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HENRY S. SANFORD AND LABOR PROBLEMS IN THE FLORIDA ORANGE INDUSTRY

by RICHARD J. AMUNDSON

HENRY SHELTON SANFORD, direct descendant of Thomas Sanford who had come to Massachusetts in the 1630's, made many contributions to the economic welfare of the United States and particularly to Florida, his "adopted state." Sanford's foresight and his sizable investments promoted the growth and prosperity of the orange culture in central Florida. His adoption of modern equipment and scientific methods of cultivation, including selective cross-breeding of citrus stocks and the use of irrigation, speeded the so-called "orange revolution" which occurred in the post-Civil War period. Progress and change, however, often are opposed, and so it was with Sanford's efforts to make orange growing in central Florida pay dividends. Resistance arose over his proposed solution to the labor problem. The opposition in this case followed the pattern that applied to Sanford's whole Florida career. At first the idea of change was abhorred, then physically combated. When these failed, a "wait and see" attitude developed, and, finally, acceptance. With acceptance came dependence upon him for additional advances.

In 1867, Connecticut Yankee Sanford, United States Minister to Belgium, anxious to hedge against falling dividends from his northern speculations, began to invest in Florida real estate.¹ Land was obtained first at St. Augustine, and in 1870, E. K. Foster, Jr., Sanford's agent and attorney, purchased a large tract of land - thereafter known as the Sanford Grant - on Lake Monroe.² Sanford's original purpose was to sell land in small blocks and from the earning finance the development of a model orange grove as a long-term investment for his family.

For the development of his grove, Sanford employed the engineering firm of Whitner and Marks. They began early in 1870 to clear the land and plant seedling orange trees on the first

1. E. N. Shelton to H. S. Sanford, April 1, 22, and September 5, 13, 16, 1867, *Sanford Papers*, Box 74, folder 10. The Sanford Papers are located in the Sanford Memorial Library, Sanford, Florida.

2. E. K. Foster, Jr. to Sanford, May 12, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 48, folder 1.

grove, St. Gertrude, that was to be 125 acres in size.³ By June, eighty acres had been cleared. Another grove, Belair, was started that same summer.⁴

Unlike the North, where a large population and a rising immigration tide made labor fairly plentiful, the South had no such abundance in 1870. Available labor was undependable, and J. N. Whitner was hard pressed finding enough workers to keep St. Gertrude and Belair operating. "We have been exceedingly troubled to procure labor," he wrote his employer. "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."⁵

Joseph Wofford Tucker, who owned a slaughterhouse in the town of Sanford in partnership with Henry Sanford, reported that, "Whitner & Marks employed some men at the grove to help plant trees, *by contract*; and these men, it was soon discovered, were doing the work badly; whereupon they were promptly discharged, and the work 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 & proud man . . . with ill-disguised contempt for men of the class to which these laborers belonged. This *class* determined to take their vengeance . . . and Whitner went armed for some time. . . ." ⁶ As it developed, the white population of the area resented the Negroes which Whitner and Marks had hired. "After we brought colored men here," Sanford learned in September, "their camp was fired upon wounding several."⁷

Whitner and Marks called a meeting of the "law abiding citizens of the community" who agreed to station guards around the Negro camp. "This disturbance arose from jealousy & malignity of the low white wretches in the county. . . . Unwilling themselves to half work & opposed to the introduction of those who might do

3. J. N. Whitner to Sanford, May 25, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15.

4. Richard Marks to Sanford, June 14, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15.

5. *Ibid.*

6. J. W. Tucker to Sanford, November 9, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 11.

7. Whitner and Marks to Sanford, September 13, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15.

better . . . a few cowardly scoundrels have threatened our lives. . . ." ⁸ The violence subsided for a time when guards were utilized, but later Sanford's sawmill, operated by John A. Ferguson, was attacked and the Negroes employed there were driven out of the city. ⁹ To augment the labor force and keep violence at a minimum, Sanford turned to the Contract Labor Law and, in exchange for passage to the United States, more than one hundred Swedish workers were brought to Florida.

