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Patricia P. Clark



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J. F. B. MARSHALL: A NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY AGENT IN POST- WAR FLORIDA, 1867

by PATRICIA P. CLARK*

NEAR THE END OF HIS tour of Florida as agent for the New England Emigrant Aid Company in early 1867, General James Fowle Baldwin Marshall, former resident of Honolulu and more recently paymaster general of Massachusetts troops, wrote to his wartime commander, Governor John Andrew: "I am tempted by the prospect of usefulness & success, as well as by my long tropical experience to join the 'Yankee horde' of reconstructionists, & become a Floridian."¹ This "Yankee horde" was enticed to postwar Florida not only by the climate, already fabled throughout the North as beneficial for consumptives and others ailing with respiratory diseases, but also by economic opportunities in unoccupied land and undeveloped natural resources. In addition to some 20,000,000 acres of public lands which had been opened to entry after the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862, there were unclaimed state and railroad lands, as well as confiscated Confederate properties, although some of these having been sold under the Direct Tax Law were tied up in litigation with previous owners when the war was over. Speculation concerning Florida settlements had actually started early in the war, following military occupation of the coasts of South Carolina and Florida, and gained momentum after peace was concluded. To assist prospective settlers, invite northern investors, and induce concessions from Florida property holders, a number of land and emigrant aid companies mushroomed. Among these was the New England Emigrant Aid Company, whose efforts in Kansas have been widely chronicled, but whose plans for an organized emigration to Florida are somewhat less known.

* Mrs. Clark is associate editor of *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

1. Marshall to John Andrew, March 21 [2], 1867, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

The company, chartered initially in 1854 by the Massachusetts legislature, had been formed as a joint-stock venture to infuse native New Englanders upon Kansas soil, thus insuring the admission of a free state while at the same time earning a profit for its investors. Only mildly successful in achieving its first purpose, it had singularly failed to live up to its financial expectations. However, the company did acquire a sizable, although hardly profitable, investment in two hotels, several mills, and a newspaper. Those who migrated under the company's auspices had been given no pecuniary aid, but they generally received a reduction in travel fares, the advantages and convenience of a conducted group, and assistance with temporary housing and employment. But poor management, accompanied by the depression of 1857, a drought, and the loss of both initial investors and the force of its moral crusade, had contributed to the lack of financial success. Nevertheless, when the war came the directors of the company kept the organizational structure intact, anticipating a continuation of its colonizing activities as soon as the military situation warranted.²

Throughout 1862 and 1863 company minutes recorded the interest in southern colonies, particularly, in Florida, including the appointment of a special committee and an appeal to the federal government for support. In June 1862 the directors considered a "plan or system for Military Colonies in Insurrectionary states" and endorsed a resolution presented in Congress urging the enlistment of 20,000 volunteers to serve in Florida where they would be mustered out at the end of nine-months' service with encouragement to settle in the state. During that same year a company circular designed to persuade law-makers to open confiscated Confederate lands to pre-emption by northern colonists was prepared, but it failed to create any significant

2. For a review of the New England Emigrant Aid Company's activities; see Samuel A. Johnson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade* (Lawrence, 1954). The Florida enterprise is described in Chapter XIV. For northern economic influence in Florida during and after the war, see George Winston Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida, 1862-1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (October 1948), 99-130; XXVII (January 1949) 260-99 (for the NEEA Company in particular, see pp. 286-87, 295-96), and Robert IL. Clarke, "Northern Plans for the Economic Invasion of Florida, 1862-1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII (April 1950), 262-70.

support.³ Then, in May 1863, following a report to the directors that Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase was "favorably inclined to some course by which the Co'y should be employed in aiding settlements in some of the rebellious states," Edward Everett Hale, a Unitarian minister who was the company's chief publicist and chairman of the committee on Florida, journeyed to Washington to look into the possibility of government aid and to ferret out persons with intimate knowledge of the state's resources. Encouraged by the prospects, he reported to the board in February 1864, pointing out the ease with which Florida could be made a free state and suggesting that an investigative group of perhaps fifty or more visit there in the spring. Though favorably received, this report was never implemented, and enthusiasm for the undertaking precipitously waned. During 1864 the Florida issue was all but ignored; the board was reorganized and other emigration schemes were pursued.⁴ The next year, except for two meetings in the summer to consider an invitation to cooperate in southern colonization with the United States Mutual Protection Society, represented by Charles A. Stevens, a quorum was seldom convened. The executive committee had ceased to function in 1862, and after August 1865 there were no meetings of the board until October 1866. But in this latter month, a sudden spate of interest and activity, punctuated with weekly meetings, again sparked the seemingly dormant Florida movement.⁵ Most of

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3. Minutes, Records of Annual Meetings of Stockholders, Board of Trustees and Executive Committee, June 3, 1862 to May 26, 1863, New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers, 1854-1909, microfilm edition, Manuscript Division, Kansas State Historical Society, roll 7 (hereinafter cited as NEEACP and appropriate roll number); Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 275. The soldier-colonizer idea was advanced by sometime Congressman Eli Thayer, one of the founders of NEEA Company who was no longer an active member. While receiving favorable attention in the House Committee on Military Affairs in January 1863, the proposal apparently never reached the floor. *House Reports*, 37th Cong., 3rd sess., no. 5, pp. 1-6; Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida, 1862-1868," 113-30.
 4. Board Minutes, May 26, November 24, 1863, February 23, May 24, 1864, NEEACP roll 7; Edward E. Hale to Lyman D. Stickney, September 23, 1863, NEEACP roll 4; September 30, 1863, NEEACP roll 2. Plans to aid European emigrants and to sponsor a ship load of "surplus" females from New England to Oregon were matters of discussion. See Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 274, 275-76; Board Minutes, May 24-December 5, 1864, NEEACP roll 7.
 5. Board Minutes, July 19, August 31, 1865; October 25, November 5,

the urgency lay in the announced sale of lands along the line of the Florida Railroad.

