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THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENT AT NEW UPSALA: THE SEARCH FOR OPPORTUNITY
IN AMERICA

Middle Tennessee State University

D.A.

1979

**University
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THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENT AT NEW UPSALA: THE
SEARCH FOR OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA

Emily Greene Ruffner


A dissertation presented to the
Graduate Faculty of Middle Tennessee State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree Doctor of Arts


December, 1979

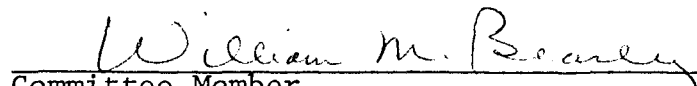
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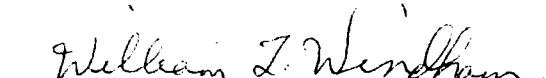
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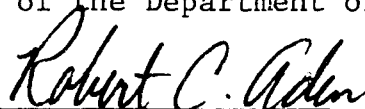

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ABSTRACT

THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENT AT NEW UPSALA: THE SEARCH FOR OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA

by Emily Greene Ruffner

In 1870, Henry Shelton Sanford, a career diplomat who had spent most of his life in Europe, purchased 23,000 square miles of land in central Florida, in the area that is known today as Sanford, Florida. He was hindered in his efforts to develop this land by a series of labor problems. In an attempt to solve them, Sanford brought Swedish immigrants to the area under a contractual labor agreement.

It was primarily this group of Swedish immigrants who became the nucleus for the settlement called New Upsala. The first of Sanford's contingent arrived in 1871, with the last group coming in 1881. Other Swedish immigrants were also attracted to the settlement, which thrived for approximately twenty-five years.

New Upsala was, at one time, the largest Swedish settlement in the state of Florida, but today it is just a memory among only the older citizens of Sanford, many of whom are second and third generation descendants who still make their homes in the Sanford area. Very few of the physical facilities of the original settlement remain, and

Emily Greene Ruffner

the knowledge of those early times has practically faded away. Nevertheless, there are those who continue to be interested in the existence of these immigrants and feel, like this writer, that knowledge of this group of early settlers is important, not only for local history but for the broader scope of immigrant history and the focus on the "ordinary" individual in history.

In dealing with Swedish immigration history, most writers have focused on settlements in the Midwest, where large numbers of Swedes put down their roots. However, there were Swedish immigrants who settled elsewhere in the United States, and it is equally important that their experience be recorded in an effort to gain a clearer picture of the entire situation. New Upsala is a case in point. It is difficult to write an account of the settlement and its people because, like many early communities all over the United States, little remains to be seen at the actual site, and the memories, cherished possessions, letters, and family stories that have been handed down from generation to generation and are irreplaceable are now largely lost to history. Unfortunately, there are probably many "New Upsala's" needing rediscovery but with little available data.

This study traces the development of the settlement at New Upsala in central Florida by Swedish immigrants from its beginnings in the early 1870's until 1898, when the

Emily Greene Ruffner

Henry Shelton Sanford holdings were sold to settle his estate. Sources that proved to be most valuable were the Sanford Papers, Richard J. Amundson's dissertation, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," and "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers," a paper presented at the 1979 Florida Historical Association meeting by Bettye D. Smith.

It appears from this study that the majority of Swedish immigrants who came to New Upsala and remained to settle there approved of Henry Shelton Sanford's arrangements in bringing them to Florida and in working out their contractual agreement. Apparently, those who were not satisfied with what they found either ran away or left after their contracts were completed. Thus, there was solid support for Sanford in the Swedish community.

Those Swedish immigrants who searched for opportunity at New Upsala apparently were not disappointed that they had chosen to settle there. Life was hard in their native land and they were willing to make the difficult choice to leave Sweden and come to this alien land. The settlers at New Upsala proved, like many elsewhere, that the opportunity was there for those who were willing to make the effort.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer would like to express her appreciation to a number of people for their encouragement, help, or support throughout the duration of this project: to Dr. Messier, who has put up with her ideas, or lack of them, and tried to steer her on the course he felt would help her to reach the end, and also for putting up with her; and to Dr. Windham for his calm, sensible approach to the project and the writer. Everyone should be so fortunate to have such a person as a friend, instructor, and guiding force. At all times the writer's committee members cooperated by reading the material as rapidly as possible and returning their suggestions for improvement to the writer so she was not slowed down in her work. Dr. Ron Messier, Dr. Bill Windham, Dr. Bill Beasley, and Dr. Wally Maples formed a prize committee.

There were a number of people who helped the writer in her pursuit of various types of information, and to them she is most grateful: to Mrs. Frances Hunter and Mrs. Almyra Medlin of M.T.S.U.'s Interlibrary Loan Division, who were constantly writing in pursuit of material for this project; Dr. Franklin D. Scott, Director of the Nordic Collection at the Honnold Library, Claremont, California,

who put her on the track of Swedish materials written by two of the "Sanford Swedes"; Dr. Karl Anders Otterland of Smyrna, Tennessee, who graciously translated Swedish materials for her and gave his opinion of their worth; Mrs. Mildred Caskey, the director of the Henry Shelton Sanford Memorial Library in Sanford, Florida, who made the library available to her at other than the scheduled days and hours; the citizens of Sanford, Florida, who granted the writer interviews, as well as others who made her visit there so pleasant; especially to Sydney O. Chase, Sr., who drove the writer around Sanford and New Upsala, pointing out significant sites, including his house on the property of the Belair grove; to Bettye D. Smith the writer owes a special debt of gratitude. In her lovely home at New Upsala, she shared with the writer her years of research on the Swedish settlement, allowing her to have copies of photographs and other documents, as well as the paper on New Upsala that she presented at the 1979 meeting of the Florida Historical Association.

Special thanks go to my Swedish mother, Mrs. Mable Nygren Greene, who translated my handwriting to type the first draft, and Mrs. Wilma Grant, who typed the final draft. She always had the "patience of Job," and expertise to handle any problem.

Thanks are expressed for all of the writer's friends, especially Debbie Pilvinsky and Patty Sisk, who have survived the boredom of hearing about this project for over a year and are still around to give their encouragement in her new endeavors.

Finally, this dissertation is dedicated to all my family, both near and far, who did not believe it could be done.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1870, Henry Shelton Sanford, a career diplomat who had spent most of his life in Europe, purchased 23,000 square miles of land in Central Florida that became known as the "Sanford Grant." His efforts at developing this land resulted in labor problems. In an attempt to solve them, Sanford brought one hundred Swedish immigrants to the Sanford area under the Contract Labor Law.

It was this group of Swedish immigrants who became the nucleus for the settlement called New Upsala. The first group of Swedish immigrants came in 1871, with the last group of Sanford's contingent arriving in 1881, under the auspices of the Florida Land and Colonization Company. Other Swedish immigrants were also attracted to the settlement, which thrived for approximately twenty years.

New Upsala was, at one time, the largest Swedish settlement in the state of Florida, but today it is just a memory among only the older citizens of Sanford, many of whom are second and third generation Swedish descendants who still make their homes in the Sanford area. Very few of the

physical facilities of the original settlement remain, and the knowledge of those early times has practically faded away. Nevertheless, there are those who continue to be interested in the existence of these immigrants as witnessed by the 1979 meeting of the Florida Historical Association, which had as part of its program a paper on New Upsala presented by Bettye D. Smith. There have also been a number of articles written for the Sunday edition of the Orlando Sentinel which focused on various phases of the Swedish colony. However, all the interest is not just from those who live in other sections of Florida; one local historian says that he is often besieged by Sanford students who want to hear what the town was like in the "old days."

In dealing with Swedish immigration history, most writers have focused on settlements in the Midwest, where large numbers of Swedes put down their roots. However, there were Swedish immigrants who settled elsewhere in the United States, and it is equally important that their experiences be recorded in an effort to gain a clearer picture of the whole situation. New Upsala is a case in point. It is difficult to write an account of the settlement and its people, because, like many early communities all over the United States, little remains to be seen at the actual site, and the memories, cherished possessions, letters, and family stories that have been handed down from generation to generation and are irreplaceable are now

largely lost to history. Unfortunately, there are probably many "New Upsala's" needing rediscovery but with little available data.

The present study proposes to trace the development of the settlement at New Upsala in central Florida by Swedish immigrants from its beginning in the early 1870's until 1898, when the Henry Shelton Sanford holdings were sold to settle his estate. The work will be largely based on the Sanford Papers, Richard J. Amundson's dissertation, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," and numerous secondary sources dealing with Swedish immigration.

There will be areas, dealing with the immigrant settlement, where it becomes necessary to make comments and base judgments largely on the situation as it was in other settlements that were similar in time, location, or economic status to the one at New Upsala. Unfortunately, the Swedes were not known for keeping journals or diaries, and those who had almanacs usually entered only information that concerned the weather or their crops. However, numerous "America letters" were exchanged between the New World and the Old Country, and it is from these that we can learn something about the expectations and reality of immigrant life. In many cases the immigrant wrote home about the way he hoped to find things rather than to describe his actual setting, which in itself tells us something of the

immigrant's expectations, a point of reference for measuring whether or not expectations were fulfilled.

Before discussing the settlement of New Upsala, it would be helpful to look at the economic situation in Florida following the end of the Civil War, and how conditions led entrepreneurs, such as Henry Shelton Sanford, to invest time, money, and dreams in the state. Particular emphasis will be placed on Sanford's plans for developing a large land tract which led to the introduction of Swedish immigrant laborers into the area, and to their establishment of a community called New Upsala.

CHAPTER II

FLORIDA FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR--THE SEARCH FOR ECONOMIC VITALITY

Following the Civil War, Florida faced the task of rebuilding her economy, which had been severely damaged by the conflict. Numerous farms and plantations had been abandoned, port areas left to ruin, and the relationship between blacks--the state's primary labor force--and white employees had to undergo a change.¹ However, this process of rebuilding was not to be a restoration of the old planter economy that had dominated in Florida prior to the Civil War. The old system was to be replaced by new forms of agriculture and by exploitation of natural resources. Many northerners were convinced that Yankee ingenuity could succeed where southern efforts had failed, and they were eager to become involved in the revitalization of the state's economy.

There was little doubt among knowledgeable Floridians as to the seriousness of the economic situation.

¹George E. Pozzetta, "Foreigners in Florida: A Study of Immigration Promotion," Florida Historical Quarterly 53 (1974-1975):164. (Hereafter cited as Pozzetta, "Foreigners in Florida.")

Judge J. B. Whitfield remarked, "There are no words with which to make you understand how poor we were."² However, there were certain areas that suffered less than others. Jacksonville was one example. Her lumber industry was being revived largely through Northern capital and, by 1870, the tourists were beginning to return, seeking an escape from winter blizzards. Agricultural expansion was also taking place in the shape of new orange groves. Orange culture was not new to Florida but at this time it was not very extensive. This situation would change rapidly as groves began to move further south and the industry became of vast importance to the state's economy.

Many Floridians felt that the key to renewed economic vitality was the rapid populating of the state's unused lands and the procurement of a stable labor force. The Florida Agriculturist expressed its feeling that immigration was the answer to the state's economic problem. Through its editorials the journal stated that "unquestionably Florida's greatest need is immigration; next to immigration is capital. Some will undoubtedly place the last item first but in doing so they make a mistake. Capital is powerful but without the assistance of labor it

²Katherine Abbey Hanna, Florida: Land of Change (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), p. 353.

is powerless."³ There were others who echoed these sentiments.

One of the reasons there was interest in new settlers and a new labor force was white discontent with black labor in the state. The problem seemed to be that the freemen were not willing to stay on the small farms or in the country but desired to move to the larger cities. This made it difficult to find laborers for the groves and farms.

In addition to the lack of available labor force, there was the feeling among many whites that the freemen were neither efficient nor dependable.⁴ Others found them unsuitable for any work other than raising cotton. Because of these attitudes, Floridians were looking elsewhere for a labor force.

Many of the state's citizens believed the increase in foreign immigration into the United States would provide the solution to their problems. They felt that, even if a small number of those people came south, Florida could replace its "improvident work force and grow to its fullest potential."⁵ The fact that most of the immigrants were white Europeans also enhanced their attractiveness. The problem lay in how to attract them to Florida.

³Pozzetta, "Foreigners in Florida," pp. 164-165.

⁴Ibid., p. 165.

⁵Ibid., p. 166.

Prior to the Civil War, few European immigrants had settled in southern states. This was primarily due to that section's use of slave labor and large plantations, which made it difficult for these people to find jobs or acquire land. In 1860, 108,672 immigrants arrived at the New York port and, of that number, only 5,382 went to the slave states, and less than 1,000 to the Gulf states.⁶

Following the Civil War, the southern states made an effort to attract the foreign labor and capital that were coming into the United States. One of these efforts included having immigration commissions with agents in New York who were to try to hire immigrants as agricultural laborers.

After 1868, other immigrant laborers moved southward due to the fall of wheat prices in the United States and the resulting low wages. At this time, it was pointed out to southerners that they must become used to free white labor and must be willing to break up the large plantations into smaller farms that might be sold to these immigrants.

To promote immigration, J. S. Adams was appointed Commissioner of Lands and Immigration in 1869, with the task of inducing permanent settlers to buy land and invest in other activities in Florida. In the beginning, the primary

⁶Florence Edith Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), p. 253.

method used was publicity and advertising, although in some cases agents and professional promoters were hired and sent to foreign countries to solicit immigrants. Dennis Eagan, Florida's Commissioner of Lands and Immigration in the early 1870's, was of the opinion that a well developed advertising campaign would be most beneficial because "it would instruct uninformed foreigners as to the advantages of the state . . .," and "this publicity would counteract what Floridians believed to be a widespread and powerful information lobby working against state interests."⁷

It, thus, fell into the hands of the State Bureau of Immigration to devise a campaign to promote immigration. Its most significant achievement was the publication of two promotional pamphlets, The Florida Settler and The Florida Colonist.⁸ The Bureau also published a short-lived

⁷Pozetta, "Foreigners in Florida," p. 167.

⁸Evidence of their need to attract emigrants is contained in the report of Dennis Eagan, Florida Commissioner of Lands and Immigration, in The Florida Settler--the Sixth Annual Report of the Commission of Lands and Immigration (Tallahassee: Charles H. Walton, Printer, 1874), pp. 15-16. "Among the significant events of the year, not the least noticeable has been the vast migrations of colored labor which has taken place. Under the pressure of race prejudice, bitter political opposition, and following the advice of some of the leading Colored men of the country, immense numbers of the laborers of the South have been seen getting together their families and effects, and, leaving behind them their patches of land and log cabins, have gone in search of homes in States where political opposition is less pronounced, and where their persons and property will be more secure, than in those where their lot has been hitherto cast. So extensive has this movement been, that its results bid fair to be disastrous to the industrial

newspaper, the Florida Immigrant, and a Monthly Bulletin. Nevertheless, these efforts were viewed as failures and, in 1891, the Bureau was abolished.

During the same time period (1870-1891), there were other agencies within the state that were interested in immigration. In this group were county and local governments, railroads, farm groups, real estate companies, wealthy landowners, mine owners, and industrialists. However, by 1881, it became apparent that there must be a joint effort. It was decided that a meeting of these interested individuals should be held in Jacksonville on August 24, 1881. At that time they would discuss ways of coordinating promotional activities for the betterment of the state.

The convention proclaimed that "Florida has simply to devise methods of disseminating accurate and timely information about itself, and settlers would come flocking."⁹ It was decided that each county should establish immigration associations or committees to gather material and publish it in pamphlet form. It was further suggested that the State Bureau of Immigration, which had

interests of some of the States. Georgia, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina are crying out for laborers to come and till their waste fields; and by means of railroad corporations, private enterprise, and governmental aid are seeking a restoration of their lost energies by means of immigration. . . ."

⁹Ibid., pp. 168-169.

not yet folded, should have these pamphlets printed in several different languages.

One form of unsolicited publicity was the "Florida letters," which appeared in newspapers and agricultural journals during the nineteenth century and stressed the ease of acquiring wealth from citrus growing. One settler remarked, "Everybody that can use a pen, on coming here, seems to think that their first business is to write a letter about Florida to some newspaper north."¹⁰

There were, in fact, so many requests for information about the state that the New England Emigrant Aid Society hoped to handle the demand by publishing a pamphlet in 1867, entitled Florida: The Advantages and Inducements Which It Offers To Immigrants. The demand exceeded the supply, and this and other travel accounts and guides to Florida became best sellers. Unfortunately, the majority of these readers accepted the view of Florida as it appeared in these various periodicals because they were ignorant of the actual situation. This often led to disappointment and frustration when the immigrant arrived in his new home, and found matters quite unlike what he had been led to expect.

Prior to 1900, this publicity was directed toward immigrants of all types and nationalities. However, even

¹⁰Jerry Wood Weeks, "Florida Gold: The Emergence of the Florida Citrus Industry, 1865-1895" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1977), pp. 17-18.

then there were occasional references to the desirability of attracting only those settlers who had been residing in the United States and were already familiar with this country's institutions and values. But, generally, a hearty welcome was extended to all immigrants.¹¹ In spite of this open invitation, once the immigrants actually arrived on the scene, their acceptance into the established society was not an easy one. There existed considerable tension, distrust, and misunderstanding on the part of both the foreigners and the Floridians. Pozzetta remarks that:

Natives generally felt that the newcomers should conform to the same social and economic arrangements then affecting blacks; they assumed the immigrants should be content to accept the bottom rung of society. The only difference, in native eyes, would be that these new arrivals would work more efficiently and dependably than the replaced Negroes.¹²

Many large landowners hoped to see the foreigners become entrapped in the tenant system where they would simply change places with the Negro croppers rather than become landowners themselves. Most immigrants knew to avoid the tenant landholding system. In fact, many had left their native country because of this type of arrangement, and they had no desire to exchange one form of tenancy for another. Although appeals were made to change the system, little was done as late as the early 1900's to improve the situation.

¹¹Pozzetta, "Foreigners in Florida," p. 169.

¹²Ibid., pp. 172-173.

Even though numerous efforts were made to attract foreign immigrants to the orange belt, these met with limited success. This seems to have been largely due to the climate and vegetation which were so different from the homelands of the majority of these immigrants, and because of the scarcity of other settlers of their nationalities. Large numbers of European immigrants did not populate Florida nor did they replace Negroes as the main labor force. Those few who did choose to settle permanently were seeking a better way of life, and were interested in acquiring their own land or finding more profitable uses for their skills than were available in the cotton fields or orange groves.

Although Florida largely failed in attracting immigrant labor, she was more successful in attracting northern capital. There had been little northern interest in Florida prior to the Civil War, except perhaps in the case of a limited number of northern entrepreneurs. One such individual was Jacob Brock, a steamboat captain, who chose the area around the upper St. Johns River in which to stake his fortune. He had come to Florida not to increase his fortune but to earn one. Brock foresaw the possibilities of tourist travel in the area around Lake Monroe, which forms the gateway to the upper St. Johns and, during the early 1850's, he had built an inn on its northern shore at a settlement known as Enterprise. The

Brock House soon became famous, not just as a stopping place for the captain's steamboat passengers but also as "'a paradise for sportsmen' who were attracted to the area because of its excellent hunting and fishing."¹³

The second of these pre-Civil War entrepreneurs was Count Frederick De Bary, a member of an ancient Belgian noble family, who had immigrated from Germany to the United States in 1851. De Bary had settled in New York, where he served as the American representative for Mumm's Champagne, which at that time was the most popular brand of that wine in the United States. Soon De Bary had amassed a fortune. However, his predilection for his product, combined with business problems, caused De Bary to move to Florida in the 1860's in an attempt to recover his health. There, just north of Enterprise, overlooking Lake Monroe, he built an impressive hunting lodge. Here, he also planted a large orange grove, and "throughout the winter months he imitated in Florida the baronial life of his forefathers in Belgium."¹⁴

Following the Civil War, De Bary turned his location into a profitable business venture. To amuse his guests, De Bary had purchased a small steamer, the George M. Bird,

¹³Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna, The St. Johns: A Parade of Diversities (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1943), p. 266.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 269.

on which they traveled up and down the St. Johns seeing the sights. When De Bary was to be away for several months, the ship's captain asked that he be allowed to use it for carrying paying passengers. When De Bary returned to Enterprise, he found that this service had become quite profitable. This venture developed into the Frederick De Bary Steamship Line, which was one of the most prosperous firms in Florida.

Three of the best known investors in Florida's future were Hamilton Disston, Henry Bradley Plant, and Henry Morrison Flagler. All of these men were Northerners who were responsible for the development of large areas of the state of Florida. Disston, a Philadelphian, bought up one-ninth of the total area of the state, and, in doing so, established himself as the nation's largest landowner. He saved the state of Florida from bankruptcy and served as a model for future generations of Florida promoters. Plant, a Connecticut Yankee who had spent the war years in Augusta, Georgia, "convinced Northerners to invest money in the South--particularly in Florida--and convinced Southerners--especially in Florida--to use that money for their own development."¹⁵ In the process Plant would make over \$10,000,000. Flagler would oversee the development of most of Florida's east coast--from Jacksonville to Key West.

¹⁵Charles E. Harner, Florida's Promoters: The Men Who Made It Big (Tampa: Trend House, 1973), p. 18.

Upon his death, reportedly of exhaustion, in May, 1913, he was worth well over \$100,000,000.

What is perhaps more significant than the wealth they accumulated during their lifetimes was the contribution they made in terms of plans, dreams, development, and promotion for Florida. It was men like these who foresaw the economic possibilities that existed in the state and then did something about it. At the time that Disston bought his 4,000,000 acres, the price was only 25¢ an acre but no one was even willing to pay that amount. In fact, in 1864, a writer for the New York Herald had stated: "I am confident no sane man who knows what Florida is would give . . . a thousand dollars to gain possession of all the territory beyond the St. Johns. No decent man would think of living in the state outside of two or three points on the St. Johns and the Gulf."¹⁶ Nevertheless, Disston did purchase 6,250 square miles in Florida in 1881, and this purchase was responsible for restoring the credibility of Florida government and making the state attractive to the moneyed interests, especially Henry Flagler and Henry Plant, who established empires to the east and west of Disston.¹⁷

Plant was to set the pattern for the development of Florida's west coast. He first became familiar with Florida

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 13.

as a result of the advice of his wife's physician. She was suffering from tuberculosis and he suggested that she get away from New York's cold weather by spending the winter in Florida. This was in 1853, and, in 1854, Plant became superintendent of the southern branch of the express company for which he was working, and was headquartered in Augusta, Georgia.

