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STEPHEN RUSSELL MALLORY

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM FLORIDA AND CONFEDERATE
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

by OCCIE CLUBBS

PART II

Of those who have been identified with early Key West, one who has been given highest acclaim is Ellen Mallory, Stephen R. Mallory's mother. A contemporary noted:

"The first white female settler of Key West was Mrs. Mallory in 1823, the mother of the present United States Senator from Florida ; she is an intelligent, energetic woman of Irish descent, and still keeps an excellent boarding house, for the accommodation of visitors-there being no taverns upon the island." ¹

Another noted that "For some considerable time [after 1823] she was without a single companion of her own sex [on the island]. As the pioneer matron of the place, she was presented with a choice lot of land, on which she has erected a house, which she now occupies, as a boarding house, dispensing to the stranger, with liberal hand, and at a moderate price, the hospitalities of the place." ²

Key West's leading twentieth century chronicler speaks for himself and quotes two others:

"First in point of time as well as in affection and esteem of her contemporaries, was Mrs. Ellen Mallory. Two distinguished men have told of her virtues" ³ writes Judge Browne "and they can best be recorded by quoting them." He repeats Governor Marvin's judgment:

"I mention Mrs. Mallory last because she is last to be forgotten and not because she was the mother of an United State senator and secretary of the navy of the

1. *Pensacola Gazette*, May 8, 1852. Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*, "What I Saw in Key West, March 30, 1852."
2. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, July, 1929, p. 51, "Key West and Salvage in 1850."
3. Browne, Jefferson B. *Key West, the Old and the New*. St. Augustine, 1912, pp. 186-187.

Confederacy, but because she was situated where she could do good and she did it. Left a widow in early womanhood, she bravely fought the battle of life alone, and supported herself by her labor in respectful independence. She kept the principal boarding house in town. She was intelligent, possessed of ready Irish wit, was kind, gentle, charitable, sympathetic, and considerate of the wants of the sick and poor. She nursed the writer through an attack of yellow fever and was always as good to him as his own mother could have been."⁴

The sentiment of another, crystallized through a long friendship is contained in an excerpt from an address delivered in 1876:

"To the ladies particularly I would now address myself. Hitherto I have foreborne to notice any of your sex, to whom the present residents are indebted for having, by their example in the past sown the seeds of those virtues from which they are now reaping the fruits.

"Let me therefore be permitted (with feeling akin to filial regard and 'devotion) to place upon the canvas which is intended to represent your city, one portrait, one name, without which the picture would be more incomplete than it is—that of Mrs. Ellen Mallory, one whose residence antedates the existence of our chartered rights as citizens of Key West."

The loving tribute goes on:

"Methinks I hear her musical voice today as she was wont to speak, standing at the bedside of the sick and dying in days gone by. Catholic by rites of baptism, oh! how truly catholic in the better and non-sectarian use of that term, was her life, devoted as it was to acts of kindness. Her husband died shortly after their arrival; she kept for many years the only comfortable boarding house on the island, located first on the north side of Fitzpatrick street and subsequently, after the proprietors had expressed their appreciation of her character and usefulness, by a donation of a lot of ground, on her own premises, on the south side of Duval street near Front.

4. *Ibid.*

"With many opportunities of becoming rich, she died comparatively poor. Next to her God, her devotion centered in her son, Stephen R. Mallory, whom she brought to this island a child of tender age, and lived to see occupying a seat in the Senate of the United States as one of the Senators from Florida."

Going tranquilly about her duties, or dispelling discouragement with the tonic of fortitude and hope, the picture is beautiful:

"Twice as I remember, I had the pleasure of receiving the proffered hand of this lady. First, with words of 'Welcome' to your city, when as a poor young man I became one of your number. Second, on the occasion of sore affliction, when the balm of consolation gratefully reached my ears, and pointed my mind to contemplations of future usefulness.

"She died in 1855. Her mortal remains lie in yonder cemetery respected of all men. She left no enemy on earth.

"Requiescat in pace." ⁵

"Such was the woman who founded the family of Mallory in Florida ; is it any marvel that she was the mother and grandmother of United States senators . . .?" ⁶

The hurricane of 1846 was one of unusual severity and probably obliterated the mortal remains of Charles Mallory and his son, John. Mrs. Mallory was buried in a new cemetery begun after that storm, where a slab about six feet high is inscribed:

MALLORY
Ellen Mallory
born at
Carrick-on-Suir, 1792
died at Key West
May 15, 1855 ⁷

5. Maloney, Walter C., *A Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida*. Newark, N. J. 1876, pp. 60-62.

6. Browne, *op. cit.* p. 187.

7. Semmes, Sister Catherine, Convent of Mary Immaculate, Key West, letter, Aug. 23, 1932. The writer is a grand-daughter of Admiral Raphael Semmes.

Perhaps at no time was the old Key West custom of closing the stores along the route of a funeral procession as a tribute of respect more spontaneously and wholeheartedly observed than when Ellen Mallory's remains were borne to their final resting place. The entire population doubtless walked behind the bier-another usage of the old Key West.⁸

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

It was while he lived in Key West that Stephen Mallory married Angela Moreno of Pensacola. The quaint terms, the strict conventionality, the persistence and gallantry of the suitor, and the touching little affectations of feminine disdain that characterized the wooing of an older day are charmingly apparent from his own story of his courtship:

"In 1830-early on a pleasant spring morning, sitting upon a wharf at Key West",⁹ he recounts, his eyes first beheld the vivacious young Spanish girl. The heart of the blue-eyed, sturdy young man capitulated at the first glance. Fatal admission of his own feelings, he remembers the details of Angela's costume:

"Dressed, I remember, all in white and with a white jacket, I first saw your mother-then just from Pensacola, and with the other young ladies on her way to Bridgeport to school. She spent a day at Key West; and my attention was very strongly attracted to her, so strongly that I never forgot her, but on the contrary thought of her much and often-I visited young ladies and generally stood well with them, but avoided all special intimacies and discouraged all suspicions of preferences as to the general notion of my intentions. I allowed nothing to interfere with my reading."¹⁰

Continuing his narrative, Mallory relates some of his experiences fighting Indians and then resumes the story of his romance:

"Before I left Key West in 1834 I had paid McIntosh, the commander of the Pensacola Navy Yard a visit,

8. Duncan, W. C., Key West, statement, July 14, 1933.

9. Mallory, *Diary* No. 2, pp. 184-185.

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

really to see Miss Moreno, your mother, who was very intimate with Cousin L. [Mrs. McIntosh.]"¹¹

He continues: "I met her at the Navy Yard at the Commodore's where I staid off-and here after a brief acquaintance I offered myself. I had formed an ideal of the woman I would marry and she came up to it. She was Catholic, spoke French, Spanish, and English, and was musical. Such were my demands; but she excelled all my ideals ; she had what I regarded as [illegible] and a great deal besides.-My courtship was rather odd, and may amuse you."

He goes on to relate: "Having fixed the day of my departure, I was anxious of an opportunity to develope my feeling to her ; and on a memorable evening, when Mrs. McIntosh and her children, at about nine o'clock rose to retire, I requested Miss Moreno to remain, said that it was early and that I would read to her; we were upon the opposite side of the parlor center table. She assented. I sat down. After reading a brief time I laid the book aside, and began very nervously and formally the story of my life, and my 'ideal'. She listened not very long, but rose with apparent feeling, almost anger, and with a very demonstrative manner, picked up a candlestick, told me that she would not have remained with me had she known my purpose, that I misled her, etc., and looked as if she thought me a sort of swindler who had cheated her, and in a disagreeable manner."

Analyzing his own feelings, perhaps to extenuate the bit of melodrama which followed, he writes:

"I was very indignant to be sure. I had dreamed of her and thought of her, and of no one else, night and day, since first I saw her as a young girl ; and now, that I had discovered her my veritable 'ideal' my soul was engrossed by her; and to be treated thus, waved off in what I mistook for a most heartless air of superiority, was more than I could digest. The winding doors had

11. James McKay McIntosh, 1794-1860, served three tours of duty at the Pensacola Navy Yard, Knox, D. W., Captain, U.S.N. (Ret.), Officer-in-Charge, Navy Department, Office of Naval Records and Library, *Letter ARL*, Washington, May 22, 1936.

been closed, and the house shut up, the parlor door to the entry only being open ; and as she turned to pass it, I jumped to the door, closed, locked it, and put the key in my pocket. There she stood looking at me in mute surprise, and finding retreat cut off, looked as if about to hurl the candle stick at my head. I gave her but a moment to retract, however, when I told her that I had undertaken to say to her what I never would say to another human being ; that I was, with my soul upon my lips, and in a most respectful manner, paying her a greater compliment than I ever could pay another, and that she must listen to me,-must at least hear what I had to say,-We both stood face to face in that closed room, both much excited, but as calm in appearance as a cucumber."

This was the courtship, typical of a century ago.

"Well, sir, I will hear you", said Miss Moreno.

Evidently, she endeavored to maintain her air of affronted dignity by standing, for the *Diary* related:

"I then told her to take a seat, and refused to take a seat myself to begin my talk until she did. So with an effort to subdue her indignation she quickly sat down. I then in the most humble and respectful terms, apologized for seeming rudeness-and explained the intensity of my feelings for her, my long devotion, etc., etc.,-Not one word did she say to interrupt me. I closed by telling her I wanted no answer then, as I felt she was prejudiced against me, but in two years' time I would renew this suit, and would marry no other woman than her. To all of which, when I had unlocked the door, she simply said, 'You never need renew your offer, for I will never listen to it again.' Thus we parted; she did not answer my 'Good-night', refused to shake hands with me, and flew upstairs in a hurry and returned to town next day."

The future Secretary, apparently, made no effort to banish the image of the charming descendant of Castile from his heart for he recorded:

"I returned to Key West and pursued the even tenor of my way, my heart ever vanishing secretly, for I made a confidant of no one. [To] my 'ideal' at the end of two

years I wrote a very sensible letter that would do credit to a head and heart far older and more experienced than mine, renewing my offer."

The letter was delivered by some friend personally. "She performed her part faithfully", Mallory affirmed. But the friend reported that Angela "was a belle, much courted, but was heart whole."

When the response came Mallory was thrown into such deep dejection that he sought relief in some more Indian fighting. To him, the very kindness of the letter seems to add a tone of finality, for he wrote:

"Her answer came in due course,-politely almost feelingly, but yet decidedly, rejecting me. There was no air of command, no evidence of scorn or assumption of superiority; it was perfectly just from beginning to end,-as a rejection.-But I did not know her calligraphy, and I conceived her letter was written by Commodore McIntosh and only signed by her; and in my indignation of what I considered this needless exposure of my feelings to a third person,-though he was my friend, I tore the letter into fragments on the spot. In doing so my attention was attracted by the seal which was of wax, and had the impression [illegible] of a dark lantern held up by an arm, with 'Lighter hours will come' as its motto.-This seal I carefully saved, and started at once to banish my chagrin, upon my first Indian campaign with it near my heart."¹²

Fate now stepped in and helped the young lover.

"I deemed it prophetic, as the fall of the year approached, I having returned home in the meantime, our Second Expedition to which I have referred, was fitted out and a post was offered me. I was corresponding with Mrs. McIntosh, and before I left in the fall of 37, I wrote her a long poetic epistle; rhyming from beginning to end, and much of it rather odd and mirthful, and a good deal about Miss Moreno, after whom I had named my

12. Mallory, *Diary* No. 2, pp. 187-188.

Before his marriage, Mallory had a seal in rebus form, "All [an awl] My Eye [an eye] Betty Martin [a popular colloquialism]. Now in possession of Mrs. S. R. Mallory Kennedy, Pensacola.

race boat.-When the campaign which had run into March and April of 1838 was over it finished at Pensacola where I went with the Command." ¹³

One wonders if the winsome personality, overcast with gloom, was not a factor in the chase after Indians over in West Florida. At any rate, there is evidence of conspiracy as one reads:

"We landed, a few officers and myself at daybreak, walked through Palafox Street all silent as death, to Collins Hotel. Here after making our toilets, and we had not been clean for many months, nor dressed cleanly, we breakfasted, and Purnell and I, who had ordered a couple of horses to ride out a mile from town to see Mr. McIntosh's wife, went out on the piazza of the hotel. Now you must know Miss Moreno lived precisely opposite, and looking over, she was on the piazza, addressing some inquiry to a gentleman near me. I did not look at her. She then supposed that she might be mistaken and that it was not me whom she saw, but this doubt was dispelled

13. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

Of Mallory's adventures with the Indians, some mention is made in the official history of the United Marine Corps:

"A plan was prepared for an expedition of the Marines and a party of bluejackets under Lieutenant Levin M. Powell of the Navy to proceed from Key West to Cape Florida and New River to capture two hundred Seminoles in a night attack. Lieutenant Powell's expedition, accompanied by the *Washington*, left the *Vandalia* at Key West in eight boats, on October 13, 1836. It was formed of nine officers, including First Lieutenant N[athaniel] S. Waldron and Second Lieutenant F. B. McNeill of the Marines, ninety-five Marines and fifty bluejackets. Mr. Stephen Mallory and Dr. Lietner accompanied the expedition, McClellan, Maj. Edwin North, U. S. Marines, Officer-in-Charge, Historical Section, "Indian Campaigns 1835-1842, Material and Sources of Chapter VI, Volume Two (Part One), *History of the United States Marine Corps*, p. 47.

A brace of dueling pistols presented to Mallory by Col. Fitzpatrick are now in possession of Mrs. S. R. Mallory Kennedy. The weapons bear the inscription, surmounted by the coat of arms, "Don Francisco de Sayre, The Spanish Patriot, The Friend of Britain, From H. R. H. The Prince Regent of Great Britain". The case which Mallory had constructed is completely fitted with shot, powder, shot mold, flint and flint patches. A ramrod is provided.

The prestige of the hostelry is shown by a local news item: "Hon. Mr. Clifford, U. S. Minister to Mexico arrived and took lodgings at Collins Hotel. The Revenue Cutter, *Walcott*, with him on board was greeted with twenty-one guns from the Navy Yard", *Pensacola Gazette*, January 6, 1849.

by learning from the gentleman that a vessel with the forces of Capt. Powell had just arrived,-She then made her sister, now Mrs. Garnett, play upon the guitar and sing an air of which I was very fond, inside of the Venetian blinds. I listened to all, saw all, and managed to consume a great deal of time in altering my stirrups. After a while I rode off, without looking at her, and called upon Mrs. McIntosh. She asked me how long I intended to stay. I replied candidly, that I had only come to see Miss Moreno, but would not go to see her unless I could learn that my chances with her had improved. I asked Mrs. McIntosh what she thought of them."

Her hesitation and reflection that Mallory records, indicates that perhaps she was a confidante of Angela:

" 'I think you had better go to her and judge for yourself.' Knowing that my cousin was warmly attached to me, I took her advice as favorable to my hopes. I was off again in a full run to turn in a few minutes. Capt. McIntosh rode with me but could not keep up to my speed, and insisted upon my coming down to a canter. We rode at once to her house, and before I came to it I had rehearsed to myself a very sensible, frank, feeling and manly address of about two minutes in length with which I designed to renew my suit; a sort of 'you see I am here again-but this is the last time; better take me now, etc., speech.' I walked into the parlor, gave my name to the servant, and turned to look at a picture, when I heard a voice at my [illegible] say, 'So Sir, you have come at last have you? After not even looking at me this morning?' "¹⁴

14. Mallory, *Diary* No. 2, pp. 189-190.

Book A of Marriage Records, p. 113, Escambia County Court House, has this entry:

"I hereby certify that I have this day joined in matrimony Stephen R. Mallory and Angela Moreno, according to the form adopted by the Roman Catholic Church. Given under my hand at Pensacola the 21st July 1838-

S. Y. Guinard

Pres.

The priest uses the abbreviated French form for "priest". A number of his entries are entirely in that language. One reference gives 1837 as the year of the marriage, Lamb, *op.cit.*, p. 336.

Of course, the words so carefully chosen and repeated, fled.

"What became of my speech I know not, nor did it recur to me for weeks. I was so overpowered by emotion, and yet so determined not to manifest any, that in the contest of feelings the room began to turn around; and pleading to her that I had been in the open air for 6 months, never in a house or tent during the time, and that the close room was oppressing which was all true, I requested her to walk out with me for a few minutes and let me have the pleasure of talking to her.-She at once put on her bonnet, and getting into the street, said in her off hand manner, 'What in the world has brought you here?'

Lydia McIntosh's matchmaking proclivities and Stephen's changed tactics were manifestly bearing fruit. It required less discernment than Mallory possessed to realize that the race was won, dropping all subterfuge, he replied:

"You have. I came to see you alone-Refuse me and I go back at once; but not to give up, for I am determined to marry you in spite of your [illegible].