The Florida Railroad, a 155-mile trans-peninsular line completed in 1861, had been severely damaged by the war. Its terminal facilities at Fernandina and Cedar Key, as well as most of its bridges, had been destroyed and much of its track removed or in sad state of repair. Defaulting in its interest payments to both the state's Internal Improvement Fund and to bondholders, and saddled with debts to other creditors, the road was ordered sold by the state trustees at public auction on November 1, 1866. The purchasers, the company's prewar northern investors, hoped by the sale to liquidate the debt and pay off bondholders at a reduced rate of twenty cents on the dollar. Sections of land along the road, donated earlier by state and federal governments, were also mortgaged and in the hands of bondholders, including the company owners, or were still controlled by the Internal Improvement Fund's trustees. Edward N. Dickerson, the new president and himself a prewar investor, wrote the Emigrant Aid Company that much of this land would probably be available at reasonable rates, from \$2.50 for Trustees' land near the road to as low as "25 cts" or "30 to 70 cts" per acre with bonds. So, from the date of the sale of the railroad until mid-summer of the next year, the disposal of these lands was considered imminent.⁶

For any major undertaking such as the Florida venture would entail, unfortunately, the Emigrant Aid Company directors were faced with a depleted treasury. The sale of the company's Kansas properties in 1862 had been only sufficient to settle accounts and keep the company barely solvent. However, one possible source of funds, a legacy from the Kansas operations, remained. This was a claim of \$25,000, plus interest, against the government for the destruction of the company's Free State Hotel, which had been razed by order of a United States deputy

12, 14, 17, 21, 27, 1866, NEEACP roll 7. Several new Floridians, including H. B. Scott and C. B. Wilder, attended the November meetings giving personal testimony as to Florida's attractions for Northerners. Board Minutes, November 12, 14, 1866, NEEACP roll 7.

6. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974) 109-10, 114-16; Board Minutes, November 17, December 4, 11, 1866, NEEACP roll 7; E. N. Dickerson to T. B. Forbush, December 1 & [undated], 1866, NEEACP roll 4; J. K. Roberts to Forbush, March 27, April 13, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

marshal and a territorial sheriff during the sack of Lawrence on May 21, 1856. Petitioning Congress in early 1863, and dispatching the company secretary, Thomas H. Webb, to Washington to lobby for its passage, the memorial suggested that the money would be used for encouraging emigration to make Florida a loyal state. Specifically, the funds would be used for assisting in travel costs, locating good lands, and "erecting such works as sawmills, hotels, grist-mills, church buildings and school buildings." In short, the company's communities would be modeled after its Kansas settlements. With this petition still in abeyance, the board voted to raise a \$3,000 subscription to reopen the Boston office, closed since 1860, and to send an agent to Florida.

To assume charge of the office and prepare and send out information in response to inquiries, the company hired a young colleague of Hale's, the Reverend Trowbridge B. Forbush, minister of the Roxbury Unitarian Society, who also became secretary following the death of T. H. Webb.⁷

The agent, James Fowle Baldwin Marshall, who volunteered for the Florida assignment, was elected to the board of directors in November 1866. A native of Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he was born in 1818, the son of banker Thomas Marshall and Sophia Kendal Marshall, he had been given the usual academic preparation for a son of a prosperous New England family. He had briefly attended Harvard before poor eyesight forced his withdrawal from school. For the next three years he clerked in a Boston dry-goods house. Still troubled by eye difficulties which failed to respond to treatment, he was advised by physicians to seek a warmer climate. Marshall decided upon a commercial career in Hawaii. Leaving Boston in the fall of 1838, he arrived in Honolulu the following spring. He was first in partnership with Francis Johnson, and after 1843, with Charles Brewer and Company, a whalers' supply house and one of the most successful trading firms in the islands.⁸

7. Board Minutes, May 26, 1863; October 25, November 5, 21, 1866; January 9, 16, 1867, NEEACP roll 7; *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 37th Cong., 3rd sess., no. 29, pp. 1-28.

8. Walter L. Wright, Jr., "James Fowle Baldwin Marshall," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), XII, 312-13; John C. Rand, ed., *One of a Thousand: A Series of Biographical Sketches of One Thousand Representative Men Resident in the Com-*

It was this status as an American merchant which equipped him for a secret mission for King Kamehameha, after an annexation coup engineered by a British admiral, Lord George Paulet, and a scheming Scottish consul, Alexander Simpson, forced the Hawaiian monarch to recognize their provisional claims in the name of Great Britain. With credentials copied from those issued to John Adams as first American minister to the Court of St. James, Marshall sailed for England in March 1843, posing as a commercial agent to avoid detection by the British "protectors." His traveling companion, the erstwhile consul, was sent on a similar errand. At Vera Cruz, Mexico, the two agents parted, the unsuspecting Simpson heading directly for England, while Marshall journeyed by way of New Orleans to Washington where he delivered dispatches from the American consul to Secretary of State Daniel Webster. Reaching New York too late for the Liverpool packet, he decided to go on to Boston for a brief visit with his parents and fiancée. He then embarked on the first available steamer and arrived in London, June 30, to find that Simpson had departed the week before. Then, as "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary," Marshall joined two other emissaries who had preceded him to Europe in discussions with Lord Aberdeen. Although the British foreign office had planned to repudiate Lord Paulet's activities, formal recognition of Hawaii's independence by both England and France was not proclaimed until after Marshall left London in August, but before he was back in Honolulu. An embittered Simpson, meanwhile, retired to his native Scotland after severely denouncing the British government for letting the prize slip from the grasp he had devised and for "putting more faith in the representations of a Yankee shopkeeper than in those of a British subject."⁹

monwealth of Massachusetts, A.D. 1888-'89 (Boston, 1890), 396-97; *Addresses in Memory of James Fowle Baldwin Marshall and Martha Twycross Marshall delivered at Channing Hall, Boston, May 18, 1891* (Boston, 1891), 8, 11.

9. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3 vols. (Honolulu, 1923-1967), I, 196, 217-21; J. F. B. Marshall, "An Unpublished Chapter of Hawaiian History," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXVII (September 1883), 511-20. Marshall returned to Hawaii with his bride, the former Eunice Hooper of Mobile, Alabama. Two years after her death in 1846, again in Boston, he married Mary A. T. Johnson (1824-1891). Their arrival in Honolulu in 1849 coincided with the early

Dual citizenship, a reward for this diplomatic service, enabled Marshall to serve first as a commissioner to help frame the Hawaiian Constitution of 1851 and subsequently, for four years, as a member of the island legislature, where he distinguished himself as a sponsor of native rights and land reform. In 1850 he purchased an interest in the fledgling Lihue Sugar Plantation on the Island of Kuai and later took over the management of the farm. He also briefly experimented in silk worm culture. Because of his interest in the islands' agriculture, he was a founding member, vice-president, and then president of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society.¹⁰

In 1859 Marshall returned to Massachusetts, settling in Westboro, with the hope of promoting American ties with Hawaii. As early as 1855 he had been endorsing a move for a reciprocity treaty. By 1862, believing himself qualified, he unsuccessfully sought a diplomatic post, first as United States Commissioner to Honolulu and later in 1867 as minister. Even though he failed to receive an appointment, Marshall had impressed Lincoln during a personal interview in 1862 with his knowledge and insight of the Sandwich Islands. Continuing his interest in Hawaii, with other former residents and those having investments in the islands, Marshall founded the Hawaiian Club of Boston, serving as its vice-president, president, and main lobbyist for the Reciprocity Treaty of 1867. He lobbied for the treaty instead of sponsoring outright annexation, which he personally favored, because he knew the native ruler would oppose such a move.¹¹

With the beginning of recruitment in the Civil War, Marshall raised Company K of the 13th Regiment of Massachusetts

news of the gold rush in California. After the Brewer Company closed its retail establishment in Hawaii and became an outfitter for miners, Marshall visited San Francisco and described events there. James F. B. Marshall, "Three Gold Stories," *Century Magazine*, XLI (March 1891), 783-87.

10. Agnes C. Conrad, Hawaii state archivist, to author, June 8, 1971; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, I, 324-25, 328; Merze Tate, *Hawaii: Reciprocity or Annexation* (East Lansing, Michigan, 1968), 22-23, 58-62.
11. Tate, *Hawaii*, 51, 58-60, 115; Lincoln to William H. Seward, March 7, July 13, 1862, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1953-1955), V, 147, VIII, 495; Marshall to Seward, March 3, 1862, Records of the Department of State, Applications, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Volunteers and throughout the conflict made periodic visits to the regiment at the front. In 1862, while visiting the regiment, he was elected as Westboro's representative to the lower house of the Massachusetts "war legislature." In January 1864, after the legislature authorized bounty payments, Governor Andrew appointed him to the paymaster's office, but in May Marshall took a leave of absence and, accompanied by his wife, entered the service of the Sanitary Commission. With a special relief corps the Marshalls followed Grant's army through the Virginia campaigns from the Wilderness to City Point, tending to sick and wounded, as they were often in advance of medical units in reaching the field. Rejoining the governor's staff as brigadier general and paymaster general, he reorganized the paymaster bureau, and remained as its head until his mission to Florida.¹²

On the eve of his departure Marshall was given instructions drafted by Vice-President Hale and President John Murray Forbes, the railroad promoter, philanthropist, and descendant of Florida pioneers. As agent, Marshall was encouraged to forward his general impressions, those which could be shown to prospective emigrants "without violating any confidences as to the sources" of the information, to Forbush for the office files. He was to send Hale his more private and confidential observations about his contacts with individuals and companies owning land for sale and what inducements they might offer to settlers. For his services Marshall would be reimbursed for expenses and receive \$200 a month in salary. Though his movements were left to his own discretion, he was directed to search out and report on available land "at moderate rates," principally along the transportation routes but specifically along the Florida Railroad, as well as check on public lands offered through the state and federal land offices; to observe the social climate for Floridian acceptance of Northerners, especially noting whether "a ball-proof jacket and an India rubber neck are prerequisite for Northern Settlers"; to comment on weather conditions, transportation facilities, and the region's general healthfulness; and to report on economic opportunities, especially in regard to "cotton Lumber & Naval stores," and on labor conditions

12. Rand, *One of a Thousand*, 397; *Addresses in Memory*, 16-25.

generally, including the prospects of obtaining "hired labor reasonably cheap." But always the emphasis was on "the small farmer and mechanic," the "poorer class of settlers," and those "who go not to make their fortunes but to get their living by work," as well as those "whose lives will be saved or prolonged by the move" to an area with a "fine winter climate, & a good summer one."¹³

Marshall would spend three months in Florida. He left New York on December 18, 1866, as requested in his letter of instructions. Three days later he arrived in Savannah where he stayed overnight before boarding a steamer for Jacksonville which became his headquarters. His itinerary took him mostly through the northern and north-central parts of the state, with his early tours encompassing Fernandina, Waldo, and Baldwin. On December 31 he traveled by buggy to Newnansville and spent New Year's day in Gainesville. During the early part of January 1867 he was in Tallahassee, and the last two weeks of the month he sailed on the St. Johns, stopping at Enterprise and Palatka. New Smyrna and Port Orange, where he found the colonies, both white and black, in "a critical condition," were his southernmost points on the east coast. In February he toured mid-Florida, where, after a steamer trip up the St. Johns and the Ocklawaha rivers to Silver Springs, he made his way by mule wagon to Ocala, "a hot bed of secession, being mostly settled by emigration from S. C." so that "an officer of Gov. Andrews staff would have needed an iron clad suit & india rubberneck to have ventured" there a year or so earlier.¹⁴

Whether by steamer, railroad, buggy, mule wagon, or horseback, travel in Florida, Marshall concluded, was extremely primitive and very unaccommodating. Of the railroad, he complained: "I can safely say that in all my journeying in various countries, I never saw the art of making travellers uncomfortable carried to such perfection as in Florida." This discomfort was accompanied by considerable expense, for no matter what the conveyance

13. E. E. Hale and J. M. Forbes to Marshall, December 12, 1866, NEEACP roll 4. Forbes had only recently joined the board, but he had been involved in the Port Royal, South Carolina, experiment and was later active in efforts to raise funds for the Republican party in the South, an activity in which he engaged the New England Emigrant Aid Company's efforts. Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 284.

