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SANFORD, DEBARY HALL AND THE NEW SOUTH MOVEMENT IN CENTRAL
FLORIDA

by

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B.A. University of Central Florida, 2013

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

The so-called New South movement coincided with national industrialization in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. In the New South, modernization focused on the development of small diversified farms, mills that processed cotton and tobacco, and small cities that connected the countryside to national markets and provided area residents with mass produced goods. Florida's experience and more specifically development around Lake Monroe in Central Florida complicates and expands our understanding of the New South. Located in what was considered a frontier area, Sanford on the south shore of the lake and DeBary Hall on the north shore illustrate the development of Central Florida in the context of the New South movement. Finally, an analysis of two museums, Sanford Museum and DeBary Hall House Museum, assesses the community understanding of the role of New South in the development of the area and offers suggestions for writing the New South into the story.

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INTRODUCTION

The “New South” is the period after the Civil War where the South believed that by industrializing and implementing scientific diversification of agriculture a new economic and social order would be established in the South. This new order would lead to the region not only harmoniously reconciling with the North, but the South would come to dominate the nation.¹ However southern industry in the late nineteenth century was usually limited to mining and facilities that processed raw goods produced in the region. This was not the only limitation in the promise of the New South, there was also no change to the social order. During this period that the Lost Cause and the romanticism of the antebellum South as the “Old South” were established. For southerners in the post-Civil War period living in crippling poverty, the idea of a grand South provided satisfaction and a basis for regional pride.²

Thus “New South” served as a slogan for southerners to pull themselves up by their boot straps and bring new industry and prosperity to the region. C. Vann Woodward’s *Origins of the New South* and Edward Ayers’ *The Promise of the New South* are seminal works on New South scholarship. Both establish the political, economic, and social climate of the South in the postbellum period. Woodward asserted that the Redeemer governments were to blame for the

¹Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (Montgomery: NewSouth Books, 1970), 28.

² *Ibid.*

lasting foundations of race, politics, economics, and law in the modern South.³ Ayers employed a social history approach to question what the promise of the New South meant to the men and women, both black and white living through the complex economic, political, and social developments of the post-reconstruction era. Ayers's scholarship is in direct conversation with Woodward's, and both believe the New South period was a time of industrial and urban development through the South.⁴

James C. Cobb and Paul M. Gaston also analyze the complexities of the New South in *Industrialization & Southern Society, 1877-1984* and *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Myth Making*. Unlike Woodward and Ayers, Cobb asserts that the South remained agricultural although limited supportive industries, such as, mills were established.⁵ Gaston asserts that the New South Creed remained a slogan, until its failure to transform southern society made it a myth. In Gaston's work the concept of a "New South" was used as a creed to motivate southerners to transform their society through industrialization and adoption of diversified scientific agriculture. However Gaston recognized that the grandiose vision of a totally

³ C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1971) ACLS Humanities E-Book, EBSCOhost (accessed June 1, 2016), 22.

⁴ Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁵ James C. Cobb, *Industrialization & Southern Society, 1877-1984* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1984).

transformed South was never realized and thus the New South which once was a creed by which southerners lived by to change the region became myth.

One of the most prolific New South boosters was Henry Grady, a Georgia newspaper editor and orator. In 1886, Grady was invited to speak at the New England Society of New York City, as a way to ease the sectional tensions that remained after the Civil War. Grady's speech, now referred to as "The New South Speech" introduced the South as a docile, hardworking, harmonious region, that was not wilting but in the process of blossoming.⁶ Grady's speech was designed as a way to attract and invite northern investment in the South, men like Frederick deBary and Henry Sanford.

During this New South period, Central Florida which previously was sparsely inhabited, was rapidly becoming developed and inhabited by white and black Americans. It is during this time that the two industries that define Florida's economy, tourism and agriculture, were established in the region. Tourists and settlers typically first encountered Jacksonville, an Atlantic and St. Johns River port city, the center of winter tourism in the state.⁷ They then traveled on the St. Johns River which acted as a highway into the interior of Florida before railroads and roads made the peninsula easily accessible. Lake Monroe was the southernmost point of travel on the St. Johns River, in the 1870s. For the health tourist this meant Lake

⁶ Ferald J. Bryan, *Henry Grady or Tom Watson? The Rhetorical Struggle for the New South 1880-1890* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1994), 44-47.

⁷ Jerrell H. Shofner, "Reconstruction and Renewal, 1865-1877," in *The New History of Florida* ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1996):249-265, 257.

Monroe offered the warmest climates to heal their ailments. For the sporting tourist this region represented a retreat into wilderness, where game and fish were abundant and where masculinity could be reclaimed.⁸ As the headwaters for navigation on the St. Johns River, Lake Monroe also represented an opportunity for development to accommodate tourists and attract new settlement to Florida. On opposing shores of Lake Monroe two settlements were established, Enterprise and Mellonville, which would be incorporated later into Sanford. Enterprise, was a well-established antebellum tourist destination, catering to the ill and sportsman alike.⁹ Sanford, a New South city was built to attract permanent settlement.

Two men were attracted to Lake Monroe, Frederick deBary and Henry S. Sanford. Both deBary and Sanford were wealthy, northern, elites, who were influenced by European aristocracy. These men also purchased lands and took part in the development of Central Florida. deBary and Sanford had two different visions for the area and built lasting legacies in Central Florida. Frederick deBary was the most notable winter resident of Enterprise. He constructed DeBary Hall in 1871 as his private winter hunting estate and game preserve.¹⁰ Frederick deBary and DeBary Hall are representative of the growing sporting tourism industry that defined

⁸ Henry Knight, *Tropic of Hopes: California, Florida, and the Selling of American Paradise, 1869-1929* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2013), 66, 70.

⁹ Michael G. Schene, *Hopes, Dreams, and Promises: A History of Volusia County Florida* (Daytona Beach, FL: News-Journal Corporation, 1976), 85.

¹⁰ Edith Brooks, *Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary & de Bary Hall, Florida* (Convention Press, Inc., 1968), 16.

Enterprise, Florida, but deBary is also representative of tourism as a New South industry. Historians have only recently begun examining the economic impacts of sporting tourism in the South during this period. At the same time across Lake Monroe Henry S. Sanford was purchasing land and planning his “Gateway to the South.” Sanford’s plan for Florida real estate development and citrus cultivation, was more consistent with what academics view as New South development. Both deBary and Sanford are memorialized today not only with cities bearing their names, but there are also museums that interpret the lives of these men and early river life of the region. By examining the differing ways that DeBary Hall in Enterprise Florida and the City of Sanford developed during the New South period expands the framework of what is considered New South. This thesis takes this assertion a step further by integrating traditional history and public history by analyzing the museum representations of early river life at DeBary Hall and the Sanford Museum and through the creation of an exhibit for DeBary Hall Historic Site.

New South studies generally focus on the industrialization and the urbanization of communities, aiding in the understanding the Henry Sanford’s motives behind building of a city and his interest in agricultural development. This ignores the growing tourism industry that was spreading throughout the South. Only recently have historians begun to examine tourism, particularly sporting tourism, as a mode of New South development. *Leisure, Plantations, and the Making of a New South: The Sporting Plantations of the South Carolina Lowcountry and Red Hills Region, 1900-1940* is a collection of essays that examine the social relationships,

environmental changes, and the culture of southern sport hunting at sporting plantations. Unlike previous scholarship that analyzes changes to law and decrease of game, these essays focus on the transformation of plantations from sites of commercial agricultural production to production of leisure.¹¹

Since Frederick deBary and Henry Sanford were northern men, the northern conceptions about the South are important to this study. Ideas northerners held about the South influenced tourism and settlement in the postbellum period. Nina Silber's *The Romance of Reunion* examines northern reunion ideologies. Essential to Silber's scholarship is the understanding that northerners created their own cultural memory of the South, which was constructed during the reunion period.¹² In her discussion of tourism Silber focuses on the northern elite desire to experience the aristocratic planter lifestyle. Rebecca Cawood McIntyre in *Souvenirs of the Old South: Northern Tourism and Southern Mythology* examines southern development as a tourist commodity and the ways tourism shaped the southern identity. Elite northerners' reconstruction of the southern landscape, particularly the role of African Americans in the southern landscape are examined in McIntyre's scholarship.¹³ Both Silber and McIntyre's work assert that reinforcement of antebellum racial stereotypes provided means of reconciliation between elite

¹¹ Julia Brock and Daniel Vivian, *Leisure, Plantations, and the Making of a New South: The Sporting Plantations of the South Carolina Lowcountry and Red Hills Region, 1900-1940* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015).

¹² Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). This work establishes that the reunion period is between 1865 and 1900.

¹³ Rebecca Cawood McIntyre, *Souvenirs of the Old South: Northern Tourism and Southern Mythology* (University Press of Florida, 2011).

white northerners and white southerners. For DeBary Hall these racial stereotypes made black labor vital to the creation of a proper southern experience. Black labor was also promoted as the ideal labor force in Sanford whether for white leisure or working in agriculture.

Scott Giltner's *Hunting and Fishing in the New South: White Leisure and Black Labor* is complementary to McIntyre's scholarship. Giltner asserts that race was central to the construction of the southern sporting field arguing that hunting and fishing restrictions were not only a way to preserve game populations, but also a way to impose white supremacist control of hunting. While white elites wanted to restrict black access to hunting and fishing grounds, they did not want to exclude them entirely since their presence as guides and labor in sport hunting became a marketable commodity to draw tourists to the southern sporting field.¹⁴ Silber, McIntyre, and Giltner's scholarship, particularly the sections regarding race assist in understanding why northerners would want to emulate or participate in a culture that previously had been reviled.

It is important to note that *Leisure Plantations, and the Making of a New South* and *Hunting and Fishing in the New South* both focus their geographic study on the Carolina Lowlands and the Red Hills region of southern Georgia. The focus of these studies remains in the transformation of antebellum cotton and rice plantations into places for production of leisure through sporting tourism. DeBary Hall was built and operational in the 1870s, decades before the

¹⁴ Scot Giltner, *Hunting and Fishing in the New South: Black Labor and White Leisure after the Civil War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

focus of these two works. Similarly Sanford was building his city and experimental groves at the same time as deBary, when New South boosters began promoting the idea of industrializing and urbanizing the South. The communities on the shores of Lake Monroe were exemplary of southern development in the late nineteenth century.

Tracey Revels and Henry Knight both study tourism development of Florida. Similar to McIntyre, in *Sunshine Paradise* Revels examines the impacts that tourism have had on Floridian identity. Revels pinpoints the origins of Florida tourism in health seekers and sportsmen of the 1870s-1880s, although she does not see this period of Florida tourism as economically significant. Instead she argues that the railroad and tourism empires of Flagler and Plant and the later democratization of tin can tourism shaped modern tourism.¹⁵ Henry Knight's *Tropic of Hopes* is a comparative study on the redevelopment of the images of post-Civil War Florida and California by promoters who highlighted their tropical climate. Florida's environment led to promotion of the state as a wilderness perfect for the sportsman and unsuitable for year round residency. Knight's scholarship reveals the ways promoters and developers of Florida had to recreate an image of Florida to encourage white northern tourism, residency, and development of the state. *Tropic of Hopes*, like the previous scholarship discusses the importance of northern construction of Florida's image to attract tourists and settlers.¹⁶ Both Frederick deBary and

¹⁵ Tracy Revels, *Sunshine Paradise: A History of Florida Tourism* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2011).

¹⁶ Henry Knight, *Tropic of Hopes*.

Henry Sanford bought into and were implicit in the construction of what a tropical, authentic, Florida experience was; for both men this experience drew on citrus and black labor.

To understand the rise of popularity of sport hunting and communing with nature the northern ideologies on nature require examination. Roderick Nash's *Wilderness in the American Mind* and Peter J. Schmitt's *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* examine American mentality about wilderness. Both works clearly establish that the increased interest in nature, including the conservation of forests and animals, was a result of the increasingly industrialized urban environments that more Americans lived in. As the United States transformed from agrarian to urban, nature transformed from a threat to civilization to a sanctuary.¹⁷ Along with this idea there is a firm belief that nature can be shaped by man for his benefit. Frederick deBary and the northern shore of Lake Monroe are exemplary of the beliefs of men going into nature to reclaim part of their masculinity that has been lost through increased urbanization. Whereas Henry Sanford on the southern shores of Lake Monroe, who was more focused on development and real sales represents how changing nature from frontier to citrus production benefits man.

The names deBary and Sanford remain today in Central Florida as both men had cities named after them with museums dedicated to the interpreting the histories of early river life.

¹⁷ Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967). Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

This scholarship drew heavily from biographies of Frederick deBary and Henry S. Sanford. Frederick deBary is a relatively unknown figure despite the fact that his hunting estate has been preserved as a historic house museum. There is only one published biography of deBary, *The Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary & de Bary Hall, Florida* by Edith G. Brooks. Brooks was involved with the Florida Federation of Art that used DeBary Hall as their headquarters in the 1960s. Other than this book there are a few letters from Frederick deBary's grandniece Nellie Page and a small photographic collection that help inform the deBary story. The lack of sources is believed to be due to the loss of Adophle deBary's (Frederick's son) home called "Cecilhurst" in a 1912 fire. It is believed that the documents about DeBary Hall were kept in at Cecilhusrt and lost in the fire. To fill some the gaps in the deBary Florida story, tour books, area photos, hunting ledgers, and an oral history of one of the descendants of a former employee were used. Henry S. Sanford, is a better known figure and has two biographies, *Henry Shelton Sanford (1823-1891)*¹⁸ and *Henry S. Sanford Diplomacy and Business in Nineteenth-Century America*, the first biography was commissioned by one of Sanford's granddaughters the second was written by a historian and places Henry S. Sanford and the development of Florida within the larger context of the nineteenth century western world. This is only one clue to the ways that these men and what they built in Central Florida are interpreted in their museums.

¹⁸ Leo T. Molloy, *Henry Shelton Sanford (1823-1891)* (Derby, CT: Valley Historical Research Committee, 2009), reprint 1952 edition.

The first chapter of this thesis examines DeBary Hall, Frederick deBary's personal sporting plantation, on the northern shore of Lake Monroe. Sporting tourism grew in popularity as men in the Gilded Age North looked for new places of "wilderness" so that they may reclaim part of their masculinity. DeBary Hall also serves as an example of southern tourism and the desire for an authentic "southern" experience. In chapter two the analysis moves to the southern shore of Lake Monroe to Sanford. Sanford's development serves as an example of the New South Movement, with slight variations. While Henry Sanford always planned for a town that would attract investment and business, he also established Belair Grove and experimental agricultural station. The experimentation and innovation that happened with tropical fruits sets Sanford apart from the rest of the South. The third chapter examines the ways in which DeBary Hall Historic Site and the Sanford Museum interpret the history of the New South movement on the St. Johns River. This chapter also explores an exhibit created for DeBary Hall Historic Site "DeBary Hall Sporting Plantation and the New South Movement in Central Florida" developed as part of this thesis as a way of addressing some interpretive gaps at the site.

CHAPTER ONE: DEBARY HALL AND SPORT TOURISM ON THE NORTHERN SHORE OF LAKE MONROE

In the period after the Civil War, Florida advertised itself as a place of limitless pleasure and potential profit. The exotic allure of the state through the animals and crops that came to define it drew in elite northerners from their harsh winters and the anxieties they felt about their urbanized and industrial environment. Many urbanites had come to believe that city living undermined the morals, tastes, and character of the people living there.¹⁹ Northern elite men feared that overcivilization feminized them.²⁰ From these insecurities about their position in society rose the popularity of sport hunting, a genteel style that elevated hunting from subsistence to recreation. As the woodlands around the northeastern cities became over hunted elites required new grounds as a place to escape the anxieties of their urban existence and to reassert their superiority.

The South still recovering from the Civil War, remained primarily agricultural. While some southerners promoted the idea of a New South with an economy based on industry, diversified agricultural and urbanization, northerners looked south and found solace from their

¹⁹ Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967), 144.

²⁰ Henry Knight, *Tropic of Hopes: California, Florida, and the Selling of American Paradise, 1869-1929* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2013), 68.

urbanized environment. Historian Larry Youngs noted the “desire for picturesque and novel destinations, romance and nostalgia of the Old South, desire to get back to nature, the challenge and adventure of the Florida Frontier, combined with the faith in therapeutic activities designed as an antidote for modern living made Florida a desired place for the northern tourist before the resort revolution.”²¹ Sport hunting was at the core of the growing tourism industry in Enterprise, Florida.

The town of Enterprise and specifically DeBary Hall, a privately owned sporting plantation, represent the way sport tourism developed the northern part of Lake Monroe during the New South period. This is a different form of development from the historiographic focus on New South industrialization, mining, and milling, but is an important mode of regional development that permanently established in tourism in Florida as one of the drivers of the state’s economy. The deBary family were some of the first “snow birds” to the state or northern tourists escaping the harsh northern winters and returning North once the weather was more temperate. “Snow birds” still come to Florida annually during the winters, but the deBary’s also represent the early founding of environmental tourism in Florida. The exotic allure of Florida’s

²¹ Larry R. Youngs, “The Sporting Set Winters in Florida: Fertile Ground for the Leisure Revolution, 1870-1930,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 84 no. 1, (Summer, 2005), 61-62.

animals is still present today even at sites like Kennedy Space Center, where their bus tours of the numerous launch pads will still stop for tortoises and slow down to look for gators.²²

Founded in 1841 by Cornelius Taylor, Enterprise is situated on the northern shore of Lake Monroe in Volusia County. Taylor was also involved in moving the county seat from New Smyrna to Enterprise.²³ Shortly after Enterprise's founding, it emerged as a popular health resort in the 1840s.²⁴ Boarding houses catered to the health traveler seeking a salubrious climate.²⁵ People with infirmities such as tuberculosis and other debilitating diseases traveled south into the interior of Florida not only because they sought the warmest winter climate possible, but also because they believed in the restorative powers of nature.²⁶

Jacob Brock, a northern transplant from Vermont, arrived in Jacksonville in the 1850s. He established a steamboat line that delivered mail along the St. Johns River from Jacksonville to Enterprise and contributed to the rising successes of the community. Transporting passengers up the St. Johns to Enterprise, Brock saw an opportunity, purchased land and built Brock House,

²² This observation of the environmentally engaged tourism at Kennedy Space Center was experienced by Sarah Thorncroft on July 2, 2018.

²³ Daniel Pleasant Gold, *History of Volusia County Florida: Also Biographies of Prominent People of Volusia County* (De Land, Florida: The E.O. Painter Printing CO, 1927) 63, 167.

²⁴ Michel G. Schene, *Hopes, Dreams, and Promises: A History of Volusia County, Florida* (Daytona Beach, FL: News Journal Corporation, 1976), 61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Knight, *Tropic of Hopes*, 60, 67.

a renowned hotel for the time. A wharf was also constructed to allow easy access to the steamboats and hotel.²⁷ Brock House not only catered to the invalid tourist, but also to the sportsman who found outstanding hunting and fishing in Enterprise.²⁸ Jacob Brock recognized that Enterprise offered more than just a healthful climate, but also quality hunting in an area that was sparsely inhabited. Brock House and the type of tourism that it supported became ingrained in the image of New South Enterprise, promoted by booster literature, which advertised Florida for both leisure and settlement. This literature was also fundamental in cultivating the images of the numerous communities that made up Florida and the image for the state itself.²⁹

Harriett Beecher Stowe, the abolitionist author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was an unlikely Florida promoter. Stowe purchased a home in Mandarin, Florida, on the St. Johns River near Jacksonville in 1867. Making this her winter residence she wrote of her Florida experiences and assembled some of these articles in a book called *Palmetto Leaves*. In *Palmetto Leaves* Stowe created an image of Florida as a tropical paradise, ideal for winter living.³⁰ In "The Wrong Side

²⁷ Schene, *Hopes, Dreams, and Promises*, 61.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 87.

