

The Papers of Albert Sawyer and the Development of the Florida East Coast, 1892 to 1912

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Introduction

In “Henry Flagler and the Model Land Company,” published in this journal six years ago, William Brown and Karen Hudson describe the creation and operation of Henry Flagler’s Model Land Company in managing and developing the immense land holdings the state of Florida and others granted Flagler from 1885 until 1912 for building the Florida East Coast Railway from Jacksonville to Key West.¹ The Model Land Company papers, housed at the University of Miami, trace the development of this Flagler company and its activities from 1907 until 1967. Three years before Flagler began extending his railway down into the southern portions of Florida, a St. Augustine-based canal company had already begun dredging in 1882 what would become the modern-day Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway, ultimately connecting Jacksonville to Miami in 1912. By 1885, the state of Florida had already reserved most of the land in the southern portion of the peninsula for the canal company. No land remained for Flagler’s extension south of Rockledge, near Cape Canaveral. Would Flagler complete the railway to Miami without the state’s promised land grants?

The papers of A. P. Sawyer, housed at the State Library of Florida, offer unique insight into the work of the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company and its related enterprises in developing the Florida east coast. Chronologically organized, this body of material dating from 1892 to 1912 reveals how this privately financed Florida canal company built the waterway, sought to develop a million acres of

Florida public land earned in the course of its dredging work, and operated through leading officers and directors a multitude of enterprises, the most important of which was the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company, founded in 1892 by Sawyer and Florida canal company officials at Portland, Maine. In 1897, the canal company even organized the Indian River and Bay Biscayne Navigation Company to operate steamboats on the completed portions of the Florida waterway.²

The Sawyer papers also describe the unique relationship between the canal and railway enterprises. Both enterprises competed for the right to transport freight and passenger traffic along the coast. Both competed for the limited amount of public land along the coast available for distribution by state trustees to further canal and railway development. Both competed for the sale of land to hundreds of settlers arriving along the coast beginning in the 1890s. At times, the companies became fiercely competitive, even squaring off against each other in litigation over the land grants in 1910 and again in 1912. At times, the railway and canal enterprises worked together to develop and market jointly their immense land holdings along the Florida coast, particularly in the southern portion of the state. Flagler even presided over the Florida canal company for three years until his sudden resignation in March 1896, two months after steaming into Biscayne Bay aboard the steamboat *J. W. Sweeney* following the completion of the southern portion of the inland waterway and just a month before his railway reached Miami.

The Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company

An inland waterway inside Florida's Atlantic Coast had long been the dream of seventy-four-year-old Dr. John D. Westcott, a former surveyor general of Florida and a pioneer St. Augustine resident. Along with three other prominent St. Augustine entrepreneurs, Westcott formed the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company in 1881 to build the waterway, becoming the firm's first president. The state of Florida promised Westcott's group 3,840 acres of Florida public land for every mile of waterway dredged and the right to collect tolls for maintenance. By 1885, only twenty-six miles of waterway in the northern reaches below St. Augustine had been dredged before the St. Augustine group ran out of money. To the rescue, at first, came famed Civil War financier Jay Cooke. Cooke's nephew, Henry D. Cooke, joined the

canal company's board of directors, along with Sam Maddox, a Washington, D.C., attorney from an old Maryland family, and Boston investor John W. Denny, forcing out two of the original directors. Cooke then enlisted a wealthy Providence, Rhode Island, investor, forty-year-old George Lothrop Bradley, one of the principal early backers of the Bell Telephone companies, to help finance the dredging. Bradley soon became the canal company's largest stockholder. By 1892, it was clear that still more money would be needed to finish the waterway to Miami. Sam Maddox, the canal company's secretary, negotiated with Henry Flagler in New York for additional funds for new dredging equipment and working capital, resulting in the infusion of \$185,137 in cash and Flagler's election as president of the waterway enterprise in March 1893. Canal directors, now led by Denny following the death of Westcott in January 1889, also enlisted Albert Page Sawyer, a successful Newburyport, Massachusetts, insurance and real estate entrepreneur to head a new company to buy one hundred thousand acres of the canal company's land grant for one hundred thousand dollars.³



Dr. John Westcott in Civil War uniform, early Middle Florida physician, Surveyor General of Florida (1853-1858), and first President of the Florida Coast Line Canal & Transportation Co. (1881-1888). Courtesy of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society, Richmond, Va.

The Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company

The son of Josiah Sawyer, an important New England ship owner, fifty-year-old Albert Sawyer had founded a highly successful insurance and real estate business with his partner George Piper at the old Federalist town of Newburyport on the Massachusetts coast. Early on, Sawyer and Piper promoted numerous businesses around the country, including the Bell Telephone and Mergenthaler Linotype companies, copper and silver

mining enterprises, and real estate ventures. At the time of his death in 1903 at the age of 63, a *New York Times* obituary reported that Sawyer had been one of Newburyport's wealthiest residents. In November 1891, in Portland, Maine, Sawyer and Piper organized the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company to purchase a large tract of Florida canal company land. Other directors included Bradley, Thomas B. Bailey of Cambridge, Massachusetts (another early Bell Telephone investor), and twenty-eight-year-old George Francis Miles of Pomfret, Connecticut, an Irish-born engineer who had worked on the Canadian Pacific Railway before joining the Florida canal company in 1889. Two months after the new land company's incorporation, on January 4, 1892, John Denny, the canal company's president, signed a deed transferring one hundred thousand acres of Florida east coast land to Sawyer's Boston and Florida firm for one hundred thousand dollars. This vast expanse of real estate consisted of individual parcels as small as thirty-six acres and as large as a square mile at locations beginning at a point just south of St. Augustine and extending down the Atlantic coast to the end of the Florida peninsula, a distance of over three hundred miles. Until directors voted to allow shareholders to exchange stock for land, Sawyer's new land company experienced difficulties in attracting outside investors. Among the later investors, and soon to become one of the largest, was Sir Sandford Fleming, Chief Engineer during construction of what would become the Canadian Pacific Railway, a promoter of the concept of Universal Time, and the designer of Canada's first postage stamp. Like most of the Boston and Florida company's original shareholders, Fleming would hold on to his shares for more than thirty years before earning significant profits.⁴

The Bradley Trusts

In May 1892, just four months after selling the large tract of property to Sawyer's Boston and Florida land company, the Florida canal company sold some of its state land grant to Sawyer as trustee of the Lake Worth and New River Land Trusts to generate more cash for dredging operations. Sawyer formed the two Florida land trusts for Bradley and his business associates and friends, most of whom were wealthy New Englanders serving as officers and directors of the Florida canal company.⁵ The Lake Worth Land Trust, the first of the Bradley trusts, was created on May 27, 1892, for Bradley, who held twenty-nine of the forty shares;

Frederic Amory, an important Boston, Massachusetts, textile and insurance company executive and fourteen years later the Florida canal company's president, owned two shares; Samuel Maddox, a Washington, D.C., lawyer (the canal company's secretary and later president of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia), three shares; and Sawyer, six shares. The Lake Worth trust bought 2,200 acres of canal company land in the area of Lake Worth. Ten years later, in 1902, this trust would develop a tract of land appropriately named "Sawyer's Addition to the Town of Boynton," adjacent to the western boundary of the Town of Boynton's original limits. In 1913, Albert Hayden Sawyer, Sawyer's son, as successor trustee of the Lake Worth Trust, would subdivide portions of three sections of trust land near the city of Lake Worth in present-day Palm Beach County. Together these three parcels stretched from north to south a distance of three miles and varied in width from one mile to a half a mile. The second Bradley trust—the New River Land Trust—was created on May 28, 1892, one day after the making of the Lake Worth Trust, for Bradley only. This trust bought 1,831 acres of canal company land in present-day Fort Lauderdale for \$10,016.23. Within a few months, the Florida canal company, the Boston and Florida company, and the two Bradley trusts began employing the same real estate agent, Albert W. Robert of West Palm Beach, to market jointly the holdings of all four enterprises in what was then Dade County, stretching from Jupiter to the end of the Florida peninsula. By June 24, Robert began transforming one tract of Lake Worth trust land just west of present-day Boynton Beach into a large plantation for the experimental cultivation of pineapples, mangoes, and tangerines called the Belleville Plantation.⁶

Flagler and the Florida Canal Company

While the Boston and Florida company and the Bradley trusts made plans for the sale of their holdings and the Florida canal company pushed dredging operations still further into the southern reaches of the Florida peninsula, Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway moved like a juggernaut down the Atlantic coast. By the fall of 1892, the Flagler railway had reached New Smyrna, pushing toward Rockledge. Considering further extension of the railway to Miami, Flagler paused to reflect on what public land might be available for his efforts. Seven years earlier, the state of Florida had already reserved most of the available

remaining land for the Florida canal company for construction of the inland waterway. With little or no land left, Flagler now decided against building the railway to Miami unless owners along the way donated some of their land to assist in the venture. Writing to Sam Maddox, the canal company's secretary, on November 4, 1892, Flagler offered to extend the railway south of Rockledge for what would ultimately amount to almost a fourth of the canal company's million-acre land grant:

Other roads constructed in Florida have received from 6,000 to 20,000 acres of land for each mile of road constructed. These grants have nearly, if not quite, exhausted the lands at the disposal of the state for such purposes. Your own canal has received from the state a grant of alternate sections within the six-mile limit along its route. Our railroad will practically follow the same course, and for this reason we are shut off from any possible subsidy at the hands of the state. We believe therefore that you can well afford to aid us in this undertaking by dividing with us your land grant. If you cannot do this we should receive at the least 1,500 acres for each mile of road which we shall construct south of Rockledge, not, however, to exceed 104 miles.⁷

Urging the canal company's board to accept Flagler's proposal, George Miles, the Florida canal company's general manager, pointed out the benefit of the railway's extension to the firm's still undeveloped South Florida land grant. Eventually the firm's directors approved the plan over strong opposition from a few of Miles's associates.⁸

As early as August, Miles had been negotiating with Flagler to invest in the Florida canal company. George Bradley, the canal company's largest investor, pitched two fellow Boston and Florida land company investors—Albert Sawyer and his business partner, George Piper—to become stockholders in the reorganized company, arguing that the two “would find a large profit” in the purchase. On October 14, 1892, with Maddox in New York completing arrangements with Flagler's lawyers, Bradley told Sawyer that Flagler's involvement would make it “easier to sell our lands.”⁹

In January 1893, Flagler made the first of his cash payments to the Florida canal company, and on March 16, at the annual meeting held in St. Augustine, Florida canal company stockholders formally elected Flagler a director. Directors then chose Flagler to succeed John Denny of Boston as president. Other canal company directors selected were

long-time Flagler associate Joseph Parrott, as vice president; Henry Gaillard (the only canal company original director still serving), treasurer; George Miles, general manager; Sam Maddox, secretary; George Bradley, the company's largest stockholder; and Fred Amory, a prominent



George Lothrop Bradley, Bell Telephone director and the Florida canal company's president from 1899 until 1906. Bradley was the canal company's largest investor and a major stockholder in the Boston & Florida land company. Courtesy of the Bradley Hospital, East Providence, Rhode Island.

New England textile and insurance magnate from an old Boston family. The following month, Flagler, on Miles's assurances, wrote Miami pioneer Julia Tuttle, an early investor in the Florida canal company's bonds, that the enterprise expected to complete the waterway from Lake Worth to Biscayne Bay within two years.¹⁰

By the beginning of 1894, Flagler's railway had reached Fort Pierce, over two hundred miles south of St. Augustine. A few months later, work on the Florida waterway between Lake Worth and the New River at Fort Lauderdale progressed so quickly that the dredge working north from the New River almost reached the Hillsboro River at Deerfield. The cutting south from Lake Worth proceeded along a route connecting a series of small lakes, ponds, and

lagoons. North of the Hillsboro Inlet, company directors expected to encounter higher, more difficult land. A second dredge working south from Lake Worth averaged two hundred feet every twenty-four hours, cutting a waterway twelve feet deep and sixty feet wide, according to a Jacksonville newspaper account. Rumors also circulated that the canal company intended to put other dredges to work between Lake Worth and Fort Lauderdale.¹¹

Fulfilling a promise made three years earlier, canal company directors in 1895 authorized the transfer to the Flagler railway of 102,917 acres of the firm's land grant for the railway's extension from Fort Pierce to

West Palm Beach. Two years later, the company would convey an additional ninety-four thousand acres, including lands extending all the way to Biscayne Bay, for the further extension of the railway to Miami.¹²

Joint Developments of White City and Santa Lucia

Both the Flagler railway and the Florida canal company began jointly developing the White City and Santa Lucia settlements near Fort Pierce in today's St. Lucie County. The firms appointed Iowa native Charles Tobin McCarty, the owner of a large lemon, orange, and vegetable grove operation at Ankona, mid-way between Fort Pierce and present-day Stuart, to manage their colonies, expecting him to advise settlers on climate and soil conditions and supervise their farming operations. McCarty replaced Louis Bauch, a Danish settler who returned to his native land to bring back more Danes to settle on the Florida east coast.¹³