14. Marshall to Hale, February 9, 1867; Marshall to T. B. Forbush, February 21, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

the cost seemed excessive. These touring difficulties were matched by the scarcity of good lodgings and dining facilities. The best he found were in the St. Johns River area, but even there he heard "great complaints of the want of hotels" similar to those in the North. By the time he left Florida, one of his major recommendations was for the construction of resorts and lodgings which "would be well supported, (if well kept)."¹⁵

His comments on the social climate were mixed. He stayed generally within the major lines of communication where he found more congeniality, since most Northerners tended to secure homesites along rivers and railroads. As to the average Floridian, Marshall saw "little if any heartfelt loyalty to the Government among those who took an active part in the rebellion," and he feared that "the true Union men" who were "politically and socially ostracized" would need continued protection from the federal government. On the other hand, he observed that "all thinking men in the state," even the "most ardent secessionists," desired to see "an influx of northern labor, capital, & enterprise." This assessment included the governor who was "ready to welcome with open arms *abolitionists* and all others who would aid in settling and developing the resources of the state." On another occasion, Marshall observed that with the large number of loyalists already in Florida only a small number emigrating from the North would be needed to redeem the state.¹⁶

Somewhat ambivalent also were his views as to the suitability of the land. In much of Florida Marshall discovered that the soil was poor, but he was convinced that with proper cultivation its yield would be comparable to land elsewhere. In those areas already settled by Northerners, he was disappointed in the dearth of purchasable tracts large enough for the communities envisioned by the company's directors. Commenting that "most of the good lands are in private hands for which large prices are asked," he cited the northern mania for orange groves as the cause for the high price of properties along the St. Johns. He was impressed with the possibilities of truck gardening around

15. Marshall to Forbush, January 5, 26, 1867; Marshall to Hale, January 12, 1867, NEEACP roll 4.

16. Marshall to Forbush, January 9, 1867; Marshall to Hale, January 12, 16, 1867, NEEACP roll 4.

Jacksonville, and he felt that “good Cotton lands both wild & cultivated [could] be had at prices \$2 [to] \$10 per acre” in Alachua, Levy, and Marion counties. These, however, were interior counties, areas away from easy access to transportation and the general flow of northern immigrants, which would be a serious matter for company colonists. Neither the Homestead Act of 1862 nor the so-called Southern Homestead Bill of 1866 were applicable to the company’s colonial scheme, and state and railroad lands were largely inaccessible, although the railroads were anxious to welcome northern settlers and willing to guarantee a reduction in fares.¹⁷

The best of the lands still available on the Florida Railroad, Marshall was told, were at Archer below Gainesville, but, in general, he believed that the railroad’s lands were of average to poor quality, either covered with “an undergrowth of the saw palmetto” or were too “low & would mostly require surface draining.” He also learned that out of the \$800,000 worth of land bonds, the railroad actually controlled only about \$200,000 and the only way to obtain a tract was to find a bondholder willing to sell, though most were “expecting to purchase land with [their bonds] at the coming sale.” Lands along other railroad lines were similarly mortgaged. He checked into the property adjacent to the prospective Florida Canal, a project chartered but never constructed, and forwarded to Forbush the informal prospectus of its planner, former tax commissioner Lyman D. Stickney.¹⁸

Although he did not get to South Florida— the “speediest & cheapest route from [Jacksonville] to Miami would be to go to N. Y. & thence to Key West”— through contact with William H. Gleason, the South Florida developer who had a conditional grant of state lands, Marshall decided that “tropical Florida offers a most attractive & profitable field for new settlers,” particularly in the cultivation of sugar, and he believed Gleason could offer attractive inducements. From the United States land agent he

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17. Marshall to Forbush, December 29, 1866, January 5, 9, 26, 1867; Marshall to Hale, January 12, 27, 1867, NEEACP roll 4; Marshall to Hale, February 23, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.
 18. Marshall to Hale, January 27, 1867, NEEACP roll 4; Marshall to Hale, February 9, 13, 1867; Marshall to Forbush, February 18, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

learned there were "very fine lands" on the Withlacoochee River in Sumter and Hernando counties which were "healthy & rich, suited for oranges or cane growing." Where there were timber and naval stores, the lands were located "too far from the R.R. to pay for hauling at present." Near Ocala he discovered "the best land" he had seen in Florida which was "better adapted to farming purposes" than even the rich lands of Alachua, because "cotton, corn, cane, oranges etc equally thrive & there is good grazing for Cattle & sheep." But tracts which might be for sale were expensive and too far from the railroad until the track was finished through Ocala.¹⁹

The region was healthy, Marshall reported, except in some newly-opened areas where malaria was prevalent. The weather, "especially so for those inclined to pulmonary complaints," was probably the best in the world, though the cold was "more keenly felt" because the people were "unprepared for it and their houses generally ill-provided with facilities for heating."²⁰