When the Civil War broke out, Plant bought the southern division, and used it to aid the Confederate Government. However, due to ill health, he was forced to leave Georgia and rest in Europe. After the close of the war, he returned to Augusta, bringing with him northern money and the promise of more. Plant bought up the bankrupt railroads of the southeast as fast as he could, and spent much of his time in his private railroad car traveling the routes of the Southern Express Company and his growing network of railroads.

In 1881, when Disston took the state of Florida up on the \$1,000,000 land deal, Plant now saw Florida as a place where people could do business. Previous to this business conditions were unreliable due to an unsound governmental and financial structure. Now Plant quickly formed the Plant Investment Company (one of the stockholders was Henry Flagler), which opened up the west coast of Florida with a rail-steamship operation known as the Jacksonville, Tampa & Key West Line. He also set up a

steamboat line from Jacksonville and Palatka to Sanford, and bought the South Florida Railroad, which ran from Sanford to Orlando to Kissimmee. By 1884, it was "possible to travel on the Plant System all the way from Tampa to Jacksonville, then on to Savannah and Charleston, South Carolina, where connections were made with the Atlantic Coast Line to Jersey City."¹⁸ Not only did Plant have this transportation system, but as a result of it he acquired a great deal of land in Florida. For, during this time, the state rewarded the railroad companies with acres of state-held land for each mile of construction. Much of this land was sold by Plant to large lumber companies, investment corporations, and land speculators.

In the late 1880's, Plant came to the rescue of the city of Tampa. It had been almost destroyed by a siege of yellow fever, but his announcement that he was going to invest several million dollars in a hotel and seaport facilities for the city brought it back to life.

The Cotton States and International Exposition honored Plant in 1895, upon which occasion the Atlanta Constitution remarked: "Above any other man living he represents the great industrial revolution which has come over the face of the Southern states and which marks the success of free over slave labor."¹⁹ This editorial

¹⁸Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 26.

appeared on October 27, 1895, Plant's 67th birthday. He would live to enjoy three more. During that time he would be actively involved with the Spanish-American War effort from Port Tampa to Havana, Cuba, and with investments both in Florida and elsewhere.

Henry Morrison Flagler, a contemporary of Disston and Plant, guided the development of Florida's east coast--from Jacksonville to Key West. Miami, Palm Beach County, Daytona, and a number of lesser places were developed by Flagler. He has been credited with doing more for Florida between 1885 and 1913 than any developer anywhere.²⁰

Flagler was born in 1830 in Hopewell, New York. His childhood background of poverty is believed to have encouraged his ambition for financial success. After the Civil War, Flagler went into the petroleum industry with John D. Rockefeller as his partner. Their oil firm of Rockefeller, Andrews and Flagler would become the foundation of the Standard Oil Trust.

Like Plant, Flagler first visited Florida because of his wife's bad health. They, too, chose Jacksonville in which to spend several winters. His first wife died in 1881, and when Flagler remarried he chose St. Augustine for the honeymoon trip. The city was run down at this time (1883-1884), and did not appear to have much future, except for

²⁰Ibid., p. 29.

the sunshine and blooming flowers which were a joy after the North, which was experiencing one of its worst winters. They returned the next winter and found that St. Augustine had a new, small but luxurious hotel that was filled with wealthy Northerners.

This gave Flagler the idea of investing part of his own fortune in Florida. His first move was to build the finest hotel the South had ever seen. It was to be named the Ponce De Leon and was to be located in St. Augustine. At this time it was necessary to take a ferry boat across the St. Johns River from Jacksonville and then ride on a small railroad to St. Augustine. Flagler bought the railroad, built a bridge and put in standard gauge tracks, and had the entire operation in working order by the time the hotel opened, January 10, 1888. Because of his efforts, St. Augustine became the favorite winter resort of the wealthy.

Flagler was sixty-three years old when he seriously undertook the restructuring of Florida's east coast. "He converted it, in the twenty years remaining to him, from a wasteland with a few scattered villages into one of the most prosperous and desirable stretches of land to be found anywhere."²¹ His prime mode of expansion had been through the railroad, and his Florida East Coast Railroad, which linked Jacksonville and Miami and was extended to Key West

²¹Ibid., p. 33.

in 1912, brought him a great deal of land. As a result of a state law, passed in 1893, he was granted 8,000 acres of land for every mile of railroad he built. He, in turn, sold it for \$1.50 to \$8.00 per acre to be paid off at 8 percent interest--considered to be a low rate in those days. When Flagler died on May 20, 1913, his estimated wealth was said to be well over \$100,000,000. A large percentage of this was the result of his wise investments and developments in Florida.

Disston, Plant, and Flagler were three individuals who contributed a great deal to the restoration of Florida's economic vitality. Their capital plus their foresight projected the state from relative backwardness toward a bright future--one that she continues to build on today. There is no question that needed capital and individuals with an eye toward the future played an important role in Florida during the nineteenth century, but without laborers to aid in the development of these projects it would have been impossible to revitalize the state's economy. A revitalized economy made the demand for labor great, in fact much greater than the supply, and many people thought this problem could be solved by importing immigrants to work in the state. One of these was Henry Shelton Sanford, another northern entrepreneur.

CHAPTER III

HENRY SHELTON SANFORD

Of the many entrepreneurs involved in land development in Florida, the individual who had the most direct impact on the community of New Upsala was Henry Shelton Sanford. Some idea of Sanford's influence and contributions can be seen in the following resolution, which was adopted by the town of Sanford, named for him, and New Upsala's sister city, upon the occasion of his death:

Resolved, that in the death of the Hon. Henry Shelton Sanford we deplore the loss of one of Florida's principal citizens, and one among the first to foresee its possibilities, and who took great interest in testing them to the utmost extent, devoting his time and private means to the development of citrus and semi-tropical fruits, and the future prosperity of Florida.

Resolved, that in his death the state has lost one who gave his time and energy and material influence to the development of its commercial prosperity, the improvement of its waterways, and railroad system, its schools, churches, and postal facilities, and was a warm friend and earnest advocate of all movements tending to its increased growth and advancement.¹

Sanford was another one of those "Connecticut Yankees" who was looking to the South for an opportunity to

¹Richard J. Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 1963), p. 2.

increase his family fortune through land and other speculative ventures. He was born June 15, 1823, at Woodbury, Connecticut, the only son of Nehemiah Curtis Sanford and Nancy Bateman Sanford. Upon his father's death in 1841, he inherited an ample fortune. Sanford had attended college for two years but due to failing health he was forced to abandon his studies, and it was prescribed that a European tour might prove beneficial. In 1849, he received a Doctor of Law degree cum laude from the University of Heidelberg, and some years later his old school, Trinity College, would present him with an honorary Doctor of Law degree in recognition of his attainments and achievements.

Beginning with a position as an attaché at St. Petersburg in 1847, Sanford occupied a number of diplomatic posts in Europe before his appointment as United States Minister to Belgium in 1861. Here he served for eight years, enjoying cordial relations with the court of Leopold II, discharging special duties in the purchase of military supplies and observing the activities of Confederate agents.² According to two authorities, William H. Seward, United States Secretary of State, commented that Sanford

. . . was in reality Minister of the United States in Europe, charged with a number of sly missions, such as the covert offering of a commission to Garibaldi, the secret purchase of saltpeter for the Federal Army, and

²Dictionary of American Biography, 1960 ed., s.v. "Henry Shelton Sanford."

the furtive obstructing, through bribes and blustery, of all of western Europe's sale of arms to the Confederacy.³

Sanford's diplomatic career ended in 1869, when the Senate refused to confirm his appointment as ambassador to France. "Disgruntled in ambition, he gave up his post in Belgium; and in 1871 sought a career in Florida, where, as the adroit general noted, politicians of perhaps less honesty and quite certainly of minor experience, had risen to well-paying positions."⁴ Sanford would devote the rest of his life to the task of making money. But, according to Amundson, "in the 'Age of Robber Barons', Sanford was too moral, too generous, too loyal, too honest. He tried hard but when he died he was only a step away from bankruptcy."⁵

While Sanford was serving as United States Minister to the court of Leopold II, he married Gertrude Ellen Du Puy of Philadelphia. She was from an old family of great wealth and was considered by many to be the most beautiful American woman in Europe at that time. Gertrude was nearly twenty years younger than her husband, and this age difference coupled with his declining finances must have had considerable impact on their marriage. Although she spent

³Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna, The St. Johns: A Parade of Diversities (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1943), p. 270.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," p. 12.

the majority of her time in Europe, and Sanford traveled from continent to continent with considerable frequency, they managed to produce seven children.

Sanford estimated his fortune in the 1870's to be \$922,500. Nevertheless, he was constantly reminding his wife of the need to economize. She, in turn, criticized him for being more interested in his business ventures than in his family. In a letter, Gertrude wrote to him:

The roving life we lead, you in particular, is becoming a sore point to me and a matter of ridicule among our friends. It does not seem respectable for a man of your age, supposed fortune & large young family to be rushing about at such a pace. It is only in America where men, are fathers as animals are, with not much more feeling for their wives & children than the instinct for feeding them.⁶

Sanford replied:

you little appreciate the situation & and dwell only on your miseries in not going to Balls, having a fine carriage, & c [sic]. I would you could have all your heart craves, but there are much more serious matters at stake than these. We are reaping the fruits of a wrong commencement--the logical result of trying to live in two hemispheres.⁷

There were legitimate reasons for complaints from both parties but, if Mrs. Sanford had been willing to yield to her husband and live in the United States, her life might have been easier in the end. Instead, she regarded this country as "primitive" and avoided visits here when at all possible.

⁶Ibid., p. 33.

⁷Ibid., pp. 34-35.

Sanford's original fortune was based on his inherited half-interest in Sanford & Shelton Company, manufacturer of tacks. However, in 1847, his uncle, Edward N. Shelton, purchased Sanford's stock in the company and put his nephew's money in wise investments. One of these profitable undertakings was his speculation in western lands. Sanford had inherited some land from his father, but now he increased his holdings, which were primarily in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. Here he maintained agents to sell the land and see to it that the mortgages were paid.

Sanford's most profitable investments were his speculations in stocks. Among the most lucrative were Wheeler and Wilson Company, which manufactured sewing machines, and the Scoville Manufacturing Company, which made parts used by Wheeler and Wilson and owned a large portion of that concern. During the Civil War years, both of these companies paid high dividends to their stockholders.

However, the end of the Civil War brought with it an end to the high dividend payments his various stocks had produced. It was at this point that Sanford began to transfer his surplus income and some capital away from manufacturing and into southern real estate.⁸

⁸Ibid., p. 78.

"It was . . . this inevitable change in value & decrease of income North," he asserted in 1878, "& the necessity for doing something to meet the increased demands of a family, that impelled me to seek in the South when property could be bought for 1/10th of its former values & should produce as great or greater returns than before the war."⁹

Sanford quickly took advantage of his own advice. For, in 1867, he purchased his first orange grove near St. Augustine. The following year he rented a cotton plantation in South Carolina and sought information about available sugar lands in Louisiana. His uncle and long time financial advisor, E. N. Shelton, had reservations about these ventures. He feared that his nephew was spreading himself too thin and, in the end, the record would prove him correct.

One of the investments that proved to be particularly unwise was his purchase, in conjunction with his brother-in-law, Samuel B. Rogers, of Oakley Plantation in January, 1869. The property lay ninety miles above New Orleans in the parish of Iberville, on the left bank of the Mississippi River. His uncle, Philo S. Shelton, had tried to discourage his nephew from speculating in a sugar plantation, because he knew a lot of people who had lost money in that particular venture.

Sanford and his partner planned to keep the plantation for a few years then, when they had a good return

⁹Ibid.

on their investment, sell the property. However, this speculation venture proved to be unwise, and Sanford should have taken his uncle's advice. "From mid-1871 until mid-1876, Rogers could not furnish his half of the capital needed to meet the expenses of the sugar plantation," so Sanford had no alternative but to assume all the debts.¹⁰ Eventually, in 1876, Rogers forfeited his half to Sanford to settle his expenses. "Oakley, originally purchased as a short term speculation, proved to be another 'tar baby'," and, finally, in April, 1889, Sanford sold the plantation for \$20,000 cash and gave up all rights to the property.¹¹

At the same time that Sanford was involved with Oakley, he was also leasing Barnwell, a cotton plantation in South Carolina. It was the property of a southern friend whose family had suffered economic reverses during the Civil War, and Sanford had arranged to pay \$1,000 per year as rent plus 10 percent of the profit after all expenses. The lease also provided that he had to plant a crop each of the three years that the lease was effective and maintain the more than 1,000-acre property. However, for some reason, after only two years, Sanford, by mutual agreement, broke his lease on the Barnwell Island plantation.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 153-154.

¹¹Ibid., p. 156.

It was to be in Florida that Henry Shelton Sanford would make his greatest contribution to the development of the "New South." That state "owes him a debt of gratitude for the work he performed in re-establishing the citrus industry in the central portion of the state."¹² Sanford was responsible for introducing new varieites of citrus fruit, as well as experimenting with disease control and new methods of orange culture, which were widely adopted by citrus growers in central Florida.

Although Sanford's original purpose in investing in Florida was for financial gain for himself, the state was the prime benefactor. He had expected a high rate of profit from his investment in Florida real estate, but the short-term profits proved to be disappointing. Eventually, his assets were tied up in Florida and, in order to protect them, Sanford was forced to liquidate elsewhere, until he had little left but his orange land.¹³ After his death in 1891, his grove, which was just then coming into full production, was sold to pay his debts.

It was through his contact with Judge Eleazer K. Foster of New Haven, Connecticut, that Sanford first became acquainted with Florida. The Judge's son, E. K. Foster, Jr., had gone to St. Augustine shortly after the Civil War

¹²Ibid., p. 152.

¹³Ibid., pp. 153-154.

to take a job as co-manager of a hotel. It was during this time that young Foster became aware of the money that could be made in Florida real estate, and he mentioned this in a letter to the Judge. Sanford, who was suffering financial reverses at the time, asked for more information on property that was available.

Upon receiving these details, Sanford and his uncle, E. K. Shelton, forwarded \$2,500 in September, 1867, to pay for the Alsop orange grove. His uncle expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of this venture, and he did not have to wait long to be proven correct. There was a problem with getting a clear title to the property, and this little inconvenience cost Sanford an additional \$1,500. By April, 1869, the title was properly transferred, and Sanford became the legal owner of the grove.

The St. Augustine property, which had been left unattended during the war years, was within the city, had a small house on the property, and about fifty orange trees which had produced 9,000 oranges the previous year.¹⁴ At that time oranges were selling for three cents apiece. Even though Sanford received numerous offers to buy the property, including one in 1870 for \$8,000, he kept the grove, living in the house while in Florida, and deeding the land to the Florida Land and Colonization Company in 1880.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 156.

It was in 1870 that Sanford had E. K. Foster negotiate the purchase from General Joseph Finnegan that was known as the Levy Grant, and under the Spanish as the Valdez Grant. This tract, which contained 12,547 acres of wild, virgin land, would now become the Sanford Grant. Sanford paid \$18,200 for the property, which consisted of twenty-three square miles and was bounded on the north for five miles by Lake Monroe, through which the St. Johns River flows northward.¹⁵ "Sanford's original purpose was to sell land in small blocks and earn enough from this to finance the development of a model orange grove as a long-term and permanent investment for his family."¹⁶

In order to make the land more attractive to potential customers, he began a town that would later be named for its founder. General Sanford had great hopes for this city as can be seen from his remark that "Sanford lies at the mouth of the New York Harbor and will one day be the greatest city of interior Florida, as its soil, its health, and its climate justify me in believing its resources for pleasure resorts and business are unlimited."¹⁷ In the

¹⁵"Belair," Rollins College Library: Vertical File, Winter Park, Florida, n.d., p. 2. (Typewritten) [Possibly written by Dr. A. J. Hanna.]

¹⁶Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," pp. 158-159.

¹⁷Dorothy Primrose McMakin, "General Henry Shelton Sanford and His Influence on Florida" (Master's thesis, John B. Stetson University, Deland, Florida, 1938), p. 12. According to the Dictionary of American Biography (1960),

prospectus, which was written to entice potential settlers, he proclaimed:

Situated as it is, at the head of navigation . . . of this beautiful and majestic St. Johns, Sanford is the Gate City to South Florida. It is the natural distributing point for its products and for its supplies . . . we have our grip on this great waterway, the St. Johns; with it we can control prices and have easy access to the world's markets. Ocean steamers are bound to come to Sanford.¹⁸

Even though the town did not quite measure up to its description, it did become one of the largest cities in Florida during the 1880's and early 1890's. Much of the credit for its development goes to Henry Shelton Sanford, who, for a time, was consumed by this pet project. General Sanford expected to increase his family fortune through his land speculation and other investments in Florida but, instead, his involvement there eventually helped lead to near bankruptcy.

The town was located approximately one mile west of Mellonville, which had originally been a trading post established in 1837 at the site of Fort Mellon, named for a United States Army officer killed there during the Seminole War. By 1858, Federal Government troops had permanently

p. 349, the title of "General," by which he was commonly known, was derived from the fact that the state of Minnesota had enrolled him as a major-general in its militia during the Civil War, in recognition of his gift of a pair of field pieces to the 1st Minnesota Volunteers.

¹⁸Cabell and Hanna, The St. Johns: A Parade of Diversities, pp. 270-271.

driven the Seminole Indians out of the area, and the Upper St. Johns was then opened to white immigration. Eventually, the two towns of Sanford and Mellonville would merge, but before that occurred there was a great deal of rivalry between them. In fact, according to one local historian, there is still some lingering resentment on the part of old-time residents of what was formerly Mellonville.¹⁹

To enhance the attractiveness of his property, Henry Sanford opened up a road that ran south about three and a half miles to connect with the Ft. Mellon-Tampa trail, which carried the country trade from Kissimmee Valley as far south as Ft. Bassinger to Mellonville.²⁰ This road, now known as Sanford Avenue, diverted much of the trade from Mellonville to Sanford. General Sanford also established a number of businesses in the town that was to be named for him. These included a country store, a sawmill, a slaughterhouse, a hotel, and a real estate office. Once again, he was warned by relatives "not to plunge deeper into a speculation which would require years of investment before any profit would be realized." It was not that "'real estate was a bad investment but Henry's improvement of the property was as unwise as it was unnecessary."²¹

¹⁹Interview with William R. Vincent, Sr., Sanford, Florida, March, 1979.

²⁰"Belair," p. 2.

²¹Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," p. 161.

At a point west of the town, Sanford selected an area of over one hundred acres as the site for the development of his first orange grove. The grove, named St. Gertrude, was cleared and planted in 1870, with the engineering firm of Whitner and Marks overseeing the work.²² Later the same year, work was begun on the Belair grove.

At this time, Florida and most of the South were faced with a labor problem. The labor that was available was described as undependable, and it was difficult, at best, to find workers for St. Gertrude and Belair. J. N. Whitner informed his employer that "'we have been exceedingly troubled to procure labor. The native white is not worth a dime. We have imported black labor which wd [sic] we think do well, if not contaminated by the worthless white scoundrels who infest the country.'"²³

Whitner was referring to about sixty black men who had been imported from west Florida to help solve the labor problem at St. Gertrude and Belair. Joseph Wofford Tucker, who with Sanford owned the town slaughterhouse, reported that:

Whitner & Marks employed some men at the grove to help plant trees, by contract; and these men, it was soon

²²Sanford's wife's first name was Gertrude. Perhaps he chose to use her name in an attempt to appease her, or perhaps he was being sarcastic in naming the grove St. Gertrude.

²³Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," p. 161.

discovered, were doing the work badly; whereupon they were promptly discharged, and the work was done over at W. & M.'s expense. These men -- discharged -- were simply mean and dishonest, and being exposed, conceived a deep hatred for Whitner (more especially) as he was unpopular with their class. Mr. W. is an unbending and proud man . . . with undisguised contempt for the men of the class to which these laborers belonged. This class determined to take their vengeance . . . and Whitner went armed for some time. . . .²⁴

These local whites took out their resentment on the black laborers. One factor contributing to this picture was that the Negroes had only recently become freemen. Their camp was fired on in September, 1870. Whitner and Marks immediately called a meeting of the "law abiding citizens of the community," who decided that armed guards should be stationed around the Negro camp.²⁵ Whitner wrote Sanford that: "This disturbance arose from the jealousy and malignity of the low white wretches in the county. . . . Unwilling themselves to half work & opposed to the introduction of those who might do better . . . a few cowardly scoundrels have threatened our lives. . . ." ²⁶

The stationing of guards solved the problem for a time, but later the camp was again attacked, and during the fracas one Negro was killed and several were wounded.²⁷

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷W.P.A. Writers' Project, Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 360.

Also, Negroes working at Sanford's sawmill were driven from the town. General Sanford was forced to give in; to augment the labor force and keep violence to a minimum, he began to use immigrant labor in the groves and on projects in the town.²⁸

By 1873, it became apparent that the St. Gertrude grove was not suitable for orange culture, due primarily to a hard pan near the surface. The trees were transplanted to the Belair grove, which was about three miles southwest of the town, and contained 155 acres--95 in orange trees, 50 in lemon trees, and 10 in nursery stock, plus a large area of uncultivated land that brought the total property to 400 acres.²⁹ Whitner believed that Belair was unsurpassed as the best place for growing oranges in the area.

General Sanford also experimented with the growing of other semitropical products at Belair. Among those were almonds, tamarinds, mangoes, figs, pomegranates, loquats, sour sap apples, custard apples, maumer apples, Barbados cherries, pecans, peaches, olives, bananas, grapes, and

²⁸According to Dorothy Primrose McMakin, "General Henry Shelton Sanford and His Influence on Florida," p. 71, Sanford stopped employing Negro laborers but he did build a suburb in the town for them, and asserted that he would protect it "'by arms if necessary'." Today, the black section of Sanford is located in the area that was the St. Gertrude grove.

²⁹"Belair," p. 3.

pineapples.³⁰ He imported the plants from all over the world. Although some failed to prosper, his nursery gardens were the most impressive laboratory of its kind to be found in the Western Hemisphere.³¹

According to the Florida Commissioner of Agriculture in 1883, even Sanford's failures were profitable because they prevented others from making the same mistakes. In 1893, Walter Swingle of the United States Department of Agriculture described Sanford's contribution to variety development thusly: "' . . . it is no exaggeration to state that 2/3rds of our desirable varieties, & a goodly share of those grown in California were brought here and first tested by General Sanford'."³² Sanford was also one of the individuals who sought alternate uses for the citrus product, and experimented with the manufacture of citric acid, citric oil, and perfume.

It was not until after his death, in the early 1890's, that the soil and climate of the Sanford area were found to be particularly well suited to the raising of celery. This vegetable replaced the hundreds or so fruits

³⁰Cabell and Hanna, The St. Johns: A Parade of Diversities, p. 271.

³¹Ibid. On a visit to Belair, now the home of Sydney O. Chase, Sr., the writer saw some of the original nursery stock.