Sanford quickly learned that there was little understanding or knowledge of Florida citrus culture. Many growers spoke glibly about how trees had been grown in the past and how they should be tended. Whitner and Marks quickly found that much of what was accepted as fact was really ignorance. As far as transplanting seedlings was concerned, "people dont [*sic*] know how to dig them up properly." ¹⁰ Henry Sanford wanted the orange industry established on a scientific foundation, and for this purpose, he expended large sums of money, time, and energy. Whitner and Marks called for quality seedlings and Sanford ordered the best. From Thomas Rivers and Sons Nursery in Sawbridgeworth, England, he received twenty-four varieties of oranges, four of lemons, two of limes, and one tangerine. ¹¹ The Acis, Dulcissima, Du Roi, Selecta, Star Eyed, St. Michael, Variegated, White, Egg, Embigno, Maltese Blood, Pernambuco, and Silver orange varieties were ordered, The St. Michael tangerine, the Small and Persian lime, and the Brazilian, Imperial, Sweet Brazilian, and Variegated lemons were also purchased. ¹²

Whitner and Marks sought expert help in planting these trees.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Tucker to Sanford, November 9, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 11.
10. Whitner and Marks to Sanford, June 14, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15. In 1872, Sanford worked hard getting oranges and tropical fruits stricken from the tree list and under protective tariff coverage. He won a partial victory. Senator T. W. Osborne to Sanford, June 15, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.
11. Thomas Rivers and Sons to Sanford, August 3, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 14, folder 3.
12. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 45, folder 7. All of the trees lived to planting except the Brazilian Sweet Lemon. Sanford's action caused others to follow his example. Colonel B. F. Whitner asked Sanford to have ten varieties of Sanford's choosing sent to him. B. F. Whitner to Sanford, November 1, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15.

In the Sanford area it was generally admitted that Orlando George was an expert, but he demanded a salary of \$125 per month, about three to five times the normal rate. He did guarantee that all trees that he planted would survive,¹³ but Joseph Tucker, Sanford's slaughterhouse partner, said that while George was competent, he was not worth the price.¹⁴ Work continued, meanwhile, and by the end of September 1870, 4,300 orange seedlings and 700 banana trees were in the ground at St. Gertrude, and 4,000 more orange trees were planted at Belair.¹⁵

The Swedish immigrants were brought over in 1871, under the Contract Labor Law, to work on the Belair Grove and in Sanford's allied businesses. Sanford's correspondence indicated that he conceived the idea of using foreign labor in his Florida enterprises and inquired of his neighbors if they wanted to participate in the experiment. Thomas Haigh, one of Sanford's agents, sent to his employer the following list of people who would take Swedes: "Col. B. F. 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 and washerwoman. Capt. J. W. Whitner, 1 man & wife, no children. The wife as cook & washwoman. 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 three women with the 25 men to wash & iron &c for them."¹⁶ Sanford wrote to the Anchor Steamship Company asking them to honor his drafts for the passage of from forty to fifty persons from Sweden to New York.¹⁷ The cost of the passage was thirty-eight dollars per person, plus commission and incidentals.¹⁸ The Henschen brothers,

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13. Orlando George to Sanford, December 8, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.
 14. Tucker to Sanford, December 20, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 11. The evidence tends to indicate that Joseph Tucker desired the position for his son, and thus gave the unfavorable report.
 15. Whitner and Marks to Sanford, September 27, 1870, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 15.
 16. Thomas Haigh to Sanford, February 7, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 48, folder 6.
 17. Sanford to Anchor Lines, no date, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 18.
 18. Sanford to W. A. Henschen, March 29, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2, and Henschen to Sanford, February 15, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 53, folder 11.

