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STEPHEN RUSSELL MALLORY

by OCCIE CLUBBS

PART III

AS UNITED STATES SENATOR

While few of Stephen Mallory's recorded speeches in the United States Senate are great oratorical efforts, most of them are replete with logic and some are eloquent. The reader today is especially impressed with his breadth of information and with the pertinancy of his arguments to the subject as well as often to the interests of his constituents. The *savoir faire* for which he was famous and of which Pensacolians, contemporaries of his, still speak, was never found wanting, even when debate became acrimonious or when an issue was decided contrary to his wishes. It must be recalled that he served in the decade when the slavery question "found its highest activity and decisive culmination,"¹ following the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott Decision, and John Brown's activities. Senator Mallory remained level-headed and rational through all.²

Though as a member and later chairman, of the Committee on Naval Affairs, he had a particular interest in maritime matters, his tastes and knowledge were so varied and he was so truly a cosmopolite, that he contributed frequently and positively to debates regardless of the subject. Thus Senator Clayton having asked why Spain was interested in Africanizing Cuba, Mallory had the facts waiting in the storehouse of his mind:

"Certainly such a course would be suicidal; and it is apparent to all that so long as she can maintain her possession of the island, her clear and unquestionable interest precludes the consideration of such a course. . . . Cuba,

1. Nicolay, J. G., and Hay, John, "Abraham Lincoln: A History," *The Century Magazine*, March 1887, p. 685.

2. "Hon. D. L. Yulee and Dr. S. E. Spencer are Delegates for the State at large to the Baltimore Convention. Senator Mallory would have been selected had it not been stated in the Convention that Mr. Mallory did not desire the appointment, believing that members of Congress ought not to be sent to Conventions charged with the business of choosing candidates for President and Vice President," *The Floridian & Journal*, April 24, 1852.

the 'ever faithful Cuba' is her principal colony, for the Philippines and Porto Rico add but little to the revenue to the Crown. Cuba takes Spain's surplus flour, her oils, wines, and cotton fabrics, and many other articles of her produce and manufacture, and receives in return Cuba's sugar, tobacco, coffee, cigars, etc., giving to Spain profitable employment for outward and homeward voyages of her shipping, building up the merchant marine, and fostering a valuable school for seamen. This most valuable trade we have, by our unwise attempts at retaliation, aided to build up."³

His wife's family and his environment at Key West and later at Pensacola gave significance to what he added:

"The individual Spaniard of today has all the honor, pride, and character of his glorious ancestors, when Spanish captains and discoverers gave a new continent to Christendom, when her fleets covered the ocean, and when Castilian honor was a conspicuous, a brilliant example. In spite of the examples and the degradations of a court, the most corrupt in Europe-in spite of ages of misgovernment, the Spaniard retains his heroism and his virtue. Such a people will not sacrifice their pride for money."⁴

Retaliatory tariffs restricted trade even at that period, Mallory relating that:

"Spain without seamen or shipping, saw the necessity of discriminating in favor of her own tonnage against that of all other nations, and did so by the imposition of heavier duties upon foreign vessels and their cargoes than upon her own. We, to coerce her into the abandonment of this policy, retaliated by corresponding enactment; enactments which have sent Spanish purchasers to the markets of England, France, and Russia, where no such restrictions upon her tonnage exists; . . . the Spanish flag is scarcely ever seen in our ports."⁵

Thoroughly Southern were Mallory's sentiments regarding Africanization of the slave trade:

3. *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, p. 1259.

4. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1254, 1257, 1259-1261.

5. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1259.

"Unless we can find in her policy, as manifested by her acts and declarations, strong presumptions of a design to Africanize it, it would be as illogical as it would be unjust to her, to entertain the supposition; . . . To Africanize, sir, is to sum up, in a word, those horrors of which the civilized world was ignorant until St. Domingo's fiends, in liberty's name, devised them.

"Sir, I concur in much that the honorable Senator has said with reference to American vessels in the slave trade. I deplore it, sir, as much as he does, and would at almost any cost, desire to see it annihilated."

History was invoked to show how maladroit had been Spain's management of Cuba and how untrustworthy her promises:

"We well know that Spain, in 1817, solemnly engaged to abolish and prohibit the slave trade, and received from Great Britain as an inducement to do so, and as an equivalent for losses to be incurred by its suppression, four hundred thousand pounds.