³²Jerry Wood Weeks, "Florida Gold: The Emergence of the Florida Citrus Industry, 1865-1895" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1977), p. 132.

which Sanford had unsuccessfully tried to raise and, by the mid-1940's, his city was producing about one-third of the celery grown in the United States.³³

In 1880, Sanford organized the Florida Land and Colonization Company, based in London, to oversee the selling of his land holdings in Florida. General Sanford retained the Belair property but gave up the St. Augustine grove to the newly organized company. He served as president of the Florida Land and Colonization Company and was also the largest stockholder. By 1884, however, Sanford seems to have lost interest in his Florida investments and turned his enthusiasm and hope for financial recuperation to his ventures in the Congo, where he spent time, energy, and money.³⁴

Nevertheless, Henry Shelton Sanford would be regarded as "the first individual to pour tremendous sums of capital into the development of commercial citrus, and his vision of an orange region which would surpass the quality and production of the Mediterranean attracted considerable

³³Ibid., pp. 271-272. According to Sydney O. Chase, Sr., the Lake Okeechobee area is now the prime production area of celery in Florida. Interview with Sydney O. Chase, Sr., Sanford, Florida, March, 1979.

³⁴James Patrick White, "Henry Shelton Sanford and Africa" (Master's thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1963), p. 81.

attention to Florida's orange belt."³⁵ Even though Belair "became the mecca for those seeking the latest improvements in variety and cultivation techniques," Sanford failed to recoup his investment.³⁶ The property was sold in 1898, due to Sanford's death seven years earlier, his over-extension of capital, and a number of severe freezes that had seriously damaged the grove.

Henry Shelton Sanford had tried to play the game of finance capitalism and had lost his fortune in the process.

His failure was not that he undertook to do the impossible or that the investments he made were unsound; rather, he attempted too much at once. In his haste to get rich, greater and graver difficulties developed. Cotton plantations, railroad promotion, sugar refineries and plantations, orange groves, land development, and steamships are all sound investments, but when undertaken at the same time with limited financial backing, such overextension appears as unnecessary as it was unwise.³⁷

Although Henry Sanford seriously depleted his own family's fortune, he made it possible for at least one hundred Swedish immigrants to seek economic betterment in the United States. Those who accepted his terms of employment were seeking the chance to take advantage of what they believed to be the "American dream." Many hoped to find it in Sanford, Florida.

³⁵Weeks, "Florida Gold: The Emergence of the Florida Citrus Industry, 1865-1895," p. 231.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," p. 318.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICA'S ATTRACTION TO SWEDISH EMIGRANTS

In 1870, when Henry Shelton Sanford was beset with labor problems at his St. Gertrude and Belair groves, he decided to bring in Swedish immigrants to tend his Florida property. By the time he made his decision, Swedish emigration to the United States was already well underway. According to a contemporary writer, some of the reasons for Swedish emigration at this time were as follow:

For one it is the hysterical longing to free himself from all local fatalities--even climatic conditions play a role here; for another it is a baffling economic situation, often self-imposed; for a third, it is the unrest that comes from the fact that our social reformers do not drive onward with high pressure like a steamboat on the Mississippi; for a fourth it is simply the taste for adventure, for it might happen that "I might become a millionaire"; and for the fifth a fifth reason.¹

Emigration from Sweden began in earnest following the close of the American Civil War when, according to one newspaper report published in 1869, "the emigrants, as if by agreement, gathered from the various communities on certain

¹Florence Edith Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), p. 275.

days, like migratory swallows, to leave, without apparent regret, the home and associations of their native land, in order to begin a new life on another continent."²

They came here in search of cheap fertile soil and jobs. They were attracted to a society that demanded brains and brawn, and where there was a higher reward for their abilities than in the land they left behind. They were also drawn by the principles of social equality in democratic America. Many "America letters," which were written to the homeland and passed from household to household, sometimes copied dozens of times and passed on or even published in the local paper, "rejoiced that the settler no longer had to tip his hat to the clergyman and that he had a voice in the affairs of the community. The vision of America was painted in rosy hues; imagination and hope only deepened the colors."³

Economic opportunity was usually the most important consideration in their decision to leave Sweden, while improved transportation facilities, publicity, and, frequently, personal contacts with relatives and friends in America were other important factors. But there were other

²George M. Stephenson, "When America was the Land of Canaan," in The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America, eds. Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederick Cople Jaher (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1970), p. 109.

³Franklin D. Scott, Scandinavia (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 282.

more personal reasons that often led the individual to seek a better life in America. Some of those most frequently mentioned were: a quarrel with the parents, the loss of employment, the disgrace of bankruptcy, and the aggravating snubs of superiors.⁴

At the same time that numerous Swedes were beginning to look for opportunities outside their native land, the United States Government, many of the individual states, and several American emigrant companies, as well as steamship companies, land companies, and railroads, were looking toward Swedes "as a field to be exploited for hardy, thrifty, and persevering immigrants."⁵ These groups had a product to sell, one that was being sought by many Europeans, not Swedes alone. Their most important products were land, work, and transportation. Vigorous and extensive campaigns were launched by these various agencies to attract buyers.

State officials spent large sums of money promoting immigration with a definite purpose in mind: the rapid settlement of the state. Their propaganda heavily stressed economic factors, particularly agricultural opportunities, as well as the favorable climate that could be found there. The 1868 report of West Virginia's Commissioner of

⁴Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930, p. 20.

⁵Ibid., p. 9.

Immigration, J. H. Diss De Bar, typifies the attitude of many of the state officials.

While at the seaports during the last season, I learned from well informed parties that emigration from Sweden, induced by a rough climate and successive failures of crops, would soon assume unprecedented proportions, and that with timely exertion a large share of it might be secured for the Middle States. Heretofore the great mass of Swedes and Norwegians found their way to Wisconsin and Minnesota where they constitute almost the entire population of several flourishing counties. The uniform thrift of the people in those frigid and uncongenial regions is quite remarkable, yet I am informed that they by no means find there all they could wish, and that a timbered and hilly region like West Virginia would much better suit their tastes and habits. In industry and frugality they were not surpassed, if equalled by any other nation of emigrants, while their custom of settling down clans or whole villages with a person and a schoolmaster at their head, would change the appearance of our wilderness sections perceptibly in a very short time.

I have therefore, prepared the way in that direction, by connecting myself with a noted shipping company in New York City, who have just added to their business a line of steamers from Gothenburg, the most popular port of emigration in Sweden. I have also availed myself of a voyager to that country, an intelligent and well connected Norwegian, to get 2,000 of my eight page pamphlet printed and distributed in the most prolific sources of emigration there, and if means are appropriated intend to have my proposed hand-book of West Virginia translated into Swedish also, and a proportionate number of copies sent there for circulation. Like all northern people the Swedes are intelligent and inquisitive, and prepare themselves for emigration by gathering all the special information within their reach.⁶

West Virginia was only one of the many states that actively recruited Scandinavian emigrants. It furnished pamphlets, land-maps, and illustrated booklets, all designed

⁶Ibid., pp. 9-10. Ironically, few if any Swedish immigrants actually settled in West Virginia.

to catch the emigrant's eye. At the height of the competition for new settlers, the state often sent agents to various American ports to meet the arriving emigrants and convince them to settle in their particular state. Usually, they were then turned over to a guide who spoke their language and escorted them to their destinations. In some cases they even had Swedish guides for the entire trip from their native country. This was an effort to protect them from those individuals who preyed upon helpless newcomers and to further insure that they would settle in a particular place. Also, it was not unusual for a state to have an agent, located in the foreign country, to supervise recruiting activities, as well as to arrange for advertising and favorable publicity in the various newspapers. They were even known to answer letters from prospective emigrants.

The United States Government was also among those who were interested in increasing immigration to this country. In 1864, the office of Commissioner of Emigration was established under the Secretary of State. It was his duty "to gather full and reliable information about soil, climate, minerals, agricultural products, wages in various parts of the United States, and also the means of communication, the need for labor, and to spread all of this information in a popular form in Europe."⁷ Also, a

⁷Ibid., p. 261.

federal superintendent of immigration was located in New York to aid the immigrants in finding work and homes.

Other federal officials were involved in these promotional activities. For example, General C. C. Andrews of St. Cloud, Minnesota, was appointed Minister of the United States to Sweden and Norway in the summer of 1869. He was quite interested in encouraging immigration to the United States, especially to his home state of Minnesota. In fact, in Minnesota, Andrews was regarded as an immigration agent for the state rather than as a United States Government official. He made several suggestions concerning the spread of information about the United States to the people of Sweden and Norway but received little encouragement from United States officials. However, he did manage to see that postal rates between America and Sweden were reduced, which made it possible for more correspondence between Swedish-Americans and the old country.⁸

In the spring of 1871, Andrews noted that for the first time the State Department was interested in Scandinavian immigration. This interest resulted from a report on the conditions of Swedes in America that was prepared by Carl Lewenhaupt, Sweden's Charge' d'affaires in

⁸Lars Ljungmark, "General C. C. Andrews, High-Placed Immigration Agent in Sweden," Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly 21 (1970):87. In 1873, the postage was reduced from 14¢ to 9¢ for a letter mailed from the United States to Sweden.

Washington. A translated copy was sent to Washington by Andrews. Lewenhaupt was given the task of preparing the report in 1870 and, by the spring of 1871, the pamphlet, Berättelse rörande emigrationen fran de Förenade Rikena till Amerikas Förenta States (Account concerning the emigration from the United Kingdoms to the United States), was published by the Swedish Foreign Office. It was printed in Swedish and Norwegian and distributed to the Swedish and Norwegian press in Europe and America, where it attracted great attention.

For the most part it was an objective description of the conditions and possibilities of Swedes and Norwegians in the United States. It gave the impression that Lewenhaupt found the immigrants better off than expected.⁹ Swedish officials had not expected the report to be so favorable. In fact, their purpose in having it written and published in both Norway and Sweden was to discourage further emigration.

Even though the State Department was now more receptive to Andrews' ideas, Washington still refused to engage in the activities necessary to promote immigration to America from Sweden. The officials of the federal government were not inclined to become involved in the propaganda drive for emigrants that other agencies, both in the United States and Canada, were conducting in Sweden.¹⁰ Instead,

⁹Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 103.

this campaign was turned over to the individual states, business interests, and other organizations.

One of the businesses that had a considerable stake in the promotion of immigration was the steamship companies. Generally, they had subagents in Europe who made a living on the commissions they received from the sale of steamship tickets. Thus, it was to their advantage to spread the word about America. This, in turn, helped to stimulate emigration to that country.

These companies did not become involved in such activities until the late 1860's, when large numbers of emigrants sought transportation to the United States. At this point it became a profitable venture for the steamship lines, and they attempted to make the bridge across the Atlantic more convenient and attractive. "The many steamship agencies when once established in practically every small town, with brochures and maps demonstrating the possibilities of the new world, undoubtedly helped to swell the numbers of those seeking the opportunities."¹¹

Travel agencies depended upon immigrants, also. They placed advertisements in European newspapers to attract potential customers. However, one of these companies, the American Emigration Company, included this warning in a Swedish newspaper.

¹¹Ibid., p. 247.

The Company does not advise anyone to emigrate to America. On the contrary, it desires that everyone should carefully consider the consequences of this important step before he decides to take it. No one who is not industrious and has not means enough for the journey and for support for a short time in America, until he can obtain a position, should think of emigrating. Large families, which intend to migrate, do wisest to send first some of the younger men of the family to prepare a home for the remaining members.

The Company does not picture any eldorado for the emigrant. The healthy, industrious and temperant [sic] can attain economic prosperity in America, but the lazy and intemperant [sic] will fall into greater poverty there than here. It is from the first group that encouraging reports about America come to Sweden, from the latter the opposite.¹²

This company, as well as others like it, not only provided steamship transportation for its customers but had a land department for the sale and purchase of farms. They purchased large areas of land in all sections of the United States for the purpose of reselling it to immigrants. A typical advertisement that appeared in the Jönköpings Tidning reads:

Emigrants from the northern countries can easily find in this variety of states, regions which will suit them, not only in climate, but also in soil. On a large area of the company's land in Texas there are fine timberlands; on their possessions in Tennessee may be found copper, iron, coal, and petroleum. In Georgia, the company owns land in the famous gold region, and besides this the corporation expects to purchase land along the partly constructed and partly planned railroad lands in Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa and Kansas. Emigrants, may, therefore, receive advice upon arrival about the lands which they desire to acquire. These lands will be sold on a ten-year mortgage basis.¹³

¹²Ibid., p. 234.

¹³Ibid., p. 237.

Not only did these companies deal with the emigrants' transportation and land needs but they also had a banking department that had a savings and loan division, a money exchange division, and an endowment for old age division. In addition to these services, they had an employment department that made an effort to find jobs for emigrants who were seeking work in this country.

Numerous land companies joined the rush to promote their interests. One of these was Henry Shelton Sanford's Florida Land and Colonization Company which issued the following advertisement:

We want population from every State in the Union and from every country in Europe; we want the thrifty and industrious to join us in occupying and building up the vacant places in our favored State, that they may secure pleasant homes for themselves and families; we want them to identify themselves with our present population and enjoy all the rights and privileges of the native-born which the laws of the State now fully guaranteed to them. We need population, and we will give immigrants a hearty welcome and extend to them full and equal protection; we have no prejudices to overcome, for we are already cosmopolitan; we want immigrants of kindred races, that we may be a homogeneous people; we are all immigrants or their descendants; we give immigration credit for all we are or all we hope to become. We do not wish to be misunderstood at this point; we do not want immigrants for subordinate positions, but, on the contrary, invite them to locate and become the owners of their homes in fee simple forever; we want them to become citizens and have with us equal political privileges and responsibilities in all the obligations imposed upon citizens under a Republican government; we want persons skilled in a great variety of mechanical and agricultural pursuits; in fact, in all the industries of life, for we have a State possessed of the requisite conditions for successful cultivation and development. We want, especially, persons skilled in gardening and fruit-growing, in the cultivation of tobacco, sugar, etc.; we want grape and orange growers

together with the whole list of semitropical fruits; we want manufacturers of lumber and naval stores; we want especially, capital to develop our unbounded resources; we want immigrants, especially, that will bring along with them sufficient means and energy to enter upon business for themselves, to buy our cheap lands, to become permanent residents, practical fruit growers and successful agriculturalists, or who will follow some mechanical or manufacturing occupation. We have a surplus already of non-producers, lured hither by our genial climate and expecting "to get something for nothing." We want, in short, settlers who are willing to rely on their own exertions and means to make themselves beautiful homes. To such we say, Come and if you have good staying qualities, your reward is sure.¹⁴

However, the greatest propaganda about America came from the immigrants themselves in the letters they wrote home to friends and relatives. Many times these letters contained prepaid tickets, money, or promises of available jobs. These letters often exaggerated the opportunities to be found here and neglected to mention the hardships. America, in spite of the geographical difference, became closer to many Swedes than Stockholm or the various Swedish provinces, due to the "American letters" which were literally passed around, or spread by word of mouth, or were published in the local newspapers. In many cases the Swedes knew more about their relatives in the United States than about those in a neighboring province.

A very potent factor in the encouragement of exodus was the successful Swedish-Americans. Large sums of money

¹⁴Florida Land and Colonization Company, Sanford and Beyond (New York: The South Publishing Company, n.d.), pp. 29-30.

were sent back to Sweden either to aid the family to pay off the mortgage or to support aged parents; or it was sent to secure a higher rate of interest than was available in United States banks. In some cases the emigrants returned to settle in their native land, took over the family estate, or purchased a more pretentious farm than had ever been owned by the family. "Sometimes it was the peasant daughter returning after many years of service in the kitchen of the American bourgeoisie, to spend her old age carefree on her accumulated earnings among her relatives."¹⁵

For many immigrants America symbolized the land of democracy where many of Sweden's ills did not exist. Promotional literature often emphasized this aspect. For example, in the years following the Civil War, it noted America's success in blotting out slavery--the final vestige of European feudalism. Francis Clare Ford, Her Majesty's Consul in the United States, reinforced this characteristic picture of America as the land of democracy when he reported to his government in 1869 that:

Several years of work in the United States with its "principle of equality," would easily unfit a man belonging to the artisan classes for living again in the old countries of Europe "where the relative positions of social life are so strictly defined, and, as a rule, so

¹⁵Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930, p. 16.

vigorously enforced, and where the accident of birth is held of such account."¹⁶

Letters later written in response to a Swedish emigration study pleaded: "'Let the democratic spirit prevail more in Sweden. Create an America in Sweden. Then I believe that your sons and daughters will stay home'."¹⁷ However, another observer expressed the opinion that "he was not surprised that 'the poor Swede becomes proud to be called an American because he is too ignorant to know about the dark sides of American life. He doesn't see the hypocrisy, the corruption, the rotten political morality, and he doesn't see the monsters resting on the feet of clay'."¹⁸

These letters indicate that the presence of class distinction in Sweden was an important factor in emigrating. Although serfdom did not exist in Sweden, there was a rigid distinction between social classes. There was an upper class which was divided into the aristocracy, which belonged there through birth; the gentry who owned large estates; and

¹⁶Merle Curti and Kendall Birr, "The Immigrant and the American Image in Europe, 1860-1914," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 37 (September 1950):211.

¹⁷Emory Lindquist, "Appraisals of Sweden and America by Swedish Emigrants: The Testimony of Letters in Emigrationsutredningen (1907)," Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly 17 (1966):87. (Hereafter cited as Lindquist, "Appraisals of Sweden and America by Swedish Emigrants.")

¹⁸Ibid., p. 85.

the nobility, many of whom were not wealthy but held important government, army, or church positions. Below them were the peasants who considered themselves quite superior to the landless crofter and cotter. It was through emigration that many Swedes were able to find social equality and opportunity.¹⁹

The resentment against social inferiority on the part of the lower classes was echoed over and over again in the criticism of their fatherland. One immigrant, J. S., who emigrated in 1881, commented early in the twentieth century:

If I should come to Sweden now and come into a store, I would have to take my cap or hat in my hand and bow ceremoniously, calling a simple bookkeeper for herre, etc.; while in America a workman and a bookkeeper are of the same rank. Yes, our honored President Roosevelt, himself does not despise me if I take off my hat or not when I speak to him.²⁰

Another complained of "the ridiculous title sickness and the idiotic class distinction, the cringing of the lower classes and the arrogance of the upper classes . . . the bureaucracy and pedantry" that was found in the homeland.²¹ Even one individual who was extremely critical of the United States, nevertheless, pointed out that there was one

¹⁹Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930, p. 19.

²⁰Ibid., p. 294.

²¹Lindquist, "Appraisals of Sweden and America by Swedish Emigrants," p. 83.

advantage: "the equality which prevails among high and low, rich and poor."²²

The quest for religious freedom was often noted as an important factor with some people in making the decision to leave their homeland. Religious discontent was never the primary cause of migration, but in thousands of cases it was a strong and contributing element.²³ Although persecutions had ceased by the latter half of the nineteenth century, dissenters from the state church were still required to pay taxes to support an institution from which they derived no benefit. They were also discriminated against in other ways. One that was particularly annoying related to marriage. Until 1873, there was no legal marriage for citizens not affiliated with the state church. Children born to parents who were not members of the state church were, thus, illegitimate in the eyes of the law.²⁴

Letters included in the Emigrationsutredningen made similar comments about religion as an element in emigration. Such remarks as "the clergymen's persecution of dissenters," "the intolerant, completely privileged state church," and

²²Ibid., p. 82.

²³Franklin D. Scott, "American Influences in Norway and Sweden," Journal of Modern History 18 (1946):40.

²⁴William Carson Smith, Americans in the Making: The Natural History of the Assimilation of Immigrants (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1939), p. 7. (Hereafter cited as Smith, Americans in the Making.)

strong comments about paying taxes for the support of the church indicate how these individuals felt about the religious climate in Sweden.²⁵ Others clearly stated that the question of religious freedom had not been a significant factor, and some even responded that "they were entirely satisfied with the religious situation in Sweden."²⁶

Another factor that many potential immigrants found attractive was the lack of compulsory military service in the United States. The Defense Law of 1860 introduced conscription for all Swedish men between the ages of twenty and twenty-five and provided that, "if anyone was liable to military service but desired to emigrate, the government would decide upon proper application. A condition of exemption from military duty in time of peace was the payment of \$25.00, and in time of war, a substitute to take the emigrant's place."²⁷ After November 1, 1872, this fee was discontinued.

Not only was the lengthy military service distasteful because of its infringement on the individual's rights

²⁵Lindquist, "Appraisals of Sweden and America by Swedish Emigrants," p. 88.

²⁶Ibid., p. 89.

²⁷Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930, p. 295. Franklin D. Scott, Sweden: The Nation's History (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 370, mentions that the length of compulsory military service was raised from thirty days to forty days, which differs from other sources.

but it also had an economic impact. A Swedish immigrant put it thusly: "'The poor, unfortunate peasants can not without almost unlimited sacrifices bear this burden of increased taxes, but it so happens that when one most needs his sons at home they must go off to training'."²⁸ It is impossible to know how many of Sweden's enterprising young men left their fatherland for the sole reason of escaping military service, but many who were inclined to leave for economic reasons probably decided on an earlier departure date to escape serving in the army.

There were also certain factors in Swedish political life which caused many citizens to seek America, the land of democracy. Especially repugnant to the lower classes was the limited political franchise. The Parliamentary Reforms of 1866 had introduced a high property qualification for voting, and this deprived the poorer peasant of any participation in his government. This also excluded industrial workers from representation. It was not until 1919 that universal suffrage was attained.

The Swedish Emigration Commission reported in 1913 that:

There were very few if any who emigrated to America because of the denial of political suffrage, but this disfranchisement and the feeling of inferiority, of the denial of natural rights as the average person thinks of it, has without doubt enhanced the feeling of discontent which has been a fruitful field for the development of "emigration fever" in our country.

²⁸Smith, Americans in the Making, p. 14.

The feeling that only the "nobility" have any importance, that "simple people" have nothing to say, is very old and has been a widespread opinion in our Swedish Communities, and it is certainly not only an illusion. . . . Without doubt emigration might have been discouraged if manhood suffrage had been introduced in 1880 instead of 1909. And patriotism would have been stronger. Our age demands democracy to satisfy the masses, and Sweden with its many strong aristocratic tendencies was in need of democratization especially in the political field.²⁹

This situation contrasted with the conditions in the United States where

. . . every Swedish immigrant was eligible to vote as soon as he was naturalized. . . . He entered eagerly into his new political rights and assisted in the organization of many a county in the territories and new states of the West. . . . Social and Political equality were often the subject of his letters to his friends and relatives in Sweden.³⁰

Undoubtedly, economic factors were the most important causes of the exodus of people from Sweden to the United States. In America, there were millions of acres of cheap land, which might be obtained after 1862 under the conditions of the Homestead Act. This Act granted 160 acres of the public land to anyone who could cultivate it for five consecutive years. It also provided that "an individual cultivating the land could purchase it at \$1.25 an acre within six months."³¹ Promotional literature also pointed

²⁹Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930, p. 18.