Labor costs were high and workers in short supply. While there was considerable reluctance on the part of the former slaves to make contracts, those who did obtained higher wages than paid elsewhere in the South. Marshall believed the worker shortage would be eased by the increased Negro migration from neighboring states. Northerners, he reported, were generally pleased with the freedmen as workers, finding that they "work on the average as well as laborers at the North." The Southerner, on the other hand, had "no faith in the labor of freedmen, probably because he cannot adapt himself to the changed order of things and does not manage them properly." For farmers of small means, Marshall predicted success in Florida if they could lease at small risk and thereby gain experience before purchasing; for mechanics, he saw increasing opportunities be-

19. Marshall to Hale, January 16, 1867, NEEACP roll 4; Marshall to Forbush, February 23, 1867, NEEACP roll 5. Gleason had a contract with the American Emigrant Aid and Homestead Company of New York. Before this company folded in July 1867, President Charles A. Stevens, formerly with the U. S. Mutual Aid Society, was again seeking the New England Emigrant Aid Company's cooperation. After the New York company's demise, Forbush unsuccessfully contacted Gleason for inducements. C. A. Stevens to R. P. Waters, March 5, 1867, Forbush to (Gleason), July 5, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; Board Minutes, March 6, 1867, NEEACP roll 7.

20. Marshall to Forbush, December 29, 1866, NEEACP roll 4.

cause of the great demand for their skills.²¹ In many of his letters he detailed the economics of conducting a farming operation with limited capital.

Mid-way during his tour Marshall received additional instructions from Hale in regard to the purchase of the *Florida Times*, a Union paper published in Jacksonville, which Marshall had reported was “dragging along a feeble existence” and would go defunct, unless new life was “infused into it.” He was encouraged to enter into negotiations with the owners. When efforts to procure the *Times* were unsuccessful, the company ultimately, but reluctantly, purchased the *Florida Union*.²²

On March 6, 1867, he left Florida, traveling back the same route he had taken in December, “fully satisfied of the superior advantages which Florida [had] to offer Northern settlers.”²³ Back in Boston where he reported to the board at its March 16 meeting, he found no organized emigration imminent nor had the acute shortage of funds been alleviated by new subscriptions. In February, while Marshall was still in Florida, the directors had sought authorization from the Massachusetts legislature to issue a new preferred stock with which they expected to raise the money to purchase a large tract of land, if a suitable one could be found. This arrangement, deviating as it did from their Kansas operation, called for the resale of the larger tract into smaller units to actual settlers, and, in promising some likelihood of a financial gain by the transaction, should the purchaser wish to relinquish his land, would provide an additional incentive. With more hope than assurance that the stock could be exchanged for land at reasonable rates, the executive committee, which now included Marshall, printed a circular letter in May, advising prospective emigrants of a projected colony, probably on the St. Johns. Five shares of the new stock

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21. *Ibid.*; Marshall to Forbush, February 23, March 4, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.
 22. Marshall to Hale, January 16, 1867, NEEACP roll 4; Hale to Marshall, February 8, 1867, NEEACP roll 5. When Edward M. Cheney, an unpaid agent who followed Marshall to Florida, also failed to purchase the *Times* and bought the *Union* instead without prior consultation with company directors, he found immediate approval and needed financial assistance temporarily withheld. Board Minutes, April 27, 1867, Executive Committee Minutes, May 17, 1867, NEEACP roll 7; Hale to Cheney, May 17, 24, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 279-80.
 23. Marshall to Forbush, January 11, 1867, NEEACP roll 4.

at \$100 per share would entitle the purchaser, at rates of \$5.00 to \$10.00 an acre, to a homestead of fifty to 100 acres. If twenty families could be found the company would be responsible for the erection of a school and church. An October departure date was suggested for the first migration, but the response in terms of monetary pledges, even when extended in June to non-settlers on an investment basis, was meagre.²⁴

In July, failing to realize the necessary revenue for even a small colonizing venture, the board decided that \$25,000 would have to be subscribed by the end of August from "well-known gentlemen of means" who were "friends of the company," otherwise operations should be closed altogether by October 1. At this point Forbes, one of those "gentlemen of means," who, having already generously contributed to the company's treasury, was becoming disenchanted with the whole plantation scheme and attempted to resign as president, a position he had only reluctantly accepted earlier in the month. He suggested a structural revision with Marshall as head, either as resident-agent in Florida, or in Boston, with a salary and a percentage of the still hoped-for profits. But such a reorganization was never realized, and in September, after Marshall gave a negative report on efforts to confer with his Florida contacts about possible propositions and alternatives, including the exchange of company stock for property, the final decision to phase out all but a minimal information and referral service was made. After March 1868, Marshall, taking over as secretary and treasurer, continued to handle correspondence for another two years.²⁵

24. The new stock plan initially was to raise funds for southern emigration and to reorganize company operations. By May the executive committee advanced a land-stock exchange proposal, which was approved, and on June 5, 1867, Marshall presented the final plan which included a land guarantee for both colonists and non-colonists as a security on their subscriptions. Minutes, special stockholders' meetings, March 6, 13, 1867; Board Minutes, January 30-March 20, June 5, 1867; Executive Committee Minutes, April 29, 1867, NEEACP roll 7; printed circular, May 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

25. Board Minutes, July 6, 11, September 5, 11, 1867; March 3, 1868, NEEACP roll 7; Forbush to Hale, February 16, 27, April 8, July 6, August 12, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; J. M. Forbes to Hale, August [16], September 3, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; Forbush to Hale, August 20, 1867, NEEACP roll 5. In the Forbes plan of reorganization, Marshall would have received an annual salary of \$1,500 and one-fifth of any profits over six per cent. The treasurer's report, when the Florida enterprise folded in October, showed that although \$5,194.78 had been collected