"This, sir, was thirty-seven years ago ; and as, according to the most reliable Cuban statistics, five per cent of her slaves died annually, notwithstanding all increase by births, it follows that slavery would have been extinct in Cuba seventeen years ago, had Spain redeemed her plighted faith. . . .

"The number now on the island is nearly five hundred thousand."⁶

Reminiscent of the last decade of the century were the Senator's next declarations:

"Now, sir, let us not lose sight of the fact that the Creoles of Cuba have no part, no station, no voice, or responsibility in its government; that its laws, their exponents, and their executive officers, come from Spain; and that these authorities are responsible alone for the slave trade. The Creoles have, by every means, every remonstrance and argument in their power, pointed out its evils; and they have contemplated with horror its

6. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1260.

blighting effects upon themselves, and their country, and their posterity." ⁷

Living but ninety miles away, Mallory had developed a profound philosophy of Spanish-Cuban affairs :

"Thus, sir, has Spain encouraged, nursed, and protected the African slave trade, not with the view of Africanizing, but as a means of controlling the island, well knowing that this deadly, blighting policy tends, beyond any other means in her power, to crush her dawning hopes of freedom, and the Cubans, isolated, alone, and unaided, their words, acts, lives and liberties constrained, fearfully contemplate and ponder upon a struggle whose termination may be the knell of the white race in their lovely land."

"Let us discard, for the present at least, the idea of purchasing Cuba. Depend upon it, sir, it is not for sale, nor will it be as long as the Cortes or the people of Catalonia exist. . . ." ⁸

Further on, Mallory declared:

"The prediction of Mr. Adams must come true. In 1823 he said that just as certainly as an apple parted from the parent limb gravitated to the earth, just so certainly would Cuba come to the United States if separated from the mother country." ⁹

The resolution for which Mr. Mallory spoke to "prevent the abuse of the American flag in protecting persons engaged in the African slave trade" passed and later history proved the truth of his prediction of American domination in Cuba. ¹⁰

Again, speaking of the increased prestige of the American navy, he declared:

"Let me remind you, sir, that the gallant spirits who composed our Navy at the beginning of the present century, curbed the barbarous princes of Northern Africa . . . and drew from the then existing Pope the declaration that infant America had done more for Christianity in

7. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1260.

8. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1260.

9. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1260.

10. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1254, 1257, 1259-1261.

one year than Europe had done in a century. And let me remind you, too, sir, that our Navy, feeble in ships, arms, and men; feeble as it was in everything but character, courage, discipline, and devotion, was the first that ever dispelled the charm of British invincibility upon the sea. . . .¹¹

“Even, Great Britain,” he continued, “no longer spoke through her public prints of our *boards nailed together for ships, under a bit of striped bunting;*’ but with that noble instinct which ever impels the Briton’s heart to do justice to the *courage* and conduct of a gallant foe, who stands squarely up to the fight, *she too* confessed and admired the true character of our Navy, finding some balm for her wounded pride in the declaration that if she had sustained defeat, it took her own children to accomplish it.”¹²

Continuing in this same address:

“From the War of 1812 to the present moment, there is no sea on the globe visited by our commerce, that has not witnessed the services of our naval officers in the protection of the life and property of our people. . . . and, sir, at this moment, intelligence is reaching us that another energetic officer, in the execution of a most important and peaceful mission, has impressed our national character upon the rulers of Japan, and opened to American enterprise a trade for which the Old World has vainly struggled for two centuries.”¹³

Senator Mallory considered that moral standing constituted a great point in efficiency and declared that its possession should be a requisite to hold a commission in the navy. Senator Crittenden took issue with this and said “His capacity is one thing, and his morals another.” He instanced the cases, in generalizing on the military officers, of Marlborough and Lord Nelson. Mallory rejoined that though he personally regarded the hero of Blenheim as “one of the best soldiers in the world” his

11. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1552-1554.

12. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, p. 1457.

13. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1457, 1458.

record had never been "submitted to a board of examiners." ¹⁴

Again and again, evidence of his own words on the floor refute the pro-Union charge later brought against Senator Mallory. On December 7, 1859, in discussing the Harper's Ferry invasion resolution, he said:

"In this case the cause of Virginia is the cause of the South. Our fortunes are united in hers. We feel proud of her attitude, proud of her high tone, proud of the legal and constitutional manner in which her executive and people have met this outbreak; and we expect to stand by her in any issue that she may make. Now, sir, are not the Southern people justified in looking to the North to quiet public opinion? Are they not justified in the excitement which is felt there, though it is not manifested in words or acts—deeply as it underlies the current of society? I might appeal to northern gentlemen for the justification. I might tell them, sir, that the popular pulpit throughout the North, that the light literature of the North, that the separation of the churches between the North and the South, that the laws upon her statute books, the speeches in her Legislatures, the messages of her Governors, all have tended to produce the fruits which now stare us in the face. Gentlemen get up here frankly and disavow, in terms more or less explicit, all knowledge or concurrence with, or approval of, the acts of this simple murderer, midnight assassin, and traitor. They could do no less. . . ." ¹⁵

The speaker went on to call attention to the threat of the Republican party to the institution of slavery, to the "meetings of sympathy, condolence, and compassion . . . for a man who deserves the severest condemnation throughout the whole world. Bells are tolled; in Albany one hundred guns are fired. . . ." ¹⁶

At a period when the political uprisings in Kansas, rivalled the dust storms of a, more recent day, when all had been staked on a venture and failure had to be fol-

14. *Ibid.*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 1860, p. 28.

15. *Ibid.*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 1860, p. 28.

16. *Ibid.*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix 2, 1858, pp. 214-218.

lowed by another trial, Mallory revealed a special gnosis of the subject:

"The 23rd day of January, 1854, inaugurated a period of political excitement throughout a large portion of our Confederacy, which, still progressing, undetermined, has thus far been characterized by such bitterness, such a spirit of rancor towards the southern States of the Confederacy, as, in the judgment of judicious men everywhere, is not only destroying the bonds of our social, but is having an immediate tendency to destroy the bonds of our political Union. . . . the obliteration of the Missouri Compromise line, so-called, was a feature of the Kansas-Nebraska bill." He declared that the Missouri Compromise had done a "great national wrong to the southern portion of this Confederacy" when it excluded slavery.

The historical aftermath is thus described:

"This was followed by such a political storm throughout the non-slaveholding States, as none but a Government, resting upon the enlightened judgment of a free people, can ever withstand.

"Under the guidance of leaders, in many instances as reckless and ambitious as they were able, every element of political discord and sectional strife was involved and brought into prurient activity: and while the bench, the bar, the hustings, and the press, entered upon one wide crusade against the people of the southern States, the pulpit, no less impious than the rest, invoked upon them the curses and denunciations of Heaven itself."

Senator Seward interrupted to declare that he was listening with "great pleasure" but that Senator Mallory was speaking so low "he is not doing justice to himself." Mallory continued:

"Mr. President, in connection with the subject of slavery, we are told by the Senator from New York, (Mr. Seward) that the South has governed the Confederacy, but that the reins of power are falling from her grasp, and that to other hands are our destinies to be committed. Sir, I concede it. The genius, the knowledge of government, the constitutional and conservative spirit of Southern men, have as unequivocally stamped the policy of this

Government, in the Cabinet and in the Senate, as their valor has led her banners in the field. Seven of your Presidents have themselves been slaveholders; and whenever the country has demanded the intellect, the genius, or the courage of her sons, they have found no more brilliant illustrations than among slaveholders."

Declaring that in the years in which the South was in control, the government had worsted foreign and domestic foes and the treachery of "pretending friends" with "the Constitution her only chart" and now "her name unstained with placid seas beneath, and smiling heavens above her, freighted with the hearts, and hopes, the liberties of mankind, we will resign her as the greatest, the noblest trust that ever came from the hands of man. In the language of my friend from South Carolina (Governor Hammond) 'great will be our honor and your responsibility'; and be sure that you let the world behold, when we demand her back, as demand we may, that you restore the emblem of her glory, with no stripe erased, every star undimmed."

His own is at one with the effulgent spirit of the South:

"It is not for me to indicate the path she may, in her wisdom, pursue ; but, sir, wherever it may lead, be it gloomy or bright, my whole heart is with her; and she will find me treading it with undivided affections."¹⁷

But little of Mallory's religious views is evident in his public career, but at one time he introduced the subject of a religious report that, "a Catholic paper in St. Louis-the 'Shepherd of the Valley' - had declared that as soon as the Catholics should obtain the supremacy in this country, there would be an end of toleration here." Mallory declared that instead of the 'Shepherd of the Valley' being a mouthpiece of the Catholic Church, it had been denounced by the Bishop of St. Louis:

"It is the first time, Mr. President, in this body, that I have ever heard directly or indirectly the creed of any portion of our citizens presented as a matter of discussion. It is the first time that I have ever known any member

17. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1194-1195.

of the body feel it necessary to rise and say a word upon the subject." ¹⁸

Mallory cited religious toleration in colonial Maryland, the part Catholics played in the navy, army and civil life -and yet at the time there were no Catholic chaplains in the service.