"Her response was 'I had determined to accept your offer if you ever renewed it', and I was supremely happy-We were married in the following June [1838] ; and from that day she has been to me all that wife could be to husband, all to you and her other children, that Mother could be."¹⁵

IN KEY WEST AGAIN

The young couple upon their arrival in Key West, rented a dwelling and "went to house-keeping" on Stephen's limited means. Mrs. Mallory cited the fact that they had but two servants to prove how contracted was her husband's income. With his profession of law, Mallory combined the function of notary public. He declared that

"In this business your mother aided me greatly, by copying my public papers"¹⁶

15. Mallory, *Diary* No. 2, pp. 190-191.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

In 1839 Don Francisco Moreno paid a visit to his son-in-law and daughter in Key West. He was obviously impressed with the sound judgment and business ability of Stephen Mallory for he volunteered to advance him a sum sufficient to buy a house. This speaks well for Mallory, for though a wealthy man, Moreno had the reputation of great caution in money matters. The offer was accepted and in the home then purchased, much of the childhood of Stephen Jr., and the other Mallory children was spent beneath the coconut trees, for the father writes:

"You and I and our dear Frank were very happy there, my dear boy, for we were playmates, and I had scarcely a pleasure that you both did not share, and here let me confess to you that the confidential intercourse, and free companionship between us, which I was ever anxious to maintain, constituted much of the happiness of my life. We were a devoted family, and you and Frank were ever with me. Teaching you boxing, swimming, shooting, boating, etc., telling you an instructive legend every evening nourished ever our mutual affection."¹⁷

He further stated that his "rock of this earthly life"¹⁸ was the love for his children and their mother, and that even writing from his prison cell his "heart swells with pleasure, with an enduring happiness at the reflection that I cannot tax myself with a needless harsh word, with any act or word not dictated by the purest affection toward my children".¹⁹

Stephen Mallory's ability caused early requisition upon his services for public office. He writes of his attitude toward Monroe County politics:

"I refused to go to the legislature or run for any office before the people, but took an active share in politics as a Democrat, purchased types, never a printer, set up a paper, and held the county Democratic."²⁰

17. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

Mallory came into national prominence in 1850, when he refused to attend the Nashville Convention. Possibly he agreed with Governor Brown of Florida that the meeting was "ill-timed and inexpedient" in view of the discussion in Congress on the Compromise. The *Nashville Banner* in the hostess city considered the meeting "a desecration of the capitol of the State" as it was to plot the "destruction of the National Confederacy".

None of the Florida congressional delegation attended the sessions in Nashville although Representative Edward Carrington Cabell, had been named to it.²¹ He was a Whig, an alumnus of the University of Virginia and at the time a citizen of Leon county.²² Of the two senators whose terms overlapped those of Mallory in that body, Jackson Morton was, like Cabell, a Virginian, who had moved to Pensacola in 1820 and achieved success in the lumber business. As Florida's only Whig senator his prominence seems to have been due more to financial prestige than to ability, his public career being marked, says Mallory, with "that sort of chuckleheadedness which distinguishes all he says."²³ On the question of the Nashville Convention, Morton would likely have been satisfied to follow the decision of his two colleagues.

Of these three men, Senator David L. Yulee is most interesting and most important in this study; for not only was he a colleague of Mallory when the Southern senators withdrew in January 1861, but Mallory's membership in the upper house was obtained only after a lengthy trial before a Select Committee appointed to decide whether Mallory or Yulee had been elected in 1850.

Yulee was of Portuguese and Jewish descent, having been born in St. Thomas, West Indies, June 12, 1810, with the surname Levy, which by act of the Florida leg-

21. Dodd, Dorothy, "The Secession Movement in Florida, 1850-1861", Part I, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XII, 8. (July, 1933) Footnote, quoted from *Tallahassee Floridian*, May 18, 1850.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

23. Mallory, S. R., "Letter, March 2, 1861", *American Historical Review*, October 1906, p. 108.

islature in 1845 was changed to Yulee.²⁴ "In politics Yulee was a Democrat, an affiliation that followed naturally from his residence on his father's plantation near St. Augustine, whither he had gone in 1824 after six years of schooling in Norfolk, Virginia, for East Florida was preponderantly Democratic. He studied law with Robert Raymond Reid, later president of the Florida constitutional convention of 1838 and governor of the territory; and after admission to the bar in 1836, plunged into territorial politics. He soon evinced an adeptness at practical politics that secured his election to Congress in 1841 in the face of virulent personal opposition and in spite of the Whig presidential victory of that year. When Florida became a state in 1845 he was elected to the Senate, where he became an associate and an ardent admirer of Calhoun, who occasionally honored him by utilizing him as an instrument for the expression of his own views."²⁵

Probably to coerce the Executive's hand and to strengthen their cause, these three men in a letter, dated February 6, 1850, had requested Governor Brown to appoint delegates to the Nashville Convention. Yulee "holding that the North had violated the Missouri Compromise by proposing the Wilmot Proviso, was squarely opposed to any compromise."²⁶ With Cabell willing to conciliate, the course of Morton who was leaving the matter to his two associates, remained suspended.

B. M. Pearson, who with Joseph M. Hernandez had been appointed as delegate, from East and South Florida, requested Mallory to be his alternate. Mallory rejected the offer.

The powerful Charles E. Dyke, editor of *The Floridian & Journal*, quoting the letter of refusal to Pearson, from the *Florida Republican*, commented, editorially, that:

24. Yulee's grandfather as prime minister of Morocco gave his patronymic, Levy, its Moorish equivalent, Yulee.

25. Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

"Mr. Mallory has not swerved, so far as we know, from the views expressed in the letter, nor from the advocacy of any movement tending to a union among the people. We have before remarked, and we repeat the remark here, that he has given to the course of his predecessor, Mr. Yulee, on all the questions which have been under discussion, a hearty and unequivocal approval."²⁷

While Mallory could not "look hopefully to the efficacy of the Convention", he considered that it would "have accomplished a work of vital importance" if it "induce the union of sentiment upon one or more prominent measures" such as:

"the admission of California with her present boundaries-our rights in the Territories-or the recovery of fugitive slaves-if it shall induce the Southern States as a body, to define the bounds of their political forbearance, upon these questions . . . Upon all these questions, as upon others equally important to us, the North is determined and united. Her local elections do not permit a doubt of it.-A prominent politician here and there stands forth in bold relief to the universal feeling of his people,-but his feeble light, like the towers upon our fearful coast, serves but to disclose the extent and character of the peril and gloom which threaten us . . . In union is our safety. In union let us prescribe the limits of our forbearance, and in union let us preserve them. If the South can be brought to act firmly and unitedly for but six months, our northern *friends*, who count upon our dissension, will concede the justice for which we contend."²⁸

Clearly adhering to settlement under the Flag, Mallory supplemented:

"Constitutional rights, are secondary in importance to the question of our united action. With union we can make many different means available, without it can none prove effectual"²⁹

27. Mallory, S. R., to B. M. Pearson, Esq., "Letter from Mr. Mallory", *The Floridian & Journal*, Feb. 8, 1851.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

Dr. Dodd declares that Mallory was "sympathetic with the purpose" of the Convention although he urged "important pre-engagements" as his excuse in refusing the invitation of Pearson, whose alternate he was, to accompany him to Nashville.³⁰

On the other hand, William Watson Davis records that Mallory not only represented the state at the Convention but gave utterance to certain views there:

"As a factor in practical politics the 'Southern Rights' movement in Florida strengthened the Democratic party there. In the Nashville Convention of 1850 the state was represented by United States Senator Mallory. He was not enthusiastic and expressed the opinion that the convention was of no importance beyond possibly organizing the South to stand united against hostile opinion in the North. 'In ten years,' he said, 'no Northern statesman would be bold enough to break a lance in the Southern cause.' The future proved the fallacy of his prophecy."³¹

UNITED STATES SENATOR

Stephen R. Mallory in 1851 became the fourth United State senator from Florida, but not without a turbulent contest with his opponent, David Yulee,³² both in Florida and in the United States Senate.

Apparently, Mallory was a dark horse in that race, a contemporary news item stating:

"We learn from Tallahassee that the election of U. S. Senator had not come off. At a democratic caucus Mr. Yulee received a majority of the votes, but the Democratic majority . . . being only two, it is supposed they will drop him and unite on Mr. Mallory of Key West."³³

Interesting also is the fact that Mallory had championed Yulee. In a letter to J. T. Archer, dated 7th Dec.,

30. Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

31. Davis, William Watson, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, p. 36. As Professor Davis quotes from Mallory's letter of refusal, one must conclude that he used a fragmentary clipping, which led to the supposition that Mallory attended the Convention. Nor was Mallory then a senator.

32. Yulee was the last territorial delegate from Florida, having been reelected in 1845, and one of the first United States senators.

33. *Pensacola Gazette*, December 28, 1850.

1850, there is evidence of the reasons back of this seeming inconsistency. Before the tide had swept in his direction, Mallory declared that his residence at an isolated point and his limited personal acquaintance in other parts of the state, in his opinion, would mitigate against the success of the Democratic party, and so he was unwilling to be an accessory to such a result, if there "were one [who] enjoyed the genuine confidence of the party who could be secured."³⁴

In the complicated political drama in which Mallory apparently played a dual role, Dr. Dodd continues:

"From his entrance into politics, Mallory had been a Democrat and for years had been a firm supporter of Yulee. He was so far from adverse to the latter's reelection in 1851 that, when he heard his own name was being put forward in candidacy for the senatorship, he addressed an appeal to the party to unite in support of Yulee or any other sound Democrat who could 'be relied upon to battle for our great southern interests, and rights of our State.' Mallory was known personally only to seven of the members of the legislature which elected him, and it would seem on the whole that his availability as a candidate was largely a matter of his political obscurity. After his election, however, he made a chance meeting with Henry Clay in Havana the occasion for a declaration that he was a friend of the Union upon the basis of the Compromise." *The Floridian & Journal* thus comments upon Yulee's defeat:

"While we do not disguise our deep regret at the

34. Mallory, S. R., letter to J. T. Archer, dated Key West, Dec. 7, 1850, quoted by Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Archer was the first secretary of State of Florida and afterwards its attorney-general.

The proposition by the Lower House of the General Assembly to elect a United States Senator on the 9th, was subsequently negatived in the Senate, by a vote of 14 to 5. Rumor states that there is some little obfuscation among the ruling party in the Legislature in regard to this important business. . . . Messrs. Walker Anderson, Yulee, Baily, John Milton, and Mallory are now on the tapis—the last named said to be looked upon with most favor. Mr. Mallory is represented by the *Sentinel* to regard the late compromise as *constitutional*. He will not resist, then, of course; and coming from the East; his election would have an interesting effect upon some of the oriental Democracy with whom a submissionist is below par"; *Pensacola Gazette*, December 28, 1850 from the *Florida Republican*.

failure of the Legislature to return Mr. Yulee to the station which he had for six years filled with such eminent fidelity to the State and credit to himself, we rejoice that one every way qualified to succeed him has been selected in the person of Mr. Mallory. In his election, those who have opposed Mr. Yulee's course on the Compromise, and other questions, will find no cause for rejoicing. He is not one of *them*. He has again and again given to the course of his predecessor (Mr. Yulee) his most explicit and unequivocal commendation, and expressed his strong desire to see that gentleman re-elected. Going to Washington, he will take the place vacated by Mr. Yulee, in the noble band of Southern patriots, by the side of Berrien, Hunter, Mason, Butler, Soule, Davis and kindred spirits-with them to resist Northern injustice-with them to do battle for Southern laborers rights and the Constitution ; and in him his co-laborers will find not only a willing but an able auxiliary. We feel that we may congratulate our Southern friends at home and abroad on the selection of one entirely worthy of their confidence." ³⁵

That some hoped for a different course from Yulee's successor may be inferred from a "little piece of contemptible spite in a Washington letter to the *Richmond Enquirer*" :

"I will add, also, that the signal defeat of Mr. Yulee, from Florida, forms the theme of general rejoicing. His factious and intemperate opposition to the compromise measures of the last session hastened his fall.

"We only notice it to express our surprise that a paper of such character as the *Enquirer* should suffer itself to become the medium for circulating palpable falsehoods and injurious imputations.'" ³⁶

35. *The Floridian & Journal*, "Election of Senator - Mr. Mallory Chosen", Jan. 18, 1851 Cf., *The News*. Jacksonville, January 25, 1851.

36. *The Floridian & Journal*, editorial without caption, Feb. 8, 1851. Dyke attributed Yulee's defeat to "personal hostility" and his devotion to south Florida and not to his "opposition to the Compromise", *Ibid.*

The *Florida Whig* deploring the party's defection in the legislature that assembled in 1850, added:³⁷

"There is evidently a leak of Whig strength in the lower House, so the two parties stand numerically equal".³⁸

The contest that ensued in the United States Senate for the seat was therefore not a partisan affair, but it hinged on a technicality in regard to blank votes.

Strangely enough the South's arch-enemy, Edwin M. Stanton³⁹, pled the case of Yulee, one of the most aggressive of secessionists, before the Select Committee of the United States Senate, on June 10, 1852. While advocating the cause of the complainant, at the same time his address is fairly comprehensive of the arguments on both sides, as he offered rebuttal to the allegations of Senator Mallory:

"The history of the case", declared Stanton, "is briefly this. Florida being admitted into the union as a State in 1845, two Senators were then elected, of whom the term of one would expire on the 4th of March 1851. Anticipating this event, the legislature of that State, in the preceding January, undertook to fill the vacancy. Mr. Yulee claims that it was filled by his election of the 13th of January. Mr. Mallory claims that it was filled on the 15th by his election; and he, being in possession of the seat, the burthen is, in the first instance, on the claimant."

Continuing he proceeded to the elective body: "The General Assembly consists of forty Representatives and nineteen Senators, a majority of whom constitutes a quorum to do business. Ten Senators and twenty-one Representatives being a majority, constitute a quorum

37. Mallory's election was a rebuke to "Southern agitators". He is "said to be possessed of unusual powers of memory," "Key West and Salvage in 1850", *Florida Historical Quarterly* VII, p. 59.

38. *Pensacola Gazette*, Dec. 14, 1850.

39. Stanton was "always an anti-Catholic," and Mallory's membership in that denomination, may have had some relevancy to his advocacy of Yulee's cause. Stanton later "ruled that Lincoln's assassination had been a Catholic plot" and the fate of Mrs. Suratt has been charged to her Roman faith: Lewis, "The Four Who Were Hanged", *Liberty*, Feb. 11, 1928, pp. 14, 16-17.

of each House: and that number being present, upon well established legal principles, business may be transacted by the major part of them; so that, a quorum being present, six Senators and eleven Representatives may transact business, and, by consequence, may choose a Senator; . . . designating by name the object of choice by the living voice, is the manner prescribed for all legislative elections by the 17th section of the sixth article of the Florida Constitution.⁴⁰

He was apparently zealous only for faithful administration of the laws:

“By the light, then, of the Federal and State Constitutions and laws, and their own journals, we have the legislature of Florida before us, on the 13th of January, 1851, in joint meeting, to choose a Senator. They are assembled in the hall of the House, duly organized, as an electoral body—the President of the Senate in the chair, presiding . . . We know that there were present 40 representatives, the whole number of the body and 18 senators, the whole number save one . . . The presiding officer has declared the election of Senator to be now in order, the moment of choice is at hand. At that moment, MR. YULEE, a qualified candidate being named, the poll commenced . . .”

An able advocate, Stanton subtly gave to a weak case an unfair advantage:

“Look, then to the journals, we behold this result: In answer to their names, as the roll is called, 40 representatives and 18 senators attest their presence, and the existence of a body competent to choose. Of these, 9 senators and 30 representatives exercise their right, declare their preference, and by a *vive voce* vote express their choice. There is no conflict, preference, no opposing choice expressed. The remainder of the assembly refraining to exercise their right, or acquiesce in the choice of their colleagues, when their names were called voted ‘blank’. When therefore the poll ended, it exhibit-

40. In a communication to the Senate, Yulee stated that if his claim were upheld, he would not take the seat as the contention diminished “ability for usefulness”.

ed a choice, by more than a majority of a quorum, for one candidate, and no choice for any other. The election was therefore perfect, and DAVID L. YULEE being the unanimous choice of all who exercised the right to choose, in the time, place, and manner prescribed, he, by the constitution and laws of the State; was duly elected Senator ; and as such is entitled to the seat here contested, and which now abides the judgment, of this committee."

No effort will be made here to detail the precedents cited or to summarize the brief of Stanton. He covered, exhaustively, British parliamentary practice, the common law, as interpreted both in England and America and even went back to the Roman Century.⁴¹

In his printed statement, Mallory declared: "I am enabled by information quite reliable, to inform the contestant that the 29 blank voters intended to defeat him. I must", he went on, "relieve this half of the General Assembly from any suggestion of such culpable indifference. They had a choice, they voted; they did not vote for the contestant; they expressed not assent, but dissent; and they expressed it in the only manner in their power there being no other nominee . . . They knew he had to receive 30 votes, a majority of all the members of the legislature, to be elected. They knew that his success depended upon his own strength, and not upon their weakness, . . . And they knew that those who were not for him were against him."⁴²

41. "When the vote of a Century was equally divided, it was reckoned as nothing." To forestall Mallory, Yulee's counsel stated that "In the election of United States Senator, in 1848, the Senate resolved that he should be elected by a majority of the whole body. Mallory proved that earlier in that session, the House disapproved the bill as it first came to them with the clause "that a majority of a quorum of both Houses shall be sufficient to elect." Stanton, Edwin M., *Florida Contested Election of United States Senator, Argument before the Select Committee of the U. S. Senate, Thursday, June 10th, 1852*, pp. 1-40.

42. Mallory, S. R., "Statement of Mr. Mallory", *The News*, Jacksonville, January 3, 1852. Mallory stated that he was elected on the first ballot, Jan. 15, 1851, there having previously been three trials. Though the presiding officer, Mr. Floyd, "is a personal friend of the contestant, adhered to him, voted for him on the three first ballots, and voted against me on the final ballot", Mallory declared that he is "unsurpassed in his knowledge of the usages of the General Assembly of Florida".

Mallory affirmed that the dilemma which the blank vote "seems to involve is this: to obtain a quorum, the blank votes must be regarded as present, to obtain the election, they must be regarded as absent-in which event the election would be made by a unanimous minority."⁴³

Mr. Mallory maintained that "Many of the contestant's personal and political friends who were present would hardly proceed to second, third, and fourth trials, had they considered election had been effected by the first."

He pointed out Yulee's erroneous claim that the United States senator is elected through the Constitution of the State, "whereas it is derived from that of the United States" and in the next paragraph added, "The Constitution of the United States having reserved to itself alone the right to interfere upon the subject . . . It was a season of great political excitement. Party strength was nearly equal. There were 27 Whigs and 31 Democrats in the General Assembly; and of the entire body, I had never seen but 7 members. The friends of the contestant made every proper exertion to concentrate the Democratic victory upon him; and before the vote in the General Assembly was begun, it was accurately ascertained that the contestant could get but 29 votes; and it was conceded by men of all parties, that without a vote of 30 he could not be elected."