Failure of the Florida emigration scheme can be attributed to a number of causes incidental to Reconstruction and external to the company's management. But to Marshall, who drafted the 1868 annual report, the movement miscarried because of the "difficulty in selecting a large tract that would meet the view of a sufficient number of settlers" and the "unsettled state of political affairs caused by the opposition of the President [Johnson] to the [congressional] reconstruction policy." Also discouraging to northern businessmen were the "unfortunate results of investments of Northern Capitalists in cotton plantations" during a bad crop year and the inflationary land values.²⁶ Less than four months after Marshall had toured Florida, the board was advised that while the company's plan was still feasible the number of new settlers on the St. Johns River had doubled during the past year with a corresponding rise in the cost of land. From the fairly large number of prospective emigrants who had inquired about the Florida plans, most were unable or unwilling to commit themselves when contacted about an October departure date. Of those who seemed ready to go, too few had the financial resources with which to purchase stock and help buttress the company's sagging treasury. Friends of previous crusades were tried and found wanting. There was no grand cause to fulfill as there had been in Kansas, and northern speculators sought investment returns elsewhere.²⁷

Yet, with all this negativism, there was nonetheless a positive side to the company's enterprise. Because of its avid promotion of Florida's attractions, if the numerous letters in response to these efforts is any indication, some who were already interested in vacating their New England homesteads for a warmer climate were encouraged to head for Florida.²⁸ The twenty-page

for the enterprise, the books failed to balance with expenses in excess of revenue by \$466.95. Hale raised most of the deficit. While handling the company's business Marshall received \$50.00 a year from money paid as interest on the loan which established the *Florida Union*. Forbes to Hale, September 8, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; Board Minutes, September 11, 1867, NEEACP roll 7; Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 282-84.

26. Secretary's Report for 1868, NEEACP roll 5.

27. J. M. Forbes to Hale, September 3, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; Forbush to Hale, September 6, 12, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; C. B. Wilder to Forbush, February 8, 1867; M. A. Williams to Marshall, July 25, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

28. One of these, J. S. Adams, of Burlington, Vermont, former secretary of

pamphlet, *Florida: The Advantages and Inducements Which It Offers to Immigrants*, compiled by Secretary Forbush and based largely on Marshall's observations, but augmented by other Florida correspondents, was so widely disseminated that it went through two printings. But, perhaps the most concrete accomplishment in which the company held some responsibility, albeit initially with reluctance, was the establishment of a loyal, Republican newspaper, the *Florida Union*, a journal destined to become one of the most influential organs in the state.²⁹

As for Marshall, after the colonization plan aborted he remained in Boston until 1869, when he joined the faculty of the newly-established Hampton Institute for Negroes and Indians in Virginia. The Institute's founder-president, General Samuel C. Armstrong, had lived in Hawaii and as a boy attended Sunday School classes taught by Marshall. As treasurer, acting-assistant principal, and bookkeeping instructor, Marshall served at Hampton until 1884 when, threatened with blindness, he was forced to retire. While at Hampton, he befriended a young student, Booker T. Washington, and became an advisor for Tuskegee Institute when it opened in Alabama. Besides friendly advice, Marshall loaned Washington the money to make the initial payment on the farm purchased for the school, helped him obtain books and teachers, a printing press and a saw mill, and advanced funds, for which the older man himself had to borrow, to set up brick works for trainees. Out of gratitude for this patronage, the Washingtons named their first child Portia Marshall Washington.³⁰

the Vermont Board of Education, subscribed \$100 in June 1867. He apparently emigrated on his own and subsequently became Florida's Commissioner of Immigration. Hale credited Marshall after his death with directing "three or four thousand" men and women from Minnesota to Florida after a "fuel famine." However, a review of the 1870 census fails to substantiate such claims. Rowland E. Robinson, *Vermont: A Study of Independence* (Boston, 1892), 311; J. S. Adams to E. E. Hale, April 23, June 1, 1867; Adams to T. B. Forbush, December 23, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; Secretary's Report for 1868, NEEACP roll 5; *Addresses in Memory*, 39.

29. Johnson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 253-84. The pamphlet was first printed in July 1867; by October over 600 of the 1,000 copies had been distributed. In the 1868 printing it was necessary to explain in a preface that the company had neither land to sell nor colonies.
30. "The Story of My Life and Work," "Hampton Catalog, 1874-75," Washington to Marshall, July [June] 25, June 29, July 5, 7, 1881, Marshall to Washington, July 7, 9, 1881, Washington to Marshall, July 16,

Following his departure from Hampton, Marshall led the missionary efforts of the Unitarian Association in establishing and directing an industrial school for Montana Crow Indians. On one occasion, he attempted to gain the freedom of eight young Crow leaders held at Fort Snelling after an outbreak, because he felt their imprisonment brought them into contact with the "lowest class of our soldiery." In the fall of 1889 he made one last visit to Hawaii, spending nearly six months, and at his death in 1891 willed \$1,200 to be used for educational purposes in the Islands.³¹

The records of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, including Marshall's correspondence, are in the Kansas State Historical Society's collections, and are available in a microfilm publication jointly sponsored by the Society and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.³² Marshall's notes on Florida hotels and his expense account which follow were transcribed from the microfilm.

Hotels & Boarding Houses in Florida Boston, March 20, 1867

Fernandina—

The Virginia House, kept by Dr Payne,³³ a Virginian with Southern views. He has his mother & three sisters to assist him, and though not a Hotel keeper by profession, his house is comfortable, their table neat & fare good tho' very simple. The family are well educated, & courteous & disposed to do all in their power for the comfort of their guests—

1881, Marshall to Washington, November 12, 1881, Washington to Marshall, November 18, 1881, Marshall to Washington, November 23, 1881, Washington to Marshall, March 26, 1883, Marshall to Washington, April 5, 1883, "A Report of the Triennial Meeting of the Hampton Institute Alumni Association," May 23, 1884, in Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 3 vols. to date (Urbana, 1972-), I, 31-32, 39-40, 50; II, 41-42n, 132-39, 142-43, 153-56, 224-29, 235n.