William A. and Joseph served as labor agents and translators for the Swedes.¹³

Howard M. Tucker, son of J. W. Tucker, wrote to Edward N. Shelton, Henry Sanford's uncle and watchdog over his business interests, describing the landing of the foreign workers on May 30, 1871, at the Sanford wharf. Thomas Haigh was too ill at the time to be present and Henry L. De Forest, manager of Sanford's mercantile store, met the steamer when it docked, and assisted by Tucker, succeeded in getting the group out to Belair. It took only two days to outline their duties and to show them how the work was done.²⁰ The arrangements made to accommodate the immigrants were makeshift. One small frame structure had been constructed at Belair. Twenty-five persons, including five women, occupied one-half of the floor space.²¹ Some were forced to sleep on the floor, as the beds were too few and the mattresses-purchased in Scotland when the Anchor liner docked there-were no longer serviceable. Clothing of the Swedes was likewise in a sub-standard condition. "Some few," Tucker informed Shelton, "had wahren [*sic*] out shoes & no means to get others. . . ." ²² William Henschen, the labor agent, and Howard Tucker, an overseer at Belair, met with the Swedes and informed them that Sanford would provide for their needs. Actually Tucker and Henschen were exceeding their authority. Henry De Forest wrote E. N. Shelton that this had caused an unfortunate situation. The Swedes claimed that these promises were binding and if breached, their original contract with Sanford was also breached, freeing them from their obligations.³³ Legally, however, Sanford could not be bound by the acts of these agents as neither held Sanford's power of attorney. However, Sanford agreed to the bargain, and the immigrants were supplied bed clothing, shoes, working apparel, and a small weekly credit at the Sanford store for tobacco and other necessities. In exchange for this, the workers agreed

19. *Ibid.*

20. Tucker to E. N. Shelton, June 12, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.

21. *Ibid.* H. L. De Forest stated that there were twenty-six men and seven women. De Forest to Sanford, June 7, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

22. Tucker to Shelton, June 12, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.

23. De Forest to Shelton, June 12, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

to extend the life of their contract beyond the year's term until the fair value was repaid.²⁴

De Forest reported by letter that the Swedes appeared to be well satisfied and "doing as well as could be expected . . . but think the work hard. And it is for them as most of them have trades and have been accustomed to indoors work."²⁵ Their hours of work were from five in the morning until dark with an hour off for breakfast, two and a half hours for lunch. Saturday afternoon and Sunday were rest days. Their diet consisted of beef, bacon, beans, rice, and potatoes.²⁶ The cost of feeding the Swedes, De Forest estimated, was six dollars per month per man, and this included butchering their own beef and pork.²⁷

The immigrants replaced the Negro labor force at Belair. De Forest reported that they did their work well, though slowly, and very little of it had to be done over.²⁸ When E. K. Foster, Jr., visited Belair in August, he found that "the garden under the care of the Swedish Gardiner [*sic*] looked remarkably well. The imported plants were nicely arranged in the palmetto green house and all seemed to be growing finely. The camelias and azalias [*sic*] looking especially well, next to the imported orange trees, which were looking well. The garden was free from all weeds and showed . . . that the Gardiner [*sic*] was doing his duty faithfully. The Grove . . . has been grubbed & twice plowed, and Mr. De forest [*sic*] tells me will be planted in peas this week. The entire grove had had the undergrowth cut down. . . . The fence around the grove looked in good condition. . . ." ²⁹

The main trouble with the Swedes, Foster said, was that some, "like old soldiers are evidently playing sick." A dose of mustard plastering might convince them that "the remedy [was] worse

24. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

25. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

28. *Ibid.* News of Sanford's experiment spread through the state. C. A. Du Pont of Quincy, Florida, a member of the Florida legislature, approached Sanford with a scheme that called for bringing in large numbers of immigrants under the Contract Labor Law, and hiring them to merchants and planters in Florida for the year they had obligated at a rate below the prevailing labor price. There is no evidence that Sanford entertained this suggestion. Du Pont to Sanford, June 19, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.

29. Foster to Sanford, August 9, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 48, folder 1.

than the disease.”³⁰ But generally he found that “they seem to be willing workers and so far have shown no vice.”³¹ All this was to change.

