

*The Journal of
Florida Baptist Heritage
Volume 16, 2014*

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FLORIDA BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

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Florida Baptist Heritage
Journal of the Florida Baptist Historical Society

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in 1854. Drawing by Seeber Fowler.**

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INTRODUCTION

JERRY WINDSOR

Secretary-Treasurer

Florida Baptist Historical Society

Welcome to the Sixteenth Issue of The Journal of Florida Baptist Heritage

The 150th anniversary of the Civil War is the focus of this issue. We do not glory war. There has never been a good war and this was one of the worst. Sherman was right and war is disastrous.

But what was: was. The Florida Baptist Convention was begun in 1854 with four associations and 127 churches in existence. The Southern Baptist Convention was begun in 1845 but was still trembling in its youth. Ministers for all intents and purposes were under-educated, under-read, under-disciplined and under-paid.

War came and it affected everything in Florida. What was not nailed down was never the same again. This journal gives a glimpse into Southern Baptist and Florida Baptist society, church and military behavior. 1861-1865 is not to be celebrated, but it is to be remembered and interpreted in light of Christian virtue and values today.

Honoring those who honor Christ,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jerry Windsor", written in a cursive style.

NEWS BULLETINS

ARTHUR L. WALKER, JR.

Preacher, professor, denominational servant

Photo courtesy of Samford University Library



Crisis Forces Board to Curtail Missions

RICHMOND, Va., February, 1861 (BP)—The Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board has been forced by the present financial and political crisis to curtail its operations.

A.M. Poindexter, Corresponding Secretary of the Board, reported in the current issue of the *Home and Foreign Journal*, “The Board, in view of the state of things, has resolved that it will not at present, send out any more missionaries, and has curtailed appropriations to all the missions to the lowest point deemed compatible to their existence.”

The action of the Board resulted from three months of reduced receipts. Contributions to the Board are less than those received last year by more than \$6,000. The deficit of these last few months has been paid out of the balance existing in the treasury at the end of last year.

J.S. Walthall, editor of the *Bible Recorder*, wrote in the issue of that paper for Sept. 27, that this condition is a new circumstance for the Foreign Mission Board. In previous years they have been begging for men more than for means. Now the situation is about to be reversed.

The seriousness of the crisis is heightened by the number of missionaries recently appointed. Poindexter wrote in the October issue of the *Home and Foreign Journal*, “The past twelve months have been unprecedented in the history of the Board, with respect to the number of missionaries appointed and sent to the foreign field.”

During the past year twenty additional missionaries have been appointed. Of this number twelve were men and eight women. Most of these missionaries have already embarked for their fields of service.

The number of missionaries was increased before there was reason to apprehend such a crisis as now exists. It was also felt by many that the balance in the treasury of the Board at the end of last year justified the large number of appointments.

The policy of the secretaries of the Board has been to gage the intensity of the appeal to the churches and associations by the existing need. Consequently, during the last year in visiting the churches the secretaries candidly stated that the treasury was in no special need. In most cases they even refrained from taking collections.

Now with the same candor Secretary Poindexter has written, "... it will require a large increase upon the receipts of the last few months to meet the appropriations as they become due."

Baptist Chaplain Dies; First Rebel Casualty

MOBILE, Ala., February 15, 1861 (BP)—The body of the first casualty of the Southern Cause, Noble Leslie DeVotie, was recovered today on the beach of Mobile Bay. The storm evidently washed it ashore during the night.

Devotie was accidently drowned at Ft. Morgan on the night of February 12. He had accompanied friends to the wharf where they were to board the steamer for their return to Mobile. Upon his return to shore a misstep caused him to fall into the water.

A search was immediately organized but the swiftly running tide swept him out to sea. It seems that the young chaplain was knocked unconscious by the fall.

D.P. Bestor of Mobile in a letter to the father of the young chaplain wrote "...a negro threw a rope directly upon him, but he seemed unconscious of this opportunity to be saved." He went on

to say that a young man leaped into the water when the alarm was raised but soon needed assistance to be saved from drowning.

The body of the Baptist minister will be carried to the residence of his father, J.H. DeVotie, at Columbus, Ga. A detachment of men from several of the honor outfits stationed at Ft. Morgan will accompany the body.

Basil Manly, Sr. pastor of the First Baptist Church of Montgomery and I.T. Tichenor will join the entourage and along with T.B. Slade and pastor Carroll conduct the funeral service on arrival in Columbus.

Chaplain DeVotie was among the first to respond to the call of the Governor of Alabama, A.B. Moore, for troops to occupy Fts. Morgan and Gaines. This call was issued in late 1860.

The deceased minister joined the army after having served as pastor of the First Baptist Church of Selma for only a year and a half. He had been graduated by the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Princeton, N.J., in 1859.

The undergraduate work of Chaplain DeVotie was pursued at Howard College and the University of Alabama. He finished his course at the University in 1856 delivering both the valedictory address and the French speech.

DeVotie was the oldest son of Dr. and Mrs. James H. DeVotie. His father is well known for his part in the founding of Howard College and the *Alabama Baptist*. Since his removal to Georgia he has also been active in the educational activities of that state.

Southern Baptist Convention Approves Confederacy

SAVANNAH, Ga., May, 1861 (BP)—Messengers to the annual meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention held here May 10-13 have adopted unanimously a strongly-worded resolution supporting the recently formed government of the Confederate States of America.

Soon after the convention opened W.H. McIntosh, mes-

senger from Alabama, made a motion that a committee be appointed on the state of the country. The committee was composed of one member from each of the cooperating states. Richard Fuller, President of the Convention, was named chairman.

In words reminiscent of the preamble to the Constitution of the former Union, messengers stated that no other course has been open to the people of the South than that followed in recent days. The preamble introduces 10 resolutions.

The first resolution claims the South is not to blame for dissolution of the Union. In their cordial approval of the formation of the new government the messengers “admire and applaud the noble course of that government up to the present time,” and further call the members to pledge fortunes and lives in the “good work of repelling invasion.”

Though the resolution seems to be a political statement, messengers did invoke divine direction. They resolved to pray for the army and for the enemy that “their pitiless purposes may be frustrated.” The first and second days of June are designated as days of humiliation, fasting and prayer.

Editor H.E. Taliaferro reported through the *South Western Baptist* that the convention was characterized by harmony. It is his interpretation that this harmony is the result of concern for the state of the country.

Taliaferro also reported that an elderly delegate arose at the time of the report of the special committee to question a point which seemed to indicate a leaning toward reuniting the Union. The President of the convention responded, “My brother, you are very greatly mistaken. The twenty-fifth part of a musketoe’s optics could not discover the least squinting toward reconstruction in this document!”

A separate resolution was adopted just prior to the close of the Convention by which the group publicly acknowledged its regard for President Fuller, who was also Chairman of the Committee on the State of the Country.

E.T. Winkler of South Carolina, who presented this resolution, pointed out that Fuller and other members of this committee who are citizens of the border states face days of trial as the result of their stand at the convention.

The Southern Baptist Convention is one of the largest communions within the territory of the Confederacy. The churches of the convention have a membership of approximately 700,000. Messengers are representatives of these churches, and thus reflect the thought of a large cross-section of the South.

Confederacy Cuts Pay of Chaplains

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 16, 1861 (BP)—A chaplain with the army is worth only \$50 a month according to the act adopted today by the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. The new act reduced the pay from the \$85 per month set in the original statute adopted May 3.

The new act came as a compromise and at least temporarily ended the debate which has been going on in the Confederate Congress since the adoption of the original bill. Legislation has been introduced repeatedly in the last two weeks both to increase and reduce the pay scale originally set.

Many of the churchmen throughout the South have been disappointed in the attitude of the Congress concerning the chaplaincy. Several church groups and the women of Richmond have memorialized Congress on the subject.

The congress adopted its original statute only after President Jefferson Davis recommended that action be taken. In his message on April 29 opening the Second Session of the Provisional Congress the President called attention to the fact that in organizing the army no provision was made for the chaplains.

The President asked Congress that provision be made for the appointment of chaplains. The portion of his message relating to the appointment of chaplains was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

In its first act of the new session the Congress empowered the president to appoint chaplains to serve with regiments, brigades and posts. The appointments are to expire with the end of the existing war.

Much of the disappointment which has been expressed by the church groups centers around the failure to provide for any regulations relating to the appointments. Attention has been called to the fact that the appointments require no definite age, education or church endorsement.

In the enactment no statement was made concerning the duties to be required of the chaplain, no rank was provided and no statement was made concerning the uniform. This has been interpreted to mean that the Congress feels that the chaplain is unimportant and will make no contribution.

During the recent debate on the salary one Congressman stated that the Chaplain will preach only one sermon a week and that this would be the extent of his service. The reduction in pay seems to indicate that such feeling is generally held by the members of Congress.

The religious forces fear that this attitude will cause many of the more conscientious ministers to hesitate about accepting an appointment to the chaplaincy. It is also feared that without some spiritual guidance there will be increased immorality and lack of piety within the armies.

Virginia Baptists Begin Army Colportage Work

RICHMOND, Va., July, 1861 (BP)—The General Association of Baptists in Virginia has called upon fellow Baptists throughout the Confederacy to join in providing colporters to reach all the soldiers “who are gathered from various Southern States to fight their common battles on the soil of Virginia.

The challenge to Baptists of the South has been issued through A.E. Dickinson, general superintendent of the Baptist Sunday School and Colportage Society of Virginia. Dickinson was

directed by the association to curtail all other endeavors and give attention to providing the colporters and the funds needed.

In a general letter directed to the various Baptist papers, Dickinson has reported that there are already no less than 150,000 soldiers within the limits of the state of Virginia. This number is growing every day as the armies arrive from areas not yet represented. At least 200,000 will be in the state within the month.

The men to serve as colporters are available. Dickinson reports in his letter, "We have pious, devoted and experience colporters who are anxious to be sent into this most inviting field and to gather sheaves unto eternal life. But funds are needed for their support."

It is the immediate aim of the society to send out 100 colporters. Already 30 men are at work in the field. Some of these were previously employed by the society and have simply shifted into the Army program.

The new emphasis has been well received by the churches in other states. The First Baptist Church in Montgomery, Ala., is leading a drive in that state to provide the annual salary of a man to be designated by the society as the "Alabama Colporter." Some funds have already been received for this purpose.

The new demands have required the society to begin to publish tracts. In another letter to the Baptist papers, Dickinson has written, "We are now publishing tracts especially adapted to circulation among the soldiers and are arranging to bring out an edition of 10,000 small Testaments to be distributed by the colporters in the Army."

The publication of tracts is an entirely new endeavor for the Virginia Society. Before the present crisis tracts were acquired from the North. This source has been closed by the extension of the blockade to religious materials.

Bibles and tracts have been blockaded because it is felt by the government of the North that since they give comfort and aid to the soldiers of the South they are military material. This block-

ade has provided the opportunity for Southern publishers to enter a field previously closed to them.

The Virginia Society is the first such group to turn its attention to army evangelization. The success of its efforts will no doubt determine whether others will follow similar attempts.

Boyce Leaves Seminary for Army Chaplaincy

GREENVILLE, S.C., November, 1861 (BP)—Professor James P. Boyce, chairman of the faculty of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, has become the chaplain for a new regiment of volunteers recruited in the Greenville District.

In accepting this position Dr. Boyce has yielded to the entreaties of his close personal friend, C.J. Elford, who is colonel of the regiment. Col. Elford, a famous Greenville lawyer and Sunday School superintendent in the Baptist church, sought the services of Dr. Boyce even though it means that Boyce will be forced to limit for a time his work with the new seminary.

Dr. Boyce in writing to his brother-in-law, H.A. Tupper, chaplain in the Ninth Georgia Regiment, has expressed the hope that his service will be restricted to South Carolina so that he can maintain some contact with the seminary.

In his letter to Chaplain Tupper he wrote, "My greatest anxiety is for the seminary, as its funds are not yet all raised. But I think it is safely fixed, and if my past policy prevails, and no buildings are commenced until the means are on hand, I have no fear of its final success."

The departure of Dr. Boyce leaves the seminary with three professors, Drs. Basil Manly, John A. Broadus, and William Williams. Only 20 students enrolled at the start of the present session. Twelve of these enrolled this fall for the first time. There were 36 enrolled during the last session.

Dr. Boyce is well known in the Greenville District both as a businessman and teacher. Last year he was defeated as an Anti-Secession candidate for the special convention called by the

state legislature. At that time he felt that there were ways of preventing the war he saw as the consequence of secession.

As late as January of this year Dr. Boyce wrote to his sister, "I believe that ere many months have gone by we shall all be safe again under the folds of the glorious Stars and Stripes of our own United States."

The bloody war which he foresaw is now a reality and Dr. Boyce, along with many of his students from the seminary, is caught up in it.

On Governor's Orders Nashville Ministers Jailed

NASHVILLE, Tenn., July, 1862 (BP)—Five ministers of this city have been imprisoned by the order of the Military Governor of Tennessee, Andrew Johnson. Three of the five, Doctors E.W. Sehon, S.D. Baldwin and W.D.F. Saurie, are of the Methodist Church, Dr. R.B.C. Howell is Pastor of the First Baptist Church and Reuben Ford is Pastor of the Baptist Church on Cherry St.

All ministers were ordered to prison because they refused to take an oath of allegiance to the Federal government. They first appeared before the Military Governor on July 17. At that time they were presented with a statement expressing loyalty to the government of the United States, which they were asked to sign.

Dr. Howell in reporting on their interview with the governor said that Johnson spoke to them in violent and vituperative terms. He also said that the Governor told them that they were traitors.

The men asked for time to consider the loyalty oath and were given until June 28. When at the end of the days grace the ministers still refused to sign the loyalty oath they were ordered to the penitentiary by Governor Johnson.

The order remanding the five ministers to the penitentiary stated that they were "there to remain until arrangements are completed for their transportation South, beyond the Federal lines, there to be left with the distinct understanding that if they recross

or come within said lines during the existing rebellion, they will be considered spies, and dealt with accordingly.”

Another opportunity for freedom has been promised the men if they give evidence of loyalty to the government of the United States. They have been asked to take the oath of allegiance and give bond of \$5,000 each as security for the faithful observance of the oath.

Governor Johnson has prohibited visitors without special permits. The members of the congregation of each man are forbidden to provide comforts for their pastor lest, as the order read, “encouragement should be given to that secession spirit and feeling, which are manifested in the numerous offers of delicacies.”

When first imprisoned the ministers attempted to carry on religious services among the other prisoners. This activity was stopped and the ministers separated from other prisoners. This move was considered necessary because the Governor said the ministers were corrupting the other prisoners still more fatally.

A correspondent for the *Cincinnati Times* reports that the five men are kept in a single room about twelve feet square. Special permission has been granted for each man to spend a half an hour each day with members of his family. However, a guard must be present at all times and the family of the prisoner is not permitted to bring food.

With the ministers of the city imprisoned most of the churches of the city have been forced to suspend services. Only at the First Baptist church are the regular services conducted. At the time of his imprisonment Dr. Howell made a special appeal to the leaders of the church to carry on during his absence. The request has been respected and services have continued.

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Forced to Close

GREENVILLE, S.C., September, 1862 (BP)—The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary has been forced to close its doors for lack of students. The Conscription Act recently

passed by the Confederate Congress has now completely depleted the student body here.

The Seminary had only eight students left in its student body at the close of its session last spring. However, the faculty had planned to reopen this fall. In a recent letter to his colleague, John A. Broadus, Dr. James P. Boyce, Chairman of the faculty had written, "State distinctly the fact that we will open the first of September."

The failure to exempt theological students from the draft means that the seminaries of several different denominations will be closed. This now means that the supply of educational ministers to these denominations will be cut off.

In a letter to G.W. Randolph, Secretary of War for the Confederate States, Dr. Boyce commented on how limited the supply of educated ministers is at the present. He further commented "To destroy it will be disastrous to the moral and religious condition of the country. To continue it will scarcely weaken at all the army of the Confederate States."

Dr. Boyce has been attempting since last March to receive a favorable ruling on the exemption of the students. Other members of the faculty have also been involved in various activities to have the students exempted.

Dr. Basil Manly Jr. appealed to the Governor and the state council of South Carolina for help. Only last March he made a trip to Columbia for this purpose and at that time he was assured by two leading members of the council that the students need not be concerned. The events of the summer have changed this situation.

Even though the Seminary will not open Dr. Boyce has requested the professors, Broadus, Manly and William Williams, to retain their connection with the institution. The professors will engage in other pursuits to provide a living until the reopening of the Seminary seems practicable.

During the time that the school has had a limited student body the faculty has been engaged in farming and assisting in

local churches. They will continue preaching in the various churches around Greenville during this present emergency.

Dr. Boyce himself served for a time as Chaplain with the volunteer regiment from Greenville. He resigned his position last May to seek election to the state legislature. He is now serving in that body.

New Edition of Popular Tract Announced

RICHMOND, Va., October, 1862 (BP)—One of the most popular tracts ever published on this continent has been issued in its third edition. “A Mother’s Parting Words to her Soldier Boy,” written by Dr. J.B. Jeter, is published by the Virginia Baptist Sunday School and Publication Board.

The new edition of 50,000 copies makes a total of 150,000 copies published by the Baptist Publication Board since the tract was first released last year. The tract has been reprinted also by the Methodist Tract Society located in Petersburg, Va.

Dr. A.E. Dickinson, superintendent of the Baptist Publication Board, has estimated that with all the printings the tract now has been issued in at least 250,000 copies.

In announcing the new edition Dr. Dickinson said, “Hundreds have professed conversion from reading this tract, while thousands have felt their hearts moved to noble resolves by its appeals.”

The great demand for copies of the tract and the many testimonies concerning its effectiveness have caused Dickinson also to write, “I think it highly probable that never, in the history of tract literature, has as much been accomplished in so short a period by one tract.”

Dr. Jeter, author of the eight page tract, is pastor of the Grace Street Baptist Church of Richmond. He is also the author of six books and several published sermons.

The title and subject of the tract, “A Mother’s Parting Words,” grew out of the appeal for aid for colportage work made

by J.C. Clopton of Lynchburg at the annual meeting of the Strawberry Association last year.

In his appeal Clopton told of the concern and efforts of his wife in regard to the spiritual welfare of their son who had recently entered the service. Following his statement, Dr. Jeter publicly thanked him for his speech and for furnishing him with the theme for a new tract which he had promised to write.

Within a few days after Clopton's message and the meeting of the Strawberry Association the now popular tract was written and published for the first time.

Georgia Baptists Disagree Over Teaching Slaves to Read

MACON, Ga., November, 1862 (BP)—The question of the repeal of the statutes of 1829 which forbids teaching slaves to read has become a point of real controversy among Baptists of this state. The controversy is being expressed in the *Christian Index* and on the floor of the meeting of the local Baptist associations.

Both the editor of the *Christian Index*, Samuel Boykin, and N.M. Crawford, the president of Mercer College and the president of the Georgia Baptist Convention, favor the repeal. The opposition has come from Baptist circles from various parts of the state.

Boykin, in an editorial in the *Index* of September 9, pointed out that the reasons for forbidding teaching the slaves to read have now been removed. Originally the move was necessary to avoid the unrest created by abolitionary material sent from the North. This material is no longer freely sent into the South.

In his editorial Boykin wrote, "We have no right to debar such a large class from personal perusal of the Bible." He also called upon the legislators of Georgia and South Carolina to "remove this foul blot from their escutcheons."

A correspondent who signed his letter to the *Index* as "Baptist" wrote that Boykin had used "terms that a Black Republican of the deepest die could not improve." He also deplored the

fact that so distinguished a leader as Dr. Crawford had joined in the move to repeal the statutes.

Another correspondent, who used the name “Philemon,” gave his objections to the repeal in three points. He first contended that the Baptist associations have no right to review or object to the civil laws.

This correspondent also wrote that the repeal would be impractical because if any slaves were taught they must all be taught. This would be impossible because the field hands could not go to school and work at the same time. Thus, if one should say that they ought to be in school this is saying that slavery itself is wrong.

The third objection of this correspondent was that if the slaves were taught to read it would start “a thirst in their minds, which in the circumstances, cannot be gratified.”

The present controversy had its beginnings in a resolution calling for the repeal which was unanimously adopted by the Cherokee Baptist Convention at its meeting in Manassas, Georgia on May 18 of this year. This convention was organized for educational and missionary purposes. It operated Cherokee Baptist College and publishes a newspaper.

At least one of the local associations which is a member of this convention has since instructed its delegates to seek reversal of the original resolution. However, at the original vote the audience joined the convention in the unanimous decision.

Boykin now seems to have withdrawn from the controversy. He has not published an editorial concerning the issue for several weeks. However, as late as the issue of November 25 there was published a letter to the editor from Samuel K. Talmage again calling for the repeal of the statutes.

Provisional Foreign Mission Board Named

BALTIMORE, Md., December, 1862 (BP)—Seven leaders of Baptist work in this area have been called upon to act as a

provisional board for the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. This new board will attempt to continue the mission work of the convention for the time that the ports of the South are closed by blockade.

The seven who have been asked to serve are Richard Fuller, J.M.W. Williams, Franklin Wilson, Hiram Woods, Jr., Henry Taylor, A.F. Crane and A.J. Lowndes. These men are carrying on their work by making appeals in public meetings and through the Baptist papers.

Richard Fuller, one of the “judicious brethren” as the seven men were called in their appointment, is president of the Southern Baptist Convention. J.M.W. Williams has been elected corresponding secretary for the provisional board.

The Southern Baptist Convention now has mission work in China and Africa. It will be the responsibility of the provisional board to maintain communication with the missionaries in these areas. They are charged also with the responsibility of providing the funds necessary for the continuation of missionary activities.

Some of the missionaries have already secured secular work to assist in the financial crisis. Dr. R.H. Graves, missionary to China, has received financial aid from the London Missionary Society.

For some time the Mission Board at Richmond has sent funds under a flag of truce to Baltimore for transmission abroad. Permission for the work to be supported in this way was secured by Fuller from the Secretary of State in Washington. It is the suspension of this permission which has necessitated the appointment of the provisional board.

At the annual meeting of the Maryland Baptist Union Association last year, William Crane, a deacon in the Baptist Church of this city, was requested to act as the agent for any monies received for missions. More than \$2,000 has been sent from Richmond to Crane.

The money for foreign missions has been forwarded by

Crane to Isaac T. Smith, the financial agent of the Foreign Mission Board living in New York. Smith will send the money on to the missionaries. Mr. Smith has already made large advances to the missionaries of the Board.

The Maryland Association expressed its thanks by adopting a resolution which read in part, "We tender our acknowledgements to brother Smith for his Christian conduct and labor of love in behalf of our missionaries at all times, especially in their hour of trouble, when they have been cut off from the Board in Richmond."

Since the lines are now closed for the transmission of mission funds from the board at Richmond, the provisional board will depend for support on the churches within the Federal lines which have been associated with the Southern Baptist Convention. These churches are located for the most part in the border territory of Maryland, District of Columbia, Kentucky and Missouri.

Foreign Mission Board Hires Blockade-Runner

RICHMOND, Va., March, 1863 (BP)—The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention has enlisted the services of blockade-runners for carrying on its activities abroad. The blockade-runners have been bringing messages to the board from the missionaries and providing a way for sending financial assistance to the missionaries.

Cut off from the missionaries by the naval blockade, the Mission Board has had no news from some of them for several months. The new approach will provide a more convenient way for transmitting funds to the missionaries serving in China and Africa.

The Board has invested some of its receipts in long staple cotton and has sent it to be sold in England. The latest venture involved several bales of Sea Island cotton purchased by the Board for \$1,500. If it reaches England it can be sold for nearly \$5,000.

This venture has been made possible through the generosity of various individuals already engaged in blockade-running. Some of these men have owned ships, others have chartered them to send their own cotton to foreign ports, but they have agreed to carry the cotton purchased by the Board.

It is the plan of the Foreign Mission Board to engage in these practices in order to forward greater financial support to the missionaries who have been virtually stranded without funds due to the wartime limitations. In most cases the funds contributed for mission activities can be tripled through such successful blockade-running.

The funds derived from the sale of cotton in Liverpool or some other important English cotton markets can be sent directly to the missionaries by agents of the board in England. This will be helpful because in the past some such funds have been confiscated by the forces of the Federal government.

The Board has recognized such activities involve great risks. However, the need of those missionaries serving in foreign countries and the attractive profits derived from such ventures have encouraged the mission board to use this means of forwarding large amounts of funds.

Approval of the risky effort has been expressed by other Baptist leaders. Samuel Boykin, editor of the *Christian Index*, has written, "...if the Board ever ceases to avail themselves of this profitable and advantageous mode of conveying funds aboard, they will manifest a blindness to the light of experience for which we will not give them credit."

Some success has already been experienced in that several vessels carrying cotton owned by the Board have reached either Nassau or another West Indian port in safety.

Colporters Stimulate Servicemen's Interest

RICHMOND, Va., May, 1863 (BP)—"Modern history presents no example of armies so nearly converted into churches

as the armies of Southern defense.” A.E. Dickinson made this claim in his annual report of the colportage work of the Sunday School and Publication Board to the General Association of Baptists of Virginia.

Dickinson, who is secretary of the board, continued, “On the crest of this flood of war, which threatens to engulf our freedom, rides a pure Christianity; the Gospel of the grace of God shines through the smoke of battle with the light that leads to heaven; and the camp becomes a school of Christ.”

This optimistic report is the result of the revival which continues to break out among the armies of the Confederacy. The report of religious concern in the Army is greatly contrasted to the gloom which prevailed among the religious leaders in the first year of the war.

Religious conditions have greatly improved throughout the armies since the military disasters of the early part of last year. Many new chaplains have been appointed and the churches have appointed evangelists to visit the army.

In one revival last winter over 300 soldiers are known to have professed conversion. Revivals held during the winter and spring resulted in at least 1,500 professions of religion.

Dickinson reports that organizations such as his own have aided in this improvement. “From the very first day of the unhappy contest to the present time, religious influences have been spreading among the soldiers, until now, in camp and hospital, throughout every portion of the army, revivals display their precious, saving power.”

The Sunday School and Publication Board has distributed to date 24 million pages of religious tracts and 25,000 Bibles and Testaments. These tracts, religious newspapers and Bibles have made an added contribution to the concern for religious matters within the army.

Dickinson and his associates in Virginia were among the first to enter the work of colportage in the army. Many other state

Baptist organizations and denominational groups now participate in such work.

Revival Breaks Out, More Help Asked For

ORANGE C.H., Va., August, 1863 (BP)—Chaplain J.J.D. Renfroe has issued a plea for assistance in the religious work among the soldiers. In a letter to the *South Western Baptist* he encouraged Baptist ministers to join in the work presently being conducted in the armies of the Confederacy.

Renfroe lists three reasons for this urgent plea. He wrote “there never was a more promising field of labor than this Army now presents for the work of a ministry who desire to save souls.” He also emphasized, “The state of religious feeling existing here would put our churches at home to blush.”

As a third reason for calling the ministers to the army, Renfroe has pointed out that the officers are encouraging the religious revival which seems to have broken out within the units in Virginia.

Renfroe lists three ways in which he hopes his plea will be answered. He has asked for an increase of chaplains of all faiths. He pleads especially for more Baptist Chaplains. He has pointed out that it is only natural to seek to have more Baptist chaplains since the largest proportion of religious sentiment in the army is Baptist.

The third way which Renfroe suggests aid may come is a method which has had increasing popularity in recent months. In this way ministers make prolonged visits to the army. This method has been especially popular with those ministers who because of age or responsibilities are unable to become chaplains.

Renfroe has made his plea specific by listing the names of those whom he says have splendid qualifications for the chaplaincy. He also lists some of the older men whom he feels should make a prolonged visit.

Renfroe’s appeal is strengthened by the fact it is well

known he had previously been prejudiced against the system of government supported chaplains.

Speaking of the chaplains in his latest appeal he has written, "I am convinced that their work cannot be done by any other plan—or rather it will not be done in any other way. The chaplain has a home in the army...And he has a distinct work assigned him—he has charge of a sort of pastorate, over which he is to watch, and when he does his duty he will receive as much respect and consideration as he does at home."

Renfroe has been serving with the Tenth Alabama Regiment since March. He joined the army after his younger brother was killed at Fredericksburg. Prior to his enlistment he was pastor of the church at Talladega, Ala.

Secretary of War Gives Society Church Property

WASHINGTON. January, 1864 (BP)—Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, has given orders to all Army Commanders that Baptist church property in the South is to be placed at the disposal of representatives of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

This order was issued on the request of U.S. Sen. Ira Harris (R., N.Y.). Sen. Harris, president of the American Baptist Missionary Union, asked the authorities to permit the Society to take charge of the abandoned Baptist meeting houses. Secretary Stanton has granted more authority to the Society than was originally requested.

The Home Mission Society in explaining its position has issued the statement that deserted meeting houses have been stripped of equipment and converted into uses other than as places of worship. In some instances other denominations have taken control of the properties. In other cases the government itself has converted churches into storehouses.

The Home Mission Society sought the military order to avoid this misuse of church property. J.W. Parker of Boston has been appointed the agent of the Mission to conduct the activities

called for by the order.

As early as last year the Society took steps to control properties which belonged to Baptists in the territories now occupied by the Federal troops. At that time J.W. Horton, a representative of the Home Mission Society, visited New Orleans during the summer, as he said, "to look after Baptists' interests."

On arriving in New Orleans, Horton obtained a military order from Provost Marshal Gen. Bowen which permitted him to take possession of property of the Coliseum Place Baptist Church. The church members were unwilling to surrender the building to him and of the 65 original members only five have continued to worship under the new administration.

Parker has announced that he will send representatives of the Society to the cities of Baton Rouge, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville and Memphis. The Society also has plans to send representatives into all the other states now controlled by Federal troops.

Confederate Soldiers Build 40 New Chapels

RICHMOND. May, 1864 (BP)—Forty chapels have been constructed during the last four months by the Confederate soldiers in winter quarters along the Rapidan line. The construction of these chapels has been part of the religious interest expressed since the recent Gettysburg campaign.