31. Marshall to John D. Long, April 21, 1888, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts; Harold Winfield Kent, *Charles Bishop Reed: Man of Hawaii* (Palo Alto, California, 1965), 19.
32. The author is indebted to Joseph W. Snell, assistant state archivist, Kansas State Historical Society, for checking parts of the transcription to insure greater accuracy. Mr. Snell is also editor of the microfilm edition of the New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers.
33. John M. Payne, his mother, Eliza D., sisters, Celia, Susan, and Bettie, are listed as hotelkeepers in the 1870 census. U. S. Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, original returns on microfilm, population schedule, Nassau County, Florida, p. 42.

There are other so called Hotels in Fernandina, but they are not to be recommended. A well kept house, by a Northern man would find good support.

Jacksonville—

There is no good Hotel here. The Taylor House is new but badly kept. There are several private boarding houses, some of which are to be recommended, such as Mr Favor's, Mrs Thomp-sons & Mrs Stickneys.³⁴ Mr Favor is from Chelsea Mass, and his house is generally filled with Mass[achuse]tts boarders. He will take transient guests— Terms \$2. per day or \$10. pr week. Either of the others named are said to very good.

St Augustine.

The Florida House kept by Mr []³⁵ fr Connecticut is a well kept & comfortable house.

Palatka—

The Putnam House kept by a young man (Austin) fr New York is the best Hotel & tolerably comfortable— Owned by Mr. H L Hart³⁶ a Vermonter but “sesesh”—

Hibernia. Flemings Island St. Johns river.

A very comfortable boarding house, said to be well kept, and a good place for invalids.

Green Cove Springs St Johns river—

The Union House owned by Mr Remington & kept by Mrs Eaton³⁷ is the most comfortable & well conducted house I found

34. None of these persons can be identified.

35. Marshall left the name blank.

36. O. E. Austin, of New York and Vermont but otherwise unidentified, and Hubbard L. Hart. A Confederate merchant and owner of the steamers *Katie* and *Dictator*, Hart reputedly saved his property from destruction by Union troops through an appeal to a Vermont officer stationed in Palatka. Ninth Census, 1870, Putnam County, Florida, 5; Rodney B. Fields to T. B. Forbush, August 13, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 117-18.

37. James Remington, originally of Rhode Island, also owned Remington Park resort, five miles from Green Cove Springs. Mrs. S. [or L.] Eaton was manager of Union House, described in 1870 as a first-class hotel, almost exclusively patronized by New Yorkers and Bostonians. Green Cove Springs was a fashionable spa during the period of the 1870s and 1880s. Ninth Census, 1870, Sanderson, Clay County, Florida, 49; Sidney Lanier, *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History* (Philadelphia, 1875; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1973), 125; “Rambler,” *Guide to Florida* (New York, 1875; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 93;

in Florida. The Sulphur spring is highly recommended, and invalids seemed to have experienced much benefit from the use of the water.

In the interior of Florida there are not good hotels, that can be recommended to tourists or invalids, The best I found were at Ocala kept by Mr Harris³⁸ a well disposed man and of Union sentiments, though he is prudent in their expression as Ocala is in the heart of the secession district.

At Newnansville by Col Lemuel Wilson³⁹ an open & staunch loyalist, who had to escape into the Union lines, & is a thorough radical— He is now the U.S. Assessor of Int Rev Taxes[.]

These two Hotels are barely tolerable and are the only ones in the interior that I know of, that are so. All others should be avoided as well as the one at Cedar Keys kept by Capt Mason⁴⁰ from Fall River, who feeds you on fish & oysters which cost him almost nothing and charges \$4. per day.

At Enterprise is a hotel which is tolerably well kept but poorly furnished— Most of the furniture having been carried off during the war & not replaced. The building is good & location fine, being at the head of Steam boat Navigation at present. The hotel is owned by Capt Brock⁴¹ of the Steamer Darlington which makes weekly trips from Jacksonville to Enterprise— several Boston families are there spending the winter—

J F B Marshall

Marshall to Mrs. S. [or L.] A. Eaton, December 10, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

38. Ebenezer J. Harris, a South Carolina native and a pioneer settler in Florida, built the Harris House, later the Ocala House, and was the owner of a tanyard. Ninth Census, 1870, Ocala, Marion County, Florida, 5; Eloise Robinson Ott, "Ocala Prior to 1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VI (October 1927), 97.
39. Lemuel Wilson, born in North Carolina, came to Florida about 1840. A Gainesville hotelkeeper and Alachua County Republican leader, he was sometime collector of revenue at Newnansville and later at Tallahassee. Ninth Census, 1870, Gainesville, Alachua County, Florida, 29; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 211, 282; *Senate Reports*, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 41, pt. 13, p. 195.
40. Not further identified.
41. The Brock House at Enterprise was built in the early 1850s by Jacob Brock, one of the most colorful captains on the St. Johns. A native of Vermont who came to Florida seeking his fortune, Brock had recognized the potential the scenic river offered to tourists. In addition to the

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N. E. Em Aid Co. In account with J. F. B. Marshall
Drs.

1867.	For travelling expenses of trip to Florida		
Mar 15.	as per bill of items annexed,	419.80	[419.90]
	For ½ doz Drews map of Florida ⁴²		
	" 3 mos services at \$200. per mo.		
	As per agreement—	600.--	
		\$1025.80	[1,025.90]

Crs.

1866.	By amount received of Chas Brewer ⁴³		
Dec 5.	being his contribution to N.E. Em		
	Aid Co.	50.-	
	Bal due me	975.80	[975.90] ⁴⁴
		1025.80	[1,025.90]

Boston Mar 15, 1867.