Salmon P. Chase gave evidence of the regard entertained by his colleagues for Senator Mallory while this question was under discussion when he stated:

"There is no Senator upon this floor to whose action I should be more unwilling to take any exception than to that honorable Senator." ¹⁹

BUCHANAN ELECTED AND MALLORY REELECTED

As a senator, Mallory for some time maintained his Washington residence at the National Hotel. ²⁰ Forty years later, Stephen R. Mallory, Jr., then also a senator from Florida, occupied the identical room which four decades before had been his father's. ²¹ The building on Pennsylvania avenue at Sixth street, was built in 1827,

18. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1194-1195.

19. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854.

20. T. C. DeLeon, in *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the 60's*, pp. 85-86, speaks of Mallory's delight in good food and refers to a short lyric which appears on a loose leaf of his Diary:

"From the young Wife's forth-coming
Domestic cookery.

Written especially for Mrs.

(No copyright secured)

Gumbo File (Jeannette & Jeanot)

"If you want to make a gumbo just to please the taste and eye,
You must put of lard a spoonful in your pot and let it fry;
Then another add of flour and together let them be.
And next put in your chicken cut as if to fricas[s]ee.
Then with onions and black pepper and of salt a single dash.
You may season to your liking - as you do in making hash - .
Then of the oyster-water for your soup just add enough,
But not a drop beyond what's beyond your dinner quantum stuff,
Let it boil ten minutes gently, then before your chicken's done,
You may put in fifty oysters,-looking well at every one-
They'll take three minutes, just, to cook, then stir your file in,
And your Gumbo's done, and such a dish is dinner for a King.
Oh, if I were Queen of France, or, still better, pope of Rome,
I'd have an oyster Gumbo every day I dined at home:
All the world should dine in peace, and if pork and beans we meet,
I'd make them who cooked the nasty things the only ones to eat."

21. Cubberly, the late Judge Fred, Gainesville, - Florida, *Statement*, July 25, 1932

and in 1933 was used by the District of Columbia for an armory. There formerly was a tower on the building with a large bell, and it is said that when this bell was rung for dinner Congress would adjourn.²²

At one period, the Mallory family obviously lived in the suburbs as during the discussion on a resolution to change the hour for the daily meeting of the Senate, Mallory declared: "If we meet at ten o'clock we cannot get there sooner than we do now, residing as we do, at a great distance from the Capitol."²³

The struggle between the slavery and anti-slavery forces reached a trial of strength in 1856. Against the Democratic nominee, Buchanan, the American party pitted Millard Fillmore. As usual the national struggle was reflected in the political units of the country. The first term of Mallory in the United States Senate was nearing its close and in Florida the race for the office for the next term was characterized by much scurrility and collusion. The main charges brought against Mallory were his neglect of the interests of the state outside of Key West and favoritism to Democrats in patronage. As the *Pensacola Gazette* was bitterly hostile to Mallory, the opposition campaign may be fruitfully followed therein.

The *Gazette* fired the first gun in its issue of February 24, 1855, in stating that the construction of seven new sloops for the Navy was under consideration, and asked, "are those vessels all to be built at the northern Navy Yards?"²⁴

Hunks of political pork from the barrel at Washington weighed largely then as now and the *Gazette*, perhaps naturally, seems to have been more interested in what Mallory could do for Pensacola than for Florida or the nation.

22. Calvert, Geo. H., Jr., Attorney and Counsellor at Law, 452 D Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., *Letter*, Oct. 3, 1933.

23. *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., July 5, 1854, pp. 1605-1606.

At this Session, Mallory also lived at the National, at Gadsby's and nine other points, Hellman, Florence S., Act'g Chief Bibliop, Library of Congress, *Memorandum* to Hon. Millard Caldwell, H. of Rep., enclosure, *Letter*, June 24, 1936.