The question was settled in the opinion of the *Jacksonville News*,⁴⁴ upon the acceptance of the certificate of election from Governor Brown.⁴⁵

In the Thirty-second Congress, March 4, 1851 to March 3, 1853, the two senators from Florida were: Jackson Morton, senior senator, of Pensacola, and

43. There were 29 votes for Yulee and 29 blanks for two ballots. One of Yulee's supporters switched to blank and Mallory was elected two days later. Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
44. Senator John Parker Hale of New Hampshire also took this position in the ensuing senatorial argument. Mallory quoted him in 1858 in the contest over the certificates of Graham N. Fitch, of Indiana.
45. *The News*, Jacksonville, "Correspondence of the *Baltimore American*." Dec. 13, 1851.

Stephen R. Mallory, junior senator, of Jacksonville,⁴⁶ Edward C. Cabell of Tallahassee, representing the state in the lower house. David Levy Yulee of Homosassa, succeeded Senator Morton in 1855 and Augustus E. Maxwell, Tallahassee,⁴⁷ later the law partner of Senator Mallory, in Pensacola,⁴⁸ was in the House of Representatives in the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Congresses. When the Florida delegation withdrew, January 21, 1861, George S. Hawkins of Pensacola⁴⁹ had taken the place of Maxwell.

That the election and the contested seat in 1851 caused widespread interest may be judged from the extensive treatment of it by the *New York Herald*. This journal gave not only the procedure in the Florida Legislature but also cited contemporaneous and historical precedents regarding blank votes.

On Saturday, December 13, 1851, the credentials of Mr. Mallory were presented by his colleague, Senator Morton. Mallory was sworn in the same day although Senator Berrien and Senator Mason thought the matter should be first investigated; but Senator Clay considered that Mallory, having the Governor's certificate, was entitled to the seat. Clay was supported by Senators Foote and Hale who cited the case of Mr. Shields, ten years previously, as conclusive that the member having the

46. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1284. This is the only record of residence in Jacksonville, and may be an error, for that *Directory*, as in the case of Yulee, is replete with errors.

47. Born, Elberton, Ga., Sept. 21, 1820. Member of Congress, 1853-1857, Rerick, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 621.

48. Maxwell, Judge E. C., Pensacola, a son of A. E. Maxwell, *statement* to the author.

49. Mallory applied to Hawkins Shakespeare's lines in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act II, Sc. 1, 11. *Diary* No. 2, p. 305.

... but a merrier Man,
 Within the limit of becoming mirth,
 I never spent an hours' talk withal:
 His eyes begets occasion for his wit;
 For every object that the one doth catch
 The other turns to a mirth-moving jest,
 Which his fair tongue, conceit's expositor,
 Delivers in such apt and gracious words
 That aged ears play truant at his tales,
 An younger hearings are quite ravished:
 So sweet and voluble is his discourse."

credentials was entitled to be sworn in. Senators Bright and Seward advocated a Committee of Five who should review the papers in the case.⁵⁰

Reverdy Johnson spoke before this Committee in behalf of Mr. Yulee, July 3, 1852, "with all that ingenuity, ability, and strength of reason, for which he is so much distinguished, and made no little impression upon the audience, which had spontaneously assembled to hear the interesting discussion."⁵¹

Henry Clay spoke for the last time in the chamber which had so often fallen under the spell of his words for the man whose acquaintance he⁵² had made years before in Cuba, and whose cordiality of feeling and fund of anecdotes made him such a favorite in the Senate cloakrooms and in the camaraderie of the hotel lobby. The old Kentuckian left off the ornate phraseology and discarded his periods:

"Feeble as I am, I cannot refrain from making a few additional observations. There is no doubt of the duty and the right of this body to determine all questions of elections of its members. The question is as to the method of doing this, and that question has been settled, I believe, by every deliberative body upon earth. It is this: If there is a contest, by two claiming the same seat, the party having the return takes the seat, and the other party presents his petition claiming it; that petition is reported to a committee; it is reported upon by the committee and acted upon by the body."⁵³

50. The *Pensacola Gazette* was steadfast in its support: "By displacing Mr. Mallory the Senate would turn away the man who has been chosen as our state's representative, and in giving the seat to Mr. Yulee they would give it to the man who was expressly rejected", *Pensacola Gazette*, Feb. 21, 1852.

51. *Ibid.*, The Florida Contested Senatorial Election, article from the Washington Correspondent of the New York Courier and Inquirer, under date of July 3rd, July 17, 1852. Mallory requested the good offices of Reverdy Johnson to secure his release from prison, later, *Diary* No. 2, pp. 53-54.

52. "In December, 1851, Mr. Clay returned to Washington to take part in the thirty-second session of Congress, but only once was he able to get to the Senate Chamber", Coyle, John F., "When Henry Clay said Farewell to the Senate" *The Ladies Home Journal*, March, 1913, p. 4.

53. *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 33rd Cong., 3rd Sess., Feb. 9, 1857, Speech quoted by Senator Mallory, pp. 193, 202, 215.

Of his election and subsequent service in the United States Senate, Mallory himself wrote:

"I was conservative; and though I believed in secession as a right from the history and theory of Government, I deemed it hazardous as a remedy and was thus held to be a 'Union' man. As such I was placed in the nomination in 1850 by the opponents of Mr. Yulee⁵⁴ for the U. S. Senate and was elected and took my seat in 1850. At some future day you will see what my service of nearly 10 years amounted to. I never neglected my duties and took active part, as you will see by my speeches, votes and reports, in all the business of the body. As Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee my position was arduous and responsible. You are aware of my service and removal to Pensacola where we were very happy."⁵⁵

54. "The election of Mallory undoubtedly was a rebuke to Yulee for his opposition to the Compromise. Yet personal hostility and the claims of South Florida on the senatorship also contributed to his defeat. Mallory himself does not appear to have been the staunchest of Unionists", Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
55. "The Senate unanimously awarded the position to Mr. Mallory, and he took his seat in December following", Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Mallory, *Diary* No. 2, p. 192. Mallory entered the Senate at a favorable period for: "Of the 62 members of the Senate, 59 have been elected, and of these thirty-five are democrats, twenty-four whigs." There were three vacancies. *Pensacola Gazette*, "The New Congress", August 30, 1851.

(Concluded in the next issue)

FLORIDA HISTORY (1650-1750) IN THE SPANISH
RECORDS OF NORTH CAROLINA STATE DE-
PARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

by ALBERT C. MANUCY

When the pirate's bullet lodged in Captain Arguelles' leg one fine spring day (March 30, 1683), that painful detail was faithfully written down-not once, but several times and in several different ways. Consequently, although the brave captain was wounded almost three centuries ago, today's historian can be certain the accident was not hearsay: it actually happened. He knows exactly where it took place, and when; and further, he has a good idea of how the whole affair came about.

Should such matters interest us, thanks are due not only to the inveterate record-keeping Spaniard, but also to North Carolina's State Department of Archives and History, which has made many Spanish records available to historians of this country.

The *Guide to the Manuscript Collections* of that Department lists "SPANISH RECORDS, 1566-1802. Approximately 10,000 items," explaining the papers as "Records from the archives of Spain which pertain to the history of North Carolina, obtained by the Historical Commission, 1924-27, through the efforts of Dr. W. W. Pierson, of the history department of the University of North Carolina, who, with the assistance of the Florida [State] Historical Society, made a survey of the material and secured copyists for the work. The file is as yet incomplete, as the copying of Spanish records in series was prohibited by a royal decree in 1927 and permission to resume copying has not been secured since that time."¹

The *Guide* also informs you that there are about 15,120 pages of photostats and 1,512 pages of typewritten transcripts; and that most of the material was drawn from the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, with

1. North Carolina Historical Records Survey Project, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission* (N. C. Historical Commission, Raleigh, 1942). The title of the "Commission" was recently changed to North Carolina State Department of Archives and History.

smaller amounts from the Archivo Historico Nacional at Madrid, and from Simancas; adding that the largest group of records covers the century after 1650, an arbitrarily selected date.

The latter facts are fortunate for Florida, because the extent and importance of the collection for Florida history from 1650 to 1750 are unsurpassed by any collection in the United States except the Stetson collection.² The following notes on the content of the Carolina Spanish papers is an attempt to call the attention of researchers more clearly to them, with, we hope, tangible results. In view of the ready accessibility of the records, this is practical optimism. The present paper does not, however, summarize the Florida history in the documents; rather it describes a representative few of the historical details found in that portion of the North Carolina records prior to 1760. Brief reviews of the post-1760 materials have already been published in this *Quarterly*.³

The valuable collection was brought to the attention of the National Park Service by Dr. Lucy L. Wenholt of Salem College, who is well known to Florida historians through her translation of the Calderon visitation, a

2. The Stetson, or Florida State Historical Society collection, is not generally available for student use. Other archival selections or collections of major importance for Spanish Florida colonial history include, 1) the Lowery transcripts, which give good coverage for the earlier years, 2) the Buckingham Smith papers of the New York Historical Society, 3) the Brooks and 4) Connor transcripts, which furnish rather general coverage, 5) the East Florida Papers, an original archive essential for the second Spanish occupation, 6) miscellaneous selections from Spanish archives, 7) and in English, the volumes of Georgia colonial records deposited at Atlanta. All, except those otherwise specified, are in the Library of Congress.

National Park Service microfilms have been made of two of the most valuable: the Lowery transcripts (except volume one), now available in film at the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine, and P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida; and the *Colonial Records of Georgia* (including the unpublished typescript volumes at the Library of the Georgia Historical Society), available in film at the Castillo, the Yonge Library, and the University of Georgia Library.

3. See *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXI, No. 4, 358 ff.; and XXV, No. 1 44 ff.

document in the Carolina records.⁴ In 1941, through the cooperation of Dr. C. C. Crittenden, Director of North Carolina's state archival department at Raleigh, the writer was enabled to microfilm the entire collection of Spanish Records for the National Park Service. The film has been available for some years at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument in St. Augustine, Florida; and more recently, the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, and the University of Georgia Library, have secured prints of this film. Although at present the master negative of the microfilm is still at the Castillo, negotiations are under way to place it in the Library of Congress.

The National Park Service has recently compiled a complete calendar to the records. In addition to summarizing the earlier papers (1566-1759), this calendar revises and enlarges the previously published *List of the Cuban Papers* (1777-1800), mainly through the addition of 177 entries for documents which have been omitted from the published list.⁵ Though the calendar on file at the Castillo is in card form and unpublished, Dr. Crittenden has secured a microfilm copy of it, and this film is available for duplication in Raleigh. A film copy of the calendar is available at the Yonge Library.

The calendar lists some 2,400 documents chronologically, provides a brief abstract (usually in English) of content, and notes available English translations.

A large part of the collection, as the calendar reveals, has no direct relationship to the Carolinas. But the student of Carolina colonial affairs must of necessity know much about the Florida establishment in order to interpret other papers more relevant to his subject. *The policy guiding the selection of the records from the Spanish archives has enabled a balanced evaluation of the Spanish colonial efforts in the southeast.*

4. Lucy L. Wenhold (tr.), *A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, v. 95, No. 16).

5. N. C. Historical Records Survey, *List of the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (Cuban Papers) in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission* (Raleigh, 1942).

GENERAL FRONTIER MATTERS

As might be expected, the North Carolina Spanish Records deal as specifically as possible with relationships among Spanish, English and French along the Florida frontier. Such matters were so complex, however, and the Spanish recording system so comprehensive, that the papers are almost sufficient in themselves for a good general history of Florida during the 1650-1750 period.

More than any one thing, the documents show the very real concern of the Floridians over the movements of the neighbors north and west of them. One of the earliest records (1655) deals almost exclusively with the English "plan" to take St. Augustine and thus control the Bahama Channel, the route of the treasure fleets each year on their way to Spain. Warnings went out to all of the West Indies colonies. Even the "religious," those ever-present men of God throughout the Spanish-American colonies, were not so preoccupied with matters spiritual that they failed to pen dire predictions of English activities; Fray Julio Gomez in 1657 called particular attention to the British threat in Jamaica.

Aranjuez in 1662 reported news of white men in the Carolina section, though he was unsure whether the settlers were Spanish or English! A decade later, Cendoya was begging for help to destroy the new Carolina venture. Numerous *testimonios* about the enemy colony were sent to Madrid. Cendoya could well follow the royal policy of caution; but he could not, as the crown directed, also prevent the English from violating their portion of the treaty. For, as Cendoya pointed out, the enemy were many and his own troops few. True, a few years later the war council in Madrid wishfully planned a campaign against Carolina. But this *junta* prudently decided that the St. Augustine castillo should be completed before aggressive action was taken. Numerous other papers, some of them diplomatic correspondence, generally urged the same caution in dealing with frontier problems. Only the frontier governors seemed to see the pressing need for action.

Those were the days when pirates swarmed along the treasure fleet routes. In 1672 the governor of Havana reported eighteen enemy vessels at Tortuga Island. Florida itself was of little help ; though the crown authorized privateering patents, it was a mere gesture, for the people of St. Augustine were too poor to privateer.

So reports from Florida indicate the continuing progress of Charleston on one page, while on the next they cite rumors such as the one where an enemy force was reputedly gathering at Cayo de Guesas (Key West?) for an invasion of Florida. Cabrera, always a man of action, suggested a straightforward counter measure : let the Windward Fleet bring 300 men and demolish Charleston!

PIRATES

The documents of the 1680's present a detailed picture of the struggles with the corsairs on the Florida coast and in the West Indies. One buccaneering attack came in 1683. At Matanzas, a few leagues south of St. Augustine, pirates surprised the sentries and took the watchtower. The motley band, over 200 strong, began a march up Anastasia Island to St. Augustine, where the Castillo was still far from complete. Cabrera's men ambushed the legion and drove them off in a series of events as exciting as any to be found in latter day dime novels. It was in this affair that friend Arguelles was laid out by the pirate bullet. Incidentally, repercussions echoed through many long years as Spanish officials fixed the blame for the capture of Matanzas. Cabrera accused the sentries of being asleep and passed suitable sentence upon them. They, in turn, appealed.

The notorious French pirate, Agramont, was also active in Florida during the same decade. But he found his match in Jose Bergambre, a lowly corporal at Matanzas, who gained local fame and had his name come down through the centuries as a result of his determined resistance of this corsair's attack.

Yet another Spanish problem was the success of the English with the Indians to the north, and the consequent Constriction of the mission field-the loss of the Geor-

gia country. And before long, the Carolinians and Spaniards were fighting bitterly for the territory to the westward.

It was in 1686 that Cabrera, following orders to keep the English within the boundaries of the 1670 treaty, sent Tomas de Leon to destroy the coastal settlements of Carolina. Part of the mission was successful, but with the storm-loss of two-thirds of the tiny fleet, and Leon himself. Five Guale Indians with Leon were cast ashore and encountered a like number of Englishmen who had just returned from Apalachicola. In business-like fashion the Indians slew the Britishers, took their vessel, and voyaged to St. Augustine to tell Cabrera of the Apalachicola incursion.

It was about this time that Negro runaway slaves from the nearby English colonies began to seek refuge in Spanish Florida. In 1687 a pair of British envoys from Charleston were in St. Augustine, looking for such runaways. But slaves, English or otherwise, proved helpful on the Florida fortifications and in the household of such persons as the governor. Naturally the *Floridanos* were reluctant to give them up—the more so because the slaves usually adopted the Catholic religion. In the first few instances, the slaves were purchased from the English, and later freed. But obviously, royal funds would not purchase all runaways, so the crown eventually resolved the problem by freeing all those who sought Florida for the avowed purpose of embracing Catholicism.

There was ample retaliation, however. “English” Indians captured “Spanish” Indians and sold them into Carolina slavery. Spanish appeals to Carolina fell upon deaf ears. The Carolina governor insisted that the Yamasees, who caused the trouble, were outside his jurisdiction; and anyway, he reminded the Spaniards, Carolina still awaited reparations for Leon’s outrageous raid of 1686.

In order to halt some of the unwelcome activities toward the west, in 1688 the crown ordered the San

Martin (Suwanee) river closed to navigation. Illegal commerce, including the sale of *auguardiente* (firewater), had become intolerable. How effective were the Spanish measures? The affair was still under discussion ten years later, when the crown again ordered the closing of the river and suggested that a ship sunk at its mouth might be the solution. Florida's governor patiently pointed out that the big-mouthed Suwanee would require the sinking of many ships. Incidentally, many of the details in the Suwanee story came from the mouth of old Tomas Menendez, who had operated a Havana trading vessel in the river. Here is a chapter in the history of the river that deserves attention.

THE BRITISH

It was impossible to stop British activity in western Florida. As early as 1657 the Spanish stationed a detachment there to stop English trading with the Indians. And as the years passed, matters worsened. Plans for fortifying and populating Apalache therefore occupy much space in the records. But the plans never materialized, though construction of a fort at Apalache was authorized in 1676, the proximity of French and English pirates giving point to the project. The fort was built, whereupon the corsairs returned to sack and burn it in 1682. There is also much information on the erection of the new Fort San Marcos at Apalache in 1718, and proposals for closer relationships with the French at Mobile to counteract British actions among the Indians.

When war between France and Spain flared into the open in 1690, Florida was quick to organize cavalry for rapid communication between outposts. And the documents record at least one employment of that moth-eaten device-the false letter. Quiroga it was who sent Mexico a letter reporting exaggerated strength, hoping that if the letter were captured, the enemy would be deterred from attack. The letter was early. Not until 1692 did the French capture the St. Augustine vessel. This time the frigate carried no false letter. But to the Frenchmen's delight, she was loaded with the Florida subsidy money.