Too many Swedes had been brought over for Sanford’s orange grove and there was not enough work to keep them all fully occupied each day. The seven women were especially a problem as they had very few duties.³² De Forest suggested that the migrants who were qualified at trades be given the opportunity to secure outside employment. The qualified carpenters were hired by Sanford who was constructing a new store, a hotel, and a church.³³ Three were employed at the sawmill, and several went to work for other orange growers in the area. Sanford was supposed to be compensated for their services.

Perhaps the freedom they experienced off the grove emboldened the immigrants, or maybe they were simply waiting for an opportunity to become more familiar with the countryside. At any rate, by July 1871, De Forest was complaining, “I have been having trouble with the Swedes.”³⁴ Howard Tucker had reported in June that a few immigrants were attempting to pawn watches and other personal possessions in exchange for passage down the river to Jacksonville.³⁵ Steamer captains were warned not to aid any of the foreigners in their efforts to violate their contract and a close watch was kept at the wharves. In spite of these precautions, three were able to get away. De Forest reported that they had taken the steamer for Jacksonville. We were “all . . . greatly astonished as these men were apparently satisfied and pleased. . . . None of us could attribute it to any known cause.”³⁶ When De Forest questioned the loyal Swedes, he learned that people in town had been urging them to flee. These “malicious persons” had told the foreigners that since their contracts had been made in Europe they were not valid in America.³⁷ Some people ap-

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. De Forest to Sanford, July 3, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

33. *Ibid.*, June 25, July 7, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

34. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

35. Tucker to Sanford, June 12, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.

36. De Forest to Sanford, July 19, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

37. *Ibid.*

parently resented Sanford's success. De Forest laid part of the blame on Dr. William Henschen, who, he said, had promised the Swedes the moon.

De Forest obtained warrants for arrest of the three runaways, "Lindburg, the Baker [*sic*], Anderson, the Shoemaker [*sic*], and Carlsen, the tanner."³⁸ They were apprehended at Jacksonville, and agreed to return. They declared that their reasons for flight did not originate at Belair and had nothing to do with their treatment. They also agreed that they would try to dissuade others who contemplated desertion. Wennstrom, an informer, insisted that there were others who were dissatisfied and would leave if they had money.³⁹ De Forest told Sanford that many Swedes pretended to be indignant with those who had breached their contracts, but, he said, "I have lost confidence in them and am fearful more of them may go."⁴⁰ The returned runaways, However, did serve as a deterrent to others planning to violate their contracts.⁴¹

Some Scandinavians were satisfied. Two requested a loan to bring their wives over to America.⁴² Sanford authorized De Forest to survey five-acre tracts of good orange-grove land to be given to each Scandinavian who worked the entire year. This incentive caused several immigrants to write to friends in Sweden asking if they wanted to sign contracts. As many craftsmen as possible were allowed the chance to utilize their skills, at least part of the time, in an effort to hold them faithful to their bargain.⁴³

In October 1871, De Forest received word that a second group of immigrants would shortly arrive, and plans were made to have the disembarkation function more smoothly than before, and to provide adequate quarters. A twenty-four by forty foot structure was built at Belair to accommodate them.⁴⁴ Sanford cabled Charles M. du Puy, his wife's uncle, to be on hand when the steamer reached New York to see that the immigrants transferred to the

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

40. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

41. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

42. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6. De Forest also mentioned that two of the Swedish women were nearing the end of pregnancies. One of the two gave birth during the hurricane which swept over the Sanford Grant on August 16, 1871. *Ibid.*, August 16, 20, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

43. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

44. *Ibid.*, October 17, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.