³⁰Smith, Americans in the Making, p. 10.

³¹Philip S. Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States, vol. 1 (New York: International Publisher, 1972), p. 326.

out that the land was extremely fertile, there were low taxes, and that there would be a rise in land values. This promise of free or almost free land was a powerful force in motivating multitudes to emigrate.

There had been crop failures in Sweden in 1867, 1868, and 1869, which caused widespread misery and ruined large numbers of smaller independent and tenant farmers. This led to a deluge of Swedish emigrants during those years--5,893 in 1867, 21,472 in 1868, and 32,053 in 1869.³²

Almost as attractive as the promise of land was the labor situation that existed in the United States. Wages were higher in this country because of the scarcity of an available labor force. In Sweden, there was overpopulation in the rural districts, as well as a lack of industrialization. This tended to make wages low and, even after industry developed, there was a labor surplus. In the United States, the laborer could obtain a higher real wage even though the cost of living was also higher. Here it was possible to save money and become established in industry or agriculture without feeling the heavy burden of taxation that the Swedish landholder and laborer must bear.

Depending upon the time and the circumstances, there were varying factors that induced Scandinavians to emigrate. "The hope of larger returns for one's labor was the

³²H. Arnold Barton, Letters from the Promised Land: Swedes in America, 1840-1914 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969), p. 107.

mainspring in the emigration from Sweden."³³ However, there were other factors to be considered. If the economic situation had been satisfactory, these other annoyances would probably have been endured. The frequent periods of economic distress, crop failures, unemployment, and low wages vividly contrasted with the demand for labor at higher wages in America, and the attraction of millions of acres of cheap virgin land to be had there.³⁴ The "America fever" swept Sweden, bringing with it hundreds of thousands of emigrants who looked to America as the land of opportunity.

Thousands of Swedes, who had no real stake in their native land, and no homes of their own or even the hope of any, heard the call to be a part of this great migration. They dreamed of a better life elsewhere; and "they had the physical stamina to risk the severe ocean voyage and do the back breaking work of plowing the new sod and cutting the timber."³⁵ Most of them could read and write, and were skilled as carpenters, blacksmiths, printers, and animal tenders, as well. Their spirit of independence combined with their versatility prepared them for the demands of frontier life. Those who were the most enterprising made the decision to break away from the life they had known.

³³Smith, Americans in the Making, p. 22.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Franklin D. Scott, Sweden: The Nation's History (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 371.

The bold and the courageous were the first to undertake the forbidding voyage across the great ocean.³⁶

³⁶Gerhard T. Alexis, "Sweden to Minnesota: Vilhelm Moberg's Fictional Reconstruction," American Quarterly 18 (1966):92.

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT MIGRATION

Every route that crosses the ocean
I would mark on the map in red,
For there our heart's blood flows
From open wounds toward the west,
Look at the brown chests in Gothenburg
That are stacked every day on the quay,
And at the long list of passengers
Like death reports from a battle.¹

In 1870, C. H. Dupont of Quincy, Florida, had revived the comatose Agriculture and Immigration Association with the idea of replacing Negro farm workers with European immigrants. Dupont believed that Europeans would be willing to work one year to pay the costs of their transportation to the United States. Once here they could be hired out at an annual rate of \$120 for men and \$100 for women. He felt that there would be many planters who would be willing to hire a few such workers if they were available. With this in mind, he planned to form a company, financed by private funds, to bring the emigrants to Florida, hire them out for a year, and keep the difference between the cost of transportation and the year's wages.

¹Carl Snoilsky, "The Great Migration" (1887), poem quoted in Franklin D. Scott, Sweden: The Nation's History (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 336.

Supposedly, one of the individuals who helped finance this undertaking was Henry Sanford.² However, there seems to be a great deal of confusion concerning Sanford's involvement with procuring Swedish immigrant laborers. According to Jerrell H. Shofner, Dr. William Henschen, a Swede who had settled in the Sanford, Florida, area, acted as Dupont's agent in signing prospective emigrants to contracts and then bringing them over to the United States in groups. The first group, under this arrangement, arrived in Gadsden County in northwestern Florida in August, 1871. Most of these were already employed by planters who had earlier agreed to Dupont's terms. However, the arrangement proved unsatisfactory for all parties, and within a year nearly all of the Swedes were gone from that county.

Even though this brief attempt proved unsuccessful, primarily because they arrived at the wrong time of the year to benefit their employers and because of their dissatisfaction and homesickness, a permanent colony near Lake Monroe eventually resulted from the Swedish labor

²Jerrell H. Shofner, Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction--1863-1877 (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1974), p. 259. However, the writer could find no mention of this particular arrangement between Dupont and Sanford in the Sanford Papers, and Richard J. Amundson in "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," p. 170, comments that, "as nearly as can be ascertained from Sanford's correspondence, he conceived the idea [of bringing Swedish emigrants to central Florida] and asked the citizens living near or on the Grant if they chose to participate." For more on this, see Chapter VI.

experiment. This colony, named New Upsala, was largely made up of Swedish immigrants who chose to come to central Florida under the Contract Labor Law. Once there they would work on the St. Gertrude and Belair groves and in Henry Sanford's other businesses before they became self-sufficiently employed.

According to several sources, Sanford sought advice on his labor problem from his friend and neighbor, Dr. William Henschen, a graduate of the University of Upsala, and formerly an instructor at the Collegiate School in Helsingborg, who had decided to emigrate to America. In 1870, he and his brother Esaias and a group of like-minded people had gone to Florida with plans to establish an agricultural colony.³ They located in an area just west of the town of Sanford, where they secured homesteads and cleared the land and planted orange trees. This settlement was named New Upsala in honor of their native city.⁴ Dr. Henschen, his brother, and a few of his followers soon moved

³Rolland Dean, "The General Needed Labor, the Swedes Wanted Opportunity: Sanford's Early Swedish Colony," Orlando Sentinel Florida Magazine, 24 September 1967, p. 12-F. Dr. Henschen was one of the few Swedes who had chosen a subtropical climate, mainly because he was interested in horticulture and in planting an orange grove.

⁴Ivar F. Pearson, "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly 18 (1967):132-133. According to the World Book Dictionary, either of the following is the correct spelling for the Swedish university town--Uppsala or Upsala.

to the Lake Jessup area where they once again established homes and orange groves. Because his wife could not endure pioneer life, Dr. Henschen and his family left there in 1873 and moved to New York where he took a position in the Passenger Department of the Anchor Trans-Atlantic Line, and as editor of Nordstjernen, a Swedish language newspaper.⁵

Dr. Henschen advised Henry Sanford that "there were thousands of Swedes who would like to come to Florida and that he had two brothers who would make the necessary arrangements for settlers."⁶ The agreement was that Sanford would pay transportation costs and provide food, clothing, housing, and schooling for their children for one year and they in return would render a like period of service to him.⁷

The Contract Labor Law had been passed in 1864, partly in anticipation of a shortage of labor resulting from the westward migration under the incentive of free homesteads.⁸ This law legalized contracts advancing passenger money to immigrants in return for their free labor for a

⁵Ibid., p. 133.

⁶Dean, "The General Needed Labor, the Swedes Wanted Opportunity: Sanford's Early Swedish Colony," p. 12-F.

⁷Ibid. This same information is also found in Ivar F. Pearson's "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," p. 133.

⁸William S. Bernard, ed., American Immigration Policy: A Reappraisal (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 6.

specified time. However, this law was repealed in 1868 as a result of the protests of labor. Nevertheless, Henry Sanford did bring Swedish emigrants, as well as those of other nationalities, to the United States under a contractual agreement. There is no evidence of an actual contract in the Sanford Papers. Perhaps this is due to the fact that it was illegal at the time.⁹

Henry Sanford invited his neighbors to be a part of this experiment, and one of his agents, Dr. Thomas Haigh, sent Sanford the following list of people who would take Swedish workers:

Col. B. J. Whitner, Mellonville, 4 men 1 woman (the woman to act as cook for the 4 men). J. M. Bussall, 1 man & wife (no children). The wife as cook & washer-woman. Capt. J. W. Whitner, 1 man & wife, no children. This seems to be all that are needed by parties here. Mr. Tucker say [sic] you are to supply his order from your lot of 25 men. He (Tucker) suggests that you send

⁹Frederick A. Sorge in Labor Movements in the United States (London: Greenwood Press, 1977), p. 195, states that "in 1884 Congress passed a law prohibiting the importation of workers under contract, 'that is, prohibition to induce citizens (workers) of a foreign country to emigrate to the United States with the promise of work or payment for their passage. . . .'" Therefore, it is possible that Sanford's arrangement was not illegal. However, it is peculiar that not a single contract can be found among the Sanford Papers or in existence in Sanford, Florida. According to Bettye D. Smith, author of an unpublished paper, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers," and a resident of Sanford, the Contract Labor Law had been repealed in Florida before 1871. Swedish newspapers warned their readers against making contracts for labor but, evidently, these individuals were determined to seek opportunities in the United States.

three women with the 25 men to wash & iron & c for them.¹⁰

The Henschen brothers were to act as Sanford's agents in procuring emigrants. They were to make the necessary arrangements with the Anchor Line agents concerning the passage. The fare from Gothenburg to New York fluctuated according to the time of year, and whether that was the company's busiest season. For example, the ticket price in early February, 1871, was \$38 but later that same month it would increase to \$40 per person. Dr. William Henschen advised Sanford to purchase the thirty-five tickets that would be needed while they could still be obtained at the lower price. He also reminded him that

. . . we agreed upon a payment for my trouble of \$300, to be delivered when I get back to New York with the laborers. If you will allow me to buy on my account 5 tickets for myself, as I will need some laborers. The amount, \$190, would be deducted from my future salary; and as you will keep the tickets until we go on board in Gothenburg, you are, of course, free from any risk.¹¹

Henschen calculated the cost of each laborer as follows:

¹⁰Richard J. Amundson, "Henry S. Sanford and Labor Problems in the Florida Orange Industry," Florida Historical Quarterly 42 (1965):232. In reading the Sanford Papers, the name "Bussall" appeared to be "Burrall." Sanford Papers, March 8, 1870, Box 53.

¹¹Dr. William A. Henschen to H. S. Sanford, February 15, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 11, Sanford Memorial Library, Sanford, Florida.

	\$	cts.
Fare from interior parts of Sweden to Gothenburg	5.	
Passage Gothenburg-New York	38.	
Commission to agent	8.	58
Transportation of baggage, board, and lodging during the waiting in New York	2.	42
Deck passage to Savannah	10.	
Food and transport of baggage in Savannah	1.	
Fare to Savannah to Jacksonville	5.	
Costs in Jacksonville, steamboat tour to Mellonville with food	5.	
	\$75.	12

He was also concerned with the number of Swedish emigrants he was to sign up. In a letter written to Henry Sanford, March 8, 1870, he said, "As I will not promise the passage to my countrymen, without having your word to rely upon, I must ask you to tell me as soon as possible the number you will now oblige yourself to take."¹³

Evidently, Henry Sanford had spoken to Dr. Henschen about offering four hundred acres of Sanford's land to establish a colony of settlers, because Henschen promised to publicize this information while he was in Sweden and "prepare for a colonization to take place in the fall."¹⁴ However, nothing seems to have developed from this proposal.

Henschen wrote Henry Sanford from Upsala, March 18, 1871, that his friends there had already carefully selected

¹²Ibid.

¹³Dr. William A. Henschen to H. S. Sanford, March 8, 1870, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 11.

¹⁴Ibid.

twenty persons of good character and soon he hoped to add ten or twenty more who were needed. He suggested that his group should leave Sweden as soon as possible because many of them had already resigned their lodgings or services from the first of April, and some had sold their furniture but, most importantly, "these first rate people may else be compelled to look for some other engagement that may be offered."¹⁵

Later that same month, Henschen responded to Sanford's request and informed him of the situation in Upsala:

Everyday I have been visited by people who wish to work a year for the passage. Thus I hope to be able to secure exactly the people that you would like best to have. A few of them, though in poor circumstances, have had a some-what superior education, and being able-bodied and of good health, knowing a little of the English language and partly having experience of gardening. I hope these will prove useful to you not only as laborers but as interpreters and assistants in colonizing your lands. These three persons (Wennström, Lofgren and possibly Haglund) ought to be districted in such a way that you have one of them on each place.

I have also had a letter from my friend in Skane (the extreme south of Sweden) testifying to the great interest that they feel in an emigration to Florida, but also soliciting me to go there myself and give them full particulars about the matter. . . .

Amongst our people are some skilled laborers, as you will find by the enclosed list, which I have the honor to offer you. As for extra pay to them, I have told them your intention, but I think this may now be sufficient, thus reserving to yourself the right of fixing the amount, when you find what they can do and

¹⁵Ibid.

whether it will be better to give them that extra payment in land or in cash.

The fare from Gothenburg to New York is now fixed to Ror 132 Swedish (about \$39). By paying Ror 20 of this money in advance one has the right to be forwarded previous to anybody else who may wish to leave the same day but who has not given "the earnest." This matter, though generally of little importance may be necessary during the month of April when the ships for America are crowded and passengers are often delayed a whole week in Gothenburg.

Thus it will be well, if you will, in addition to the Ror 17 Swedish, which are necessary to bring the laborers to Gothenburg, send to me here in Upsala also Ror 20 to secure the passage on the day that will be fixed. Thus the sum to be paid in Gothenburg Ror 112 per head. As soon as you accept my proposals I will make the final arrangements with the laborers in order to leave Upsala, when your agent (the consul or anybody else) has got your money in Gothenburg. Some alterations in that list may become necessary; but if so, I hope it will not be to your loss.¹⁶

It did become necessary for Henschen to make some changes in the original list. He added "a first rate head gardner, Mr. Wennström, Senr., who will go together with his son," who was already on the list, as well as an upholsterer.¹⁷ Sanford had instructed Henschen by telegram

¹⁶Dr. William A. Henschen to H. S. Sanford, March 24, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 11.

¹⁷Dr. William A. Henschen to H. S. Sanford, April 8, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 11. The Wennström mentioned by Henschen came with his son to Sanford, Florida. Both were apparently well educated and, after returning to Sweden, wrote accounts of their travels. Dr. Karl Anders Otterland of Smyrna, Tennessee, translated one of these for the writer with the hopes that J. E. Wennström had revealed interesting insights into the immigrants' early experiences in Florida. Unfortunately, the one translated was a typical Swedish travel account of that period and dealt primarily with the flora and fauna of Florida. Please see the bibliography for a listing of their works.

to try to engage as many as fifty people, if they were choice people, but Dr. Henschen was skeptical of trying to select more people on such short notice. His experience had taught him to be very careful in the selection of individuals. He wrote Sanford:

I have already been obliged to change some of the laborers, as I have heard something unfavorable of them. Now I hope to offer you people of really good character and in this way you will probably be better pleased with a number of 40, rigorously selected, than with 50, if the selection must be less careful. If you are contented with the Swedes you will easily get more in the fall, as I propose going back here in the summer.¹⁸

Henschen informed Sanford that nine of the passengers were women, and that most of these were wives of the laborers. He also suggested that barracks be built to house the laborers at first but as soon as possible they should be allowed to erect real homes. Another concern was that many of the Swedes did not own tools, even though in America laborers were obliged to use their own tools and implements, and this might be a problem for some of them.

On April 18, Henschen sent Sanford a list of the laborers who had been employed, and mentioned that he had encountered more difficulties than expected. The greatest one was dealing with people who were trying to keep the emigrants from leaving Sweden. They would tell the laborers that they were being brought into slavery to work in the

¹⁸Dr. William A. Henschen to H. S. Sanford, April 8, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 53, folder 11.

mines. Some of those who had signed up were now prevented from leaving before next fall because they had difficulty selling their furniture and other belongings. Then there were others who would not leave because of friends who had decided to remain in Sweden. An upholsterer would not come because the young woman to whom he was engaged was afraid of leaving her home, even though she had also been employed by Henschen. Regardless of his problems, he planned to leave Upsala the next morning with forty laborers. They expected to depart from Gothenburg on April 22, and hoped to be in Glasgow by the twenty-sixth of that month.¹⁹

The manifest of the S/S Scandanavia indicated that only twenty-six men and six women left Gothenburg, Sweden, on April 23, 1871, for the trip to Granton Docks in Scotland.²⁰ From there they were taken by train to Glasgow where they would board the Anglia for the Atlantic crossing to New York. Most of these emigrants listed Upsala as their home but gave no reason why they were making the journey. Presumably, it was because of dissatisfaction with conditions in Sweden and the hope for a better future in America. They were young, most of them in their twenties and early thirties, and belonged to the Swedish working

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Bettye D. Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers," paper presented at the 77th annual meeting of the Florida Historical Association, West Palm Beach, Florida, 4 May 1979.

class. The majority were "skilled tradesmen--carpenters, masons, printers, and cabinetmakers--or horticulturists who looked forward to using this knowledge and skills in the new country."²¹

By 1870, the westward passage was taking less than fourteen days by steamship, and was much safer than in the days of sailing ships. The "shorter voyages, increased space, improved accommodations, more light, better ventilation, more abundant supplies of more wholesome food and water" made the steerage scandals a thing of the past.²² In fact, Dr. John M. Woodworth, the supervising surgeon of the U.S. Marine Hospital Service, doubted whether one per cent of the emigrants "were ever so well treated--fed, lodged and cared for--in their lives as during their steerage-voyage on any average steamship."²³

During the various stages of this long journey the emigrants were struck by the differences in everything they saw from what they had known before. The trip "served the purpose of uprooting them from the familiar and the habitual to prepare them for meeting the alien and the

²¹Ibid.

²²Maldwyn A. Jones, Destination America (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), p. 42.

²³Ibid.

new."²⁴ This would come about when the first group of Swedes, under Dr. William A. Henschen's leadership, reached Florida on May 30, 1871.

²⁴Dorothy Burton Skardal, The Divided Heart (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), p. 77.

CHAPTER VI

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE SANFORD CONTRACT

New Upsala, the first and largest of Florida's early Swedish settlements, had its beginning in 1870. The first Swedish immigrants, who settled here under the guidance of Dr. William A. Henschen and his brother Esaias, planned to establish an agricultural community in the Sanford area. They purchased homesteads, cleared the land, and planted orange groves, but in a short time the Henschen brothers and several others moved to the Lake Jessup area where they started over again.

Evidently, some of these original Swedish settlers were still living at New Upsala when General Sanford's first contingent of Swedish immigrant laborers arrived in May, 1871. These new arrivals had come to Sanford, Florida, under the terms of the Contract Labor Law, which legalized contracts made abroad to bring workers to America. The law provided

. . . that all contracts that shall be made . . . whereby emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for a term not exceeding twelve months, to repay the expenses of their emigration, shall be held valid in law, and may be enforced in the court of the United

States . . . and such advances shall operate as a lien upon any land thereafter acquired by the emigrant.¹

In return for a year's labor in the citrus groves, the immigrants received their passage to Sanford, one year's maintenance for themselves and their families, plus schooling for their children.

Henry L. De Forest, the young manager of Henry Sanford's mercantile store, met the steamer at the Sanford wharf on May 30, 1871, and assisted the foreign workers in making the trip to Belair, which was near the Swedish colony of New Upsala. Here they were housed in one small frame structure, which was not designed to accommodate twenty-six persons, including seven women. It was necessary for some of them to sleep on the floor because there were not enough beds, and the mattresses, purchased in Scotland when the Anchor ship docked there, were no longer usable.²

Furthermore, the newcomers were badly in need of clothes and shoes. They had arrived in late spring, and were still wearing their winter clothes which were woolen and, thus, they suffered, even more than could be expected, from the heat. Dr. William Henschen, the labor agent who had brought them to Sanford, and Howard Tucker, an overseer

¹Philip S. Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States, vol. 1 (New York: International Publisher, 1972), p. 327.

²Richard J. Amundson, "Henry S. Sanford and Labor Problems in the Florida Orange Industry," Florida Historical Quarterly 42 (1965):233.

at Belair, met with the immigrants and told them that Henry Sanford would provide them with the necessary items. Evidently, they had no authority to make such a statement and, legally, Sanford could not have been held to this arrangement. However, the Swedes "declared that these promises were binding upon Sanford, and if breached, the original contract was also breached, freeing them from their obligations."³ The General felt that these alterations were reasonable and agreed to the terms. In exchange for bed clothing, shoes, working apparel, and a small weekly credit at the Sanford store for tobacco and other necessities, they agreed to extend the length of their contract beyond the year's term until the fair value was repaid.⁴

Dr. Thomas Haigh had been commissioned by Henry Sanford in January, 1871, to be his general agent on the Sanford Grant. His primary responsibility was the Belair and St. Gertrude groves, but he was also in charge of land sales and supervising the sawmill and wharf. In addition to these responsibilities, he had to keep the financial records and reports. For quite sometime he was ill, and, in June, 1871, Haigh died. It was at this point that Henry Sanford's young nephew, Henry L. De Forest, took over his uncle's

³Richard J. Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 1963), p. 172.

⁴Ibid., p. 173.

disorganized interests. According to Richard J. Amundson, De Forest was "filled with confidence in his own abilities, disliked criticism, and did 'get along' well with others."⁵ For a young man not yet twenty years old, assuming control of Sanford's varied interests was a formidable job.

After two days spent in training, the Swedes were put to work in the Belair grove. De Forest reported to Sanford: "The Swedes are doing well and appear to be satisfied, and are doing much better than we expected."⁶ They worked ten hours each day (Sunday excepted), and had Saturday afternoons to themselves. Their day began at five o'clock and they quit at dark with an hour off for breakfast, and two and a half hours off for lunch. Their diet consisted of beef, bacon, dried apples, hominy, beans, rice, and potatoes, at a cost of about \$5.50 per person a month. De Forest reported this to be "\$3.00 less than is allowed for a Negroes [sic] rations and yet the Swedes say that their food is better than they expected."⁷

Within a short time there was not enough work in the groves to keep all the Swedes busy. This was especially true of the seven women who had few duties to perform. De Forest suggested to Sanford that those who were skilled

⁵Ibid., p. 169.

⁶H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, July 9, July 16, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder.

⁷Ibid.

tradesmen be put to work using their skills. Those with carpenter skills were to work on one of the new buildings that was under construction in the town. These included a new store, a hotel, a church, and several frame houses that the General hoped to rent to vacationers. Sanford approved De Forest's suggestion, and three Swedes were taken to the sawmill, while several others were hired out to orange growers in the area. Not only did Sanford save money on the building construction but he also received compensation for the services of the grove workers.