The soldiers themselves have constructed these chapels. The men divided into various work groups with specific responsibilities. One group cut the logs, another hauled them; others erected the buildings. The work inside the buildings was done by still another party. The chapels were built even before the men finished their own winter quarters.

The co-operation of the various building parties made it possible for each chapel to be built in from two to six days. Some of the buildings are large enough to seat 500 or 600 worshippers.

The chapels climax the building program which has been

conducted since the first such buildings were erected in the winter of 1861. Each year a larger number of the chapels has been built as the men have been quartered in their winter encampment.

Daily prayer and preaching services are now being conducted in the buildings which are both lighted and heated by torches in huge fireplaces. Usually one or two rough candles, fashioned by the soldiers themselves, give light at the pulpit.

Many buildings have answered the double purpose of church and school. Both religious instruction and cultural emphases have been a part of each program conducted by the chaplain or some other religious leader within the military unit served by the chapel.

Bible classes have been formed in many of the regiments. Books for circulating libraries have been collected, literary societies organized, and activities of the Young Men's Christian Association are being conducted.

The chaplains have organized classes in non-religious subjects. They have taught many to read and write. Classes in Latin, Greek, French and German have been offered along with other courses, particularly mathematics, to help the young men prepare for the time when they will be able to assume their civilian pursuits.

Many of the officers of all ranks supported the construction of the chapels. Prior to his death last year Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson was the most noted usher at the chapel services held in his brigade.

Revivals have been almost continuous in many of the chapels. From August of last year until now at least 7,000 professions of faith have been made in this area alone

Keys to Confiscated Church Returned

NEW ORLEANS. March 12, 1866 (BP)—The keys to the confiscated property of the Coliseum Place Baptist Church of New Orleans were received from Gen. E.R.S. Canby today by Russell

Holman, representative of the Domestic Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Holman received possession of the property after fulfilling the conditions set forward by Gen. Canby last December. Holman was sent to New Orleans at that time by the mission board to determine the possibility of the return of the property.

Among the conditions set forth by the Federal general was the stipulation that proof be presented that the Southern Baptist Convention is an incorporated body. He also required proof of the loyalty of the incorporators to the government of the United States.

The church building could be restored to the Convention only if the freedmen had no claim upon the property. It was also required that a certificate of non-alienation be furnished.

The property has been under confiscation since the summer of 1863. At that time J.W. Horton, representative of the American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York, obtained possession with a military order from Gen. Bowen, provost martial general.

In 1861, the Coliseum Place Church had about 180 members. Today that number has dwindled to about 50. Many of the members have joined churches not controlled by a representative of the North. Other members have left the city.

Holman completed the necessary papers for the return of the property about the first of March of this year. It has been necessary for him to travel extensively throughout the Southern Baptist Convention to fulfill all the conditions set forth by Gen. Canby.

After completing the requirements, Holman returned to this city and on March 8 the order was given which provided for the return of the property to its original owners, the Domestic Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

NOTE: Dr. Arthur Walker (1927-2005) was a church history professor and later head of the Southern Baptist Education Commission. He also preached my ordination sermon. (Editor)



FIRST CIVIL WAR CASUALTY

JERRY M. WINDSOR

*Secretary-Treasurer Florida Baptist
Historical Society*

It is widely reported that Noble Leslie DeVotie was the first casualty of the Civil War.¹ However I do not believe that can be proven.² Yet other claims can be made about DeVotie that are well worth recording and transmitting.

The *South Western Baptist* on February 21, 1861, published a significant eulogy of DeVotie. Phrases from this memorial will serve as the paragraph headings for this article on one who only lived twenty three years but left a legacy that still impacts lives today.

“talented young brother”

Noble Leslie DeVotie was the eldest son of Dr. J. H. DeVotie and Margaret Christian Noble DeVotie. He was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on January 24, 1838. He was raised in a pious home³ and was converted at eleven years and six months in an interdenominational protracted meeting at Marion, Alabama. His father was pastor of Siloam Baptist Church and baptized Noble Leslie into the fellowship of the church.

Margaret Christian Noble was a member of an old and honored Southern family. She was profoundly beautiful, gifted in intellect and was known for her sweetness of disposition. It was from his father that DeVotie developed passion with grace but it was from his mother that he received gentleness and a desire to be impatient with wrong and constant in love and truth.⁴



Noble Leslie DeVotie

“enjoyed all the advantages of the most thorough training”

Noble DeVotie attended Howard College in Marion, Alabama, for his first year of college. He then transferred to the University of Alabama in 1853 and graduated in 1856. His parents wanted him to study under Dr. Basil Manly Sr., President of the University. DeVotie graduated before age twenty and took first class honors.⁵ He graduated on July 17, 1856, as valedictorian of his class with a 96.75 class average.⁶

According to Boykin in his *History of the Baptist Denomination of Georgia*, DeVotie considered going to The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary but the “course which he desired to pursue was not then afforded.” Boykin points out he then briefly considered various northern Baptist theological seminaries but their “bitter anti-slavery fanaticism” precluded them. It was then that he chose the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Princeton. He graduated from there in 1859 after three years of study and moved to Columbus, Georgia, where his father was serving as pastor.

Dr. Basil Manly Sr., said, “I have never seen or heard anything of Noble during his entire college course which I could condemn.” Dr. Garland, who was President at the University of Alabama, during the senior year of DeVotie “praised his conduct and character in the highest terms.”⁷

“thine example shall light us”

In the Alabama State Archives there is an informal but impressive two page biographical sketch of DeVotie. The sketch is unsigned and undated. This handwritten document gives a succinct introduction to a profound event.

There had been developing in his mind the plan for the formation of a fraternity during the session of 1855 and the first half of 1856, and he invited seven very close friends to join with him in the development of the movement. On Saturday night, March 8, 1856, he with his comrades, met and organized what is known as the Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity, adopting a constitution, and to Noble L. DeVotie is due the honor of having seen the vision, organized the idea, and started the movement which has resulted in a great brotherhood of college men, both active students and alumni.⁸

The Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity was the only one founded in the ante-bellum south. DeVotie wrote the ritual, devised the grip, and chose the name. The fraternity had fewer than four hundred members at the outbreak of the Civil War and of those, 369 fought for the south and seven fought for the north. Since its organization there have been 249,762 initiates with 256 chapters.⁹

Judge Walter B. Jones gave the Founder's Day address for the Sigma Alpha Epsilon Fraternity Alumni Association in Cincinnati, Ohio, on March 9, 1948. He named and paid tribute to DeVotie and his seven friends who organized the first SAE chapter. A rich biographical introduction is given for each founder and Jones notes

Noble Leslie DeVotie founded Sigma Alpha Epsilon as a brotherhood. He designed an organization where young men of good moral character and intellectual ability, with kindred tastes and ideas, could be closely united in the bonds of lasting fellowship. He wished some society

where during the college years friendly spirits might live together, and where, in after life, their bonds would hold them bound in lasting companionship.¹⁰

“impressive type of Christian piety”

A call to preach is a profound thing. The Old Testament and New Testament presents case studies of traumatic call experiences of physical phenomenon and spiritual quickening. The paternal influence of Dr. James Harvey DeVotie and the Christian heart of Margaret Noble DeVotie were foundational stones in the religious education and development of Noble Leslie DeVotie. The celebrity tutelage of Basil Manly Sr. was also a crucial and timely influence upon a life being well formed. However, there is no substitute for personal convictions and heart rending deliberation when a call to preach is involved.

Samuel Boykin presents a touching extract from DeVotie’s diary from the day of his ordination.

The candidate and council then knelt down, and Brother McCraw offered the ordaining prayer. The solemnity and emotions of my soul at this moment no language can describe. I was thus being recognized as a messenger of the Lord Jesus—a post of distinction to which an angel might aspire. I thus publicly took the vows of an ambassador of Christ upon me. The surrender thus made, and the obligation and honor thus placed upon me, I pray may ever be regarded in the light in which they ought to be viewed. I will, by the grace of God, never regret the first, shrink from the second, or undervalue the third.

Help me, my heavenly Father! And thou, my dear Savior! And thou, O Holy Spirit, help me to pay the vows thus made.¹¹

“beloved pastor”

Upon graduating from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1859 DeVotie moved to Columbus, Georgia, where his father was

pastor. Soon two pastoral invitations came for the 21 year old to consider. The Baptist churches at Eufaula, Alabama, and Selma, Alabama, invited him to become their pastor. Boykin states that, "He decided in favor of Selma, after making the matter a subject of prayer and weighing well the inducements offered by both places."

The *Selma Sentinel*, of Friday morning, February 22, 1861, reported the tragic drowning death of DeVotie. The newspaper announcement said that, "Mr. DeVotie was a young minister of much promise—had been in charge of the Baptist church in this city for the last year, and when our volunteer companies left the city for Fort Morgan, he went with them, where he had been engaged in his ministerial duties."

The *South Western Baptist* of February 21, 1861, states that DeVotie "at the time of his death was the beloved pastor of the Baptist Church of Selma, a position he had filled most successfully for about one year and six months." One week later the paper said, "Thus has passed away one of the most interesting and promising young ministers which our country possessed. His training was thorough, his temper amiable, his zeal exemplary, his devotion fervent, his elocution persuasive and forcible."

On March 28, 1861, the *South Western Baptist* further stated of DeVotie that, "In the discharge of his duties as Minister, he won universal love and admiration and gave promise of a bright future of usefulness to his church, and fame for himself."

"drowned at Fort Morgan"

The terrible tragedy of 8:15 pm, Tuesday, February 12, 1861, had a number of eye witnesses. It does not relieve the loss but it does emphasize the nearness of eternity and the possibility of the unexpected event.

A steamer went daily from Mobile to Fort Morgan, and returned after the thirty mile one way trip. On that fateful February 12 evening the passengers were going from the fort to the

steamer and Noble Leslie DeVotie went with them. He went on board the boat to bid his friends and loved ones farewell. He returned to the wharf, asked an officer for the pass word and started back to the fort. The wharf was built out into the water in an L shape. At the set off part of the L DeVotie was probably blinded by beacon lights and walked off the wharf and fell into the water. He was swept under the wharf but the tide was running out and he reappeared. A rope was thrown directly upon him but he seemed unconscious and did not respond. A boat was put out but was overturned in the hurry. A man leaped into the water to save him but soon had to be assisted ashore himself or he would have drowned. A boat was finally launched but by then the tide and the darkness made all rescue efforts vain. Not knowing who had fallen into the current, John Bestor, a friend of DeVotie boarded the steamer to find out who was missing. It was rather quickly established that DeVotie was not on board the steamer and had not passed to the fort. The pastor of First Baptist Church, Selma, the Chaplain of the “Independent Blues” and “Governor’s Guards,” and acting Chaplain of Fort Morgan had drowned and his body washed out to sea.¹²

Providence gives and providence takes away. When John Bestor related the sad story of the death of his friend he did not realize that a heavy storm would undo what a terrible tide had tried to accomplish. Within 72 hours of his drowning the preserved body of DeVotie was brought back to South Beach by a strong wind blowing in shore. His body was found by the “Marion Rifles” on Saturday, February 16.¹³

“afflicted parents”

The first public response to the terrible tragedy came from Fort Morgan. On Saturday, February 16, there was a meeting of the “Independent Blues” and the “Governor’s Guards” to express their appreciation for the character and the life of their beloved Chaplain. They issued a tribute and

forwarded the proclamation to the newspapers of Mobile, Selma, Marion, Tuskegee, and Columbus, Georgia. The proceedings produced five resolutions and the third resolution is the one that speaks directly to the family of DeVotie. The third resolution states, "That we deeply sympathize with the relatives of the deceased in their grief, and tho' we can administer no solace to their pangs, yet we would bid them hope that though no voice answers to the name, and no form fills the place of N. L. DeVotie in the army militant, yet his name is enrolled in the Register of the army triumphant."¹⁴

Rev. J. H. DeVotie received a loving letter from his friend D. P. Bestor and as one father to another, Bestor wrote, "While you are saying, "Oh Noble my son, would God I had died for thee" permit me to mingle my tears with yours, and offer you the poor consolation which is in my power."¹⁵

An escort of four men from each company at the fort, making 28 in all, conveyed the body to the armory where it remained one night. The body was then taken to Selma the next day aboard the steamer *William Jones Jr.*¹⁶ A committee of citizens from Selma consisting of C. E. Thomas, T. C. Daniel, and Rev. Mr. Carroll took the steamer *St. Charles* to Mobile to accompany the body back to Selma.¹⁷

The body was taken by steamer to Montgomery and then by train to Columbus.¹⁸ The funeral sermon was delivered by Dr. Manly of Montgomery.¹⁹ The text was Judges 6:13. "If the Lord be with us, why then is all this befallen us?" Ministers Tichenor, Slade and Carroll spoke at the graveside after the body had been lowered. When these men finished "the venerable Pastor, standing at the head of the grave of his son, made some remarks, in a firm voice, for the benefit of the young, which drew tears from multitudes."²⁰

“The State of Alabama will cherish the memory”

Judge Walter B. Jones in his 1948 Founders Day speech at Cincinnati made a very interesting observation about the burial of Noble DeVotie. Judge Jones said, They put him in his coffin. They draped it with the stainless banner of the Southern Confederacy, and they brought him to a hallowed spot and laid him down to sleep—to rest a little, with folded hands, until the Master should awaken him.”²¹

The handwritten biographical sketch of DeVotie that is in the Alabama Archives collection notes that at the burial of DeVotie, “The first Confederate flag ever used draped his casket.”²²

If these observations are correct this is of historical interest. Could it have actually been the first time a “national confederate flag” was used in a public forum?²³ I think the answer is a resounding yes! According to the *Journal of the Confederate Congress* national flag designs were proposed on February 12, 1861, February 13, 1861, February 14, 1861, and February 16, 1861. Certainly many presentations were made afterward but a case could be made that a minimal of eleven “national Confederate flags” were designed, presented to the Confederate Congress and considered before the funeral date of Noble Leslie DeVotie.²⁴

Was Noble Leslie DeVotie the first casualty of the Civil War? I doubt it. Was he the first Alabama casualty of the Civil War? I believe it. Was Noble Leslie DeVotie the first Confederate soldier to be buried in his uniform? I doubt it. Was the funeral of Noble Leslie DeVotie “the first public use of a national Confederate flag?” I believe it.

Numerous questions surround the death, funeral, and burial details of Noble DeVotie. However, as Dr. Manly pointed out in his funeral message, one thing was certain. Noble Leslie DeVotie “was noble by name, and noble by nature.”



Grave Marker

Linwood Cemetery, Columbus, Georgia

Facing left side reads:

NOBEL LESLIE DEVOTIE

BORN

DIED

JANUARY 24, 1838

FEBRUARY 2, 1861

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

MOBILE, ALABAMA

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL

CHAPLAIN IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY

“GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN THAN THIS,

THAT A MAN LAY DOWN HIS LIFE FOR HIS

FRIENDS.”

Facing right side reads:

FOUNDER OF

SIGMA ALPHA EPSILON FRATERNITY

MARCH 9, 1856

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

ERECTED BY HIS FRATERNITY

1929

TO ONE WHOSE LIFE WAS BRIEF

BUT WHOSE INFLUENCE LASTING



(Front): First Alabama soldier to lose life in Civil War. DeVotie graduated in 1856 from University of Alabama; Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Princeton in 1859. In 1856 at the University of Alabama, he was chief founder of Sigma Alpha Epsilon Fraternity, the only national social fraternity founded in the Deep South.

(Reverse): First Alabama soldier to die in Civil War. Drowned Feb. 12, 1861 while on duty as chaplain of Alabama troops here. Before enlisting he was pastor of Selma Baptist Church. He was 23 at time of death.

Erected 1964 by Alabama Historical Association.

Location. Marker is in Fort Morgan, Alabama, in Baldwin County.

Endnotes

¹The untold sadness and grief that flooded the friends and family of DeVotie overtook any thought of historical sequence. *Baird's Book of College Fraternities* states that DeVotie was "officially recorded in the annals of the War as the first man on either side to give his life."

One online Sigma Alpha Epsilon source states that DeVotie

was “the first man on either side to give his life.” A 1999 Georgia Psi Sigma Alpha Epsilon source (www.mercer.edu/sae/devotie.htm) states that “He was the first man to lose his life in the Civil War.”

A Kentucky SAE website states that Noble Leslie DeVotie was the “first man to die in a Confederate uniform.” The *Confederate Veteran* of August 1930, states that DeVotie was “one of the first men to lose his life during the War between the States, being drowned in Mobile Bay in 1861.” (p. 290). The *Columbus Times*, Columbus, Georgia, called him “The first martyr to the Southern cause.”

The “first war casualty” myth is still current for The *Selma Times-Journal* of Sunday, October 25, 1992, states in a front page headline “Early Pastor First to die in the Civil War.” The article relates that DeVotie was 28 years of age at his death. Actually he was 23 years of age at his death because he was born January 24, 1838, at Tuscaloosa and died February 12, 1861, at Fort Morgan in Mobile Bay.

The historical marker at Fort Morgan probably states the facts as succinctly and accurately as we can expect. The “Noble Leslie DeVotie” marker’s first sentence states: “First Alabama soldier to die in the Civil War.”

²The *Confederate Veteran* stated in the February, 1917, issue (p. 80) that on January 26, 1861, Thaddeus S. Strawinski “aged eighteen years, private in the Columbia Artillery, South Carolina Troops, was accidentally killed by a shot from a revolver.” This was two full weeks before the death of DeVotie.

³James Harvey DeVotie was a Baptist minister born September 24, 1813, in Oneida County, New York. He attended school at Furman Theological Seminary. He served as pastor at Montgomery (1835), Tuscaloosa (1836-1840), Marion (1841-1856), Columbus, Georgia (1856-1870) and Griffin, Georgia (1871-1872). In 1872 he became the corresponding secretary of the mission board of the Georgia Baptist state convention. He served later as financial secretary of the Domestic and Indian Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and was also president of the board for a number of years. At the beginning of the Civil War he served as chaplain to troops on the Georgia Coast. Many of his sermon notes are in the Alabama Baptist historical archives at Samford University in Birmingham. James Harvey

DeVotie died at Griffin, Georgia on February 16, 1891.

⁴Judge Walter B. Jones. Address before the SAE Cincinnati, Ohio, Alumni Association, March 9, 1948. Marie Bankhead Owen, *The Story of Alabama*, Vol. III, 1949, pp. 673-674.

⁵Samuel Boykin. *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia*. Vol. 2. James P. Harrison and Company Atlanta. 1881. Reprinted by the Baptist Standard Bearer, Inc., Paris, Arkansas.

⁶“SAE Founding Fathers.” WWW.Wofford.org/sae/fathers/html November 3, 2003.

⁷Boykin, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁸Anonymous sketch of the life of Noble Leslie DeVotie. Alabama Archives. Montgomery, Alabama. Owen in the *Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Vol. 3, pp. 484-485) gives an exact rendering of this sketch.

⁹Baird’s Book of College Fraternities. Summary of Sigma Alpha Epsilon. www.people.memphis.edu/sae/history.htm November 3, 2003

¹⁰Jones, *Ibid*, p. 675.

¹¹Boykin, *op. cit.*, p. 192. The ordination was at Selma, Alabama, on November 20, 1859. Dr. James Harvey DeVotie, Dr. Basil Manly Sr. and Rev. A. G. McCraw composed the presbytery. Leslie Noble DeVotie was only 21 years of age but had already graduated from the University of Alabama and Princeton Theological Seminary. His spiritual sincerity is impressively personal and honest. His call seems thought out and clear.

The amazing thing to this author is that Boykin included Noble Leslie DeVotie in his work. Other than living with his family in 1859 in Columbus for about five months between his Princeton graduation and his accepting the Selma pastorate, DeVotie had no connection to Georgia Baptists. DeVotie was buried in the historic Linwood Cemetery in Columbus but that alone would not have qualified him for an inclusion in Boykin’s Georgia Baptist Biography Compendium. It may be that the event was so singularly tragic, his father so professionally well know and a romanticized view of the war so novel that his biographical sketch was necessarily included.

¹²D. P. Bestor’s letter to Rev. J. H. DeVotie published in the *South Western Baptist* issue of February 28, 1861. The letter was sent from Mobile on February 13, 1861, and Bestor claims that

his son John related this information within a few hours after the tragic event. John was a soldier at the fort and went to Mobile on a furlough that night to see his father.

¹³"Burial of Noble L. DeVotie." *South Western Baptist*. February 28, 1861.

¹⁴"Tribute to the Memory of Rev. N. L. DeVotie." *South Western Baptist*, March 28, 1861.

¹⁵Bestor, *op. cit.*

¹⁶*Mobile Advertiser*, February 17, 1861.

¹⁷*Daily Confederation*. Montgomery, Alabama. February 19, 1861.

It is impossible to put all the names, places, trains, steamers, schedules, and proceedings on an hour by hour sequence from February 12-20, 1861. If all available newspaper accounts are taken into exact consideration there are numerous inconsistencies. Some of these were no doubt misprints, some were carelessness, and a few are just inexplicable.

¹⁸*The Daily Post*. Montgomery, Alabama. February 20, 1861.

¹⁹*Montgomery Daily Mail*, April 5, 1861.

The funeral sermon was delivered by Dr. Manly and thereby hangs some interesting possibilities. Was it Basil Manly, Sr.? Was it Basil Manly, Jr.? Could it have been Charles Manly?

I believe it was Basil Manly, Sr. The reason Charles Manly enters the realm of possibility is because he was a college classmate of the deceased and did deliver a "funeral discourse" at the Presbyterian Church in Montgomery in the month of April 1861. The "Blues," "Guards" and many others were there to hear the discourse. The service was held at the Presbyterian Church due to the size of their auditorium.

²⁰"Burial of Noble L. DeVotie. *South Western Baptist*, February 28, 1861.

²¹Judge Walter B. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 675.

²²Anonymous sketch. *op. cit.* Alabama Archives

²³*Confederate Veteran*. May 1903, Vol. 11. No. 5, p. 223. I think it is important to say "national Confederate flag" usage because it was certainly not the first Confederate flag raised. The Charleston, South Carolina Custom House flew a South Carolina Confederate flag as early as December 1860, the day after South Carolina seceded. In that there was no "official" national Con-

federate flag until months later, this early Custom House flag was transferred to the small privateer “Dixie” that was a blockade runner until captured in the spring of 1863 by the United States steamer “Keystone State”.

²⁴*Confederate Veteran*. February 1913. Vol. 21. No. 2.

²⁵Boykin, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

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Montgomery Daily Mail, April 5, 1861.



FLORIDA BAPTISTS SUPPORT THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE

DONALD S. HEPBURN

*Director, Public Relations/Missions
Promotion Florida Baptist Convention,
Jacksonville*

By the time the Florida Baptist State Convention was organized (1854) seven years before the Civil War began (1861), Florida Baptists' general disposition toward slavery had been determined. This was inherent by their close relations and cultural identity with the southern states from which many of the early settlers had migrated.

The use of slave labor was an entrenched economic necessity and practice among many farmers and plantation owners, many of whom were Baptists. Case in point, Richard Johnson Mays, who helped organize the Florida Baptist State Convention in 1854, was a plantation owner and bi-vocational pastor, who owned over 120 slaves. Those slaves maintained the Mays' plantation which was comprised of 5,480 acres producing cotton, timber, corn, and sweet potatoes, among other crops.¹

R. J. Mays was the typical southern paradox of a slave owner who, because of his Biblical world-view, considered himself to be "not a respecter of persons" when it came to the sharing of the gospel to people of color. In 1841, when Mays participated in the organization of the Concord Baptist Church near his Madison County home, many of his African-descendant slaves were accepted into the fellowship of the church. Mays also was known to hold Bible teaching classes for a large group of his bond servants.²

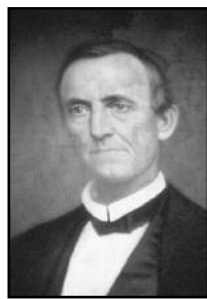
The motivation for converting to Christianity the African-descendant slaves likely varied from planter to planter. Contemporary Black history scholar Larry Rivers noted that dur-

ing the middle nineteenth century plantation owners, whether they were Baptist, Methodist or Presbyterian, “commonly allowed bond servants to worship in their churches. Slaveholding adherents in these churches did not endorse conversion of their bond servants on the basis of equalitarianism; rather they did so as paternalists who thought they knew what was best for their ‘people.’”³

And for some slaveholders, a heavy emphasis was placed upon the “Pauline dictum which they believed taught bond servants to be obedient to their masters. To them, acquiescent slaves constituted controllable ones,” Rivers wrote.⁴

However, there also existed a contingent of slave owners who did not believe in providing any religious instruction to their slaves. Based upon the historical record some slaveholders “probably believed that blacks were not fully human beings and were incapable of learning or understanding the true tenets of Christianity,” Rivers contended.⁵ Certainly in the case of Richard Johnson Mays – who later became a bi-vocational preacher and church starter – no viable written explanation exists which defined his motivation, only his actions that encouraged his African-descendant slaves to be engaged in religious instruction.

One of the significant issues that propelled the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845 grew out of the question of whether or not a slave owner could serve as a Baptist missionary. The first incident was initiated when the Executive Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention submitted to the American Baptist Home Mission Society an application for Rev. James E. Reeves – a slaveholder – to be appointed as a domestic missionary. The mission society responded, noting it, “declined even to entertain the application, lest they should appear to sanction slavery.”⁶ The Society’s position on slavery may have been influenced by the large number of northern anti-slavery advocates who provided much-needed



Richard Johnson
Mays

financial support to the missionary-sending organization.

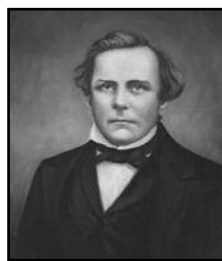
Subsequently, the Alabama Baptist State Convention during its November, 1844, meeting, approved a resolution demanding the Triennial Convention – the moniker for the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions which was the single entity through which Baptists in America conducted foreign missionary efforts – to declare unequivocally that slaveholders were equally eligible to be appointed as foreign missionaries. The Acting Board of the Triennial Convention responded by telling the Alabamians that a person applying for missionary service, “having slaves, and should [he] insist on retaining them as his property, we could not appoint him.” The Virginia Baptist Foreign Mission Society, upon learning of the Triennial Convention’s response, issued an invitation for Baptists in the South to convene to consider the “best means of promoting foreign missions and other interests of concern by Baptists” in the South.⁷ Against that background, 236 delegates from 165 churches gathered at the First Baptist Church, Augusta, Georgia, May 8-12, 1845, and agreed to form the Southern Baptist Convention.

“Of all the divisive issues in America in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, slavery cut the deepest because it was at once a political, economic, social, moral and religious issue,” explained Baptist historian William W. Barnes.⁸

If earlier Florida Baptists had any political uncertainty over the issues that would eventually spark the Civil War, it had largely disappeared by 1860. In December of that year, the fledgling State Convention meeting in Monticello approved a resolution by F. C. Johnson expressing sympathy for the Southern cause and supporting the destruction of all political ties with the Union. The resolution also expressed great concern for the welfare of the population, and especially of the slaves, who were the “property” of the Southerners.⁹ Unfortunately it would be the last State Convention meeting for six years due to the disruptions caused by the war.

Meanwhile delegates to the annual meeting of the

Southern Baptist Convention for several years reaffirmed their belief that the war was “just and necessary.” This position was first set forth in a report adopted by the Convention May 13, 1861. A committee of eleven persons presented their findings titled, the “State of the Country.” Participating on the committee was Floridian James E. Broome (who had served as Florida’s governor 1853 – 1857) and who represented the First Baptist



James E. Broome

Church, Tallahassee, alongside such Baptist stalwarts as Richard Fuller of Maryland and Basil Manly, Sr., of Alabama. The report decried, “The fanatical spirit of the North [that] has long been seeking to deprive us of rights and franchises guaranteed by the Constitution.” The report contended that by asserting their “sacred rights and honor, in self-defense,” the Southern states had “a right of seceding” from the Union. The report also blamed the churches and pastors of the North who “had promoted a civil war” by “clamoring” for the bloody hostilities “which we would have supposed impossible among the disciples of the Prince of Peace.”¹⁰

National political events, as early as the 1850s, increased the pressure within the South for secession from the Union. Daniel Schafer noted that the “debates in Congress over the admission of California to the Union and the resultant Compromise of 1850” caused many Florida leaders to call upon “fellow citizens to defend southern rights and secede from the Union rather than compromise away the rights of slaveholders to carry human property into the western territories.”¹¹

Additionally, the growing national debate over the slavery issue resulted in four political parties placing as many candidates on the 1860 national presidential ballot. In part due to his opposition to slavery’s expansion, Abraham Lincoln’s name was not placed on the ballot of nine southern states, including Florida.¹² But Lincoln’s win of the Electoral College votes by northern and mid-western states secured his election. As a consequence, “Florida prepared to secede from the Union,” Ralph

Wooster observed.¹³

Governor Madison Starke Perry cajoled the Florida Legislature to establish a secession convention, which the Legislature promptly did. They set December 22, 1860, as the date for the statewide election by which voters in the state's then-46 counties had to elect delegates – based upon population – to the convention.

The 69 pro-secession delegates convened in Tallahassee, January 3, 1861. “The only question was whether should be by immediate, separate state action or in conjunction with other slaveholding states,” Wooster explained.¹⁴ The delegates, who represented a varied demographic composition of Floridians, included 25 farmers, 10 merchants, seven lawyers, seven planters and four physicians.¹⁵ But the reality was that these men – 51 who were slave owners – represented mostly the rich, conservative order of the state.