²⁹ George Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers: Containing Practical Information Regarding Climate Soil, and Production; Cities, Towns, and People; the Culture of the Orange and Other Tropical Fruits; Farming and Gardening; Scenery and Resorts; Sport; Routs of Travel, Etc.* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1882), accessed via Internet Archive, June 27, 2017. Ledyard Bill, *A Winter in Florida; or, Observations on the Soil, Climate, and Products of our Semitropical State; With Sketches of the Principal Towns and Cities in Eastern Florida*, 4th ed. (New York: Wood & Holbrook, 1870) Accessed March 22, 2017. Rambler, *Guide to Florida*, 1875 edition (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1964). Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves*, facsimile of 1873 edition, introduction by Mary B. Graff and Edith Cowels (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1968).

³⁰ Mary Graff, "The Author," in *Palmetto Leaves*, Harriet Beecher Stowe, facsimile of 1873 edition (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1968), ix-xvi.

of the Tapestry” she described the “real” Florida and remarked, “now, tourists and travelers generally come with their heads full of certain romantic ideas of waving palms, orange-groves, flowers, and fruit, all bursting forth in tropical abundance; and in consequence, they go through Florida with disappointment at every step.”³¹ Stowe never addressed the role that she played in the creation of this idealized image of Florida. Instead this selection captured the challenge of the tourist perception of Florida with what is the reality of the state.³² Stowe asserted that travelers to Florida should be prepared to accept it as it is, not what the tourist thought it would be.³³ *Palmetto Leaves* continued with a description of a flowery ripe Florida that disproved Stowe’s attempt to tell northerners of the cold snaps, and sometimes ugly terrain of palmetto swamps to be found in the state.

In “The Grand Tour Up River” Stowe described an excursion up the St. John’s River on the steamer “Darlington” under Captain Borch.³⁴ Upon her party’s arrival at Enterprise they planned to explore the woods, have a picnic, and visit the springs in the area. Unfortunately for Stowe, her party did not have enough time to do all these things, but she did provide for her northern audience a sketch of what was offered in Enterprise: “The only thing that appears to the naked eye of a steamboat traveler in Enterprise is a large hotel down upon the landing, said by

³¹ Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves*, 27.

³² Karen Cox, “The South and Mass Culture,” *Journal of Southern History* 75, no. 3 (August 2009), 689.

³³ Stowe, 35.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 249. Historians have documented that Captain Jacob Brock was the operator of the steamboat “Darlington,” therefore I believe that Stow has misspelled Captain Brock’s name.

those who have tested it to be one of the best kept hotels in Florida.”³⁵ In Stowe’s brief snapshot of Enterprise the future tourist should expect wilderness ready for exploration, and an outstanding hotel.

While *Palmetto Leaves* was a more literary approach to advertising and discussing Florida, a more traditional manner in which the state was advertised was through tour books. Ledyard Bill’s *A Winter in Florida*, Rambler’s *Guide to Florida* and George Barbour’s *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* were three popular travel books. These books provided a history of Florida, informed travelers on how to get to the state and how to get around within Florida, and highlighted the major stops on the St. Johns River.³⁶ Bill, “Rambler,” and Barbour’s books are primarily tourist publications, with sections devoted to notable locations, such as Enterprise. The tour books and *Palmetto Leaves* were important in shaping not only the image of Florida for potential tourists, they also created Enterprise’s image as the sporting tourist’s paradise.

³⁵ Stowe, 256.

³⁶ Bill, *A Winter in Florida; or, Observations on the Soil, Climate, and Products of our Semitropical State; With Sketches of the Principal Towns and Cities in Eastern Florida*, 4th ed. (New York: Wood & Holbrook, 1870) Accessed March 22, 2017. Rambler, *Guide to Florida*, 1875 edition (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1964). George Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers: Containing Practical Information Regarding Climate Soil, and Production; Cities, Towns, and People; the Culture of the Orange and Other Tropical Fruits; Farming and Gardening; Scenery and Resorts; Sport; Routs of Travel, Etc.* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1882), accessed via Internet Archive, June 27, 2017.

Ledyard Bill's lengthy depiction of Brock House and of Enterprise was not quite as positive as that of Stowe. He noted "a feeling of disappointment is inevitable, notwithstanding the traveler soon accommodates himself to the fact of utter barrenness in a country which has been for a century forgotten."³⁷ In Bill's opinion the Brock House was a disappointment. It was made "agreeable" for guests only because it was the only hotel on the river after leaving Plataka.³⁸ Despite Bill's disappointment in the Brock House accommodations he wrote about the culinary delights of staying in Enterprise. He attributed this to "the woods full of game and the lake [that] swarms with a variety of good table-fish."³⁹ Bill continued "Enterprise is the paradise for sporting-men."⁴⁰ His broader description of Enterprise noted that Captain Brock owned everything worth accounting in Enterprise, including the steamboat line.⁴¹ He concluded his discussion with a brief description of the climate. Bill compared winter in Enterprise to the "temperature of the month of May in New England."⁴²

Rambler's account of Enterprise similarly highlighted the Brock House, and discussed the abundance of game. In this description, Enterprise was a sportsman's paradise with a much milder climate than Jacksonville because of its southern location, noting that "It is during the

³⁷ Bill, *A Winter in Florida*, 125.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 131.

cold season, when the northern sportsmen are confined indoors that the game is most plentiful in Florida.”⁴³ While Rambler’s depiction of Enterprise was brief, it focused on the excellent quality of hunting and fishing. This guide book also provided space in the back for advertisements for businesses that the Florida tourist might encounter. Jacob Brock’s steamboat line and his hotel were both advertised here. In the portion of the narrative where “Rambler” promoted Brock House the term “invalid” tourist is dropped, creating the idea that Brock House in Enterprise is the center for sportsmen and no longer for the “invalid.” However in the back where a paid advertisement for Brock House is found, Jacob Brock continued to mention “invalids” in addition to tourists and sportsmen, making it clear that “every requisite for health, comfort, and enjoyment would be met through a stay at Brock House.”⁴⁴ Those visiting Enterprise, like “Rambler” viewed the appeal of the area as shifting away from a focus on the health tourist to that of the sportsman. This was supported by the “splendid boating, fishing and hunting, in the immediate vicinity of the Hotel.”⁴⁵

In *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* George M. Barbour experienced Florida while touring the state with President Grant in the 1880s. Unlike the previous guidebooks, Enterprise is barely mentioned. He notes that it is the county seat and that it has a courthouse, spacious winter hotel, and four stores. Perhaps Barbour did not discuss the healthful conditions

⁴³ Rambler, *Guide to Florida*, 98-99.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*.

of Enterprise or the quality of game and fish because it was already “a famous resort for tourists in the winter season.” Instead Barbour focused on the estate of Frederick deBary and the 20as20hur springs on his property.⁴⁶ Barbour regarded the entire St. Johns region as healthy, quiet, cozy, abounding with fresh fruit and vegetable, and possessing excellent hunting and fishing pleasures, year round.⁴⁷

For northerners, these four guidebooks depicted Enterprise as a wild, temperate, destination that provided little entertainment other than connecting with nature. Jacob Brock’s hotel was an important part of the constructed image of Enterprise for the northern tourist, who wanted to get away from the city and the poor health conditions fostered in an urban environment, but perhaps not looking to rough it on the Florida frontier. While Enterprise’s New South image was designed by these travel guides as the place for northern sporting tourists, Florida, particularly the peninsular part of the state was advertised as semi-tropical. Creating the image of a semi-tropical Florida allowed for promoters to skirt the negative implications of the state’s “southern” association.

Scholars, like Nina Silber in *The Romance of Reunion* and Rebecca Cawood McIntyre in *Souvenirs of the Old South* discuss the associations with the Old South as one of the draws for

⁴⁶ George M. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers*, 121.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 108.

southern tourism in the late nineteenth century. The Old South that attracted the northern tourist to the region after the Civil War was a romanticized image of plantation life. While these authors did not focus their analysis entirely on Florida, the state was a Confederate, slave holding, and culturally southern state. However as historian Henry Knight noted in *Tropic of Hopes* associations with slavery, the Confederacy, the pain of defeat, and lingering section tensions, were also associated with the South.⁴⁸ Knight's work examines how Florida and California were advertised as semi-tropical in the post-Civil War period to attract tourist, settlers, and investors to these states. Florida he noted was advertised by boosters as "semi-tropical" rather than "southern" as a way to overcome sectional tensions.⁴⁹ Although this rebranding of Florida as semi-tropical was a way to bypass the negative connotations of "southern" this did not mean that Florida completely shed all of its "southernness." African Americans were used to sell tropical Florida, through their presence in promotional literature, Knight wrote, "casting them as servants a feature of the tropics that enhanced the leisure experiences of Anglo-Americans."⁵⁰

Selling Florida as semi-tropical complicates the idea of Florida as part of the South. An important consideration in advertising Florida as semi-tropical as opposed to southern, is that that semi-tropical insinuates wildness and a lack of development whereas southern may conjure

⁴⁸ Henry Knight, *Tropic of Hopes*, 8.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 75-76.

ideas or rural farm landscapes and slavery/racism. To advertise to the sporting tourist, semi-tropical gave an exotic wild allure to the state.

One of those northerners who was attracted to Enterprise was Frederick deBary, a German immigrant⁵¹ to New York City who made his money importing Mumms champagne and other luxury goods. After the death of his wife in 1870, deBary was motivated to find a healthful climate for his daughter who suffered from severe asthma; deBary made his way to Enterprise.⁵² The historic record does not provide an answer as to why or how frequently Frederick deBary came to Enterprise. However, given his fondness for sport hunting paired with the emotional grief of losing his wife, it is often implied that he wanted to get away from New York to heal not only his daughter's physical ailments, but his emotional ones as well. Another theory is that Frank H. Cozzens, a New York hunter and friend of the deBary family, may have mentioned the area to him.⁵³ Regardless of how Frederick deBary learned of Enterprise, he enjoyed hunting for sport and the wilderness of early Volusia County appealed to him. Instead of staying at Brock

⁵¹ Some accounts state that Frederick deBary is a Belgian immigrant. Edith Brooks states that Frederick was born in Germany, lived in France, but his family was of Belgian ancestry (*Saga*, 19).

⁵² Edith Brooks, *Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary & de Bary Hall, Florida* (Convention Press, 1968), 24, 60. Mrs. Brooks provides 1868 as year that Mrs. deBary died. I am using January 25, 1870 as Mrs. deBary's date of passing which was published in the *New York Times*. See "Died," *New York Times*, January 27, 1870, pg. 5.

⁵³ Brooks, *Saga*, 35. Mentions that Cozzens was a guest at DeBary Hall. He is also mentioned in the DeBary Hall Game Record. This theory is supported by Cozzens numerous entries in the registers of Brock House, facsimile provided by Enterprise Heritage Center & Museum.

House, deBary decided that he would purchase land and build his own winter retreat and sporting plantation.

In 1871, DeBary Hall was built and unlike Brock House, was a private sporting plantation.⁵⁴ Historians Julia Brock and Daniel Vivian define sporting plantations as, “old plantations that have been repurposed for the use as private hunting retreats that provided access to wildlife, undeveloped land, and lodgings.”⁵⁵ Unlike other hunting plantations, DeBary Hall was newly built, but still served the same leisurely purpose as other sporting plantations throughout the South. Sporting plantations often have been overlooked by scholars but reveal how tourism in the postbellum South developed the region. Moreover, the owners of hunting plantations frequently invested in local New South enterprises.

DeBary Hall represented several things in Florida’s changing landscape: the deBary family’s personal wealth, their desire for entertaining, racial relations, and changes to the environment that secured the leisurely pursuits of the family. While the deBarys did not engage

⁵⁴ This date comes from Edith Brook’s *Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary*, page 16. 1871 is also the date used by the staff of DeBary Hall Historic Site. While there are other sources that suggest that Frederick deBary wintered in Florida before the Civil War and purchased lands as early as 1868. These sources are “De Bary Hall: One of Florida’s Historic Homes” and “Count DeBary in Florida” both authored by Ianthe Bond Hebel, from the Halifax Historical Society, DeBary Hall File. This research will utilize the 1871 date to mean that DeBary Hall was finished with construction and ready for occupancy.

⁵⁵ Brock & Vivien, “Introduction” in *Leisure Plantations, and the Making of a New South: the Sporting Plantations of the South Carolina Lowcountry and Red Hills Region, 1900-1940*, ed. Julia Brock and Daniel Vivian (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015) 2.

in commercial tourism with their Florida estate, they did invest in two other industries that were important: steamboats and citrus. However, it was sport hunting that attracted and kept them occupied while wintering in Florida.

This deep attraction to the quality of hunting that Florida, offered was not the sole reason for deBary to construct his own personal winter retreat. Instead, it was also a marker of his social station in American society. Frederick deBary was part of the economic, the social group Cindy Aron in *Working at Play* credits with the creation of vacationing as we know it today.⁵⁶ Building his own private seasonal home as a retreat was a significant indicator of his wealth. This also follows Harriet Beecher Stowe's discourse, promoting Florida as ideal for winter habitation as the summer months were too brutal. Stowe states, "Florida is peculiarly adapted to the needs of people who can afford two houses, and want a refuge from the drain that winter makes on the health."⁵⁷

The initial economic impact of DeBary Hall followed that of the sporting plantations established in other parts of the South. The principal economic contribution was the seasonal and year round work of skilled and unskilled laborers.⁵⁸ Since the family occupied the site for only a

⁵⁶ Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 17.

⁵⁷ Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves*, 37-38.

⁵⁸ Jennifer Betsworth, "Reviving and Restoring Southern Ruins: Reshaping Plantation Architecture and Landscapes in Georgetown County, South Carolina," in *Leisure, Plantations, and the Making of a New South: The*

few months every year, it was necessary for the deBarys to hire a year-round estate manager who would make personnel decisions and oversee the continuous upkeep of the Hall, farms, orange groves, and maintenance of the game bird populations. William Padgett was the longest serving manager of DeBary Hall. Hired by Adolphe deBary, after his father's death in 1898. Padgett remained at DeBary Hall until the 1940 death of Leonie deBary Lyon Brewster the last American deBary heir. According to an interview with Padgett's grandson, Padgett hired mostly black labor "which in those days is what you did."⁵⁹

African Americans were inseparable from the southern landscape, as labor and as a part of the authentic Old South experience that elite northerners sought during their winter in Florida. Black servitude was an essential element to the southern sporting field and sporting tourists believed that black labor during a hunt added authenticity to their southern experience. African Americans often were the best guides to hire, knowing not only where to find game but the best way to take it.⁶⁰ Black presence on the sporting field was not a new phenomenon in the post-war South. Scott Giltner states, "The southern sporting field was racially integrated, a tradition that continued after Emancipation."⁶¹ Black access to the sporting field was in service to their

Sporting Plantations of the South Carolina Lowcountry and Red Hills Region, 1900-1940, ed. Julia Brock and Daniel Vivian (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 73.

⁵⁹ William Padgett, audio Oral History Interview, interviewed by Amber Patterson and Tom Baskett, January 21, [no year provided], from DeBary Hall Historic Site.

⁶⁰ Scott E. Giltner, *Hunting and Fishing in the New South: Black Labor and White Leisure after the Civil War* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 83,89.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

employers during hunts not at a place of equality, but also as a way to supplement their diets. According to Ted Ownby elite whites attributed to blacks “an animal-like nature that gave them special powers in the wild” making them an asset on the sporting field.⁶² Black knowledge of the natural world stemmed from slavery, but also from their African culture. Elizabeth Blum wrote that African belief in wilderness or the brush as a place of refuge and transformation was carried over to the Americas with enslaved Africans.⁶³ This black cultural view of wilderness as a place of refuge included the fact that wilderness was also a dangerous place especially for women. From these dangers rose knowledge of animals and plants, and stories to warn white children of the dangers of the woods.⁶⁴ Blum also noted the importance of hunting and fishing to enslaved blacks, since hunting and fishing added to the slave family’s diet and provided the opportunity to sell fish, meat, and by-products from hunted animals.⁶⁵

There is no denying that African Americans made up much of the labor force of Central Florida in the New South period. They were promoted as the ideal labor force with racist language that implies that black labor was the only suitable labor in the Florida heat. An example of this language can be found in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Palmetto Leaves*: “Now when one sees

⁶² Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 26.

⁶³ Elizabeth D. Blum, “Power, Danger, and Control: Slave Women’s Perceptions of Wilderness in the Nineteenth Century,” *Women’s Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 31 no. 2, (2002), 250.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 252, 254, 256-257.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 260, 262.

such sights (a group of black men hauling heavy bags of cotton from a cart to a steamer) as these, one may be pardoned for thinking that the negro is the natural laborer of tropical regions. He is immensely strong; he thrives and flourishes physically under a temperature that exposes a white man to disease and death.”⁶⁶ *Palmetto Leaves* provides other portrayals of blacks in Florida which all characterize African Americans as contented field workers aiding Anglo-led development in Florida.⁶⁷ But more importantly for the discussion of tourism in the former Confederacy, African Americans could not be separated from servitude in the romanticized image of the Old South. This image influenced how northerners perceived an “authentic” southern experience.⁶⁸

The source records for Frederick deBary and his family are scarce, so it cannot be argued with any degree of certainty that he or his direct descendants were attempting to rebuild an Old South plantation or that they upheld white supremacist beliefs. That said, the loudest defender of the memory of Frederick deBary, his grand-niece Nellie Parker Webster Page, while asserting that Frederick deBary was a gentleman and a serious hunter, also provided a clue to the racial relationships and memories at DeBary Hall. One story that has been repeated through multiple sources is that guests at DeBary Hall were occasionally “entertained by the Negro workers

⁶⁶ Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves*, 282-283.

⁶⁷ Knight, *Tropic of Hopes*, 40.

⁶⁸ McIntyre, *Souvenirs of the Old South*, e-Book, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://florida.universitypressscholarship.com.ezproxy.net.ucf.edu/view/10.5744/florida/9780813036953.001.0001/upso-9780813036953-chapter-5>.

coming from the quarters who came to sing and dance on the shell drive below the veranda.”⁶⁹ This form of entertainment was not exclusive to DeBary Hall; Daniel Vivian writes of a similar encounter at a sporting plantation in the Carolina Lowcountry. Vivian states, “this entertainment is an expression of African American culture and a direct legacy to slavery.”⁷⁰ In another example, the cook at DeBary Hall was remembered only as “Aunt Lizzie” who was revered because she cooked the breakfasts before the four a.m. hunting trips. She was characterized as smoking a pipe while entertaining the children at DeBary Hall with stories.⁷¹ This depiction of “Aunt Lizzie” fits into the classic stereotype of female labor, the Mammy figure. Mammies were fuller figured women, who served as cooks, tended white children, or worked in the fields.⁷² This memory of the black labor force at DeBary Hall fits into Rebecca Cawood McIntyre’s argument that these stereotypical portrayals of blacks in the South during the postbellum period was a way in which tourism culturally marginalized freedmen. They instead served as an exotic attraction distinctive to the South for a unique tourist experience for northerners.⁷³ African Americans may have been the available labor force for the managers of DeBary Hall to hire, but it is also important that they were a desired part of a “genuine southern experience.”

⁶⁹ This particular quote comes from Brooks, *Saga of Baron Frederick deBary*, 35. Page was one of Mrs. Brooks sources. It also appears in a letter Mrs. Page wrote to Neil Pooser, March 20, 1962 and in a letter written to Dr. A.J. Hanna of Rollins College, June 3, 1960.