By the middle of July, De Forest had to write Sanford that there was trouble with the Swedes. Although he had been under the impression that they were satisfied and pleased, three of them had taken the steamer for Jacksonville. When he inquired as to a possible reason for their running away, he was informed that someone had told them they could do much better in the city and that the contract made in Glasgow was not good in this country. Furthermore, they were at liberty to leave at any time. He also learned that some of the immigrants had made inquiries in Charleston as to pay for laborers in that city. When they learned that they could get \$30 a month and board, they felt that they had been swindled by Dr. Henschen, who had

told them that they were to work at their trades and not at farming.⁸

Although the Swedes who remained appeared to be indignant with those who had fled, De Forest feared that others might also leave. After consulting with Mr. Tucker, he decided to go to Jacksonville to persuade the runaways to return, or, if that failed to work, to bring them back under arrest. "For if these now here find that we pay no attention to these three they I am fearful will follow in their tracks."⁹

The three missing Swedes were Lundberg [Lindburg?] the baker, Andersen [Anderson?] the shoemaker, and Carlsen the farmer.¹⁰ Anderson had been in poor health since his arrival in Florida, and it was thought his condition was due to the climate. In fact, De Forest felt that it might be better not to bring Anderson back to Sanford as he might do all in his power to make the others dissatisfied.

If it were at all possible, De Forest hoped to avoid any more trouble with the Swedes. One of the immigrants reported that the Swedes were satisfied with what Sanford

⁸H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, July 19, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 6.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Amundson in "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," p. 177, records the names as Lindburg and Anderson, but the Sanford Papers show the names as Lundberg and Andersen. Also, Amundson describes Carlsen as a tanner, not a farmer.

had promised them, but they felt that they had been deceived by Dr. Henschen, who had told them one thing and Sanford another. De Forest suggested that the confusion might be cleared up if Sanford would write them a letter telling them what he promised and what they should expect. He also assured his employer that everything within his power was being done to make them contented, even to the extent of giving them English lessons every night, which they seemed to appreciate.

De Forest had little trouble locating the runaways in Jacksonville and bringing them back to Sanford. They appeared willing to go back to work, but De Forest felt that this was only because they were afraid to do otherwise. Nevertheless, he did not foresee any more trouble for them. In fact, these three said they would attempt to dissuade others who contemplated desertion. The other Swedes pretended to be indignant with those who had attempted to break their contracts, but De Forest was afraid that others would leave if they had an opportunity. However, "the returned runaways were evidence that Sanford would not willingly let them escape, and for a time, they served as a deterrent to others so inclined."¹¹

¹¹Ibid., p. 177. In August, 1871, De Forest reported to Sanford that a Norwegian was the person responsible for telling the Swedes that their contract was not binding. It seems that he was an enemy of Sanford. De Forest to Sanford, August 4, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 6.

Evidently, conditions in Sanford were better than those in Sweden, at least for some of the immigrants, because two of the men requested money to pay their wives' passage to Florida. It seems they were in destitute circumstances in that country, and as soon as they got here they would hire out to pay back the loan as quickly as possible. The men made it quite clear that the money was to be a loan and that their wives were not to come over under the same terms to which they had agreed. De Forest wrote his employer of their request and added that "the men are as good workers as we have and to satisfy them I wrote you."¹²

It appears that De Forest was, indeed, making every effort to satisfy the immigrants. On several occasions he mentioned to Sanford the possibility of giving a certain amount of land to the Swedes for fulfilling their contracts. Finally, Sanford gave his permission to survey and show the Swedes five-acre tracts of good orange-raising land which would be given to each faithful Scandinavian who worked the entire year.¹³ This incentive caused some of the immigrants to write friends and relatives in Sweden to see if they would be interested in making a contract with Sanford. At the same time it also became possible for the craftsmen in

¹²H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, July 29, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 6.

¹³Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," p. 178.

the group to work at least part of the time at their particular craft. Because there were several tanners among the Swedes, De Forest discussed the possibility of establishing a tannery in Sanford. He had already allowed one of them to experiment with some hides.

During the latter part of August, the town and groves were struck by a tornado that did a considerable amount of damage. The Swedes, as well as all the outside laborers, were kept busy trying to save the property. On the night of the storm, the Swedes were at Ferguson House, where they "were rocked like a cradle and everybody was surprised that it remained standing."¹⁴ The night also proved to be notable for another reason. One of the Swedish women, whom Sanford intended to do the sewing, gave birth to the first child born since their arrival in this country.

Another storm hit Sanford that same month, and much damage occurred from the resulting high water. It seems likely that Sanford's wharf was almost destroyed, because De Forest wrote his employer that the storms had caused about \$2,000 worth of damage to Sanford's property, and that the "Swedes behaved first rate and if it had not been for them we could not have saved it."¹⁵

¹⁴H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, August 20, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 6.

¹⁵H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, August 28, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 6.

However, Sanford received a letter from another source that charged his agents, Howard Tucker, Jr., and Henry L. De Forest, with incompetence and the Swedes with laziness.

About four weeks ago, when I found it necessary to pass through Gertrude in resurveying an old line, I looked around the grove and could see nothing done. I made some inquiries and find that your Swedes do not earn their grub, and that young Tucker spends his time in gassing and amusing them. They sometimes absolutely refuse to do anything. . . . I laid out some lots at the landing, and pointed out the place to build the new store, for nearly three weeks there were three to six men at work clearing about one tenth of an acre. I watched the whole performance . . . it took thirty-six days labor to accomplish it, that is to do five dollars worth of work.¹⁶

As a result of J. A. MacDonald's letter, Tucker was discharged as overseer of the groves and replaced by A. W. Leonard, but E. K. Foster came to De Forest's defense. This new arrangement gave De Forest more time to look after all of Sanford's interests.

De Forest received word in October that another group of Swedish immigrants would soon be arriving and that the necessary preparations must be made. However, accommodations at Belair would not be ready for the new arrivals until November 10. They needed to build some cottages and a barracks-type building for the men, and if more than fifteen or twenty men came it would be necessary to add more sleeping accommodations. Meanwhile, the new

¹⁶Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," pp. 185-186.

immigrants would have to sleep above the store until their quarters were completed.

The latest group of immigrants were to be met in New York City by Charles M. Du Puy, Gertrude Sanford's uncle, and he would see that they were safely transferred to the coastal steamer that would take them south. They encountered no difficulties in New York, but some did develop on the trip to Florida. Du Puy wrote Sanford that:

There is a N.Y. Jew Sweed runner [sic] on board who was attempting to talk the Scandanavians into leaving the ship at Savannah and work for him. The man in charge [Henschen] does nothing to correct the difficulty, is an old Jack ass [sic] and does nothing but read newspapers.¹⁷

The twenty Swedes, accompanied by Du Puy and Dr. Henschen's brother Esaias, arrived in Sanford on November 7, 1871. One witness to their arrival commented that: "It was a noble sight to see these sun-browned, white-headed, red-cheeked Scandanavians, the fore-runners of that valuable immigration which peopled the State with so many good citizens."¹⁸ De Forest remarked that they seemed happy to have finally arrived, and appeared to be hearty and healthy. They were given three days in which to adjust to their surroundings before they went to work in the groves. It had

¹⁷Ibid., p. 185. The brackets are those of Amundson, not this writer.

¹⁸Ivar F. Pearson, "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly 18 (1967):135.

previously been decided to use the first group of Swedes at jobs requiring skilled labor and the new group of laborers in the groves. Five workers were sent to replace hired hands at the sawmill, others were put to work building cottages and other buildings in Sanford, and all the rest of the older group, except for those who were to remain as instructors, were put to work on the new road--named Sanford Avenue--which connected the Sanford wharf with the Orlando road.¹⁹

This later group's contract, signed in Sweden, provided them, at Sanford's expense, with bedding and other necessities. Two Englishmen had come over under the same arrangement as the Swedes. One of them, John U. Edgar, "'a No. 1 carpenter, but . . . slow', regretted his decision immediately and asked for a release from his contract before the month was out."²⁰ Edgar, who cited no reasons for his request, was released from his contract with the provision that he reimburse Sanford the passage money. He returned to England on January 1, 1872.

De Forest reported to Sanford in November that "the Swedes are all getting along nicely."²¹ However, the

¹⁹Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," pp. 185-186.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 186-187.

²¹H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, November 21, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 6.

Christmas season brought difficulties. The Swedes refused to go to work, explaining that in Sweden they had three days for Christmas, and that Dr. Henschen had told them they could expect the same thing in Florida. De Forest reasoned with them with moderate success. Six of the Swedes were willing to work but this made the others angry at them. They were accused of going to work to gain good will and receive presents. De Forest attributed this misunderstanding and all others to Dr. Henschen, whom he believed to be a traitor. He advised Sanford that "the only way you can get the upper hand of them is to tell them that their lands & c [sic] at the end of the year depends upon their present conduct."²²

It took some persuasion on De Forest's part, but the Swedes agreed to go back to work the next day, and promised to work hard enough in the future to make up for the time they had missed. However, De Forest remained concerned because "you will see that they intend making the conditions and if we agree to them all well and good but if not we suffer the consequences."²³ Although everything was going smoothly, he was apprehensive about what might occur when

²²H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, December 26, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 7. It seems likely that Henschen had promised the Swedes a longer Christmas holiday as an incentive for coming to Sanford, and had failed to discuss this with De Forest.

²³Ibid.

the New Year's holiday arrived. As threatened, with the arrival of New Year's, the Swedes again refused to work.

On January 11, 1872, De Forest wrote Sanford of the rumor that the first group of immigrants intended to work only eight months, which meant they would quit on the nineteenth of that month. He needed advice on how to handle the situation if it should occur. Evidently, it was decided to divide the group up and hire them out to other employers. Frederick De Bary, an orange grower across Lake Monroe at Enterprise, took five of the "old Swedes" and paid Sanford \$18 per month for each of them. The Swedes each received \$7 of this amount, with part of it going to pay off their account at the Sanford store.

Later that same month four of the Swedes returned to Sanford, where they claimed that they had received insufficient food and had been treated badly at De Bary's. The Swedes now considered themselves to be at liberty to hire out to whomever they chose, and considered their original contract cancelled. De Forest notified Sanford that "they showed a decidedly mutinous spirit but after considerable talk, no coaxing, I frightened them so that they wanted to withdraw their names from the paper [one stating that they regarded their contract void] and promise to do well."²⁴

²⁴H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, January 21, 1872, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 8.

De Forest was afraid that this rebellion on the part of the Swedes would make it difficult for him to hire any of them out. But his fear proved unfounded, when later that same month De Bary wrote him a letter saying that he was anxious to have the Swedes return. The Swedes agreed to return, and, as De Forest needed to cut down on expenses, he decided to let them try again. De Bary received five men, one woman, and a small boy to work in his groves.

Three incidents occurred in March to shatter the peace that had existed since the January trouble. The first concerned the Negro foreman at the mill, who was discharged and replaced with a Swede.²⁵ The Negro foreman had been cohabiting with one of the Swedish women and had been warned that, if he were caught with her again, he would be dismissed. Once again, there were problems with the Swedes at De Bary's who claimed that they were not being treated properly and were not receiving the proper kind of food. They demanded to see their contract to see if it had been violated by Sanford's agents. Acting upon De Forest's suggestion, the Swedes later wrote a statement saying that they had always been well treated, had plenty to eat, and that the contract with Sanford had been satisfactorily carried out towards them. Evidently, the situation calmed because, by the middle of March, De Forest was able to

²⁵Amundson said that the man was a fireman at the mill.

report to his employer that "all matters appertaining to the Swedes are moving quietly now."²⁶

Perhaps this was only the calm before the storm because on March 22, 1872, he discovered that three from the latest group of Swedes were planning to run away. The man who seemed to be the leader spoke English, and De Forest had him brought to the Belair grove where he could be watched. However, he confessed that there was no way to prevent their escape except by a constant watch. It would be a particularly bad time to lose any workers because there were only four Swedes at Belair, six at St. Gertrude, ten at the mill, and six working with Mr. Brown on construction.

On March 29, the Good Friday holiday, two Swedes were discovered missing. They were a Mr. Mollin, who spoke English, and a Mr. Olson. They were described as being short and heavy set, and De Forest suspected that they had probably headed toward Jacksonville, either aboard the Hattie or by land. Once the runaways reached Jacksonville they might be able to get help from several sources, including one of Sanford's Swedes, Peter Anderson, who had been released from his contract because of poor health and was working in a shoe shop there. De Forest took out a warrant for their arrest but did not put much faith in their return.

²⁶H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, March 19, 1972, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 8.

In early April three others--Stocklin, Buardo, and Jonsson--fled. The men who had escaped earlier were seen at Ft. Mason, Florida, about fifty miles from Sanford, and De Forest believed that the last escapees were in Charleston, South Carolina.²⁷ About this same time, De Bary reported that five of the eight Swedes he had hired had left. One had shipped out as a deck hand on a freighter, but the other four were at large. Once again, De Forest obtained warrants for their arrest and sent A. W. Leonard, the grove manager, in pursuit of the runaways. Even though some of the Swedes were obviously dissatisfied at this time, there were a number who planned to make their homes in the Sanford area, and had relatives who were anxious to come to the United States under the terms and conditions proposed by Henry Sanford. These immigrants would even go so far as to vouch for the character of their friends and relatives and be responsible for the fulfillment of their contracts.

The contracts of those Swedish immigrants who had arrived in May, 1871, were soon due to expire, and these Swedes were anxious to obtain their promised land. Fifteen of the Swedes wanted land at Belair, and De Forest had eight five-acre lots laid out at that site. If Sanford did not care to give out any more land there, De Forest believed that the others would be satisfied to get land elsewhere.

²⁷Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," pp. 191-192.

Others had requested land, but De Forest said they would not receive any because "they are lazy and good for nothing."²⁸ According to Amundson, there were only eight names on deeds sent to Sanford for his signature.²⁹

Those who continued to work for Sanford would receive varying wages. The ones who worked in the groves would get from \$12 to \$17 monthly, depending upon the productivity of the men, and those at the mill from \$15 to \$20. These figures included board. If they provided their own board, they would receive an additional \$10. However, De Forest did not expect many to board themselves. Although the Swedes complained about the wages, he expected most of them to remain in Sanford's employment.

In May, 1872, De Forest reported that another Swede had run away. Early in June, one of the escapees, Swede Anderson, was arrested and placed on the Hattie to be returned to Sanford. However, he managed to get away from the watchman who was supposed to be guarding him. This particular man claimed that he left because his wife was unfaithful to him, but Amundson conjectures that several of the runaways may have been prompted by the lack of

²⁸H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, April 25, 1872, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 8.

²⁹Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," pp. 192-193.

generosity which had been shown in rewarding the first group of Swedes.³⁰

Probably because of disgust with the Swedish workers, De Forest and E. K. Foster decided to bring in Negroes from north Florida and Georgia to work on the Grant. On June 9, 1872, seven arrived with four more due on June 16. More were expected to arrive later. The Negroes were to be paid from \$12 to \$15 per month plus rations, which De Forest reported he had been able to reduce to \$4.80 per person.³¹ Their task per week was one-fourth more work than that assigned to the Swedes. Also, in an effort to placate the Swedes, those still under contract were paid extra cash for extra labor.

Instead of solving their problems, the Negroes turned out to be a new source of trouble for Sanford's agents. A party of white men had visited the Negroes' camp and warned them to leave. De Forest had their camp moved closer to the mill and assured them that they would receive protection as long as they remained in his employment. To insure this, he wrote E. K. Foster, who was in St. Augustine, to have United States troops stationed there immediately sent to Sanford.

³⁰Ibid., p. 193.

³¹Ibid., p. 194.

Meanwhile, on July 4, Negroes at another farm were visited by men who told them to leave or they would be shot. As a result, two of the workers at Belair were frightened into leaving. E. K. Foster recommended that the sheriff be called in to take care of the problem and then, if he were not able to clear the matter up satisfactorily, the United States Army could be notified. Later, Foster learned that the sheriff had been a part of the group harassing the Negroes. With this in mind, he made it clear that United States Marshalls were in the area, and that he would turn a list of names, given to him by Major Whitner who witnessed the provocation, over to them and arrests would be made if the violence reoccurred.

For awhile there was no trouble with the Negroes. In fact, De Forest commented to Sanford that "the Negroes are doing well and at the present rate it won't be long before you can let the Negroes go and with the satisfaction of never having to put another grubbing hoe in the Groves."³² It was on July 15 that the first incident occurred. A Negro worker was returning to the grove from the Sanford store when he was attacked and badly beaten by some local whites known as "crackers." Warrants were taken out for their arrest by De Forest who expressed fear that the attack signaled the beginning of trouble.

³²H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, July 7, 1872, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 8.

Two days later there was another attempt to interfere with the Negroes but this attempt was suppressed. Once again, the gang included "crackers," as well as some of the more prominent townspeople. De Forest reported that he had been warned by reputable people that he would have to leave town if he brought any of these parties to justice. Nevertheless, De Forest did not fear for his personal safety or for that of the Negroes because he believed the "crackers" were afraid to trust each other. The trouble seemed to be over as Sanford received no more reports of problems with local ruffians.

During this time there were three Swedes working at St. Gertrude, five at Belair, four with Mr. Brown on construction work, five at the mill, and one doing general work. The wages of all the Swedes employed in both groves was \$110 per month. Rations for twenty-three Swedes amounted to about \$30 per week, while the cost of rations for fifteen Negroes was \$18 per week.³³

In October, it became necessary to change the work system used in the St. Gertrude grove. Because the Negroes' work was unsatisfactory, they were now required to work ten hours a day under the direction of "one of the best Swedes."³⁴ If any did not complete his share of the work

³³H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, July 4, July 18, 1872, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 8.

³⁴H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, October 7, 1872, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 8.

then he received no pay for this labor. After only a short trial, De Forest commented that the amount of work done was now double what they had been able to complete previously.

Once again, there were a number of Swedes who were anxious to have their families "come over and settle out at Belair at their colony."³⁵ The men had complained that their families would not get through the Swedish winter without assistance from General Sanford. De Forest offered to send their names in the next mail and stated that he saw no other way out but for Sanford to bring them over, and he informed Sanford not to expect much financial aid from the husbands because they did not have any money. Also expected sometime that fall or winter were ten men relatives of Swedes who were already working for Sanford. De Forest also reported to Sanford that he was "much gratified with the way the Swedes are working on their places and . . . we are going to have quite a large colony of them."³⁶

Henry Sanford was trying to sell land at this time, and De Forest suggested that he have circulars printed to hand out to travelers. However, he warned his employer not to mention that the land would be cleared because the Swedes had all the winter work they could handle. A large contingent of Swedes was working on the Episcopal Church of

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid. Sanford had provided them with lumber to build homes.

the Holy Cross, even though Mr. Brown was ill and not there to direct them.³⁷ Another Swede, F. A. Lindburg, had temporarily been placed in charge of the Belair grove, but soon he would be sent to St. Augustine to report on the condition of the property located there.³⁸ It proved to be in such bad shape that he agreed to go there and work, taking the carpenter's son with him.

The new year brought with it another group of foreign immigrants. These were Italians who, like the Swedes, had come to Florida as laborers for Henry Sanford. His thought was that, if he brought over Italians who had worked in the Italian orange industry, they would be more valuable to him than the Swedish novices.³⁹ All but one of the Italians, scheduled to arrive in Sanford on January 5, 1873, ran away. Even though their baggage was in Sanford, they would not come to the town. The lone Italian, after he recovered from his illness, was put to work in the garden at St. Gertrude.

³⁷The amount of money paid the Swedes, whose contracts had not expired, for work on the church was \$364. The others received \$1.50 to \$2.00 per day depending upon their skills. H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, December 12, 1872, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 8.

³⁸Lindburg was one of the first Swedes to run away. After his return, he was a conscientious worker. Many considered him the best man in the county when it came to citrus culture. He wanted to build and settle on his five acres.

³⁹Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," p. 204.

De Forest wrote Sanford that if the others showed up there would be more workers than they actually needed. "I dislike just at present to discharge any of the Swedes as they are all making arrangements to build on their lots and I fear to discharge them before they become permanently settled."⁴⁰ All but two of the Negroes had been discharged some time ago. These two were working on the road, which would soon be completed from the Sanford store parallel with Lake Monroe to St. Gertrude and from there diagonally to Belair.

By January 14, six more Italians had arrived. They had attempted to revolt and had demanded \$15 per month and refused to eat the same rations that the Swedes were getting. After a day of talking to them, De Forest was able to get them to go to work, and he was able to report to Sanford that they were doing well. "Although they appeared to be more turbulent and passionate than the Swedes," he felt that they would soon become contented.⁴¹ They were given \$10 per month, and went to work with that understanding.

The same month one of the "old Swedes," Linqvist, a farmer, died of chronic dysentery.⁴² His wife and four

⁴⁰H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, January 5, 1873, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 10.

⁴¹H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, January 14, 1873, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 10.

⁴²There are three different spellings given in the Sanford Papers. They are Linqvist, Lunquist, and Lundquist.

children were in the group that had left Sweden on December 23, and were expected to arrive soon. The youngest child was eleven years old with the others ranging in age from fourteen to twenty-one. De Forest was confident that he would be able to find places for them in Sanford where they could work to pay for their passage. Linqvist had died suddenly, and his wife would be shocked by the news.

Soon after he had written to Sanford, De Forest received word that the arrival of the twenty Swedes had been delayed. In fact, because of ice they would not be able to leave Sweden before March. This being the situation, Aylund, one of the Swedes who was serving as an overseer at the groves, had written to Linqvist's wife advising her of her husband's death and telling them not to come to Florida.

Meanwhile the Italians were getting along well and seemed contented with their situation. De Forest regretted that they had not brought their wives with them so they, like the Swedes, could become a permanent fixture in the community. "Their ideas now are to lay up a few hundred dollars and return to Italy to their families."⁴³ Although they were much better laborers than the Negroes, no one in the Sanford area wanted to hire them. Perhaps it was only because they intended to stay until May, and it would take too long to train them for such a short work period. When

⁴³H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, January 23, 1873, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 10.

Sanford learned that they intended to leave so early, he instructed De Forest to have them do as much work in the groves and in the town as possible. If they could be persuaded to stay longer, he wanted one of the prettiest, five-acre lots on Lake Jennie cleared and fenced. This was to enhance the value of the land he was trying to sell in that area.

In May, a Swedish carpenter, Lundblad, his wife, and two children arrived in Sanford. De Forest had also received word that the brother of Linquist and his family were in Glasgow and would soon be arriving in Florida. In addition to these new immigrants, De Forest had heard from one of the Swedes who had run away the previous year and was now anxious to pay off the balance of his passage and return to Sanford. The Swedish colony was increasing while the number of Italians working for Henry Sanford was now down to four, all of whom were working at St. Gertrude's grove.