Among the delegates was Rhydon Grigsby Mays (b. October 15, 1801; d. 1878), representing the Seventeenth Senatorial District (primarily the St. Augustine vicinity),¹⁶ and who was the older brother of Richard Johnson Mays. At the time of the secession convention Rhydon, a native of South Carolina, was 59 years old and since 1852 had developed and operated an orange grove in Putnam County. Previously, Rhydon – who had a lifelong Baptist commitment that began in the Baptist Church of Edgefield, S.C. – owned an 1800-acres plantation in the Sampala Lake region of Madison County, which was one of the largest cotton producers in the region.¹⁷ He later was a member of Madison County's Concord Church.¹⁸



Rhydon Grigsby
Mays

Once the convention convened, the delegates elected John C. McGehee of Madison County, as convention president. McGehee, who was a Presbyterian elder, also was a stalwart of the Southern Rights Association, an organization which opposed federal interference with state's rights.¹⁹ The delegates heard

pro-secession speeches from E. C. Bullock of Alabama, L. W. Spratt of South Carolina, and Virginian Edmund Ruffin. “All three urged the immediate secession of the state, and did much to arouse the gallery audience,” Wooster reported. Soon thereafter McGehee appointed a 13-member committee to draft a declaration of secession.²⁰



John C. McGehee

On January 9, the committee presented its report which called for the “immediate secession of Florida from the Union.” But there was a group of delegates, whom Wooster characterized as “cooperationists” who, although committed secessionists, sought to delay the immediate approval of the report. Several offered amendments seeking to delay secession until Georgia and Alabama had both voted to secede or until a direct vote by Floridians to secede had been secured. But the “immediate secessionists” majority – including Rhydon Mays – would not consider delays and defeated the several proposed amendments.²¹

The final vote on the declaration of secession was taken on January 10 and passed by a 62 to 7 vote. The following day, John Milton as the governor-elect, and presiding as the substitute for Governor Perry, signed the declaration. Before adjourning until late February, “the convention named J. Patton Anderson, Jackson Morton and James B. Owens to represent Florida at a meeting of the seceding states,” wrote Florida historian Jerrell Shofner. Those men, along with delegates from six other states, met in Montgomery, Alabama, and on February 4, 1861, voted to establish the Confederate States of America.²²

When the Florida secession convention reconvened on February 26, all the delegates present approved the ratification of the Confederate States of America Constitution, by a 54 to 0 vote.²³ Florida became the third state to secede and one of the seven original members of the Confederacy.²⁴

At the beginning of the war in 1861, the attitudes of Florida Baptist leaders toward the Southern cause could be illus-

trated by their actions. The great plantation of Richard Johnson Mays, as noted previously, turned to producing food, as well as clothing, and other supplies for the Confederate cause. Like his fellow agricultural producers, most farms and plantations used their slave labor to raise the beef, pork, and fish, as well as produce the fruit and salt sent to support the Confederate war efforts.²⁵

In response to the establishment of a national army, by the Confederate Provisional Congress, nearly 15,000 Floridians were among the 200,000 Southerners who initially enlisted in either the regular army or local militias. The majority of the Florida infantry and cavalry troops were sent to join forces with either the armies of Tennessee or Virginia and participated in some of the most significant battles of the war.²⁶

Included in these Confederate Army volunteers were five of R.J. Mays' sons – Richard, Jr., Thomas, James, Samuel and John.

The elder son, named for his father, Richard J. Mays, Jr., (b. 1835; d. 1888), enlisted at age 25 on March 28, 1861. In his enlistment papers Mays described himself as standing 5'8", light complexion, light eyes and light colored hair. [Interestingly the enlistment papers of the four other Mays brothers provided nearly identical physical descriptions.] His earliest assignment was with Company A, First Florida Infantry, which participated in the attack on Union-held Santa Rosa Island during October 8-9.²⁷ Mays' leadership resulted in his promotion to the rank of Second Sergeant.

Having mustered out in April, 1862, after the requisite one year tour of duty, Richard Jr., reenlisted in Company I, Florida Second Cavalry where he was promoted to First Sergeant. He subsequently transferred to Company F, Fifth Florida Cavalry where he was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant by October, 1864.²⁸ Richard, Jr., survived the war and returned to Madison County where he married his first wife, Mary Finlayson, who subsequently died of unknown causes. He later married her sister Gussie Finlayson and settled on farm land which was bequeath to

him by his father.²⁹

Although a recent honors graduate of Mercer University, Thomas Williams Mays (b. 1841; d. 1916), in August, 1861, enlisted in Company C, Florida Fourth Infantry Regiment and was appointed to the rank of full Sergeant Major. He transferred to Company I, Florida Second Cavalry Regiment and within a year was promoted to full First Sergeant.³⁰ The Second Cavalry was assigned to north and central Florida and elements of the regiment were involved in battles at Olustee, Gainesville, the capture of the Columbine, Station Four and Natural Bridge.³¹ On furlough from the war, in 1863, he married Martha Sarah Simkins of South Carolina. Following the war, the couple moved to Beaufort, S.C. and raised seven children.³²

The only Mays brother to have died [January 2] during the war was James Warren Mays (b. 1843; d. 1864). However his death was not caused by wounds, rather from the malaria he contracted while serving with the Company I, Florida Second Cavalry Regiment.³³ James had enlisted at age 19, in March, 1862. During his first year of service he was promoted to the rank of Fifth Sergeant and by late 1863 had been promoted to Second Sergeant.³⁴

Samuel Pope Mays (b. 1846; d. 1913), enlisted February, 1865, at Camp Randolph, Florida. The 18-year-old remained at the camp and trained with the Company F, Fifth Cavalry Battalion until April when Florida surrendered to the Union.³⁵ He returned to Madison County where he married Ann Oregon Germany of Savannah and the couple raised five children on a portion of his father's former plantation until 1900 when they re-located to Live Oak.³⁶

The youngest of the brothers, John Baptist Mays (b. 1848; d. 1918), at age 14, enlisted in May, 1862, with Company A, Florida Fifth Infantry Regiment. Although the legal enlistment age was 18, typically much younger teenaged boys were permitted to enlist for non-combat service. These boys were assigned as musicians (drummer or bugler), mounted couriers or runners, chaplain

or nurse assistants or as water or munitions carriers. The Fifth Infantry Regiment participated in the battle at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, where the war came to an end April 9, 1865, as Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant.³⁷ Upon returning to Madison County, John married Christine Bailey in 1869 and the couple lived out their lives on her family's Lyndhurst plantation in northwest Jefferson County.³⁸

The son of Rhydon Mays – and cousin to the Mays brothers – Samuel Warren Mays (b. 1831; d. 1914), served as a Captain in the Company B, Second Florida Battalion at Palatka. He was wounded at Cold Harbor, Va., in June, 1864, hospitalized and then furloughed. After the war, Samuel and his wife Sarah moved to Belair, Georgia, where he operated a mill.³⁹

The Mays brothers and their cousin, like all Confederate soldiers who were either captured or were on active duty as the war concluded, were repatriated upon signing loyalty oaths to the United States.

Even though the Baptists of Florida numbered only about 5,529 in 1859, they generally shared the enthusiasm and support for the Southern cause in other ways. In support of the Confederacy, the Florida Baptist Association contributed money intended for the salaries of associational missionaries that had gone unused because there were no ministers to employ. Additionally, some of the association's mission funds were used to buy a \$500 Confederate bond which was to bear interest at eight percent.⁴⁰ The West Florida Baptist Association organized a group of farmers who agreed to sell food at reduced prices to the area's families of Confederate soldiers.⁴¹

Unfortunately, the shortage of church and denominational records during the Civil War makes impossible an accurate description of the relation of Florida Baptist churches to the war during the conflict itself. The available fragmentary historical records do affirm that many churches were left without ministerial leadership because many pastors enlisted either as soldiers or chaplains to serve on battlefields. The departure of so many lead-

ers forced a number of churches to close their doors; some never to be re-opened.⁴²

Other churches were adversely affected by the war itself and by military occupation. The Bethel Church of Jacksonville (later named First Baptist), for example, was badly disrupted, as the following account describes:

“The day of the Battle of Olustee February 20, 1864, the church was taken possession by the Federals and used as a hospital for wounded soldiers. The floors were strewn with hay and the wounded, both Negro and white, laid out in rows. From this time until the troops left Jacksonville, the church was occupied as a military hospital by the Federal Army. The building was left greatly damaged. From a member who was an eyewitness came this report: ‘The church was left in a deplorable condition, when vacated by the troops. Scarcely a pane of glass was left in the windows and very little plastering on the walls.’”⁴³

Even though Confederates won the two major Civil War battles fought in Florida – at Olustee and at Tallahassee – great damage was done by the presence of Union troops in the other areas of the state and by the general disorder and confusion which came with the progress of the war in Florida.⁴⁴ Most of Tampa, for instance, was burned by Federal troops. In other parts of the state – from Pensacola to Apalachicola to Jacksonville – many homes, churches, and schools were destroyed. Some schools and churches closed until the war ended.

However, many churches continued to hold services throughout the war with little or no interruption. In fact, it would be difficult to learn that a war was in process based upon the *Minutes* of some of these churches.⁴⁵ Other records refer to the war, but mainly as an event which interfered with the work of missions and further increased the shortage of ministers.⁴⁶ One church which continued to meet regularly during the war was the Greenwood Church in Jackson County. The church’s *Minutes* contain several war-related resolutions, which typically expressed “regret and sorrow” for those men who were killed while fighting “the

vandal foe then threatening our homes” and for the “protection of his country.”⁴⁷ Those same *Minutes* also noted the death of its senior deacon and longtime Sunday School leader Francis T. Allen, who was killed in the Battle of Marianna.⁴⁸

Florida’s participation in the Civil War came to an end on April 26, 1865, when Union Brigadier General Edward McCook formally accepted the surrender of Florida as Union troops captured Tallahassee and arrested the state’s governing officials.⁴⁹

ENDNOTES

¹ Larry E. Rivers, “Madison County, Florida – 1830 to 1860: a case study in land, labor, and prosperity,” *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 78, 1993, p. 233ff.

² Edwin B. Browning, Sr., *History of the Concord Baptist Church*, (Madison, FL: Concord Baptist Church, 1976), p. 12.

³ Larry E. Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days in Emancipation*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), p. 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Christian Index Compilation (no author), *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia*, (Atlanta: James P. Harrison and Co., 1881), p. 204.

⁷ Robert A. Baker, *The Southern Baptist Convention and its People, 1607 – 1972*, (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1974), p. 159.

⁸ W. W. Barnes, *The Southern Baptist Convention 1845 – 1953*, (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1954), pp. 18 – 19.

⁹ *Florida Baptist Convention Annual*, 1860, p. 7.

¹⁰ Southern Baptist Convention, *Annual*, 1861, p. 62.

¹¹ Daniel L. Schafer, “U.S. Territory and State,” *The New History of Florida*, edited by Michael Gannon, (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1996), p. 226.

¹² Allen Weinstein and David Rubel, *The Story of America*, (New York: DK Publishing, 2002), p. 271. Also see the 1860 Presidential Election website: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/showelection.php?year=1860> which identifies the nine states that excluded Lincoln on the ballot: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mis-

issippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas.

¹³ Ralph A. Wooster, "The Florida Secession Convention," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 4, April 1958, p. 373.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 385: contains Appendix I, which lists the delegates, the region they represented and their respective voting record.

¹⁷ Clifton Paisley, *The Red Hills of Florida, 1528-1865*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1989), pp.150-152; Also see, Phil Heard, "There Came A Man," a monograph presented during the Florida Baptist Historical Society annual meeting, April 23, 2004.

¹⁸ Browning, p. 34.

¹⁹ Rosa Galphin, "John C. McGehee," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 4, April 1926, p. 187.

²⁰ Wooster, p. 377.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 377- 381.

²² Jerrell A. Shofner, *Jackson County, Florida – A History*, (Marianna, Florida: The Jackson County Heritage Association, 1985), p. 216.

²³ Wooster, p. 378.

²⁴ Florida Department of State, Division of Library and Information Services, website:

<http://www.floridamemory.com/exhibits/lincoln/florida-convention/>.

²⁵ Exploring Florida: A Social Studies Resource for Students and Teachers, the Florida Center for Instructional Technology website: http://feit.usf.edu/florida/lessons/cv1_war1.htm; [Florida had two salt work plants – Apalachee Bay and St. Andrews – that separated salt from the seawater. Salt in those days before refrigeration was used to keep meat from spoiling.]

²⁶ Florida in the Civil War website:

<http://www.civilwarhome.com/Florida3.htm> . Also see, James Martin, "Civil War Conscription Laws," accessed at <http://blogs.loc.gov/law/2012/11/civil-war-conscription-laws>.

²⁷ David W. Hartman and David Coles, co-compilers, *Biographical Rosters of Florida's Confederate and Union Soldiers, 1861 – 1865, Vol. I*, (Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot

Publishing Company, 1995), p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42. Also see <http://ancestry.com/> search: Richard Johnson Mays, Jr.

²⁹ Patty Mays, "Richard Johnson Mays, Pioneer, Preacher, Patriot," *Madison County Historical Society, Second Annual, 1941*, p. 25. Patty Mays reports that a year before the war ended, the family patriarch Richard Johnson Mays, being an invalid and suffering from stomach ulcers, died at age 56 on July 18, 1864. Eliza Williams Mays, who had been married to Richard since 1829, had to manage the plantation until the oldest sons Richard, Jr. and Thomas, returned from the war. However, managing the plantation with a greatly reduced work force of workers after most of the former slaves departed Clifton Plantation upon learning that the South had surrendered, proved to be daunting. Soon after her youngest daughter married, Eliza Mays moved to Greenville, South Carolina in 1883 as described on pp. 26 – 28.

³⁰ Hartman and Coles, *Vol. I*, p. 391; Also see <http://ancestry.com/> search: Thomas William Mays.

³¹ Hartman and Coles, *Vol. IV*, p. 1407.

³² Patty Mays, p. 25.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Hartman and Coles, *Vol. IV*, p.1537; Also see <http://ancestry.com/> search: James Warren Mays.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.1653; Also see <http://ancestry.com/> search: Samuel Pope Mays.

³⁶ Patty Mays, p. 25.

³⁷ Hartman and Coles, *Vol. VI*, p. 2322; also see <http://ancestry.com/> search: John Baptist Mays.

³⁸ Patty Mays, p. 25.

³⁹ Hartman and Coles, *Vol. IV*, p. 1450.

⁴⁰ J. H. Campbell, *Georgia Baptist: Historical and Biographical*, (Macon, Georgia: J. W. Burke Company, 1874), p. 12.

⁴¹ John E. Johns, *Florida during the Civil War*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963), p. 185.

⁴² Barnes, p. 48.

⁴³ "130th Anniversary: Pastors and People, 1838 – 1968, Bethel Baptist Institutional Church, First Baptist Church, Jacksonville, Florida," printed program, p. 3; *Florida Times Union*, July 6,

1968, p. A – 12.

⁴⁴ Marjory S. Douglas, *Florida: The Long Frontier*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 195.

⁴⁵ Edwin B. Browning, *First Baptist Church, Madison, Florida*, (Columbus, Georgia: J. Frank and Sons Inc., 1976), p. 26, for example.

⁴⁶ *Florida Baptist Convention, Annual, 1866*, pp. 7 – 11.

⁴⁷ Greenwood Baptist Church, *Minutes*, October 21, 1863, is an example of several similar entries recorded in the Minutes between 1863 and 1866.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, September 30, 1864. Also see Shofner, pp.177-178.

⁴⁹ Exploring Florida website:m
http://feit.usf.edu/florida/lessons/cv1_war1.htm49

FLORIDA BAPTISTS STRONG IN FAITH AND HOPE

PENNY BAUMGARDNER

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With the election of Abraham Lincoln many southern states would secede from the Union to form the Confederate States of America. On January 10, 1861, Florida became the third state to secede from the Union. In their article “The Smallest Tadpole: Florida in the Civil War,” David J. Cole and Richard J. Ferry begin with this incite:

In many respects, Florida remains the forgotten state of the Confederacy. Although the third state to secede, Florida’s small population (ranking last among the Confederate states with some 140,000 people) and meager industrial resources made the state of little strategic importance to either side. Indeed, one contemporary referred to the state as the “smallest tadpole in the dirty pool of secession.” Despite this neglect, Florida’s cattle ranges provided much-needed beef to the south’s main armies, particularly during the latter stages of the war. The peninsula’s 13,000 mile coastline also proved invaluable for the production of salt, made by boiling sea water in large kettles or evaporating it in man-made tidal pools.

Florida did provide some 15,000 troops for the Confederacy, organized into twelve infantry regiments, two cavalry regiments, a handful of artillery batteries, and a variety of smaller organizations.¹

So where did Florida Baptists and Florida Baptist churches fit into this era in history? Records indicate there were about 127 Florida Baptist churches (holding services) and four

Florida Baptist associations from 1825-1860.² John L. Rosser tells us in his history of *Florida Baptists*, “For five years after 1860 no sessions of the Convention were held.”³

The oldest Baptist church in Florida had only been organized 39 years prior to the onset of the war. Many churches were barely 10-20 years old, some only one to two years old. Most were only meeting one or two Sundays a month.

With the arrival of the war many men would leave their families and homes to join the newly formed Confederate Army. This exodus would leave the churches in the care of the older men, women and children. We see evidence of this in an article from the *Florida Baptist Witness* written about the church at Apalachicola, which says, “During the war this town, in common with all other Southern towns, suffered intensely, and the Baptist church had to endure its share with the other churches. At the close of the war but four members of the church were left, and they were women.”⁴ WPA records also give a report on the Econfinia church. Their lapse of 1861-1866 was caused by the Civil War. The federal army laid waste their community, the men were away at war and there were no community activities. If any services were held during this period they were by visiting ministers only and in private homes.⁵

Some churches would find it too difficult to continue regular meetings and would close the church doors temporarily or permanently. Others would continue to meet but would leave little evidence of their gatherings. Many minutes and church records during the war years have been lost or destroyed and those that have survived are very sporadic. Still other churches would persevere through the trials and heartaches to continue the work of the Lord. The war would prove to be a test of faith and endurance for many if not all of the Florida Baptist congregations.

The scarcity and unavailability of church records during the war years prevents us from finding significant information on many of the Florida Baptist churches. However, with the help of church histories, newspapers and personal correspondence we can find a few references of interest. Some of these records focus on

the church as a body of believers while others indicate only what happened to the church buildings.

Perhaps one of the most poignant and touching stories comes from **Union Baptist Church/FBC, Brooksville** (name changed in 1889) located in Brooksville, Hernando County. In 1860 the pastor was J. H. Breaker; membership included both whites and slaves with the slave members far outnumbering the white members. After the secession of Florida, Hernando residents formed a unit called the Wildcats that became a part of the Third Florida Infantry. This unit was led by Walter Terry Saxon. The Ninth Florida Infantry, Company C, was led by Captain Samuel Edward Hope. Both of these men were members of Union Baptist Church. James H. Breaker, pastor, organized and led the Old Guard, Mounted Rangers.⁶ Breaker's Old Guard was made up of six officers, three of whom were Union Baptist Church members and 48 privates, nineteen of whom were Union church members.⁷

In the history of First Baptist Church, Brooksville, a partial listing of Union Baptist Church members is given for the Third Florida Infantry, Company C and the Ninth Florida Infantry, Company C. One of those listed among the Third Florida Infantry was the pastor's eighteen-year old son, Henry Manly Breaker.

On November 3, 1861, a tragic accident would befall young Henry Breaker in which he was fatally wounded by the accidental discharge of a fellow soldier's musket. Shortly after this incident Union Baptist pastor J. H. Breaker began preaching a revival that would last through the month of December and into January.⁸ Excerpts from a letter written by Mary Wall Frierson to her daughter-in-law, Adeline Graham Frierson, dated April 12, 1862, gives us some idea how the revival began.

"Certainly beyond any doubt, Manly Breaker's death has proved a blessing to this neighborhood...Very soon after his death his father began a protracted meeting which lasted some six weeks, meeting at least 4 nights in a week and two sermons on Sunday. Sometimes there would be preaching every night during the week and have such crowded congregations that frequently would have to go

to the courthouse to get the congregation seated, and then I have seen it so crowded that the aisles would be jammed up so that there would be no way of getting out.”⁹

At the close of 1862, J. H. Breaker wrote a letter to his brother, Jacob Manly Cantey Breaker, editor of the “The Confederate Baptist” newspaper, Greenville, South Carolina dated December 29, 1862, that stated:

“At the close of the last and beginning of the present year, we experienced a most extensive and precious revival of religion. It occurred in the regular course of my pastoral labors, and I conducted the meeting without any ministerial assistance, for six weeks. One hundred and sixty seven new born souls were added to the church by baptism. From the additions to the church since the meeting, the number has increased to more than two hundred. This is sparsely settled country, and many are home from the army. Those who were home on furlough, during the meeting, are nearly all included with the converts. Our church is represented in the various divisions of the army. It may be that God designs to send the Gospel to many renewed souls, through the agency of these young men, strong in faith and hope.”¹⁰

The letter was published January 14, 1863 in the South Carolina paper.

From March 2, 1862-April 8, 1865, there would be only five entries made in the Union church minutes by Church Clerk Thos. C. Ellis. These minutes would include new members being accepted into the church for baptism as well as some financial concerns of the church.

On July 7, 1864, Union ships made a surprise landing at Bayport in Hernando County. They encircled Brooksville and destroyed everything within a 40-mile radius. The few Confederate units made up of boys and men on leave did not fight back because they were completely outnumbered. The Union Blue

Coats took five days to burn down all the farms and plantations in the area and confiscate whatever wasn't burned. Although women and children were left unharmed, many people were left without homes and shelter. After everything was destroyed, the Blue Coats left just as suddenly as they had arrived.¹¹ Miraculously the Union church building seems to have survived.

The **Greenwood Baptist Church** of Jackson County also faced wartime hardship. In a history of Greenwood Baptist Church, Greenwood, Florida, we find the following information; "During the Civil War period, the pulpit was filled by others while Elder Lacy served his country. The war was a great hindrance to the progress of the church, but in 1864, Rev. Pyles [sic] became pastor and James Godwin was elected church clerk. It was during this year that Frances T. Allen died in [the] battle of Marianna. Being the oldest deacon in the church, a beautiful memorial was written for him."¹² This memorial, in its entirety, is presented as written:

"The committee appointed by Greenwood Church to draft a memorial to the memory of our lamented bro. Francis T. Allen, who fell in the recent battle of Marianna, would present the following as expression of their feelings on the mournful occasion.

Whereas by an inscrutable providence of Almighty God, our venerable bro. Francis T. Allen, Senior deacon of our church came to a most cruel death at the hands of the foul invaders of our hitherto peaceful homes, while against overwhelming odds, at the advanced age of more than seventy years—

Therefore

Resolved, That while we feel it to be our duty to bow in humble submission to the will of 'Him' who worketh all things after the counsel of his own 'will.' Yet we cannot but deeply mourn the loss of one so important to us in almost every department of society.

Resolved, That in the death of bro Allen Greenwood church has lost one of her most important members—one

who for more than fifty years was a devoted, zealous, and consistent member of the Baptist Church: That our Sabbath School especially has lost one of its most important (word illegible): as in this branch of Christian labor, our lamented brother seemed to take most delight, and for this work he seemed most especially qualified: having devoted more than thirty years of his life to the Sabbath School cause.

Resolved, That for his virtues as a Christian, his kindness as a citizen and neighbor, and his patriotism as a citizen-soldier: we will ever cherish for our deceased brother, the most grateful remembrance.

Resolved, That this memorial be entered upon the records of our church, and then a copy be sent to our bereaved sister Allen, and the surviving members of his family, and that a copy be also sent to the 'Banner and Baptist' for publication, with request that the 'Christian Index' copy.

Addenda

Bro. Allen was born in the state of Virginia in the year 1703, came to Columbia County, Ga. while very young, joined the Baptist church Aug. 20th, 1814. Died Sept. 27th 1864, aged 70 years, 6 months and 21 days."¹³

The Battle of Marianna is well recorded. On the morning of September 25, 1864 a few Confederate soldiers, then at home on sick leave, formed a nucleus of an organization. Grey headed old men, boys under 16 years of age within the town and ten miles around, regardless of previous Union sentiment, arrived with shot-guns and formed what they themselves called "The Cradle and Grave Militia Company," in all about 200.¹⁴

A memorial was also written and recorded in the October 4, 1863 minutes giving honor to another of its devoted members, James Hayes. This memorial can be found in the *Greenwood Baptist Church Sesquicentennial the First One Hundred Fifty Years, 1845-1995*, p. 30.

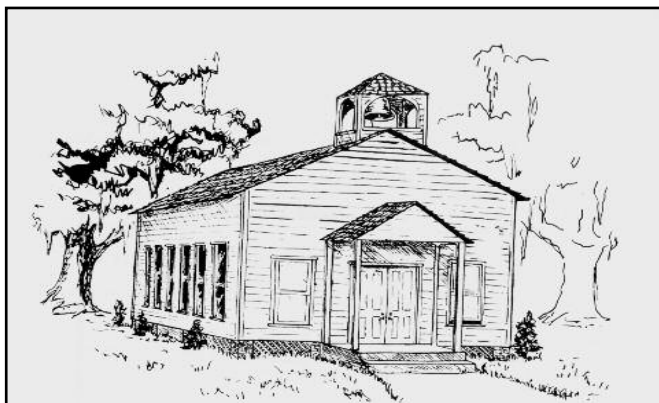
Many churches in the state of Florida affected by the war were repurposed by both armies. Some of these properties were left severely damaged. First Baptist Church of Jacksonville would be compensated in 1911 by a congressional bill passed in the United States.¹⁵ The following is a list of some of the other churches.

Bethel/First Baptist Church, Jacksonville: From 1838 to 1861 the church had constructed three buildings at three different locations in or near Jacksonville. The second location was located in LaVilla about two miles west of the center of Jacksonville. When it was felt that the church site in LaVilla was too far from the center of population, the church purchased a lot on Church Street.¹⁶ Just after having moved into a new church building in the spring of 1861, the town was evacuated and the Federal Army took possession of the Bethel Church and used it as a military hospital.¹⁷ The church was also said to have been used as an arsenal,¹⁸ store house,¹⁹ and for camping purposes.²⁰

At the close of the war the church building was left in deplorable condition. According to Church Secretary, Mrs. J. M. Aldridge, “the window panes [were] broken out the plaster off the walls, and filth and dirt everywhere.” The war also divided the congregation. African-Americans formed the Bethel Institutional Church, while white members established Tabernacle Baptist Church.²¹ The LaVilla location was the scene of the shedding of the first blood of the war in that section.²²

First Baptist Church, Fernandina: In March of 1862, the town of Fernandina was first occupied by the Federal Army. Many loyal Confederate citizens evacuated ahead of the arrival of the Federal forces. Bruce Gourley cites in one of his articles commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, “The town’s economy has suffered, churches have been re-purposed, and Union officers have taken possession of many private residences. In November, 1863, the First Baptist Church was the site of a Union Thanksgiving celebration.”²³ In January, 1864, a correspondent of the *Gainesville Cotton State* reported to the

Charleston Mercury, “The Baptist Church has been converted into a theatre...”²⁴



First Baptist Church, Fernandina 1860

This is a drawing by David Stone from a sketch by Mrs. Ernest Davis, as described by Mr. Walter Whitney.

First Baptist Church, Monticello: When the Court House in Monticello was occupied by a company of Federal troops; the troops used the north wall of the church for target practice.²⁵ “The church suffered during the Civil War but the membership grew, as records show that in 1867 there were 230 members, 187 of whom were negroes.”²⁶

First Baptist Church, Pensacola: Four months before a break appears in the church records, Pensacola Baptists called William Howard as pastor. He preached his first sermon in November, 1861. The war resulted in complete dispersion of church members, apparently including Pastor Howard.²⁷ “During the war, the Federal Government seized much church property. The building of the First Baptist Church of Pensacola was confiscated and turned over to the colored folk.”²⁸

First Baptist Church, Tallahassee: During the war years and later occupation, the church building was used by both armies as a hospital and barracks. More specifically Paul Taylor in *Discovering the Civil War in Florida* tells us, “after the battle of

Olustee, a military hospital was established in Tallahassee in the Baptist church to the west, to accommodate the Federal prisoners secured in that action.”²⁹

In his speech of 1904, Governor Jennings further commented, “When the building came again into the hands of its rightful owners, it was in a very dilapidated condition, and the pockets of its people were too thinly lined to permit them to pay for the needed repairs or even to support a pastor.”³⁰

Bethlehem/First Baptist Church, Campbellton (name changed in 1859): “A centerpiece of the town of Campbellton, the church was an important meeting location during the Civil War years. During the 1864 raid on Marianna by Federal troops, legend holds that minor skirmishing took place on the grounds around the church as Captain A. R. Godwin’s men exchanged shots with the lead elements of the Federal column commanded by Brig. Gen. Alexander Asboth. Asboth’s men camped on the grounds of the church on the night of September 26, 1864, before moving on to the Battle of Marianna the next day.”³¹

FBC, Micanopy: This note is found in a brief church history compiled by Dr. J. R. Little, “About this time the civil war came on, the membership scattered and the church went down. The records show one received by baptism and one death.”³²

Aenon, Leon County: Continued to hold services during the Civil War and in 1865 the church was destroyed by fire,³³

Callahan, Sharon: No record was kept of the work of the church during 1861 and the first part of 1862. In March, 1863, Elder K. Chambers baptized several who had been converted the preceding November. In March, 1863, the membership was 33. The Civil War years were difficult and no further record was kept until March, 5, 1865.³⁴

Pine Grove, Madison County: Activities in the church include a request in January, 1861, from the Midway church for the ordination of Brother H. M. Frier to the work of the gospel ministry. The ordination took place in February. At the church conference, March 21, 1863, the clerk was directed to make a list of its members who had enlisted in the army, and to ascertain the

dates, if possible, of the deaths of any who had been killed or had died. It appears that this list was kept open to the close of the war, since the statement is given that fifteen went and only five returned.³⁵

The war divided the country and families. Although some did not have the means, members, or personnel to continue holding services, many churches including Baptist churches continued to grow and strive in their efforts for the Lord. As with all wars, there were struggles and heart aches to endure. From the minutes and records of the Florida Baptist churches that have survived the years, we find that Baptists continued to have the hope and courage to minister to a lost and needy world. With the evacuations and displacement of many members, churches would adjust, adapt and persevere. They would then pick up the pieces resulting from four years of violence, destruction and loss of life. The meetings may have been sporadic, but many were fruitful in bringing lost souls to Christ. May we find an encouraging example in the history of those Baptists who remained faithful trusting in the Lord.