⁷⁰ Daniel Vivian, “Plantation Life: *Leisure Plantations and the Making of a New South* ed. Julia Brock and Daniel Vivian (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 42.

⁷¹ Brooks, *Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary*, 30.

⁷² McIntyre, *Souvenirs of the Old South*, e-book, accessed April 4, 2018.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, accessed April 30, 2017.

DeBary Hall was more than just a place where the old social order was re-established, it was also the site of important environmental changes. As a seasonal residence built around sport hunting, the grounds of DeBary Hall were manicured to stimulate the quail population, the favored game animal. Compared to Sanford, across Lake Monroe, Enterprise and DeBary Hall appeared relatively untouched by white settlement; however the presence of man altered the natural environment. Since this area on the northern shore of Lake Monroe was advertised as a paradise for sportsmen and was the location of a sporting resort and sporting plantation, a closer investigation to the methods that altered the area's natural environment is warranted.

“Every successful merchant naturally purchases an estate in the country, and as naturally desires to see some game upon it. This necessitates a keeper and his staff. The game itself-meaning live game-has become a marketable commodity, bought and sold very much as one might buy a standing crop of wheat.”⁷⁴ This excerpt from Richard Jefferies' *The Gamekeeper at Home* clearly establishes that if a country estate owner wanted to hunt his lands, he required a gamekeeper or manager to continuously groom his estate grounds to the specifications of the game he pursued. Nellie Page recalled two different managers or overseers at DeBary Hall, Rossiter and William Padgett.⁷⁵ In addition to managing the farming of oranges and vegetables, these estate managers were also gamekeepers. Since American elite sporting culture was based

⁷⁴Richard Jefferies, *The Gamekeeper at Home* (London and Glasgow: Collins, No date), 55.

⁷⁵ Brooks, *Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary*, 46.

on the British model it is probable the Jefferies book may have influenced the way that DeBary Hall was managed. The recollection of Arthur Thompson a former field employee at DeBary Hall discloses several of these practices:

The hunting fields were specially prepared for these hunts. Although doves and bobwhite quail were quite abundant, nothing could be left to chance that would detract from the pleasure and success of the hunters. During the year the field vegetation was carefully trimmed to attract the birds. Servants would spread corn and millet grain year-round to ensure an abundance of the local birds. To supplement the native quail population, the Count [de Bary] also raised quail and had them released just before a hunt-giving his honored guests every opportunity to bag a few birds.⁷⁶

Arthur Thompson's account requires some explanation and analysis. This recollection was told to Frank Knight, a local historian of DeBary and Enterprise in 1945. It is unclear when this recollection was put down on paper; one may assume after the early 1960s when Thompson passed away. This is one of the only remaining artifacts that provides the workers' perspective and the game management practices fit with the practices of sportsmen of the period. Trimming the field vegetation involved the creation of the appropriate type of cover that quail required as part of a healthy habitat. Jefferies associated the creation of a more natural cover than a coop

⁷⁶ "DeBary Hunting Parties Remembered," recollection of Arthur Thompson, 1945, recorded by Frank Knight, in DeBary Hall File at Conrad Research Library.

with the breeding and rearing of young pheasants. Creating a suitable habitat required piling bush trimmings in a large heap in a dry area.⁷⁷

The *DeBary Hall Time Book* also provides another clue to the game management taking place at DeBary Hall. In 1893, a Pheasant Record appears in this book. It is an incomplete record, but it shows that at one point in DeBary Hall's history efforts were made to record the number of pheasant eggs hatched.⁷⁸ This record also supports Arthur Thompson's statement that quail were raised and released for hunts. The pheasant record is believed to be written by Frank H. Cozzens, a hunter and frequent guest at DeBary Hall. Clearly people other than the estate managers had a hand in game management. The deBary family also was involved in game management through varmint hunting. Predatory animals like foxes, raccoons, and wildcats were hunted twice a week by the deBarys and their dogs.⁷⁹ These predatory animals were considered "varmint" or "bad animals" because they posed a threat to the animals that sportsmen wanted to pursue and to humans themselves. Nellie Page, grandniece of Frederick deBary, recalled that this type of hunting was necessary at DeBary Hall since it acted as a preserve to encourage birds.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Jefferies, *Gamekeeper at Home*, 64. Quail and Pheasants are not the same bird, though they are part of the Phasianidae family. Quail is native in on all continents with the exclusion of Antarctica. Pheasants originated from jungle fowl in southeast Asia, with native populations in Europe and Africa. Pheasants are slightly larger than quail also. From Andresen, Earl R. 2016. "Chickens, turkeys, pheasant, and quail." *Salem Press Encyclopedia Of ScienceResearch Starters*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 11, 2018).

⁷⁸ DeBary Hall Time Book, 1893-1899, Conrad Research Library.

⁷⁹ Brooks, *Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary*, 43. Letter Nellie Page to Dr. A. J. Hanna, copy from DeBary Hall Historic Site, June 3, 1960.

⁸⁰ Letter Nellie Page to Dr. A.J. Hanna, copy from DeBary Hall Historic Site, June 3, 1960.

The concept of a “good” animal and a “bad” animal was primarily defined by those in economic and political power. Perhaps the best example of this comes from Louis Warren’s *The Hunters Game* where Warren discussed deer hunting in Pennsylvania. Sportsmen noticed a decline in the deer population from the demands of sportsmen the Pennsylvania Board of Game Commissioners was established in 1895.⁸¹ In the efforts of the Pennsylvania Game Commissioner to increase deer numbers, they outlawed the hunting of does and young deer with the passage of the Buck Law in 1907.⁸² This created tension between sportsmen and farmers because of the different ways that they viewed particularly female deer. The farmer considered female deer “bad” animals because they ate their crops, however to the sportsman the doe was a symbol of femininity and motherhood.⁸³ Varmint hunting was important not only to protect the game animals making their home on deBary property, but also to protect the livestock that fed the deBarys and guests.

According to Nellie Page’s recollections DeBary Hall also possessed a deer run, a duck pond, and runs for rare fowl.⁸⁴ While it is apparent from the DeBary Hall Game Record (1904-1941) that quail and snipe were the two most pursued game animals, with dedicated printed columns in the hunting ledger, Page’s memories support that DeBary Hall was a productive

⁸¹ Louis S. Warren, *The Hunters Game: Poachers and Conservation in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 52.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 53.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁸⁴ Nellie Page to Dr. A.J. Hanna, copy from DeBary Hall Historic Site, June 3, 1960.

landscape for animals other than quail, which we know were actively managed. The DeBary Hall Game Record that survives today, shows that various species of ducks, quail, and snipe were the most popular game pursued at DeBary Hall.⁸⁵

The deBary family exemplifies the Florida tourist of the Gilded Age; they were escorts of and health travelers, they were wealthy enough to own two homes, and they employed a black labor force to serve them on and off the hunting fields. With enough wealth to winter in a private estate, they did not need to earn money from their Florida enterprise. Instead their orange groves and steamboat line fit more into the American anxiety over labor vs. leisure and republicanism. Republicanism is defined as the ideology of productive labor, cultivation of the land, and virtuous citizens that are credited with the United States successful separation from the British monarchy and creation of an independent republic.⁸⁶ Republicanism was central in the late nineteenth century labor/leisure dichotomy, the fear that too much labor in an “overly civilized” urban environment made people sick. The other side of the debate argued that leisure was idleness, condemned by an American culture that valued hard work.⁸⁷ This suggests that for the deBary family, orange cultivation was a way not only to experience authentic Florida, but also justified their winter leisure.

⁸⁵ Facsimile DeBary Hall Game Record, 1904-1941, DeBary Hall Historic Site. For the purpose of this study which spans from 1870-1920, the popularity of game reflects from 1904-1920.

⁸⁶ Aron, *Working at Play*, 6-7.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

The deBary's steamboat line called *The DeBary Merchants Line* was another example of the convergence of private leisure and the development of the region. Unlike their private hunting retreat, *The DeBary Merchants Line* was a profitable service utilized by people along the St. Johns River. This steamboat line made it easier for people to reach river front communities, move agricultural goods to markets in Jacksonville and New York City, and speed up communication. Since 1876 the deBarys, had been using a private steamboat for personal use on the St. Johns River, not only to travel to DeBary Hall from Jacksonville, but also to transport hunters, dogs, and horses along the river to hunt at different locations.⁸⁸ What was once a personal and private service for the family and invited guests to leisurely enjoy Florida was transformed in 1881 when Frederick deBary incorporated his vessels into the *DeBary Merchants Line*, and a productive way to use the St. Johns River.⁸⁹

The *DeBary Merchants Line* while born from private use by the deBary family, quickly gave the family a voice in shaping the commercial tourism to this region of Florida. Not only did this line carry tourists into Central Florida, but it also produced guidebooks influencing how tourists would perceive Florida. The earliest of the *DeBary Merchant's Line* guidebooks was *Florida and her Resorts* produced in 1881. This paper booklet provided a brief history of Florida

⁸⁸ T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (Florida Historical Society, 1925), 363, accessed from University of Florida George A Smathers Library website, April 26, 2017. Edith Brooks in *Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary* also cites this source on page 50. Bob Bass, *When Steamboats Reigned in Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 73.

⁸⁹ Bass, 74.

and highlighted the main stops on the St. Johns River. Sanford was noted as the largest river settlement south of Palatka with a fine hotel, stores, churches, and school. It was also a South Florida Railway junction. *Florida and her Resorts* differs from previous books on Enterprise and Central Florida. Sport played no role in the attractions listed. Rather the focus was on the grand hotel and the orange groves of Frederick deBary, W.B. Watson, the Brock House Grove, and other prominent area growers.⁹⁰

In 1882, the guidebook was retitled *Into Tropical Florida: A Round Trip Upon the St. Johns*. While most of the content remained the same, the discussion of Enterprise was significantly altered. Enterprise and the estate of Frederick deBary are found in the section detailing the Indian River, which is much further south and east from Lake Monroe. The Indian River area is described as abounding with game in quantities that sportsmen could only wish for. This section describes Enterprise as one of the oldest settlements on the River and the home of Frederick deBary. Enterprise is characterized in this version of the *DeBary Merchants Line*, as a connecting stop for the sporting tourist, who can find great quality game in New Smyrna, the Halifax River, and Oak Hill.⁹¹ It seems out of place that Enterprise would suddenly appear in the Indian River region, but in George Barbour's *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* also

⁹⁰ *Florida and her Resorts. Presented with Compliments of the DeBary Merchants Line, Saint Johns River Steamers* (Jacksonville: Florida Union Job Print, 1881), 16-17. From Enterprise Heritage and History Center collection.

⁹¹ *Into Tropical Florida or A Round Trip Upon the St. Johns River* (New York: Leve & Alden's Publication Dept., c. 1882), 22. From University of Florida Smathers Library PK Yonge Library of Florida History.

published in 1882 he described the Indian River area as *the* sporting region in Florida.⁹² The deBary family also had a personal connection with the Indian River region. Edith Brooks wrote that traveling to New Smyrna was a favorite trip for the deBarys. They enjoyed fishing, collecting oysters and turtles, and relaxing on the beach.⁹³

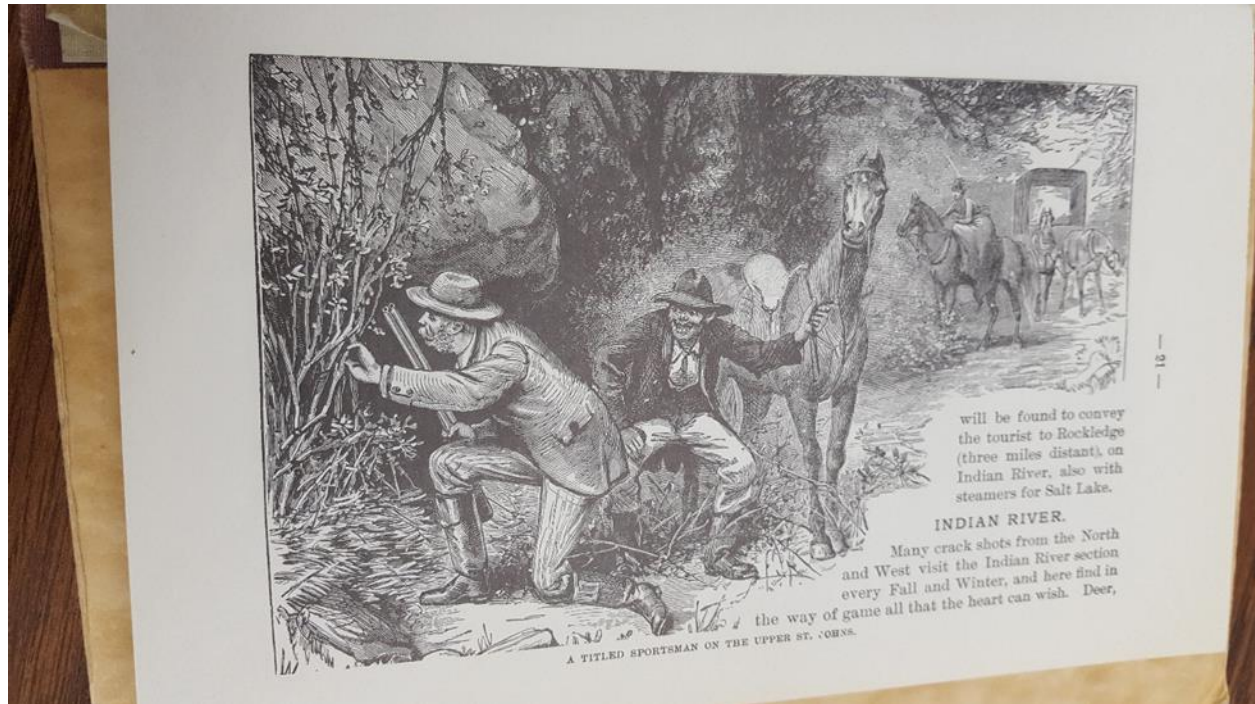


Figure 1 A Titled Sportsman on the Upper St. Johns, print from *Into Tropical Florida*, 1883 edition, photo taken by Sarah Thorncroft, May 26, 2016.

⁹² Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers*, 33.

⁹³ Brooks, *Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary*, 33, 43.

In 1883, the *DeBary Merchants Line* merged with Hanaro T. Baya's⁹⁴ line forming the *DeBary-Baya Merchants Line* servicing the St. Johns River.⁹⁵ In the next edition of *Into Tropical Florida* produced by the newly formed line, some information from previous versions of the booklet was retained, but Enterprise was no longer found under the section for "Indian River" though it is still depicted as a connecting point to the best game hunting in Florida.⁹⁶ Perhaps the most interesting change to this edition of *Into Tropical Florida* are the depictions of African Americans which was never previously present in earlier editions of the deBary promotional materials. One image "A Titled Sportsman on the Upper St. Johns" shows a white sportsman kneeling with a rifle looking into the brush. By his side is a black man presumably either a servant or a hunting guide holding the reins of the sportsman's horse.⁹⁷ This depiction of a black figure in a role of servitude on the hunt only reaffirms that black labor was an essential component of the sporting field.

⁹⁴ Hanaro T. Baya was a descendant of an early Spanish family in St. Augustine. He served in the Confederate Army eventually rising to the rank of colonel. After the Civil War Colonel Baya settled in Jacksonville, where he first entered the grocery business, but in 1874 purchased the steamer *Gazelle* and began serving the St. Johns. Baya added several more boats. Information from Bass, *When Steamboats Reign'd*, 76-78.

⁹⁵ Bass, *When Steamboats Reign'd*, 78.

⁹⁶ *Into Tropical Florida; or, A Round Trip Upon the St. Johns River. Issued by the Passenger Department DeBary-Baya Merchants' Line, Jacksonville, FLA.* (New York: Leve & Alden's Publication Department, c.1883) 22.

⁹⁷ *A Titled Sportsman on the Upper St. Johns*, 1883, in *Into Tropical Florida; or, A Round Trip Upon the St. Johns River. Issued by the Passenger Department DeBary-Baya Merchants' Line*, 21.



Figure 2 Coming Citizens, print from *Into Tropical Florida*, 1883 edition, photo taken by Sarah Thorncroft, May 26, 2016.

Another depiction of African Americans present in this tour book titled “Coming Citizens” showed a poor black family sleeping in a doorway.⁹⁸ This image reflects two different things: the fear that white boosters had that Florida would be settled primarily by black families and the idea of blacks as “picturesque peasantry for a tourist audience.”⁹⁹ Henry Knight noted that Florida’s large freed black population in the post-bellum period was due in part to the state’s

⁹⁸ *Coming Citizens*, 1883, in *Into Tropical Florida; or, A Round Trip Upon the St. Johns River. Issued by the Passenger Department DeBary-Baya Merchants’ Line*, 7.

⁹⁹ This notion of Florida as a haven for black population is discussed in Henry Knight, *Tropic of Hopes*, 38. The idea of depicting poor blacks as a picturesque peasantry is from Rebecca Cawood McIntyre’s *Souvenirs of the Old South*, e-book.

geographic location near the Caribbean and the fact that much of land was not settled.¹⁰⁰ Black land ownership and economic independence represented threats to white supremacy which was the means of sectional reconciliation. As Rebecca Cawood McIntyre argued black servitude was fused to the southern landscape in the late nineteenth century, including the growing tourism industry that “cast African Americans as a picturesque peasantry for a tourist audience enamored with European culture. As pseudo-peasants, blacks made a landscape appear enticingly European.”¹⁰¹ She compared the (perceived) charming Italian peasants in the Tuscan landscape to the grinding poverty of freedmen in the American South.¹⁰² Perhaps most interesting about “Coming Citizens” is the title of the work. According to McIntyre blacks who became a symbol of the southern landscape were never called southerners, citizens, or freedmen.¹⁰³ This seems to suggest that this illustration may have been used not as a way to arouse European sentiments for the Florida tourist, but instead as a way to motivate increased white settlement to the state.

“A Titled Sportsman on the Upper St. Johns” and “Coming Citizens” were the first depictions of African Americans in deBary owned steamboat promotional literature. The sudden presence of these representations may be explained by the merger of the deBary steamboat line

¹⁰⁰ Knight, *Tropic of Hopes*, 38.

¹⁰¹ Rebecca Cawood McIntyre, *Souvenirs of the Old South*, ebook.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

with the Baya steamboat line, since deBary was described as a “staunch northerner” and Baya an “ardent southerner.”¹⁰⁴

During the 1880s Henry Flagler and Henry Plant built their railroad and resort empires on the Florida coastlines. Railroad access into Florida negatively affected the steamboat industry.¹⁰⁵ Flagler and Plant’s transportation and tourist development drew tourists away from the St. Johns River to the coasts. In 1889 Frederick deBary and his associates sold the DeBary-Baya Merchants Line to the Clyde Steamships interests.¹⁰⁶ This may have been motivated by the Freeze of 1894-1895 that killed the citrus industry in Central Florida moving orange cultivation further south. Edith Brooks writes, “Enterprise never grew into a city, like other younger communities around it,”¹⁰⁷ instead Enterprise represented a style of New South tourism, sporting plantations. The Florida tourist literature of the day cultivated the image of Enterprise as *the* destination for sportsmen. Brock House provided comfortable accommodations in the Central Florida wilderness. Frederick deBary and his family represented tourism in the 1870s on Lake Monroe; they began as health tourists and then transitioned to leisure tourists. They were wealthy enough to build a private hunting plantation DeBary Hall, where they created their own southern hunting experience. Sporting plantations like DeBary Hall were places where northerners could

¹⁰⁴ Bass, *When Steamboats Reigned*, 78.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 5. Brooks, *Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary*, 57.