Originally, the colony of New Upsala contained twenty five-acre tracts, but it continued to grow steadily.⁴⁴ In September, 1873, a Swede named Munson came to Mellonville. Twenty years earlier he had settled in Illinois with several other Swedish families, but now that he was well off he and several others were looking for a warmer climate in which to settle. They had heard of the

⁴⁴Amundson, "The American Life of Henry Shelton Sanford," p. 203.

colony at Sanford and knew that it was the only one in the South that had proved to be permanent and successful. Because he was interested in making Sanford his home, Munson spent two weeks at the Swedish colony. During this time, he saw that the Swedes were building their own homes, were contented, and that within five to ten years they would be well off. Munson was pleased with what he found in Sanford, and planned to go directly to Sweden and see how many of the "better class" he could induce to come over. The new settlers would pay their own passage and buy land after their arrival. De Forest would let him know what price they could expect to pay for the land and on what terms.

Munson had previously visited Dr. Henschen's colony at Lake Jessup, and had been offered certain inducements to settle there. However, it was his belief that the people he would bring over would prefer the colony at New Upsala. He had already brought two groups of seventy-five each to Illinois, and he was confident that he could find more who would be willing to settle in Florida. De Forest was certain that Munson had his own interest in mind, and probably intended to buy a tract of land from Henry Sanford that would then be divided up and sold to these parties. Regardless of his skepticism, De Forest had given him every encouragement to return with the settlers, and he was sure that Munson intended to do just that.

By this time, the last three lots in the original part of the colony had been sold to three Swedes from northern Florida. Nine of the twenty lots had been given by Sanford to Swedes who wished to remain and desired land, while the remaining eleven lots were sold for \$125 each.⁴⁵ This made a total of \$1,375. However, none of the lots had been paid for because De Forest realized the purchasers were poor and thought it was better to spend their savings on improvements to their property. Although all twenty tracts had been sold, there were not twenty immigrant families there, as some of the Swedes had purchased additional property. Nevertheless, by the middle of September, there were thirteen Swedish families, making a total of forty-seven persons, in the colony. Seven houses had already been built and the others had agreed to build within one year of the date they had purchased the land. This was the state of New Upsala at the time that Sanford's immigrant laborers had served out their contracts.

Dr. William A. Henschen had written to Henry Sanford that "the plan of bringing laborers to work a year for the passage was probably the only efficient way to start the immigration; but in spite of any [every?] precaution we have

⁴⁵H. L. De Forest to H. S. Sanford, September 22, 1873, Sanford Papers, Box 47, folder 10. These lots were most likely five acres each.

found it only partially successful. . . ."46 It was Henschen's opinion that the Swedish colony at New Upsala would attract more immigrants who would come to Florida without prepaid passages, and who would also provide the needed labor. Thus, the Swedish colony would continue to grow, General Sanford would sell land, and also have an abundance of available laborers.

⁴⁶William A. Henschen to H. S. Sanford, September 16, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 53.

CHAPTER VII

NEW UPSALA: THE SETTLEMENT

Thus it was that the first Swedish immigrants who came over with Dr. William Henschen to found an agricultural settlement, which they named New Upsala, were soon joined by other Swedes who came for various reasons. The largest contingent came as contract laborers to work in the citrus groves and allied businesses of Henry Shelton Sanford before acquiring their own land or going elsewhere. Others came as the result of "America letters" or prepaid tickets from relatives or friends who had settled in what was the first and largest Swedish community in central Florida.¹ Still others came to the growing settlement from Kansas, Illinois, Maine, and Minnesota, where, together with those who came before and after them, they built a distinctly Swedish community. As such, it would survive barely twenty-five

¹One of the New Upsala Swedes described her new home in an "America letter" as "a place where potato vines would grow with no care after being put in the ground, and where the family cat actually brought home rabbits for the family to eat." Bettye D. Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers," paper presented at the 77th annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, West Palm Beach, Florida, 4 May 1979.

years but, for those few years, "the people of the community were considered enterprising and successful, and among 'the most prosperous people in all Florida'."²

For most of these settlers the opportunity to possess land of their own was the magnet that had drawn them to Sanford, Florida. Generally, it was possible to acquire land through a variety of sources. The federal government offered lands by purchase and through homesteading. The filing fee on a homestead at the time of entry was \$14 on 160 acres, and prices for federal lands on direct purchase began at \$1.25 an acre. Even though little vacant land remained in the developed regions, homesteads were available in the more remote areas. State lands--which included school lands, internal improvement lands, and swamp lands--varied in price from \$.70 an acre on 640-acre blocks of swamp land to \$7 an acre for some of the preferred school lands. However, most state lands sold for \$1.25 an acre. Improved land available from private sources sold for prices ranging from \$2 to \$250 an acre. Most of the best land was held by individual speculators, such as Henry Shelton Sanford, and land and railroad companies. Although they demanded high prices for the land, they extended credit to the purchaser.³

²Ibid.

³Jerry Wood Weeks, "Florida Gold: The Emergence of the Florida Citrus Industry, 1865-1895" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1977), pp. 37-38.

In the West, federal land policy tended to increase the size of homesteads because it was apparent that the western terrain necessitated more acreage for farming. The opposite was true in Florida where orange growing "required intensive cultivation techniques which limited the amount of land that could be utilized effectively by an individual dependent solely upon his own labor."⁴ Most growers felt that from five to ten acres was a sufficient amount of land for their use. Trees were ordinarily planted sixty-nine to the acre, and it usually took eight years for the trees to mature.⁵ During that time, the grower would have to find other work to provide an income for his family. However, after the trees began to produce fruit they would give a good living. For example, H. L. Hart was able to market 442,000 oranges from 300 trees in 1879. He received \$7,500 for the crop.⁶ This made it possible for Florida homesteaders to divide their 160 acres into twenty- and forty-acre tracts, which were then sold to other newcomers.

Acquiring land was only the first step. The settlers then faced the problems of housing, a water supply, clearing the land and fencing it, and constructing drainage

⁴Ibid., p. 44.

⁵Ivar F. Pearson, "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly 18 (1967):134.

⁶Ibid.

ditches and windbreaks if these were necessary. For some, this was a gradual process because they did not intend to settle there immediately. Others made some improvements and left, visiting there only occasionally. Those, such as Henry Sanford, who were absentee landlords, hired local individuals to develop their groves and only visited them briefly from year to year. There were still others who spent the winters clearing the sites but spent the summers elsewhere in an attempt to avoid the heat and fever associated with Florida summers.⁷

Those Swedish immigrants who settled at New Upsala acquired land from Henry Sanford under a variety of financial arrangements and terms. The majority of them served out a contract with Sanford, during which time they had an opportunity to acquire knowledge of citrus cultivation and learn enough of the English language to manage their own affairs. Therefore, they were actually better prepared than some of the other Swedish settlers to cultivate their own lands successfully. Although agriculture was the basis for the community's livelihood, many of the immigrants, who were skilled craftsmen, were able to make use of their talents in the Sanford area.

According to two of Sanford's early settlers, Sydney and Joshua Chase, the development of Sanford was unique

⁷Weeks, "Florida Gold: The Emergence of the Florida Citrus Industry, 1865-1895," pp. 44-45.

because it was largely a one-man affair. When Henry Sanford purchased 12,535 acres of the Levy Grant in 1870, he hired Captain R. H. Marks and John A. McDonald to make a plat of the town, and secured E. R. Trafford to lay out the site with alleys to care for sewers, gas, and water service.⁸ Henry Sanford purchased an existing wharf and packing house from Judge Tucker and proceeded to build several new structures in the town.⁹ The town was incorporated as Sanford on September 18, 1877, and, by 1878, consisted of about twenty or thirty buildings. Among these were the Sanford House, the only hotel, a drugstore, three saloons, and the Episcopal Church of the Holy Cross, the only church in existence at the time.¹⁰

The church was a project of Mrs. Henry Shelton Sanford who, with contributions from some of her wealthy friends, financed the building of what was then the most important church in central Florida. A number of Swedes were employed in the construction of the building, and one morning a notice was found posted on the door saying that

⁸Sydney O. and Joshua C. Chase, "Recollections and Reminiscences," paper written for the Sanford Centennial, Sanford, Florida, 8 February 1937.

⁹Mrs. J. N. Whitner, "A Sanford History," paper presented at the Wednesday Club, Sanford, Florida, 1910.

¹⁰Orlando, A Century Plus (Orlando: Sentinel Star Co., 1976), p. 21. According to Harriet Owsley, Henry Shelton Sanford Papers (1823-1891)--Register (Nashville: Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1960), n.p., Sanford was established as the first "dry" town in Florida.

unless the foreign laborers were removed it would be burned down.¹¹ This did not occur but, in 1880, it was destroyed by a hurricane, which necessitated its being rebuilt.

There were also a number of residences, the majority of which were located on high ground due to the fear of malaria which was easily contracted in the low lying portions of the city. At this time there were no railroads into the town, with freight being hauled from Sanford to Orlando by mule drays or on boats over the St. Johns River. Mail was received and dispatched in the same manner, and there was no telegraphic communication system.¹²

Ten years later, Sanford had a population of over 2,500, and there was a large and thriving community consisting of orange-packing establishments, machine shops, wagon factories, a cistern factory, a steam saw and planing mills, a railroad car repair shop, a fertilizer factory and warehouse, two steam-printing establishments, a first-class banking house, three newspapers, an opera house, and numerous churches, including four for Negroes.¹³

¹¹Leo T. Molloy, Henry Shelton Sanford, 1823-1891: A Biography (Derby, Connecticut: Bacon Printing Co., 1952), pp. 33-34. (Hereafter cited as Molloy, Henry Shelton Sanford.)

¹²"S. O. Chase Gives Description of Early Sanford," The Sanford Journal, 8 February 1937, p. 10.

¹³Richard J. Amundson, "The Florida Land and Colonization Company," Florida Historical Quarterly 44 (1966):165. Emmett Peter, in an article entitled "Troubled Zaire Shares Roots with a Central Florida City," Vertical

Upon visiting the town in 1886, on which occasion he was honored for his role in the development of south Florida, Sanford wrote his wife that he was disgusted with the people there because:

All have speculated in lots and made money. Yet all hold back for me or the Co. [Florida Land and Colonization Company] to provide for faster expansion. . . . The town is growing rapidly, it is now over run by Railroads. You would scarcely know it. Think of it, 100 houses built in the last 12 months! & many very nice ones.¹⁴

Less than a year later, the city was swept by a fire which destroyed nearly three square blocks. The volunteer fire department was not adequate to the task, and a great deal of capital was required for rebuilding the damaged area.¹⁵

The nearby Swedish community of New Upsala also experienced growth during this period, largely due to the economic opportunities that were available in Sanford. Not only was it possible to work one's own groves and those of others in the vicinity but also there were numerous businesses in Sanford to employ willing and capable laborers. However, the primary business of the colony was citrus production, and largely because of it New Upsala prospered. "By 1891, twenty-three 'principal grove owners' were shipping five hundred to one thousand boxes of fruit

File, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, March 20, 1977, n.p., stated that the population of Sanford was 4,000 in 1881.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 167.

a season and receiving \$1.60 per box . . .; and at least one grove owner had his own packing house with a wine room attached, where he turned out grapefruit and orange wine for local consumption."¹⁶

Sanford lay approximately two miles east of New Upsala, and the St. Johns River was about the same distance to the north. "Physically, the community was divided into two sections, an Upper Settlement built along both sides of Upsala Road, and a Lower Settlement following the winding curves of Vihlen Road."¹⁷ A swamp, which ran north and south, was the dividing line. However, the Upper and Lower Settlements were joined by two wagon trails that crossed the swamp from east to west. The plat of New Upsala indicates that most of the Swedish immigrants had lots measuring five chains by ten chains, which was approximately five acres.¹⁸

It is not possible to obtain an accurate population figure for New Upsala at any given time. Shofner indicated that in 1876 more than one hundred Swedes had settled there, and Molloy reported in his biography of Henry Sanford that there were over one hundred forty-five Swedes, including

¹⁶Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers."

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid. According to Bettye D. Smith, the Orange County Public Records indicate that only seventeen of General Sanford's Swedish contract laborers were granted deeds for "one dollar and other valuable considerations, five in 1875, and twelve in 1884." This disputes several sources that made Sanford appear to be more generous.

"sixty, rosy, chubby children, born on the Grant," present at a Christmas dinner in 1881.¹⁹ The 1891 annual report of the Swedish Augustana Synod lists the total population of the Swedish colony as one hundred seventeen.²⁰ Perhaps the most accurate figure is that one given on an official application for the establishment of a post office at New Upsala. The application, dated October 21, 1884, claimed that the population of the community was one hundred.²¹

If emigration to Florida followed the nation-wide trend during the years 1874 to 1879, there were proportionately fewer additions to the population of New Upsala than before or after that time. The panic of 1873 in the United States had the tendency to reduce the flow of emigration to this country. The misfortune here was counteracted by a period of prosperity in Europe, and, in Sweden, there were several years of good harvests, as well as a growth in commerce and trade. From 1868 to 1873, 99,825 Swedish citizens had come to America seeking

¹⁹Molloy, Henry Shelton Sanford, p. 34.

²⁰Pearson, "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," p. 136. In "The Ghosts of Upsala," Orlando Sentinel Florida Magazine, 4 May 1969, p. 7-F, Eve Bacon gives the 1891 population as about 200 persons.

²¹Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers."

opportunities not available in their homeland, but the panic of 1873 substantially decreased this flow.²²

In 1879, however, Sweden's agricultural prosperity came to an end. Sixty-seven percent of Sweden's population was involved in agriculture, and, therefore, the agricultural crisis was especially depressing. "The high marriage and birth-rate in Sweden in the sixties had produced a surplus of young, energetic people who seemed to see no possibilities for the future in their homeland and who joined in the greatest exodus that the country has ever experienced."²³

Although wages had risen in Sweden from 1850 to 1880, they were still well below those in the United States. When declining agricultural prices hit Sweden, wages sank to around forty cents a day, and this did not include food or lodging. Women's wages were usually half those of the men's. "For a year's contract as a hired man, where room and board was given as part of the wages, an agricultural laborer earned 125 kronor, or \$33.50."²⁴ With this in mind, it is easy to see why many Swedish emigrants preferred to come to Sanford, Florida, under the auspices of the Florida Land

²²Florence Edith Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), p. 274.

²³Ibid., p. 278.

²⁴Ibid., p. 285.

and Colonization Company in 1880-1881 rather than remain in their homeland.

The Florida Land and Colonization Company, Limited, had come into being as the result of Henry Sanford's desire to make his Florida real estate holdings pay bigger dividends.²⁵ Sanford had used the profits from his many ventures to build and improve the town named in his honor. He had invested in a general store, a hotel, a slaughter house, a cotton gin, a wharf, and a telegraph station, in addition to his plantation, Belair.²⁶ Improvements to the town and grove had proved to be quite expensive and, in 1879, Henry Sanford sought help from another source. He wanted to form a corporation that would not only take over, but expand his undertakings in Sanford and surrounding counties.²⁷

In May, 1880, the Florida Land and Colonization Company, Limited, was formally organized under British law with Henry Sanford as president and chairman of the board. Its offices were located in London with an agent stationed in Sanford, Florida, to oversee the company's affairs. However, Henry Sanford sought to maintain control over the company's policy, and only allow the directors to supervise

²⁵Amundson, "The Florida Land and Colonization Company," p. 153.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

carrying it out. A showdown between Sanford and the directors for control of the company came about in the spring of 1884. Henry Sanford was the loser in this power struggle, and as a result he became less interested in Belair and his other Florida holdings. After Sanford's death in May, 1891, there was no one to hold the company together. At a special meeting held in London on September 15, 1892, the necessary steps were taken to dissolve the company. Its assets, which included about 65,000 acres of Florida land, were divided among the share and debenture holders.²⁸

At the same time that more Swedish immigrants were coming to Sanford, both through the Florida Land and Colonization Company and individual efforts, several other Swedish communities were being settled in the area around New Upsala. As mentioned earlier, Dr. William A. Henschen, who had started the Swedish settlement at New Upsala, had moved with a number of his followers to Lake Jessup, about ten miles southeast of New Upsala, where they had obtained homesteads and formed a settlement.²⁹ This new Swedish community was located near the present town of Oviedo, and, as in the New Upsala colony, the main business was the

²⁸Ibid., p. 168.

²⁹Pearson, "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," p. 139. This took place in late 1870 or early 1871.

production of oranges. This group, however, was handicapped by its isolation from a nearby town where they could find jobs and earn a living while their orange trees were maturing. Nevertheless, the immigrants managed to survive and, eventually, the colony prospered. When comparatively large numbers of Swedish immigrants came into central Florida, attracted by the glowing reports of the citrus industry, some of them located at Lake Jessup. However, by 1891, only six or seven Swedish families remained, and these had become integrated into the Oviedo community.³⁰

One of the new settlements that sprang up as a result of the increased flow of emigrants from Sweden was Forest City. It was founded in 1880 by Josef Henschen, and was located between Altamonte Springs and Apopka, approximately fourteen miles south of New Upsala.³¹ Because it was situated near the growing city of Orlando, there was steady employment for those grove owners during the early unproductive years. Although it appeared to be a fairly large settlement and also successful, by 1910 Forest City had lost the characteristics of a Swedish community.³²

In 1877, a Swedish settlement developed at Piedmont, which was about two miles south of Apopka. Some of the

³⁰Ibid., p. 140.

³¹Ibid., p. 141.

³²Ibid., p. 142.

finest groves in Orange County belonged to the Swedish settlers living here. This colony apparently lasted longer than some of the others because of its solidarity. The Swedish element was evident as late as 1930, as is indicated by the following:

The Swedes may not now be so numerous in this place, but it is yet undoubtedly the only section that may be called a Swedish colony, and each year on the Fourth of July, the Swedes from the surrounding territory gather for a reunion.³³

Like the other Swedish colonies, it, too, is integrated with the nearest town. Piedmont, like New Upsala, Lake Jessup, and Forest City is "but a memory--a memory cherished by an ever dwindling number."³⁴

The Pierson settlement, located in the northwestern part of Volusia County, dated back to 1876, when two brothers, who had first emigrated to Connecticut from Sweden, moved there. They were followed by Swedes who like them, had first settled in other states, as well as immigrants who had come directly from Sweden. In the mid-1880's, the Pierson Colonization Society was organized to induce more Swedes to settle in Pierson. Through this effort the colony experienced an increase of settlers who, like their predecessors, planted orange groves. When the "Big Freeze" struck the area in December, 1894, destroying

³³Ibid., p. 143.

³⁴Ibid., p. 144.

many of the trees, a large number of the colonists became discouraged and moved elsewhere. However, for those who remained, citrus culture continued to be the chief industry of the settlement and provided them with a good living.

Today, the Pierson settlement, which is now over one hundred years old, is "the only one of the early Swedish colonies to remain and withal to retain a measure of its Cultural heritage."³⁵ About one-third of the town's population of seven hundred citizens are descendants of those early Swedish immigrants, and it is the Ebenezer Lutheran Church, organized there in 1884, that is credited with influencing the community to appreciate its past and the traditions of its founders.

The Swedish immigrants at New Upsala, like those in other settlements in central Florida, carved their colony out of the semitropical forest. These people "could hardly have settled in a spot more foreign to their Land of the Midnight Sun."³⁶ An article that appeared in the 1891 Weekly Journal of Sanford described the early efforts as follow:

When the little village of New Upsala was started, the forest was yet in its virgin growth. Out of it was hewn material for a rude hut and fence, the land was cleared and broken and at such times as could be spared from

³⁵Ibid., p. 146.

³⁶Jim Fisher, "Account of Death of Gen. Sanford Found in Sanford Journal of 1891," Sanford Herald, n.d.

work necessary to provide bread for wives and little ones, the foundation of this independence was laid.

The Swede is the pioneer par excellence, by reason of his love of liberty, his love of adventure and his love of religion, and so these people prospered as less industrious ones would not. Little by little from nothing was evolved much and today we repeat New Upsala is unique among Florida settlements. A tiny old world village in the midst of free America, with all its citizens Americans, save for the accident of birth.³⁷

This "old world village" that was New Upsala was comprised not only of homes which were typical farm houses like non-Swedish homes in the area but also it had a railroad station, a general store which also housed the community post office, the Scandanavian Hall which served as a gathering place for social and business meetings and where the school met, and two churches, one Lutheran and one Presbyterian, each with its own cemetery. The station, which handled both freight and passenger service, was built in 1887 as a part of the Sanford and Lake Eustis Division of the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railroad, which provided daily service between New Upsala and points eastward and westward.³⁸ For many settlers in the Swedish community, the train was their only access to nearby Sanford. The wooden station house, which was eighteen by thirty feet, was built on a block foundation and consisted of a wooden platform and covered shed surrounded by a gravel platform. Until it was torn down in 1927, oranges from the

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers."

groves at New Upsala were loaded on at this station. "From the station, hand cars loaded with freight could be rushed along a narrow gauge track to and from the general store a few yards away."³⁹

This store, at first Harrison and Son General Store and later B. O. Seltzer's, was the hub of the Swedish community. The post office occupied part of the building with the third floor reserved for dances and socials for the young Swedes. A wide variety of goods, including satchels and shotguns, hardware and harnesses, shirts and shoes, as well as Lutfisk, and salt herring imported from Jacksonville, were available at the store.⁴⁰

In one corner of the ground floor could be found the community post office, which was established in November, 1884, with John Monson serving as the postmaster. At first, mail was delivered only three times weekly by a contracted carrier. Service was discontinued in January, 1887, but reestablished in June, 1890. There were three other postmasters, besides Monson, who served the New Upsala community before the post office was finally closed. They were Joseph Harrison, B. O. Seltzer, and Sofia Lundquist.⁴¹

One of the first buildings erected in New Upsala was the Scandanavian Hall, a modest, one-room wooden building

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

in which social gatherings and business meetings were held by the Scandanavian Society. Here members of the Society could speak their own language, wear "Old-Country" costumes on festive occasions, or discuss news from the homeland.⁴² Every year, around May 20, the Scandanavian Society sponsored a community picnic which also included Swedes from other nearby settlements. After some forty years the Society ceased to exist, but social gatherings still continued. However, they took a different form. Now a monthly gathering would be held on a Sunday afternoon at an individual's home. Turns were taken in hosting the affair and in bringing refreshments.⁴³

The most important function of the Scandanavian Hall was housing the school. Established as Public School Number Fifty-One of Orange County, it had the dual purpose of teaching the basics of elementary education and of Americanizing its students.⁴⁴ In fact, "the public school was the only institution through which American society exercised direct cultural pressure on the immigrant group at all periods."⁴⁵ It was the most important Americanizing

⁴²Dorothy Burton Skardal, The Divided Heart (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), p. 33.