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

coastal steamer which would take them south.⁴⁵ There was no trouble in New York, but some developed on the trip to Florida. Du Puy claimed that "there is a N. Y. Jew Sweed [*sic*] runner on board" who was attempting to talk the Scandinavians 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."⁴⁶

At Belair, a new overseer, Major J. N. Whitner, Jr., son of Captain J. N. Whitner, was hired to replace the allegedly incompetent Tucker.⁴⁷ It was decided to use the first group of Swedes at skilled tasks and have the new arrivals take over the agricultural duties in the orangeries. Five Swedes were put to work in the sawmill. W. R. Brown, the master carpenter directing the construction of several of Sanford's buildings, agreed to put additional men to work. All the rest, except those who were to remain as instructors, were employed on the new road - Sanford Avenue - which connected the Sanford wharf with the Orlando road.⁴⁸

Twenty Swedes and two Englishmen arrived on November 7. They all looked hearty and healthy, De Forest reported, and were glad to be in Florida.⁴⁹ He gave them three days of supervised freedom which Dr. W. A. Henschen advised, thinking that it would make them less uneasy about their contracts.⁵⁰ The contract listed the supplies which Sanford was supposed to provide, and De Forest issued bedding and other necessities before the men left for the grove.⁵¹ One Englishman, John U. Edgar, "a No. 1 carpenter, but . . . slow," regretted his decision immediately and asked for a release from the contract before the month was out.⁵² Although he gave no reason,⁵³ he was allowed to

45. C. M. du Puy to Sanford, October 27, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 67, folder 2.

46. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 67, folder 2. Charles M. du Puy, Jr., was later employed by Henry Sanford to survey the city of Sanford and plat the town lots. He did not finish this task due to the lack of cooperation of other Sanford agents. du Puy, Jr. to Sanford, March 8, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 67, folder 3.

47. De Forest to Sanford, October 17, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

50. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

53. J. U. Edgar to Sanford, November 17, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 46, folder 2.

return to England on January 1, 1872, after he promised to reimburse Sanford for the cost of his ticket.⁵⁴

The second group of Swedes caused much more trouble than the first. Shortly after they arrived, a Dr. Caldwell, the physician in the area, notified De Forest that he would not attend the Swedes on the retainer he had been receiving, and asked for double the old rate.⁵⁵ At Christmas, De Forest planned to reward those who worked the Saturday afternoon before the holiday with a "good Christmas dinner;" those who did not work would receive the regular repast.⁵⁶ Only six were present for the noon meal.⁵⁶ The following morning, all the Scandinavians refused to work, declaring that in Sweden Christmas was a three-day holiday. Dr. Henschen, they said, had promised them no less in Florida. New Year's Day was also a holiday, and they announced that they did not plan to work then.⁵⁷ De Forest complained, "I have reasoned and argued with them and am completely disgusted and plainly I do not know what to do as they have us completely in their hands. Six of them that worked Saturday afternoon went to work today which of course make [*sic*] the others angry at them. . . . Major Whitner and myself have consulted and worried about it. The only way you can get the upper hand over them is to tell them their lands &c at the end of the year depends upon their present conduct."⁵⁸

De Forest said that a letter from Sanford telling the immigrants of his disappointment would do some good as "they pretend to hold you in good respect." De Forest attributed all the trouble to Henschen: "I really believe he is a traitor. He tells them one thing and you another and he ought to know that we are aware of it." As for the Swedes, "they intend making the conditions and if we agree to them all well & good, but if not we suffer the consequences."⁵⁹ The immigrants did not work New Year's Day.⁶⁰

The trouble grew worse in January 1872. De Forest in-

54. De Forest to Sanford, January 1, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

55. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

56. *Ibid.*, December 25, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

57. *Ibid.*, December 26, 1871, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 7.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

formed General Sanford that, "it is rumored that the Swedes (the old ones) only intend to work untill [*sic*] the expiration of eight months which is the 19th of the month."⁶¹ Moreover, E. K. Foster, Sanford's attorney, did not believe that they could be held if they all rebelled and refused to work.⁶²