¹⁰⁶ Brooks, 58.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

experience their version of “plantation life.” That included the labor of African Americans.¹⁰⁸

Sporting plantations were places that also represented environmental change and a diversification in agriculture. The lands that constituted estates were cultivated and maintained in specific ways by the black laborers to encourage populations of certain animals over others. This undeveloped landscape that helped promote Enterprise as a hunter’s paradise was juxtaposed with Sanford on the southern shores of Lake Monroe.

¹⁰⁸ Vivian, “Plantation Life,” 27.

CHAPTER TWO: SANFORD AND NEW SOUTH DEVELOPMENT ON THE SOUTHERN SHORE OF LAKE MONROE

Henry Sanford and the city bearing his name built on the southern shore of Lake Monroe is more aligned with what historians recognize as New South development. Henry Sanford's vision for his Florida enterprise was a city surrounded by farms. The appeal of the land that Sanford purchased was the strategic shipping location based on the southernmost navigable point on the St. Johns and he believed the land would support citrus.¹⁰⁹ It is this southern and tropical location that marks a major difference between Sanford, Florida and other New South cities. Sanford would be reliant on the production of perishable fruit and vegetable products and the industries that prospered in the city were in support of these agricultural enterprises.

Henry Sanford was born to a wealthy family in Woodbury, Connecticut, on June 15, 1823. According to Joseph Fry Henry's father "Nehemiah Sanford provided his family an upper middle class existence from the proceeds of his mercantile business and served in Connecticut state senate during the 1830s. In 1836 Nehemiah joined his brother-in-law Edward N Shelton in establishing a tack factory."¹¹⁰ Henry Sanford was privileged to have been born into a family of

¹⁰⁹ Joseph Fry, *Henry S. Sanford: Diplomacy and Business in Nineteenth Century America* (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 1982), 96.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

refinement, wealth, and influence. When his father suddenly died in 1841, Henry went to Europe spending the majority of the next six years of his life there. It was in Europe that he became “enamored with the lifestyle of the aristocratic classes.” Sanford became a career diplomat appointed by President Zachary Taylor as Secretary of the American Legation at Paris in 1849, stationed in Europe, selling his shares of the family tack business to support his high end lifestyle. Sanford’s most important appointment happened in 1861 when President Lincoln appointed him at the United States Minister to Belgium.¹¹¹

After the American Civil War, Sanford found that he need to supplement his income and to replenish his depleting inheritance. The diplomat/entrepreneur focused on the reconstruction of the American South and the colonization of Africa as places to build a financial empire through development. Henry Sanford invested in three different agricultural enterprises in reconstruction South: South Carolina cotton, Louisiana sugar, and Florida citrus.¹¹² Only the Florida venture proved to be profitable. Sanford first invested in Florida with one of his uncles, purchasing a citrus grove in St. Augustine in 1867.¹¹³ After a steamboat up the St. Johns River and his experience with the climate and beauty of the region, he decided to purchase land. In 1870 Henry Sanford purchased over 12,000 acres of virgin land along Lake Monroe, believing

¹¹¹ Leo T. Molloy, *Henry Shelton Sanford (1823-1891)* (Derby, CT: Valley Historical Research Committee, 2009), 10. Fry, *Henry S. Sanford*, 5 16, 77. Mark Howard Long, “Cultivating A New Order: Reconstructing Florida’s Postbellum Frontier” (PhD. Diss., Loyola University, 2007)51-56.

¹¹² Long, “Cultivating a New Order,” 51-56.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 58.

that the southern location was strategic for steamboat travel and a healthy citrus industry would be supported by trade.¹¹⁴ Henry S. Sanford created two legacies in his Florida venture: the city bearing his name and his designation as “founder” of the modern Florida citrus industry.¹¹⁵

Henry Sanford’s simultaneous development of city, experimental grove, and agricultural plots, made Sanford an exemplary New South community. His idea of a successful community was modeled after what he saw in the northeast and Midwest. Henry Knight writes that during the 1870s, “republican renewal, or the formation communities defined by middling wealth, self-directed labor, and equal and virtuous citizens,” was projected onto different landscapes, including peninsular Florida.¹¹⁶ The republican ideal that was being planted in central Florida was defined by small, independent, virtuous, farmers whose successful cultivation of the land brought “true manhood and statesmanship.”¹¹⁷ This primarily northern ideal of republican renewal fit into the conception of the New South because it allowed for ease of sectional reconciliation as a northern idea planted in the southern landscape. More importantly fitting with the New South Central Florida is the “small independent farmer” and middling wealth, this broke from the plantation tradition of the Old South while promoting economic diversification.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Fry, Henry S. Sanford, 96.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, x, 94-95. Long, “Cultivating a New Order,” 58.

¹¹⁶ Henry Knight, *Tropic of Hopes: California, Florida, and the Selling of American Paradise, 1869-1929* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida: 2013), 10, 83.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹¹⁸ Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (Montgomery, NewSouth Books: 2002), 28.

Republicanism was used by boosters and land developers, like Henry Sanford to attract a certain type of immigrant to central Florida, white independent farmers that valued and appreciated hard work.

Government was an important factor that shaped the development of Florida and the remainder of the South during this period. Florida was one of the states with available lands for settlement under the Southern Homestead Act of 1866, which sold public land at low prices so impoverished citizens could own and farms land. Historian Henry Knight notes that these small plots of land available for sale paired with the promotion of exotic tropical fruits was used by state boosters to encourage immigration to Florida. In cash poor Florida the state did not have the funds to spend on promotion and relied on private advertisements and county contributions.¹¹⁹ This is evidenced in tour books of the state, specifically George Barbour's *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* which offers a testimonial at the beginning of the book by the governor of Florida W.D. Bloxham, the ex-governor of Florida George F. Drew, the ex-commissioner of immigration Seth French, and the assistant commissioner of immigration Samuel Fairbanks. These men assert that George Barbour traveled the state and learned of the various attractions and advantages that Florida offers for the three groups his book is designed to address.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Knight, *Tropic of Hopes*, 100.

¹²⁰ "Testimonial," *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers*, front matter.

Real estate development and sale was Henry Sanford's ultimate goal for his Florida venture, but the city was critical for his land to become a commercial outpost.¹²¹ Labor would remain an issue for boosters and land developers in Florida and Henry Sanford's development was particularly plagued with labor troubles. In *Palmetto Leaves*, Harriett Beecher Stowe promotes the idea that African Americans are the best labor force in the hot Florida sun, a view carried over from Old South slavery. Even New South boosters, like Henry Grady upheld the notion of African American labor as the superior agricultural labor. These assertions from southern promoters are present in the labor issues in Sanford.

Racial stereotyping was not entirely reserved for African Americans in the South. Poor southern whites in the mind of the northerner were lazy, belligerent, violent, and stupid. George Barbor in *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* offers a clear insight to how northerners viewed poor southern whites.

The entire trip that day was through an unsettled region, the only human beings living anywhere along the road being four or five families of Florida natives, the genuine, unadulterated "cracker"-the clay eating, gaunt, pale, tallow, leather-skinned sort-stupid, stolid, starring eyes, dead and lusterless; unkempt hair, generally tow-colored; and such a shiftless, slouching manner simply white savages-or living white mumming would perhaps better indicate their dead-alive looks and actions, who, or what, these "crackers" are, from whom descended of what nationality or what becomes of them is one among the many unsolved mysteries in this state. Stupid and shiftless, yet shy and vindictive,

¹²¹ Long, "Cultivating a New Order," 88.

they are a block in the pathway of civilization, settlement, and enterprise wherever they exist.¹²²

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings' paints a similar portrait in *The Yearling*, set in 1870s Florida. While the story follows the coming of age of Jody Baxter, his family was described as the exception to Florida cracker families instead of the rule. The Baxter family is loving, hardworking, and virtuous; a symbol of republicanism in the Florida frontier. They appear in contrast to the Forrester family, a wild, drunken, mean, violent bunch. The negative characterization of poor southern whites is important to understanding the dynamics of southern labor. This trope was used to not only characterize poverty in the South, but also to support the notion of black labor in the field and in servitude as the best labor source.

Sanford struggled to find the appropriate labor for his orange groves, hiring the engineering firm of Whitner and Marks to establish his groves this firm also took on the task of procuring consistent agricultural labor.¹²³ The lack of dependable labor was clear early in the search with J.N. Whitener writing, "The native white is not worth a dime. We have imported black labor which we think do well, if not contaminated by the worthless white scoundrels who infest the country."¹²⁴ The white laborers of Sanford were enraged that they were fired and their

¹²² George Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1882), 54, https://archive.org/details/ldpd_7439116_000, accessed April 27, 2018.

¹²³ Richard J. Amundson, "Henry S. Sanford and Labor Problems in the Florida Orange Industry," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 43, 3 (Jan., 1965), 229.

¹²⁴ Amundson, "Henry S. Sanford and Labor Problems," 230. In Joseph. A Fry, *Henry S. Sanford*, 99, this same quote is attributed to Richard Marks.

work redone by black labor. There was such tension that “law abiding citizens of the community” were appealed to, to guard the black labor camps from resentful whites.¹²⁵ The protection was not enough and the black laborers were driven out of the city.

Black labor in the earliest part of Sanford’s history was not as effective as the management thought it would be. Instead of returning to hard labor that was evocative of the labor they endured in slavery, freedmen and women in the wage labor system only agreed to labor for short times, refusing to enter long labor contracts.¹²⁶ Historian Alex Lichtenstein points out that this was a strategy between not only black but also white southern workers to keep wages high by not flooding the labor market.¹²⁷ This refusal to consistently work paired with the threat of violence against black workers led Henry Sanford to bring in Swedish immigrants under the Contract Labor Law to establish his groves. Blacks were attracted to Florida from other states during this time because it was underpopulated with frontier land to be claimed, and the close proximity to the Caribbean suggested a haven for African Americans.¹²⁸ Citrus production did not lend itself to the sharecropping system that rose during this period, and in Florida blacks worked as farm laborers. African Americans also established their own small farms and businesses. Georgetown, was a black neighborhood that was established at the same time as

¹²⁵ Amundson, 230.

¹²⁶ Long, “Cultivating a New Order,” 101-102.

¹²⁷ Alex Lichtenstein, “Was the Emancipated Slave a Proletarian?,” *Reviews in American History*, 26, 1 The Challenge of American History (Mar, 1998), 138,-139.

¹²⁸ Knight, *Tropic of Hopes*, 38.

Sanford was established. Georgetown had a black business district and provided opportunity for a black middle class to grow.¹²⁹

During Reconstruction, the need for immigrant labor became a common theme throughout the South. As a way to solve his labor problem Sanford utilized the Act to Encourage Immigration of 1864, which provides the guidelines of contract labor immigration: immigrants waived their wages for a term of no longer than twelve months as a way of repaying the expenses of their immigration.¹³⁰ Henry Sanford worked with Dr. Wilhelm Henschen a Swede who became a labor agent for American clients. In agreement for a year's labor Sanford promised rations and living quarters, and to those who fulfilled their contract a parcel of land.¹³¹ As historian Eric Foner noted, "European immigrants did not relish the idea of replacing black labor on plantations."¹³² Clearly the Swedes brought to Sanford felt this way and many claimed that they were promised they would work their trained craft and not in agricultural fields; only the promise of land kept many on the job.

¹²⁹ Valada Parker Flewellyn and the Sanford Historical Society, *African Americans of Sanford* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 9.

¹³⁰ "An Act to Encourage Immigration, 1864," <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/38th-congress/session-1/c38s1ch246.pdf>, accessed May 5, 2018.

¹³¹ Fry, *Henry S. Sanford*, 100.

¹³² Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988), 213.

Henry DeForest, one of Sanford's managers, claimed that he could only give Swedish workers three quarters of the work as black workers. Such sentiments were instrumental in continuing the widespread belief that the black body was the ideal laborer in the South. According to historian Joe M. Richardson, "Floridians could conceive of blacks as little more than subordinate laborers."¹³³ This inability for Floridians to separate African Americans from menial labor lead during reconstruction lead to implementation of black codes, which restricted the rights and freedoms of African Americans.¹³⁴ The 1868 Florida constitution overturned the black codes, but it was already culturally ingrained in Florida that black labor was to be controlled and sought after for unskilled labor. Henry Knight in his analysis of perceptions of racialized labor in Florida states, "Florida was often denounced as a land unfit for white laborers."¹³⁵ This perception was so prevalent because it solidified a racial stratified work force and fit with the ideals of the Lost Cause.

In November of 1871 Henry Sanford, contracted an additional twenty Swedes, who quickly became disillusioned with their labor tasks.¹³⁶ There was discontent with Swedish labor from both sides. In 1872, realizing that indentured labor was too costly, Sanford returned to hiring and protecting black labor. These laborers were visited by the sheriff and a group of local

¹³³ Joe M. Richardson, "Florida Black Codes," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 47, 4 (April, 1969), 366.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 366.

¹³⁵ Knight, *Tropic of Hopes*, 104.

¹³⁶ Fry, *Henry S. Sanford*, 100-101. Long, "Cultivating a New Order," 89.

whites, demanding that they leave or be shot. These laborers were protected by DeForest who threatened to call in the United States Marshal.¹³⁷

The laborers in Sanford erected a wharf, slaughter house, and lumber mill that were operational by 1870.¹³⁸ The wharf was vitally important because this undercut the business that went to Mellonville, making Sanford the port on the south side of the river. The steam powered lumber mill had an obvious purpose, to mill the trees that were cut down to clear land into useable lumber to build the town. Lumber mills were a popular industry that flourished throughout the South and accounted for many of the claims regarding the expansion of southern industrialization.¹³⁹ The wharf, slaughter house, and lumber mill were improvements to the land that Sanford believed would attract settlers and investors. After the establishment of these industries, the town was platted out and the land was cleared. Henry Sanford later added a general store and a hotel. The hotel which will discussed later was to serve a dual purpose cater to tourists and serve as temporary housing for settlers to Sanford.

Henry Sanford's vision for his Florida venture, always included community development. However, the town was not an immediate success in either settlement or providing profits. In the 1870s Sanford was primarily funding the development of the town and his citrus groves with his

¹³⁷ Fry, 101.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 101-102.

¹³⁹ Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 124-125.

own personal funds. While he did partner to build the wharf, slaughter house, and lumber mill with Joseph Tucker, it appears that Sanford provided the funds and equipment, and Tucker was responsible for onsite management and development.¹⁴⁰ Joseph Fry has characterized Joseph Tucker as “at best an inept, haphazard businessman and at worst simply dishonest.”¹⁴¹ Henry Sanford surrounded himself with managers who were either terrible at their jobs, or that he never fully trusted; this usually meant that profit potential was overestimated. Sanford who believed that Florida would yield high profits, had to find another way to fund his vision for his Florida legacy. With the help of Sir William Mackinnon, a wealthy Scottish investor who recruited other well-capitalized men for investment in Sanford, leading to the establishment of Florida Land and Colonization Company in 1880 with Henry Sanford acting as the President and Chairman of the Board.¹⁴² The immediate cash infusion that the Florida Land Colonization Company provided allowed Sanford to keep improving his land in order to attract settlers.

¹⁴⁰ Long, “Cultivating a New Order,” 88.

¹⁴¹ Fry, 99.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 112. Long, “Cultivating a New Order,” 152.



Figure 3 Birds Eye View of Sanford, FLA, 1884. Print.



Figure 4 Sanford The Gate City of South Florida. 1900. Print

Two maps of Sanford show the rapid development of the area between 1884 and 1890. The 1884 map while highlighting Sanford businesses shows mostly undeveloped plots of land. Highlighting six different business demonstrates both the level of development and the expectations for future growth: A.E. Phillips South Florida Drug Store, Florida Land & Colonization Company Office, Trafford & Co. Hardware, The Lyman Bank, South Florida Railroad Depot, and H.B. Lord Jeweler and Dealer in Florida Curiosities. The selection of these establishments asserts that Sanford is a New South city with industries that would aid in establishing settlers and new businesses in the area. The presence A.E. Phillips Bank suggests both prosperity to warrant the establishment of a financial institution and a source of capital for

future development. In the bank-poor South, access to a bank so soon after the founding of the town would be a strong attraction to potential settlers.¹⁴³ The Florida Land & Colonization Company offices and Trafford & Co. Hardware illustrated that there were established businesses in place that would assist in land purchase and the building of businesses or homes. Steamboats and railroads were vital for the success of Sanford. They encouraged small industry to support engine and rail upkeep and thereby brought non-agricultural jobs to town. Most importantly, they connected the Sanford to external markets. The production of citrus and later celery, required rapid and reliable transit to market to assure quality fruits and vegetables for increasingly discerning consumers. In this 1884 map Sanford largely appeared undeveloped, with empty plots ready for investment and growth. Nevertheless, a potential settler/investor would see promise: land for development, capital for expansion, a carefully platted town with homes and businesses, transportation to distant markets, and even the luxury of a jeweler and seller of curiosities.

The 1880s was a decade of great development in Florida, most notably with Henry Flagler and Henry Plant building their separate railroad empires in the state. According to historian Jerrell Shofner, “previous to the 1880s Florida’s Internal Improvement Fund was unable to use the hundreds of acres of public land to incentivize potential investors and builders because of a complicated lawsuit that prevented the state from conveying clear titles.”¹⁴⁴ This

¹⁴³ Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, “Debt Peonage in the Cotton South After the Civil War,” *The Journal of Economic History*, 32, 3 (Sep., 1972), 651.

¹⁴⁴ Jerrell Shofner, “Reconstruction and Renewal, 1865-1877,” *The New History of Florida*, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1996), 259-260.

inability to sell public lands hindered railroad development throughout Florida in the period after the Civil War. In 1881, the tide of Florida development changed when Governor William D. Bloxham negotiated a land sale with Hamilton Disston, the head of a Philadelphia based saw and tool manufacturing company, for \$1 million Disston would receive 4 million acres of overflow and swamp lands.¹⁴⁵ This infused the Internal Improvement Fund with cash to make improvements to railroads already existing in the state and set a precedent of large land sales to developers, railroad magnets Henry Flagler and Henry Plant would soon begin their development in Florida.

The 1890 map provides a closer image of what were the previously undeveloped plots, now with buildings on them. Another way that these maps show Sanford's growth is through the lists of business at the bottom of the maps. In 1884, there were only thirty business to note by 1890 the number had jumped to over fifty eight business. There was not only a growth in the number of businesses but in the types of businesses. The 1884 map listed hotels, a bank, wharfs, hardware stores, offices of the Sanford Journal, a grocer, stables, carriage manufacturer, saw mill, drug store, jeweler, land sale office, railroad, and churches. By 1900, the list included lawyers, an insurance company, clothiers, tailors, boot and shoe shops, ice factory, restaurants, barbers, orange packers, gun & tackle shops, blacksmiths, furniture, and books and stationary.

¹⁴⁵ Samuel Proctor, "Prelude to the New Florida, 1877-1919," *The New History of Florida*, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1996), 268.

Clearly by 1900 Sanford has flourished and contained businesses to address the needs of the citizens of Sanford. This despite the catastrophic freezes of 1894-95 that destroyed citrus groves in Central Florida.

In the early 1880s “costly improvements” were being made to the city, enhancements that made Sanford stand out from other central Florida towns. Perhaps the most important improvements that were made to Sanford was the establishment of a waterworks and drainage.¹⁴⁶ Water in tropical climates like Florida represented some major concerns in the Gilded Age. One of these concerns was that water removal was a necessity for land development. Tropical environments were also associated with an unhealthy environment connected with yellow fever and malaria.¹⁴⁷ Concerns of disease outbreak associated with water, made proper drainage and water works a necessity for any tropical southern city. Despite the fact that these improvements were essential, Henry Sanford had to convince the board of the Florida Land and Colonization Company that these projects were worthy expenditures for the company. Considering that plots of land in or near town sold well, and that the outlying acreage, which required better drainage, did not sell as well, suggests the necessity of the public works that Henry Sanford envisioned and

¹⁴⁶ *Some Account of Belair also of the City of Sanford with a Brief Sketch of the Founder* (Sanford, FL, 1889), 49, Central Florida Memory, <http://digital.library.ucf.edu/cdm/compundobject/collection/CFM/119910/rec/15>, April, 10, 2017.