⁴³Pearson, "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," p. 138.

⁴⁴Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers."

⁴⁵Skardal, The Divided Heart, p. 298.

influence in both urban and rural settings. For what the children learned they took home to their parents, who regarded the education available to all as one of the most important opportunities to be had in America. Although not many first-generation immigrants were able to take advantage of the opportunity, they saw to it that their children did. For in the Old Country, education was a symbol of social rank, so they saw to it that their children completed the highest education available in their area.

In Sweden, teaching was done exclusively by men, and the main subject was the Lutheran religion. In their new home, public schools banned the teaching of religion, and the teachers at New Upsala were women. The first teacher was Josephine Jacobs, who had been born of Swedish parents in Jefferson County, Iowa. For some reason she came from Topeka, Kansas, to teach at the Swedish school in New Upsala. Eventually, the young teacher would marry Nels Julius Stenstrom, who had been born in Gothenburg, Sweden, in 1843, and, because of his distaste for studying law, had left home to travel. While on one of his ventures, he heard about the Swedish colony being established on the Upper St. Johns River in Florida. When his ship anchored at Savannah, he decided to take a look at the settlement. He arrived at Sanford in 1877 and went to work for Henry Sanford. Like many of the Swedes, Julius soon struck out

for himself and became a prosperous farmer and dairyman.⁴⁶ He and his wife were to have ten children, one of whom, a daughter, Mrs. Ada Rocky, was still living in Sanford in 1974. Other descendants of the Stenstroms are also living in the Sanford area.

A later teacher at the New Upsala school was a Miss Friese who, like Miss Jacobs, qualified for a special pay rate of two dollars per pupil rather than the usual one dollar payment because of the high average daily attendance at the school. At the time that Miss Friese was teaching there were thirty pupils. In 1877 and 1879, the school term was only three months long, and it was left up to the teacher to decide when this should be. However, this probably depended upon the work schedule for the groves. From 1880 to 1900, there was a five month term, which began on September 1. After that, the eight month term was standardized for all Orange County schools.⁴⁷ A local board of trustees, elected by parents of the students, had the power to make decisions concerning the school that were not specifically delegated to the Orange County Board of Education. Beginning pupils at the school were taught the basics of reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and

⁴⁶Rolland Dean, "The General Needed Labor, the Swedes Wanted Opportunity: Sanford's Early Swedish Colony," Orlando Sentinel Florida Magazine, 24 September 1967, p. 13-F.

⁴⁷Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers."

geography. By the third year, a pupil received instructions in United States history, grammar, and natural philosophy, as well as the previously mentioned subjects. In some communities where the local teacher was the same nationality as the inhabitants, she often made her schoolhouse the center for community-wide activities, such as spelling bees, singing school, debates, and even drama, in which both students and parents could participate.⁴⁸

Another building which was always important to any immigrant community was the church. It usually proved to be the most important single institution in support of group solidarity. In most instances, it was the Lutheran Church, the state church of Sweden, which became the cultural center of the new communities as they had been of the old. A Danish settler in an immigrant community explained to a visitor what the local church meant to its members:

You see all these people have only one single--what shall I call it?--entertainment, to go to church; here everybody meets regularly every Sunday. If there's something one wants to tell his friends or acquaintances, he doesn't have to hope he'll meet them at church on Sunday, he knows they'll be there. The need of companionship which we all have is satisfied there.⁴⁹

This seemed to be true for New Upsala as well. Even after the Swedish community was divided between two churches, the

⁴⁸Skardal, The Divided Heart, p. 152.

⁴⁹Ibid.

members participated in each other's activities, and the church continued to be a uniting factor in the Swedish settlement.

In New Upsala, the Swedish church and cemetery were located on a one and one-half acre tract of land that had been donated for that purpose by Henry Sanford in 1875.⁵⁰ The building, which was located just south of the Scandanavian Hall, was erected by the men of the colony. The wooden structure featured a beautifully carved pulpit and pews, and bore witness to the skill of the craftsmen who had applied their art to the building and its contents.⁵¹

When Reverend O. O. Eckart wrote the minutes for the Southeastern Mission District, Lutheran Augustana Synod, he noted that this Upsalä Church had "the most peculiar history of any congregation in the district."⁵² In the beginning it was a community church without any denominational ties. At times there were visiting clergymen to fill the pulpit, but usually their spiritual needs were met by lay readers from the community. This arrangement was changed by two

⁵⁰Pearson, "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," p. 137. Smith, in "New Upsala and Florida Swedish settlers," said that the church was on the same property as the Scandanavian Hall.

⁵¹Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers."

⁵²Ibid.

events--the aggressive missionary efforts of Florida Presbyterians and the arrival of John Frederick Sundell.⁵³

The Reverend Sundell had come to New Upsala in 1883 from New Sweden, Maine, where he had served as the lay leader of a Baptist congregation for ten years. Evidently, Sundell had broken away from his former congregation over a matter of church doctrine, and had come to New Upsala in search of a new beginning. From 1884 to 1890, the Swedish Baptist minister conducted the services held at the New Upsala community church until the Presbyterians came.

In Sweden, clergymen were regarded as belonging to a special category within the upper class. Not only were they important government officials but they also had considerable power over the parishioners at crucial points in their lives. Clergymen were usually the most highly educated men of the community and were able to live in greater comfort than their parishioners.⁵⁴ There was considerable resentment against them in Sweden because of their power. In America, they still maintained much of the prestige of their position, but "it was recognized on both sides that he was only the man of God."⁵⁵

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Skårdal, The Divided Heart, p. 130.

⁵⁵Ibid.

When it became evident that the Presbyterians planned to organize a church at New Upsala, the trustees and older members of the Swedish congregation "officially declared themselves a Lutheran Church, deeded the church property, and affiliated with the Augustana Synod."⁵⁶ The Swedish Lutheran Church at New Upsala was incorporated on January 30, 1892, with approximately thirty members. The members of the church never exceeded this number. In fact, from 1900 until 1946, when the church was officially dissolved, there were only about five members, all of whom were very old. Services were still being held in Swedish and English in 1927. The only other church in Florida still using the Swedish language in the service was located at Pierson in nearby Volusia County. In some areas there had been a conflict over the introduction of English into religious services. It was usually the older people who objected to the change because they said that, "regardless of their ability to understand the import of the same terms in the new language, they could not feel the same toward it."⁵⁷ This was probably the reason for the two churches maintaining the use of the Swedish language in their services. Even though vigorous efforts were made to maintain the Lutheran Church at New Upsala, it was torn down

⁵⁶Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers."

⁵⁷Skårdal, The Divided Heart, pp. 273-274.

in 1946. A marker noting its existence was placed there by the congregation of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church in Orlando.⁵⁸

On October 25, 1890, the South Florida Presbytery approved an application to organize a congregation at New Upsala. During 1892, the Upsala Community Presbyterian Church was built by the same skilled craftsmen who had earlier used their skills to build what was now the Lutheran Church.⁵⁹ Originally, the church was known as the Swedish Presbyterian Church of New Upsala and was located on a two acre site given to the congregation by Henry Sanford.⁶⁰ The Reverend Sundell and some twenty members, who preferred the Presbyterian doctrine, moved one quarter of a mile south on Upsala Road to the new building. Sundell preached in Swedish at the morning service, and in the afternoon a local Presbyterian minister held the Presbyterian service and Sunday School in English. Some of the descendants of these first church members said that their relatives moved to the Presbyterian Church because they sought to become more

⁵⁸Pearson, "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," p. 138.

⁵⁹Smith notes, in "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers," that the community was originally named New Upsala but by 1890 it was frequently referred to as Upsala. Today, this name is used exclusively.

⁶⁰Eve Bacon, "The Ghosts of Upsala," Orlando Sentinel Florida Magazine, 4 May 1969, p. 7-F.

American.⁶¹ Probably they felt that this was true because of the use of the English language in the service. Even though the Swedish community was divided between the Lutheran and Presbyterian churches, the two groups often met together for social occasions. One such group was the Dorcas Sewing Circle in which women from both churches participated. There were also some families who attended services at both churches.

Today, the Upsala Presbyterian Church, a small, white, frame building with green trim, stands on a busy highway that runs through what used to be the Swedish community of New Upsala. The interior features the original ceiling of wood and the worn pine floor, and in the belfrey hangs the original bell, with a rope hanging down through the steeple so it can be rung each Sunday by a member of the congregation.⁶² In 1977, it had a full-time minister, the Reverend Darwin Shea, and a congregation of about eight regular members who continued to worship in the fourteen short rows of pews in the old church.⁶³

Each of the churches had its own cemetery. The Lutheran cemetery is about one-half mile north of the

⁶¹Mick Lockridge, "Church's Sewing Circle Remnant of Past," Orlando Sentinel Star, March 1977, n.p.

⁶²John M. Erving, Jr., Browsing Around Florida (Kissimmee, Florida: Erving Publications, 1971), p. 89.

⁶³Lockridge, "Church's Sewing Circle Remnant of Past," n.p.

Presbyterian Church on Upsala Road, near the site where the Lutheran Church and the Scandanavian Hall once stood. The Presbyterian cemetery lies to the west, on a corner of State Road 46A and Banana Lake Road.⁶⁴ It is overgrown with oak saplings and practically hidden from those who pass by. The effects of time and vandalism are readily apparent at the resting place of many of New Upsala's residents.

On May 23, 1891, when New Upsala was at the height of its existence, these Swedes, together with those who had settled in nearby communities, gathered at the opera house to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of their arrival in Sanford and to pay homage to their benefactor, Henry Sanford, who had died two days earlier.⁶⁵ On the stage were a number of people who had been important to the settlement. Among them were Henschen, Ingraham, Judge Foster, and Dr. Andrew Caldwell.⁶⁶

The ceremonies began with the singing of a Swedish hymn, followed by a prayer, after which the acting mayor introduced Judge E. K. Foster, who delivered the opening address. In his speech Foster "paid tribute to the

⁶⁴Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers."

⁶⁵Fisher, "Account of Death of Gen. Sanford Found in Sanford Journal of 1891," n.d.

⁶⁶Ibid. The newspaper account gives the name as "Menschen," but this appears to be an error, as this writer is not familiar with that name in connection with either New Upsala or Sanford.

colonists, all of whom had fulfilled their contract," spoke of the devastating storms of 1871 that destroyed the colonists' homes, and of those who had died, especially mentioning General Sanford, "who had brought them to the land of the free."⁶⁷ Mr. Henschen stressed in his remarks that "the colonists came here, not for liberty, for they had that in their own country, but because of the long hard winters there."⁶⁸ The gathering concluded with the playing of the dirge that had been performed at the funeral of Charles IX, the King of Sweden, as a special tribute to General Sanford.

A special train carried the immigrants from Sanford to New Upsala, where they assembled at the church. After a brief service, supper was served in the Scandanavian Hall and in a large tent, following which the children played games. "The scene was very picturesque, church, schoolhouse [the Scandanavian Hall] and tent were brilliantly illuminated and elegant flags, American and Swedish, flung their folds to the breeze."⁶⁹ The visitors remained until Sunday evening when, after attending church services and visiting in the colonists' homes, they once again boarded a

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

special train that took them back to Sanford. From there they went their different ways.

It is unlikely that such a large gathering of central Florida's Swedish settlers ever again took place at New Upsala. This was due to the changes that took place in New Upsala and the surrounding area as a result of the "Great Freeze" that occurred in December, 1894, and February, 1895. During this time, the coldest weather in a century, as low as nineteen degrees above zero, hit the state, killing all vegetables, citrus, and coconut palms as far south as Palm Beach.⁷⁰ "Terrible indeed were the consequences; within three days the main occupation and source of supply of three-fourths of the people of the state had been swept away."⁷¹ Losses were staggering. Farmers, struggling to establish themselves in their newly bought property, were wiped out.⁷²

In Sanford alone, it was estimated that over one thousand people left to head either northward or to the warmer climate of Florida's lower east coast. However, Bettye D. Smith said that no one in Sanford is able to name more than a handful of families who actually left the

⁷⁰Charles E. Harner, Florida's Promoters: The Men Who Made It Big (Tampa: Trend House, 1973), p. 33.

⁷¹Whitner, "A Sanford History," p. 24.

⁷²Harner, Florida's Promoters: The Men Who Made It Big, p. 33.

area.⁷³ One of the families who did move was related to Olga Vihlen Hunter, who said her ancestors had come to Florida because of "America letters," not under contract to Henry Sanford. When the freeze struck, several family members moved to Miami, where they homesteaded. They became prosperous raising avocados and lemons, while those who had stayed in Sanford remained poor.⁷⁴ There were unconfirmed stories of families leaving everything behind as they set out for other areas. "August Lindgren and his family left for Miami, huddled with some newly cut budwood to protect it from the cold."⁷⁵ Others, who were familiar with gardening, worked at landscaping in the Miami area. There were some families who moved to other Swedish communities in central Florida. According to Bettye D. Smith, only sixteen Swedish families chose to stay at New Upsala, where they had worked so hard to secure and cultivate the land.⁷⁶

With the groves destroyed, many of the Swedes went to work in Lake Mary, about two miles west of New Upsala, for the Planters Manufacturing Company, which produced starches, dextrines, farina, and tapioca.⁷⁷ They were only

⁷³Interview with Bettye D. Smith, Sanford, Florida, March, 1979.

⁷⁴Interview with Olga Vihlen Hunter, Sanford, Florida, March, 1979.

⁷⁵Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers."

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

paid \$2.50 for ten hours work but "nearly all the Upsala boys" were employed there.⁷⁸ Some of Sanford's citizens considered the "Great Freeze" a blessing in disguise because it forced the population to turn to other methods of livelihood. One crop that was developed by the Swedes during this time was celery. As late as 1962, Sanford was known as the world's celery capital.⁷⁹ By 1897, a system of sub-irrigation and drainage had been perfected, and this, coupled with the hardpan soil, made Sanford the largest vegetable shipping point in the world.⁸⁰ After the freeze, most of the Swedish community turned from citrus culture to truck gardening.⁸¹

The "Great Freeze" brought about the rapid decline of the Swedish settlement at New Upsala. One by one the structures that had been an integral part of the immigrant community were either torn down or moved. In 1927, after several years of inactivity, the train station with its

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Stephen J. Flynn, Florida: Land of Fortune (Washington, D.C.: Luce, 1962), p. 31. In an interview with Sydney O. Chase, Sr., Sanford, Florida, March, 1979, the writer was informed that the largest celery-growing area is now at Lake Okeechobee.

⁸⁰Whitner, "A Sanford History," p. 25. In Orlando, A Century Plus (Orlando: Sentinel Star Co., 1976), the author said that "Sanford became the largest shipping point in Florida." This seems more likely.

⁸¹W.P.A. Writers' Project, Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 360.

"New Upsala" sign was torn down. At times the train would stop to let off a passenger, but there was nothing left to mark the existence of New Upsala. The general store, now B. O. Seltzer's, was no longer in use, so it was moved to private property and used for storage space. The post office, which had occupied a portion of the building, closed March 31, 1904. Gone, too, was the Scandanavian Hall, where many social gatherings had taken place during the time when it was not in use as a schoolhouse. The school had closed when the Swedish children began attending school in Sanford. This building was also moved to a new location. As mentioned earlier, in 1946, the Upsala Lutheran Church, by official court order, ceased to exist. This quaint old church was torn down, but the property and the cemetery still belong to the board of Home Missions.

Today, there are few reminders that New Upsala ever existed. It is no longer identifiable as a town, and most of the original buildings have disappeared.⁸² The only evidence of the Swedish immigrants' existence in the community is a few Swedish-built houses whose tenants, for the most part, are not aware of the early settlers of New Upsala, the Upsala Presbyterian Church, two overgrown cemeteries, one being the only Swedish cemetery in the

⁸²Dorothy Primrose McMakin, "General Henry Shelton Sanford and His Influence on Florida" (Master's thesis, John B. Stetson University, Deland, Florida, 1938), p. 75.

South, a street named "Upsala Avenue," which runs through the area where the settlers had their homes and orange groves, and a large plaque in front of the Henry Shelton Sanford Memorial Library and Museum that notes the contribution of the Swedish immigrants who settled at nearby New Upsala.⁸³ Even though the structures are gone, and the immigrants with them, there are still a number of their descendants remaining in Sanford, who are bound together by their memories of the Swedish immigrant colony at New Upsala.

⁸³Pearson, "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," p. 139; and Smith, "New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers."

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

It is a strange thing to be an American, all of us are immigrants or the sons of immigrants at a very slight remove. Thus the arrival and subsequent integration of any immigrant group, large or small, is in some way the story of all of us and a way to understand what we have become.¹

Over one hundred Swedish immigrants left their homeland during the 1870's and 1880's to settle at New Upsala where they sought opportunities that were not available to them in Sweden. For most of them, this meant the beginning of a new life but one in which they encountered many hardships along the way. In many cases, they found the land not as fertile as they had been led to expect, and the work of turning a wilderness into a farm too strenuous. Another obstacle that they found difficult to overcome was homesickness and their attachment to family and friends in their native country. By settling together in their own national group, however, they were able to help each other combat some of the hardships. Also important was their

¹Gerhard T. Alexis, "Sweden to Minnesota: Vilhelm Moberg's Fictional Reconstruction," American Quarterly 18 (1966):94.

acceptance by the Sanford community. In 1873, Henry Sanford had hired a few Italian laborers to work in his groves, and hoped that they would decide to bring their families over and settle at the proposed colony of Sicilia. Instead, several ran away and the remainder worked the required time of the contract and then returned to Italy. This experiment was unsuccessful, and probably this was, in part, due to the attitude of the community and surrounding area toward this minority group. Unlike the Italians, the Swedes were readily accepted by the citizens of Sanford.

In 1880, the Florida Land and Colonization Company went to considerable trouble to prepare an extensive advertising campaign to induce Italian immigrants to come to Sanford. However, they were stymied in this effort by lack of interest on the part of both the Italians and Henry Sanford. The Company had hoped to secure property holders and laborers who were more familiar with citrus culture and a warmer climate than were the Swedish immigrants. Failing in its plan to bring in Italian laborers, the Florida Land and Colonization Company found it necessary to bring an additional number of Swedish immigrants from Stockholm in 1880. These additional settlers helped swell the number of Swedes at New Upsala and contributed to the strength of the colony, which enjoyed its greatest success in the period from 1880 to 1900. Here the first generation immigrants

were "held together by their common background and their distance from it."²

In 1881, at a Christmas celebration in the Sanford town hall, one hundred forty-five Swedish settlers gathered for a Christmas dinner. During the course of the evening, they honored Henry Sanford for the many kindnesses and the interest that he had shown in their welfare. It appears that the majority of Swedish immigrants who came to New Upsala and remained to settle there approved of Henry Shelton Sanford's arrangements both in bringing them to Florida and in working out their contractual agreement. Apparently, those who were not satisfied with what they found either ran away or left after their contract was completed. Thus, there was solid support for Sanford in the Swedish community.

F. B. Lindberg, who had been one of the early run-aways, was the spokesman for his countrymen on the occasion of this rare visit from Sanford.³ He paid a glowing tribute to their benefactor and ended by saying:

. . . Ten years ago you sent an agent to the old country to pick up a few penniless [sic] Emigrants, then [sic] were brought to Florida, you induced them to settle, you gave them land, you promised them work, and you gave them implements, you cared for them just as a Father

²Franklin D. Scott, Scandinavia (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 282.

³Leo T. Molloy, Henry Shelton Sanford, 1823-1891; A Biography (Derby, Connecticut: Bacon Printing Co., 1952), p. 34.

would care for his children. 10 years ago wheare [sic] wilderness occupied are now springing up beautiful Orange Groves coming into being. 10 years ago we were penniless [sic] now we have a comfortable home surrounded with Orange trees and semi-tropical fruit; all with your gratitude. . . . We offer you for all the blessings and gratitude that you have given to us Nothing but thanks and love from our Hearts.

In the name of the Scandanavian Population I wish you and your Familie [sic] all the goodness a blessing God can bestow upon you.⁴

This expression of gratitude came from a group of immigrants who had chosen to settle in an area very unlike that of their native land. Most of those present at this Christmas gathering had already experienced the "dog years," which referred to the first years during which the immigrants were restricted to laboring at the lowest rank of the social scale. During that time, the individual had little chance for advancement until he had acquired some money and knowledge of the American language and customs. For the farmer, the "dog years" usually lasted until his crops began to pay well enough to clear his initial debts and build his family a decent house.⁵

Although the basis of the "dog years" was largely economic, its main effect was psychological. For the Swedish families at New Upsala it was easier to deal with the "dog years" because they had settled in a colony of

⁴F. B. Lindberg to H. S. Sanford, December, 1881, Sanford Papers, Box 55, folder 7.

⁵Dorothy Burton Skardal, The Divided Heart (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), pp. 257-258.

their own nationality, and here the effort required to adjust was not as great as it would have been elsewhere. This period of adjustment, which every newcomer experienced, differed "depending on the age of the community he came to, its size and compactness, its isolation from the surrounding American society, and how much community life had been established in old-country patterns."⁶ Even though New Upsala was a rural settlement, it is likely that the immigrants here were Americanized fairly rapidly because of contact with Americans in the course of their work. Perhaps this helps explain why the Presbyterian Church was able to attract a larger membership than the Lutheran Church, which was the state church of Sweden and where their native language was used exclusively in the worship services, and why Public School Fifty-One of Orange County was forced to close because the Swedish pupils preferred to attend school in Sanford.

Naturally, the "dog years" were hardest on the settlers whose period of physical and mental effort was the longest. All newcomers to America had to work harder during these early years than they had in their native land. Here the settlers were often faced with "inhumanly heavy labor with insufficient tools and nonexistent help."⁷ The price

⁶Ibid., p. 79.

⁷Ibid., p. 259.

paid for this labor, by both men and women, was premature old age. In some cases, overwork and poor housing also led to sickness and, ultimately, death. Most of the immigrants were used to hard work, and sickness they put up with, "but learning to feel at home in an environment so unlike their native one proved to be much more difficult."⁸

This was especially true for the New Upsala Swedes because the landscape and weather were so different from what they were accustomed to. At first, this probably led to a feeling of desolation and homesickness for that with which they were familiar. It is also known that the immigrants who came to work for Henry Sanford in the fall of 1871 felt that the length of their contracts should be shortened because of the Florida weather. At the time that they sent Sanford a petition, they had only suffered from the strong winds and had not yet experienced the summer heat.⁹ Although this feeling of homesickness and desolation usually was prevalent during the "dog years" when everything else was strange, for some immigrants it continued or reoccurred years later.