Quaker Jonathan Dickinson, wrecked on the Florida shore in 1696, wrote a best seller about his experiences. The Spanish records add to his tale and help give it perspective. Nor was Dickinson's the only instance of Spanish aid to castaways, for Englishmen were shipwrecked to the north in 1701. Unlike Dickinson, they considerably paid expenses by donating several slaves to the Spanish crown.

At the outset of the 18th century, there are few documents on developments in the Pensacola region, but in the main there is little for those areas west of Apalachicola. Of interest, however, is the notation that Santa Maria de Galve and her *French* neighbors to the west combined in sending aid to besieged St. Augustine in 1702.

Many papers bear upon this troublesome siege of St. Augustine: *autos* and *testimonios* give the Spanish side of the story, including losses, in detail. Some 20,000 pesos were granted St. Augustine for rebuilding after the disastrous English visit, and the expenditure of this fund was a favorite subject during the next twenty years. Similar are the manuscripts dealing with Moore's raid on the Apalache missions.

In 1704 a royal order to the *virrey* of Mexico instructed that gentleman to send 50,000 pesos to Florida. Andres de Arriola was voyaging to Florida to exterminate Carolina and resettle that fair land with proper Spanish vassals. The crown was emphatic in pointing out of danger to Mexico itself if the English captured Florida, which consisted of only St. Augustine and Pensacola. Arriola's project bogged down before it started: the war council cited the practical difficulties in the way of destroying the English.

THE DARKEST DAYS

As though the devastation in the early years of the decade were not enough, now the situation in Florida became, perhaps, the most critical of any time since its founding.

Late in 1706 a French privateer stopped at St. Augustine and secured Spanish blessing (along with more

material aid) for a project against Charleston. The expedition failed, however, and the Spanish were more worried than ever, since they had wind of English plans to move against Nueva Vizcaya and the mines of Parral. Closer home, the enemy attacked the St. Johns river outposts; Spanish garrisons were withdrawn within the lines of the St. Augustine *presidio*. The royal officials wrote the crown under a cloud of despair: Indians, incited by the English, are everywhere. The province is seriously depopulated, what with the number of Christian Indians carried off to slavery in Carolina. Friendly Indians come to the *presidio* for protection, where there is not enough land to produce food. The enemy raid the cattle ranges. Mexico does not help. The people are in extreme want. And a hurricane floods the town.

Then Indians massacre the Matanzas garrison, and at St. Augustine, women bring their children to sleep in the shadow of the Castillo.

Madrid was mindful of the situation, but as usual, seemed powerless. The *virrey* flatly stated that Mexico could not finance a project against Carolina. The Madrid *junta*, evidently racking their brains for ideas, suggested a French diversion in Canada.

But slowly the clouds lifted, even if the skies never became blue. The second decade of the century brought some slight relief from awful reality, in spite of additional problems in the French and English relationships to the stated Spanish need to hold Florida as a protection for Spanish commerce. As the French expanded their western holdings, the deep concern of the Spanish administrators was reflected as late as 1720, the date when Benavides at last received orders to suspend hostilities against both rivals.

Spain was glad of the peace. Thomas Wallace's *Phoenix* out of Glasgow was taken off Virginia and brought belatedly to St. Augustine as a prize, and Madrid generously recommended her restoration to the master. The Carolinians, however, seemed not so punctilious in observing the terms of the Convention. Florida reported continued hostilities, inspired by the English. The gov-

ernor told the crown he wanted either to fight the Indians, or else move the women and children to a safer place. The crown made representations to London, but the real solution of the knotty problem was still up to the governor.

At this juncture (1722) Fort King George on the Altamaha appears in the records, inducing considerable labor on the part of Spanish archivists in searching for illuminating proof that this English fort was on Florida land. Fort King George also caused a flood of diplomatic correspondence, as students of the period well know, and many such documents are in the North Carolina collection. Though this singular fort was soon physically destroyed, it existed in the records as late as 1739.

There was remarkably small Spanish observance of the 1728 English march into Florida—at least in the North Carolina collection, though one chatty letter from Benavides does give a number of interesting details.

Numerous documents during the 1730's lead up to the War of Jenkins' Ear, and there is an illuminating report on international relations as reflected on the Florida frontier in 1739. An inordinate amount of space during this period is devoted to the malfeasance of Governor Sanchez. As for the 1740 siege of St. Augustine, there is sufficient material for an accurate outline of the story,⁶ but not as much, perhaps, as the student would wish. Likewise, there is no significant material dealing with the Spanish invasion of Georgia in 1742. There is, however, scattered information on other events for the years following: items of no great import, but useful in making it clear that the frontier was not without incident.

6. The 1737-1741 period of Florida-Georgia relationships is, however, adequately covered in the East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress, and the *Colonial Records of Georgia*. Of the former, the Justis-Montiano letters were microfilmed for the Yonge Library, and a duplicate of the film is at the Castillo. A National Park Service calendar of these letters is available at the Castillo, the Yonge Library and the Library of Congress.

(This calendar, and the calendar of the North Carolina Spanish records mentioned above, were made by Mr. Albert C. Manucy, the author of this article, who is Historical Technician at the Castillo de San Marcos. *Editor*).

In 1744, for instance, Montiano had news from a captured Carolina privateer about increased forces in Georgia. Spanish Indians went to St. Simons island, watched the fortification work, and captured five woodcutters who were, subsequently, retrieved by the English. The death of Philip V and the crowning of Fernando VI, the reduction of Louisburg by the English, and rumors of their plans against Quebec, English reinforcements, expectation of another attack on St. Augustine, and fortification matters are covered in the later papers.

Much correspondence during the 1750's relates to Negroes at New York. These men were Spanish freemen, evidently soldiers captured by the British. The Florida governor was indefatigable in procuring papers to prove their free status and force the English to treat them as prisoners of war instead of slaves.

The last documents of this class mention minor matters (such as the privateering capture of a British vessel at Tortugas by a Spanish fisherman named Laguna). Strained frontier relations did not necessarily preclude communication between the friendly enemies. Buena-ventura Ortega, organist of the St. Augustine church, went to Carolina for medical treatment. Apparently he came back cured-and with certain information on affairs in Carolina. An English brigantine, bringing supplies to St. Augustine under contract to the Royal Company of Havana, brought the news of General Braddock's death.

One of the more important records of the 1750's is the journal of Lorenzo Jose de Leon, captain of dragoons, who patrolled the country north of St. Augustine with orders to drive out stray Frenchmen or Englishmen, since these two countries were, as usual, belligerents. Leon's matter-of-fact report presents a picture of frontier Florida just before it was relinquished to the English.

EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION

Three 16th century documents are in the collection. The first (1566) contains 30-odd pages and a variety of information on the newly established Florida settlement.

Menendez explained the distribution of his force among several posts; there is a roll of men recruited for a journey to Santa Maria bay, together with a minutely detailed list of their supplies; and finally, *testimonios* record the progress of the expedition.

The second is the so-called Banderas document of 1569, a voluminous manuscript of almost 300 beautifully written pages dealing with the important exploration of the hinterlands that became Georgia and the Carolinas. It is excellent material for a dissertation. The last of the three is a 1570 *cedula* relative to relief for the Florida troops.

Little other material on exploration occurs until the final quarter of the 17th century ; when, though the reports lack the flavor of earlier accounts, they yet remind us that Florida was still a vast, mysterious land. Salazar in 1678 was perturbed over rumors of Frenchmen in Quivira, where gold and silver were still being reported, albeit in nebulous terms. In 1686 Marcos Delgado was wandering curiously in the Florida backwoods, perhaps as a preliminary to the government contract with Primo de Ribera to open roads in the Apalache and Timucua districts. A year later Antonio Mateos, who so often was on the heels of the famed Dr. Woodward, explored the Bay of Espiritu Santo. Early in the 1690's Torres was ordered to explore the Pensacola section. Diego Pena traversed Apalachicola and Caveta in 1718, conferring with the emperor of Caveta and learning the locations of French fortifications, and his reports are voluminous.

One of the most interesting of the early 18th century projects was the plan for a road from St. Augustine to Mexico. Discussion boiled down to three unanswerable questions : 1) could such a road be built? 2) if it were, would matters improve? 3) could the French and English cut it?-and as a result nothing was done.

The project for bringing Canary Islanders to Florida appears in the records about 1681. The crown ordered these *Islenos* sent to settle Guale. Quiroga, observing their nonarrival, suggested that 100 Gallego families be imported for farming Guale and western Florida. Simi-

larly fruitless were efforts to bring Indian weavers from Campeche to teach their arts to the Florida Indians. No weavers would volunteer. Ayala tried a different tack in 1718: he wanted free Negro and mulatto families from Havana to settle Apalache. With each new governor came attempts to revive one or more of the projects, with growing emphasis on Apalache, but with little success.

The collection contains only incidental material on the Pensacola settlement. A royal order to Mexico in 1703 sought more families for Pensacola, but most papers dealing with the Gulf coast are concerned primarily with French and English activities. For example, a French deserter spoke of French designs on Pensacola in 1720, and contributed further to Spanish frustration by hinting that his compatriots had opened silver mines twenty leagues up the Mobile river.

On the east coast the Spanish were perennially concerned with British advances toward the south. Cendoya, sent in 1671 to build Castillo de San Marcos, knew about the "fifty families at Santa Elena" (Charleston) long before he reached Florida. Later, the documents reveal a surprisingly detailed knowledge of the Georgia projects, and the lesser known English "plans" for colonizing Apalache. There is valuable material on fortifying St. Simons island, including a report on the British engineer who charted St. Simons sound in 1734. Papers from the Spanish ambassador in London give perspective to the colonial situation, with discussion of conditions not only in Georgia and Carolina, but also in the West Indies, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Of 18th century Spanish projects, only two show importance. One was the proposed settlement of the *Islenos*, the culmination of which is beyond these records; the other was the establishment of "Carolina" runaways in Pueblo de Gracia Real a league north of St. Augustine, an operation described in detail by Montiano in 1739. Subsequent reports cover its withdrawal in 1740, and later reestablishment.

Failure of colonization schemes was only to be expected. Florida, with grinding poverty, and wild forests filled with savagely hostile Indians, was no place for peaceful farmers. Even soldiers could not be recruited, as Montiano explained candidly in 1747, because "of the horror that you know they have when they even hear the name Florida."⁷

More than once, the "horror" of Florida suggested colonization in reverse. In 1723, during those dark days when eastern Florida was no more than tiny St. Augustine itself, Benavides would have sent the poor, the widows, and the old, to Havana, where they would be free of the "risks" of heathen Indians. The town's population would thereby be reduced to the point where they could live within the *dotacion* provided by the crown.

7. Montiano to Penaloso, Jan. 19, 1747.

WILLIAM D. CHIPLEY, WEST FLORIDA'S MR. RAILROAD

by EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

Look here Major Octopus, you can't talk politics, run the State of Florida, do a general land office business and run a railroad at the same time. Your tentacles will get tangled and suckers exhausted by too much labor.¹

The man referred to was William Dudley Chipley of Pensacola, builder of the railroad from Pensacola to Chattahoochee and the Apalachicola river. Chipley was fast becoming one of the leading political figures in the state, and needless to say, he was on the other side of the fence both in local and state politics from the *Pensacola Commercial* which called him "Major Octopus."

I. CHIPLEY'S EARLY LIFE

W. D. Chipley was not a native Floridian. He was born June 6, 1840, at the river port town of Columbus, Georgia. His parents were Kentuckians, his father being a Baptist minister who at that time was residing temporarily in Columbus. About 1844 the Reverend Mr. Chipley and family moved to Lexington, Kentucky; and young Chipley received his higher education at the Kentucky Military Institute and Transylvania University.²

Shortly after completing his college education and showing the fighting spirit which he maintained through life, William Chipley entered the Ninth Kentucky Infantry of the original Breckenridge Brigade. During the war he rose first to sergeant-major, then to adjutant and finally to record-commissioner of Kentucky troops, an office with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, created by the Confederate Congress. Chipley was badly wounded at Shiloh, but his wounds healing, he returned to active duty, only to be wounded at the Battle of Peachtree Creek. The advancing army of Sherman captured him,

1. *Pensacola Commercial*, January 19, 1887, 2.

2. Rerick, Rowland H., *Memoirs of Florida*, I, 481-482.

and he was imprisoned on Johnson's Island for the remainder of the war.³

After Northern "V Day" ex-Confederate Chipley settled in Columbus. About this time he married Ann Elizabeth, daughter of John R. Billups, a prominent planter of Russell county, Alabama. Entering politics, Chipley became the first chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Muscogee county, Georgia. He came into national prominence during the Reconstruction Era when he was arrested as one of the suspects in the Ashburn affair. Ashburn, a scalawag, had been a negro driver of the Simon Legree type before the war, but since had become a Republican state senator and a resident of a house of ill repute in the negro part of town. This tainted statesman was murdered by a mob, and an attempt was made to pin the crime on the leading Democrats of Columbus. Former Governor Joe E. Brown headed the prosecution, and former Vice President of the Confederacy Alex H. Stephens headed the defense. After weeks of confinement, sweat boxes and inhuman treatment, the defendants were brought to trial before a military commission. Before a verdict was reached, civil government was restored to Georgia. General Meade of Gettysburg fame, the military commander, ordered the commission dismissed and the nine defendants released on bond. Chipley denied the charge. The Ashburn affair occurred during 1867 and 1868.⁴

While in prison Chipley lost every dollar that he possessed in investments in corn and bacon. Financial misfortune continued to plague him for a while; for in 1872 a firm to which he had belonged went bankrupt, and he was held one of the parties responsible. He had withdrawn from the firm early in 1872 but unfortunately could not prove the withdrawal before the failure occurred.⁵

3. *Ibid*; *Florida Citizen*, April 6, 1897, 9.

4. Avery, I. W., *The History of the State of Georgia from 1850-1881*. 386-388; *Pensacola News Supplement*, September 30, 1896.

5. *Pensacola News Supplement*, Sept. 30, 1896.

II. A RAILROAD MAN

In February 1872 Chipley entered the employment of the North & South Railroad of Georgia, serving one year as secretary and treasurer and one year as superintendent. He left the North & South Railroad in 1874 and entered the service of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad as general southwestern agent. During this period, he was general southwestern agent for the Virginia Midland Railroad in connection with his duties with the B. & O. He left the B. & O. in December, 1876, and became general manager of the Pensacola Railroad, moving from Columbus to Pensacola, and living there the rest of his life. In 1880, in connection with his duties with the Pensacola Railroad Chipley became superintendent of the Pensacola & Selma Railroad and the Selma division, which was leased from the Western Alabama Railroad, as well as superintendent of the Havana Steamship Line. Largely through his efforts, the Pensacola Railroad became part of the L. & N. The next year he was superintendent of the Mobile & Montgomery Railroad, Selma division Western Alabama Railroad (leased)⁶ and the Pensacola & Selma Railroad, upper division.

Pensacola in 1880 despite its old age had a population of only 6,845 but was the third largest city in Florida. Jacksonville had 7,650, less than 1,000 lived in Tampa, and the population of Florida was only 269,493. Florida was still a frontier and hopes were held that Pensacola would become the main Gulf port for Alabama as well as West Florida. The Louisville and Nashville system already connected the fine harbor to the Alabama hinterland, and a railroad from Pensacola across the Chattahoochee river would connect the West Florida port with the rest of the state. The Pensacola and Georgia Railroad, planned before the War for Southern Independence, had received extensive land grants, but ended in failure during the Reconstruction; and a railroad extended only from Jacksonville to Quincy. The Gadsden

6. Letter J. B. Hill, President of the Louisville and Nashville, Dec. 19, 1945.

county seat is about half way between Jacksonville and Pensacola.

Chipley became vice-president and general superintendent, in May 1881, of the Pensacola & Atlantic Railroad Company which had been incorporated in March and had received a land grant from the State of Florida of 3,890,619 acres, of which 2,830,065 acres were actually delivered. It was to run from Pensacola to River Junction, a connecting point just east of the Apalachicola river and to which a railroad was built from Quincy. The country through which the road was to be built was thinly settled; in fact, for more than one hundred miles between Milton and Marianna it would touch not one settlement, and there was scarcely a house within sight of the right-of-way ; but this did not deter Chipley and the Louisville and Nashville Railroad which had purchased a majority of the stock of the P. & A. Construction began in June, 1881, and as there was little heavy grading the railroad was completed at a rapid pace and reached the Apalachicola river in January, 1883. The completion of the railroad bridge across the river to the town of Chattahoochee enabled the P. & A. to connect with the major systems serving the Atlantic seaboard.⁷

The new railroad went a long way toward solving the transportation problems of West Florida. Hitherto the cotton growers had depended upon the Chattahoochee river to float their crops to Columbus, and they periodically lost money when the river was low. Bordering the track in the eastern section was a region alive with game. Train and engine crews frequently secured fresh meat whenever the opportunity presented itself. Swamp fever⁸ delayed the construction of the road in the latter stages.

Definite schedules for the operation of through trains were established November 18, 1883. Only two towns, Milton and Marianna, were in existence at the time, and these were served by depots of the orthodox type. Elsewhere, boxcars were set off to serve as stations. A num-

7. *Ibid.*

8. J. D. Smith, "The Construction of the P. & A.," *The L. & N. Employes' Magazine*, August, 1926.

ber of sawmills were set up following the construction of the railroad, and turpentine began to be shipped in large quantities.⁹ With the railroad completed, Chipley went to work on the State government for the railroad land grant. First he made a formal demand on the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund for the land selected, and the P. & A. grant was given a second priority to that of former Senator Yulee's road, the Florida Railroad Company. Knowing ones were whispering that the land grant matter would go into the courts.¹⁰ The second matter dealt with the assessment of the P. & A. by the State tax collector. The ease was reported to be heading toward the United States Supreme Court.¹¹

III. WEST FLORIDA POLITICIAN

In November of 1883, all was peace between the *Pensacola Commercial* and Captain Chipley. The *Commercial* purred:

Capt. Chipley is among the most enterprising liberal and public spirited citizens of Pensacola and if the benefits derivable from our railroad lines were in his hands alone . . . our city would be the main terminal point and principal depot of these roads.¹²

Chipley was president of the Pensacola Board of Trade during 1884, and a letter bearing his signature reached United States Senator Wilk Call in February of that year which asked for harbor improvement at Pensacola.¹³

That year the race for governor was between General E. A. Perry, Regular Democrat, and Frank Pope, Independent Democrat. General Perry, born in the North, had led the Florida Brigade under General Robert E. Lee. The general leaned toward the business interests. Frank Pope, whose star had risen as a meteor, drew heavily from those who wanted a new deal in Florida politics. The remnants of the old Republican party

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Commercial*, April 12, 1883, 2.

11. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1883, 1.

12. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1883, 2.

13. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1884, 2; April 12, 1884, 2.

and the Independent Democrats were under his standard. Chipley backed Perry, and Chipley backed a winner. Pope had run on the platform that railroads should be servants of the people.¹⁴

Chipley and D. L. McKinnon, an Independent of Walton county, argued in the *Pensacola Commercial* on the assessment of the P. & A. by the State. McKinnon claimed that the P. & A. was underassessed, but the *Commercial* defended Chipley and attacked McKinnon as a political "Johnny Come Lately."¹⁵

In April of 1885 Captain Chipley with "characteristic energy" put a stop to trespassing upon railroad lands and also recovered damages from several parties who had been getting timber off those lands. Several hundred cypress logs at White's boom near the mouth of the Choctowhatchie river were attached by Chipley, and the *Commercial* said :

"When Captain Chipley determines to do a thing he does it."¹⁶

But the *Commercial* and Chipley parted ways soon afterwards. Chipley was now City Commissioner and Mayor of Pensacola. A hot fight developed over paying bondholders. The *Commercial* maintained that the bondholders should wait to receive their money, while Chipley maintained that the bonded debt was legal and the bondholders should be paid. The *Commercial* accused Chipley of having \$1600 worth of bonds.¹⁷

Chipley was unquestionably a leader of men, and was constantly becoming more influential in local and state politics, but there was still a strong Democratic faction in Pensacola that opposed him. Along with his political and railroad activities, Chipley worked hard to build Pensacola and West Florida. Because of this he became involved in the St. Andrew's Ray Railroad scandal. The State of Florida had patented the St. Andrew's Bay and Chipley Railroad, in January, 1885, to connect with

14. *Ibid.*, July 1884, 2; November 5, 1884, 3.

15. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1884, 1.

16. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1885, 3.

17. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1885, 2.

the P. & A. at Chipley, a new town on the latter road. W. D. Chipley, W. J. Kirk and D. Carr Aldrich had filed papers with the Secretary of State; but Chipley stated that he had nothing to do with the St. Andrew's Bay Railroad Company, adding that the railroad had no money and that he had no faith in it.²⁰ He admitted that he had taken preliminary steps to procure the charter but maintained that upon meeting the promoter, a Mr. Newman of Chicago, he had dropped out. Lashing out at J. Dennis Wolfe, editor of the *Commercial*, who had implicated him in the St. Andrew's Bay Company scandal, Chipley, in the heat of passion and evidently beside himself, said

I with the utmost deliberation and premeditation denounce him as a wilful and malicious liar and libeler and I apply the brand trusting that it may sink into his debased soul deep enough to touch his manhood, if there ever existed in his corrupt heart a single sentiment of honor. Let the Liar wear the brand if there remains space under his tattooed body to hear this last violation of truth, justice and decency.²¹

The *Commercial* struck back, accusing Chipley of severing his connection with the St. Andrew's Bay & Chipley Railroad only before and because of the crash to come. Throughout 1886 the feud continued. The *Commercial* no longer mentioned Chipley by name but referred to him as the "little octopus". It commented on Chipley's political aspirations: "The little octopus has a slender following in this county and it is badly mixed and highly colored."²²

The enormous land grants to railroads in Florida resulted in political controversy which sharply divided Florida Democracy into two opposing factions. On March 7, 1886, Wilkinson Call, a nephew of former Governor Call and now a United States Senator with liberal views, fired one of the first guns of the anti-railroad

20. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1885, 2.

21. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1885, 2.

22. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1886, 2.

fight. In addressing the Senate, he fiercely attacked railroad land grants and gave the Senate a picture of the background of Florida railroads. He particularly attacked the P. & A. claim to the old Pensacola and Georgia R. R. land grant. The P. & G. was to run from Tallahassee to Pensacola ; it had never been completed and its land grant had long since expired.²³

Senator Call sent a copy of his speech to the *Commercial* with a copy of a letter he had received from William D. Chipley. Chipley's letter took Call to task for his stand on railroad land grants, censuring the Florida senator for supporting a bill for forfeiture of the railroad land grant of 1856. The railroad man asked for proof that citizens had written Call about land grants, and reminded Call that as United States senator he represented the railroads as well as the other interests in Florida.²⁴

The *Commercial* reported that Chipley, now a power in West Florida politics, was playing Ernest Yonge off against Stephen R. Mallory, the younger, in the coming fight for Representative R. H. M. Davidson's seat in Congress, saying that Davidson did not need to fear Chipley's opposition as long as he protected the P. & A. railroad interests in the House of Representatives.²⁵ The *Commercial*, the following year, spoke of "Governor Chipley" because of the West Floridian's influence with Governor Fleming who had succeeded Perry.²⁶ From its side of the fence, the *Commercial* looked over at Chipley's growing influence:

To a man who obeys his mandates, Chipley is a good friend, but woe be it to him who seeks to thwart his will. But few have the manhood and moral courage to face him and be true to themselves. Is Governor Fleming one of the few? Time will unfold the tale.²⁷

23. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1886, 2.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1888, 4.

26. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1889, 4.

27. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1889, 4.

The Pensacola paper obviously thought that Chipley was the power behind the throne.²⁸ A bill to reorganize the city government in the 1889 session of the Florida Legislature, caused further bad feeling back in Pensacola between Mallory and Chipley.²⁹

Chipley was continuously active in behalf of Florida, of Pensacola especially, and as is evident and quite natural, in behalf of his political ambitions. He published a sixty-four page booklet on Florida which was widely distributed.³⁰ Governor Perry, in the summer of 1887, appointed him to represent Florida at a forestry convention.³¹ He was always generous; the report of the Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association for 1888, covering the work against yellow fever, listed a \$50.00 contribution from him.³²

IV. CHIPLEY VS. CALL

In May, 1889, Chipley resigned as city commissioner,³³ and the senatorial bee was reported to be buzzing around in his bonnet. Senator Call's second term in the Senate would expire in 1891. In November Chipley resigned as Chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee after six years service because of having "been drawn into a discussion with the Hon. W. Call."³⁴

Early in 1890 Chipley published a booklet of 123 pages attacking Senator Call's record and his private life. It contained a number of charges, among which were the following:

- 1) Wilk Call was implicated in a Norfolk bank scandal.
- 2) Wilk Call had a sterile Senatorial record.
- 3) Wilk Call had acted in bad faith in the matter of Florida's Indian War claims.
- 4) Wilk Call tried to cheat a negro out of his little homestead.

28. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1889, 4.

29. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1889, 4.

30. *Floridian*, Dec. 2, 1886, 2.

31. *Commercial*, Aug. 3, 1887, 2.

32. *Report of Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association*, 1888, edited by Charles S. Adams.

33. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1889, 4.

34. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1889, 2.

5) Wilk Call was a lobbyist with disreputable methods.

6) Wilk Call never gave the Democratic party a cent during Chipley's six years as party chairman.

7) During Reconstruction Wilk Call played ball with the notorious carpetbagger Littlefield and received \$8,000 in the fight for the control of the P. & G.

8) Senator Call was a political boss.³⁵

In a speech in the Senate June 2, 1890, Senator Call answered Chipley. Call said that Chipley's pamphlet had been sent to every Senator. He said that the pamphlet had been issued to protect a vast appropriation of public lands of the State by individuals. In the same order in which the writer numbered Chipley's charges are Call's answers:

1) A depression had caused sewing machine stock which he had offered the Norfolk bank as security to drop in value.

2) He had introduced 228 bills, provisions of which had become law.

3) He denied that he helped defeat Indian War-claims, but said that he had tried to get just claims paid to soldiers and widows rather than to Wailes, Florida agent for the collection of Indian War claims. (Wailes according to his contract was to collect a lucrative fee for any Indian War claims collected by the state of Florida.)

4) The negro's homestead had belonged to Call's brother-in-law on whose land the negro had squatted.

5) Chipley was a lobbyist.

6) Chipley's political work in the last campaign consisted mostly of sending out quantities of documents, chiefly about himself.

7) Call had attempted to save Florida's railroads from the carpet-baggers.

8) He denied being a boss.³⁶

Chipley's pamphlet was made up largely, in the opinion of the writer, of material gathered by Wailes. It

35. Chipley William D., *Review of Senator Call's Record*.

36. *Congressional Record*, XXI, Appendix, 549-562.

entirely avoided the real issue, the desire of Chipley to get for the P. & A. the grant of the P. & G. which had elapsed before the P. & A. had been built. Senator Call had fought every attempt from David Yulee to W. D. Chipley to raid Florida's public lands.

Wilk Call was excused from attendance by the Senate in late June in order to go to Florida. He was accompanied on his trip by J. G. Alexander, his secretary. At Arcadia, July 1, he met W. D. Chipley in a debate. The *Times-Union*, under the control of J. N. C. Stockton, a Call follower, claimed that Call got the better of it.³⁷ The *Bradford County Telegraph* reported that nobody was killed unless it was the Democratic Party. The editor of the *Telegraph* clearly saw the factional fight that was brewing.

At the Ocala State Convention, held in August, 1890, virtually all the Florida politicians were present. As a joke, Colonel Sparkman, a bitter Call enemy, was appointed to escort Call to the platform. Call was warmly applauded.³⁸ The *Ocala Banner* reported that when Call was in Ocala he left his telegraph and express franks on a table in the telegraph office. These were delivered to Colonel Chipley, Chipley returned them to Call in a letter marked "not private," and stating that these were free privileges from the wicked monopolies.³⁹

Chipley was aided in his campaign to unseat Call by the upsurge of the Farmers' Alliance. State senator A. S. Mann of Hernando, the only Democrat to oppose Call in the Legislature in 1885, floated a trial balloon for the presidency of the Alliance. However, Robert E. Rogers of Suwannee was reelected president without opposition.⁴⁰ James P. Taliaferro, an East Florida pro-corporation man, was now chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee.⁴¹

37. *Florida Times-Union*, quoted in the *Bradford County Telegraph*, July 4, 1890, 2.

38. *Ocala Banner*, August 15, 1890, 1.

39. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1890, 2.

40. *Bradford County Telegraph*, October 31, 1890, 1.

41. *Floridian*, August 20, 1890, 4.

Colonel John Dunn, an Ocala banker and a public spirited man, was put up for United States senator by the anti-Call faction. The *Floridian* began to issue a daily which kept up a running attack on Senator Call. In April 1894 Frank Clark charged that John Dunn, W. D. Chipley and others had subsidized the *Daily Floridian* which folded soon after the election.⁴²

The state legislature met April 7, 1891. In the show-down Jefferson Browne of Key West, a Call man, was elected president of the Senate and Dr. J. L. Gaskins of Bradford, another Call man, was elected speaker of the House. Both elections were formalities since the two men had been nominated in a Democratic caucus. In the caucus Browne won over Joseph F. Baya of Columbia, 17-12; Gaskins was victor over Dougherty of Volusia, 43-21.⁴³ Things were breaking Call's way. The left wing of the Legislature, as represented by the Alliance men, shied off from supporting Dunn because he was a national banker, as the Alliance, a forerunner of the Bryan free-silver movement, was leary of national banks.⁴⁴ The Republican party was being solely represented by Senator Smith of St. Johns, who was reported by some newspaper wit as being in perpetual caucus.⁴⁵ The Alliance leaders, hoping to put forth an Alliance man, refused to support Call. However, this stand broke the political back of the Alliance because a substantial number of the Alliance men bolted from the solid front and supported Call who was sympathetic to the aims of the Alliance.

When a caucus failed to produce a candidate,⁴⁶ sixteen anti-Call Senators left Tallahassee in a vain effort to prevent the reelection of Senator Call. However, the Legislature met in a legal session and reelected Call by 51 votes to 1 for Dennett Mays. A quorum of the Legis-

42. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1890, 5.

43. *Evening Telegram*, April 6, 1891, 1, April 7, 1891, 1; *House Journal*, 1891, 3; *Senate Journal*, 1891, 3.

44. *Ocala Banner*, April 10, 1891, 3.

45. *Evening Telegram*, April 7, 1891, 1.

46. *Daily Floridian*, April 14, April 16, April 23, May 12, May 20, 1891.

lature was present but not a quorum of the Senate. Governor Fleming refused to certify Call and instead appointed R. H. M. Davidson as *ad interim* Senator. The U. S. Senate seated Call.⁴⁷

Following the reelection of Call, Chipley began to form a state-wide machine. One by one newspapers throughout the state began to support the Chipley faction. Ambitious politicians got on the Chipley band wagon. The Pensacola Tammany Association endorsed Chipley for state senator. The railroad man, in accepting the endorsement, announced that he stood on the Chicago platform of Bryan and the Democratic Party of 1892. He promised to view the question of a railroad commission impartially.⁴⁸

An act of the 1887 legislature had provided for a railroad commission. All its rules and regulations had been obeyed except a regulation of the P. & A. The road appealed to the State Supreme Court which held for the P. & A. In 1891 the act providing for the railway commission was repealed.⁴⁹ According to Frank Clark, the state legislature voted for the repeal of the railroad commission when it became generally understood that Governor Fleming would fill a vacancy which existed on the board by appointing E. J. Triay, a well-known railroad man.⁵⁰

At the Monticello Democratic convention, U. S. Representative Stephen R. Mallory was defeated in his fight for reelection. The Chipley guided Pensacola delegation did not support their fellow-townsmen, and S. M. Sparkman of Tampa won out. Back at Pensacola in the fall in the contest for state senator, William D. Chipley, regular Democrat, defeated Dr. Anderson who had the support of Independents, Populists and Republicans.⁵¹

Senator Chipley stood out in the legislature of 1895. Despite his freshman status, he ranked as one of the most powerful senatorial leaders. His bill to aid schools

47. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1891, 1.

48. *Pensacola Daily News*, June 19, 1894, 1.

49. Rerick, R. H., *Memoirs of Florida*, II, 205.

50. *Pensacola Daily News*, April 12, 1894, 2.

51. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1894, 1.

showed his interest in better education.⁵² His opposition to any bill to recreate a railroad commission showed his views in that sector. The railroad commission voting was very close ; the nays led by Chipley winning out 13 to 12.⁵³

V. SENATORIAL CANDIDATE

The *Pensacola News* in October 1895, began to boom State Senator Chipley for Call's seat in the United States Senate.⁵⁴ Around the New Year of 1896, Chipley took a business trip to Europe and returned in February of the same year.⁵⁵ The senatorial preliminaries began in earnest and the pro-Chipley newspapers gave their man a terrific build-up. The Call faction could marshal but four newspapers for their cause. However, "old man" Call, as he was now known, was surrounded by quite a few shrewd politicians. Among them were John N. C. Stockton, an ambitious, rugged, former Independent called "General John" by those who were not his friends ; "Jeems" Alexander, Call's secretary; Napoleon B. Broward, who later would succeed Call as leader of the liberal faction in Florida ; State Senator Hendley, an old hand at caucuses and political maneuvers ; and Frank Pope, meteoric Independent politician. Frank Clark's absence was noticeable. Clark had been one of Call's lieutenants, but now he was standing aloof from the fray.⁵⁶ Former U. S. Representative Dougherty, long a powerful influence in Volusia, and State Representative Christie of Leon marshalled the Chipley forces.⁵⁷ Judge George P. Raney of Tallahassee hoped to be a compromise candidate, and was supported by John A. Henderson, a prominent railroad lawyer, in his attempt to make the race three cornered.⁵⁸

Wilkinson Call's third term expired March 4, 1897, and Governor Bloxham appointed John A. Henderson

52. *Weekly News, Pensacola*, April 12, 1895, 3.

53. *Senate Journal*, 1895, 1186-87.

54. *The Weekly News*, October 4, 1895, 2.

55. *Ibid.*, February 21, 1896, 21.

56. *Metropolis*, quoted in the *Pensacola Daily News*, February 13,

57. *House Journal*, 1897, 240; *Senate Journal*, 1897, 213-214.

58. *Daily Florida Citizen*, April 9, 1897, 1.

as his successor until the legislature should make a choice. The new Senate appointee was vice-president and general counsel for the Florida and Peninsular Railroad.⁵⁹ He presented credentials as senator-designate from Florida on March 16 and these were referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, but no further action was taken, so he did not serve.⁶⁰

The *Pensacola Daily News* of March 22, carried an interesting account of Chipley's chances. In an interview with Colonel S. S. Harvey, Populist leader, a *News* reporter questioned him concerning Chipley's strength. Harvey, who had just returned from a trip throughout Florida, said that the masses believed that Chipley would be elected, and that the people were opposed to a protracted struggle in the legislature. If the Chipley candidacy were withdrawn, Harvey continued, Call would be reelected. The Populist warned the Chipley men not to underate Call's election strength. Concerning Chipley's record, he said:

If Col. Chipley was not identified with the railroads he would have a walk over, but I found the old feeling against all men who earn their living by serving a railroad dying out. Instead people say when Col. Chipley is elected, he will no longer be a railroad official, but a senator in the service of Florida working as earnestly for every interest in the State as he has labored for the railroad that employed him.⁶¹

In the writer's estimation that quotation is an understatement. Chipley was more than just an employee of the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad. As far as West Florida was concerned, he was "Mr. Railroad".

