward Bradley, Palm Beach
T. Frederick Davis, Jacksonville
Charles E. Doe, Gainesville
C. S. L'Engle, Jacksonville
Mrs. Meade A. Love, Quincy
Mabel A. Sanchez, Gainesville

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

From estate of Miss Mabel A. Sanchez, Gainesville:
Gainesville Sun, historical edition
Confederate bond \$100
Confederate currency and scrip:
Orange Springs, Florida, 1862, \$1
State of Florida, \$10, 1861
State of Florida, \$10, 1863
Confederate government \$100
From Mrs. W. J. Harris, St. Augustine:
Here and There in Our Country
Ekoniah Scrub, Among Florida Lakes
Paradise Plantation
From Hiram Faver, St. Augustine
Improvement of St. Johns Harbor
From S. Walter Martin, Athens, Ga.:
A New Englander's Impressions of Georgia in 1817-1818
From W. A. Pratt, Lake Worth:
Newspaper clippings, including *Wreck of the Vera Cruz* and *History of Tampa*
From T. Ralph Robinson, Terra Ceia :
Origin of the Temple Orange
Citrus in Florida
From Stephen C. Singleton, Miami:
Sunniland, 12 nos. 1924-1926
Hollywood Magazine, 10 nos. 1924-1925
South (Florida Society of America) Jan. Feb. 1926
Tropic Magazine, Miami, Feb., March, 1926

From C. Herbert Laub, University of Tampa:

Original letter of David Levy (Yulee) to Dr. - Jones,
Tallahassee, May 18, 1843 "The election here is over; My
majority will be about 1200."

Florida Marines. News of Floridians in Marine Corps
Palms and Flowers, 80 drawings and descriptions by Francis Hall,
Jacksonville

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Occie Clubbs is a public school principal of Pensacola who has an M.A. degree in history from the University of Florida.

Dr. *Dorothy Dodd*, Florida State Archivist, was editor of the recently published "Florida Becomes a State." She has contributed numerous articles to this QUARTERLY.

Dr. S. Walter Martin is Professor of History in the University of Georgia. He is the author of "Florida During Territorial Days."

Judge James B. Whitfield, recently retired, served nearly forty years on the Florida Supreme Court.

Dr. Robert S. Cotterill, Professor of History in the Florida State College for Women, has published several volumes on Southern history as well as numerous historical articles.