24. Rerick, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 231-232.

In 1854 the legislature of Alabama proposed that all of Florida west of the Apalachicola river be ceded to that State, and by January 1859 so much favorable sentiment had come from West Florida that the General Assembly of Florida provided for a popular vote upon the subject.²⁵ This would have left to bear the name Florida, only the East Florida of Spanish days. The previous plan submitted by the Legislative Council in a memorial to Congress in 1844 took the Suwanee river as the dividing line and looked to the creating of two states.²⁶

"Our party friends wish to annex this city and county to Alabama and why? For no other reason in the world but that we have no representative either in the House or the Senate of the United States. What are Mallory and Maxwell for us as long as their constituents in the East uphold them, whether we like their acts or not? They occasionally come over to us here and after making (of course by invitation) a number of soft cajoling speeches, in which are embraced a thousand unfulfilled promises, they leave us supposing them to be the very best men for our interests, when they, having the control, slight us in every instance. It is too bad. Mr. Mallory's term expires this session and the question of annexation comes with the next election. Let us get where we can have some voice in the councils of our land and a member who will express our sentiments. Ho! for Kansas."²⁷

The campaign got warmer with the weather for in July one reads:

"It is a singular fact that of all the vessels in the Gulf but few show themselves here, and this the only place where is stored the provisions for the Squadron!-Why is this so? . . . The vessels are now in rendezvous at Key West ? - (Of course none of the Florida delegation in Congress have anything to do with its being so) - "

The reader is reminded of more recent campaigns in the state:

"We see that an effort is being made in certain quar-

25. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 210.

26. *Pensacola Gazette*, April 12, 1856.

27. *Ibid.*

ters to [illegible] Key West (at our expense) as the point for a Naval Station in the Gulf. Now, while we would not attempt to disparage that harbor, believing as we do that it is a good one, we would ask of what use would it be in time of war with any nation whose Navy outnumbered our own? Twenty thousand men could not defend it. We once thought and so we presume did most of our readers, that our State had been extremely fortunate in having one of her Senators placed at the head of the Naval Committee; but alas, man is born to disappointment-no man could have done us more injustice - *he forgets his State* and acts only for a section.²⁸

The campaign became more abusive as election day approached. In the early fall a communication to the editor ran as follows: "Will you please inform the Laboring Class, especially honest Americans, who are expecting to obtain employment at the so-called 'Navy Yard', that it will be useless for them to make application unless previously obligating themselves to support the Democratic nominations at the coming Elections. Should any applicant belonging to the American party expect employment he must be prepared to appear and receive absolution."²⁹

Under the caption 'Catching at Straws', the *Gazette* ridiculed the encomiums which its rival the Democrat had bestowed on Mallory and discounted its claims of Mallory's services to the Navy Yard. "When Mr. Mallory was here about a year ago, in a speech delivered in the City Hall, he told us he was coming to reside in Pensacola, that he already considered his interests identified with the interests of this place, that it would be his pleasure to do all in his power to foster and improve our Navy Yard, etc., and what has been the fruit of all this fine talk? The Public Works in our yard are suspended, compelling our mechanics to leave their homes and in many instances their families, to seek employment in Mobile and New Orleans; our Bay has not been enlivened by the presence of the Home Squadron, which has hitherto spent the greater part of the summer in our harbor; and

28. *Ibid.*, "Our Navy Yard, etc.", July 19, 1856.

29. *Ibid.*, "NOTICE", Sept. 2, 1856.

consequently, our Merchants, our Butchers, our Gardeners, our Fishermen, our Bakers, and our Farmers-all, have been deprived of what, to them, is no inconsiderable source of income. The 'American' paper wants more expedition than that afforded by a resolution which may result in something for our children's children." ³⁰

Captioned "Camp Meeting", the *Pensacola Gazette* in its issue of September 23, 1856 had the following :

"Our city for the last week has been the scene of a protracted meeting of the Squatter Sovereigns, ministers in attendance, Messrs. Mallory, Hawkins, and Maxwell, and it is to be hoped that much good will be the result of their Apostolic labors. If there is any Pensacola sinner so hardened as not to be moved by the touching appeals of these distinguished Divines, we fear he is a hopeless case, and it will be said of him as of Ephraim of old, 'he is joined to his idols let him alone.'" ³¹

The olive branch tone of later autopsies is missing after the election:

"We have never witnessed an election so disgraceful to our city as this. Money, clothing, whiskey, tobacco and provisions were freely exchanged for votes in the most open and unblushing manner. But we could have elected our ticket in spite of all this had not the Commodore of the Navy Yard, with his staff, taken the field against us. We have on several former occasions defeated the Democrat and foreigners, and *can do if any day in, a fair contest*; but backed as they have been this time by the U. S. Navy, and Marine Corps, in addition to the \$25,000 appropriation, we have been defeated by a small majority." ³²

To one acquainted with the laissez-faire policy in matters political of the Pensacola Naval Air Station of the present day, another paragraph strikes with amazement:

30. *Ibid.*, "Catching at Straws", Sept. 16, 1856.