Endnotes

¹ Coles, David and Richard J. Ferry. “ ‘The Smallest Tadpole’: Florida in the Civil War.” State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida.

² Florida Baptist Historical files.

³ Rosser, John Leonidas. *A History of Florida Baptists*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1949, p. 122.

⁴ “Apalachicola as a Mission Field,” *Florida Baptist Witness*, October 15, 1902, p. 1.

⁵ <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/247012?id=1>

⁶ *First Baptist Church of Brooksville, Florida: 1847 to 2002*. Brooksville, Fla: History Committee, 2002, p. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹² Jarvis, Mrs. W. B., "History of the Greenwood Baptist Church, Greenwood, Florida," *Florida Baptist Witness*, January 4, 1923, p. 9.

¹³ *Greenwood Baptist Church: Sesquicentennial -- the First One Hundred Fifty Years, 1845-1995*. Marianna, Fla: Printing, Etc, 1995, pp. 31-32.

¹⁴ Taylor, Paul. *Discovering the Civil War in Florida: A Reader and Guide*. Sarasota, Fla: Pineapple Press, 2001, pp. 19-20. Hereafter referred to as "Taylor."

¹⁵ Congressional Edition, Volume 6180, Senate, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 236, "First Baptist Church of Jacksonville, Florida."

¹⁶ Reeves, Gordon Crawford, *A History of Florida Baptists*, Deland, FL, June, 1938, pp. 18-19. Hereafter referred to as "Reeves."

¹⁷ bethelbaptistjax.com/about/history

¹⁸ Dalton, Jack. *A History of Florida Baptists*. Thesis--University of Florida, 1952. p. 58. Hereafter referred to as "Dalton."

¹⁹ Bethel Baptist Institutional Church (Jacksonville, Fla.). *Souvenir Centennial Celebration, 1838-1938: Bethel Baptist Institutional Church, Golden Jubilee : Jacksonville Florida*, July 18-24, 1938 : *One Hundred Years in the Master's Service*. Jacksonville, Fla. Bethel Baptist Institutional Church, 1938, p. 5.

²⁰ Congressional Edition, Volume 6180, Senate, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 236, "First Baptist Church of Jacksonville, Florida"

²¹ <http://floridamemory.com/blog/2012/11/19/the-bethel-baptist-and-first-baptist-churches-of-jacksonville>.

²² Davis, T. Frederick. *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513-1924*. 1925, pp. 401-402.

²³ *The History of the Ninety-Seventh Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry during the War of the Rebellion, 1861-65*, Philadelphia, 1875, page 222.

²⁴ *Charleston Mercury*, January 5, 1864, p. 1.

²⁵ "Dalton," p. 64.

²⁶ "Reeves," p. 22.

²⁷ Clevenger, Toni Moore, and Martha Pope Trotter. *On the Bay-*

-on the Hill: The Story of the First Baptist Church of Pensacola, Florida. Pensacola, Fla: The Church, 1986, pp. 51-52.

²⁸ Brink, Marie, "Brief History of First Baptist Church, Pensacola, Florida," *Florida Baptist Witness*, June 1, 1939, p. 6.

²⁹ "Taylor," p. 72.

³⁰ Mash, Margaret Strickland, and Edith Revell Sederquist. *Window to the Past: A Chronicle of First Baptist Church Tallahassee, Florida.* Tallahassee, FL: First Baptist Church, 1998, p. 12.

³¹ Cox, Dale, Campbellton Baptist Church, Civil War Florida Blog, January 6, 2008.

³² *Marion Baptist Associational Minutes, 1889*, pp. 18-19.

³³ "150th Anniversary 1843-1993, Florida Baptist Association," p. 44.

³⁴ Reeves, Gordon C., "Centennial of Callahan Baptist Church," *Florida Baptist Witness*, May 15, 1941, p. 15.

³⁵ "Reeves," p. 38.

SELECT FLORIDA PASTORS WITH CIVIL WAR CONNECTIONS

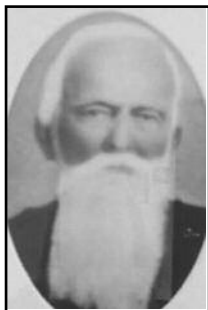
JUDITH R. JOLLY

*Florida Baptist Historian
and Board Member*



Many Florida Baptist churches were pastored by men who served in the Civil War. Some men left their pulpits to enlist, while others heard God's call to the ministry after the war ended. Whatever the circumstance, their lives, as the lives of all who served, were forever changed. Some knew battlefield injuries, some suffered debilitating illness due to exposure and disease, and still others were confined to military prisons. A good number were Floridians before the war, but an even greater number came to Florida following the war. Nonetheless, they each had an impact in a state convalescing in the war's economic, social, and spiritual aftermath. Theirs was a shared journey with the people they served during the decades of the late 19th century. The biographical vignettes that follow are but representative of many Florida Baptist pastors whose stories still remain untold.

(Note: Confederate States Army is hereafter referred to as CSA; Union/United States Army is hereafter referred to as US.)



W. W. Bostick

William Wiley Bostick, son of Rev. George W. Bostick, pioneer Florida pastor, was born March 31, 1843, in Gadsden County. In March 1862, at Way Key, he enlisted in Company D, Third Florida Infantry, CSA. A private and musician, he was detailed as a military hospital nurse following the battle of Vicksburg. Later captured near Atlanta and imprisoned at Camp Douglas in Chicago, he remained a prisoner

until the war ended.¹ Florida Baptist pastorates include Bethpage, Monticello, Olive (North Florida); Homeland, Bethel, Beulah, Gapway, Lakeland, Bartow (Polk); Pleasant Hill, Dade City (Pasco); Eden (Hernando); Shiloh (Hillsborough); Sumterville, Pine Level (Sumter); Lady Lake (Lake); Arcadia (DeSoto); Fort Myers (Lee); and Key West (Monroe).² He was Lee County School Superintendent from 1897 to 1901.³ “A minister of the gospel for fifty-two years,”⁴ he died May 28, 1919, in Miami and is buried in Miami City Cemetery. *(Photo courtesy of Carolyn Denise Tomlinson Riley.)*

Richard T. Caddin was born December 26, 1841, in Colleton County, South Carolina. On March 31, 1861, he enlisted in Company B, 11th Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, CSA. He was wounded at Cold Harbor in 1864, hospitalized, captured March 1865 at Fort Fisher, North Carolina, imprisoned at Hilton Head, South Carolina, and paroled in June.⁵ He came to Florida in 1867 and lived in Polk and Pasco counties.⁶ Polk pastorates include Caddin’s Chapel (East Side), Griffin, Gapway, Pleasant Hill Second, and Green Pond. Pasco pastorates were Clay Sink, County Line, Oakdale (First, Zephyrhills), Double Branch (First, Wesley Chapel), Five Mile Prairie/Six Mile Pond, and Pleasant Hill/Macon. In Hillsborough, he pastored Tampa’s Second Baptist, Ybor City, and Turkey Creek.⁷ He also was a missionary for Pasco Association and the Florida Baptist State Convention.⁸ He died March 21, 1916, and was memorialized as “a faithful comrade” by Lakeland Camp No. 1543, UCV.⁹ He was buried at Mount Olive Cemetery, Polk City.

Thomas Jefferson Davis, born 1834 in Twiggs County, Georgia, enlisted in the Confederate States Army on May 1, 1861, in Russell County, Alabama. He served in Company F, later Company C, 6th Alabama Regiment.¹⁰ Wounded July 2, 1863, at the battle of Gettysburg when a minie ball pierced through his right hip, he “could not stand to be carried on the retreat,” was left

at the field hospital for 10 days, and then imprisoned at David's Island, New York.¹¹ During his imprisonment he suffered gangrene with loss of muscle, nerve and bone.¹² By 1885, he had settled in Pensacola. An ordained minister, he served Pleasant Grove and Tenth Avenue (today's East Hill). He also was a leader in Bethlehem, Elim and Pensacola Bay Baptist associations. He died April 2, 1905, and was buried at St. John's Cemetery, Pensacola.¹³



J. M. Hendry

James Madison Hendry, “nicknamed ‘Boss’ by his elder brother,”¹⁴ was born July 23, 1839, in Lowndes County, Georgia. He came to Florida before 1850 and enlisted May 4, 1862, at Fort Meade, Polk County, in Company E, 7th Florida Infantry, CSA.¹⁵ On May 30, 1863, at Knoxville, Tennessee, he was medically discharged. On June 15, 1864, at Fort Myers, he enlisted in Company B, 2nd Florida Cavalry, USA, serving until discharged November 29, 1865.¹⁶ He moved to southwest Florida, engaged in cowhunting, farming, operated a grist mill and sawmill, and was Manatee County commissioner in 1873.¹⁷ “Reared as a Methodist, he became a convert to the Baptist faith”¹⁸ and was baptized by Rev. J.M. Hayman. He was later ordained and “pastored numerous churches in present-day Hardee, DeSoto and Manatee counties,”¹⁹ including New Hope, Dry Prairie, Bethany, Sandy, and Crewsville. He also supplied at New Zion and was instrumental in the organization of Manatee Missionary Baptist Association (present-day Peace River). He died April 14, 1922, and was buried in New Zion Cemetery.

(Photo: www.freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com.)

John Wright Hendry, “Baptist preacher, cattleman, businessman and civic leader,”²⁰ was born September 23, 1836, in Thomasville, Georgia. In 1848, his family moved to Florida. “He was never entirely loyal to Southern ideals before the Civil War (and)

believed that the holding of any people in a condition of involuntary servitude was a flagrant violation of the most sacred principles of civil righteousness”²¹ However, on May 4, 1862, he enlisted in Company E, 7th Florida Infantry, CSA, serving until discharged a month later on June 17, 1862.²² Converted at a Methodist meeting, he later felt convicted of the Scriptural authority of Baptist doctrine, was baptized at Hurrah Baptist Church and



J. W. Hendry

subsequently ordained. Southwest Florida churches he organized and/or pastored include Fort Ogden, Joshua Creek, Pine Level, New Hope, Fort Hartsuff (Wauchula), Midway, Pine Grove, Bee Ridge, Benevolence (Gillette), New Zion, Pine Pleasant, Mt. Pleasant, Fort Green and Oak Grove.²³ He also led in establishing Manatee Missionary Baptist Association (present-day Peace River). He died February 4, 1907, and was buried at New Zion Cemetery.

(Photo: www.freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com.)



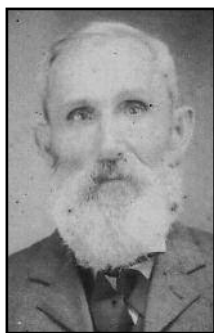
E. J. Hull

Ezekiel Josiah (E.J.) Hull was born July 4, 1827, in Burke County, Georgia. He and his family moved to Florida by 1860, settling first in Volusia County, then in Hillsborough.²⁴ On May 17, 1862, at Orlando, he enlisted as 2nd lieutenant in Company G, Eighth Florida Infantry, CSA. Hospitalized in Virginia in 1863 and suffering from “protracted ill health,” he was certified disabled and resigned April 30, 1863.²⁵

Active in South Florida and Manatee associations, churches pastored by E.J. Hull include Alafia (Hillsborough), Friendship (Manatee), Mt. Pleasant, Mt. Moriah, New Zion, Mt. Ephraim, New Hope, and Wauchula. He died April 20, 1897, at Wauchula, having spent “twenty-four years in (the) Gospel Ministry of the Missionary Baptist Faith.”²⁶ He was buried

at Wauchula Cemetery in Hardee County.

(Photo: Jeff Griffis, www.findagrave.com.)



A. A. Keith

Albert Abel (A.A.) Keith was born October 18, 1843, in Breckenridge County, Kentucky. On November 1, 1861, he enlisted in the Confederate Army in Company G, 9th Kentucky Infantry Regiment, “the Orphan Brigade.”²⁷ Discharged at war’s end near Augusta, Georgia, he spent a few years in Texas, and then moved to Florida by 1883. Rev. Keith was a circuit-riding preacher and missionary “when and where horseback was the only practical method of travel.”²⁸ Florida pastorates include Hebron (Hernando), Grace (Lake), Mount Olive, Lakeland, Gapway, Kathleen (Polk), Seffner, Mays Chapel (Hillsborough), Dade City, Lacoochee, New Hope, Emmaus, Richland (Pasco), and Eau Gallie (Brevard).²⁹ He died December 27, 1927, in Tarpon Springs and is buried in Cycadia Cemetery. His legacy lives on today, however. His great grandson, Gene Keith, great-great grandson, Bill Keith, and great-great-great grandson, Billy Keith, are Florida Baptist pastors continuing the work their pioneer ancestor began almost 130 years ago. (Photo courtesy of Keith family.)

Wiley Francis Martin was born November 12, 1841, in Georgia. On July 26, 1861, he enlisted in Company B, 18th Alabama Infantry, CSA, and was a camp and field hospital nurse. Captured near Jonesboro, Georgia, exchanged, and recaptured at Spanish Fort, Alabama, he was imprisoned at New Orleans and paroled May 10, 1865, in Mississippi.³⁰ He pastored Molino, Klondike, and Pleasant Hill churches in Escambia County; Canoe Bluff, New Macedonia, New Hope, Pilgrim Rest,



W. F. Martin

Baker, and Laurel Hill in present-day Okaloosa; Milton in Santa Rosa; Millville in Bay; DeFuniak Springs in Walton; and several in south Alabama.³¹ In 1909, he applied for a Confederate pension from the state of Florida. Denied because of three years he left his Florida home and pastored in south Alabama, the pension was granted June 1, 1921, in “An Act Granting a Pension to Wiley F. Martin” by the Florida State Legislature.³² He died December 22, 1922, in Pensacola, having “spent 56 years of his life in the ministry.”³³ He was buried at St. John's Cemetery, Pensacola. *(Photo courtesy of Sylvia Reeves.)*

Franklin Hardeman McGill was born January 28, 1842, in Perry County, Alabama. In 1861, at Mobile, Alabama, he enlisted in Company I, 38th Alabama Regiment, CSA and served until 1865, when discharged at Goldsboro, North Carolina.³⁴ A minister by 1880,³⁵ and in Florida by 1887, he settled in Santa Rosa County and pastored the Milton church. He also pastored New Macedonia at Chaffin (present-day Milligan) and Canoe Bluff at Holt, both now in Okaloosa County. In 1887, he chaired the “convention of Baptist churches of extreme west Florida” to organize Pensacola Bay Baptist Association.³⁶ By 1892, he moved to Hillsborough County and did missionary work for South Florida and Pasco associations, organizing the West Anclote church and working in Port Tampa City.³⁷ He died February 15, 1921, and was buried at Woodlawn Cemetery, Tampa.

George W. Miller, born about 1816 in Alabama, came into the Florida panhandle by 1860. He enlisted May 1, 1862, at Camp Pringle, Escambia County, and served in Captain A.B. McLeod's (New) Company E, First Florida Infantry, CSA.³⁸ He was wounded at Bentonville, North Carolina by a shell explosion which affected his hearing for his lifetime.³⁹ In 1872, he was one of the organizers of Elim Baptist Association (Florida/Alabama),⁴⁰ and in 1887, he served on the committee that drafted the constitution, by-laws and articles of faith of the new Pensacola Bay

Baptist Association.⁴¹ An evangelist, he worked in Escambia and Santa Rosa counties. His 1890 PBBA report noted “forty years laboring for the Master.”⁴² He died September 4, 1891, and was buried at Union Hill Cemetery, Pensacola.

Henry H. Norris was born August 24, 1843, in Early County, Georgia. In 1858, his family moved to Florida. On April 2, 1861, in Tallahassee, he enlisted in the Confederate States Army, serving first in Company D, (Old) 1st Florida Infantry and later in Company C, 5th Florida Infantry.⁴³ He was promoted 4th Cpl in 1862, then 3rd Cpl in early 1863. On July 2, 1863, he was wounded at Gettysburg, captured, and imprisoned at Fort Delaware.⁴⁴ He was released on oath June 11, 1865.⁴⁵ Following the war, he was a member of Camp E.A. Perry, United Confederate Veterans. For over 50 years, he pastored Florida Baptist churches, including New Hope, Bradenton, Sarasota, Wimauma and Boyett. He died September 29, 1916, at his home near Oneco and was buried at Adams Cemetery, Bradenton. Mourned as one of Manatee County’s pioneer citizens, he was “a man who through a long and exemplary life had contributed much to the civic and religious upbuilding of both city and county.”⁴⁶



H. G. B. Ray

Henry Green Berry (H.G.B.) Ray, born 1827 in Camden, Alabama, enlisted in the Confederate States Army on June 1, 1861, at Quitman, Mississippi. He served in (Old) Company I, which became (New) Company G, 13th Mississippi Regiment. Hospitalized for debilitas at Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, he was discharged in October 1862. He re-enlisted, was promoted to corporal, and was recruiting officer and clothing agent until the war ended.⁴⁷ By 1869, per Bethlehem Baptist Association records, H.G.B. Ray was clerk of Pine Barren Baptist Church, Davisville,

Escambia County, Florida. In 1872, he was one of four organizers of Elim Baptist Association (Florida/Alabama).⁴⁸ He pastored several Escambia County churches, including Mitchell's Creek, Walnut Hill, Enon, and Oak Grove. On November 9, 1890, he organized Ray's Chapel Baptist Church at Bogia.⁴⁹ He died in 1909 and was buried at Sardis Baptist Church Cemetery in Wawbeek, Escambia County, Alabama, just north of the Florida state line. *(Photo courtesy of Henry Greenberry Ray, Jr.)*



H. D. Ryals

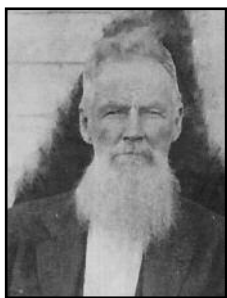
Henry Daniel (H.D.) Ryals was born October 29, 1845, in Columbia County, Florida. In 1849, his family moved to (then) Hernando County and settled south of Buddy's Lake, present-day Pasco.⁵⁰ On April 15, 1864, at Fort Myers, "as a refugee from the Confederacy," he enlisted in Company A, 2nd Florida (US) Cavalry.⁵¹ He was discharged November 29, 1865.

Ordained to the ministry October 11, 1885,⁵² at Six Mile Pond church (became Westside, Zephyrhills), he was an early Pasco Baptist Association missionary. Pasco pastorates include Six Mile Pond and Double Branch (First Baptist, Wesley Chapel). In Hillsborough, he pastored Pleasant Hill and County Line. He died December 17, 1933, in Plant City and was remembered as a pioneer minister who "rode horseback for miles to visit the sick and preach the gospel. He knew enough of medicine and law to administer to the physical and mental ailments of his people and often acted in both capacities."⁵³ He was buried at Geiger Cemetery, Zephyrhills.

(Photo courtesy of Ryals family.)

Lacy William Simmons, son of Rev. Lacy James Simmons, pioneer Florida Baptist pastor, was born March 6, 1844, in Thomas County, Georgia. On April 22, 1862, he enlisted in Company I, Georgia's 54th Infantry Regiment, CSA.⁵⁴ Discharged May 2, 1865, at Greensboro, North Carolina, he moved June 19, 1865, to

Plant City, Florida. A member of the Third Florida Brigade, United Confederate Veterans, he served as chaplain,⁵⁵ and in 1914, received the Southern Cross of Honor from the United Daughters of Confederacy.⁵⁶ A citrus grower, he also was a director of the Bradentown Citrus Exchange. Florida Baptist pastorates include Good Hope in Hudson, Tarpon Springs, Clearwater Baptist (present-day Calvary) and First Baptist, Bradenton. He died October 3, 1932, in Leesburg and was buried at Fogartyville Cemetery, Bradenton.



J. I. Spivey

James Irvin Spivey, born June 17, 1837, in Georgia, served in Company E, 26th Infantry Regiment, Gordon's Brigade, CSA. "He fought gallantly ... became known as 'General Gordon's Bull' by the fact that he had one of the most powerful voices in the Confederate army. At the command of General Gordon, Mr. Spivey would ... make such an uproar with his voice that the Federals thought they were about to be attacked. While ... thus diverted, the Confederates would attack them on the opposite side."⁵⁷ By January 1, 1875, he had settled in Zephyrhills, present-day Pasco County, Florida. He preached to a small church at Oakdale (became First Baptist, Zephyrhills), and the "voice that had bellowed like a bull in Virginia so shook the walls ... that people came from miles around."⁵⁸ Other Pasco pastorates included Double Branch, Pleasant Hill, Withlacoochee, Emmaus, Six Mile Pond, and Anclote. He was chairman of the Pasco County Commission from 1909 to 1910. He died June 23, 1911, and was buried at Magdalene Cemetery in Hillsborough County. (*Photo courtesy www.fivay.org.*)

John Henry Tomkies, born November 18, 1839, in Hanover County, Virginia, grew up in Ashland Baptist Church and was called to preach as a teenager.⁵⁹ He came to Florida just prior to the Civil War and preached and taught school at Madison. He then

moved to Gainesville, where he taught at East Florida Seminary. On March 20, 1862, at Camp Lee, Florida, he enlisted as a private in Company B (became Company C), 7th Regiment, Florida Infantry, CSA. On May 8, 1863, he was appointed chaplain. On May 1, 1865, he was paroled at Greensboro, North Carolina.⁶⁰ His Florida pastorates include Fort Clark, Waccahoota, and Stafford's Pond, all in the Gainesville area; Fernandina; Elim, Eliam, Providence and Pleasant Grove. He is regarded as the founding pastor of First Baptist Church, Gainesville.⁶¹ He died August 15, 1878, and was buried at Evergreen Cemetery in Gainesville. *(Photo courtesy of FBC, Gainesville.)*



J. H. Tomkies

Sylvester Walden was born December 22, 1822, in Georgia and “joined the Hainseville Baptist Church of Houston County, Georgia, when he was eighteen.”⁶² “Each night by the light of the fire,” his wife taught him to read the Bible.⁶³ He was ordained April 3, 1853, by Union Springs Church, Dooly County⁶⁴ and subsequently pastored and did missionary work for Houston Baptist Association. On September 1, 1861, he enlisted in Company H, 29th Georgia Infantry and was discharged August 19, 1862, at Savannah.⁶⁵ In Florida before 1870, he settled in Turkey Creek, Hillsborough County and became a leader in South Florida Baptist Association. He pastored Thonotosassa, Hopewell, Shiloh (now FBC, Plant City), and Alafia in Hillsborough; Beulah, Bethel, and Antioch in Polk; Oak Grove (now FBC, Dade City) in then Hernando; and Fort Hartsuff (now FBC, Wauchula) in then Manatee. He was also a member of Hillsborough Camp No. 1, UCV.⁶⁶ He died October 6, 1893, and was buried at Turkey Creek Cemetery. His descendants include at least three generations of Florida Baptist ministers.⁶⁷

James Hamilton Wentworth, born October 27, 1836, in Screven County, Georgia, came to Apalachicola, Florida with his parents in 1838.⁶⁸ On April 24, 1862, at Madison, he enlisted in Company D, 5th Florida Infantry, CSA. He was captured at Gettysburg July 3, 1863, imprisoned at Fort Delaware, and released on oath June 12, 1865. In his diary he wrote, "Oh I am so glad to be once more on the soil of Florida ..."⁶⁹ In Taylor County, he was



J. H. Wentworth

an attorney, postmaster, school teacher, school superintendent, county judge, county commission chairman, and surveyed and platted the town of Perry. Churches pastored include Cabbage Grove, Harmony, Hopewell, New Prospect No. 1, Pleasant Grove No. 1, Penial, Shady Grove, New Macedonia, Perry, Salem, Mt. Gilead, and Spring Warrior.⁷⁰ In Pensacola, he pastored the newly-organized Palafox Baptist Church in 1892.⁷¹ He died December 8, 1893, and was buried at St. John's Cemetery, Pensacola. (Photo courtesy of Brenda Rees.)

Nathan A. Williams was born about 1843 in Mississippi. On December 10, 1862, at Grenada, Mississippi, he enlisted as a private in Company G, 35th Regiment, Mississippi Infantry, CSA.⁷² Captured at Gaines Landing after the fall of Vicksburg and imprisoned at Camp Morton, Indianapolis, his release was ordered July 8, 1864.⁷³ He moved to Florida about 1882, settled at Hebron (then Hernando) and helped to erect "one of the first Baptist churches in Pasco county."⁷⁴ He lamented the "religious dearth existing in many portions of our new association," and wrote the *Florida Baptist Witness* with a plea for some "self-sacrificing minister of the gospel to come into our midst."⁷⁵ In October 1887, he, "an eminent M.D. and for twenty-eight years an active Baptist, was ordained to the work of the ministry."⁷⁶ He gave leadership to several Pasco churches and was pastor of Anclote in 1893. He died in 1899, and research indicates he is buried in the old, deserted Hebron Cemetery.



W. F. Wood

William Francis Wood, born about 1826 in England, grew up in Indiana. A Baptist minister when the Civil War began, he enlisted in 1861 as a chaplain in the 1st Regiment, Indiana Cavalry, USA, and was soon promoted to lieutenant colonel. In 1863, he was colonel of the newly-organized 4th Arkansas Colored Infantry, which became the 46th Regiment, United States Colored Infantry.⁷⁷ In Florida by the late 1870s, he pastored the Fernandina church before he “felt the call of God to go to Key West with the gospel.”⁷⁸ During his years as pastor of the Key West church, he worked with the thousands of Cuban residents, and eventually became “the first evangelical missionary”⁷⁹ to Cuba. He was appointed by the “Florida Missionary Board”⁸⁰ and “showed calling, courage and commitment”⁸¹ in his zeal to win Cuba for Christ. William F. Wood died in 1890 and was interred at Bosque Bello Cemetery in Fernandina Beach. (*Photo courtesy of Donald S. Hepburn.*)

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ISAAC TAYLOR TICHENOR AND A SABBATH EVENT

JERRY M. WINDSOR

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Florida Baptist Historical Society

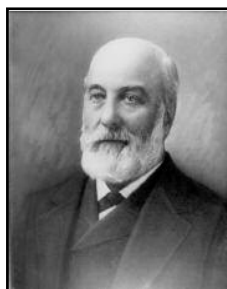
Sunday morning, April 6, 1862, dawned bright and beautiful for Reverend Isaac Taylor Tichenor (1825-1902) chaplain of the Alabama 17th Regiment. He was at Pittsburg, Tennessee, as a member of the Army of Mississippi. The Southern Army called it the battle of Shiloh and the Northern Army called it the battle of Pittsburg landing. April 6-7, 1862, are the official dates of this battle and the imposing figures of Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston (1803-1862) and Major General Hiram Ulysses Grant (1822-1885) of the North stand tall in this two day battle. Johnston was killed on Sunday afternoon, April 6, 1862, about 2:30 p.m., and Grant bore the brunt of the Union outcry over heavy losses. However on this stage of war and carnage stepped a pastor by the name of Isaac Taylor Tichenor (1825-1902) who was to make an interesting impact on the battle and the South after the war. Some say Tichenor was a hero on that day and others say he was completely out of line. The background and formation of the Alabama 17th Regiment helped set the stage for the Tichenor actions on that special Sunday at Shiloh.

Shiloh was a little country church near Pittsburg, Tennessee, which was located on the bank of the Tennessee River. The losses at the Battle of Shiloh included 10,699 Confederate, and 15,000 Union soldiers killed, wounded or captured. It was a bloody battle that was a prelude and wakeup call for tragedies to come.

Sunday morning, April 6, 1862 was a crucial day in the life of Tichenor and the Alabama 17th Regiment. This regiment was organized at Montgomery in August, 1861. In November it

moved to Pensacola and then in March, 1862, the regiment was sent to west Tennessee. Brigaded under J. K. Jackson of Georgia the 17th, 18th, 21st and 24th Alabama regiments fought at Shiloh and the 17th regiment lost 125 killed and wounded.

The Alabama 17th was organized under Colonel Thomas H. Watts, Lieutenant Colonel R.C. Fariss, Major V.S. Murphy and Adjutant W.M. Moon. The field and staff officers included N.R. Jones, surgeon; B.T. Blount, assistant surgeon; J.R. Benson, Commissary; C.C. Lloyd, quartermaster and I.T. Tichenor, Chaplain.



I. T. Tichenor

The Alabama 17th had a stormy beginning. The regiment had begun organizing in August, 1861, and had gone to Shorter's in Macon County, Alabama, and continued organization and drilling until November 14, 1861. After the fight at Santa Rosa Island, Florida, the regiment was sent to Pensacola and attached to the brigade of Brigadier General Gladden. On March 7, 1862, the regiment was ordered to Corinth, Mississippi, where General Pierre Gustave Toutant De Beauregard (1818-1893) was concentrating all the Confederate forces of the west. Captain W.W. McMillian in his 1867 history of the Alabama 17th said there were no trained people in the regiment before the battle of Shiloh and on at least two occasions the officers of the regiment were arrested for insubordination.

While at Pensacola the regiment had been used to having food, furniture, tents, and the real comforts of home. When they arrived at Bethel Station, Tennessee, it had been raining for days, creeks were swollen, the wind was blowing, mud was thick, and over 100 had been added to the sick list. They were ordered to Corinth, Mississippi, a few miles away and Colonel Watts and the whole regiment refused to go. All the regimented officers were placed under arrest by Brigadier General Gladden. The next day the officers were released and the regiment proceeded to Corinth where they were attached to the brigade of Brigadier General John

K. Jackson in the Second Army Corps of Major General Braxton Bragg.

Again all the field officers and senior captains were placed under arrest. Captain W.W. McMillan of Company "H" of the Alabama 17th confessed that this time they were arrested for "downright mutiny." He states in his regimental history that the mutiny was out of ignorance and not rebellion. He said they were in undisciplined conditions and were utterly ignorant of "military affairs."