On April 5, the day before the Legislature was to meet in this famous session, the Democratic caucus for House and Senate presiding officers was held. It favored Chipley supporters. For president of the Senate the

50. *Pensacola Daily News*, March 8, 1897, 2; *Daily Florida Citizen*, April 6, 1897, 1.

60. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1927*, 447.

61. *Pensacola Daily News*, March 22, 1897, 2.

vote was: Senator Charles J. Perrenot, Santa Rosa, 15 votes ; N. A. Blicht, Levy, 9 votes ; Thomas Palmer, Hillsboro, 4 votes. For speaker of the House: D. H. Mays, Jefferson, 39 votes; J. A. Carlisle, Alachua, 23 votes. Their nominations were confirmed when the House and Senate met the next day.⁶²

Mays had made an active canvass for the speakership, while Carlisle had come out late.⁶³ J. A. Carlisle was described as the "giant of Alachua," with a voice like the "sonorous whistle of the Three Friends." D. H. Mays was described as the magnetic young farmer from Jefferson.⁶⁴ Chipley's forces had their "command post" at the Leon hotel, where liquor was dispensed freely in bottles, it was said; the opposition pitched camp at the St. James, and theirs flowed from jugs.⁶⁵

William Jennings Bryan had recently visited Florida and both Call and Chipley were on the committee that welcomed him to Tallahassee, where he made a speech. Bryan, when he was asked his views on the Florida Senatorial contest, replied:

"I have not come to Florida in the interest of anybody's candidacy for the Senate."⁶⁶

Call, Chipley, Raney and Dougherty spoke in the House of Representatives on April 19. Call said that his position was the Chicago platform, and that he and "Jeems" Alexander were the first to bring Bryan forth for the presidency. Chipley denounced monopolies, said that he was of the same mind as Bryan and that he favored a state railroad commission (!). He was in favor of an income tax and the Nicaragua Canal.⁶⁷

THE MEMORABLE CALL-CHIPLEY FIGHT

The Joint Assembly began the election of a United States senator on April 20. In the Senate in a separate ballot Senator Dougherty nominated W. D. Chipley, Senator Myers nominated George P. Raney, Senator

62. *Daily Florida Citizen*, April 6, 1897, 1, April 7, 1897, 1.

63. *Ocala Banner*, April 9, 1897.

64. *Times-Union*, April 4, 1897, 1.

65. *Daily Florida Citizen*, April 9, 1897, 1. *Apalachee*, 1944, p. 4.

66. *Daily Florida Citizen*, April 9, 1897, 1.

67. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1897.

Blitch nominated Wilkinson Call, and Senator McLin nominated William A. Hocker. In the House, Christie of Leon nominated Raney, Frank Pope of Duval nominated Call, Morgan of Putnam nominated R. A. Burford, Zewadski of Marion nominated Hocker, Harris of Monroe nominated Chipley, Potter of Dade, the only House Republican, nominated the old Radical Republican, Bisbee. The joint voting was: Call 33, Chipley 24, Raney 14, scattered 25. As 49 votes were necessary for a choice, no one was elected.⁶⁸ The deadlock continued throughout April. On April 24, the Senate passed the Railroad Commission bill. Tallahassee's grapevine had it that Raney was nibbling at Chipley's cake.⁶⁹

The Call faction rallied at a caucus on April 29 held at the residence of Mr. Roberts where Stockton boarded. The question of Call's withdrawing was discussed, and Stockton was reported anxious to get into the race. However, Alexander, Broward, Haddock, Holt and other Call supporters were rumored to have threatened political death to anyone who led a movement of disintegration, and Call stayed in the race.⁷⁰

Senator Williams of Nassau was keeping tally on May 1 and making a mistake in adding, told Senator Tom Darby that the total vote was 61 instead of 71. Senator Darby, thinking that his vote would decide the contest, changed from Raney to Call; Rouse of Wakulla and Shepard of Liberty asked for their votes to be recorded for Call. Then Morgan of Putnam changed his vote from Call to Burford, and after the ballot was taken, Call did not have a majority.⁷¹

Call's name was withdrawn by Senator Broome on May 7, who then nominated John N. C. Stockton.⁷² According to Senator Hendley of Pasco, it had struck Call that if Stockton's name were substituted he would get

68. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1897.

69. *Times-Union*, April 25, 1897, 1.

70. *Daily Florida Citizen*, April 30, 1897, 1.

71. *Pensacola Daily News*, May 1, 1897, 2.

72. *Daily Florida Citizen*, May 8, 1897, 1.

the boys lined up; so he proposed to Hendley and others that Stockton be put in the race. Hendley would have nothing to do with the deal and voted for Raney.⁷³

Stockton and Chipley were deadlocked on May 10.⁷⁴ On May 13, Chipley lacked three votes of being elected. Senator Darby then announced that there would be a caucus of those opposed to the election of either Chipley or Stockton.⁷⁵ Mallory, Chipley's old Escambia enemy, was now in Tallahassee. Senator Hendley states that Alexander and Spotswood, a Chipley manager, found Mallory "gumshoeing" around waiting to surge to the front as a dark horse.⁷⁶

At a caucus of the anti-Chipley faction, Senator Call was excluded, although members of other parties were permitted to attend.⁷⁷ Forty-four members attended the caucus and the candidates voted on were Mabry, Raney, Hocker and Mallory. On the third ballot Mallory defeated Hocker 25-15, becoming the choice of the caucus.⁷⁸

The deadlock broke on May 14. At twelve o'clock the balloting of the Joint Assembly began. Morgan of Putnam asked to be passed temporarily. Rawls of Jackson announced a pair with Senator Daniel of the same county. All votes were cast for the two Pensacola rivals and it was announced that Chipley had 49; Mallory 47; Tumult reigned. Then Rawls broke his pair and voted for Mallory, and Morgan also voted for Mallory. The contest was tied up again. Senator Barber asked to be recognized. The uproar was so great that nothing could be done. John N. C. Stockton stood up on top of his desk and shouted: "Sit down, nobody is elected!" Speaker Mays, thereupon, took the gavel away from President Perrenot and "smashed it upon the table with sufficient force to be heard blocks away." He also shouted to the members that the contest would be settled according to the entire satisfaction of the majority. Senator Barber

73. Interview with Senator Hendley, December 27, 1945.

74. *Daily Florida Citizen*, May 11, 1897, 1.

75. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1897, 1, 4.

76. Interview with Senator Hendley, December 27, 1945.

77. *Pensacola Daily News*, June 7, 1897, 2.

78. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1897, 2.

then changed his vote from Chipley to Mallory. Mallory was now winner 50-48. Then Shepard of Liberty and Dees of Lafayette changed their votes from Chipley to Mallory, and Senator Hendley of Pasco changed his vote from Chipley to Call. Mallory had been elected on the twenty-fifth ballot taken.⁷⁹

The most serene and self-composed man present was Senator Chipley. He seemed perfectly happy and contented. However, when Rawls attempted to shake hands with him, Chipley replied: "I do not intend to shake hands with a traitor." Rawls attempted to explain, but Chipley said that he admired an open enemy but despised a traitor.⁸⁰ Chipley's "organ" said the most conspicuous man on the floor against Chipley was Bill Lamar, the attorney general and that he would be retired as a result. The *Daily News* also said bitterly that the "J" in J. Rawls stood for Judas.⁸¹ The *Ocala Banner* remarked that both Chipley and Call now belonged to the political past and quoted Chipley as saying that he would retire from politics.⁸²

The fireworks were not yet over in the legislature. Never one to let sleeping dogs lie, Stockton on May 26 in his words "added a little history" to the bitter contest. He asked that a letter from E. J. Triay be spread on the House Journal. The letter follows:

Hotel Lakeview
Leesburg, Fla.,
Feb. 19, 1897.

Hon. W. D. Chipley

Dear Colonel-The indications from Lake are promising, so far as the votes of McLin and Owens. The last name is certain. The former has under advisement the situation as suggested. He is painfully "hard up." Mr. McNamee endorsed his note for sixty days for \$100.

Captain Baker, I am informed, can be influenced favorably in this way: His son Matthew, civil engineer, well

79. *Daily Florida Citizen*, May 15, 1897; *Times-Union*, May 15, 1897, 1.

80. *Daily Florida Citizen*, May 15, 1897, 1.

81. *Pensacola Daily News*, May 15, 1897, 2, May 19, 1897, 2.

82. *Ocala Banner*, May 21, 1897, 1-2, May 28, 1897.

educated and of good address, married Senator E. N. Dimick's daughter. A suggestion from you at the proper time to appoint Matthew Baker your private secretary if elected would induce Captain Dimick to work on Captain Baker and land him, too.

More particulars as to Lake in a few days, either by letter or interview.

I reach home this afternoon. Have been in this section since the 3rd inst. Will next take in Putnam.

Will remain at home until February 24.

Yours, etc,

E. J. T.

B. B. Wilson, Notary Public, certifies that the above is a true copy.⁸³

The letter had come into Stockton's hands thus: the residence of E. J. Triay was broken into and among the articles stolen was a coat containing some letters. Rumor had it that the police caught a negro with the stolen property and turned the letter over to Stockton.⁸⁴ Stockton said, and his remarks went into the House Journal by a vote of 31 to 27:

I was firmly impressed with the fact that the election of the party to whom the letter was addressed would be not only a blow to a republican form of government, but a disgrace to the intelligence, manhood and honesty of the people, and especially the Florida Legislature. Think of the methods used by this candidate for the United States Senate. Free passes, free telegrams, free whiskey, free cigars, free hotel bills, free gratification of the sensual appetites of weak men, together with the powerful corporation influence, not only in this State, but throughout the nation backed by unlimited money, and the promise of future political preferment, until well-nigh every office in the gift of the people themselves had been parceled out in advance to the hungry horde of

83. *House Journal*, 1897, 955-957.

84. *Metropolis*, Jacksonville, quoted in the *Pensacola Daily News*, May 31, 1897, 2.

political mercenaries with which this man had surrounded himself . . . Wherever the words "candidate for the United States Senate" are used, they refer to that arch enemy of the people, William D. Chipley and I beg to say "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."⁸⁵

Stockton added that he received the letter from a party in sympathy with Chipley.⁸⁶ The next day Chipley replied to Stockton, speaking in the Senate:

The Journal of the House of Representatives, spread upon the desks of the Senators this morning contains a confession of guilt by the party arraigned by me on Tuesday.

This confession of guilt by this party, his retention of the stolen letter, and his tirade intensifies his offense, and should put him beyond the recognition of all honorable men . . . I have never asked Senator McLin to vote for me for . . . United States Senator . . . I have never authorized any persons . . . to make any improper proposition to him. I met Mr. Owens . . . he informed me that his people were for Judge Hocker and that he would support him . . . Until I read the stolen letter, I did not know that Senator Dimick and Representative Baker were mentioned in it. I never in any manner attempted to influence either of these honorable gentlemen in the senatorial contest, nor is any reflection upon any of these gentlemen justly deducible from the letter.⁸⁷

The passages between Stockton and Chipley showed clearly that the bitter feeling between the two factions continued after the election of Mallory.

Returning to Pensacola early in June, Chipley was welcomed home as a conquering hero. As his car was backed into the platform, the Chipley Light Infantry fired six volleys in the air. He was escorted to a carriage drawn by six white horses, and when the horses became

85. *House Journal*, 1897, 957-958.

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Senate Journal*, 1897, 942-943.

unruly, they were unharnessed, and men drew the carriage. In his speech on this occasion Chipley said:

It seems only yesterday that the final roll call was ordered upon which depended the selection of Florida's senator to succeed Wilkinson Call. The tally indicated I had been chosen; in fact no other result was possible without treachery came in to rob me of my victory. Then followed broken pledges and a great tumult rose over my defeat.

At last, on Thursday, when the real contest came, I needed only three votes for election, with four votes scattered that I had every right to expect the next day; in fact but for a misunderstanding I would have received three of these votes Thursday and would have been elected.

That situation made that night a busy one for my opponents. Every possible combination was suggested in a caucus, in which all opposing interests were gathered Two Independents, three Populists, one Republican and the pestiferous Weeks, of Washington county, were admitted to the caucus, but Call was rudely, and absolutely excluded. Mr. Mallory was in control of Richbourg, and also secured Clark, and this gave him the nomination through the desertion by these men of their pledges to me.

At 3 a. m. I was called from my bed. The tally was gone over with my friends and the best we could do was to figure out a tie, not dreaming that the Christian, Rawls, would violate his pledge; a man so good that he quit his church because an organ was introduced into its sacred precincts which, with the treachery of Morgan and the perfidy of Barber, compassed my defeat.

I want to say I have no criticism of Mr. Mallory Mr. Mallory has never been my personal or political friend, but I have never opposed him without provocation and never save in an open manner . . . My prime object when I went into the contest, without, at the time expecting to be a can-

didate myself, was to retire from political life Wilkinson Call. This I accomplished and along with him Mr. John N. C. Stockton.⁸⁸

William D. Chipley was stronger than ever in the eyes of doubtless the majority of his fellow-townsmen. Unfortunately, his career was cut short by his sudden death in Washington, D. C., on December 1, 1897.⁸⁹ Although the people of Pensacola, his adopted home, wanted him buried there, he was interred in his native Columbus, Georgia.⁹⁰ He was survived by his wife, a son Hunt, a son Dudley and a daughter Clara.

W. D. Chipley, in addition to his business and political career took a keen interest in the DeFuniak Springs Chautauqua and the Florida State Militia. His memory is honored by a monument in the center of the principal public square of Pensacola and by the name of the county seat of Washington county, but he is remembered most of all as the builder of the railroad from Pensacola to the Apalachicola river, an achievement which united East and West Florida and effectively killed the perennial proposal to annex West Florida to Alabama.

88. *Pensacola Daily News*, June 8, 1897, 2.

89. Rerick, *op. cit.*, 483.

90. *Weekly News*, December 3, 1897, 1.

A SOLDIER'S VIEW OF THE SEMINOLE WAR, 1838-39

by WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Three letters from James B. Dallam, a soldier in the United States Army engaged in the war with the Seminole Indians, provide an interesting view of conditions in Florida in 1838-39 and of the progress of operations there during a lull in the fighting.¹ Written from three different posts—Fort Harlee, Fort Clinch, and Tampa Bay—the epistles describe events over a period of six months and refer hopefully to the prospects of peace. Sandwiched between accounts of negotiations with the Indians are accounts of the country itself, with considerable praise for the healthy climate and fine soil, and also the prediction that “after the war Florida property will be in great demand.” When Dallam was writing, the battle at Okeechobee was several months in the past, and matters were drifting along more or less smoothly, with the next outbreak of violence some time in the future.²

James Baxter Dallam (1806-39) was the son of Josias William Dallam, of Hartford county, Maryland, and his second wife, Henrietta Jones. He enlisted in the army at an early age and was stationed in various parts of the country, including Wisconsin. He did not live to take up the Florida land he wrote about, for he was among those killed in July 1839, just a month after the last letter printed here. Francis Johnson Dallam (1787-1857), the addressee, was James Dallam's older half-brother, had recently concluded fifteen years of service as city collector of Baltimore, and was cashier of the Citizens bank of that metropolis.

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1. The original letters are among the Dallam Papers in The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. The portions omitted contain references to family matters entirely unconnected with Florida.
 2. The murder of eighteen of the thirty men in Lt. Col. William S. Harney's detachment near the Caloosahatchie river on July 22, 1839, abruptly ended negotiations for peace and the war was continued for three more years.

The letters follow:

Fort Harlee ³ E. F. November 3d 1838

Dear Brother-

. . . . We had a large assembly of the Principal Characters in Florida here a day or two since (30th ult) the General commanding three Colonels and seven Captains, when the affairs of the war were discussed an[d] we are all in hopes of the war ending this winter-in fact if present appearances are any sign of coming events the war cannot last longer than the Spring. Some of the most influential chiefs have come in and others are on their way to Tampa including the renowned *Sam Jones*. The inhabitants are going back to their farms and a gentleman from Micanopy informed me that there was no danger to be apprehended in this section of the country as he had been lately in the heart of the Nation (on the Withlacooche) and that he saw some Indians who told him the war was over. Genl. Taylor has succeeded admirably in gain[ing] the confidence of the Indians (friendly as well as hostile) and had the war been conducted at the first of his plan, it would not have lasted a year. ⁴ He says that it is impossible to drive them from the Swamps (and every unprejudiced person must agree with him) and that the only method of getting rid of them is to coax them off. the word *coax* may seem strange to be used by a General but you know that more towns have been gained by money than arms and I am certain from what I know of the country that no other way can be successful.

We shall move (by we I mean the troops) from this in three days to Fort Clinch near the mouth of the Withlacooche where five companies of the first Regiment are

3. Fort Harlee was in Alachua county, just north of Waldo and on the Santa Fe river. It was established in March 1837, and was abandoned in November 1838, just after the writing of this letter.
4. Zachary Taylor (1784-1850) led the troops which defeated the Indians at Okeechobee on December 25, 1837. He was made commander of the Florida department in May, 1838, and continued in that post until 1840.

ordered with one company of Dragoons to scour the country from the Suwanee River southward down the Gulf. I expect to be there during the winter please direct your letters hereafter to Whitesville or Gary's Ferry as I have made arrangements with the Postmaster there to forward all my letters.