¹⁴⁷ Henry Knight Lozano, “Water in Paradise: California, Florida, and Environmental Rivalry in the Gilded Age,” *Environmental History* 20 (2015): 631.

implemented in his town.¹⁴⁸ Sanford was also the center of commerce in Central Florida, not only because of its location on the Lake Monroe, but also because several railroad lines centered in the city. Banks, a library, and three newspapers also separated Sanford from other frontier towns.¹⁴⁹

In a 1906 booklet *The Kalamazoo of the South Sanford Florida on Lake Monroe*, Robert Weeks and the Sanford City Government believed that emphasizing the amenities of the city instead of focusing on the agricultural promise of the area would “attracted the attention of the high class of home seekers and capitalists.”¹⁵⁰ The comparison with a northern city by Sanford government officials is an example of the boosterism that was common in the New South. Additionally, Sanford was compared to Kalamazoo because it was the other United States city famous for its celery production. After the Great Freeze of 1894/1895 which killed many of the citrus trees in Central Florida, farmers in Sanford found that celery grew well in the soil and switched to celery production. *The Kalamzsoo of the South Sanford Florida on Lake Monroe* highlighted the paved streets, the churches and public school that Sanford offered to settlers in addition to the platted urban area of the city.¹⁵¹ This was intended to attract not only virtuous

¹⁴⁸ Fry, Henry S. Sanford, 115, 117-118.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Robert Weeks, *The Kalamazoo of the South Sanford Florida On Lake Monroe Orange County*, (Sanford, FL: City Government, 1906), 3, accessed on November 2, 2017, <http://digital.library.ucf.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/CFM/id/123662/rec/7>.

¹⁵¹ Weeks, *The Kalamazoo of the South*, 6.

citizens but it also illustrated Sanford as a settlement for educated people. Sanford promoters wanted to sell the city as a place of settlement for the farmer and the capitalist. While this booklet does briefly talk about the agricultural opportunities in the area, Weeks appealed to the capitalist again through his discussion of the commercial and manufacturing possibilities made possible by the geographic location of the city and the multiple railroad lines that serviced Sanford.

Some Account of Belair and the City of Sanford and *The Kalamzoo of the South Sanford Florida on Lake Monroe* were boosterist books circulated to promote Sanford to potential residents; however they emphasized different aspects of the area to attract different types of settlers. Even though Henry Sanford had clearly planned to establish a town, the amenities offered by the town were barely discussed in *Some Account of Belair*, insinuating that the agricultural settler remained the primary target for land sale and settlement. Whereas in *The Kalamazoo of the South* Robert Weeks sought to attract well to do capitalists and other wealthy people to inhabit the city, not the agricultural area surrounding it. While this might be easily explained by the fact that Week's book was "presented by City Government," it may also serve as a reflection of Sanford embracing the "New South."¹⁵² While these books were published seventeen years apart, they show that the even though the targeted settler changed from farmer to town person the publications never completely abandoned addressing the other group. This

¹⁵² Weeks, *The Kalamazoo of the South*, front matter.

suggests that the promoters of Sanford realized that the city and the farms surrounding it were reliant on one another to make the town a successful place.

Henry Sanford did not come to Florida as a tourist, however tourism and the image of the town were important factors to attracting future settlers to the area. Before Henry Sanford began developing the southern shores of Lake Monroe there was little draw to the Mellonville or future Sanford area for tourists. Mellonville, was a small river community on the southern side of Lake Monroe and was named after Fort Mellon.¹⁵³ Ledyard Bill wrote in 1870, that he and his group were “detained” in Mellonville for a half hour while goods were unloaded. Bill stated that Mellonville consisted of only a wharf, warehouse, and some smaller buildings.¹⁵⁴ *A Winter in Florida* did not mention Henry S. Sanford or his development of the area since this guidebook was published in 1870 the same year that Sanford purchased lands on Lake Monroe. It did establish that Mellonville and the area around it consisted of no buildings or improvements worth mentioning. It was in Rambler’s *Guide to Florida* written five years later that Sanford was

¹⁵³ Michael Schene, *Hopes, Dreams, and Promises: A History of Volusia County, Florida* (Daytona Beach, FL: News-Journal Corporation, 1976), 23.

¹⁵⁴ Ledyard Bill, *A Winter in Florida; or, Observations on the Soil, Climate, and Products of our Semitropical State; With Sketches of the Principal Towns and Cities in Eastern Florida*, 4th ed. (New York: Wood & Holbrook, 1870), 123-124, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id+v5M-AAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=en&pg=GBS.PP1>, Accessed March 22, 2017.

described for the northern tourist, describing Sanford as a planned town, an attraction on the St. Johns River with a salubrious climate, a permanent labor force, and exotic plants.¹⁵⁵

The salubriousness and mildness of the climate of Sanford, the beauty of the country, its miles of lovely drives through the pine openings, interspersed with beautiful lakes, with unbounded resources for the sportsman, etc., points this out as destined to be a favorite place of resort for northerner who seeks health, combined with relaxation, from business.¹⁵⁶

This is the earliest source that links leisure with Sanford. This stands out because even though Sanford built a hotel, tourism was never a large factor in his development of the area.

George Barbour's 1882 guide book *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* is an early source that discusses the founding of the city of Sanford. Barbour stated that Henry Sanford had closely examined Florida's many localities to find the most advantageous, choosing the headwaters of the St. Johns River as the site most accessible to Floridians living south of the river. After making this smart choice in location for his investment, Sanford improved the land clearing timber from the lake front, creating roads, building a six hundred foot long pier, erecting store houses, a saw mill, and machine shop.¹⁵⁷ This is different from the way that Enterprise is discussed in the travel literature, as a sportsman's paradise and only in the capacity for tourism.

¹⁵⁵ Rambler, *A Guide to Florida*, 100-101.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁵⁷ George Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* (D. Appleton and Co: New York, 1882), 155-156. Accessed via Internet Archive https://archive.org/stream/ldpd_7439116_000#page/n157/mode/2up, April 25, 2018.

Sanford was described as a city on the edge of wilderness, requiring smart, industrious people to work in the many businesses being established and in the surrounding farm lands, with soil conducive for a variety of crops. As any city would have, there is an elegant hotel Sanford Hotel whose features are merely well-kept fenced-in landscaped grounds with a telegraph line for communication.¹⁵⁸

Despite the fact that Henry Sanford prioritized settlement over tourism, the way he used tourism as a tool to attract settlers cannot be overlooked. Richard B. Starnes writing about Asheville's rise in the New South period, noted that the city's promoters branded it as the "Gateway to the Mountains."¹⁵⁹ Similarly Henry Sanford envisioned the City of Sanford as the "The Gate City of South Florida."¹⁶⁰ Asheville promoters hoped this moniker would convey a sense that the city was "an island of urban civilization amid the scenic wilderness."¹⁶¹ Henry Sanford's slogan for his town clearly asserts that it is the southernmost city on the edge of wilderness. Additionally while Asheville was a "gateway" suggesting a stopover on the way to an experience, Sanford as a "gate city" suggests permanent settlement at the opening of a new southern frontier. To accommodate wealthy tourists and future settlers the Sanford House Hotel

¹⁵⁸ Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers*, 156, 158.

¹⁵⁹ Richard B. Starnes, "A Conspicuous Example of what is Termed the New South": Tourism and Urban Development in Asheville, North Carolina, 1880-1925," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 80, 1 (January, 2003), 53.

¹⁶⁰ Leo T. Molloy, *Henry Shelton Sanford (1823-1891)* (Derby, CT: Valley Historical Research Committee, 2009), 28.

¹⁶¹ Starnes, 53.

was completed in 1876. This was also where the Sanford family stayed while in Florida, since they did not have a private Florida residence.¹⁶² At the same time the Lake Monroe House was built, as a boarding house to accommodate mechanics and “less prosperous settlers.”¹⁶³

¹⁶² Fry, *Henry S. Sanford*, 103.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*



Figure 5 View of the Sanford House Hotel 189-. Black & White Photoprint, 10 x 8 in. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory. <<https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/34136>>, accessed 2 May 2018.

While few sources remain about the Sanford House, a collection of letters from a former employee of the hotel provides a unique insight to tourism in early Sanford. Cornelia Hancock's letters to her mother and sister dated from 1877 through 1878 while she worked at Sanford House. From her correspondence with her family it appears that Cornelia was charged with managing the domestic work of Sanford House, though there is no way to corroborate this. In addition to describing the chambermaids, cooks, and others she works with, she writes about hops, or dances, that Sanford House hosted. While sport hunting was popular and closely associated with the northern shore of Lake Monroe, Hancock only briefly mentions hunting in letters, in which she stated that "Mrs. Ellis of Boston is here now and that her husband has gone off on a long hunt spending nearly all of his time at Lake Jessup."¹⁶⁴ If sporting was a large draw to Sanford House we might expect Hancock to discuss, the meals prepared for hunting parties and maybe even a successful hunt that contributed to the kitchen at Sanford House.

An insight to the tourist experience at Sanford House comes from an 1882 *New York Times* article when President Arthur toured Florida and stayed in Sanford. The rooms of the hotel were described as "as good as any hotel," with views through "a park of pines, palms, and broad-leaved tropical plants."¹⁶⁵ This article described a trip that the President's party took to Belair grove, where guests tasted the various citrus fruits grown there. When the party returned to

¹⁶⁴ Letter to Mother, February 18, 1877, from Cornelia Hancock Papers at the Sanford History Museum.

¹⁶⁵ "The President in Florida: He Leaves his Car and Starts up St. John's River," *New York Times* (1867-1922), April 13, 1883, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times, pg. 1.

Sanford House the “wide and attractive hall” was noted as the place where guests gathered “to chat, play cards, and otherwise amuse themselves.”¹⁶⁶ The remainder of the article is devoted to describing the “half-dozen colored boys in rough clothes, gathered about one ebony-hued comrade who [s]trummed a banjo and presently sang in a tenor voice.”¹⁶⁷ This black group is described as singing and dancing for the entertainment of the wealthy white guests that Sanford House was built to accommodate. Just as with DeBary Hall, Sanford House Hotel was central in asserting black servitude for white leisure as a fixture in New South tourism.

¹⁶⁶ “The President in Florida: He Leaves his Car and Starts up St. John’s River.”

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*



Figure 6 Garden of the Sanford House Hotel 188-. Black & White Photonegative, 3 x 5 in. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory. <<https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/8197>>, accessed 2 May 2018.

Tourism was never Henry Sanford's primary focus in Florida, in fact tourism clashed with his land development and speculation. Henry Sanford was radically altering the Florida landscape with his establishment of a town and clearing land for agricultural purposes. During the late nineteenth century tourists wanted to experience Florida's tropical and exotic landscape. This serves as one of the reasons why Sanford House had a garden on the riverfront which was fenced in with "walks and ornamented with flowers and shrubs," so that Sanford House guests

could easily see from their rooms and stroll through an attractive Florida landscape.¹⁶⁸ However, because Sanford House is located in an urbanized area, guests would have to travel elsewhere for the exotic flora they were expecting to see. One of these places was Belair Grove, which garnered Sanford notoriety as the founder of the modern citrus industry, where he experimented with the cultivation of different tropical fruits. Belair played an essential role in Sanford's goals of agricultural and real estate development of Central Florida. Belair Grove was a tool used as a show piece to those touring the area, but more specifically to those who would return home and promote Sanford to people considering a move to the region.¹⁶⁹

In addition to the city that was founded in Sanford's name, orange groves were also planted to attract settlers to his lands. Sanford established a showcase grove immediately after buying his plot of land, he named it St. Gertrude in honor of his wife. While this grove was over eighty acres and contained numerous orange and banana trees, it was his second grove called Belair that made his reputation as the Father of Citrus.¹⁷⁰ Belair became the first agricultural research station in Florida and became a must see tourist attraction. More importantly and fitting within the scope of Sanford's overall vision to sell lands to agricultural settlers, Belair was a

¹⁶⁸ Barbour, *Invalids, Tourists, and Settlers*, 156.

¹⁶⁹ *Some Account of Belair*, 31-39,

<http://digital.library.ucf.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/CFM/id/119910/rec/15>, accessed May 1, 2017.

¹⁷⁰ Long, "Cultivating a New Order," 85-86.

grove where varieties of fruits and vegetables were grown to showcase the crops that grew best in area soils.

The Belair grove was a tool used by Sanford not only in person but also in promotional literature. An example of this promotional literature is *Some Account of Belair also of the City of Sanford, Florida with a brief sketch of the Founder*. The first page of text in this account established that Belair is identified with the development of “South Florida.”¹⁷¹ It should be kept in mind that in the late nineteenth century Central Florida was identified as South Florida because it was the farthest south safely navigable on the St. Johns River. Since the agricultural experiments at Belair are inextricably linked with development and progress of Sanford, and the region at large the editors dedicate much of the booklet to agricultural discussion. “Our excuse for offering the reader an agricultural sketch of such unusual length as that which ensues,” the editor wrote, “is, that it contains much practical information that may be of service to farmers and fruit-growers in general, while it can scarcely fail to be of deep interest to the Northern prospective immigrant, who may chance to peruse it, and who will find that it throws much light upon the boundary lines of the tropical productions of vegetable life in South Florida.”¹⁷² Not only was the lengthy agricultural sketch useful to Florida growers it was also a tool of

¹⁷¹ *Some Account of Belair*, 5.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, Accessed on Central Florida Memory, October 11, 2017, 6.

persuasion. The agricultural sketch is designed not only to be informative to people farming the region already, but primarily to attract the target immigrants to Sanford, the (white) northerner.

Belair grove is an important element in Sanford's development as a New South city, not only was it a place of diversified agriculture which New South boosters promoted throughout the region, but more importantly it was a place that showed agricultural innovation. Through the experimentation with not only varieties of citrus fruits but other plants like figs, grapes, olives, to name a few Belair grove had determined for the future area farmers what crops would yield success in the Sanford soil. Also in discussions of citrus care, fertilization techniques and the dangers of freeze are discussed in *Some Account of Belair*.¹⁷³ This discussion suggests that a more scientific approach is applied at Belair grove and potentially to the other groves in the Sanford area.

Unlike, the staple crops of the Old South, citrus which defined the early agricultural development of Florida was a crop that was reliant on the advancements that the New South had to offer. Tobacco and cotton, which could slowly make its way to market, however citrus was perishable and required rapid transportation to market and also required refrigeration. Ice plants and houses offered farmers the opportunity to cold store their produce while waiting for transport to market. While it seems ice plants were a greater fixture in the twentieth century, Sanford had

¹⁷³ *Some Account of Belair*, Accessed on Central Florida Memory, June 3, 2018, 6.

two ice facilities in 1887: Sanford Ice and Cold Storage and the Sanford Ice Company.¹⁷⁴ Ice Houses were integral in the New South development of Sanford because not only because they supported the perishable agriculture that Sanford farmers produced, they evolved from ice block storage to facilities that created ice. W.O. Rogers wrote of a combination electric and ice plant in Kentucky in 1914. Roger's description establishes that ice making produced electricity through hydroelectric power.¹⁷⁵ In a 1908 Sanford Chronicle Industrial Edition, where the various businesses and agricultural enterprises in Sanford were discussed, the Sanford Ice and Water Plant was briefly described. Ice there was made from distilled water and cold storage was one of the primary features of this facility.¹⁷⁶ In 1908, Ice Factories in Sanford were valued more so for their cold storage capabilities than their potential to create electricity. Ice Houses and the access to the railroads that Sanford provided were integral components for the farming of perishable fruits and vegetables that the area became known for.

Historian, Mark Long may have summed up Sanford's Florida venture best: "Planting orange groves was necessary but not sufficient to realize the "grand design" of growing wealthy off of an agricultural and real estate empire. What was needed was a town to act as a node

¹⁷⁴ Laura, Cepero, "Ice Plants and Houses in Sanford," RICHES of Central Florida accessed May 11, 2018, <https://richesmi.cah.ucf.edu/omeka/items/show/608>.

¹⁷⁵ W.O. Rogers, "Combination electric and ice plant, Kentucky Traction and Terminal Co." *Power* 40, (October 18, 1914): 516-521. *Inspec Archive - Science Abstracts 1898-1968*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 2, 2018).

¹⁷⁶ "Sanford Ice and Water Plant," *Sanford Chronicle Industrial Edition* (Autumn, 1908), 41, accessed June 1, 2018, <http://digital.library.ucf.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/CFM/id/36759/rec/20>.

linking the developers' interest with the national and international economy as well as acting as a conduit for trade with an agricultural hinterland."¹⁷⁷ Henry Sanford was a man who believed that the post-war South was a place of unlimited profit potential, he eventually came to Florida the place where he would establish a lasting legacy in a town and as the Founder of the modern citrus industry. In the broader scale the founding of Sanford, illustrates the struggles of creating a New South town, particularly the labor issues that faced the South. Labor issues at least in the case of Sanford came entangled with issues surrounding race. Henry Sanford attempted to side step this by bringing in contracted Swedish laborers, though this did not prove to be a permanent solution. Race and labor reemerge at the Sanford House Hotel, as black labor was necessity for an authentic southern experience. While Florida was not profitable to Henry Sanford, it was a success, and the town was inhabited with residents establishing businesses and farms in the surrounding area. More importantly Sanford is an example of what a New South town really was: a cooperation of new transportation, industries, and urbanization with agricultural interests.

¹⁷⁷ Long, "Cultivating a New Order," 87-88.

CHAPTER THREE: MUSEUM REPRESENTATIONS OF ST. JOHNS RIVER LIFE

Henry S. Sanford and Frederick deBary have many similarities: they have ties to Europe, lived primarily in the North, spent limited time in Florida, have communities named after them, and have museums that display their family history. The Sanford Museum and DeBary Hall Historic Site are both small local history sites that celebrate the lives of their founders. Community members in Sanford have a very rich interest in preservation and their local history. In DeBary, interest in heritage is often overshadowed by DeLand which is the county seat. Community interest aside, how these two institutions present their founders within the context of Florida history is of the utmost importance. Henry Sanford is remembered in Florida history as the founder of the city of Sanford and as the father of the citrus industry. Frederick deBary is relatively unknown to many interested in Florida history. This chapter will analyze the interpretation of Henry S. Sanford and Frederick deBary in their respective museums in order to understand how each institution weaves the narrative of their founder with Florida history in order to help visitors understand the development of Central Florida in the New South era.

In their landmark study of American interaction with history, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen discovered that museums are the most trustworthy source of historical authority for

Americans and that they provide a heightened sense of connection with the past.¹⁷⁸ While the Rosenzweig/Thelen study of 1998 is dated, it is still an important measure and indicator of where Americans find truth and interaction with history. Knowing that museums and historic sites are places of authority and interaction with the past, makes interpretation of local history at small museums an important topic of study. Small local museums that are integral in bringing the museum going experience to the majority of Americans are often excluded from the discussion of museums.¹⁷⁹ Small local museums do not always have museum professionals or even those with a background in history working at the institution. However that does not mean that these museums are any less important to visitors who come to these institutions to better understand the identity of their community.¹⁸⁰

While larger institutions like the Smithsonian break down what the American identity is, small institutions offer a more intimate examination of visitor identity and what it means to be part of that local community. Florida is known more for its tourism industry than its cultural heritage, but there are numerous local institutions that preserve the history of their communities and preserve the cultural identity of what it means to be a Floridian. Two of these museums, the

¹⁷⁸ Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 20-21.