N. E. Em. Aid Co.

		To J. F. B. Marshall.	Dr.
	For travelling expenses etc.— viz:		
1866. Dec 16.	Fare to New York 6.	Sleeping berth 1—	7.—
	17 Hack & Bus 1.10	Hotel Astor 12.05	13.15
	18 Passage to Savannah per		
	Virgo ⁴⁵		25.—
	Map of Florida .50	Waiter do carrying	
	22 Hotel Savannah 5.75	Porter with trunk .25	6.—
	Passage per stmr Dictator to Jacksonville		12.—
	24 Fare to Baldwin 1.—	Baldwin to Waldo 3.	4.—

inn, he owned several of the St. Johns steamers, including the *Darlington* which was used in both Confederate and later Union service. Returning to Enterprise after the war, Brock resumed his steamer business and reopened his inn. [James] Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna, *The St. Johns: A Parade of Diversities* (New York, 1943), 266-69.

42. Printed by Virginia-born Columbus Drew, a Jacksonville stationer. Ninth Census, 1870, Jacksonville, Duval County, Florida, 17.
43. Either Captain Charles Brewer, a native of Massachusetts, who was originally associated with the whaling business as a supplier and outfitter, or his son, also Charles, and a sugar grower in Hawaii. Coming to Hawaii in 1826, the Captain formed a trading business, in which Marshall became a partner, before purchasing a sugar plantation. By 1866 the company owned four such units and was one of the Islands' largest firms. During the American Civil War the company tried raising cotton. Brewer financed Marshall's voyage on his mission to England in 1843. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, I, 325; II, 145-46; Harold Whitman Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii, The Pioneers, 1789-1843* (Stanford, California, 1942), 235-36, 452n.
44. Although in April the board had authorized the treasurer to borrow \$1,000 to reimburse him, Marshall was not paid in full until August. Board Minutes, April 29, 1867, NEEACP roll 7; T. B. Forbush to E. E. Hale, August 12, 1867, NEEACP roll 2.
45. One of two steamers on Murray's line, sailing out of New York for Savannah on alternate Tuesdays. *New York Times*, December 14, 1867.

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	Hotel Jacksonville	5.25	Drew's map		
			Florida	1.25	6.50
	Truck 25c	Breakfast 1-	Horse to Gordon &		
			back 1.50		2.75
26	Fare Waldo to Baldwin	3-	B. to Jacksonville 1-		4.-
	Supper at "	1-	Hotel Taylor		
			House 3-		4.-
	Boat to Shadd's		Fare J. to		
	Plant'tn	2.50	Fernandina	3.	5.50
29	Hotel Fernandina	6.75	" F. to		
			Jacksonville	3-	9.75
	" Jacksonville	3-	„ to Baldwin	1-	4-
31	Buggy to Newnansville	8.	Breakfast at do	1-	9.-
	Dinner Gainesville	1.	Driver 25c		1.25
1867. Jan 2	Hotel "	5.25	Hotel Baldwin	2.	7.25
	Supper	1-			
5	Fare Baldwin to		L. City to		
	Lake City	2.	Tallahassee	6.50	9.50
	Breakfast at Live Oak	1-	Hotel		
			Tallahassee	10.50	11.50
8	Tallahassee to Lake		Supper Live Oak	1-	7.50
	City	6.50			
	Lake City to		Porter with trunk	25c	3.25
	Jacksonville	3-	Subs Florida Times	1-	3.50
9	Lodging & breakfast	2.50	Washing	1.75	12.75
16	Board at Apthorps	11-	Hotel Green Cove	8.50	9.50
	Fare to Green Cove				\$179.65
	Spg	1-			
1867.	Bro't Forward				\$179.65
Jan 17	Ticket to Enterprise & back in Darlington				15.-
	Fare to Palatka per		Hotel Palatka	4.50	6.50
	Kate	2-	Board at Apthorps	8.50	10.35
28	Washing	1.85	Return fare	10-	25.-
30	Fare to New Smyrna	15-	Board at Favors	7.50	8.-
Feb 4	Porter with trunk twice	.50	Hotel		
			Fernandina	19.95	22.95
12	Fare to Fernandina	3-	J. to Palatka per		
			Dictator	6-	9.-
17	" " Jacksonville	3-	Washing	1.20	5.45
18	Hotel Palatka	4.25	Fare to Silver Spring per	Stmr	Ocklawaha
19	Fare to Silver Spring		Hotel Ocala	5-	5.50
	Silver Spring to Ocala	.50			

46. Originally a numbered series of nine letters on "Florida and Texas," signed "Verdad" but written by an army surgeon before the war for the Charleston (South Carolina) *Courier*, these were collected together and published as promotional literature because they extolled the virtues of Florida. Extracts were quoted quite liberally in the New England Emigrant Aid Company's pamphlet on Florida. *Charleston Courier*, April 6, 11, 20, 24, May 8, 12, 22, 31, June 7, 1860; Bernard M. Byrne, *Letters on the Climate, Soils, and Productions of Florida* (Ralston, Pennsylvania, 1866).

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	3 Copies Flor[ida] & Texas ⁴⁶ 1-	Buggy to Gainesville ½ 17	17.-
	Buggy to Capt Taylor's ½ of 5 2.50	Driver to "	.50 3.-
		Hotel Cedar	
24	Hotel Gainesville 3.75	Keys 4- Boat 1-	8.75
26	" " 2.50	" Newnansvihe 2-	4.50
28	Washing & Servants Brown 1-	Horse feed 1-	2.-
Mar 1.	Buggy to Brown's- Newnansville & Gordon 4 dys.		16.-
	Horse feed 1-	Hotel Waldo 3.50	4.50
		Porter .25	
	Fare to Jacksonville 1-	Washing 1.50	2.75
4	Boat to Pottsburg 2-	Board at Favor's 10-	12.-
		Horses-	
	Fare to Savannah 10-	Sanderson 6.-	16.-
	Omnibus-Savannah 1.50	Hotel Savannah 1.50	3.-
	Passage to New York 25-	Fare to Boston 6-	31.-
		Supper-	
	Hack in " " " 1-	Springfield 1.-	2.-
			<u>419.80</u>
			[419.90]

Chgd in a/c
Boston March 15, 1867