This second arrest of the regimental officers ended in a strange twist. Colonel Watts remained for over a week in close arrest but had to be freed upon his being appointed Attorney General of the Confederate States. This turn of events also put the field officers back in action upon their publicly acknowledging their mistakes.

On April 3, 1862, the regiment was ordered "to cook three days rations and be prepared to march." They marched to Monterey and spent the night. On Friday, April 4, the regiment went about five miles and camped near the Mickey House. Then on Saturday, April 5 they moved forward five more miles and in the afternoon Lieutenant General William J. Hardee's Corps of the Confederate States of America passed them heading toward Shiloh, the little country church near Pittsburg, around which the forces of General Grant were encamped.

Captain McMillan of the Alabama 17th Company "H" reported that he was "awakened early on the morning of the 6th by sharp picket firing in the advance" area. He wrote, "The sun rose clear, and the beautiful Spring Sabbath day suggested thoughts of church bells ringing-but such thoughts were soon dissipated by the deafening roar of artillery, for Hardee's Corp had surprised them in their camps."

The Alabama 17th felt they had missed their date with destiny. McMillan reports, "A sharp fight took place, but the enemy soon fled in confusion, leaving their breakfast smoking and half eaten. Here General A.S. Johnson rode down our line and informed us that we had now a great victory. We felt mortified that

Hardee's troops had all the glory, and were really sorry that the fighting (as we thought) was over."

Sunday morning began to get hot for the Alabama 17th about 10:00 a.m. The brigade had marched out by the right flank and had taken a position on the right of Hardee's column when they came "on Yanks thoroughly posted among small hills." There was a stubborn fight in the open woods that lasted about two hours. It was in this two hour period that Reverend Isaac Taylor Tichenor made a sudden impact upon the Alabama 17th and Southern history. Some say he became a hero; others say he was misled. Some would say he was unfaithful to his calling but Tichenor saw his action on Sunday morning, April 6, 1862, as "satisfactory labour."

Through the view of eyewitnesses, newspapers of the time and the preacher himself, let's see some various interpretations of what happened to Tichenor on that eventful Sunday morning.

All agree that Reverend Tichenor was a man and minister of great worth. His background, energy and intelligence fitted him for an unusual future. Tichenor was born in Spencer County, Kentucky on November 11, 1825. He was the son of James and Margaret (Bennett) Tichenor. He was "solicited to preach" by local Kentucky Baptists and became known as the "boy orator of Kentucky." He had blue eyes, fair complexion and later a trimmed beard and gray hair. He married four times and had children by all four wives. He had four wives and four children to die before his own death on December 2, 1902, in Atlanta, Georgia.

Reverend Tichenor served as pastor of First Baptist Church, Columbus, Mississippi (1848-1850), First Baptist Church, Henderson, Kentucky (1851), First Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama (1852-1868) and First Baptist Church, Memphis, Tennessee (1871). From 1872-1882, Tichenor was president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Auburn, Alabama, that later became Alabama Polytechnic Institute and then Auburn University.

In 1863, Tichenor became President of Montevallo Coal

Mining Company in Shelby County, Alabama, and he was the first to mine coal in Alabama with steam machinery. He was the grandson of John Alden (six generations removed) who is said to have been the first European to set foot on Plymouth Rock upon his leaving the Mayflower.

The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon Reverend Tichenor by Howard College and the Alabama Polytechnic Institute awarded him the LL.D. degree. From 1882-1900, Dr. Tichenor served as corresponding secretary of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. W.B. Crumpton who knew most Southern Baptist preachers of the Tichenor era states that “He was every inch a great man, in heart, brain and in spirit. I came to regard him as the greatest orator I ever heard.”

Thomas Hill Watts (1819-1892) was a prominent lawyer, soldier, later attorney-general of the Confederate States of America, governor of Alabama and organizer of the 17th Alabama regiment. Watts was an intimate friend of Dr. Tichenor and when Watts served as colonel of the Alabama 17th, Reverend Tichenor served as chaplain. Watts expressed the opinion that Tichenor “was endowed with the best intellect with which he ever came into contact.”

There are at least four views as to what happened to Chaplain Tichenor on Sunday morning, April 6, 1862. Let us look at these views and compare their observations and impact.

There is the “reluctant anonymous” view that was forwarded by Tichenor himself as early as 1863. The combined Alabama House and Senate asked Dr. Tichenor to address them in a Fast Day Sermon on August 21, 1863, in the hall of the House of Representatives at the state capitol of Montgomery, Alabama. Tichenor brought forth a topical sermon on the text Psalm 46:9, “He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; He breaketh the bow and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the chariot in the fire.” The sermon he preached had three major points but it was in the third point that he humbly recalls his own role at Shiloh on that fateful Sunday morning. Tichenor shared the following in his message before the legislators:

Pardon me for relating an incident which illustrates this point. During one of the bloodiest battles of the war, in the change of position incident to great conflicts, a regiment from our own state was thrown upon the masses of the enemy into a position, which it was victory to hold, defeat to lose. Soon the converging fire of five times their number poured its [sic] leaden storm upon them. Those untried soldiers, never before upon the field of battle, staggered for a moment, as the strong ship staggers when smitten by the first breath of the tempest. Then there arose up one who reminded them that it was Sunday; that at that very hour their fathers and mothers and wives and brothers and sisters were gathered in the sanctuaries of our land praying to God for them. They caught the inspiration of the thought, every eye brightened, every bosom heaved with emotion, and closing up their thinned and bleeding ranks, they stood like a wall of adamant against the surging masses of the foe, until the tide of war rolled back before them, and victory was won! It was the thought that prayer was then ascending for them that moved their arms, and made them heroes in that fearful hour."

From the reluctant anonymous view there is a second view that was also related by Tichenor to his good friend Attorney General Watts. *The Richmond Whig*, published on April 18, 1862, the letter from Chaplain Tichenor to Watts his former commanding officer of the Alabama 17th. In this particular version Tichenor becomes the "Warrior-leader" of men. The role of chaplain is laid aside as the Yankee dead are remembered and then discounted as the spoils of war.

Accurate information obtained on the ground, and from prisoners, satisfies me that we fought all day five times our number....and with 300 men, killed and wounded not less than 1,000 Yankees.

The dead Yankees in front of our Regiment, where we first met the enemy, counted after the fight, 352. Captain Cum-

mings of Jackson's staff says they were piled three deep--others said it looked as if a regiment had dressed up and laid down. Most of them were shot in the head; this was caused by the fact that the enemy formed in three lines of battle, one behind the other, and the front were lying down. During the engagement we were under a crossfire on the left wing from three directions. Under it the boys wavered. I had been wounded, and was sitting down, but seeing them waver, I sprang to my feet, took off my hat, waved it over my head, walked up and down the line, and, they say, "preached them a sermon."

I reminded them that it was Sunday; that, at that hour (11 ½ o'clock) all their home folks were praying for them; that Tom Watts, (excuse the familiar way in which I employed so distinguished a name) had told us that he would listen with an eager ear to hear from the 17th; and shouting your name over the roar of battle, I called upon them to stand there, and die, if need be, for their country. The effect was evident. Every man stood to his post— every eye flashed and every heart beat high with desperate resolve to conquer or die.

They plied that ground with "Yankee slain."

From "reluctant anonymous" and "warrior-leader" there emerges a third view that is far more personal and hands-on. This view comes from the *Forsyth Educational Journal*, and is quoted in the *Montgomery Weekly Mail* of Saturday, May 17, 1862. This is the episode that spawned the view of Dr. Tichenor as the "fighting parson."

Rev. Mr. Tichenor is a chaplain in one of the Alabama regiments. Not wishing to be idle when the battle of Shiloh was fought, he took a revolving rifle which he carried about with him and with six or eight friends, concluded to see what he could do on his individual responsibility. The

first that he encountered was a Yankee officer in some thirty yards of him, whom he summoned to surrender. Instead of doing as he commended, the Yankee drew a pistol and discharged it at Mr. Tichenor. Mr. Tichenor then took deliberate aim and brought the Yankee of his horse. Going on a little further, he saw a Yankee private behind a tree trying to get a shot at him. Mr. Tichenor waited his opportunity and brought the Yankee private to the ground.

It appears that the “fighting parson” version was embellished from time to time in a venue that needed good news of a victory and evidence of a genuine hero of faith and courage. Tichenor filled the need, and the journalists did their part. Tichenor was known as a man of courage and confidence and this report added to the lore.

H.E. Taliaferro and R. Henderson were the editors of the *South Western Baptist* published at Tuskegee, Alabama. The Thursday, May 1, 1862 issue stated.

We understand that Brother Tichenor has “purchased to himself” a good degree, as to his new field of labor. During the great battle of Shiloh, he bore himself most gallantly, fighting in the ranks of his regiment with unsurpassed bravery. More than one federal officer fell under the crack of his rifle. We thank God for such a man, and for the preservation of his valuable life. He received we understand, a slight flesh wound from which he will recover in a few days.

Nearly all army movements and individual actions are not completely chronicled until the commanding generals in a fight write out their final reports and have them posted. This military history truism is certainly valid in the Isaac Taylor Tichenor foray at Shiloh on that very eventful Sunday morning.

Was Tichenor a hero? Was he a Baptist preacher with an unrealistic view of oratory and emotional fervor during time of

crisis? Could it be that Reverend Tichenor believed in the cause so much that he might even have had a messiah-death wish?

Benjamin Franklin Riley in *A Memorial History of the Baptists of Alabama*, published in 1923, shares a fourth view that brings the whole episode back into the spotlight of reality. Riley states that the commanding general of Reverend Tichenor did not think very highly of his one time military intervention. Riley reports, "The commanding general seems not to have prized very highly the service rendered by the valiant chaplain, for on hearing of his being wounded, he rather reproachfully remarked that had he been at the rear attending to his appropriate duty, he would not have been hurt."

Reluctant hero, warrior-leader, fighting parson or misplaced chaplain? The theories of military strategists and active ministers will always be interesting to consider as we think of April 6, 1862, Isaac Taylor Tichenor and "Sunday Morning Coming Down."

This article was written for *Civil War Times Illustrated*, a journal that requires documentation but does not use footnotes. Specific page and quote sources furnished upon request. (Author)

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PASTORS AND MASTERS: BLACK BAPTIST PREACHERS IN THE SOUTH PRIOR TO EMANCIPATION



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Quite a number of years ago, I attended Hampton University Ministers' Conference, a time of exceptional preaching and music conducted annually at that historically black institution of higher education. While I cannot recall whether the comment was made by Dr. Samuel Proctor or by one of the other preachers, I vividly recall one of them making the comment that if you really wanted to understand black preaching, you first needed to understand Southern Baptist preaching. The words acknowledge the combined history that black Southern Baptists had with their white counterparts prior to the Civil War.

In this article, we will briefly examine black worship among Southern Baptists, and the development of the black church in the United States, looking primarily at the southern states. While the identities of a majority of the black Baptist preachers have been lost to history, there are a couple of notable figures that will be discussed briefly in this article as a part of that discussion.

Black Worship Among Southern Baptists

Even prior to the beginning of the denomination, Baptists in the South expressed a desire to introduce blacks to Christianity. The earliest black Baptist church has generally been acknowledged as the Silver Bluff church, formed in Aiken, South Carolina, sometime between 1773 and 1775,¹ but some research indicates that the first may have actually been the church organized on the plantation of William Byrd III in Mecklenburg County, Virginia.²

However, black Baptist churches were relatively few in number prior to the Civil War. As a result, during this same time there were many black members in white churches, with the earliest references being 1787. When the Old Waterlick Church was organized in Virginia, two of the nineteen charter members were “Negro Joseph and Negro Jenny.” That number had increased to four the following month.³

As early as 1780, black membership made up approximately ten percent of Baptists, but had doubled to twenty percent by 1790.⁴ Growth was most rapid in the South, with 97 percent of all black Baptists residing in the South by 1790.⁵ With most of the black Baptists living in the South, and few black Baptist churches for them to attend, these members were a part of the white Baptist churches.⁶

It was common practice for blacks and whites to worship together. In the June 1845 meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention, a report from the Committee on the Instruction of the Colored Population noted that most churches had begun conducting “one sermon for Colored each Sunday. Oral Sabbath Schools were being held in many places with happy effect.” Also, black deacons were appointed to oversee their own.⁷

After the numbers of black congregants grew, the need arose for more space in which to worship. Since most Baptist churches were in rural settings and consisted of one-room meeting houses, blacks would have soon crowded out the white members. At least three options would have presented themselves: either hold a separate service for black members in the same meeting house, construct a separate building in which the black worshippers could meet, or construct a new building for the white congregation and give the old edifice to the black membership. In 1813, the Enon Baptist Church of Christ (now the First Baptist Church of Huntsville, Alabama) decided to appoint “Brethren Watkins Pruet and Hullums to superintend the building of a shed for the Black people and form a plan.”⁸ While this church was willing to make accommodation for a place for the black members to meet, records gave no indication of who was to conduct the

services for them. It is possible that it was to be led by a black preacher, as this was prior to the tightening of many of the slave laws forbidding blacks to worship without a white to oversee the meeting. While the dates by which these laws were enacted varied from state to state, many of them had been enacted by 1848.⁹

The church at Springhill in Marengo County, Alabama, began having a separate service for blacks in 1846. In their June conference, it was “considered expedient and proper that the sermon to the Black’s [sic] be delivered within a short time after the morning service.”¹⁰ Not every church followed this practice, however. Several churches had blacks join the white service but sit in a separate place. Many sat in the back of the church; some churches even had a separate balcony for blacks. In fact, it was not uncommon to find a church with three distinct sections: the white men sat in one area, white women sat in another, and blacks sat in still another.¹¹ During the Civil War, the Antioch Baptist Church in Lafayette, Alabama, voted to “reserve five benches across the front for the use of the black people and the Deacons to attend to it and see that they are properly seated.”¹²

Some black churches had white pastors, such as the First Colored Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia. Robert Ryland served as pastor of this congregation for twenty-five years beginning in 1841. During that time he baptized over 3,800 people into its membership. Also, occasionally a white church would seek out a black preacher on the grounds that they simply wanted the best pulpiteers available. In 1860, the Annual Report of the Southern Baptist Convention listed several churches that were led by black pastors.¹³

Black Preaching Among Southern Baptists

Since black and white members attended church together, it presented questions with which other organizations did not have to deal. For instance, at the Providence Church in Boone’s Creek Association in Kentucky, the question was raised in May 1802, as to whether black members “shall preach without the approbation of the church.” In July of that year, the answer was given, “We are

of the opinion that the church has no right to approbate a slave as a preacher without the consent of their owner.”¹⁴ It is not clear whether the owner of the slave in question was a member of the church. Regardless, if a slave owner was not inclined to permit a slave to preach, he simply would not be permitted.

Early in the 19th century, black Baptists worshipped in white dominated Baptist churches. Prior to the Civil War, black Baptists made up over half the membership of Southern Baptist churches.¹⁵ As the numbers of black worshippers grew, it was not long before conferences developed for the administration of black members. These served as administrative councils, primarily for the reception and exclusion of black members. These conferences also dealt with matters of church discipline among the black brethren.

This in itself is an important development because, while it would have been overseen by a white member, it allowed the black members to develop their own skills in church polity and administration. Placing black ministers and deacons in charge of these conferences allowed leaders to emerge within the black churches, just as they had developed leaders within the black communities outside of their religious practice. These emerging leaders now had a place to demonstrate their skills. In fact, as Christine Heyrman points out in *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt*, these leadership positions allowed black men who served as preachers, deacons, and exhorters, to hold posts that were even forbidden to white women.¹⁶ While a few women preached and served as deacons in Southern Baptist churches, the fact that this was available to black men and not white women was largely true. In fact, Randy Sparks points out in *A Companion to the American South*, black women also played important roles in black churches, areas Heyrman fails to note.¹⁷ The development of the Conference for Negroes would have had a natural attraction to blacks. This is possibly one of the reasons the Baptist church appealed to slaves.¹⁸

One item that came before the Marengo County church at Springhill was a request from some of the black members for

permission to preach. Credentials would have been necessary for this. While no formal education was required, much attention was given to moral character of the applicants. In December 1853, the motion was made by one member to postpone the request until a later date. Two other members were requested to inquire into the Christian character and influence of the candidates. The subject was discussed again in June 1854, but no action was ever taken. Either the candidates were not suitable to the conference, or the white members simply did not approve of black preachers.¹⁹

Black Southern Baptists Preachers

Black preachers became a very important part of the emerging Baptist churches, as some were entirely black, but these mostly existed in the larger cities. Sometimes these independent black churches were under the pastoral care of a white minister, but some were led by black ministers. One such person was Reverend Andrew Bryan who served as pastor of the First African Baptist Church of Savannah, Georgia, for twenty-four years until his death in 1812.²⁰ Rev. Bryan was not always well received by the white community. During one period of intense persecution, he and his brother were severely beaten and the church was forbidden to meet. Jonathan Bryan, his owner, was able to get him released from jail, thus enabling the church to resume meeting. It was reported that a turning point occurred when the white patrols, eavesdropping on a black church meeting in a barn, heard Andrew and his brother, Samson, praying earnestly for their white oppressors.²¹

In 1828, the Alabama Association actually became a slave owner. Caesar McLemore, a slave, was recognized as a preacher with great ability. The association wished to employ him as a preacher to preach and work among blacks. State laws would not permit this, so the association purchased him and a committee was formed to supervise his work and ministry. McLemore served as a missionary of the association. According to associational minutes, his preaching was well-received by both blacks and whites.²²

Even so, most states soon passed laws forbidding slaves to meet except under the supervision of a white member. In 1848, Georgia's slave codes prohibited a person of color from preaching or exhorting without a written license. The requirements to obtain such a license involved

a written certificate from three ordained ministers of the gospel of their own order, in which certificate shall be set forth the good moral character of the applicant, his pious deportment, and his ability to teach the gospel; having a due respect to the character of those persons to whom he is to be licensed to preach, said ministers to be members of the conference, presbytery, synod, or association to which the churches belong in which said colored preachers may be licensed to preach, and also the written permission of the justices of the inferior court of the county, and in counties in which the county town is incorporated, in addition thereto the permission of the mayor, or chief officer, or commissioners of such incorporation; such license not to be for a longer term than six months, and to be revocable at any time by the person granting it.²³

In Florida, Austin Smith, the state's first black Baptist preacher, was licensed to preach by the Key West Baptist Church in 1843.²⁴ Charles C. Lewis was the pastor of the church at that time. During the period when that church was without a pastor, Reverend Smith served as the interim pastor of the black congregation and conducted prayer meetings each week.²⁵

A significant black Florida preacher, James Page (1808-1883), was born in Virginia to a slave who was owned by John H. Parkhill. Little is known of Page's early life, other than the fact that his father was a free man who was drowned going ashore at Liberia as part of the colonization movement. Page married a woman named Elizabeth some time prior to 1828. His owner had migrated to Florida and settled in Leon County south of Tallahassee. John Parkhill had obtained land there and developed a

plantation called Bel Air. Parkhill was an elder in the Presbyterian church, but at that time this church did not allow black members. After Page became a Christian, he joined a Baptist church which encouraged the call he felt to the ministry. Their congregational organization allowed Page to start a preaching ministry at Bel Air and in 1850, led the slave community there to organize one of the earliest known black Baptist churches in Florida, Bethlehem Baptist Church at Bel Air Plantation. He was ordained in 1851 with a letter of recommendation from James E. Broome, Governor-elect of Florida and a founding member of Tallahassee Baptist Church. He was the second black minister ordained in Florida.²⁶



James Page

Page's work was influential in the area around Tallahassee. He would later be instrumental in the establishment and development of the Bethel Missionary Baptist Church.²⁷ Page travelled to many of the black churches in the Tallahassee area each month, as many of the slaves were not allowed to leave the plantations to attend church. Page did not have such a restriction. He was considered to be a highly trustworthy individual. When Parkhill died in 1854, Page was named as the "protector," business manager, and confidant of Parkhill's widow. He held this position until his death in 1883. Reverend Page was allowed to travel freely in response to the requests for his ministerial duties and became highly regarded by everyone, and widely known among the black churches. His popularity was extremely helpful when he organized the first black Baptist association in Florida in 1869. It consisted of at least twenty-eight churches when it began. Page continued to serve black Florida Baptist churches until the week of his death at the age of seventy-five.²⁸

Conclusion

While it is lamentable that history does not record the ministries and influence of countless black preachers and leaders in the early days of the Southern Baptist Convention, Southern

Baptists and blacks have a relationship that has influenced the worship practice of far more people of all races than will ever be known by mere mortals. However, I have no doubt that when they stood before the God whom they served faithfully and without the praise of men, they heard the Creator and Sustainer of all utter those words, "Well done, my good and faithful servant." To that, I would like to say, "Amen!"

Endnotes

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CIVIL WAR, FOREIGN MISSIONS BOARD, AND FLORIDA BAPTISTS

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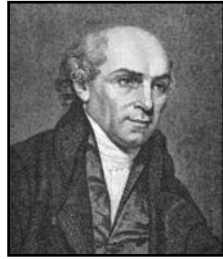


All four New Testament Gospels record Jesus' command for His followers to take the Gospel to the people groups (ethnē) of the world. The text we label the Great Commission states, "As you go disciple the people groups, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 28:19 author's translation). The story of Christian history is a story of both obedience and disobedience to Jesus' disciple-making command.

As they approached their two-hundredth year, the followers of Christ known as Baptists launched the modern missions movement.¹ In 1792, William Carey, a British Baptist cobbler-preacher published a challenge for missions titled *An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. The same year Carey and other like-minded Baptist leaders formed the first Protestant mission society, the Particular (Calvinistic) Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen (also called the Baptist Missions Society) was also formed. The following year the missions society appointed Carey as a missionary to India. Because of his vision, publications, missions advocacy, and forty-plus years of innovative comprehensive mission service in India, Carey has received the epithet "Father of Modern Missions."²

The young Baptist movement in America, for the most part, caught Carey's vision for international missions. A mere fifty-three years intervened between the formation of the British Baptist Missions Society and the birth of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) in 1845. Delegates to the inaugural SBC

expressed the goal of the SBC as “extension of Messiah’s kingdom and glory of God.” The formative SBC specifically mentioned the necessity of missions in Burma, Africa, and China as the focus of the Board of Foreign Missions.³



William Carey

At the time of the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the Southern Baptist Convention was sixteen years old and the Florida Baptist Convention (FBC) was not yet seven years old. The purpose of the researcher in this article is to examine the impact of the American Civil War upon missions support of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention and the Florida Baptist Convention. The writer contends that the factors of theological issues, the War itself, and regional spiritual destitution combined to devastate the support of the cause of foreign missions in the SBC and FBC.

Theology and Missions

Evangelical Calvinism. Early Florida Baptists shared with other Baptists in the South an evangelical Calvinist theology. The term “Evangelical Calvinism” distinguished this style of Calvinistic theology from High Calvinism. Andrew Fuller, secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society that sent Carey to India, authored the Evangelical Calvinist theological rationale for the cause of missions titled *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation*. Fuller argued against a form of Calvinism known as High Calvinism, a predecessor of the Primitive Baptists anti-missions movement in Florida. High Calvinism denies that believers can preach the gospel to an individual unless the person evidences warrants (evidence) of regeneration. Many of the early Baptist churches in Florida adopted an anti-missions mind-set partially due to a High Calvinism theology. Fuller argued for the liberal, indiscriminate sharing of the gospel. Phil Roberts, former president of Midwestern Seminary described Fuller’s influence.

Andrew Fuller's work, particularly the *Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation*, made perhaps the most notable contribution toward providing a missionary theology and incentive for world evangelism in the midst of a people both Calvinistic and church oriented. He helped to link the earlier Baptists, whose chief concern was the establishment of ideal New Testament congregations, with those in the nineteenth century driven to make the gospel known worldwide.⁴



Andrew Fuller

Rice.

In his history of Florida Baptists, Hepburn commented, "Oddly enough, almost all of the early Baptist churches in Florida were Calvinistic in theology, most were missionary."⁵ The correlation of a Calvinist, missionary theology was not an oddity. Florida Baptists shared the evangelical Calvinist theological convictions of Carey, Fuller, Adoniram Judson, and Luther

The Preamble and Constitution of the SBC from 1845 expressed a clear, succinct missionary purpose statement:

... for the purpose of carrying into effect the benevolent intentions of our constituents, by organizing a plan for eliciting, combining, and directing the energies of the whole denomination in one sacred effort, for the propagation of the Gospel.⁶

The Florida Baptist Convention formed in 1854 failed to express a direct missionary purpose in the foundational documents. Florida Baptists set forth four purposes: to unite influence ... to facilitate union and cooperation; to form and encourage plans for revival; to aid in the plans of associations, and to fund education.⁷ Despite a rejection of anti-missions sentiment and a profession of a missionary theology, Florida Baptists needed to develop a world-inclusive missionary vision.

Landmarkism. On the eve of the beginning of the Ameri-

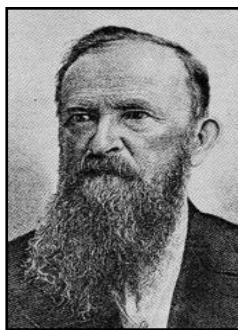
can Civil War, a theological issue arose that threatened the existence of the Board of Foreign Missions of the SBC. Landmarkism, under the leadership of J. R. Graves, questioned the validity of the Foreign Mission Board on theological grounds. Southwestern Seminary church historian Robert A. Baker labeled the controversy that ensued because of the teachings of Landmarkism “The Convention’s Greatest Internal Crisis.”⁸ Although he was a great orator, Graves’ influence derived from his role as editor of the best circulating denominational newspaper in the South, *The Tennessee Baptist*.

The foundational principle underlying Graves’ Landmark theology was the visible, local, autonomous church. Although a participant in local associational life and SBC, Graves questioned the validity of the mission boards. “General bodies were suspect. Their basis of membership must not be financial, associational, or denominational: they should draw their authority from the local body. They must not exercise authority over the local body, directly or indirectly. Their programs should not usurp the work of the local churches.”⁹ Graves, consequently, raised the question of the validity of the SBC mission boards. Graves wrote,

No man has lower views of the authority of a Missionary Board to dictate to missionaries or churches than we have. ... We do not believe that the Foreign Board has any right to call upon the missionaries that the churches sent to China or Africa, to take a journey to Richmond to be examined touching their experience, call to the ministry, and soundness in the faith. It is a high-handed act, and degrades both the judgment and authority of the church and presbytery that ordained him, thus practically declaring itself above both.¹⁰

Meeting in Richmond, for the biennial convention in 1859, the host city for the FMB, Southern Baptists approved a compromise position allowing the FMB to function as the fiduciary agent of individual churches transferring funds to church appointed foreign missionaries.¹¹

Support for Graves' distinctive theology was regional. Graves exerted a strong influence on early Florida Baptists. Florida Baptist historian Earl J. Joiner cited a 1854 letter to the editor of the Georgia Baptist paper *Christian Index* that claimed that Graves was present at the formation of the Florida Baptist Convention. Joiner further raised the question of the possibility of Graves's contribution to the formative documents of the Florida Baptist Convention.¹²



J. R. Graves

Graves did print the minutes of the first Florida Baptist Convention meeting, perhaps granting some legitimacy to Joiner's conjecture.¹³ Graves spoke at the 1880 Florida Baptist Convention meeting in Lake City. In response to his series of messages, delegates to the Florida Baptist Convention expressed their wholehearted approval of Graves' doctrines.¹⁴ In 1893, Baptists in Walton and Holmes County formed a new association and designated the association "Graves Baptist Association" in honor of J. R. Graves.

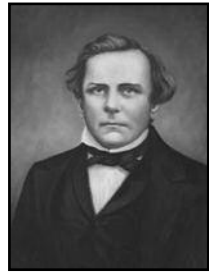
Given Graves' position opposing the validity of the role of the Foreign Mission Board on the eve of the Civil War, an interesting question arises. How did Graves' popularity among Florida Baptists impact the support of Florida Baptists in particular and Southern Baptists in general for foreign missions during the Civil War and Reconstruction Period due to questions about the validity of the FMB? Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, James B. Taylor, FMB Corresponding Secretary, cited political distractions and denominational divisions as potential causes of embarrassment to the work of the FMB. "The divisions in the denomination are causing some to withhold their contributions though we do not apprehend much loss from this source."¹⁵ In my opinion, the Corresponding Secretaries had reference to the denominational division resulting from Graves' views, particularly the Scriptural justification of the Foreign Mission Board.

Perhaps the financial impact of the Civil War on the FMB

indirectly produced a form of Landmarkism on the mission field. Some FMB missionaries began to question the validity of the existence of the FMB. In 1851, the year of the birth of Grave's Landmark movement, the FMB appointed T. P. Crawford as a missionary to China. Because of the Civil War, Crawford supported himself financially in China and began to advocate self-support for missionaries. While serving as an appointed missionary of the FMB, he argued against the validity of the FMB. "But these conventions should collect no funds, employ no men, hold no property and exercise no authority over the governments of the work of the Churches."¹⁶ During the Reconstruction period, several missionaries serving in China resigned from the Foreign Mission Board and followed Crawford in a movement called "Gospel Missionism" that advocated a view of missions support aligned with Landmarkism.

Baptists Foreign Missions and the Civil War

1861 Convention. Open hostilities between the Union and the Confederates began 12 April 1861, when Confederate forces bombed Ft. Sumter in the harbor of Charleston. Southern Baptists held their biennial meeting one-month later (May 10-13) at First Baptist Church, Savannah, Georgia. Four delegates attended from Florida, including former Governor James E. Broome, a charter member and deacon from First Baptist Church, Tallahassee.