I had written thus far when the mail came in and brought me two Baltimore papers. in the American of 24th October I see an article headed Florida which is false in all its details except the health of the troops. there has been no hostile meeting of the whites and Indians since last April except on the Okefenokee Swamp in Georgia. a large number of Indians are in at Tampa between 3 and 4 hundred with some of the principal chiefs and great reliance is placed in their promises of getting all the Indians to come in and by the best authority there are not over five hundred warrio[r]s in the Territory. Coosa Tustinugger Sam Janes sub chief who is in at Tampa says that all will come in except Wild Cat the Indian that was so harshly treated by Ge[n]l Jessup and who escaped from the Prison at St. Augustine.⁵ the Army and the Inhabitants generally have the utmost confidence in the ability of Genl Taylor to conclude the war and if he is not too much harrassed by the only heavy drag to his operations (the Major Genl) he will be certain of closing the war in a short time-. . . .

Believe me

Your affectionate Brother

J. B. DALLAM

Fort Clinch⁶ E. F. November 30th 1838

Dear Brother-

. . . . You ask me how I like Florida &c. So well that

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5. Wild Cat was among the Indian chiefs imprisoned in October, 1837, by Gen. Thomas Jesup (1788-1860), Taylor's predecessor in command of the army in Florida. Wild Cat escaped from St. Augustine, returned to his people, and carried on the work of Osceola, who had died while in prison.
 6. Fort Clinch was on the Withlacoochee river about eighteen miles from its mouth. It was established in October 1836, and served as an army post until June 1842.

should the First Regiment remain in Florida after the war I shall undoub[t]edly permanently establish here. As I have been better pleased with it than any country I have ever visited Wisconsin excepted. Florida as far as my own experience extends is as healthy as any other part of the United States. the regiment of U. S. Troops to which I am attached has now been in Florida for more than a year and during that period there has been but five deaths in it and those broken down drunkards who had the seeds of disease in them before arriving. the Regiment has been stationed over the whole country from Tampa Bay to Trader's Hill in Ga. and most of the companies [have] been hard at work all summer building Forts so that you perceive that the country cannot be very unhealthy. as for Climate I think it the most delightful in the world as when this summer the Thermometer stood at Fort Harlee in the shade at 104 and after being exposed 15 minutes to the sun rose to 155 I did not feel the heat as sensible as I have at Prairie du Chien and the same night had to use a Blanket to be comfortable. Fort Harlee is not affected by the sea breeze which makes the weather so delightful on the eastern coast where it prevails-still I have no doubt that there are years in which Florida is unhealthy judging by past years, as I have been told that whenever there is a wet spring that the months of August and September are sure to very unhealthy-The quality of the Land is very variable having seen some very superior and other not worth the trouble of examination.

Hammock Land is considered to be the best but I have seen some excellent farms made in the pine barrens but do not think that the soil can bear more than two or three crops without wearing out-All parts of Florida produce fine sugar cane and cotton but corn and sweet potatoes appear to be the products of the people who now reside here. Florida is emphatically the poor and lazy man's home. I have no doubt but that after the war Florida property will be in great demand and sell much higher than western. I shall speculate a little myself. Should you have any notion of purchasing property in

Florida I would refer you to Col Christopher Andrews of Washington City who will & can give you the best information on the subject as he has travelled all over the country and made numerous purchases

Believe me

Your affectionate Brother

J. B. DALLAM

Tampa Bay June 18th 1839

Dear Brother-

. . . . I leave here tomorrow for the southern part of the peninsula having been appointed sole Indian trader with the Indians under the treaty lately had by Genl Macomb with them at Fort King - Should the treaty have been entered into by them in good faith I have no doubt of doing something handsome this summer. The Indians who have been carried on the War are divided into three parties those in Middle Florida being the runaway Creeks who are at present committing depre-dations near Tallahass the Tallasses who inhabit near the Wilklacoochee and Suwanee rivers who are also committing murders and the Seminoles and Micasaukees who inhabit the Southern part of Florida. These Indians have never been met with by any of our forces since the battle of Ochechobee as they then retired to the everglades where our troops could not penetrate and no demonstration having been made against them since that time as our troops have been constantly engaged protecting the frontier from the Creeks and Tallassis. And it is therefore natural to suppose they have all the money in their possession that was known to be among them and they must also have a great quantities of hides and

7. Alexander Macomb (1782-1841) was the senior major general and commander of the United States Army. He had been in Florida briefly in 1836, and was sent back in the spring of 1839 to complete negotiations with the Indians. The treaty mentioned in Dallam's letter was nullified by the murder of Harney's men a month later.

skins collected since they have been quiet and my being the exclusive trader⁸ at the post located for that purpose will bring all those who are inclined to conform to the treaty to my store as from the appearance of those I saw at Fort King during the treaty they must be wretchedly off for clothing the Genl wishes me to take every article suitable for them except powder and lead

I should like very much to do something for Edward⁹ as I believe Baltimore is the worst city in the Union to bring up a young man in and as soon as our regiment is located out of Florida I will be able to afford him a fine opportunity. The posts of Baton Rouge and New Orleans are supposed to be the ones to which the regiment will be ordered as soon as the Florida war is over when as we have to keep a number of clerks if you and Edward are willing I will come on for him. I would like to have him now but the morals of this section of Florida where all the *canaille* of the army are congregated are of rather too loose a character to introduce any young man of a warm temperament-

Believe me

Your affectionate Brother

J. B. DALLAM

The attack on Col. Harney's detachment, in which Dallam was killed, is thus described by Sprague :¹⁰ "Lieutenant-Colonel Harney . . . proceeded to Charlotte's Harbor to establish the trading-house for the convenience of the Indians While there he was attacked in the most treacherous manner and his command murdered in their beds. Mr. Dalham [the name is thus throughout all the reports] and Mr. Morgan accompanied him with a large supply of Indian goods. The Indians visited the

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8. In the several reports the name occurs as *Dalham* and he is referred to as "sutler."
 9. Edward Boothby Dallam was Francis J. Dallam's second son. The proposal to have him take up a clerk's position with the army in the South fell through completely after the death of his uncle James.
 10. John T. Sprague, "*The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War.*" New York, 1848. p. 233.

camp for several days previous in a most friendly manner. At the dawn of day a simultaneous attack was made by two hundred and fifty Indians The surprise was complete. . . . Those not murdered in their beds fled to the river, when they were shot down in the water. Colonel Harney escaped by swimming to the fishing smacks The whole party consisted of thirty men, of whom about twenty-four were killed, among them Mr. Dalham and Mr. Morgan. Negroes Sampson and Sandy, interpreters, were taken prisoners. Sampson was detained a prisoner two years, when he effected his escape."

Sampson later told of the attack:¹¹ "I accompanied Lieutenant-Colonel Harney to the Caloshatchee river. He went there for the purpose of establishing an Indian trading house. Mr. Dalham and Morgan were along with the Indian goods I slept in the store, Mr. Dalham and Mr. Morgan were outside; one in a bunk the other in a hammock. Just at the break of day I heard the yell of Indians and the discharge of rifles; and as I ran out I found they were all around us. Mr. Dalham lay dead under his hammock"

Thus the Seminole War, which had again been declared at an end, was renewed.

11. *Ibid.* p. 316.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A NEW EDITION

Recommended Readings for the Florida Centennial by Dr. A. J. Hanna of Rollins College was published in 1945, and a full description appeared in this *Quarterly* in the October number of that year. A new edition has now come from the press, *Recommended Readings on Florida*. This is issued by the "Union Catalog of Floridiana" of Rollins College at one dollar and twenty-five cents. There has been added a map of Florida by counties, an index, and a number of new titles, while some titles have been omitted.

THE SUWANWEE RIVER

After long continued research in all available historical material—printed books, manuscripts, personal interviews, and recorded and unrecorded tradition, Mr. H. Maddox of Archer has drawn a large scale map (3/8" to 1 mile) on a township map, of the entire course of the Suwannee river in Florida. Every locality, every hamlet, known or remembered within several miles of the river is located as accurately as can be determined now. This is especially true of the river from its junction with the Withlacoochee to the Gulf, along which more than seventy sites are indicated with notes on occurrences at these locations.

SARASOTA

Another local history worthy of note has come from the press. This is *The Story of Sarasota* by Karl H. Grismer (M. E. Russell, Sarasota, publisher, 1946. \$3.50). Mr. Grismer, as a veteran newspaperman, has gone out after the facts of the county's and the city's history, and from the detail of his story, apparently he found most if not all of those facts. There are 260 quarto pages of narrative, a chapter on the various organizations of the place and their activities, portraits and sketches of the sixty-seven men and one woman who

made the supreme sacrifice in the late war, the usual biographies of prominent residents, and a great number of illustrations.

Mr. Edwin B. Browning, to whom Madison county history owes much, has written and published in mimeograph "The Early History of Concord Missionary Baptist Church, 1841-1868." (31 p.) This church, Mr. Browning tells us, is one of the pioneer churches of Florida. It has had a continuous existence for one hundred six years, and the extant records of the church cover the entire period.

"On Florida's Coconut Coasts" is a collection of every-day reminiscences of men and simple happenings of Southwest Florida. These are told by George W. Gatewood, who for nearly fifty years had the status of a local Methodist minister, but at times was also a merchant, real estate agent, postmaster, newspaper reporter, farmer, and commercial fisherman. A volume of 144 pages, it was published by the Punta Gorda Herald at two dollars. A slighter volume by the same author is "Ox-Cart Days to Airplane Era in Southwest Florida."

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

A joint meeting of the Historical Association of Southern Florida and the Florida Historical society was held at the University of Miami on December 9, and President Boyd came from Tallahassee to be present.

The meeting was successful in every way. Mr. Walter C. Hartridge of Savannah, Georgia historian, president of Georgia Historical Research Association, and a director of the Georgia Historical Society, was invited to make the principal historical address. He is author and editor of "The Letters of Don Juan McQueen" and it was of that early resident and official of Georgia and Florida and his associations with Southern Florida that Mr. Hartridge spoke.

Coming from Savannah also, where he is director of the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, was Mr. Raiford J. Wood, who spoke and encouraged Miamians in their project for establishing a museum similar to that in Savannah.

The Association's annual publication *Tequesta* for 1946 is coming from the press as this is being written, and its contents will be described in the next issue of this *Quarterly*. It is looked for with much interest by the history-minded of all Florida. This number is edited by Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, professor of history at the University of Miami, who will edit the issue for 1947 also.

THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Jacksonville Historical Society's *Papers*, which has been awaited with much interest, appeared in February. A similar publication was issued in 1934 and is described, with the titles of all papers included, in this *Quarterly* (XIII p. 182). That volume was mimeographed, but the present one is a printed book of 128 pages. As did the former one, it contains certain papers read at the program meetings of the Society.

Papers was issued under the direction of a board of

editors: Dr. Webster Merritt, chairman, Mrs. Herbert M. Corse, Mrs. Oscar Rawls, and Miss Dena Snodgrass. Included are: "The Spirit of Jacksonville in the Fire of 1901," by Richard P. Daniel; "Bryant and Emerson in Florida," by Mrs. Henry L. Richmond ; "General James Edward Oglethorpe," by Charles C. Russell ; "Fort Picolata," by Mary B. Graff; "The Forts of Duval County," by Katherine Sproull; "Florida in the Life and Works of Frederick Delius," by Paul Kruse; "Physicians and Medicine in Early Jacksonville," by Webster Merritt; "History of the Jacksonville Historical Society," by Herbert Lamson ; and "The Collection of Historical Material in Florida," by Rembert W. Patrick.

The publication is of far more than local interest. The aggregate of local histories makes a good part of the State's history; but, in addition, the events and characters and narratives of every kind often have a definite relationship to that broader history, and hence they are of statewide importance. So all those who are interested in Florida's history will hope that "Papers" will grow into a series.

The second program meeting of the Society for this season was held on February 12, and the principal addresses were by Mr. Herbert Lamson on "Hernando DeSoto ;" and "A Summary of Archaeology in Florida," by Mr. John W. Griffin, Florida State Archaeologist.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REPORT OF THE LONG-RANGE COMMITTEE

Mark F. Boyd, *chairman*

At the meeting of the Florida Historical Society, held at the Society's Library in St. Augustine on December 7, 1945, a motion was passed directing the president to appoint (a committee of) seven members to study the matter of permanent quarters; and that this committee be (further) instructed to take into account all offered locations; and further this committee shall make recommendations for future objectives of the Society, with special regard to correlation of the needs of the State of Florida with the potential services which the Society can supply, and report to the Society at the next annual meeting.

In compliance with these instructions, President Karl Bickel appointed the following committee, viz:

Mr. Gaines R. Wilson
Mr. W. J. Winter
Mr. Winder H. Surrency
Mr. David Smiley
Professor R. W. Patrick
Dr. Webster Merritt
Dr. Mark F. Boyd, chairman

A meeting of the committee was held in Orlando, on March 24, 1946 (see the QUARTERLY, April last p. 335) attended by Mr. Surrency, Professor Patrick, and Doctors Merritt and Boyd, at which the scope of the responsibility was discussed, and subcommittee assignments were made for more detailed study of certain phases of the problems under review. Subsequent to this meeting Mr. Smiley withdrew from the committee, and to the vacancy Mr. Herbert Lamson was appointed. A second meeting of the committee was held in St. Augustine on December 20th, 1946 which was attended by Mr. Winter, and Doctors Patrick, Merritt and Boyd, at which subcommittee reports were received, and the general lines

of the committee's report discussed. The report with recommendations as here drafted by the chairman, has the support of all committee members.

1) *Permanent Quarters.* Since during the past year no new locations for the society's headquarters either in St. Augustine or elsewhere have been proffered, and considering the present condition of the society's resources and of its collections, it is recommended that unless compelled thereto by eviction, no early change be made in the present location and housing facilities of the headquarters. Furthermore, it is the opinion of the committee, that considering the numerous problems which face the society, that of quarters appears the least pressing.

2) *Survey of Facilities in State for Historical Research.* It was suggested to the Florida Library Association that it prepare a revision of the Cheek List of Florida (1500-1865) in the libraries of Florida, which was published in the Florida Library Bulletin of April 1930, as there is reason to believe that a very substantial improvement in these resources of the state has occurred in the interval. The State Library Association accepted the proposal in principle, but expressed their inability to assign any one to this study during the present year.

The committee recommends that the Florida Historical Society become a member of the Florida Library Association, and that the society's librarian, as representative of the society, be authorized to attend, at the society's expense, the meetings of the association.

The committee recommends that any material in the society's library which is not classified by its library committee as unique and irreplaceable, be made available to historical students residing within the state, through inter-library loans, under rules to be approved by the directors on recommendation of the library committee, providing the borrowing library pays transportation charges both ways.

3) *Relation of the Florida Historical Society to Local Historical Societies.* This committee is convinced

that the most effective manner of stimulating latent interest in the state's history is through the work of local historical societies, municipal, county or district, and that the historical program in the state will be strengthened if the work of these organizations is closely integrated with that of the state society. Consequently the society should foster those organizations now in existence, and seek to organize others. Although it is to be regretted that the Florida Historical Society cannot take credit for at least directly stimulating the organization of many of the local societies at present existing, it is believed that an effective program for the integration of the present and future societies with the Florida Historical Society should be worked out in consultation and in collaboration with the local organizations. Your committee accordingly recommends that at an early date the Florida Historical Society invite each of the existing local societies in the state to designate a delegate to attend a conference to be called in the near future by the Florida Historical Society, to develop a program for the achievement of a closer and formal relationship between the state and local societies.

4) *Whole Time Officers and Staff for the Society.* Until very recent years the society was without any whole time paid employee, and its affairs were administered gratuitously by the currently responsible officers. Under this circumstance proper maintenance of any headquarters was impossible, and the library was practically inaccessible. It is likely that to this, more than to any other circumstance, is to be credited the decidedly passive character of the society during most of the years elapsing since its reactivation, while there is evident distinctly more vitality since it has had a whole-time secretary.

In view of the circumstances that the tenure of most of the officers concerned in the administration of the society is short, not over two years in the case of directors, it is of particular importance that the routine administration of the society be placed in the hands of a whole time officer, with broader duties and responsi-

bilities than that of a librarian or corresponding secretary, who should be regarded as the executive officer or executive secretary. This individual should possess certain well defined personal characteristics and educational qualifications. He should be paid initially a reasonably adequate salary, which in the event he finds the society's service a congenial career and is reasonably successful in advancing our aims, should later receive material increments.

The executive secretary might, probably under the guidance of the board of directors, be expected:

a) To administer the routine operations of the society, and direct the activities of whatever personnel are provided as his aides.

b) Travel over the state for the purpose of visiting with local societies; stimulating the organization of new groups or reactivating any which have become dormant; scouting for historical material which for safeguarding and-preservation might be added to the societies collections by donation or gift; and secure financial support for the society's program from interested persons. He should be reimbursed by the society for the expenses of such travel.

c) Assist the State Department of Education and individual educational institutions in arranging courses of instruction in the history of the state. Many other activities can be envisaged.

The executive secretary should be assisted by a librarian and a sufficient number of clerical and stenographic assistants. The librarian may be expected to serve as curator of the society's collections, which involves their arrangement and cataloguing, the repairing or preservation of fragile books and documents, assisting those who engage in research among the collections, the supervision of loans, and the preparation of and changing of exhibits from the collections.

In view of these considerations, your committee recommends that the charter be amended to create the office of whole-time executive secretary in substitution for that of corresponding secretary, the incumbent of

which should be elected by the board of directors, at an initial salary commensurate with his qualifications. The post of librarian should be retained as a paid whole-time position.