31. *Ibid.*, "CAMP MEETING", Sept. 23, 1856.

32. *Ibid.*, "Escambia Elections", Oct. 11, 1856. The space given to this election in only one section of the State is out of proportion; but its interest, and the belief that it is typical of elections in Florida during this period, warrants the extended treatment.

"We cannot refrain from an expression of our regret and astonishment at the course which Commodore Rousseau has seen fit to adopt in the election through which we have just passed."

Innuendo became more pronounced :

"It has been charged, and we think very fully proved, that Americans are proscribed at the Yard. . . . the persons to whom the employment of hands is entrusted are perfectly familiar with the opinions of every applicant ; or if not, *have only to refer to the rolls of the 'Keystone' Club if his name is not there, his services are not needed.* Since the resumption of work in the Yard 40 or 50 Americans have been constantly applying for work, and are told 'we are not employing hands just now, but you will be remembered if more hands should be needed.' But mark this fact-the other day, *since* these Americans have applied, five Irishmen landed at the Yard, and in less than 24 hours they were at work in the Yard."

Partaking of bravado, buncombe and Billingsgate, was the conclusion :

"We ask no sympathy, we need none; and in any event would feel contaminated by receiving it from so polluted a source." ³³

Two weeks later, the *Gazette* under glaring headlines, proclaimed :

"Men who have labored in the Yard faithfully and acceptably ever since its foundation, are now told 'the public interest does not require your services.' - Yet a Democrat, though he be a *convicted thief*, can get employment.

"And the party perpetrating these outrages on the sons of the soil, has the unblushing impudence to style itself the DEMOCRATIC PARTY! . . . What would Thomas Jefferson think of a party stooping to such a depth of contemptible baseness, and yet calling itself Democratic?

"The curse of a grossly wronged, and justly indignant

33. *Ibid.*, editorial without caption, Oct. 11, 1856.

people will rest on the head of every one concerned in this infamous transaction." ³⁴

In the same issue one reads the following affidavit:

"State of Florida

Escambia Cy.

"Before the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said County, personally came, Washington D. Austin, Clinton Trull, Saml. Hodges & Lewis Favorite, who being duly sworn say that they called on Mr. Heron, Civil Engineer of the Navy Yard, Warrington, for the purpose of obtaining employment. Mr. Herron replied that he had more men than he wanted. We then asked him if it was our politics that debarred us from employment. He replied that he had a conversation with Senator Mallory and Judge Hawkins in regard to employing men of the American party, their reply was that none should be employed who were opposed to the present administration. Furthermore, that Master Workmen, dare not employ men who differ from them in politics. But he intimated that if we joined the Keystone Club, or brought a recommendation from it, we might be employed, and Senator Mallory had told R. W. Watts, a Master Workman, that he was discharged for employing men of the American party.

(Signed)

WASHINGTON AUSTIN (Seal)

CLINTON TRULL (Seal)

SAMUEL HODGES (Seal)

LEWIS FAVORITE (Seal)

34. *Ibid.*, "A Clincher !

THE PLOT UNMASKED !
PROSCRIPTION by AUTHORITY

THE RESPONSIBILITY FIXED ! ! ", Oct. 25, 1856.

The Keystone Club was first organized in Boston, "to aid, by all honorable means, the election of James Buchanan . . . to the Presidency, and John C. Breckinridge . . . to the vice presidency of the United States and . . . to promote the extension of true Democratic principles", *Memorandum* from the Division of Bibliography, Library of Congress, Oct., 24, 1933.

"Sworn and subscribed before me, this 24th day of October, A. D. 1856.

(Signed)

GEORGE H. O'NEAL, (Seal)

Justice of the Peace, Escambia County." ³⁵

The success of the Democratic presidential ticket in 1856 was followed by that of Mallory in the senatorial race in the Florida legislature, he having been elected for a second term on Christmas eve, 1856.

"On the 24th inst., the two Houses of the General Assembly met in joint convention, and on the first ballot, re-elected the Hon. S. R. Mallory to the U. S. Senate for six years, from the 4th of March next.

"The members were nearly equally divided between the present incumbent and Hon. M. A. Long, of Tallahassee, and for weeks the caucus brought forth nothing."