James E. Broome

The Convention approved three actions related to the Civil War. First, the Convention approved a committee report proposing the removal of any reference to the "United" States in the SBC Constitution. Second, delegates unanimously approved a report from a stellar who's who committee on the State of the Country. Committee members included Richard Fuller, Basil Manly, Sr., P. H. Mell, R. B. C. Howell, J. B. Taylor as well as former Florida Governor James E. Broome. The report blamed the North for the War

due to violation of state rights, fanatical spirit of the North, and the threatened reign of terror in the approaching invasion. The committee report eloquently expressed a call to arms to defend the South:

... every principle of religion, or patriotism, and of humanity, calls upon us to pledge our fortunes and lives in the good work of repelling an invasion designed to destroy whatever is dear in our heroic traditions; whatever is sweet in our domestic hopes and enjoyments; whatever is essential to our institutions and our very manhood, whatever is worth living and dying for.¹⁷

Third, the Convention approved a report from a special committee dealing with the situation of five missionaries appointed by the FMB that the Board would not be able to send to the mission field due to finances caused by a drought. One of the missionaries the FMB could not appoint in 1861 was C. H. Toy. Toy was engaged at one point to Lottie Moon. After the Civil War, Toy became professor of Old Testament at Southern Seminary. He became infamous for his radical views regarding the Bible and acceptance of Darwinian evolution. Southern Seminary dismissed him in 1879 and Toy became a professor at Harvard and a Unitarian.¹⁸

Sources disagree regarding the number of SBC foreign missionaries at the beginning of the War. Former Southwestern Seminary professor William Estep claimed that the Board supported the work of thirty-eight missionaries in China and Africa.¹⁹ In contrast, FMB historical archivist Edith Jeter claimed the FMB supported sixty-six missionaries.²⁰

1863 Convention. The FMB report for 1863 contains detailed litany of issues the War caused for the mission of the FMB. First, dire finances caused Secretary Taylor to serve part-time while he served as a chaplain and colporteur. Second, because of safety concerns, the Board no longer employed agents to promote the Board in churches, association, and state conventions. Third, because of the scarcity of paper, the Board ceased

publication of mission journals such as *The Commission*. Fourth, some missionaries voluntarily served at one-half salary or secured secular employment to support their families. Fifth, the Union blockades created difficulties for communication, transferring funds, and shipping supplies. Sixth, the Board authorized missionaries to borrow money from national banks using Board property as collateral. Seventh, the Board gratefully acknowledged the assistance of “the Baltimore Committee” in assisting in fund transfer and communication with missionaries. The “Baltimore Committee,” an informal group, was able to send some communication and funds to missionaries with the approval of Union leaders. Eighth, Taylor noted by 1863 the missionary force reduced from sixty-six to thirty-nine due to resignations and death.²¹

Florida Baptist delegate B. S. Fuller served on a special committee charged to address the financial situation of the FMB. The Convention approved the committee recommendation:

That the Foreign Mission Board be, and it is hereby instructed, to press the collection of funds..., to transmit as far as practicable funds to missions, and to invest all surplus funds in Confederate bonds...²²

The FMB invested \$45,000 in Confederate bonds that soon became worthless.²³

Florida and the Civil War

Civil War Realities. On 10 January 1861, representatives of the General Assembly of Florida voted to succeed from the Union. Even prior to the War, the economy of Florida lagged behind the economies of other Southern States. Charlton Tebeau described the economic situation of Florida on the eve of the Civil War.

With an undeveloped and one-sided economy, Floridians were hard put to supply their own needs. There was literally no commercial manufacturing ... There was cotton to be exported in exchange for manufacturing, but the Union blockade reduced the activity to a mere fraction of what it

might have been. The only other items produced in quantities sufficient for more than local consumption were cattle and salt. The state's railroad system, only just over 400 miles, had no connections with railway line of nearby states, and the rolling stock was inadequate in both quantity and quality. Finally, there was a long coastline to defend.²⁴

Although numerous skirmishes occurred between Union and Confederate forces in Florida, only the engagements at Olustee and St. Marks may be characterized as major battles. Confederate forces won both major battles. One reason for the small number of battles within the state of Florida was the Confederate relocation of Florida soldiers to campaigns in other states. Forced conscriptions resulted in Florida contributing 16,000 Confederate soldiers and sailors, a significant portion of the small population of Florida.²⁵ The relationship between Florida and the Confederate government was one-sided. In a chapter titled "The Jilted Bride," Former U. S. Marine officer William Nutly summarized the relationship between the state of Florida and the Confederacy. "For all intents and purposes, Florida found herself abandoned by the Confederacy she had been so eager to join, isolated, and vulnerable to the enemy."²⁶

Beyond the provision of troops for battles in other Confederate States, the Confederate government failed to develop an adequate military strategy. Lee first suggested that Confederate troops concentrate in the interior of the state, then advised the strategy of devoting the largest number of troops to the defense of the Appalachia River, the main cotton port for Florida, southeast Alabama, and southwest Georgia.²⁷ The consequence of this strategy was that Union forces controlled Pensacola and the Eastern coast.

Florida Baptists and Missions. By fall 1860, months before succession, Florida Baptists were organized into five associations: Florida, Alachua, West Florida, Santa Fe, and Concord. Statistical data for Southern Baptists in the state were not impres-

sive: 89 churches, 61 ordained preachers, and 5,529 church members. Of the total church membership, at least 1,692 were black members.²⁸ At the 1860 annual meeting, Florida Baptists passed a resolution supporting political separation, "...deems it proper at once to express their cordial sympathy with, and hearty approbation of those who are determined to maintain the integrity of the Southern States, even by a disruption of all existing political ties..."²⁹

The Civil War affected Florida Baptists in numerous negative ways. First, the Florida Baptist Convention did not meet for six years due to the war. Second, the support of the war effort caused a leadership vacuum within the churches as both deacons and pastors served in the Confederate forces in other states. Third, numerous churches experienced occupation by Union forces. Bethel Baptist Church of Jacksonville, forerunner of the First Baptist Church, provides an insight into the manner in which occupation impacted churches. In 1864, Union forces utilized church property as a military hospital resulting in great damages to the church building. In 1912, the United States Congress settled for damages to the church property in the amount of \$1,170 due to the destruction caused by Union forces.³⁰ Fourth, the complexities created by the war created difficulties in supporting foreign missions. The available associational minutes, for the most part, fail to mention foreign missions. The 1861 meeting of the Florida Association provided the lone reference to foreign missions.

As the ports of the Confederate States are closed by blockade, the offspring of an unjustifiable, cruel, and tyrannical war waged against us by infatuated Northern Abolition influence, and by wicked men in high places, we feel that the opportunity under such circumstances is cut off, and we cannot with certainty, in this state of affairs, attempt to aid the cause of missions in any foreign fields.³¹

Fifth, the War resulted in a concern for domestic missions in favor of support for missions to troops. The executive commit-

tee of the West Florida Association shifted available funds to ministry to soldiers. "The committee has dropped the subject of domestic missions for the present and appropriated our associational funds to the support of Missionary and Colporteur labors among our soldiers in the army."³² The Florida Baptist Convention employed a full-time agent to raise funds for army missions.³³

Perhaps the lasting legacy of the Civil War upon Florida Baptists may be a humble post-War attitude combined with a focus upon domestic needs.

It may be that God has smitten us with poverty, because of our former carelessness upon this subject [missions], and that he has cut us off from information of the rest of the world, to give time for considering our wants at home, and maturing some more efficient plan for supplying those wants.³⁴



Frank Fowler

The attitude fostering a focus on "considering our wants at home" may explain the delay in terms of FMB appointment of a missionary from Florida. In 1904, Frank Fowler became the first Floridian appointed as a missionary by the Foreign Mission Board of the SBC.³⁵

Conclusion

Southern Baptists supported the call to arms against Northern invaders. The impact of the Civil War upon Florida Baptists serves as a portrait in miniature of the problem of missions support of the larger SBC. First, the War resulted in the inability to appoint new missionaries. Second, the War created financial difficulties in terms of raising money for the supporting missionaries as well as transmitting the funds to the missionaries. Third, the temporary demise of the agent system of fundraising combined with the cessation of foreign missions publications resulted in a lack of communication regarding foreign missions to Baptist laypeople. Fourth, the War caused a temporary shift in focus in local Baptist life from foreign missions to home missions, particularly missions to troops.³⁶ Fifth, since the FMB did not appoint

a missionary claiming Florida as the home state until the advent of the twentieth-century, the combination of the War and the popularity of Landmarkism among Florida Baptists, likely contributed to the delayed appointment of a missionary claiming Florida as the home state.

Endnotes

¹ In good baptistic fashion, Baptists disagree about the origin of the Baptist movement. The origin of Baptists debate plays a role in current factionalism within the Southern Baptist Convention. This author supports the view that Baptists began in the seventeenth century under the leadership of British John Smyth and Thomas Helwys. Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness* (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1987), 21. For an alternative interpretation of Baptist origins tracing the theological roots of contemporary Baptists to Anabaptists see Malcolm B. Yarnell, III, ed. *The Anabaptists and Contemporary Baptists: Restoring New Testament Christianity Essays in Honor of Paige Patterson*. (Nashville, TN: B & H Academic, 2013).

² Among missions scholars that ascribe the title to Carey are Ruth Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2004), 122.

³ SBC Annual, 1845, 19-20.

⁴ Phil Roberts, "Andrew Fuller," in *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition*, eds. Timothy George and David Dockery. (Nashville, TN; Broadman and Holman Publishers, 2001), 46.

⁵ Donald S. Hepburn and E. Earl Joiner, *Favored Florida : A History of Florida Baptists Volume One 1784-1939*. (Jacksonville, FL: Florida Baptist Historical Society, 2013), 123.

⁶ SBC Annual, 1845.

⁷ Hepburn set forth both the SBC Constitution and FBC Constitution in a contrasting manner in a sidebar. Hepburn, 156. Hepburn, however, did not note the lack of missionary purpose statement in the FBC Constitution.

⁸ Robert A. Baker, *Southern Baptist Convention and Its People*

1607-1972. (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1974), 209.

⁹ Roger C. Richards, *History of Southern Baptists*. Kindle Edition.

¹⁰ *The Tennessee Baptist*, September 4, 1858; cited in Robert A. Baker, *The Southern Baptist Convention and Its People 1607-1972*. (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1974), 216-217

¹¹ SBC Annual, 1859, 95-96.

¹² Edward Earl Joiner, *A History of Florida Baptists*. (Jacksonville, FL: Convention Press, 1972), 39. Don Hepburn's revision and expansion of Joiner's history of Florida Baptists does not mention the possibility of Graves' attendance. Hepburn, 150-57.

¹³ Reeves, Gordon C., "Florida Baptist Convention," *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists*, Vol. 1, p. 438.

¹⁴ Hepburn and Joiner, 237.

¹⁵ Minutes of the FMB, Dec 3, 1860.

¹⁶ T. P. Crawford, *Churches, to the Front* (China: T. P. Crawford, 1892), 14; cited in William R. Estep, *Whole Gospel Whole World: The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention 1845-1995*. (Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1994), 144.

¹⁷ SBC Annual, 1861.

¹⁸ Jesse Fletcher traced the saga of Toy in several sections of his book. Jesse Fletcher, *The Southern Baptist Convention: A Sesquicentennial History*. (Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman 1994).

¹⁹ Estep, 94.

²⁰ Edith M. Jeter, "Under the Banner of King Jesus: Foreign Missions and the Civil War," *Baptist History and Heritage* 32 (July/October 1997): 92.

²¹ Ibid.

²² SBC Annual, 1863.

²³ Estep, 98-99.

²⁴ Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida*. (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1971), 199.

²⁵ Canter Brown, Jr. "The Civil War, 1861-1865." In *The New History of Florida*, edited by Michael Gannon. (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1996), 236.

²⁶ William H. Nulty, *Confederate Florida: the Road to Olustee*. (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1990), 39.

²⁷ Tebeau, 17.

²⁸ The number of black members was higher; the West Florida Association did not separate white and colored members in the totals.

²⁹ Florida Baptist Convention Annual, 1860.

³⁰ Belton S. Wall, Jr., *A Tale to be Told: The History of the First Baptist Church of Downtown Jacksonville*. (Jacksonville, FL: First Baptist Church, 1999), 21.

³¹ Florida Association Minutes, 1861.

³² West Florida Association Minutes, 1863.

³³ West Florida Association Minutes, 1864.

³⁴ West Florida Association Minutes, 1865.

³⁵ Hepburn and Joiner, 370-71.

³⁶ The interest in home missions apparently was short lived because the SBC Home Mission Board experienced continued financial straits after the Civil War until the Board moved to Atlanta under the leadership of former Confederate chaplain I. T. Tichenor.

CONFLICT BETWEEN MISSIONARIES: J. B. HARTWELL, T. P. CRAWFORD, & THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR



John E. Shaffett

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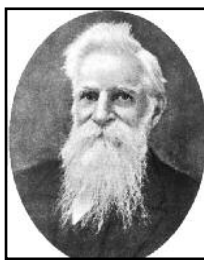
Baptist College of Floirda

Southern Baptist missionaries were cut off from the Foreign Mission Board during the American Civil War (1861-1865) because of the southern blockade. Southern Baptist missionaries in China could not communicate with the board or receive funds. To support his family, Jessie Boardman Hartwell (1835-1912), went to Shanghai to work as an interpreter.¹ Tarleton Perry Crawford (1821-1902), who had made a fortune in Shanghai real estate, went to Tengchow to replace Hartwell while he was away. This article will show how two Southern Baptist Missionaries influenced by circumstances caused by the American Civil War went to war against each other. It will also show its impact on Southern Baptist Foreign Missions in China.

Hartwell told the Foreign Mission Board in America that he left his family with great sorrow. He left Tengchow on March 8, 1864, and his wife and children accompanied him as far as Sentai. He was there till his vessel arrived on March 16. On March 23, he landed at Shanghai. The reason Hartwell went to work in Shanghai was that the blockade of the Southern States by the Union forces prevented funds from getting to the Southern Baptist missionaries. To provide for himself and his family, Hartwell took the place of Matthew T. Yates as a translator in Shanghai.²

Hartwell left a little church of inquiries (people interested in becoming Christians) of fifteen Chinese members. Crawford

had baptized eight of these inquirers. Hartwell's wife joined him after he had been in Shanghai for six months. She arrived on September 29, 1864.³



J. B. Hartwell

In less than two years, Crawford added eight new converts to the fifteen church members Hartwell had left. But with the ending of the Civil War in the United States, Hartwell resigned from his job in Shanghai and returned to his Tenggchow pastorate in December of 1865. Crawford reluctantly went back to being an assistant. "The Congregation, including the new members, quickly gravitated to the paternal Mr. Hartwell, and as other missionaries noted admiringly, they leaned on him, clung to him as a father." After the war, Crawford continued with "loans and business ventures he had entered into with Chinese Christians in Hartwell's Church."⁴

The Crawfords had been living in the Hartwell's house while the Hartwells were living in Shanghai, but in 1864, the two families were crowded together. Trouble quickly developed between Eliza Hartwell and Martha Crawford, who was irritated by Mrs. Hartwell's "patronizing" manner. Mrs. Hartwell returned Mrs. Crawford's dislike; whom she described to the other missionaries as an "Un-Christian and Ungentlemanly Person." The two couples in one house brought constant conflict.⁵

Trouble also developed between Mr. Hartwell and Mr. Crawford. On Hartwell's first Sunday back from Shanghai, he criticized Crawford for making changes in the church's worship service. Later, he accused Crawford of trying to steal his church and members and trying to turn other local missionaries against him. Crawford endured these accusations for several months. Then one day, he called Hartwell aside and told him how he felt.

I told him that he was the subject of a peculiar kind of selfishness, ambition, and pride which made it difficult for me to get along with him; and that I had reason to believe others had also experienced something of the same. He denied

the correctness of my judgments in the matter. I endeavored by example, illustrations, and in other ways to convince him of the fact. I also requested him to take it kindly... It was too much for him--he couldn't stand it: Next morning his countenance was changed toward me and lowering.⁶

The parties decided that the best situation was for the Crawfords to find another house. This would be difficult because of the community's strict ban on further leasing by foreigners. This was to be done through Crawford's assistant, Chao Ting Chung. He bought a house in 1866 and rented it to Crawford. The Board waived its usual requirements that all the Missionaries in an area work through one treasurer. The Board worked with Hartwell and Crawford as if they lived in different areas.⁷

Early in the summer of 1866, it was discovered Hartwell's assistant preacher had a problem. He had traveled with Hartwell to Shantung five years earlier and had labored beside Hartwell. However he had become involved in sexual relationships with prostitutes. Hartwell dismissed him from the church and from his position as assistant preacher. Hartwell said he was penitent, but it would take time to restore his reputation. He was a Mandarin, and highly educated.⁸

Hartwell's personal teacher, Wu Tswun Chao, had been with him five years, and also served as an assistant. Chao was the first man baptized by Hartwell. He was ordained a deacon at the end of April, 1866 and Hartwell believed he might become pastor of the church one day. Hartwell believed it was the apostolic approach to put the Chinese in charge of the ministry as soon as they were ready for it.⁹

The controversy between Hartwell and Crawford continued but they agreed that if Crawford remained in Shantung, he should begin an independent work. Hartwell believed each missionary should have an independent work.¹⁰ Crawford believed that Gospel preaching was the only work a missionary should do. This seems ironic from a man who made a fortune in Chinese real

estate. However he remained firm in his resolve even when his wife showed interest in educational work with the Chinese. He believed they should give all their time to proclaiming the gospel and not getting sidetracked with educational and medical missions.¹¹ Crawford encountered many problems in the late 1860s. And one of the biggest was that he regarded his expanding country work as an opportunity for combining profit with preaching. There were dismissals in the church, pastored by Crawford, and this only demonstrated his inability to get along with the natural leader types in his congregation.¹²

The Hartwells lived in a walled city of about a hundred thousand inhabitants and were shut in on three sides by Chinese neighbors. Their missionary service came at great sacrifice. The wall which separated them from their neighbors was only about three feet on each side of their house. Hartwell described some of their difficulties: "We live literally from hand to mouth, buying daily every bit of meat and every vegetable we use, the only things we lay up in store being a few hams that we cure ourselves, and fuel for the winter. Everything else we have to buy as we need."¹³

In 1868 Hartwell wrote to his mother, telling her that he believed God had been good to him and his family during their difficult times and had sufficiently provided for them. Hartwell knew that at times the future looked dark, but he felt a greater need than ever to call upon God to supply their food and clothing, and they felt God never failed them. Hartwell's friend, G. W. Burton sent him funds every year from the beginning of the Civil War in America. Burton was a former missionary in Shanghai, and had returned to America after a short term of service. Without these funds from Burton, the Hartwells would have been in greater difficulty. However, Hartwell believed that the God who sent him to China would also sustain him.¹⁴

The year 1868 closed a decade of mission work for Hartwell. In a report, he noted that and his wife were deeply discouraged. They had few church members, few people interested in the gospel, and the work in Tengchow seemed ineffective. During the spring he believed God was answering his prayers. The

congregations grew in numbers and in interest, their evening prayers were exchanged for a more extended nightly service, and he began to hear frequently the weeping of those repentant of sin and the joyful reports of new converts and God's work in their lives. These events continued for almost the whole year. It was like an extended revival. Hartwell wrote that he never experienced anything like it in China before. He baptized nineteen persons during the year and restored a church member who had been excluded from fellowship. He believed there to be signs of better times. The most he had baptized before this time had been six. However, his joy over God's work was tempered by the fact that three of his church members were excluded from the church because of sinful behavior.¹⁵

However the Crawford—Hartwell conflict continued. Crawford believed that Hartwell never forgave him for their confrontation in 1866. Irwin Hyatt in his book on East Shantung missionary service wrote:

For almost two years after that the Hartwells had refused to attend social gatherings at which either of the Crawfords were present, to the embarrassment of the Crawfords and of others in the area's foreign community. In February 1868, the Reverend Charles Mills of the Presbyterian Mission arranged mediation between the Baptist families. All parties made apologies and promised friendship. But Mrs. Crawford heard herself being patronized again by Mrs. Hartwell, and Crawford read aloud from personal letters that made him sound good at the Hartwell's expense. The breach remained and infected the work of the two men to the extent, Mrs. Crawford's diary suggests, that they were competing to win souls not only for Christ, but as marks of his favor in their struggle against each other.¹⁶

In all the conflict missionary work continued. Hartwell, assisted by a staff of paid native preachers, built his North Street Church into a fellowship that was larger than Crawford's.

Converted by Hartwell in 1866, Wu Tswun Chao rose

rapidly from 'part teacher, part deacon' to directorship of an evangelistic enterprise that spread over three local hsien (districts). By 1870 he, together with Hartwell and four Chinese employees, had increased North Street membership to fifty-six.¹⁷

The missionary results were beginning to look promising but events occurred in 1870 which changed this situation. The missionaries in Tengchow were forced to remove to Chefoo because of the Tientsin massacre in June of that year. The massacre occurred on June 21, 1870 at Tientsin. A Chinese mob killed the French consul, M. de Fontanier, burned and destroyed Catholic buildings, and killed nuns, priests, as well as Chinese employed by the Catholics. One of the Presbyterian missionaries wrote about this anti-foreign tragedy:

During the summer of 1870 there went through the whole of the northern provinces of China a strange anti-foreign agitation. The most incendiary placards and books or pamphlets were in circulation, and rumors were rife that foreigners were to be driven from the country. These grew so definite that it would have been folly to ignore them. The natives connected with us became most anxious and excited, as they were to be involved in the threatened attack upon the foreign teachers. Not a day passed without some new rumor of the hostile intentions of the officers and people reaching us. Warnings were frequently conveyed to us that our safety could only be secured by getting away from Tengchow as speedily as possible.¹⁹

On July 11, 1870, C. W. Mateer, John L. Nevius, T. P. Crawford, J. B. Hartwell, and Edward P. Capp asked the United States Vice-Consul at Chefoo, Mr. Holmes, for naval help since it had been effective before against the Neinfai rebels. There was no immediate response to their request. Things grew worse, so the Presbyterians and Southern Baptists met together on two different

occasions to decide what to do. They decided to request from the Vice-Consul a steamer to evacuate them. Since there was no available American gun-boat, two British war vessels were sent by the British naval commander to evacuate the missionaries on September 1.²⁰ The June, Tientsin “massacre” was an example of the anti-foreign attacks that the missionaries faced. One of the reasons for it were the unequal treaties propaganda against the missionaries spread by the educated elite.²¹

Hartwell was in a period of difficult transition and two other events drastically changed Hartwell’s situation. These events were the death of his first wife and his removal to the United States. Mrs. Hartwell was ill and went to bed on March 3, 1870. She remained there till her death on June 9. She had been sick for a long time and died of prostration after a prolonged fever.²²

After the death of his wife, Hartwell baptized six converts. Two of these were her school girls, and two other school girls were seeking admission to the church. One of these, Mary, a Chinese refugee girl adopted by the Hartwells was also baptized. Hartwell delayed their baptism until he could convince himself fully that they were truly converted to Christ. Mrs. Hartwell had hoped that if Mary became a Christian, she would be educated and prepared to teach school in connection with the North China mission.²³

Hartwell wondered why his wife had to be taken from him. She was only thirty-three years old and in her twelfth year of missionary work. Mrs. Hartwell spoke the Chinese language fluently and identified herself with Hartwell in all his mission work. Hartwell believed she fulfilled all the requirements of a good missionary: earnestness, courage, endurance, faithfulness, combined with a cultivated mind and a heart committed to the work of the Chinese people. He believed however, that he must not complain about her death because God had done it and he should not rebel against his will. He knew she rested in peace, but his soul was torn and crushed. He could cry out to God in his distress. He requested that the Board might allow him to return to the United States with his children. Because of his departure to the United States with his

four children, Hartwell and Crawford decided to ordain Hartwell's assistant, Wu Tswun Chao, into to the Christian ministry and he became pastor of Hartwell's congregation.²⁴

Hartwell returned to the United States with his four children in 1871. He arrived in San Francisco in April, and not long after his arrival, Hartwell went to the Southern Baptist Convention annual meeting in St. Louis, Missouri. It is reported that "his presence added much interest and pleasure to the meeting."²⁵

Hartwell travelled the United States with two Chinese assistants, preaching in various churches and promoting foreign missions. In December, 1871, Hartwell married the sister of his deceased wife, Julia C. Jewett. Then Hartwell, his new wife, and three of his four children left the United States for China in April 1872.²⁶

When Hartwell and his second wife returned to Tengchow, the conflict between Hartwell and Crawford grew into a war. Crawford had invested in a company which was managed by one of the leading financial providers in Hartwell's church. Crawford came to have legal rights to all of this Chinese man's properties. "Amid tangles of charges and countercharges, Hartwell tried to mediate."²⁷

It was during this turmoil on July 7, 1873, that Lottie Moon was appointed a missionary to China. Her new Southern Baptist residence was at Tengchow. She served in China for thirty-nine years and became a major leader of the North China Mission.²⁸



Lottie Moon

Soon after Lottie Moon arrived in Tengchow, the Chinese business man, Kao Ku San sued Crawford in consular court. He charged Crawford with deceiving him in signing certain papers and cheating him out of his money. Instead of owing Crawford money, he claimed that Crawford owed him. The legal documents however, supported Crawford. In the court proceedings Kao Ku San produced two witnesses at the trial. They were members of Hartwell's congregation in Tengchow. Both of

the men accused Crawford of being a liar and a swindler.²⁹

The court ruled that Crawford had a legal right to take everything from his opponent, which Crawford said he would do if he did not receive his money back in a year. Kao Ku San prepared to kill Crawford, and Crawford believed that Hartwell was involved. Crawford requested that Hartwell and his church discipline this Chinese member of their church. Instead, the church “censored” Crawford. After this, no one could bring Hartwell and Crawford together to resolve their differences. Crawford notified Hartwell that Hartwell would henceforth be “a heathen and publican” to him.³⁰

Crawford caused many of his own problems. Since his earlier mission work in Shanghai, he had combined preaching and profit by entering business arrangements with his church members. This worked until the time when his business dealings were no longer profitable or were embarrassing to him. Then he would get the business associate removed from the church, claiming this was necessary



T. P. Crawford

because of deeds not becoming a Christian.³¹ Crawford also had problems getting along with anyone in his church who showed leadership ability. During the 1860s and 1870s many of the leaders of Crawford’s church were removed from the church’s fellowship.³²

This long-lasting dispute between Crawford and Kao Ku San seemed to affect Crawford’s health. In the summer of 1874, an effort was made to reconcile Crawford and Kao Ku San. They met in the home of an English Baptist Missionary with Hartwell serving as a witness. While Kao was speaking, Crawford suddenly rose and an eyewitness noted:

He certainly was very much flushed, and had a swelled and bloated look about his face... He said he was too tired and nervous to hear the whole thing over again, gesticulated and stamped around and talked loudly and finally left the

room abruptly... He said he was sick, that he was nervous, that he had softening of the brain, and didn't expect to live more than four or five years anyhow...³³

This sudden episode exposed a serious illness and Crawford would continually be afflicted in the future with "attacks of numbness and temporary paralysis, nervous exhaustion," and mental problems.³⁴

In the meantime Hartwell was at Chefoo during the summer of 1874. Most of his hearers there were in Chefoo on business. During this time Hartwell continued to experience difficulties with Crawford. He believed that Crawford blamed him for his problems with the Chinese. He told Crawford that this was not true and that Crawford's problems came from his financial arrangements with the Chinese.³⁵

During this time Hartwell's second wife was ill, forcing Hartwell to stay in Chefoo. She had been ill since they came to China in 1872. His wife continued to experience pain and needed to see a specialist. He rejected requesting this of the Mission Board because he and his family had just recently returned from America.³⁶ Dr. Brown of the English Baptist Mission, removed from Chefoo, so Hartwell had to move his chapel, which had been connected with Brown's hospital. When Hartwell had first gone to Chefoo, he found it difficult to find a room to use as a chapel. At this time, Dr. Brown had just opened a hospital and offered the use of the chapel connected with the hospital. At Brown's removal, Hartwell found a new place with a larger room and a larger congregation. Chefoo was mainly a place of business, not residence so he considered his work as a "casting of bread upon waters," believing it would bear fruit in the future. He wished he could see fruit in a steady membership; but, he submitted himself to this ground-breaking task.³⁷

The controversy between Crawford and Hartwell did not die even after the poor health of the second Mrs. Hartwell forced Hartwell to return to the United States. Hartwell brought charges against Crawford before the Foreign Mission Board. Crawford

remained silent. Lottie Moon believed that the two men “should be separated in their work” and that Lottie would go with the Crawfords.³⁸

The Foreign Mission Board, trying unsuccessfully to understand the situation between Crawford and Hartwell from Richmond, ordered that the two churches of Tengchow be combined under Crawford’s leadership. Matthew T. Yates, the missionary in Shanghai, was told to go to Tengchow and to bring about this merger. “Yates reported to Richmond that personality conflicts between Crawford and Pastor Wu Tswun Chao made the merger impossible. Also, the North Street Church would not yield until Hartwell’s plans about returning to China were known.”³⁹

In view of the merging of the two churches, Lottie and her sister Edmonia Moon moved into the long-vacant Hartwell house on North Street. Pastor Wu lived in the compound, conducted a school there, and led worship services in the chapel. Hartwell’s house had been locked during his absence. Lottie told the Board that she would move out of the house if Hartwell should return. If he did not return, she thought it was in their best interest to live there instead of buying a new house.⁴⁰

When Hartwell found out about Lottie’s move, he exploded at the Board and to her. In response Lottie wrote both to Hartwell and to the Board. In her letter to the Board, she wrote, “the Board will understand why I scrupulously refrained from giving any hint of the difficulties in Shantung. Now that I know the affair has been brought before the Board... I can speak out on matters in which the Board are deeply concerned.”⁴¹

Lottie told the Board that she intended to remain a member of Monument St. Baptist Church but would be supportive of the Hartwell-Wu North Street Church. She also wrote a note to H. A. Tupper, president of the Board. She told him not to despair over this dispute and that other mission boards had their own disagreements. Then she gently suggested that a “quiet withdrawal of one of the parties usually solved the situation.”⁴²

This was what actually happened. Hartwell was forced to remain in the United States. The Board saw things Lottie’s way

and said that they came to their conclusion after much study and debate. "Although the Board went to great lengths to clear the character of both parties, Hartwell continued to bicker until he resigned in 1879 to work with the Chinese in California." Crawford continued to involve himself in business affairs, which ultimately left the Chinese feeling victimized.⁴³

Things only got worse for the Chinese who had been caught up in the Hartwell-Crawford conflict.