Sanford's answer likely was the basis for the actions taken. Evidently, he suggested dispersing the Swedes into small, separate groups that could be more easily controlled. Five were "rented" to De Bary, a grower who lived on the other side of Lake Monroe, for eighteen dollars a month each. The Swedes themselves were to receive seven dollars a month.⁶³ This plan was not immediately successful. On January 19, four of the men, claiming mistreatment and insufficient food, went on strike and returned to Bel-air.⁶⁴ They declared their original contract was voided and that they were at liberty to do as they pleased, but when they found that others were not willing to join them, they finally returned to De Bary's grove.⁶⁵ De Bary even hired another family, although De Forest still detected a "decidedly mutinous spirit."⁶⁶

There were three serious incidents in March. One involved a Swedish woman and Lewis, the Negro fireman at the sawmill. Henry De Forest discharged the Negro because, "for some time he has been cohabiting with one of the Swede women & I forbade [*sic*] him to come near the house again & last night I caught them locked up in the room together. . . ."⁶⁷ Later that month, the workers demanded certain luxury foods, and A. W. Leonard gave them a barrel of sugar without De Forest's permission. This did not satisfy them, but De Forest declared that they would get no more. The complaint of poor food received widespread circulation, and De Forest feared that it might damage Sanford's reputation.⁶⁸ He prepared a statement, which said, in effect, that the Swedes had always been properly treated, had received plenty

61. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8. Part of this seven dollars was to be applied to their charge accounts at the Sanford store.

64. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

65. *Ibid.*, January 21, 25, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

66. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

67. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

68. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

to eat, and that Sanford had satisfactorily executed his portion of the contract.⁶⁹

On March 22, an informer revealed that three Swedes planned an escape. Precautions were taken, although if runaways chose to go overland, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prevent their escape. De Forest had predicted that with warm weather, escape attempts could be expected, and his prediction was correct.⁷⁰ On the evening of March 29, two of the three he had suspected were reported missing. One, Mr. Nollin, spoke English; the other, Olson, did not. De Forest guessed they were headed for Jacksonville, where Peter Anderson, who had been released from his contract because of poor health, was working as a shoe repairman.⁷¹ De Forest suspected that Anderson might help the escapees. Actually, though, they were seen at Fort Mason, Florida, about fifty miles from Sanford.

Early April, three others - Stocklin, Buardo, and Jonsson - fled.⁷² De Forest believed that they were at P. Smith's boarding-house on Cumberland Street in Charleston, South Carolina.⁷³ Du Bary also reported that five of his eight Swedes had left, one shipping as a deck hand on a freighter, and the other four were at large.⁷⁴ A. W. Leonard, armed with arrest warrants, was dispatched to search for the runaways. De Forest believed that the Negro engineer and the watchman on the steamship *Hattie* were involved.⁷⁵ In May, another man, the one whom De Forest had trusted, ran away. The sheriff of Orange County captured the escapee at Palatka and placed him aboard the *Hattie* in the custody of the watchman. Taking advantage of momentary confusion during a sounding, the prisoner lowered himself over the side and disappeared. The watchman's explanation was, "Do you

69. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

70. *Ibid.*, March 7, 22, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

71. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

72. *Ibid.*, April 11, 12, 1872 *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 6.

73. *Ibid.* He never mentioned his source of information.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*: April 15, 19, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8. A. W. Leonard's mother was stricken with cancer, however, and Leonard hastened to her side. De Forest opined that Leonard would be absent all summer. From Boston, Leonard kept Sanford posted as to his plans and movements. He did not return to the Sanford Grant until July 15, 1872. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8. Leonard to Sanford, June 10, 13, and July 3, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 1.