"With this election, the Americans had nothing to do, and we are glad of it. There were indeed but ten of them present, and they voted blank. We regret that they did not vote for some one and we knew of no gentleman who co-operated with the American party, that so richly deserved the compliment as our young townsman Wilk Call, Esq. . . . Mr. Mallory received thirty-eight democratic votes-four more than was necessary to a choice, the votes of Americans would therefore, have been but an empty compliment well bestowed upon Mr. Call for his invaluable services during the canvass." ³⁶

Partiality of appropriations and benefits have always been charges lodged against a party in power. Previous complaint that only ineffectual efforts had been made to have war sloops constructed at Pensacola were quieted by the building of the *Pensacola* and the *Seminole* at the Pensacola Navy Yard. The former is of especial interest because "Her sponsor was Miss Margaret Moreno Mallory [Mrs. Henry Bishop], daughter of the Hon. Stephen R. Mallory, writes Captain D. W. Knox, and adds:

35. Watts was a pilot and Austin a peace officer, Mrs. Clara Caro, *Pensacola, statement*, June 13, 1936.

36. *Pensacola Gazette*, "Election of a U. S. Senator", Jan. 10, 1857.

"Whatever may have been the political reasons for building this ship in Pensacola Navy Yard are not in the province of this office to determine. It has always been the policy of the U. S. Navy to distribute the building of her ships throughout the various Navy Yards, as impartially as practicable."³⁷

From press reports, there is no doubt that the Pensacola station has experienced the ebb and flow of activity as the political wheel of fortune has made its cycle. Woe to the Congressional delegates at the helm when the slump was on. In the middle of the century, Senator Mallory was the victim.

The Pensacola Navy Yard was in its first glory in the thirties, both as a port of supplies and as a source of revenue for the merchants of Pensacola. Many of the vessels bound for the theater of action in the Mexican War called by Pensacola. The city from the time of the establishment of the station has realized that:

"The truth is the history of the Pensacola Navy Yard is one of finesse, it is a sort of trap set by the Navy Commissioners to catch southern and western votes in favor of the great Naval Establishments on the north Atlantic. They bait *their* trap with bits of very small appropriations."³⁸

Pensacola has a peculiar interest for this sketch as it was there, as stated before, that Stephen Mallory married in 1838, and it was there that he established a home in 1858 and which was, barring the call of duty elsewhere, his domicile until his death in 1873.

That his activities in the United States Senate were far from being sectional only, but were comprehensive of the interests of the entire commonwealth is shown by even a hasty notice of the measures which he sponsored.³⁹

There is no reason to believe that the sentiments expressed in the St. Augustine *Examiner* in 1860, were not shared elsewhere in the state:

37. Knox, Captain D. W., USN (Ret.), Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, Washington, D. C., *Letter*, Oct. 4, 1933.

38. A dock, the largest structure except "Noah's Ark," ever launched, slid into Pensacola Bay, March 19, 1851, *Pensacola Gazette*, March 19, 1851.

39. St. Augustine *Examiner*, March 31, 1860.

"Hon. S. R. Mallory is not unmindful of his constituents in matters that have a bearing upon local interests and convenience, any more than he is in our greatest public interests."⁴⁰

And so Stephen Russell Mallory, born at an outpost of the British Empire, reared in a detached part of Florida, his young manhood spent among the gentle Moravians and contacts with untutored Indians and simple Conchs, and transplanted from a frontier outpost to the very center of the political stage in Washington at length reached the fateful date, January 20, 1861 when with his colleague David Yulee, he said farewell to his friends in the Senate of the United States:

"Whatever may be the immediate results, therefore, of the momentous crisis now upon us, I have no fears for the freedom of my countrymen. Nor do I admit for a moment that the great American experiment of government has proved or can prove a failure ; but I maintain, on the contrary, that passing events should inspire in the hearts of the patriot and statesman, not only hope, but confidence."⁴¹

Although the most abiding claim to fame of the subject of this study rests upon his services as Secretary of the Navy of the Confederate States, the writer leaves this exceedingly important and significant part of Stephen Mallory's life to further study, or to others with a wider knowledge of naval matters. Not to ignore the general acclaim of his genius, an excerpt from a clipping in a scrapbook kept by Benito Julian Moreno, a brother-in-law of Mallory, is given the reader:

"When the contest began, the enemy had a great navy ; a regular army ; an organized government ; well filled armories ; and magazines; a redundant population-adventurers gathered from every clime; immense manufactories ; exhaustless resources ; a

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., Jan. 21, 1861, pp. 485-486.

status as a nation, and unrestrained access to all the world. We had no organized government; no army, not a soldier; a small white population, largely unused to exposure and labor; no navy-not a war ship, inferior arms, and but few of them; very limited munitions of war ; very few manufactories ; and very little raw material out of the bowels of the earth; and no name, standing or credit among, and no access to, the nations of the earth."