In the spring of 1877, the Foreign Mission Board stopped Hartwell's money drafts to China, bringing hard times to his former followers. By May, Wu Tswun Chao had closed down the entire North Street operation. His assistants and his congregation, he stated, had deserted him, enabling Crawford finally to write, 'Thus the artificial arrangement of a self-supporting church with a native pastor has broken down for want of visibility and foreign money... a good thing for the church.' Later they heard that Wu had moved into Buddhism, selling incense and funeral supplies.⁴⁴

The Foreign Mission Board had tired of reading Hartwell's allegations, and also of being embarrassed by reports of angry Hartwell speeches before the home churches. By the summer of 1877, Baptist Pastors, upset by Hartwell's stories of missionary strife, requested that he be sent to some distant location as soon as possible. By early 1878, he had been formally rebuked, and the following summer Hartwell resigned from the Board to move to California, where he began work as a missionary to the Chinese immigrants. It was there that the second Mrs. Hartwell died."⁴⁵

Crawford had his own views of doing mission work and finally withdrew from the Southern Baptist Convention Foreign Mission Board in 1894. He and some friends established the Gospel Mission in Taianfu. Thus ended the "war within a war." The sad spectacle of Christians feuding when their own country and their place of service was in such need. ⁴⁶

Endnotes

- ¹ Anna Seward Pruitt, *Up From Zero in North China*, (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1939), 24.
- ² J.B. Hartwell to the Officers of the Foreign Mission Board, SBCP, May 4, 1864; Catherine Allen, *The New Lottie Moon Story*, (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1980), 104-105.
- ³ J.B. Hartwell to the Officers of the Foreign Mission Board, SBCP, May 4, 1864.
- ⁴ Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth-Century American Missionaries in East Shantung* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 12; Catherine Allen, *The New Lottie Moon Story*, 105.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 12; Allen, *New Lottie Moon*, 105.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 12-13.
- ⁷ Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, 13; Allen, *New Lottie Moon*, 105.
- ⁸ J.B. Hartwell to the Officers of the Foreign Mission Board, SBCP, January 3, 1867.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ J.B. Hartwell to the Officers of the Foreign Mission Board, SBCP, July 1, 1867.
- ¹¹ Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, 16.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 17, 19.
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LEWIS THORNTON POWELL:
**“MYSTERY MAN” IN
LINCOLN ASSASSINATION
PLOT WAS SON OF A
FLORIDA BAPTIST PASTOR**

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It was a hot and sultry summer day on July 7, 1865, when four convicted Lincoln assassination co-conspirators, surrounded by a column of Union soldiers, were led to the executor's gallows in the south yard of the Old Capital Prison in Washington, D.C.

The four prisoners — George Atzerodt, David Herold, Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, and Floridian Lewis Thornton Powell (who had been tried under the alias of Hugh Lewis Paine) — were to be executed as a group before 2:00 p.m. for their participation in the assassination of President Lincoln and the attempted assassination of three other government leaders.

Each prisoner — whose head was covered in a white hood and their hands and legs shackled — was assisted in climbing the stairs of the gallows and were seated in arm chairs where their hands and legs were tied to the chair with strips of white linen. These arm chairs had been positioned over the hinged trap floor of the gallows platform that was nearly fifteen feet off the ground.

Lt. Colonel Christian Rath, the military executioner that day, checked the rope noose placed around the neck of each prisoner. Rath spoke into Powell's ear, referring to the convict's alias, "Paine, I want you to die quick." Powell reportedly replied with his final words, in a soft voice without a single tremor, "You know best, Captain," Florida historian Leon Prior documented.¹

Just moments earlier, Powell told his attorney William Doster that, "I want you to give my love to my parents and tell

them that I die in peace with God and man,” Betty Ownsbey wrote.²

“At 1:25 p.m. the trap was sprung and the four bodies dropped,” below the gallows’ platform floor.³ Their six feet of falling momentum was abruptly stopped by the rope’s limited length, and the four bodies jerked and twisted. Normally, the prisoner’s neck would break which caused immediate death.⁴ However, Powell did not die quickly or easily. Writhing at the end of the rope for nearly eight minutes, he slowly strangled to death. “Similarly, Herold also died hard. Mrs. Surratt and Atzerodt did not suffer much – their necks were broken,” Ownsbey recounted.⁵ Finally, after twenty minutes, Army doctors pronounced each of the conspirators to be dead.

The sentence received by these four was far more severe than the life sentences handed out to Samuel Arnold, Michael O’Laughlin, and Dr. Samuel Mudd. Edward Spangler was sentenced to six years in prison. Meanwhile, John H. Surratt, Mary Surratt’s son, fled to Canada, Italy and Egypt. In 1867 he was captured and returned to the U.S. for trial, but was acquitted. The leader of the conspirators, John Wilkes Booth, who had assassinated Lincoln in the Ford Theatre on that April 14, 1865, night, reportedly later died in a Virginia burning barn during a shootout with Union soldiers.⁶

The one participant in the plot whom the press identified as the “mystery man Lewis Payne” was in actuality 21-year old former Florida resident Lewis Thornton Powell. The young Floridian was accused of attempted murder of the Secretary of State, but only managed to seriously wound Seward. At the time, little was known about the native Alabamian whose father was an itinerant Florida Baptist preacher who established several churches in Central Florida.



Lewis Powell

The facts that led to the younger Powell’s conviction and death by hanging did not include any information confessed by

the former Confederate soldier. “He was the prototype of stoical endurance,” explained researcher Vaughn Shelton. “Unlike the other prisoners, he never spoke of the injustice of it all, never complained about anything, never asked for anything. He expressed no political opinions – in fact, never spoke at all ... never originated any conversation with his attorney.”⁷ What was made known about Powell and his supposed motivation, at the time, were characterizations made by his court appointed lawyer Colonel William Doster.

The evidence, witness accounts and confessions of several co-conspirators assembled to prosecute the eight revealed that the so-called “mystery man” Lewis Powell had used as many as eight aliases, which contributed to the speculation about the man, his motives and his true identify. According to various records, Powell had used, at one time or another, such monikers as: Lewis Payne Powell; Lewis Paine; Hugh Louis Paine; Reverend James Wood; Doc or Doctor; Mosby; Lieutenant James Kincheloe; and Lewis Thornton Powell.⁸ “When he chose a new alias, which was quite often, he always used the name of someone with whom he had been associated earlier – rather than picking a name at random.” Shelton explained.⁹

The mystery surrounding Lewis Thornton Powell and his complicity in the most significant assassination of the nineteenth century belied his family background and his religious training. To know Lewis Powell, the reader must go back and review the family influences upon his earlier years.

Before there was Lewis, there was his father and mother – George Cader Powell (b. 1809; d. 1881) and his mother Patience Caroline Powell (b. 1811; d. 1880) who were second cousins, hence the same last name prior to marriage. The couple married March 23, 1830, in Talbot County, Georgia.¹⁰

Within a decade of their marriage the Powells, having started to raise a family of five children, moved to Randolph County, Alabama. By 1844, while continuing to farm, Powell was appointed as the county’s assistant tax collector and later tax assessor. The civil service positions demonstrated that George Powell

was educated sufficiently to be able to read and write also ensured his temporary employment as a schoolmaster at various rural schools of Randolph County.¹¹

It was during 1844 that Lewis – the sixth surviving child out of eight – was born into the family that would eventually total ten children – five sons and five daughters – by 1852.¹²

The senior Powell – who had been licensed to preach by the Antioch Baptist Church in Talbot County – having responded to God’s call, was ordained to the gospel ministry at the Liberty Baptist Church, Russell County, Ala., in 1847.¹³ Upon his ordination into the gospel ministry Powell resigned from his public service job and devoted his efforts to support his family as a farmer and part-time blacksmith.¹⁴ Being bi-vocational was the norm for the typical Baptist preacher of that era, who did not receive pay for his ministerial duties, but had to rely solely on secular jobs to support the family.

In 1848, Rev. Powell was called to serve as the pastor of the Beulah Baptist Church in Stewart County, Georgia.¹⁵ The family moved and lived there for the next eleven years. Financial calamity struck George Powell when he was “forced to sell his farm because he had to pay off the indebtedness of a friend.” This family friend had taken out a loan and convinced Powell to be the co-signer to guarantee repayment of the loan. Unfortunately, in time, the friend refused to pay the debt and Rev. Powell, in order to pay off the loan, had to liquidate his only asset, his farm.¹⁶

Now homeless, in 1859, the Powell family packed their worldly goods, loaded a cart pulled by four mules and initially re-located to Bellville, in northwest Hamilton County, Florida.¹⁷ By the next year they re-located to the outskirts of Live Oak, which probably provided easier access to dry goods and the railway.

The Reverend Powell continued to pursue his bi-vocational career as a blacksmith and farmer. For at least one year, he also preached at the Providence Baptist Church, in neighboring Bradford County, which resulted in a number of additions by profession of faith.¹⁸ In time, this itinerant preacher would leave his

family to maintain the farm while he traveled nearly 180 miles south to establish a church near Apopka, an agricultural settlement located in the north end of Orange County.

Given the Christian home in which he was reared, Lewis Powell was described as being “sensitive, intense and thoughtfully reserve in nature, [and] very much an introvert.” His sisters later recalled that as “an animal lover, he was always bringing strays home and caring for the injured ones about the farm, earning him the nickname of ‘Doc’” from his family. The sisters also portrayed him as being “pious and tender-hearted” and devoted to Sunday school, prayer meetings and other religious activities.¹⁹ “Upon his baptism, Lewis expressed a desire to be a minister and to follow in the footsteps of his father,” wrote Betty Ownsbey.²⁰

As the young Lewis grew into his teenaged years, he was described as a strikingly handsome young man “with his thick, dark brown hair, and large, penetrating blue-grey eyes,” and a “dimpled smile.” He was able to attract many friends with his “easy going” manner and “affable ways.” His physical characteristics included being over six feet one and one-half inches tall, long and lean in build, although heavily muscled and broad-shouldered – developed from the laborious tasks of farming and assisting his father in the blacksmith shop – which were combined with his “father’s stoic reserve.”²¹

As news spread of Florida’s secession from the Union, Floridians – young and old – responded to the call to defend their states’ rights, Southern culture and economic way of life. Although the newly organized Confederate military’s legal enlistment age was 18, on June 4, 1861, at age 17, Lewis Powell joined the Jasper (Hamilton County) Blues.²² Given his physical attributes, he most likely appeared old enough to join the Confederate war effort.²³ The Jasper Blues were soon assigned to the Second Florida Infantry which was sent to Richmond, to be merged with the Army of Virginia.

While the infantry regiment was engaged in training outside the Confederate Capitol, Powell was able to secure a one night pass to travel into Richmond where he attended his first

stage play. "Powell was spellbound by the presentation and was particularly impressed by the voice and manner of one of the actors, John Wilkes Booth," writes Florida historian Leon Prior.²⁴ Although the two men were near opposites in physical appearance and cultural sophistication and manner, they were drawn together. "Booth was attracted by Powell's physical strength and Powell, in turn, was irresistibly attracted to the fascinating intellectual actor."²⁵ After this brief meeting, it would be several years before the two met again.

Returning to his Second Florida detachment, Powell participated in some of war's bloodiest battles: Yorktown, Williamsburg, Manassas, Antietam, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg.²⁶

On July 2, 1863, Powell was wounded in the right wrist at Gettysburg and captured by Union forces. He was sent to the U.S. General Hospital, Baltimore, Maryland, where he took on the role of nurse assisting convalescing soldiers. He eventually "escaped" from the hospital by wearing a Union soldier's uniform. But he did not return to the Second Florida. Rather he chose to join with the highly regarded Mosby's Raiders – led by Colonel John S. Mosby, nicknamed the "Gray Ghost" – in late 1863 and participated in operations in the Shenandoah Valley. Disenchanted or perhaps just tired of death and defeat, Powell deserted to the Union and took the oath of loyalty to the U.S. under the name "L. Paine" in January, 1865, at Alexandria, VA. He travelled to Baltimore in the hopes of becoming re-acquainted with Maggie Branson a nurse whom he met while in the Baltimore hospital. Using the alias of Rev. Wood, a Baptist preacher, he took residence in a boarding house run by Mary Surratt. It was in Baltimore that Powell had the second chance encounter with Booth and soon found himself caught up in the plot to kill President Lincoln.²⁷

Much has been written about John Wilkes Booth and his plot to assassinate President Lincoln. According to Edward Steers, Booth was not only angered by the North's attempt to disrupt the economic well-being of the southern states, but he was equally

outraged when he heard Lincoln announce his plans to enfranchise African-descendant slaves. Booth reportedly told friends, “That means nigger citizenship. Now, by God, I will put him through. That will be the last speech he will ever make.”²⁸

Booth enlisted nearly a dozen men and women with whom he was personally acquainted. His final recruit was enlisted in late January, 1865. That former Confederate soldier – using the name “Louis Paine” – standing over six feet tall, weighing 175 pounds and at age 21 was strong enough to be characterized as the “muscle” of the team of co-conspirators.²⁹

Booth’s original plan was to abduct Lincoln while he was taking a carriage ride. Booth mistakenly believed he could exchange Lincoln for captured Confederate prisoners.³⁰ At the last minute, Lincoln cancelled his trip.³¹ This postponed abduction operation, not only angered Booth and his men, but it resulted in a significant change of plans.

Booth, without consulting with his team, decided to assassinate Lincoln. However, “Lincoln’s assassination had been part of a much larger plot to murder several important Union leaders; General Grant and Vice President Johnson” and Secretary of State William H Seward, historians Allen Weinstein and David Rubel wrote.³² By eliminating those persons in the line of presidential succession, Booth hoped to severely disrupt the Union government. Booth planned to kill Lincoln and Grant (who was originally scheduled to be with the president at Ford’s Theatre). George Atzerodt was assigned to kill the vice president and Paine (Powell) was directed to kill Seward.

Upon receiving instructions, a gun and a knife from Booth, Powell went to the home of Seward who was recovering from a fractured jaw and broken arm he suffered in a carriage accident the previous week.³³ At the front door Powell used the ruse that he was a messenger sent by Dr. S. F. Verdt to personally deliver medicine to Seward. The servant, who answered the front door, tried to dissuade Powell by explaining Seward was in bed for the night. Powell shoved the servant aside and proceeded up

the stairs where he was stopped by Frederick Seward who was standing at the door of the senior Seward's room. Noting that his father was asleep, he told Powell that he would accept the medicine and give it to his father.³⁴

At first Powell started to leave. Catching everyone off guard, Powell "suddenly turned back to Frederick and beat him violently about the head with his pistol until he was unconscious," William Hanchett wrote. "Then he rushed into Seward's room, pushed aside a male nurse, jumped onto the sickbed, and began to slash Seward about his face and neck with a large knife." Another of Seward's sons, Augustus, and the military nurse, who attempted to pull Powell away from the bed, were stabbed. Powell then broke away and ran for the stairwell. On his way down the stairs he wounded a State Department messenger who was on the stairs.³⁵



Lewis Powell

After hiding for three days, Powell returned to Mary Surratt's boarding house, where he encountered an entourage of Union soldiers who were conducting an investigation of possible suspects involved in the Lincoln assassination. When questioned what he was doing at the boarding house, Powell claimed he had been hired by Mrs. Surratt to do manual labor the next day. The investigating officer inquired of Mrs. Surratt, who claimed she had never met or talked to Paine (Powell). Suspicious, the officer arrested Powell for further interrogation. "Not until later did the authorities discover that they had bagged a prize – the formidable desperado who had swept through the house of the Secretary of State," George Bryan recounted.³⁶

A military tribunal, commissioned by President Andrew Johnson on May 1, convened nine days later, with nine military officers serving as the jury.³⁷ The eight defendants were charged with the "general" crime of assassination upon the president and secretary of state. Defense counsel Doster later wrote that the

charge was “unknown to our law books.”³⁸ The military prosecutors, using evidence collected by the Bureau of Military Justice, presented, “untruthful witnesses and irrelevant evidence [which] were accepted without objection by the Commissioners,” Ownsbey noted.³⁹

“Doster later wrote that the commission had concluded from the first that the defendants were guilty, and that it had acted as if its function was simply to decide the degree of guilt in each case and to fix the sentences accordingly.”⁴⁰

Without using any defense witnesses, Doster made a lengthy argument of Powell’s supposed insanity to the tribunal. The attorney claimed Powell’s insanity had been caused by “a frantic delusion” among Southerners “that Northern men were usurping the government, were coveting their plantations, were longing to pillage theirs houses, ravage their fields, and reduce them to subjection.”⁴¹ The argument fell on deaf ears. On June 30 the military tribunal agreed all eight defendants were guilty and assessed the penalties noted earlier in this article.

Meanwhile, back in Florida, the parents had lost all contact with Lewis Powell “except two years before his execution, when he was wounded and captured at Gettysburg.” His parents would hear nothing about him until Jacksonville newspapers reported that the Lincoln conspirator tried under the alias Lewis [sic] Paine was the son of a North Florida preacher and former slave owner. George Powell wired the government not to execute his son until he arrived in Washington. He would get no closer than Jacksonville,” Jim Robinson stated in his contemporary retelling of the Powell family story.⁴²

In a letter dated Sept. 30, 1865, to defense counsel Doster, the preacher-father George Powell wrote from Live Oak about his “unfortunate and lamented son.” The senior Powell recalled his son’s childhood by noting, “In the twelfth year of his age he made a profession of religion, and from that time he lived a pious life up to the time of his enlistment.” Continuing the father wrote, “He was soon ordered to Virginia. From that time forward I know nothing of him, only by letter. He was always kind and tenderhearted,

yet determined in all his undertakings. He was much esteemed by all who knew him, and bid fair to usefulness in church and state. Please accept the warmest thanks of myself and family for the services rendered the unfortunate youth.”⁴³

The mysterious circumstances surrounding the whereabouts of Lewis Powell’s body for nearly 100 years adds to the mystery man’s saga. Initially following their hanging the four co-conspirators were buried in the prison yard near where the gallows had stood. On October 1, 1867, the bodies were disinterred and reburied in ammunitions Warehouse Number 1 where they were held until 1869 when the bodies were permitted to be claimed by their respective families. Unfortunately, the Powell body remained unclaimed.⁴⁴ The Powell family had moved from north to central Florida and may not have been officially notified that they could claim their son’s body. As a result, Powell’s body was exhumed and moved to Washington’s Holmead Cemetery. In time the cemetery was abandon and closed. By 1884, Powell’s remains were exhumed to be re-located. But herein lays another mystery of where.⁴⁵ Researcher Ownsbey speculates that the remains were reburied in the Graceland Cemetery after exhumation from Holmead.⁴⁶

“Somehow, on January 13, 1885, the cranium or skull of Lewis Powell ended up as anatomical specimen number 2244 in the Army Medical Museum,” then housed in the Ford’s Theater.⁴⁷ Federal government documents confirm that in May, 1898, the remains were turned over to the Smithsonian Anthropology Department, where they have been stored since.⁴⁸

It is evident that the family never claimed the body of Lewis. “Facing hard times brought on by the Civil War and the shame of a son hanged for his part in the conspiracy, the Powells [by 1868] had moved and settled on the southern shores of Lake Jessup in Seminole County,” reports Jim Robinson. “George Powell owned 160 acres of what today is downtown Oviedo, including the land where the First Baptist Church was built. He became its first preacher, later founding Bethel Baptist Church, Orlando and

Lake Harney Baptist later called the First Baptist Church of Geneva.”⁴⁹

Following his wife Patience’s death in 1880, “George Powell bought 5,426 acres and a sawmill on what today is the far west corner of Seminole County,” that was bounded on two sides by the Wekiva River. But his life as a plantation owner ended quickly within a year when he died in 1881, at West Apopka, Orange County. According to one printed source, the Rev. Powell was buried on his plantation somewhere between Longwood and the Wekiva River.⁵⁰

Endnotes

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- ⁴³ Shelton, p. 392, quoting verbatim a letter by Rev. George D.

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JOHN ALBERT BROADUS—CHAPLAIN OF THE CONFEDERACY

JOEL BREIDENBAUGH

Pastor, First Baptist Church, Sweetwater



Few giants in Baptist life during the Civil War era stand as tall as John Albert Broadus. Born to Major Edmund Broadus and Nancy Sims on January 24, 1827, in Culpepper County, Virginia, John Broadus made a lasting imprint on evangelical scholarship in general and on Southern Baptist pulpits in particular. By the time of his death on March 16, 1895, Broadus “was regarded as one of North America’s most capable Christian scholars of the nineteenth century and certainly one of the world’s greatest preachers.”¹ While much can be said about Broadus as an author, teacher, pastor, theologian and the like, this article traces Broadus’ life and ministry in the days leading up to the Civil War, his ministry during the War and his life immediately following the War’s conclusion.

Disappointed in Expectations from the Union and Confederacy— His Regret toward the Civil War

Broadus’ upbringing undoubtedly made a strong impression on his views about government, military service, teaching and more, for all of these were interests and occupations of his father. As a product of Virginia, his father had instilled in him a strong sense of patriotism along the lines of several of the founding fathers, including Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson. While favoring colonial rights over a domineering monarchy in England, Virginians, along with the rest of the ante-bellum South, cherished rights of the states over rights of the federal government. Tom Net-

tles observes, “Broadus experienced some of the most sublime joys of the ante-bellum years, while, at the same time, absorbing many of its most distressing prejudices.”²

Slavery was the most glaring prejudice in the South. Many Baptists in the South did not like to make pro-slavery comments, but when hard-pressed, they typically sided with their fellow Southern comrades. Broadus was not much different on this issue. Slavery, tucked away in the larger issue of state’s rights, was worth fighting for and worth dying for, if necessary.



John Albert
Broadus

Thus, the whole cause of the Civil War was in the blood of the young nation. Twenty-five years after the beginning of the Civil War, Broadus shared his thoughts about those dark days and the inevitability of the War. He said, “This much is plain—the war had to come. The necessity for it was written in the whole history of the republic and of the colonies—yea, in the history of England for centuries past. It was written in the configuration and climate, the soil and productions of different parts of our continent. It was written on the flag of the first ship that brought African slaves to the English Colonies of North America. It had to come... with human nature as it is, the war had to come sooner or later.”³

Although Broadus knew the war would come, he had conflicting thoughts about it. At one time he wrote how he “was most earnestly opposed to the action of the State in seceding, and deeply regret it now. I have at this hour no sympathy with secession, though of course it would be worse than idle to speak against it now, and though, equally of course, I mean to do my duty as a citizen here.”⁴ Not liking the stance of the Confederacy, Broadus was more committed to it than to what President Lincoln and the Union were demanding. When war broke out in April 1861, Broadus wanted to continue teaching, but he was just as willing to preach and minister throughout the South wherever he was needed.

Determined to Evangelize the Confederate Soldiers—His Role as a Chaplain

Broadus' concern for ministers and lay persons alike caused him not to miss a beat in ministry and various opportunities. Just two years from leaving a productive pastorate to begin a career in training future pastors and missionaries at the founding of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Broadus faced the closing of the seminary. Because of his commitment to the cause of the Confederacy, however, Broadus turned his attention to evangelizing and equipping soldiers. A decade after the end of the Civil War, Broadus revealed his desire to educate the laity in order to curb "the subtle infidelity which is spreading its poison through all our society."⁵

Ten years before the Civil War, Broadus accepted a dual-invitation to serve as pastor of a Baptist church in Charlottesville, Virginia and teach at the University of Virginia. In his role with the University, Broadus eventually served a two-year stint as chaplain, during which time he went on a leave of absence from his normal pastoral responsibilities.⁶ Broadus' commitment to the education of young students certainly transferred well into his desire to see the Christian growth of soldiers, many of them youthful.

One way Broadus ministered to the soldiers was through writing them. At the request of S. S. Kirby "to have a tract for profane and wicked professors and camp backsliders," Broadus wrote a pamphlet entitled "We Pray for You at Home." Among the various prayers Broadus offered on behalf of the Confederate soldiers, he affirmed how

we pray for the cause—that just and glorious cause in which you so nobly struggle—that it may please God to make you triumphant, and that we may have independence and peace... We pray for your precious life—that if it be our Father's will, you may be spared to come back to your home and to us... We pray for your soul. Ah! what shall it comfort us, and what shall it profit you, if you gain the

noblest earthly triumphs, the most abiding earthly fame, yea, every good that earth can give, and lose your soul? We pray that you may be inclined and enabled to commit your soul to the divine Saviour, who died to redeem us, and ever lives to intercede for us.⁷

While praying for them, Broadus also pleaded for them to follow the Spirit's lead in hating sin, loving holiness and fleeing to Christ as the only atoning sacrifice for their sins.

In the first few years of the war, Broadus preached often throughout various Confederate camp meetings and local churches, especially in South Carolina and Virginia. His fame as a captivating preacher spread and requests came from all directions. Dr. J. William Jones helped keep track of Broadus' schedule and observed:

As for his preaching, I had appointments for him three times every day, and occasionally four times. He drew large crowds, and as he looked into the eyes of those bronzed heroes of many a battle, and realized that they might be summoned at any hour into another battle, and into eternity, his very soul was stirred within him, and I never heard him preach with such beautiful simplicity and thrilling power the old gospel which he loved so well. I have frequently told him that he never preached as well as he did in the army, and I think that he agreed with me. We had four series of meetings running at the same time—one in my brigade (Smith's Va.), one in Gordon's (Ga.) brigade, one in Hay's (La.) brigade, and one in Hoke's (N. C.) brigade. There were two hundred and fifty professions of conversion in Smith's brigade, over two hundred in Hays', and large numbers in the other brigades. Again and again would the vast congregations be melted down under the power of the great preacher, and men "unused to the melting mood" would sob with uncontrollable emotion.⁸

On one occasion Broadus preached to some 5,000 soldiers, including General Lee and others. While preaching on Proverbs 3:17, he "caught the vast crowd with his first sentence,

and held, and thrilled, and moved them to the close of the sermon. There was times when there was scarcely a dry eye among those gathered thousands, and all through the sermon...At the close of the service they came by the hundreds to ask an interest in the prayers of God's people, or profess a new-found faith in the Lord Jesus Christ."⁹

On another occasion, Stonewall Jackson asked Doctor Jones to "Write to [Broadus] by all means and beg him to come. Tell him that he never had a better opportunity of preaching the gospel than he would have right now in these camps."¹⁰ Broadus agreed to come, writing the only thing preventing him from coming sooner was his feeble health and question as to whether he could withstand the harsh conditions of camp life. Unfortunately, Broadus didn't get to preach to Jackson, because Jackson died a short time later during the Battle of Chancellorsville. Broadus fulfilled his preaching commitment anyway.

He filled most of his summer in 1863 preaching to General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Of this experience, he wrote, "It was the most interesting and thoroughly delightful preaching I was ever engaged in."¹¹ More than thirty years later after Broadus' death, Captain J. H. Leathers, a soldier representing the Confederate Veteran Association, said of Broadus' preaching: "Just before the Battle of Chancellorsville, I heard him preach at Lee's headquarters to 50,000 or 75,000 men... in that same sweet, tender, persuasive voice that is so familiar to us all!"¹²

Not only did Broadus take delight in these preaching engagements, but he also encouraged other ministers to do the same. He wrote to them,

It is impossible to convey any just idea of the wide and effectual door that is now opened for preaching in the Army of Northern Virginia...In every command that I visit, or hear from, a large proportion of the soldiers will attend preaching and listen well; and in many cases the interest is really wonderful...A much larger proportion of the soldiers attend preaching in camp than used to attend

at home; and when any interest is awakened the homogeneity and fellow-feeling which exists among them may be a powerful means, as used by the Divine Spirit, of diffusing that interest through the whole mass. Brethren, there is far more religious interest in this army than at home. The Holy Spirit seems everywhere moving among us. These widespread camps are a magnificent collection of camp-meetings. Brethren, it is the noblest opportunity for protracted meetings you ever saw. The rich, ripe harvest stands waiting. Come, brother, thrust in your sickle, and, by God's blessing, you shall reap golden sheaves that shall be your rejoicing in time and eternity.¹³

Depressed by Health Problems—His Remorse in Light of Camp Life

As hinted at above, though Broadus enjoyed this season of ministry, his preaching during the War was quite difficult, as he labored in the Confederate camps and the churches. He wrote, "Oh, it is so hard to preach as one ought to do! I long for the opportunity, yet do not rise to meet it with whole-souled earnestness and living faith, and afterwards I feel sad and ashamed."¹⁴ He regularly felt "overwhelmed with invitations to come and preach in different brigades."¹⁵ Add to this the ongoing scene of hundreds and thousands of soldiers dying, and Broadus grew weary, hoping for the end of "this dreadful war!"¹⁶

Clearly there were times when Broadus wanted to do far more for the soldiers, but his health prevented him. To compensate for his struggles, he set out to preach 15-minute sermons, but while in the act of preaching, he wanted "to be preaching all day long, and can but lament my feebleness, and console myself with remembering that something is better than nothing... If my health were vigorous and my "Commentary" work had never been undertaken, I should have no hesitation in thinking it my duty to labor in the army permanently."¹⁷

Discouraged by an Unclear Future—His Resignation & Resolve toward the War's End

As the Spring of 1865 continued, Robertson comments, “The bare necessities of life were hard to get. The Seminary seemed dead. The end of the war no one could see even just before the surrender of General Lee.”¹⁸ A sense of discouragement and despair marked much of the South as it seemed the War would preoccupy them for decades on end. In April 1865, Broadus wrote Basil Manly, Jr., his colleague from Southern Seminary, “I take it there will now be war in this country fully as long as you or I will live. All thought of doing this or that ‘after the war,’ must, I fear, be abandoned. I still have strong hope that our children may live to see independence, and maybe our grandchildren, happiness. But ‘man’s extremity is God’s opportunity.’ As wonderful things have happened in history as that our cause should now begin to rise and prosper.”¹⁹

Within days of this correspondence, Lee surrendered at Appomattox, bringing the War to an abrupt end. What seemed so unclear just days earlier now became painstakingly obvious—the Confederacy was now history and a new focus on Reconstruction would be the new normal throughout the South. Independence would not come for the South, but happiness would come in time.