suppose I was damned fool enough to sit up all night and watch him!"⁷⁶

By May, all but two of the runaways had been returned.⁷⁷ As the contract for those who had arrived in May 1871, was due to expire, these Swedes were anxious to appear contented so that they would receive their promised land. Five-acre tracts had been surveyed near Belair, and De Forest was delegated by Sanford to decide who would get the land as a reward for faithful service. Only eight names were on the deeds sent to General Sanford for his signature. Most of the Swedes had applied, but, according to De Forest, "several others (whom I do not include in the above mentioned) has [*sic*] asked for land but will receive none, as they are lazy & good for nothing."⁷⁸ Those not receiving land were offered work at wages which ranged from twelve to seventeen dollars per month, plus room and board, depending upon the type of work they were to do. De Forest thought most would stay.⁷⁹ George Barbour, in his *Florida for Tourists*, claimed that "up country politicians" incited the Swedes to desert. A majority of the laborers, however, remained loyal and, according to Barbour, were "among the thriftiest, happiest, and most prosperous people in all Florida."⁸⁰

This ended Henry Sanford's experiment with imported labor and marked a return to the use of Negroes which De Forest and E. K. Foster brought from north Florida and Georgia.⁸¹ Seven Negroes arrived on June 9, and four more on June 16. Others were expected to follow. The Negroes were to be paid rations and from twelve to fifteen dollars per month. De Forest announced that he had been able to reduce the cost of one month's

76. *Ibid.*, May 27 and June 3, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

77. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8. In 1873, one of the runaways wrote De Forest and asked if he could pay for the obligated service he had escaped. He had been in Texas working as a cowboy, but desired to return to Florida. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1873, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 10.

78. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

79. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 8.

80. George M. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers: Containing Practical Information Regarding Climate, Soil, and Productions; Cities, Towns, and People; the Culture of the Orange and Other Tropical Fruits; Farming and Gardening; Sport; Routes of Travel, etc. etc.* (New York, 1882), 158.

81. De Forest to Sanford, June 6, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

rations to \$4.80 per person. The Negroes were assigned "per week . . . one fourth [more] than that assigned to the Swedes."⁸²

The presence of Negroes caused a recurrence of the trouble that had taken place in 1870. "Our Negroes," wrote De Forest, "are I fear to be interfered with. A party of men night before last visited their camp & warned them to leave."⁸³ De Forest had the Negroes moved to the Sanford sawmill where they could be better protected. He also wanted United States troops sent into the area.⁸⁴ On July 4, an armed band visited the grove and again threatened the Negro laborers. Two fled, and "we had all we could do to induce the others to remain."⁸⁵ E. K. Foster advised that the county sheriff be called in first, but, if the problem was not resolved, then the United States Army should be notified.⁸⁶ Foster offered this advice before he learned that the sheriff had been a member of the band that had visited the grove on July 4. He then announced that United States marshals were in the area and that arrests would be made if there was a recurrence of violence.⁸⁷

The peace lasted eleven days. On July 15, a Negro returning to the grove from the Sanford store "was badly beaten." De Forest swore out warrants "for the arrest of the crackers & [L. M.] Moore will bind them over to circuit court."⁸⁸ De Forest began receiving threats that if there were other arrests, he might be harmed, but, he asserted, "I have no fear for my personal safety . . . these crackers are afraid to trust each other. I do not think the Negroes will be shot, although it is a source of constant anxiety & worry."⁸⁹ Letters from A. W. Leonard to Sanford reveal that there was no additional trouble. "Nothing from K.K.K.," he wrote.⁹⁰

The citrus industry was growing, a reliable labor force was needed, and the Negro was accepted as the needed labor factor.

82. *Ibid.*, June 10, 17, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

83. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

86. Foster to De Forest, July 1, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

87. Foster to Sanford, July 21, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 48, folder 1.

88. De Forest to Sanford, July 15, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

89. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 47, folder 9.

90. Leonard to Sanford, August 1, 12, 1872, *Sanford Papers*, Box 51, folder 1.

Swedish immigration did not flourish to any great extent, although friends and relatives did emigrate to Florida over the years. A few Swedish families settled on land about three miles west of the town of Sanford and called their community New Upsala. In 1878, they built a Lutheran church and started a Sunday school. Their descendants continue to live in the area around Sanford, and make their living as dairymen and grove-men.⁹¹

91. Federal Writers Project, "Ethnography," in *Seminole County* (typed mss., P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville), 1-2.