¹⁷⁹ David E. Kyvig "Forward" in *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities*, ed. Amy Levin (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2007), 1-2.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

Sanford Museum and DeBary Hall Historic Site sit across Lake Monroe from one another and interpret the history of river life in Central Florida.

The Sanford Museum is a small museum operated by the city of Sanford government, which interprets the history of the city and has a gallery dedicated to the Sanford family history. When the museum first opened in 1957, it was called the Henry Shelton Sanford Memorial Library and Museum. Sanford's daughter, Carola Sanford Dow, had wanted a place that preserved the memory of her father in the city he built. Dow's donation of Sanford's papers and library are the foundational documents and artifacts at the Sanford Museum today.¹⁸¹ In 1993 the museum was renamed and an expansion to the museum, a gallery named after S.O. and Margaret Chase, to exhibit local history was opened.¹⁸² These two galleries are very important because they allow visitors to understand the history of the city of Sanford beyond Henry S. Sanford's time in Florida. Seeing the history of not just the founder, but also the area of Sanford before his arrival and the expansion of the city is a clear benefit of the traditional museum layout that the Sanford Museum has adopted. The history of the Sanford area not only provides a more comprehensive history for visitors, but also shows how the identity of the community has changed over time.

¹⁸¹ Alicia Clarke, "Addendum" in *Henry Shelton Sanford (1823-1891)* by Leo T. Molloy (Woodbridge, CT: Creative Edge, 2009), 46.

¹⁸² Clarke, "Addendum," 46. "Sanford Museum," *City of Sanford*, accessed November 9, 2017, <http://www.sanfordfl.gov/index.aspx?page=108>.

Sanford Museum is not only a museum, but also has an archive/research library that houses the Sanford Family Papers, the Sanford City Archive, the Naval Air Station Collection, the Sanford Herald Collection, and other local research materials.¹⁸³ Artifacts are kept in a space separate from the research library, and brought out for researchers upon request. This allows artifacts to be kept in temperature controlled conditions and in archival boxes for their preservation. The presence of a research library as part of the Sanford Museum not only adds to the institution's authority of interpretation of the history of the city and of the Sanford family, but also allows for greater community engagement. People come in to use the archives at the museum to find information about their homes, commercial and institutional buildings, and other topics of interest.

The Chase Gallery was designed to display the history of the city of Sanford. Exhibits in this gallery focus on the long history of the area and include the histories of Native Americans, Mellonville, city planning, celery, Goldsboro, immigration, first responders, military history, St. Johns River, railroad, business leaders, and sports heroes. These topics show the multicultural history of Sanford in time when museums attendance across the country began to decline. Catherine M. Lewis in *The Changing Face of Public History* links the decline in museum attendance with continued white flight from cities, with racial minorities making up the majority

¹⁸³ "Sanford Museum-Research Collections," *City of Sanford*, accessed November 9, 2017, <http://www.sanfordfl.gov/index.aspx?page=108>.

of the local population they found no reason to attend museums where they could not connect to the narratives displayed.¹⁸⁴ The Sanford Museum, chose topics that allowed all residents to feel represented and connected to the museum. Although the museum has made important efforts in developing inclusivity in its exhibit presentations, the limited number of staff has inhibited the incorporation of other recommended practices.

Lewis also notes that visitors are most comfortable with adequate signage.¹⁸⁵ There are few interpretive labels throughout the gallery and panels often are more informational than interpretive. An example of this is in the First Responders display, where a label explained each fire outfit and who had worn it. While this label provides important information, the lack of interpretive labeling reduces the opportunity for visitors to connect objects in the Sanford Museum with objects from their hometown history and to converse with museum staff about the artifacts. Presentations in the museum seem more like those in Tammy S. Gordon's analysis of community exhibits. As she described it, the motives of these exhibits are not to contribute to scholarly dialogue instead, "they [the exhibitors] believe that exhibits help the community by representing their interests to outsiders, connecting elders to young people, build a sense of shared past, and bringing in the tourist dollar."¹⁸⁶ Understanding Gordon and David Kyvig's view

¹⁸⁴ Catherine M. Lewis, *The Changing Face of Public History: The Chicago Historical Society and the Transformation of an American Museum* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005), 81.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹⁸⁶ Tammy S. Gordon, *Private History in Public: Exhibition and the Settings of Everyday Life*, (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2010), 39.

on local exhibits, it is easy to see that the Sanford Museum is focused more on the understanding of the identity of Sanford, Florida, and the exhibit topics in the Chase gallery support this.¹⁸⁷

The immigration section of the Chase gallery provides an example of Sanford Museum's interpretive strength; it would have been simple to only state that businessmen like Henry Sanford attracted immigrants by promoting Florida in Europe. Maintaining this narrative would also glorify Henry Sanford as a great promoter of Florida who encouraged immigration to the state. However, there is an interpretive panel that connects the already established Swedish communities of Jessup with Henry Sanford and his ability to contract Swedish labor. While the panel does not go into any detail of why Sanford turned to contract labor,¹⁸⁸ it does explain that many of the Swedes who were skilled craftsmen signed a year labor contract term were unhappy when they realized they had agreed to unskilled, hard labor.¹⁸⁹ While this panel could have explored some of the racial/social issues that plagued the New South and the establishment of the city of Sanford, the curators chose instead to focus on the use of contract labor as the mode of immigration for many Swedes to this area.

¹⁸⁷ Gordon, *Private History in Public*, 52. David Kyvig, "Forward" in *Defining Memory*, 2.

¹⁸⁸ For more information on Sanford and Swedish Contract Labor please refer to: Joseph A. Fry's *Henry Sanford: Diplomacy and Business in Nineteenth Century America*, 99-101, Mark Howard Long "Cultivating a New Order: Reconstructing Florida's Postbellum Frontier," Ph.D. Diss., and Richard J. Amundson "Henry S. Sanford and Labor Problems in the Florida Orange Industry" in *The Florida Historical Quarterly*.

¹⁸⁹ Contract Labor Panel, Sanford Museum, November 15, 2017.

Exhibits about the African American experience in Sanford's history are included, but in a very limited way. There is a display case dedicated to Goldsboro which was originally an independent black community founded after the Civil War. It was incorporated against the will of the community into Sanford in 1911 because Sanford residents feared that Goldsboro would impede the growth of Sanford.¹⁹⁰ The exhibit case contains items depicting the lives of black leaders and includes graduation photographs from Crooms Academy, founded in 1926 as an African American High School.¹⁹¹ While this exhibit shows black life in Sanford as more than farm labor, unskilled workers, and domestic servants, it fails to explore the full extent of the richness of the black community in Sanford. This exhibit only covers the black communities of Georgetown and Goldsboro; there is no mention in this exhibit of Midway, Canaan, or Bookertown. This exhibit also does not detail divisions between black communities in Sanford, instead continuing the notion of a monolithic black America. Despite its limitations, the active participation of black historians in the Sanford Historical Society bodes well for future interpretive material and fuller understanding of the black experience in the New South city.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Sanford, Florida Government, "Pathways to History-Goldsboro and Historic Goldsboro Boulevard," *City of Sanford*, accessed November 22, 2017, <http://www.sanfordfl.gov/index.aspx?page=484>. Valada Parker Flewellyn and the Sanford Historical Society, *Images of America: African Americans of Sanford* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 83.

¹⁹¹ Flewellyn and the Sanford Historical Society, *African Americans of Sanford*, 10.

¹⁹² Adam Rock, "Georgetown Historic Marker," RICHES of Central Florida accessed November 22, 2017, <https://richesmi.cah.ucf.edu/omeka/item/show/1032>.

The only section of the museum where white and black history is interpreted together is in the sport section of the museum. Sanford's rich sports history primarily centers on baseball, perhaps the most recognized figure is Jackie Robinson. In a 1946 spring training game in Sanford with the Montreal Royals, Robinson was driven out of the city and ordered not to play by the police.¹⁹³ In addition the New York Giants conducted their spring training in Sanford and Tim Lincecum is a celebrated Sanford native who is "among one of the greatest players in baseball history."¹⁹⁴ While this gallery could interpret the difficult history of segregation and what that meant in Central Florida sports, the gallery instead only celebrates the great athletes from Sanford. The reason for exclusion of interpretation of difficult history in the Sanford Museum is likely because it is the city museum. The institution is used not only as a way for visitors to understand community identity, but also to promote the city. It is interesting to see the great sport legacy that comes from this community, however visitors are left wonder what the greater impact is.

The Chase Gallery provides the long view story of Sanford's history and development, whereas the Sanford Family Gallery feels more like a historic house museum. In this section of the museum the Sanford family's personal belongings are displayed and the story of their family is interpreted. Here visitors learn about Henry S. Sanford's childhood, diplomatic career, his

¹⁹³ Sanford Museum, "Jackie Robinson Exhibit," noted during visit on May 17, 2018.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, "Tim Raines Exhibit," noted during visit on May 17, 2018.

ventures in Florida, and time in the Belgian Congo. The most striking aspect about this gallery was how little narrative there was of Sanford in Florida. Instead the greater focus is on the Sanfords in Europe and a scaled down replica of their library from their home in the North. While this might seem surprising that the city founded by Sanford barely has more than a panel and a couple of artifacts about Sanford in Florida, it is an accurate representation of Henry Sanford's time in Florida. Henry Sanford spent the majority of his time in Europe, sporadically visiting Florida and preferring to manage Sanford from afar.

The Sanford Museum, because of its traditional museum format is afforded the opportunity and ability to interpret the history of Sanford as a St. Johns River front community through time. While paying homage to the city's founding father, the museum does not misrepresent Henry Sanford's time and interaction with the state. As a city museum, there is no interpretation the difficult history of segregation or race issues. It is unclear if the staff of the Sanford Museum have the resources available to them in order to interpret these difficult topics in history. Despite this limitation, the exhibits at the Sanford Museum show visitors what types of industries and agricultural products were instrumental in the development of the city. This Museum also has an archive attached where visitors and Sanford residents can research their own historical interests.

On the other side of Lake Monroe, DeBary Hall Historic Site serves as another local institution that interprets the history of early river life in Central Florida. Once the hunting estate

of Frederick deBary and family it is listed the National Register of Historic Places and operated as a historic house museum. Unlike the Sanford Museum the historic house museum format of DeBary Hall does not allow for interpretation of Florida river community history through the course of time. Instead DeBary Hall Historic Site's period of "historical significance" is interpreted from 1870 to 1941, a time frame that spans the deBary family's history. This is a broad period of interpretation that touches on many aspects of Florida, American, and world history; however the interpretation never strays from the narrative of the DeBary Family.

Like the Sanford Museum, DeBary Hall also serves as a place of historical authority to visitors as it allows guests to connect with history in ways that feel authentic. Visitors trust that the exhibits and interpretations presented at cultural institutions are accurate.¹⁹⁵ DeBary Hall's main exhibit is the house itself, but supporting exhibits aid in creating a familial and authentic interaction with the deBary family.

Historic house museums are considered a cultural resource, defined by Thomas King as "an aspect of the environment both physical and intangible, both natural and built, that have cultural value to a group of people."¹⁹⁶ American interest in cultural resources including house museums can be traced back to the mid-19th century. According to Barbara Howe elite women

¹⁹⁵ Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) 20, 22.

¹⁹⁶ Thomas King, *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice*, fourth edition, (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2013), 3.

were “imbued with the cult of domesticity which appointed them guardians of society’s culture and morals.”¹⁹⁷ Under the guise of the protection of the morality of American women organized to preserve places of national importance, like George Washington’s Mount Vernon.

The house museum movement is rooted in European and American models: The first being belief in the benefits of popular access to exhibits of collections worth of study, the phenomena of period rooms, and the concept of a historically oriented membership organization.¹⁹⁸ The idea of “aesthetic moralism” influenced this movement which promoted faith in the power of properly designed homes to mold character and stabilized the American Republic.¹⁹⁹ Ann Pamela Cunningham, is recognized as the woman who began the house museum movement with her organization of women in the South and North during the decade before the Civil War to purchase Mount Vernon, George Washington’s home, with the intention of creating a house museum. The Mount Vernon Ladies Association (MLVA) raised the funds to purchase Mount Vernon and took possession of the property in 1860. Mount Vernon and the efforts of the MLVA to preserve it serve as a model for historic house museums from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Barbara J. Howe, “Women in the Nineteenth-Century Preservation Movement,” in *Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation*, eds. Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 17.

¹⁹⁸ Patricia West, *Domesticating History*, 1.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁰⁰ West, *Domesticating History*, 10, 29, 36.

There are three important federal acts regarding historic preservation: the Antiquities Act of 1906, the Historic Sites Act of 1935, and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. These three pieces of legislation show the increased importance of historic preservation to the American public. The Antiquities Act of 1906 prohibited the excavation, injury, or destruction of any historic or prehistoric ruin, monument, or object of antiquity that was on federal land. This legislation also gives the President the power to declare a historic or prehistoric landmark, structure, or object that is residing on federal land to be a national monument.²⁰¹ During the Great Depression unemployed historians were enlisted by the Federal Government to write local and regional histories, record oral stories, and photograph and document historic buildings. The authority for these projects became official legislation with the 1935 Historic Sites Act which “authorized continuing the program of recording, documenting, acquiring, and managing the places important in the interpretation and commemoration of the nation’s history. These places were called National Historic Landmarks.”²⁰²

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 is the foundational piece of legislation that still shapes historic preservation work to this day. This law established the National Register of Historic Places, created the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to advise the President

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* American Antiquities Act of 1906, 16 USC 431-433, <https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/anti1906.htm>, accessed January 25, 2018.

²⁰² King, 17. Historic Sites Act of 1935, 16 USC 461, https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/FHPL_HistSites.pdf, accessed January 25, 2018.

and Congress on historic preservation, authorized grants to states to assist them in historic preservation which were administered by the state liaison later called the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), and contained section 106 which requires that agencies consider the effects of their actions on places included on the National Register.²⁰³ This law was a response to American society that lost historic buildings and landscapes in the name of progress, whether that was road building or urban renewal.²⁰⁴ For historic house museums this legislation provides the framework for preservation, no matter if the house is of national, state, or local importance.

DeBary Hall remained a winter residence of the deBary family until the death of Leonie Brewster and her husband in 1941. In 1947 Plantation Estates, Inc. a land development firm, purchased a large part of former deBary lands including DeBary Hall, and began building homes. From 1959-1975, the Florida Federation of Art used DeBary Hall as their headquarters.²⁰⁵ The National Historic Preservation Act paired with the Bicentennial Spirit in the 1970s expanded historical interest and preservation at the state and local levels.²⁰⁶ In 1967 the State of Florida purchased DeBary Hall and continued to lease DeBary Hall to the Florida Federation of Art. In

²⁰³ King, *Cultural Resource*, 19. National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended through 1992, 16 USC 470, <https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm>, accessed January 25, 2018.

²⁰⁴ King, 18-19.

²⁰⁵ Sheila Stewart, Paul Jones and Lucy Jones, *City of DeBary Archaeological Survey* (September 1999), 44, accessed January 30, 2018, <https://stjohnsriverecotours.com/index.php/books/2-debary-archaeological-study/file>.

²⁰⁶ Charles F. Bryan, Jr, "In State Historical Agencies, Museums, and Societies: Constant State of Change," in *Public History: Essays from the Field*, edited by James B. Gardner and Peter S. Lapaglia (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 2006), 235-343, 334-336.

1972, DeBary Hall was added to the National Register of Historic places as the headquarters of the Florida Federation of Art.²⁰⁷ From 1977-1989 DeBary Hall operated as a senior center. In 1990 Volusia County leased DeBary Hall from the state to restore the Hall and operate as a museum.²⁰⁸ Since then DeBary Hall has operated as a historic house museum.

The start of the twenty-first century saw a decline in the attendance and funding support for many house museums. This prompted preservationists to question if there were too many house museums. While this might seem a question about quantity, it was really a question about the quality and the uniqueness of interpretation in the field. In the 2000s the literature regarding house museums questioned conversion to museums as the best way of ensuring preservation.²⁰⁹ *Interpreting House Museums* asserts that the historic house museum model can be strengthened by scholarly balanced interpretation. Balanced interpretation is inclusive to the narratives of everyone who lived or worked in the home and includes collections and objects into the story.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ National Park Service, DeBary Hall, *National Register of Historic Places*, July 24, 1972, 72000354, accessed on January 29, 2018, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=2da39da9-c952-4260-8141-e292d977c322>. It appears that this is the nomination form but this was the only date that the NPS offered regarding DeBary Hall and the National Register of Historic Places. The DeBary Archaeological Survey of 1999 and later editions of *Saga of Baron Frederick de Bary* claim that DeBary Hall was placed on the Register in 1973.

²⁰⁸ Stewart, Jones, and Jones, *City of DeBary Archaeological Survey*, 45.

²⁰⁹ Richard Moe, "Are There Too Many House Museums?," *Forum Journal* 16, no. 30 (Spring, 2002) accessed December 1, 2017, <http://forum.savingplaces.org/viewdocument/are-there-too-many-h>. Donna Ann Harris, *New Solutions for House Museums: Ensuring the Long Term Preservation of America's Historic Houses* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007).

²¹⁰ *Historic House Museums*, ed. Jessica Foy Donnelly (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002).

Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums asserts that historic house museums “need to take bold steps and expand their overall purpose not only to engage communities surrounding them, but also to become deeply collaborative with the type and quality of experience guests receive.”²¹¹ The goal of this book is to make historic house museums more relatable to visitors. This is achieved by engaging with the community surrounding the institution, using informal and different forms of communication, include different experiences in the tours, create an environment that allows guests to integrate their contemporary life with that presented in the historic house museum, and to be more inclusive of the visitor and surrounding area in preservation efforts.²¹² What Vagnone and Ryan are really proposing in this book is taking risks to breathe life back into historic structures to make them more engaging for visitors. Only time will tell if museum stewards will adopt the practices proposed in *Anarchist's Guide*.

An example of one of the ways the DeBary Hall Historic Site differentiates itself from the other historic house museums in the area is the Imagidome Theater. This exhibit encourages guests to take a seat and be immersed in an interactive video journey down the St. Johns River to DeBary Hall. The seats in this theater move with the video creating the illusion that guests are on a steam boat to visit the deBarys. This exhibit briefly covers early tourism and transportation

²¹¹ Franklin D. Vagnone and Deborah Ryan, *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2016), 39.

²¹² Vagnone and Ryan, *Anarchist Guide*, 44-45.

through frontier Florida, and describes animals found along the St. Johns River.²¹³ This exhibit is important not just for the historical background, but also because it immerses the guests in the experience and by the end of their journey down the St. Johns they should feel like they are guests of Fredrick deBary for their tour of the main house.²¹⁴

On the walk to the house, docents point to the stable, tenant house, laundry and ice house, and briefly describe those buildings and their significance to the history of DeBary Hall. Tours enter through the rear of the Hall, since this is the only door with a ramp to comply with the Americans with Disabilities Act. Upon entry guests see a display case with stuffed fowl that Frederick deBary commissioned. This room is the second dining room, it was added shortly after the construction of DeBary Hall in 1871 because the deBarys hosted more guests than what the previous dining room could accommodate. Instead of the docents presenting this room from its function during the deBary's time and the discussion of the a stuffed fowl case, it is suggested that this room could be used as a space to talk in depth about the deBary's interest in sport hunting and the role that this industry played to Florida river communities in the late nineteenth century. This would not only clearly establish the main motive for the family to continually return to Florida year after year, but also clearly asserts the Florida narrative into DeBary Hall.