5) *Present Financial Situation of the Society.* The present revenues of the society are derived from two dollar annual dues paid by regular members, and ten dollar dues paid by sustaining members, supplemented by a modest subvention received from the State Library Board. As of March 1, 1946, the treasurer reports in the July 1946 Quarterly, 1945 revenues as follows:

Dues from members	\$1,542.74
Sales of Quarterlies	36.10
From State through Library Board	1,800.00
Miscellaneous	22.90
	<u>\$3,401.74</u>

with expenditures as follows :

Salary	\$1,200.00
Rent	300.00
Publication Quarterly	1,428.08
Miscellaneous	369.24
	<u>\$3,297.32</u>

which leaves on the year's operations, the slender credit balance of \$104.42. However, due to rigorous economy in previous years operations the society actually had accumulated on the above date a cash balance of \$3,103.34. *

It will be noted that in 1945 the membership dues barely paid the cost of the Quarterly. The Board of Directors authorized an allocation of \$2,000.00, or as much thereof as may be necessary for the publication of the

* The treasurer's report for the year ending March 31, 1947, as presented at the Tampa meeting, is as follows:

Revenues:

Dues from members	\$1,486.44
Sales of Quarterlys	63.95
From State through Library Board	1,800.00
Miscellaneous	107.40
	<u>\$3,457.79</u>

Expenditures:

Salary	\$1,500.00
Rent	300.00
Printing of the Quarterly	1,793.27
Miscellaneous	593.10
	<u>\$4,186.97</u>

Thus the receipts were insufficient by \$729.18 to defray expenses, thereby depleting the cash reserve by the amount of this excess.

Quarterly in 1946, an increase rendered imperative by the rising costs of printing. Since present membership revenue is inadequate to provide for this increase, the latter must be supplied from the meager reserve.

It is apparent that revenues from memberships are not providing sufficient funds for our modest operations, and the present scale is even insufficient to permit of economies. Nothing can or should be permitted to curtail the size of the Quarterly. The file of the 25 volumes of the Quarterly is the biggest concrete accomplishment the society has to its credit, and the principal bond uniting our membership.

In order to improve our financial position, your committee recommends that the annual dues of regular members for 1947 and subsequent years be set at \$4.00, and that those of sustaining members (the designation of which it is suggested be changed to fellows) be retained at \$10.00. These proceeds should be earmarked as follows:

	Dues from	
	Regular	Member Fellows
For Quarterly	\$ 2.50	\$ 2.50
Society operations	1.50	1.50
Monograph fund	----	6.00
	\$4.00	\$10.00

It is recommended that when two or more members occur in one household, such as husband and wife, under which circumstance duplicate copies of the Quarterly might be superfluous, they be given the privilege of electing that the full dues of \$4.00 be assessed on the senior member of the household and that other members be assessed at \$2.00 without the Quarterly.

On the basis of 800 members, which approximates our current roster, an allocation of \$2.50 from each member would provide somewhere about \$2,000 per annum for the Quarterly, and \$1.50 about \$1,200 for operating expenses.

It is recommended that the secretary, in consultation with the treasurer, prepare and submit each year, for consideration by the directors at the annual meeting, a budget outlining the anticipated regular and special expenditures of the society, which shall not exceed the con-

servatively estimated, revenues of the society for the same period, except that the directors at their discretion may increase any item by drawing on reserve funds of the society, and the officers of the society shall not incur expenses chargeable to any budget item in excess of the amount allocated, except with the approval of the directors, when unexpended balances in other budget items are available for transfer.

The extra six dollars contributed by fellows, might be expected, in the event about 200 members would effect such a change in status, to ultimately provide an annual fund of about \$1,200 which would permit the publication of one or more annual monographs treating of Florida history, copies of which would be distributed to fellows without any further charge.

It is further recommended that subscriptions to the Quarterly be set at \$4.00 per annum, and that monographs be sold for not less than \$6.00 per copy.

In view of the slender income of the society, your committee is deeply appreciative of the invaluable character of the financial aid received from the State Library Board and of the sympathetic motives which prompt it, nevertheless since this state aid does not come to the society through statutory enactment, its indefinite continuity is unpredictable and your committee believes that unless and until some state appropriation is directly given to the society, we should not develop any program, the financial support for which is to be largely or wholly provided from this source.

6) *Publication of Monographs.* In view of the circumstance that by-law 6, creating a publications committee for the editing and publication of monographs, unrelated to the Quarterly, was adopted just prior to our involvement in war, and the subsequent dormancy of the committee is a natural consequence of the personal participation of Mr. Stetson in the war effort, it is recommended that consideration of the publication of monographs be deferred for a reasonable time, pending opportunity for a conference of the society's officers and Mr. Stetson.

7) *Promotion of Research: Graduate Fellowships.*
To encourage and promote the study and writing of Florida's history, it is recommended that the Florida Historical Society establish Graduate Fellowships.

Eligible candidates for such Graduate Fellowships should be citizens of the American republics and graduates of recognized colleges or universities. Preference should be given to students who will work in residence for a doctorate in history. Successful applicants may choose any recognized' graduate school in the United States for their advanced work, but they must major in United States or Latin-American history, and they must offer a dissertation in the field of Florida history in partial fulfillment of their doctorates. In compliance with conditions of their fellowship grant, one copy of their dissertation must be deposited with the Secretary of the Florida Historical Society. The Florida Historical Society shall have first opportunity to publish any and all doctoral dissertations produced by incumbents of its fellowships.

Applications for Florida Historical Society Graduate Fellowships shall be made by candidates on or before March 1 for fellowships the tenure of which will begin the following September 1. All applications shall be made to the secretary of the Florida Historical Society and by him referred to the Committee on Fellowships.

Incumbents of the Graduate Fellowships shall be paid \$150 per month for twelve months, beginning on September 1 and ending on August 1. In addition to the monthly payments, the society will pay directly to the institution of matriculation, all fees not in excess of \$500 per annum. Monthly payments, however, shall terminate if the recipient fails to do satisfactory graduate work, or discontinue his studies and research activities. Holders of fellowships shall be eligible for reappointment in not more than two succeeding years.

* The Committee on Fellowships shall have final authority to determine a list of recognized graduate schools.

The President and Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society shall appoint a Committee on Fellowships consisting of five members, one of whom shall be designated as a secretary. All members of the committee shall be members of the Florida Historical Society, and two of the committee members shall be professional historians. The committee members shall be originally appointed for terms of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 years, and on expiration of the terms of those first appointed, for a 5 year term, and, whenever necessary, the President of the Florida Historical Society shall make interim appointments to fill the unexpired term of any member. The committee shall make such rules and regulations as are consistent with their purpose, publicize the fellowships, receive applications, and select one or more candidates therefrom for nomination to the Directors. On or before June 1, the name or names of the candidates selected shall be given to the Directors of the Florida Historical Society for confirmation and appointment.

The Committee on Fellowships shall select candidates on the basis of merit. If in any year there are no applicants with sufficient qualifications to justify an award, no fellowship shall be given and the funds designated for the fellowship shall remain in the treasury of the Florida Historical Society. These or any lapsed funds may be appropriated by the Board of Directors in irregular grants to mature scholars for the completion of research in Florida History on the recommendation of the Committee on Fellowships.

The Florida Historical Society Graduate Fellowships shall be awarded whenever the requisite funds for a two year appointment are available.

8) *Adequate Financial Support.* It is apparent from the foregoing presentation, that the realization of any constructive program of a substantial character is contingent upon availability of the necessary financial support. It is likely that the proposals suggested, if carried out, would require on a full scale an annual budget of approximately the following proportions:

Salaries:	Dollars
Executive secretary	4,000.00
Librarian	2,000.00
Stenographer	1,860.00
Travelling expenses	1,000.00
Rent, light and fuel	500.00
Office expenses	300.00
Publication of Quarterly	2,000.00
Publication of monographs	1,200.00
3 Fellowships @ approx. 2,300. per annum	6,900.00*
Purchase of books and documents for library and collections	1,000.00
Binding and preservation	500.00
	\$21,200.00

This budget, regardless of the present possibilities for attainment, might be characterized as "ideal."

Present, or prospectively increased income from the proposed increase in dues (assuming that there were no resignations as a consequence), might provided revenues approximately as follows:

	Present	Proposed
800 @ \$2.00	\$1,600.00
25 @ 10.00	250.00
Library Board	1,800.00	\$1,800.00
600 @ 4.00	2,400.00
200 @ 10.00	2,000.00
	\$3,650.00	\$6,200.00

It is apparent that the present income, or for that matter that resulting from augmented dues, cannot provide for the "ideal" budget. The present income cannot provide \$2000 annually for the Quarterly, \$300.00 for rent and \$1500 for the shamefully modest (the shame is ours) salary of our corresponding secretary. Were the dues raised and the proportion of membership classes altered, there might be selected from the "ideal" budget, the following practical working items:

Salary corresponding secretary	\$2,000.00
Quarterly	2,000.00
Monographs	1,200.00
Rent, etc.	300.00
Office expenses	300.00
Purchases, binding, preservation	400.00
	\$6,200.00

*If the doctoral theses are to provide a continuous supply of studies to be published annually on the monograph series, at least 2, and perhaps 3 fellowships should be concurrently available, but staggered so that only one is open each year.

It is evident that our actual current operations fall short of the "ideal" budget by approximately \$18,000, and in case of the proposed modification by about \$15,000. Obviously these deficiencies must be supplementarily provided if the society is to be adequately supported.

Consideration of possibilities for an increased income justifies appraisal of the following:

- 1) Revenues arising from a greatly augmented membership on the proposed higher scale of dues;
- 2) State subvention ;
- 3) Annual contributions from historically inclined philanthropic persons ; and
- 4) Income from an endowment of invested capital.

Considering these seriatim :

1) A substantial increase in membership might reduce the unit production costs of a Quarterly of the present size from \$2.50 to \$2.00 per member, permitting an allocation of \$2.00 instead of \$1.50 to operations. Assuming that 2000 new members could be secured at the enhanced dues proposed, our income might be as follows:

600 + 2,000 @ \$ 4.00	\$10,400.00
200 10.00	2,000.00
Library Board	1,800.00
	\$14,200.00

This superficially would appear to provide for about two-thirds of our "ideal" budget previously discussed. Actually, we might realize some part of our "ideal," as the following selections might indicate:

Quarterly 2,800 @ \$2.00	\$ 5,600.00
Monograph 200 @ 6.00	1,200.00
Executive secretary	4,000.00
Rent, etc.	500.00
Office expenses	300.00
Purchases	300.00
1 Fellowship	2,300.00
	\$14,200.00

Recognizing that the increased cost of distributing the Quarterly to a membership enlarged to the proportion discussed would amount to \$3,600 more than the amount allowed in the "ideal" budget, the remainder, after deducting this sum from \$14,200 comes to \$10,600, or exactly half of the "ideal" budget proposed.

It should be noted that with an augmented membership the proportion of income which must be devoted to the Quarterly would materially increase, and it might be questioned whether the increased office routine could be handled without aid from a stenographer or clerk. At any rate, a membership of these proportions would permit of substantial progress toward our goal. While it is believed that our membership by no means includes all citizens of the state who are interested in its history, your committee is not prepared to express the opinion that a 250 per cent increase in membership is within the realm of possibility. However, if once reached, a capable executive secretary should be able to maintain it at this level. The possibilities in this direction are a distinct challenge to the society.

2) While the purposes and objectives of the Society would, it is believed, be ample justification for legislative provision of an annual subvention from the state treasury, it is our opinion that excepting the file of the 25 volumes of the Quarterly, the society does not otherwise have a sufficiently distinguished record of past achievement which would at present justify expectation of any material increase in the aid now indirectly received from the state.

In the event an occasion arises in which the offices, library and collections of the society, could be housed permanently and gratuitously in a state owned building, under circumstances which would permit the custodianship of this property to remain without restriction with the society's officers, it is our opinion that such an arrangement would be greatly to the society's advantage, and permanently eliminate the necessity of devoting part of our income to rents.

3) It is altogether possible that one or more philanthropically inclined individuals interested in history, might be willing to provide temporarily the funds requisite to make one or more of the proposed fellowships available at an early date. In our opinion, no fellowship should be granted unless sufficient funds are available to cover the obligation for the full period of its tenure.

Assuming that the fellowship stipend would be \$150.00 monthly, this would require \$1,800 per annum, with an allowance of \$500 for fees, would require \$2,300 per annum. A tenure of 2 years would require \$4,600 or 3 years \$6,900. Such donations should not imply any obligation on the part of the donor to render such assistance for an indefinite period, but it is likely that meritorious research by fellowship incumbents will stimulate the contribution of funds to an endowment for the permanent support of this activity.

4) It has been shown that the revenues from augmented dues in a society of greatly increased membership could provide one half of the funds required for the ideal budget. Realization of this would necessitate a further dependable annual income of \$10,600. An assurance of dependability would imply an endowment. At the present, returns from safely invested funds, cannot be expected to vary materially from 2 per cent. Such an income would require a minimum invested capital of \$530,000.

The degree of success which might be attained in any effort to raise such a sum is beyond the power of your committee to forecast. It would necessitate intensive efforts, likely beyond the time any committee of the membership could devote to the task and unless the composition of the committee was selected with special care, might easily fall far short of the goal sought. On the other hand, there are several organizations which are permanently and professionally engaged in fund raising for meritorious purposes.

Your committee has tentatively approached all organizations of this nature of which it could learn, to ascertain their opinion of the possible solution of our problem in this manner. The replies received might be classified in the following categories:

	Firms
Unspecified unavailability of firm	5
Doubtful of success	4
Willing to examine possibilities	4
Regard project as feasible	2

Of the 15 firms from which replies were received, two-thirds are unavailable. One-third expressed an interest in surveying the possibilities on a fee basis, with a later fee in the event their services were engaged for fund raising. One of the last group stated their fee would run from 3 to 6 per cent of the amount raised.

On the whole your committee feels that this correspondence reveals a pessimistic attitude as to our opportunities in this direction, and it is our opinion that we, through our own individual and collective efforts, should endeavor to place the society in a more flourishing financial situation before making any commitments with organizations of this character.

In view of the possibility that the society may, from time to time, receive capital contributions which should be preserved as an endowment, we recommend that the charter of the Society be amended to provide for the conservation of any real property or capital funds belonging to the Society by a board of trustees, of more continuing tenure than that of the regular administrative officers of the society, who should make the income derived therefrom annually available to the society for expenditure through a budget, annually adopted by the directors of the Society, which budget should be prepared on the basis of the revenues and other income actually accruing.

THE JANUARY QUARTERLY

The title-page of the January issue of the *QUARTERLY*, though it was in type, was accidentally omitted from the press. Any one wishing this can secure a copy from the Secretary.

Several members have recently failed to receive their copies of the *QUARTERLY*. When any issue does not reach you, please ask Mrs. Johnson to send you a copy and give your correct address, which will be checked with the mailing-list. We wish every member to receive a copy of every issue.

At the invitation of the University of Tampa, the annual meeting of the Society is being held there on April 2 and 3 while this number of the Quarterly is in the press. A full account of both the business and the program meetings will be included in our next issue.

PRESIDENT BOYD

Dr. Mark F. Boyd, president of the Florida Historical Society, has retired professionally after thirty-six years devoted to medical science in teaching, research and administration in this country and Latin-America. A graduate of the College of Medicine of the University of Iowa, he has held a fellowship in Harvard University, associate professorships in the Universities of Nevada and Iowa, and a professorship in the University of Texas. The last twenty-five years he has served as malarialogist on the staff of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. He has been president of the American Academy of Tropical Medicine, the American Society of Tropical Medicine, the National Malaria Society and of the Florida Public Health Association. He was recently elected editor of the *American Journal of Tropical Medicine*. His volume "Preventive Medicine" is now in its 7th edition.

Because of his long interest in Florida's history, he has been given, since his retirement, the honorary appointment of Historian of the Florida Forest and Park Service, which plans to mark many historic sites in the State. His extensive knowledge of our history and the assistance of his noteworthy collection of Floridiana, assure authenticity in the selection and location of those sites.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

- From W. A. Pratt: Sketches of Tampa history by D. B. McKay in the *Tampa Tribune*.
 From Mrs. Langdon Pearce: four early views—
 Steamer *Hamilton Disston*, Fort Thompson, 1891.
 The Hendry water wheel, Caloosahatchee river, 1906.
 Barracks at Punta Rassa used in Seminole War and used for the cable station in 1866.
 Peter Nelson, founder of Alva.

- From Garry A. Boyle: *Scientific American*, 3 Vols., 1885-87, with Florida articles.
 From Rev. C. R. Williams: "Mount Dora Fifty Years Ago" Three articles in the *Mount Dora Topic*, by Rev. Mr. Williams.
 From the author: "Ships' Figureheads in and about New York, by George A. Zebriskie.
 From the author: "There Were Two Pirates," by James Branch Cabell.
 "Florida Marines" by Marine Corps Headquarters, Atlanta.
 "United States-Canada Boundary Treaty Centennial, 1846-1946."
 "Last of the Woodburners." Illustrated article in *Trains*.

NEW MEMBERS

Charles C. Durkee	Daytona Beach
Mrs. Mabel B. Hodgson	Tallahassee
David A. Avant	Tallahassee
Mrs. David A. Avant	Tallahassee
H. L. Kirk	Wake Forest, N. C.
Norman O. Woodward	St. Augustine
George L. Henderson	Tallahassee (contributing member)
Charlotte Anne Thompson	University of Tampa
Wm. A. McRae, Jr.	Bartow
Samuel C. Proctor	University of Florida
J. Carver Harris	St. Augustine
Benj. P. Richards	University of Florida
Cornell University Library	Ithaca, N. Y.
Mr. and Mrs. E. T. Swalm	Silver Springs
Arthur R. Seymour	Tallahassee
Mrs. Edward B. Henry	Pensacola
Mrs. Mildred C. Bruner	Madison
L. Bradley Spaul	Fort Myers
Dudley Haddock	Sarasota

DECEASED

Frank B. Shutts	Miami
George P. Raney	Tampa
Clarence H. Ellis	West Palm Beach

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.

Albert C. Mauncy is secretary and treasurer of The Florida Historical Society, and Historical Technician, Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine. He has contributed a number of important papers to the QUARTERLY.

Edward C. Williamson, a captain on the Western Front in the late war, has an M.A. degree in history from the University of Florida.

William D. Hoyt Jr., Ph.D., is a member of the staff of The Maryland Historical Society.

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