Reflections on the War would occur for several decades with each side subjecting their ongoing biases. Broadus believed such discussions were futile, for neither side could claim more rightness on the matter than the other side. But the Southern cause was still necessary. Twenty years after the War, Broadus asked, “Did our buried heroes die in vain? Their side of the conflict was the side appointed to fail, but it does not follow that they died in vain. The great struggle has preserved the self-respect of the Southern people.”²⁰



John Albert
Broadus

Devoted to Educating Ministers—His Return to SBTs

By late September 1863, Broadus became pastor of Clear Spring Church near Greenville and added Siloam Church in the fall of 1864. He also served as Corresponding Secretary of the Sunday School Board at Greenville from 1863-1866. He was devoted to go to bat for his colleagues and get the SS Board to publish various books by Manly, Boyce and his own works to help educate others in the Scriptures during difficult days.²¹

When the seminary resumed classes in 1866 under extremely depressing conditions, Broadus met with the other co-founders and suggested “Suppose we quietly agree that the Seminary may die, but we’ll die first.”²² That note of commitment, resolve and utter devotion marked everything Broadus attempted and played a significant part in his success as preacher, teacher, writer, chaplain and denominational statesmen.

While this article’s focus has been Broadus’ role in the Civil War, his devotion to teaching homiletics and New Testament interpretation has provided the greatest benefits to others. C. L. Corbitt, a former student of Broadus, recalled Broadus’ final lecture in English New Testament class. It highlights the role of the Bible in all his ministry.

Young gentlemen, if this were the last time I should ever be permitted to address you, I would feel amply repaid for consuming the whole hour in endeavoring to impress upon you these two things, true piety, and like Apollos, to be men “mighty in the Scriptures.” Then pausing, he stood for a moment with his piercing eye fixed upon us, and repeated over and over again in that slow but wonderfully impressive style peculiar to himself. “Mighty in the Scriptures, Mighty in the Scriptures,” until the whole class seemed to be lifted through him into a sacred nearness to the Master. That picture of him as he stood there at that moment can never be obliterated from my mind.²³

Broadus died a short time later. At Broadus’ passing, the *Louisville Courier-Journal* observed, “There is no man in the

United States whose passing would cause more widespread sorrow than that of Doctor Broadus.”²⁴ Indeed, “Broadus’ death in Louisville signaled for the southeastern portion of the United States what Spurgeon’s death in England signaled for English Baptists, and, likewise, what Carroll’s death in Texas would mean about twenty years later.”²⁵ Truly this Christian giant influenced many, including thousands in the Confederacy who came to know the Lord from his ministry.

Endnotes

¹ David S. Dockery, “The Broadus-Robertson Tradition” in *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition*, edited by Timothy George and David S. Dockery (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2011), 91.

² Tom Nettles, *The Baptists: Key People Involved in Forming a Baptist Identity*, Volume 2: Beginnings in America (Fearn, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 2005), 293.

³ John Albert Broadus, “The Confederate Dead,” May 22, 1886, in Broadus, *Sermons and Addresses*, 7th ed. (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1886), 369-370.

⁴ A. T. Robertson, *Life and Letters of John A. Broadus* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901), 182.

⁵ John A. Broadus, *College Education for Men of Business* (Richmond: Charles A. Ryland, 1875), 11.

⁶ Nettles, 297.

⁷ Robertson, *Life and Letters*, 190-191.

⁸ Dr. J. Wm. Jones in “Seminary Magazine,” April 1895, in Robertson, *Life and Letters*, 208.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 209.

¹⁰ Robertson, *Life and Letters*, 197.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹² C. M. Truex, *Broadus Memorial Seminary Magazine*, April 1895, 404.

¹³ Broadus, *The Religious Herald*, September 1863, as quoted in J. W. Jones, *The Revival in the Army of Northern Virginia*, 248.

¹⁴ Robertson, *Life and Letters*, 200.

¹⁵ Ibid., 205.

¹⁶ Ibid., 203. For further study of the life of chaplaincy in the South, see Charles F. Pitts, *Chaplains in Gray: The Confederate Chaplain's Story* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1957).

¹⁷ Robertson, *Life and Letters*, 206. His "Commentary" reference was his "Commentary on Matthew," finished in 1886 and quite possibly his best work. Toward the end of his life, Broadus' health continued to decline. Robertson notes, "A midwinter trip to Florida gave him some relief." (*Life and Letters*, 416) He made a few of these trips, getting to meet John Stetson and other supporters in Florida. He occasionally wrote to update them of his health.

¹⁸ Ibid., 211.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Broadus, "The Confederate Dead," *Sermons and Addresses*, 370.

²¹ Robertson, *Life and Letters*, 209.

²² Ibid., 214.

²³ Ibid., 430.

²⁴ Ibid., 431.

²⁵ Nettles, *The Baptists*, 321.

Appendix 1

A List of Florida Baptist Churches in 1860

<u>Church</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Start Date</u>
Aenon	(Leon)	1842
Alagua	(Walton)	1852
Alafia	(Hillsborough)	1850
Antioch	(Columbia)	
Antioch	(Gadsden)	1852
Antioch	(Suwannee)	1851
Apalachicola	(Franklin)	1851
Apopka	(Orange)	1856
Aucilla	(Jefferson)	1858
Belleville	(Hamilton)	1848
Bethesda	(Wakulla)	
Bethlehem	(Columbia)	1851
Bethlehem	(Jackson)	1847
Bethlehem	(Wakulla)	1859
Bethpage	(Jefferson)	1860
Beulah	(Clay)	1850
Beulah	(Duval)	1856
Brooksville	(Hernando)	1852
Camp Creek	(Walton)	1846
Campbellton	(Jackson)	1825
Chattahoochee	(Gadsden)	1855
Clay Landing	(Levy)	1856
Cluster Springs	(Walton)	1845
Columbia	(Columbia)	1847
Concord	(Madison)	1841
Concordia	(Gadsden)	1858
Deep Creek	(Nassau)	1856
Ebenezer	(Jefferson)	1828
Ebenezer	(Washington)	1846
Econfina	(Washington)	1846

<u>Church</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Start Date</u>
Eden	(Hernando)	1845
Ekaniah	(Putnam)	1856
Eliam	(Putnam)	1859
Elim	(Columbia)	1857
Elizabeth	(Jefferson)	1831
Ephesus	(Nassau)	1845
Fellowship	(Holmes)	1857
Fellowship	(Marion)	1844
Fernandina	(Nassau)	1859
Flat Creek	(Gadsden)	1850
Friendship	(Columbia)	1856
Friendship	(Jackson)	1857
Ft. Clark	(Alachua)	1847
Ft. McCoy	(Marion)	1849
Ft. McKee	(Marion)	1856
Good Hope	(Marion)	1856
Greenville	(Madison)	1849
Greenwood	(Jackson)	1845
Half Moon Lake	(Lafayette)	1856
Harmony	(Holmes)	1846
Harmony	(Madison)	1848
Hawthorne	(Alachua)	1853
Holmes Creek	(Jackson)	1847
Holmes Valley	(Holmes)	1846
Indian Springs	(Leon)	1829
Jacksonville	(Duval)	1838
Jasper	(Hamilton)	1832
Key West	(Monroe)	1843
Lake Bryant	(Marion)	1856
Lake Jackson	(Leon)	1860
Lakeland	(Polk)	1855
Limestone	(Holmes)	1832
Live Oak	(Callahan)	1845
Long Branch	(Duval)	1825
Lothtoosa	(Alachua)	
Madison	(Madison)	1835

<u>Church</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Start Date</u>
Micanopy	(Alachua)	1852
Midway	(Columbia)	1856
Milton	(Santa Rosa)	1845
Monticello	(Jefferson)	1841
Mossy Grove	(Sumter)	1856
Mt. Besor	(Wakulla)	1853
Mt. Elon	(Wakulla)	1854
Mt. Enon	(Bradford)	1854
Mt. Gilead	(Jefferson)	1860
Mt. Horeb	(Alachua)	
Mt. Pisgah	(Jackson)	1850
Mt. Pleasant	(Columbia)	1847
N. Pleasant Grove	(Alachua)	1856
New Hope	(Holmes)	1859
New Hope	(Jackson)	1855
New Hope	(Marion)	1847
New Hope	(Walton)	1846
New Port	(Wakulla)	1859
New River	(Columbia)	1833
New Providence	(Jackson)	1851
New Providence	(Marion)	1847
Newmansville	(Alachua)	1856
Oak Grove	(Leon)	1860
Ocala	(Marion)	1850
Ocklawaha Bridge	(Marion)	1856
Oklawaha	(Marion)	1856
Old Providence	(Union)	1833
Orange Hill	(Washington)	1834
Paran	(Putnam)	1856
Peace Creek	(Hillsborough)	1854
Penial	(Putnam)	
Peniel	(Madison)	1852
Pensacola	(Escambia)	1847
Perry	(Taylor)	1856
Pilgrim Rest	(Jackson)	1845
Pine Barren	(Jackson)	1852

<u>Church</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Start Date</u>
Pine Grove	(Madison)	1856
Pleasant Grove	(Alachua)	
Pleasant Grove	(Leon)	1859
Poplar Springs	(Jackson)	
Prospect	(Alachua)	
Providence	(Gadsden)	1843
Providence	(Columbia)	1832
Salem	(Hillsborough)	
Salem	(Jackson)	1852
Sandy Creek	(Holmes)	1844
Shady Grove	(Jackson)	1825
Sharon	(Nassau)	1841
South Prong	(Columbia)	1847
Stafford's Pond	(Marion)	1858
Tallahassee	(Leon)	1849
Tampa	(Hillsborough)	1859
Thonotosassa	(Hillsborough)	1854
Ucheeanna	(Walton)	1853
Union Academy	(Jackson)	1845
Volusia	(Orange)	
Wacahoota	(Alachua)	1850
Walker Creek	(Suwannee)	1850
Wewahitchka	(Calhoun)	1840
Williston	(Levy)	1858
Yellow River	(Santa Rosa)	1840

Appendix 2

Civil War Annotated Bargain Bibliography

Books are getting cheaper and cheaper. On line sources have driven book prices into the ground. This is good news for people who prefer the print edition in their hand that they can read, mark, notate and re-gift. This is a bibliography of used books that can be found on Abe Books. It is a bibliography weighed toward religion and the Civil War. This is not a list for scholars. It is a list for readers. The used book market changes every day. The book available may be paperback, marked up, early edition, or a modern reprint. If you enjoy reading in the 1822-1877 era feast yourself on one of these good buys and then pass the book on to someone else.

C.C. Goen. *Broken Churches, Broken Nation*. MP. Mercer University Press. 1985. Denominational Schisms in the Civil War. \$1.00.

Richard Harwell. *Lee*. Scribners. 1961. A one volume abridgement of the four volume work on Lee by Douglas Southall Freeman. \$1.00.

Booker T. Washington. *Up From Slavery*. Magnum Books. 1968. Reprint. A view of slavery from a free man. \$3.41.

Winthrop S. Hudson. *Religion in America*. Scribners. 1965. Three hundred years of Religious and denominational trends in the USA. \$3.46

Henry Steele Commager. *The Era of Reform, 1830-1860*. D. Van Nostrand. 1960. Religious, economic, political and educational reform presented. \$3.47.

Carl N. Degler. *The Other South*. University Press of Florida. 1974. Southern dissenters of slavery and war viewed. \$3.47.

Melvin Drimmer. *Black History*. Anchor Books. 1969. Rich anthology of black history. \$3.49.

Gardner Shattuck, Jr. *A Shield and Hiding Place*. Mercer University Press. 1987. A view of the religious life of the Civil War armies. \$3.73.

Dwight Lowell Dumond. *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War*.

1959. University of Michigan Press. An ante-bellum moral protest to slavery. \$3.73.

William H. Price. *Civil War Handbook*. L.B. Prince Co. 1961. 74 pages. Color pictures and Civil War facts galore. Buy it and you will never give it away. \$3.73.

Warren B. Armstrong. *For Courageous Fighting and Confident Dying*. 1998. University Press of Kansas. Union chaplains in the Civil War. \$6.00.

Charles F. Pitts. *Chaplains in Gray*. 1957. Christian Book Gallery. The chaplain pictures are worth the money. \$6.05.

Vernon Latrell Stanfield. *Favorite Sermons of John A. Broadus*. 1959. Harper Brothers. 24 sermons of the best homilistician of the Civil War era. \$6.25.

DeWitte Holland. *Preaching in American History*. 1969. Abingdon. Historical, sociological and theological view of preaching. \$7.99.

W.W. Bennett. *The Great Revival in the Southern Armies*. 1989. Sprinkle Publications. Civil War chaplain view of war time revival. \$8.00.

William Jones. *Christ in the Camp*. 1986. Sprinkle Publications. Religion in the Confederate Army. \$8.50

Charles Reagan Wilson. *Baptized in Blood*. 1980. University of Georgia Press. The religion of the lost cause. \$9.05.

John A. Broadus. *A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*. 1870. Smith and English. The first Southern Baptist book on art of preaching. \$9.60.

Roger Pickenpaugh. *Captives in Gray*. 2009. The University of Alabama Press. Civil War prisons of the union. \$14.95

George C. Rable. *God's Almost Chosen Peoples*. 2010. The University of North Carolina Press. A religious History of the American Civil War. \$14.08

James E. Taulman, editor. *Baptist History and Heritage*. 1987. Journal volume 32, Nos.3-4. Nine articles on the Civil War from Baptist perspective.

Book Reviews

FAVORED FLORIDA, A History of Florida Baptists, Volume One, 1784-1939, Donald S. Hepburn and E. Earl Joiner, Florida Baptist Historical Society, Under the Auspices of the State Board of Missions, Inc. Florida Baptist State Convention, Jacksonville, Florida, 2013, pp. 465

If a book can be seriously substantive and delightfully engaging at the same time, *Favored Florida* has achieved such standing. The story of the work and witness of missionary Baptists in Florida is the product of impressive scholarship in a style easily understood by those outside the academic community. That fact alone should create intense demand for this uniquely written history. The story is transforming. Had it been written only for academics, its impact would be severely diminished.

The story behind the story is equally captivating. Decades in the making, *Favored Florida* is the result of extreme talent and relentless persistence. A great example of collaboration, this hefty tome did not have an easy birth. Years of challenging gestation are chronicled in the introductory pages. The very best minds have been involved in writing, editing, updating, researching, documenting, designing, and publishing quite an amazing story. Of course, it is the story of redemption and it is full of the commonplace and high drama as God's love and forgiveness were courageously proclaimed by Baptist Christians of Florida.

Co-authors Edward Earl Joiner and Donald S. Hepburn epitomize the very best in research and writing. Joiner began his research for this endeavor in the fall of 1968 but died in 1997. However, his basic manuscript was well researched and became the foundation on which Hepburn did his magic.

It was decided that the format for *Favored Florida*

would be modeled after *The Story of America* by Allen Weinstein and David Rubel. Keith Hinson, currently serving as an Associate in Communications and Technology Services for the State Board of Missions of the Alabama Baptist Convention, was called on to identify issues requiring more clarity in the Joiner manuscript. That primary decision led to six other preliminary decisions which were defining and strengthening to the overall project.

Donald Hepburn was now in high gear. The story of Florida Baptists would be told, not only with an understandable style, but also with an abundance of sidebar vignettes, with a cornucopia of photographs and other images, combined with a unique form of notations which do not obscure the text or graphic material. The strength of collaboration can be seen throughout Hepburn's narrative. The strong support of the Florida Baptist State Board of Missions was undergirded by the influence and sound advice of John Sullivan, Executive-Director-Treasurer. Dr. Jerry Windsor of The Florida Baptist Historical Society brought his love of Baptist history and organizational genius to the task.

So much for the process that led to volume one. This initial volume approaches the expanse of years from 1784-1939 chronologically and deals with the cultural and historical contexts of major turning points for Florida Baptists. While the narrative is thrilling to read, serious students of Baptist history and heritage will find pure euphoria in the documentations, the appendices and illustrative charts.

The story of Florida Baptists is summarized with seven major chapters:

1. **The Struggle for Florida (1513-1820)**

The role of Wilson Conner. A secret military expedition into Northeast Florida. The first Baptist church, Pigeon Creek. Larger Baptist context. Doctrinal Legacy of 1609. Missionary Legacy of Carey and Judson. English Rule:

1763-1783. Spanish Rule:1783-1821. Religious Diversity in the Territory.

2. A Legacy For Faith and Practice (1821-1839)

Nancy “Ann” Cone Hagin excommunicated by Primitive Baptists. Religious liberty secured by Leland and Madison. Influence of Roger Williams, John Clarke of Rhode Island. Triennial Convention. Philadelphia Statement. The Missionary Question. Pioneering Baptists. Church development: East Florida, Middle Florida, Extreme South Florida.

3. The Birth of Cooperation (1840-1853)

Richard Johnson Mays starting first association and State Convention. The Edgefield Connection. Forming early associations. SBC formed, 1845. More associations formed. Cooperation becomes a value.

4. Organized to Serve (1854-1879)

James Page, a bondservant. James E. Broome, first Baptist Governor, Florida Association births State Convention. Constitutional differences between Florida Convention and SBC. Civil War Years: values of association, higher education, church freedom. Pre-war problems; ministerial leadership, immorality among church members, slavery. Post-war recovery. State newspaper. African-American Baptists assert their own identity.

5. Rebirth and Renewed Commitment (1880-1899)

William N. Chaudoin, first corresponding secretary of State Board of Missions. New enthusiasm in 1880 Convention. Yellow Fever. Pastor’s Conference formed, 1889. Organization of State Board. Cuba for Christ. Seminole Indian Preacher John Jumper. Women lead in Missions: Chipley, Telford, Spalding. Sabbath Schools. Orphanage work. Concern for retired preachers. Nurturing educational work: Deland College, later Stetson.

Florida Baptist Witness. Separation of African-American Baptists. LuLu Fleming, medical missionary. Theological diversity and controversy. Social and moral issues.

6. The Struggle for Identity (1900-1919)

Governor Sidney J. Catts. Other governors. J. Thomas Heflin. Leadership of W.A. Hobson, Lulu Sparkman, first woman as SBC foreign missionary. 75 Million Campaign. L.D. Geiger. First Historian: E.H. Rennolds. Editor, C.W. Duke. State Sunday School Director: George Hyman. Woman's Missionary Union.

Associational growth. Florida Baptist Orphanage. Stetson crisis and conflict. Columbia College. Changing times for the *Florida Baptist Witness*. Theological diversity. Social and moral concerns with legislation.

7. Growth and Dynamic Change (1920-1939)

Public death of Dean Adcock, overview of ministry. Dynamic change ensues. Two decades: Growth from 751 churches to 817. Convention leaders. More Baptist Governors. Centennial Florida Baptist Convention. SBC Convention held in St. Petersburg. Growth in hard times for State Board. Baptist Building in Jacksonville. 210 % growth from 1909 to 1924. 1928 Hurricane. The Southern Baptist sanatorium. The Cooperative Program, 1925. Baptist Training Unions. B.Y.P.U., an "Embarrassing Success." Expansion of WMU. Foreign Missionary Couple: Frank and Daisy Fowler. Student Ministry. Assemblies. Bookstore and Colportage Ministries. Work with Native Americans. Working with Immigrants. African-Americans: A Mixed Commitment. Evangelism. Now a Children's Home. Stetson versus Junior College. Changes for the *Florida Baptist Witness*. *The Baptist Faith and Message*, 1925. Officers for State Convention, 1938

Favored Florida is worth every dollar and more. Its value, however, is priceless. It should be required reading for every Baptist leader.

Reviewed by Gary Burton, Pastor, Pintlala Baptist Church, Hope Hull, Alabama

God's Almost Chosen Peoples: A Religious History of the American Civil War. Rable, George C. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. pp. 586

In his book *God's Almost Chosen Peoples: A Religious History of the American Civil War*, George C. Rable confronts a topic that has been typically omitted from most Civil War discourses, mainly because such subject matter lacks technicality and is often too metaphysical in character to tolerate academic evaluation. However, the exclusion "of virtually any reference to religious forces" in the various writings on this infamous conflict strikes him and "would have struck those in the Civil War generation" as very unusual because the folks of this era truly "believed that the origin, course, and outcome of the war all reflected God's will." In this incredibly dense but wonderfully written historical narrative, Rable proves that religious convictions were definitely intertwined within the cultural, social, and denominational fabrics that made up both the Northern and Southern factions of the American Civil War, and in order to fully understand the machinations and philosophies prevalent throughout this most pivotal contest in U.S. history and its transcendent overtones, one has to understand that faith in God offered encouragement and closure, provided solid explanations for marvelous victories or devastating defeats, and granted ways for both realizing and tolerating "the vicissitudes of war" for Union and Confederate soldiers, officers, government officials, ministers, and civilians.

In the beginning of his publication, Rable discusses the sectional tension that started to boil in the decades prior over slavery, and, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, how, "both parties deprecated the war... and the war came." At first, churches tried to avoid getting directly involved with this national debate, but "blissful ignorance" and the reluctance to find a permanent solution to the slavery question, plus rhetoric grounded in biblical

scripture pouring out from orators and newspapers in the North and South, fanned the flames and further divided the regions, along with their shared faiths and denominations of Methodists, Baptists, other Protestant groups, Jews, and Catholics, into opposing blocs. Inaction and the inability for citizens to change the fate of the split nation led to rivalry, then war. At the onset of violence, both sides claimed God was with them and, with their respected cultural and theological assumptions, tried to conform to the Almighty's will in order to gain divine intervention and obtain His providence. The U.S.A. and C.S.A. both made executive measures in order to garner God's favor, which included the creation of national holidays for prayer, repentance, and fasting, and the establishment of chaplains and Christian Committees within the armies that were supposed to combat the evils of camp life and turn soldiers into pious soldiers of Christ, even though some of these efforts turned out to be futile. In the commencing years of the war, Rable talks of how early, stunning Confederate victories helped Southerners believe that God was on their side initially, but after disastrous defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, Confederate and Union attitudes and jeremiads swapped places completely. Yankees now thanked God for siding with the Union, comparing their story with that of the Old Testament and how they were commissioned by the Lord to liberate slaves. Despite previous triumphs, the rebels contemplated their fleeting cause and, while rereading Job, tried to fathom why God was chastising them with "the rod of correction," blaming their failure on their own dependence to "the arms of the flesh," (which includes the sins of overconfidence, self-righteousness, and the idolatry of officers like Gen. Lee and Gen. Jackson).

A superb contribution to both Civil War and religious histories, Rable's work is ferociously rich with quotations deriving from an amazingly vast selection of sources, which are all very well accounted for through a massive collection of notes. Though it is exceptionally lush with information concordant

with facts from all sorts of primary sources, which range from contemporary sermons, to government documents, to actual letters from soldiers and civilians alike, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples* also reads like a prolonged but colorful lecture, filled with subtle puns and appropriate realism that shows Rable's grand talent of retelling religious history in a fashion loaded with truth but beautified into an airy, eloquent narrative. Anyone interested in the American Civil War should give this book a try, and even though more information on the navies of the U.S. and C.S.A. would have made this work more entire, it is nonetheless a thoroughly researched and well-written masterpiece in American religious history. Rable definitely expressed his intentions for this work nearly perfectly by showing that "countless Americans [viewed] the war—its course, its costs, its consequences—through the lens of religious faith."

Reviewed by Drew Padgett, graduate student in history, University of Central Florida.

Vines. My Life and Ministry. Jerry Vines. B&H Publishing Group. Nashville, Tennessee. 2014

I read *My Faith and Message* (1993) by Herschel Hobbs. I read *A Hill on Which to Die* (1999) by Paul Pressler. I read *An Oral History* (2001) by Duke McCall. I read *By My Own Reckoning* (2008) by Cecil Sherman. In June, 2014, I heard that Jerry Vines had written his autobiography. I told my wife I could not wait to get it and would read it without putting it down. That did not happen literally (no pun intended) but it nearly did. The only reason it took me ten hours to read the book is because I kept comparing it to Hobbs, Pressler, McCall and Sherman as I took copious notes. We needed Vines book. It helps us see some things through his eyes that ninety percent of us never experienced.

Hobbs I knew loved and appreciated. Pressler, I casually met. McCall I met and I read after him. Sherman I heard preach and watched him from a distance. Vines I met one time at a Florida Baptist Convention but never heard him preach. I did use a Vines book for a class textbook one time and my students were helped by it. I knew Vines by reputation and having read *Vines* I have a greater appreciation for him. He has had a rather independent life, but so did Nathan, John the Baptist and Jesus.

My overview of the book will be candid and I hope fair. The book is part of a collection of views and involvements that came out of a pastoral ministry that was marked by controversy but also marked by success. Pastoral image in the mind of Vines was not nearly as important as pastoral duty. I want you to buy the book and read it yourself. I think the book has some profound strengths and a few interesting weaknesses. With that in mind I want to give you some notes and page numbers to check out.

I thought Vines was fair in his assessments. I didn't say I always agreed with him, but I do believe he was fair. Vines

said Jerry Falwell was a visionary and didn't mind a good fight (173). He said Bill Hull was brilliant, moderate, and a perfect gentleman (148-149). He called Hobbs a statesman (149) and gave us some insights into the quick tongue of Adrian Rogers when Cecil Sherman said, "Adrian, you probably wouldn't let me teach in one of our seminaries." And Adrian replied, "Cecil, I wouldn't let you teach Sunbeams at Bellevue Baptist Church." (148)

I think Vines was very honest about his feelings. This may seem like a given in an autobiography, but that is hardly the case (see Benjamin Franklin). Vines said he felt "oppression" on the campus at Southeastern Seminary (152). He was candid about his second SBC presidential race (159) and, after winning by 692 votes out of 31,291 votes cast, admitted that O. S. Hawkins began calling him "landslide Vines" (162-163). Most pastors can relate to Vines stating that he was guilty of studying sermon notes during SBC committee meetings (180) and felt that a good strong church music program was a friend of preachers and worship services (183, 186).

My heart was touched by the Vines confession that ministry did take him away from his family too many times and he owed so much to his wife (xiii). His tribute to Criswell (190) and appreciation of Christian lay leadership in his pastorates was fitting and insightful. He accused Paige Patterson of numerous pranks (175) and always remembered that the Vines trailer home at New Orleans Seminary had no air conditioning (58-59).

There were some historical tidbits that were keepers. Anis Shorrosh did nominate himself as SBC president (162). Serving as the SBC president does bring a tough travel schedule (166) with impossible demands. Vines is an avid Crimson Tide fan and said he was "an Alabama fan from Georgia and living in Florida" (211). Controversy is always near (167-169, 182) and pastoral responsibilities are always there. I was shocked to find out that Vines was only gone from his pastorates three Sundays a

year (166, 181) and very much disagree with him on that. He must have had a good flight schedule to speak as widely as he did and be back 49 Sundays a year. Vines reminded us that Criswell invited him to be pastor of FBC, Dallas (117) and Vines also un-invited President George H. Bush to speak to the SBC when it met in New Orleans (181). Vines confronted alcohol issues (100, 229-230), racism (104-105), liberalism (184-185), Islam (195-198), tongues speaking (103), Calvinism (226-229) and topical preaching (81, 156, 182). He felt his primary calling was the pastorate and he stuck to it.

There are some weaknesses in the book that caught my attention. More contextual dates were needed when certain circumstances or events were enumerated (152, 186). Some excellent pastoral ministry advice was given (xii, 70, 115, 165, 170, 172, 212), but shades of ego unintentionally did creep through (82, 100-101, 156, 161, 164) in various circumstances.

The most worrisome part of the book was the admission and frank justification of partisan politics in the convention. Rented sky boxes, bussing voters (110), letter writing, attacks (162, 169) money raising (159, 161) and speech making (161-162) for religious candidates is just heart breaking to the average Southern Baptist. To admit that the FBC, Jacksonville Pastor's Conference was used for political purposes might be honest, but it is also sickening (160). The quote about Southern Baptists being the "best God has" (177) is a worn out cliché that needs to be excised from all SBC documents and banned from all SBC publications forever.

We needed the Vines book. I think he needed to write it. Now I want to hear from the notes and experiences of Patterson, Dilday, Dunn, Sullivan, Vestal, Draper, Allen, Parks and Weatherford. They know. I hope they tell.

Review by Jerry Windsor, Secretary-Treasurer, Florida Baptist Historical Society.

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	<hr/>
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175 (1840)

Yellow River, Baker
Wewahitchka First

150 (1865)

Antioch, Quincy
Damascus, Graceville
Macedonia, Lee

125 (1890)

Bethany, Plant City
First Arcadia
First Gardner, Zolfo Springs
First Nocatee
Fort Pierce
McCrabb, Old Town
Pleasant Hill, Bell
Pleasant Ridge, Westville
Ray's Chapel, McDavid

100 (1915)

Athens, Lake City
First Altha
First Boca Grande
First Bonita Springs
First Brandon
First Okeechobee
First Ozona
First Pompano Beach
Joppa, Chiefland
Limestone, Ona
Oak Griner, Ocala

75 (1940)

Calvary, Palatka
Caryville
First Charlotte Harbor
First Lutz
Indiantown
Lake Hill, Orlando
Olustee

50 (1965)

College Park, Palatka
Fifth Street, Key West
First Inglis
MacFarlane Park, Tampa
Shalimar

25 (1990)

Agape, Zephyrhills
Amelia, Fernandina Beach
Christ Community, New
Smyrna Beach
Christ Evangelical,
Riviera Beach
Cornerstone, Brandon
First Pioneer, Clewiston
Florosa, Mary Esther
Hialeah Primera
Kepler Road, DeLand
McCall Hispanic, Miami
Mt. Zion Evangelical, Miami
Perdido Bay, Pensacola
Reynolds Road, Lakeland
United Haitian,
West Palm Beach

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