²¹³ "Imagidome Ride down St. Johns River," DeBary Hall Historic Site, 210 Sunrise Blvd., DeBary, FL, March 26, 2015.

²¹⁴ Amber Patterson, interview, March 11, 2015. Amber Patterson was the former site manager of DeBary Hall Historic Site. The above mentioned interview was conducted for an academic site assessment.

While there is one interpretive panel on the wall about the family's involvement of sport hunting, it fails to assert the importance of sporting tourism to the development of river front communities after the Civil War.

Guests are then guided into what was used as a Music Room, where they learn about the deBary's interest in the growing citrus business in Florida. This presents another opportunity for docents to talk about the regional history and how the deBary family and their workers fit into this. The Great Freeze of 1894/1895, which destroyed the majority of the citrus industry in North Florida is discussed, and used as the reason why the deBarys got out of commercial citrus. Again the visitor is only getting the perspective of how the deBarys were impacted by this natural event, with no consideration of the impact on the workers. If deBary orange growing is to be a key part of the tour, more consideration needs to be given to the role of citrus in Central Florida. This can be done by drawing on sources like guidebooks and reports from the commissioner of agriculture, along with photographs of workers in citrus groves. These sources would assist in telling the story of "Orange Fever" that brought many to Florida during this period. While visitors can view tools that grove workers used at the stable, this inclusion in the main hall

asserts the importance of citrus not just for the deBary family but for the region as well.²¹⁵ This opens up the narrative to share the stories of those not in the family.

In the library, visitors are told the story of how the deBary family in American ended in a tragic plane crash. The story is told in front of a painting of Leonie deBary Lyon Brewster, age three in the painting; she was the last American heir to DeBary Hall. The story of her untimely death with her husband Benjamin is violent and heartbreaking on its own, but paired with the telling of this story in front of a portrait of her as a young child seems problematic, based on the reactions of guests. Incorporating the story of her unexpected death is important for the overall narrative at DeBary Hall because her death led to the liquidation of DeBary Hall. Perhaps a more appropriate place to share this story with guests would be in her room upstairs, where visitors can view photographs of Leonie as an adult.

Guests are guided through the remainder of the Hall, including the kitchen, upstairs family and guest bedrooms, and servants' quarters. The current interpretation at DeBary Hall primarily focuses on the narrative of the deBary family and their lives outside Florida, with a special interpretative focus on the deBary women. This interpretive choice is compelling since women did not build DeBary Hall or even choose this area to inhabit, though the last deBary to

²¹⁵ Debra A. Reid, *Interpreting Agriculture at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 23-26.

inherit the Hall was a woman. This choice in interpretation allows for women, who historically have been marginalized from history, to have a voice and greater connection to DeBary Hall.²¹⁶ This departure from the “Great Man” narrative leaves guests understanding the deBary family as more than Frederick deBary a the wealthy wine importer who enjoyed hunting and built DeBary Hall as his winter hunting estate.

It is clear that DeBary Hall struggles to incorporate the narrative of the “Great Family” who built the house, usually topic of great interest to visitors, with Florida history. One of the issues present for DeBary Hall Historic Site in interpreting the family’s Florida history/experience is the striking lack of sources and information about their time in Florida. DeBary Hall unlike the Sanford Museum does not have an onsite archive, instead surviving documents about the family and property are spread throughout repositories in Volusia County, like West Volusia Historical Society’s Conrad Research Library, Volusia County Clerks Office, and at the Halifax Historical Museum. Another issue with researching the deBary family is the lack of surviving personal documents that would provide insight about their experiences in and out of Florida.

²¹⁶ For more information on interpreting women at historic sites refer to *Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation*, eds. Gail Lee Dubrow & Jennifer B. Goodman, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), *Her Past Around Us: Interpreting Sites For Women’s History*, eds. Polly Welts Kaufman and Katharine T. Corbett (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 2003), and Debra A. Reid, “Making Gender Matter: Interpreting Male and Female Roles in Historic House Museums,” in *Interpreting Historic House Museums*, ed. Jessica Foy Donnelly (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 81-110.

Great estates from great families are also places of employment and therefore have an opportunity to interpret labor history and the conditions of working class people. Not only does this provide a more complete picture of what the 1870s in Florida was like for everyone, but it also allows for a broader audience to connect with the narrative of DeBary Hall. In a house museum like DeBary Hall with servants' quarters and a tenant house, there is the opportunity to interpret for guests the differences in lifestyle of the laborers and the leisure seekers at DeBary Hall. Guests are shown areas of DeBary Hall that would have been exclusively servant spaces, like the kitchen and the servants' quarters. They also show the servant stairs and point to the difference in the construction of these stairs compared to that of the main stair case that the family would have used.²¹⁷

DeBary Hall interprets the history of the workers in a video exhibit titled "A Day in the Life" located in the renovated stable. In a series of short videos visitors meet Mr. and Mrs. Padgett, who were the longest serving caretakers at DeBary Hall, a cook and a new girl²¹⁸, Arthur Thompson, Landis, Davie, and Danny all black workers at DeBary Hall. This exhibit is important because it voices the history of those who worked at DeBary Hall as opposed to the

²¹⁷ For more information on interpreting labor at historic sites refer to: Jennifer Pustz, *Voices from the Back of the Stairs: Interpreting Servants' Lives at Historic House Museums* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010) and Rex M. Ellis, "Interpreting the Whole House," in *Interpreting Historic House Museums*, ed. By Jessica Foy Donnelly (Walnut Creek, Ca: AltaMira Press, 2002), 61-80.

²¹⁸ In "A Day in the Life" video exhibit the creators referred to a new domestic worker as the "new girl."

DeBary Family narrative that prevails in the main house.²¹⁹ Unlike the Imagidome Theater exhibit, “A Day in the Life” is not utilized in an immersive manner and its location in the stable hinders the usability of this exhibit. Out buildings are not currently visited on a tour of the Hall, therefore guests either do not know about this exhibit or they choose not to walk to another building after an hour long tour of the Hall to view this exhibit. By interpreting workers history in out buildings and not including that interpretation in the main Hall, visitors may view this narrative as not as important as that of the family.²²⁰ An easy way to remedy this would be to move the exhibit to the servants’ quarters which have no interpretation at all.

Adding the Day in the Life exhibit could be a simple solution to incorporate the employee history at DeBary Hall which would allow visitors to sit and immerse themselves in the narrative of the workers. However there is reason to believe that it would remain not utilized, since there is already a computer exhibit located on the main floor of DeBary Hall. Currently this is only operated when there is a guest who cannot walk up the stairs to see the second floor. This computer exhibit contains photos of all of the upstairs rooms and exhibits of the workers and

²¹⁹ George W. McDaniel, “At Historic Houses and Buildings: Connecting Past, Present, and Future,” In *Public History: Essays from the Field*, ed. James B. Gardner and Peter S. LaPaglia (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 2006), 245.

²²⁰ Anne Lindsay, “#VirtualTourist: Embracing Our Audience through Public History Web Experience” *The Public Historian* 35, no. 1 (February 2013):67-86. While Lindsay’s article focuses on the divide between digital and physical interpretation and how the inclusion of marginalized histories only on a digital forum devalues them since they are not included in the primary interpretation onsite, this same type of division is clearly present at DeBary Hall since outbuildings are not visited during the Hall tours. While visitors have access to the exterior of these buildings the “Day in the Life” video exhibit is housed in the inside of the stable which is used for rentals and events and not open to the public.

technology at DeBary Hall. Despite the fact that this computer exhibit is located in the main Hall and can be used by any visitor who may be interested in the workers and technology at DeBary Hall, a disconnect remains between with the incorporation of this exhibit with the tour. Ideally, inclusion of the narratives of marginalized topics, like the workers and Florida history, would be done so through a revised tour.

For all of the interpretive strengths that the historic house museum format provides DeBary Hall, the interpretation of Florida history falls short. Part of this has to do with the interpretative management structure of Volusia County, part of it has to do with the fact that the deBarys had never intended for their private hunting estate to be a public attraction. Unlike Henry S. Sanford whose purpose in Florida was to develop and sell real-estate deBary was seeking private refuge from his normally urban existence. The initial intentions of these founders in the area have affected how these men are remembered by the communities named after them and in their historic institutions. The Sanford Museum is a full history of the city, from Native American habitation to today. The people of Sanford saved and contributed their artifacts to the museum and are involved with the interpretation of their community identity. DeBary Hall however was never intended to be anything other than a private residence. Therefore through the site's history, people involved with DeBary Hall did not recognize the need to save all the photographs and documents pertaining to the Hall, the family, or the workers. There was no way for the people involved in DeBary Hall's history to realize that their documents, photographs, or stories would be of historical interest.

The lack of primary documents is only part of the interpretive problem present at DeBary Hall Historic Site, another issue is the interpretive management. The interpretation for all Volusia County operated sites is top down, meaning the personnel onsite have little to do with the interpretive plan of the site. While the onsite management is consulted and involved in new interpretations, the Volusia County Public Historian is the primary interpreter. Since this official is responsible for the interpretation of the entirety of Volusia County once one interpretive project is completed another site becomes the interpretive focus. This means that sites like DeBary Hall seldom receive interpretive updates since official Volusia County interpretation is produced solely by the Volusia County Public Historian.

I have a working relationship with DeBary Hall Historic Site that began in spring of 2015 when I interviewed the former site manager, Amber Patterson, for a site assessment assignment. From there I was enamored by the beauty of the architecture of DeBary Hall hidden away in a suburban Central Florida landscape. I then continued with an internship onsite followed swiftly by a project about the deBary family's social networks which was presented at the Florida Historical Society Conference.²²¹ I have continued to work with the current site manager of DeBary Hall, Kayce Looper for this thesis. Looper who had previously been the onsite educator at DeBary Hall was interested in infusing new narratives into the interpretation. I agreed that

²²¹ Sarah Thorncroft, "New Interpretations of DeBary Hall through Digital Methodology," presented at Florida Historical Society Conference, May 2016.

while the narrative of the site did interest some, that the interpretation could be changed to broaden the audience that visited DeBary Hall.

It seemed odd that DeBary Hall never focused on the way that the deBary family or their guests affected the growth of Central Florida, or even that they were representative of a type of people that were directly engaged in the growth of Central Florida after the Civil War. The Imagidome exhibit and the staff establish that what kept the deBary family in Florida was their interest in sport hunting, but strangely this topic or its impact on Florida are not interpreted fully for guests. DeBary Hall and the family who built it and continued to winter there for decades, represent an early influx of northern capital into Florida based on the leisure potential of the state. DeBary Hall, while it was a private estate, is an integral part of the foundation of the tourism economy in Florida. Historians are beginning to analyze to the economic impacts of sporting plantations, an example of this work is *Leisure, Plantations, and the Making of a New South* edited by Julia Brock and Daniel Vivian.

There is a constant change in importance of what to showcase and teach audiences and what historians are investigating.²²² Historic house museums, if they change their interpretation, are often the last to do so in comparison to other museum formats. When stewards of historic

²²² Jessica Foy Donnelly, "Introduction" in *Interpreting Historic House Museums*, ed. Jessica Foy Donnelly (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2002), 1.

house museums fail to incorporate new research and narrative into their site they miss an opportunity to connect with their audience. Historians in the historic house museum field suggest that disconnect exists between historic house museums and the communities that they are there to serve which hinders connection between visitors and the interpretation of the site.²²³

The second half of my thesis work, for a part of this thesis, with the approval of current site manager Kayce Looper, was to curate and produce an exhibit about sporting tourism at DeBary Hall. This was done as a means of addressing the interpretive gap of sport hunting and the impact on the area that would work for DeBary Hall Historic Site. During my academic work with DeBary Hall, I was always interested in what the day to day activities at DeBary Hall were, especially when the deBarys were there. The remainder of this chapter will discuss the creation of the “DeBary Hall Sporting Plantation and the New South Movement in Central Florida” exhibit.

According to Barbara Abramoff Levy, “themes are essential to successful interpretation and therefore critically important to the interpretive planning with each inoperative theme being of primary importance to the history of the site.”²²⁴ The choice of sport hunting for the overall

²²³ Richard Moe, “Are There Too Many House Museums?,” *Forum Journal* 16, no. 30 (Spring, 2002) accessed December 1, 2017, <http://forum.savingplaces.org/viewdocument/are-there-too-many-h>. See also Franklin D. Vagnone and Deborah E. Ryan, *Anarchist’s Guide to Historic House Museums* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press), 2016.

²²⁴ Barbara Abramoff Levy, “Interpretation Planning: Why and How” *Interpreting Historic House Museums* ed. Jessica Foy Donnelly (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2002), 51.

theme of the exhibit was easy, since it provided the ability to examine the deBary family and guests, but also the workers at DeBary Hall. Levy also suggests that when developing an interpretive plan for a historic house museum “to aim for a complete and specific idea, one that visitors will take away with them and remember about the history of the site.”²²⁵ For this exhibit I wanted guests at DeBary Hall Historic Site to understand the importance of sport hunting, not just for the family, but the greater impacts that it had on the Enterprise community. To accomplish this each panel in the exhibit interpreted a sub-theme of sport hunting.

Audience is perhaps the most important consideration for interpretive planning. Audience dictates many aspects of interpretive planning including: themes, interpretive format, font size, etc. DeBary Hall claims that their audience comprises the people of the DeBary community. The majority of their visitation is made up of seniors and school-aged children.²²⁶ This exhibit was developed primarily for senior visitors, who comprises the majority of the weekly tour groups.²²⁷ Children usually visit DeBary Hall as part of a field trip for school, not with their families during free time. Freeman Tilden’s sixth principle of interpretation asserts “that interpretation for children twelve and younger should not be a dilution of the adult presentation, rather it should

²²⁵ Levy, “Interpretive Planning: Why and How,” *Interpreting Historic House Museums*, 52.

²²⁶ Long term observation from author of the site from May 2016-May 2017.

²²⁷ Amber Patterson, e-mail message to Sarah Thorncroft, March 9, 2015. In this email Patterson was answering follow up questions in regards to an academic site assessment of DeBary Hall.

follow a fundamentally different approach.”²²⁸ While Tilden’s work is dated it is still considered one of the foundational works for interpretive planning. This exhibit while intended for adult audiences that visit the Hall more regularly than others, there is hope that this will inspire the staff at DeBary Hall to develop a booklet of exhibit for children about the same theme.

Funding is another important factor that influenced the development of this exhibit. The initial approach taken in proposing this exhibit was that I would develop it with the resources that that local institutions usually have: small budgets but enthusiastic passion.²²⁹ I knew that I would not have a large budget to work with for this exhibit and therefore needed to use resources that I already had or were free to use. Microsoft PowerPoint was used to design the exhibit panels for a few reasons. The first being that I already owned the program and it did not cost me anything to use it. The second being that this program is part of the basic suite of tools for Microsoft Office, which most institutions have on their computers. This allowed me to design not only in a tool I already owned but most other small institutions would also have access to. The final reason was that I already had experience using PowerPoint, so I was not actively learning to use the tool for the first time while researching, interpreting, and writing.

²²⁸ Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage: Principles and Practices for Visitor Services in Parks, Museums, and Historic Places* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press: 1957), 9.

²²⁹ This sentiment comes from Tammy S. Gordon’s *Public History in Private* where she examines exhibition styles in various locations and at varying levels of professionalism.

Funding and budget also impacted how many panels I would produce. At the time of the exhibit proposal I had no funding other than my personal finances. I was unable to receive funding from Volusia County, since this exhibit was not part of the County's official interpretation. Additionally the Friends of DeBary Hall group, which financially supports DeBary Hall in addition to Volusia County, was in the process of restructuring and were not able to financially support this exhibit. Faced with the potential of funding the printing and mounting of the exhibit panels myself, I needed to determine how much money I was willing to invest in this exhibit. To keep costs low the panels would be mounted on foam core and be placed on easels, which DeBary Hall management agreed to provide. I estimated the cost per foam core printed panels at seventy dollars apiece. I decided that I could afford to invest \$500, this determined that I could afford to produce six panels for this exhibit.

While researching and designing the exhibit, I was also looking for an external funding source. The majority of the grants that I could find had restrictions on when work using the funds could begin. I quickly learned that I had done my project backwards by moving forward with the development of the project before procuring outside funding. Fortunately, the History Department at the University of Central Florida offered History Department Student Grants for use in Fall 2017. The grant I applied for was for production of exhibit, I was awarded \$250 which helped significantly. While these funds only covered the color printing of my exhibit on posters and the mounting came from my own pocket this funding help significantly.

After I had received funding through the UCF History Department to print the exhibit, I realized that I had not made a title panel for the exhibit. The final exhibit is comprised of seven panels with the inclusion of the title panel. The following paragraphs will explore curatorial choices like, typeface, size, color, and sub-themes.

Font or type choice is very important for exhibit labels, because it impacts the legibility, readability, appropriateness, design, and effectiveness.²³⁰ Book Antiqua font was used throughout this exhibit to comply with National Park Service (NPS) typography. While the official NPS typography is only accessible to those working with the National Park Service, this font choice was made based on their Rawlinson type.²³¹ Which from the NPS Open Type Font Chart, I interpreted “Book” font to be Book Antiqua.²³² Book Antiqua is clear font that is easy to see and comprehend in large size headings, body text, and in captions. The size of the type was influenced by the 36 inch by 24 inch size of the panels along with the text type, while keeping in mind the senior audience. The panel headings were consistently 115 point and bolded so that they would stand out from the remainder of the text on the page. Body text ranged from 36 to 44

²³⁰ Beverly Serrell, *Exhibit Labels: An Interpretive Approach* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 1996), 191.

²³¹ National Park Service, “Download NPS Rawlinson,” National Park Service Website, accessed December 3, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/hfc/services/identity/type-rawlinson.cfm>.

²³² National Park Service, “Open Type Font Chart” accessed December 3, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/hfc/services/identity/pdf/opentype_font_chart.pdf.

points, captions ranged from 24 to 32 point, and quotes were italicized and 48 points in size.

Quotes were italicized so that they would stand out from body text.

The color selection for this exhibit went through many iterations. Blue was the initial color choice for the background of the panels. Color theory asserts that blue is a color of trusted authority, which was one of the reasons why this color was initially chosen. Blue also matched much of the interior of DeBary Hall Historic Site. The blue colors that were tested as the background of the exhibit seemed to clash with the black and white photographs that are displayed on the panels. The color green was then selected since it is often associated with nature or the environment. This color fit much better with the black and white photographs and making the font white, helped to soften the color.

The title panel is the only exception to the above discussion. Instead of a solid green panel with white type, a historic black and white photograph was colorized with a light green as the background. This was done to visually draw visitors to the exhibit. The text color is black so that it was clearly legible from the background. The type size for the title of the exhibit is significantly smaller than the head size at 86 points. This is due to the length of the title compared to panel headings. The purpose of this panel is to identify the exhibit and help visitors determine if they are interested in spending their time engaging with my exhibit.²³³ The quote

²³³ Serrell, *Exhibit Labels*, 22.

from Rambler's *Guide to Florida* "No Part of the United States, nor of North America, affords finer sport than Florida. Game of all kinds abounds. It is during the cold season, when the northern sportsmen are confined indoors, that the game is most plentiful in Florida." appears on this panel to establish the thematic tone of the exhibit as a whole.²³⁴

The six panels of this exhibit investigate different themes that all fit within the narrative of sport hunting. I start with an introductory "Life on the St. Johns River" this helps to establish DeBary Hall as an exemplary place of leisure tourism, a booming industry on the St. Johns River after the Civil War. "A Culture of Hunting" panel shows that culturally there was divide between the elite sport hunters and the subsistent hunting of settlers in the Florida frontier. "Animals in the Field" asserts the importance of animals in the hunting field, not just as prey, but also as aids to the sportsmen. "Power over Environment" utilizes quotes from a deBary family member and a former estate worker to show how the sporting field was manipulated to enhance the number of game animals. "Impact of Hunting" uses data from the DeBary Hall Game Record, which recorded the amount of game killed from 1903-1920. This data was turned into a graph to visually show how many quail, snipe, and other game were killed annually. The last panel "Labor of Leisure" explores the role of African American labor in the creation of leisure hunting

²³⁴ Rambler, *A Guide to Florida*, 98.

for the elite guests. Together these panels tell a rounded story of class and racial divisions on the sporting field along with the environmental history of sport hunting.