Besides this tribute from Benjamin H. Hill, ⁴² it is well to place the appraisal of a present day historian, Rembert W. Patrick in his *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet*:

"The President had selected Mallory on the basis of his worth and ability. His conviction that he had picked the best man in the Confederacy to head the Navy Department grew as his association with Mallory progressed. . . . Truly Mallory had made an extraordinarily able Secretary of the Navy. His temperament enabled him to work in harmony with the President, and generally with, his fellow Cabinet members and with naval commanders. He had imagination and the initiative to strike out on new paths. He was industrious and kept the business of his department well in hand. . . . For four years fraught with almost insuperable difficulties he directed the Navy Department of the Confederacy brilliantly." ⁴³

And from President Davis's reply to Mallory's letter of resignation at Abbeville, South Carolina, on their flight from Richmond :

"For the zeal, ability and integrity with which you have so long and so constantly labored," the President wrote, "permit him who had the best opportunity to judge to offer testimonial and in the

42. Hill, B. H., "Letter to Messrs. Editors, LaGrange, Ga., June 27, 1862", clipping, Moreno, Benito Julian, *scrapbook*, p. 43.

43. Patrick, R. W. *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet*, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1944, pp. 263, 270-271. Rowland, Dunbar (ed.) *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist. His Letters, Papers and Speeches*, Jackson, 1923, vi, 586. Davis to Mallory, May 4, 1865.

name of our country and its sacred cause to return thanks."

To briefly round out the other phases of activity and experiences of Mallory, one finds that in 1858, he refused the post of minister to Spain when tendered him by President Buchanan. A second tender met with the same result.⁴⁴ After the secession of his state, Mallory was offered the position of Chief Justice of the Admiralty Court of Florida. This too was declined.⁴⁵

It was at the palatial ante-bellum home of Benjamin H. Hill that Mallory was taken a prisoner of war.⁴⁶ From LaGrange, Georgia, he was transferred to Fort Lafayette in New York harbor,⁴⁷ and in March 1866 he was paroled after ten months' confinement. Following a trip to Bridgeport, Connecticut, the home of his elder daughter,⁴⁸ Mallory returned to Pensacola and plunged into the task of rebuilding his home⁴⁹ and helping to reestablish orderly living among whites and blacks⁵⁰ in his city and state.⁵¹

Stephen Russell Mallory died on November 9, 1873,⁵² and was buried in St. Michael's Cemetery in Pensacola. His wife died on March 26, 1901,⁵³ she having survived

44. Mallory, *Diary* No. 2, p. 102; *Letter* from Bridgeport Conn., July 13, 1858, to James Buchanan, President of the United States, "Autograph Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penna., Simon Gratz Collection".

45. Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 29; *St. Augustine Examiner*, "Hon. S. R. Mallory", February 2, 1861.

46. Mrs. Stephen R. Mallory, *Letter*, quoted by Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

47. Mallory was locked in a cell with Hill at 1 P.M., June 4, 1865, Mallory, *Diary* No. 2, p. 3.

48. Mallory, *Diary* No. 1, p. 35.

49. Colonel Billy Wilson and his New York Zouaves had occupied the Secretary's home upon their arrival in Pensacola, Davis, William Watson, *op. cit.*, (quoted from *N. Y. Times*, May 2, 1862), p. 168.

50. Mallory was one of those who addressed a mass meeting of whites and blacks and urged the blacks not to break with the whites: Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 448, 449, 456.

51. Mallory "... delivered a lecture at Key West on the 12th inst. Subject-Woman and her rights," *St. Augustine Examiner*, March 27, 1869.

52. *Mobile Register*, Nov. 12, 1873.

53. *The Pensacola Journal*, "The Death of Mrs. A. S. Mallory. The Venerable Mother of Senator Mallory at Rest", March 27, 1901.

to see her son, Stephen R. Mallory Jr., a U. S. Senator from Florida.⁵⁴

Many honors and memorials attest the love awakened by Stephen Mallory's kindness for all and bear tribute to his success in the tremendous struggle he had to wage in life's battles.

54. *Ibid.*, "Stephen Russell Mallory; Death ends notable life", Dec. 24, 1907.