For most immigrants, the price of acceptance in America meant the abandonment of their old-world heritage. They established a way of life that was uniquely theirs,

⁸Ibid., p. 261.

⁹"Petitions from Swedes, 1871-1881," December 11, 1871, Sanford Papers, Box 55, folder 7.

neither European nor American but composed of elements from both. "Naturally enough, the first generation wished to make and keep their new environment as much as possible like the old."¹⁰ However, the younger generation did not share the same desire. Soon, "most of the old folks who wanted everything Swedish lay in the graveyard and most of the young people had gone their own ways."¹¹ It is possible to trace the survival or abandonment of "cultural heritage by the type of artifacts brought from the Old World, which became keepsakes and heirlooms in the new country, and the existence or absence of customs and traditions in the family or community."¹² Often the language one spoke was a relatively safe measurement of his adjustment to the English-speaking environment.

There were often conflicts between those who kept all the old traditions alive and those who spoke only English at home and adopted American ways as fast as they could be discovered. Dissension could often be found in the local church suppers and in those who viewed such innovations as a sacrilege.¹³ This was the case at New Upsala when the Presbyterian Church was organized and took

¹⁰Skårdal, The Divided Heart, p. 106.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., p. 98.

¹³Ibid., p. 108.

with it a number of settlers who had previously attended the Lutheran Church. These were people who preferred that the English language be used in their services.

The first generation immigrants had an emotional attachment to their native language, and rarely were those who had emigrated to this country as adults able to master English so they spoke it without an accent. Even those who learned English quite well thought of it as primarily the language of business. Some spoke English so poorly that they as well as their children were embarrassed. For their children the situation was different. Even those who grew up in exclusively Scandinavian settlements were usually bilingual and, if not, they became so when they entered public school. Their parents and their teachers recognized the need for them to be fluent in the language of their new land. If they expected to get ahead in America, they must not be thought of as "dumb Swedes" or "dirty foreigners."¹⁴

It is possible to find many areas in which the adjustment to a new culture took place. The change in language was just one. For example, in constructing the homes immigrants made little attempt to follow old-world patterns. As soon as they could afford to replace their first shacks, immigrant farmers almost always constructed

¹⁴Ibid., p. 90.

frame houses exactly like those of their neighbors.¹⁵ This trait can be noted in the photograph of a typical New Upsala settler's house which can be found in the appendixes.

House furnishings were usually described as typically American. Most immigrants could not afford to bring their furniture with them from Sweden, even if it had been worth the cost. In the new settlements, "the crude tables, chairs, and beds which the father of the family built were only as good as his materials and skills made possible; there was never a thought to make the furniture look like what had been left behind."¹⁶ At New Upsala, there were a number of skilled carpenters, as evidenced by their work on the Episcopal, Lutheran, and Presbyterian Churches. With this being the case, it is likely, if the time provided, that the furniture they fashioned was considerably better than that found elsewhere. Nevertheless, usually when a family could afford furniture it bought that which was typically American.

Although it was usually impossible, because of expense and lack of space, to bring any furniture other than the inevitable "America chest," smaller items of household goods were brought across the ocean and frequently appeared in immigrants' homes. Those most commonly seen were:

¹⁵Ibid., p. 249.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 250.

copper kettles, wooden baskets, handwoven linens and woolen bed-covers, and, above all, the heavy wooden chests, mentioned earlier, in which goods had been packed for the long journey.¹⁷ However, once conditions made it possible to have a better home and furnishings, the few objects brought from the old country were often relegated to the basement or attic.

Another area where it was possible to see the immigrant's adjustment to his new country was in the decision to either change or simplify the spelling or pronunciation of his name. Until the 1900's, when the Swedish Government encouraged Swedes to manufacture new family names, practically every last name in the country ended in "son" or "datter," which proved to be quite confusing.¹⁸ Frequently, when a young man entered military service, in order to avoid the inevitable mixup that would occur when a typical company had ten Andersson's, ten Ersson's, ten Larsson's, etc., he was issued, along with clothing and weapons, a new name.¹⁹ Often this referred to his military prowess or was a derivation of the area from

¹⁷Ibid., p. 250.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 250-251.

¹⁹Jeanne Eddy Westin, Finding Your Roots (Los Angeles: J. B. Tarcher, Inc., 1977), p. 24.

which he came.²⁰ When conditions in America made it necessary to decide upon a permanent family name, there were several possibilities from which to choose. Those who preferred to maintain their old-world heritage kept their Swedish given and family names, while those who sought to become rapidly Americanized adopted English names for themselves and their children.²¹ It is impossible to determine how many of the New Upsala Swedes chose to change their names.

From comments made by second and third generation descendants of the immigrants who settled at New Upsala, it appears that these Swedish families were anxious to become Americanized as rapidly as possible, and kept few of the old-world customs and traditions.²² Their rapid adjustment to Sanford and American life is evidenced by their abandonment of the Swedish state church for the doctrine of the Presbyterian Church, their insistence that their children receive an education, their use of the English language, and their relative brief period of experiencing the "dog years."

In the Sanford Papers, the Swedes were frequently praised for their thrift and hard work during the early

²⁰Carl-Erik Johansson, Cradled in Sweden: A Practical Guide to Genealogical Research in Swedish Records (Logan, Utah: Everton Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 40.

²¹Skårdal, The Divided Heart, p. 257.

²²Interview with Eunice Tyner Martin, Sanford, Florida, March, 1979.

years in Henry Sanford's service. Evidently, they continued to be good workers because a number of Swedes were still listed on the Belair payroll as late as 1891.²³ New Upsala stood as a symbol of their industriousness, and as proof that these families had found the opportunities they were searching for when they made the decision to abandon their homeland. As J. B. Lindberg stated to Henry Sanford in 1881:

We were poor and friendless when we came here. You were like one kind father to us: you gave us work and homes, and now, look around you, All are prosperous, the land you gave us is one large orange grove. Not a Swede has requested or received public assistance. . . .²⁴

It seems likely that the Swedish immigrants who settled at New Upsala, although at times faced with hardships and frustration, were not among those who felt that "'If I had known, I should never have dared'" to make the decision to leave home.²⁵ To be sure, they often carried heavy burdens and were disappointed with what they found, but they were adaptable to American conditions, and had the ability and willingness to work hard. They came to the United States to stay, and became Americanized more quickly

²³"Business Records--Special Projects--Florida--Belair Experiment Station, 1891-1894," 1891, Sanford Papers, Box 45, folder 5.

²⁴Ivar F. Pearson, "Early Swedish Settlements in the State of Florida," Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly 18 (1967):135.

²⁵Skårdal, The Divided Heart, p. 257.

than any other nationality.²⁶ Even though the "Great Freeze" of 1894-1895 destroyed their groves, many chose to begin again, while others were now secure enough to leave the Swedish community and once again seek the opportunities that were possible in this country.

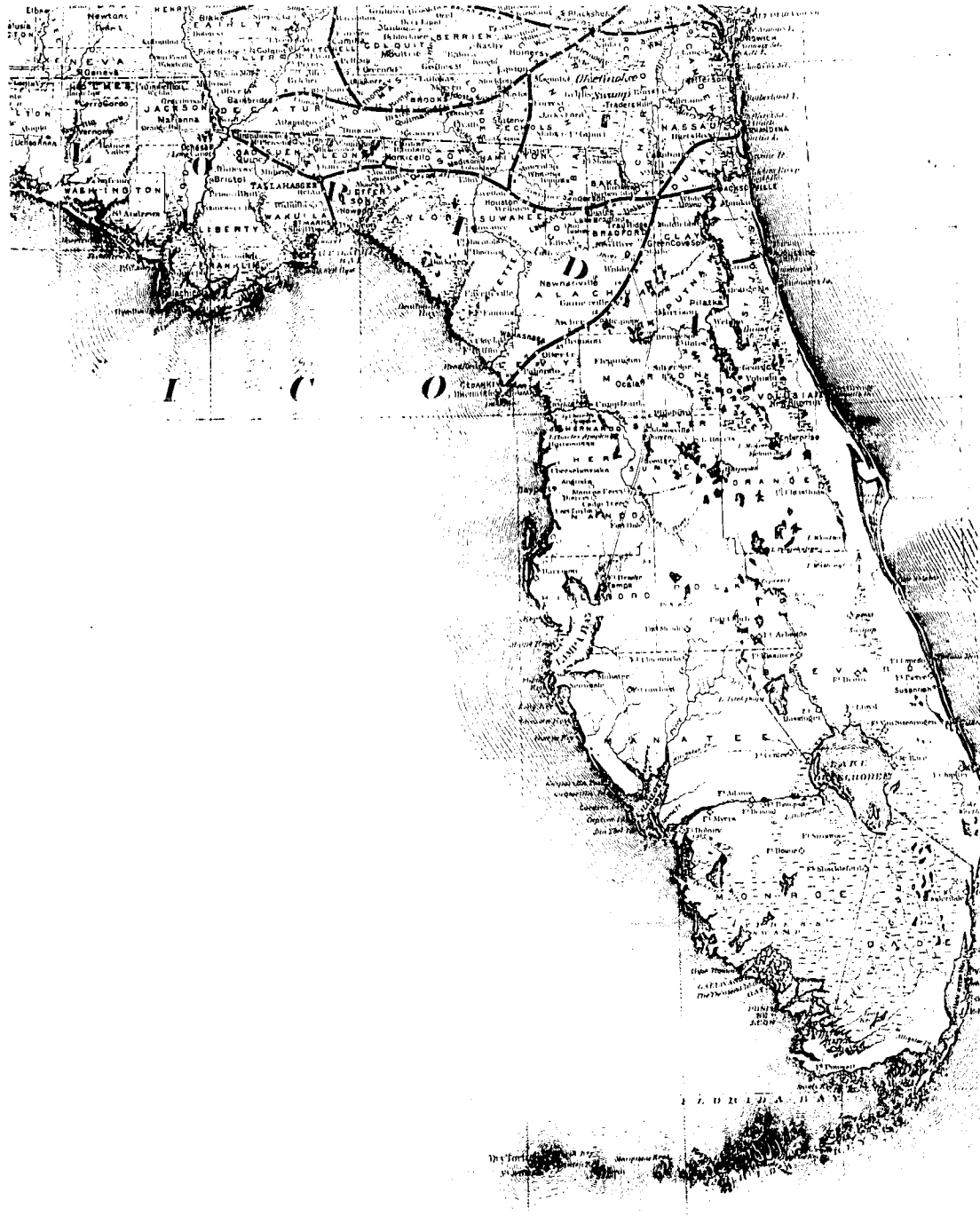
After 1900, New Upsala lost its identity as a Swedish community. From 1870 until that time, it had served as a gathering place for the Swedish immigrants who had chosen the alien setting of central Florida in which to put down their roots. Here they had secured land, built homes, raised their families, established orange groves that flourished, and seen friends and family members buried in the restful confines of the Swedish cemetery. Gradually, these immigrants and their families became Floridians, and Sweden, with its life style, language, and customs, was only a distant memory--recalled by only a few. These Swedish immigrants were now Americans.

²⁶Carl Wittke, We Who Built America: The Saga of the Emmigrant (Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1958), p. 272.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

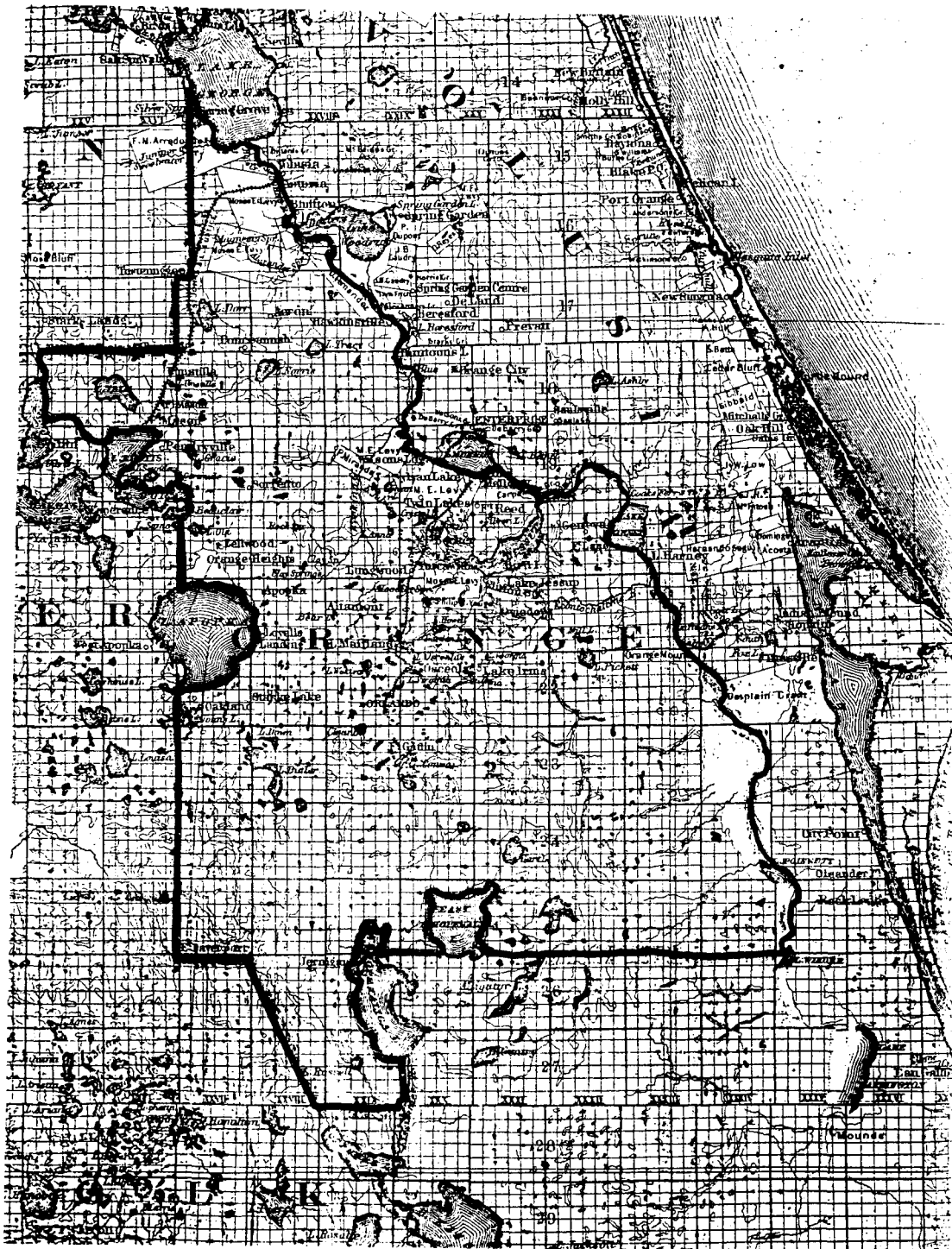
MAP OF FLORIDA--1870'S



Source: Gaylord Watson, ed., Watson's New County Railroad and Distance Map of Florida, n.p., 1875, n.p.

APPENDIX B

MAP OF ORANGE COUNTY--1870'S



Source: George Woolworth Colton, Colton's New Sectional Map of the Eastern Portion of Florida (New York: G. W. & C. B. Colton & Co., 1832), n.p.

APPENDIX C

STATISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS FROM DENMARK,
NORWAY, AND SWEDEN IN FLORIDA

Statistics of Immigrants from Denmark,
Norway, and Sweden in Florida

Foreign-born Scandanavian Population in Florida--U.S. Census 1870

Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Total Scandanavian Population	Total State Population
40	16	30	86	187,748

Foreign-born Scandanavian Population in Florida--U.S. Census 1890

Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Total Scandanavian Population	Total State Population
105	179	529	813	391,422

Source: Kendric Charles Babcock, The Scandanavian Element in the United States (Urbana: The University of Illinois, 1914; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), pp. 211-212, Tables 3, 4.

APPENDIX D

SWEDISH STOCK IN FLORIDA, BY NATIVITY
AND PARENTAGE--1920

Swedish Stock in Florida, by Nativity and Parentage--1920

Total Swedish Stock	Born in Sweden	Total	Native Born of Swedish or Mixed Parents		
			Both Parents Swedish	Father Swedish	Mother Swedish
2,947	1,422	1,525	784	496	245

Source: Florence Edith Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931; reprint ed.; New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), p. 504, Table 8.

Note: Florida had more Swedes than any other southern state. "In Florida, the number of Swedish-born increased without interruption during the century following the Civil War, a development not equalled by any other state. From about 30 in 1870, its population of Swedish birth rose to 560 in 1900, and then to over 2,000 in 1930 and 1940, about 3,500 in 1950, some 6,300 in 1960, and 6,600 in 1970." Allan Kastrup, The Swedish Heritage in America (St. Paul, Minnesota: North Central Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 592-593.

APPENDIX E

LAND PLAT OF NEW UPSALA

APPENDIX F

CHURCH DISSOLUTION DOCUMENT

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR SEMINOLE
COUNTY, FLORIDA.

IN THE MATTER OF THE DISSOLUTION :	PROCEEDING UNDER
OF THE CHURCH LOCATED AT UPSALA,	
IN SEMINOLE COUNTY, FLORIDA, :	F. S. 617.13
known as the Swedish Lutheran	
Society of Upsala, Orange :	
County, Florida.	
. :	

ORDER OF DISSOLUTION
AND FOR TRANSFER OF PROPERTY

And now this day coming to be heard upon the petition for dissolution of church and transfer of property thereof, signed by Karl G. Soderblom, petitioner, and it having been duly established to the satisfaction of the above Circuit Court that the church referred to in the petition has ceased and failed to maintain religious worship and services and to use its property for religious worship and services according to the tenants, usages and customs of a church of the denomination of which it is a member in this State, for the space of two consecutive years immediately prior to the date of filing of said petition before this Court, and that its membership has so diminished in numbers and in financial strength as to render it impossible for such church to maintain religious worship or services and to protect its property from exposure to waste and dilapidation for said period of two years.

THEREUPON IT IS CONSIDERED, ORDERED AND ADJUDGED AS follows:

a. That said church, known as the Swedish Lutheran Society of Upsala, formerly of Orange County, Florida, now of Seminole County, Florida, be, and it is hereby, deemed and taken as extinct.

b. Said church or religious society is hereby dissolved.

c. The property of said church or society and all the property which may be held in trust for such church or society including the following described lands located in Seminole County, Florida, viz:

Beginning at the Northeast corner of land occupied by E. Hermanson and running thence West 10 chains to a stake, thence North 5 chains to a stake, thence East 6 chains, thence South $2\frac{1}{2}$ chains, thence East 4 chains, thence South $2\frac{1}{2}$ chains to point of beginning, being 4 acres of land more or less,

and the church building located thereon and all the contents thereof be, and it is hereby, transferred to, and the title and possession thereof vested in, the Board of Home Missions of the Swedish Lutheran Augustana Synod, having its national headquarters at: 2445 Park Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota, of which synod, said church or society, known as the Swedish Lutheran Society of Upsala, Orange County, Florida, now Seminole County, Florida, was a member.

DONE AND ORDERED at Orlando, Florida, this 13th day
of August, A.D. 1946.

(SIGNED) M. B. SMITH
 Judge

Source: Seminole County Records Office, Sanford,
Florida, March, 1979, n.p.

APPENDIX G

PHOTOGRAPHS*

*Courtesy of Bettye D. Smith, Sanford, Florida,
presented to writer, March, 1979.



Stedt Family Home
at New Upsala



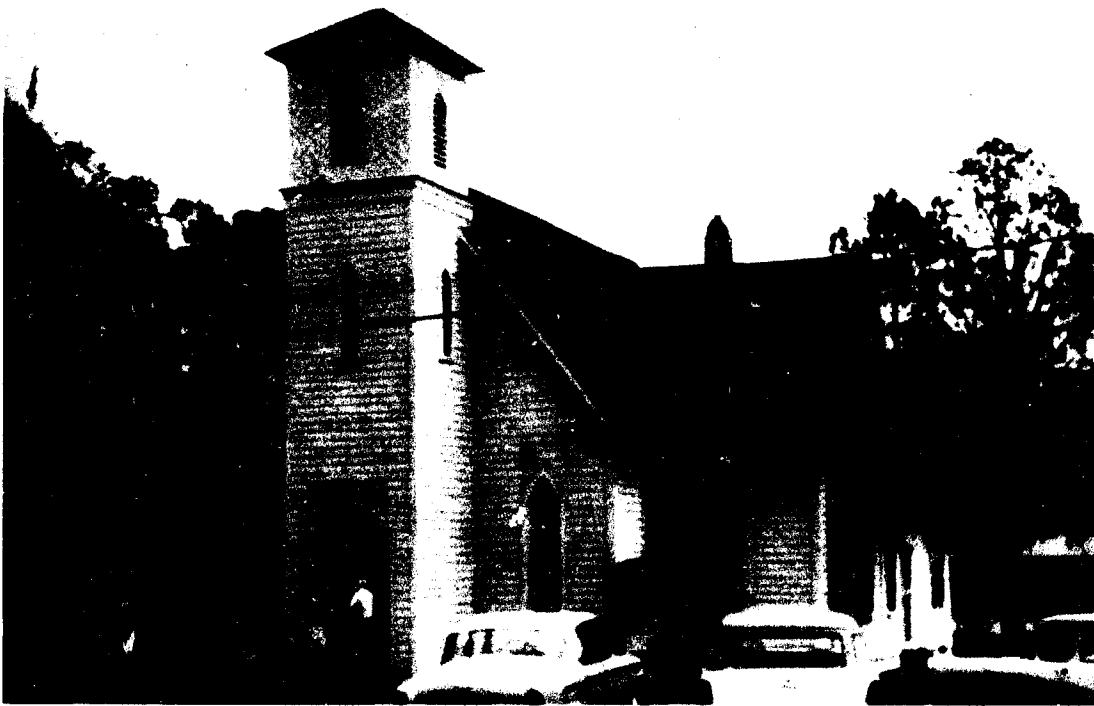
Public School Fifty-One
of Orange County



New Upsala Lutheran Church



Gathering of New Upsala Swedes and Other
Swedes from Nearby Communities at
the New Upsala Church



New Upsala Presbyterian Church



Parishioners of the New Upsala
Presbyterian Church



Swedish Descendants of the New Upsala
Presbyterian Church

APPENDIX H

PORTRAIT OF HENRY SHELTON SANFORD



L. de Winne, Artist

HON. HENRY SHELTON SANFORD, L. L. D.

1865

COPY OF A PORTRAIT OF HENRY SHELTON SANFORD. HE WAS
FORTY-FOUR YEARS OLD AT THE TIME

Source: Richard J. Amundson, "Henry S. Sanford and
Labor Problems in the Florida Orange
Industry, Florida Historical Quarterly 42
(1965):n.p.

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