All of the exhibit panels were printed and mounted on foam core in March of 2018. After which the management at DeBary Hall Historic Site was contacted to discuss the timeframe for exhibition. During our meeting the onsite management at DeBary Hall were enthusiastic about the exhibit and excited by its potential as a training tool for docents and volunteers. During the discussion about exhibition we came to the agreement that DeBary Hall Historic Site will keep the panels on display in the main Hall on the first floor for from March 14, 2018 through March 28, 2018 after which the management of DeBary Hall was free to take down the exhibition or move it within the Hall to fit the needs or current programming.

In conclusion, the Sanford Museum affords visitors the opportunity to view Sanford history from Native America inhabitation through the twentieth century. The exhibits displayed here show the different industries, agricultural products, and people that have shaped Sanford history. While this museum can benefit from increased labeling, it does encourage visitors to ask the staff questions. Also there is an archive onsite where residents and visitors can conduct their own historical research. DeBary Hall provides a framework in which to intimately explore 1870s river life in Florida. While the current tour often deviates away from the Florida history in favor of the family narrative, the introduction of an exhibit exploring the many facets of sport hunting at DeBary Hall was done as a way of enhancing the story of the site. By focusing on sport

hunting which brought in numerous visitors to Florida annually during the late nineteenth century, the exhibit was able to shed light on the culture of sport hunting, environmental history, and labor. The site management was enthusiastic about displaying the exhibit and incorporating it more permanently into the sites interpretation.

CONCLUSION

Through the comparison of DeBary Hall and Sanford in the context of the New South movement, this thesis argues that New South development is more than industry and cotton production. Tourism and agriculture were firmly asserted into the Floridian economy during this time and would have lasting impacts. While New South studies generally only recognize industrialization and modernization through the region as development, there were scientific and experimental advances made in agriculture and tourism was a growing industry. This thesis through examining Central Florida's development through the lens of the New South movement expands what scholars may consider New South development.

DeBary Hall on the northern side of Lake Monroe exemplifies early Florida tourism. While tourism is beginning to be recognized by historians as part of the New South Movement, it is especially important for Florida's economic future. Sporting plantations were a place where northerners who feared being overworked and overcivilized retreated to as a place to reclaim their masculinity. They were also places that recreated a romanticized Old South in order to have an authentic "southern" experience. Nina Silber, Rebecca Cawood McIntyre, and Scott Glitner all assert that authenticity of a "southern" experience was reliant on black labor/servitude for white leisure. This desire for an Old South experience in the late nineteenth century by the northern tourist fit with white southerners Lost Cause ideologies, which romanticized the

antebellum South and twisted memory of the institution of slavery and the motives of the Civil War to allow white southerners to feel honor and pride for their region.

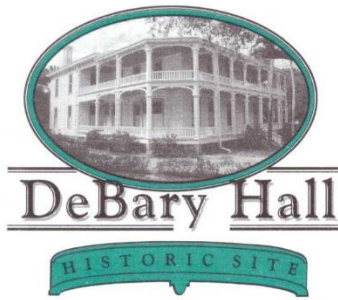
Sanford is a more obvious example of the New South Movement, with important differences from the rest of the region because of the city's location in Florida. The tropical climate was conducive to citrus production and Henry Sanford's establishment of Belair Grove as an agricultural experiment station shows a major difference. Belair Grove engages in agricultural innovation and experimentation, not industrial. The industries established in Sanford are packing houses and ice houses, which are essential to the perishable fruit and vegetable production that defines Sanford's agriculture. Sanford's agriculture and the essential industries supporting this production are comparable to the "mills and fields" of the cotton states. Other industries in Sanford, like sawmills are similar to those in New South towns, throughout the region. The growing presence of banks in Sanford is important as evidence of the potential for capital investment. Sanford is an example of the mixture of southern and tropical that often muddies Florida's incorporation into southern studies.

DeBary Hall and Sanford today have museums that interpret the history of regional development for visitors. The Sanford Museum interprets the long history of the city, starting with Native Americans on the land through the twentieth century. While visitors to the museum view exhibits dedicated to different facets of Sanford history, the experience could be enhanced with more labeling. While the Sanford Museum broadens visitor understanding of the city itself,

it struggles with placing Sanford into a southern context. DeBary Hall Historic Site has similar troubles, as a historic house museum the staff primarily interpret the deBary family history rather than place the family and the sporting plantation in the context of Florida history. In an effort to share the sport hunting and Florida story at DeBary Hall an exhibit titled “DeBary Hall Sporting Plantation and the New South Movement in Central Florida,” was produced for the site.

This thesis shows that by broadening New South studies to include Central Florida our understanding of what constitutes the New South, and our understanding of Florida history is strengthened. While DeBary Hall and Sanford, happened to oppose each other with their location on Lake Monroe and in developmental styles, there are other Central Florida towns established in the late nineteenth century that can enhance future scholarly inquiry. Examining Central Florida’s development within the context of the New South movement will only strengthen historical scholarship, not only in Florida history, but by diversifying our conception of what New South development was.

APPENDIX: PERMISSION AND COPY OF EXHIBIT PANELS



DeBary Hall Historic Site
198 Sunrise Blvd
DeBary, Florida 32713

December 1, 2016

Dr. Connie L. Lester
Associate Professor of History
4000 Central Florida Blvd.
Orlando, FL 32816-1350

Dear Dr. Lester,

Sarah Thorncroft has my permission to use available artifacts, pictures and other resources at DeBary hall Historic Site to aid in her thesis project. We are willing to display her project upon completion, with the condition that I be allowed to review the content before display. We appreciate the partnership with University of Central Florida and look forward to working together again in the future.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Kayce Looper".

Kayce Looper

Site Manager
DeBary Hall Historic Site

210 Sunrise Boulevard ♦ DeBary, Florida 32713
386/668-3840 or 386/736-5953
www.debaryhall.com

Figure 7 Permission letter from Kayce Looper.

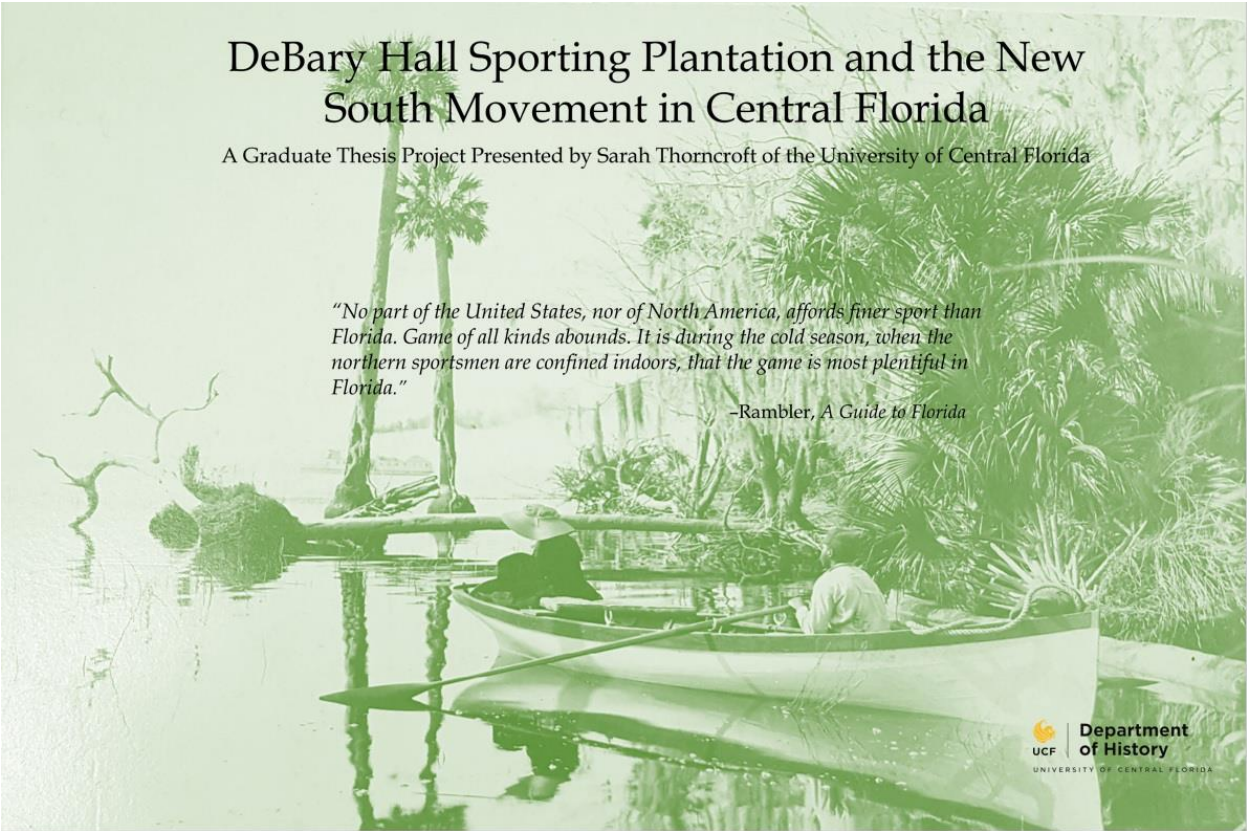


Figure 8 Title Panel for Exhibit.

Life on the St. Johns River



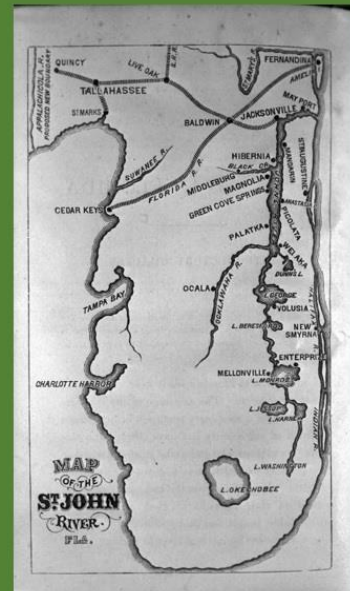
Above image is an engraving of the Brock House, which was the best accommodations for hunters and tourists after the Civil War. Courtesy of Florida Memory.

Below image of Enterprise, Florida in January of 1885. The undeveloped wilderness this photograph drew hunters, like the deBarys to the area. Courtesy of Enterprise Heritage Center.



The St. Johns River served as the main highway into the state. Prior to the Civil War few river front communities were established. These communities were rural and dependent on the river for trade goods, communication, and transportation. One community was Enterprise, on the northern shore of Lake Monroe, which was the furthest south that was safely navigable at this time. Enterprise was famous for the Brock House a 100-room hotel, that catered to sportsmen and invalids. Jacob Brock the owner of Brock House was a prominent steamboat captain on the St. Johns River.

After the Civil War, Florida was advertised as a semi-tropical paradise. This attracted tourists, settlers, and invalids, who saw bountiful game, untamed land, and a healthful climate. Brock House helped Enterprise become a premier destination for many health and pleasure seekers. Frederick deBary came to Enterprise after the death of his wife, seeking a healthful climate for his daughter. He purchased land and established his own winter hunting estate because of the quality of game in the area.



Above image is a map of the St. Johns River from Ledyard Bill's *A Winter in Florida* originally published in 1869. Clearly shows that the St. Johns River was the main highway into the interior of the state. Image courtesy of Florida Memory.

Figure 9 Life on the St. Johns River Panel.

A Culture of Hunting



The images to the upper left and right show sporting tourists at Brock House. The bottom left image is a hunting party at DeBary Hall. The image at the bottom right is a Florida Cracker. A comparison of these images shows a difference in clothing and equipment from wealthy northern sporting tourists and local frontier families.

Upper left images courtesy of Enterprise Heritage Center. Lower left image courtesy of DeBary Hall Historic Site. Right image courtesy of State Archives of Florida.



"Enterprise is the paradise for sporting-men. For invalids to discuss the respective merits of this or that place is proper, but there is no question where the huntsman or sporting-man should go."

—Ledyard Bill, *A Winter In Florida*

As evidenced by the quote, the area of Enterprise was advertised as the place for sportsmen. Hunting was an important part of the culture of this river community. It provided meat for frontier families to survive and was a commodity that brought tourists to area. The difference between sport hunting and subsistence hunting is survival. Frontiersmen would only kill what they needed for food or those animals that posed a threat to their livelihood. Leisure hunters, were shooting for enjoyment. While they may have eaten the game that they killed, their purpose in the field was to kill in a large numbers or the biggest animal they could find.

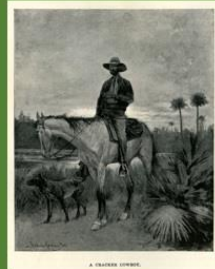


Figure 10 A Culture of Hunting Panel

Animals in the Field



DeBary Hall Collection

The above and below images show deBary animals at work in the field. Horses and mules pulled wagons transporting sportsmen to the selected destination for hunting. Dogs were important to hunters of all classes. Some dogs pointed to the location of hiding game. Others were trained to drive animals into the air or up trees, giving hunters the opportunity to shoot. Dogs were also used in the sporting field to retrieve the animals that were killed by sportsmen.

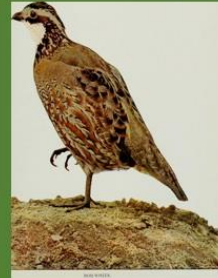


DeBary Hall Collection



Photograph of the de Bary Hall Game Record. DeBary Hall Collection

Animals comprise an important part of the sporting field, not only as sport for hunters to pursue, but also as work animals and varmint animals. Work animals are dogs, horses, and mules all of which make an outing on the sporting field a grand experience. These animals like their wild counterparts remained in Florida year round. Varmint animals posed a threat to sport animals, farm animals, and crops. Raccoons, opossums, hawks, eagles, and crows are examples of varmint animals. Hunting these animals is a form of pest control. Animals like quail, snipe, and deer are considered sport or trophy animals because of the skill required in hunting them.



The image above and below are from the 1914 book *Nature Neighbors, Embracing Birds, Plants, Animals, minerals, in Natural Color by Color Photography*, containing articles by Gerald Alan Abbott, Dr. Albert Schneider, William Kerr Higley, and other eminent naturalists. From the De Bary Hall Hunting Ledger Quail and Snipe have their own columns suggesting that they were the main game animals hunted by the deBary family.



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Figure 11 Animals in the Field Panel

Power over Environment



This photo shows the scrub conditions that workers at DeBary Hall maintained year round for the quail. DeBary Hall Collection

"The hunting fields were special prepared for these hunts. Although doves and bobwhite quail were quite abundant, nothing could be left to chance that would detract from the pleasure and success of the hunters. During the year the field vegetation was carefully trimmed to attract the birds. Servants would spread corn and millet grain year-round to ensure an abundance of the local birds. To supplement the native quail population, the Count also raised quail and had them released just before the hunt-giving his honored guests every opportunity to bag a few birds." - Arthur Thompson, a former worker at DeBary Hall.

"It is necessary on a preserve where birds are encouraged to keep down "the varmints" so we rode with hounds twice a week and hunted the fox, coon and wild cat. For those who wished to shoot, there were kennels for bird dogs, well trained pointers and setters." - Nellie Parker Page, grand-niece to Frederick deBary.



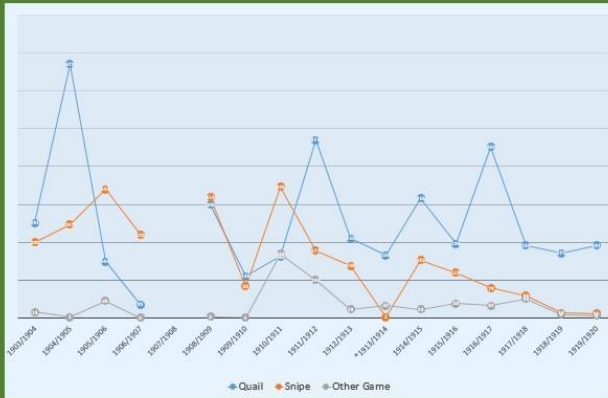
This photo features Nellie Parker Page holding a raccoon and wild cat.

DeBary Hall Collection

 Department of History
UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA

Figure 12 Power over Environment Panel

Impact of Hunting



The graph illustrates the amount of quail, snipe, and various game recorded in the deBary Hall Game Record from 1903-1920. There is no record for the 1907/1908 season leaving a gap on the graph. This graph clearly shows a steady decline in the hunting of snipe. There is no evidence to indicate that the deBary's manipulated the snipe numbers in the way that the quail population was manipulated.

*The data for the 1913/1914 present on this graph is the total for the season recorded in the Game Record. It appears that pages for this season are missing from the Game Record. The only page for the 1913/1914 hunting season is featured below.

DATE	QUANT.	SEXES	REMARKS
July 1st to 6th 1913	21	10 males	Remains in the woods etc. to be done
11	12		Remains in the woods etc.
17	10		A. H. Johnson
20	18		Remains
	127		

Figure 13 Impact of Hunting Panel

Labor of Leisure

DeBary Hall is first and foremost a hunting retreat, meaning most of the laborers working at the Hall were involved with the labor of a leisurely hunt for the deBarys and guests. The cook, only known as Aunt Lizzie, prepared the 4:30 am breakfast of hominy grits, broiled quail, and hot griddle cakes. She also prepared a picnic lunch ready for the hunting party to take to the field.



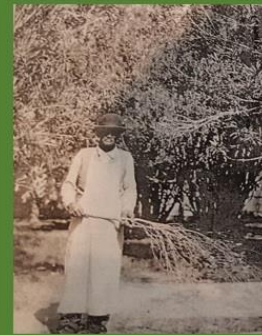
Above is the only known photo of the woman known as "Aunt Lizzie." DeBary Hall Collection

Working the sporting field was a dangerous job. One job during a hunt was to walk into the scrub to drive up the birds, providing the deBarys and guests an opportunity to shoot. This resulted in one worker, Arthur Thompson, getting shot in the face. He continued working the hunt despite his injury and eventually lost sight from his injury.



DeBary Hall Collection

Other tasks involved in a deBary hunt were: caring for the dogs, horses and mules; loading the hunting wagon; driving the wagon to the designated hunting location; cleaning the guns, cleaning riding boots, and skinning game.



An unidentified African American worker at DeBary Hall. DeBary Hall Collection

Dogs were so important to the deBarys hunting practice that they had kennels on property (pictured below). A servant named Slater was charged with the care of these prized animals. Slater would cook hominy grits with bits of gamy meat like gator to feed the dogs.



DeBary Hall Collection

Figure 14 Labor of Leisure Panel.



Figure 15 Title and Life on the St. Johns River Panels on Display at DeBary Hall Historic Site. Photograph. June 26, 2018 by Sarah Thorncroft.



Figure 16 Life on the St. Johns River and A Culture of Hunting Panels on Display at DeBary Hall Historic Site. Photograph. June 26, 2018 by Sarah Thorncroft.



Figure 17 Animals in the Field and Power over Environment Panels on Display at DeBary Hall Historic Site. Photograph. June 26, 2018 by Sarah Thorncroft.



Figure 18 Labor of Leisure and Impact of Hunting Panels on Display at DeBary Hall Historic Site. Photograph. June 26, 2018 by Sarah Thorncroft.

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