Conceding that Sawyer did not share in Sam Maddox's view that "Mr. Flagler must control the waterway," Bradley remained enthusiastic over the Florida waterway's prospects: "I find myself immensely interested of late in this Florida matter. I think that there is a fine opportunity for a fair share of business." Of Flagler's interest in the project, Bradley believed that the railway magnate "must have the waterway and that he is still trying to get it in the most economical way." The Providence native even began circulating among his colleagues a plan to pool at least \$380,000 of canal company stock, with Sawyer and Maddox as trustees, to keep the canal out of Flagler's hands. The proposal called for Bradley, Bradley's brother Charles, and Fred and Harcourt Amory to pool together \$260,000 worth of stock, with the balance of the stock to be contributed by the remaining investors. The end game was the sale of all of the canal company securities to Flagler within a year's time, believing the outlook "especially bright" for Florida's east coast in 1896.¹⁴

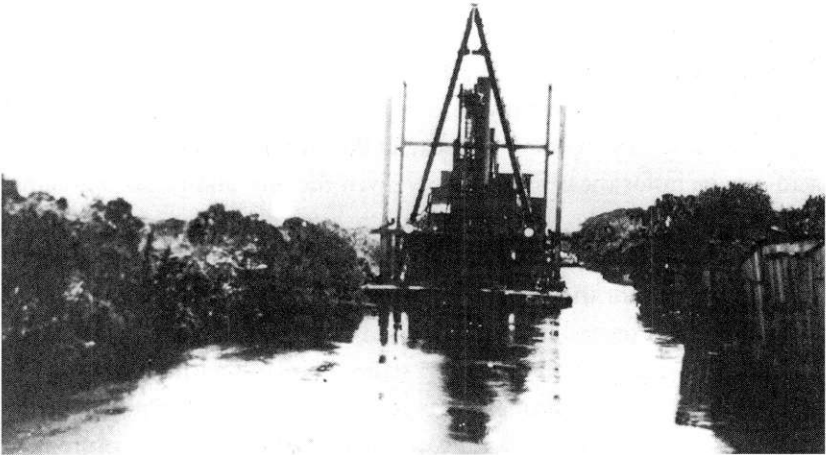
By May 1895, the Florida canal company had completed the inland waterway between the New River and Lake Worth when dredges operating from both ends of the section met.¹⁵ While Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway engineers began survey work for the extension of the railway to Miami, the Boston and Florida land company joined Flagler and the canal company in appointing William S. Linton of Saginaw, Michigan, as exclusive agent in the sale and colonizing of lands owned by all three firms south of Fort Pierce and north of the Miami River for a commission of twenty percent during a five-year period, but only if

he organized two or more immigration companies and met stringent sales goals by certain dates. Linton would establish a settlement bearing his name, today known as Delray Beach. Flagler's interest in financing the canal company, however, undoubtedly started to wane when he agreed to take canal company land in exchange for funding the dredging of the inland waterway to Biscayne Bay at the rate of \$7.50 per acre—a bargain for the canal company given the low land prices prevailing at the time.¹⁶ In July, West Palm Beach justice of the peace A. L. Knowlton resigned his commission to go to New River to survey the square-mile site for the Flagler railway's new town of Fort Lauderdale located on land owned by William and Mary Brickell. Like many other land owners, the Brickells agreed to share their land with Flagler for extending the railway through their property and picking up the cost of surveying and platting the land. Knowlton would complete the project just five months later in January 1896.¹⁷

By August, the Florida waterway became navigable between West Palm Beach and Fort Lauderdale. The Florida canal company placed one of its boats—the *Hittie*—on the waterway, scheduling a run between the two settlements every three weeks,¹⁸ while Flagler railway contractors began construction of a bridge to Palm Beach across Lake Worth at West Palm Beach.¹⁹ Through August 1895, the waterway's cost had been staggering. The canal company had spent more than \$7,500 a month for the last two and a half years dredging the Florida waterway.²⁰

The next month, Florida canal company directors accepted a Flagler proposal to extend the railway beyond Palm Beach to Biscayne Bay for an additional fifteen hundred acres of the company's lands for every mile of railway constructed. Two months later, the Boston and Florida company agreed in principle to contribute ten thousand acres for the railway's extension to Miami.²¹ The Florida canal company also employed real estate broker Fred Morse to market the firm's massive land grant in South Florida. Morse, who also served as Flagler railway's right-of-way agent for the proposed line from the New River south to Biscayne Bay, understandably urged cooperation between the canal company and the railway.²²

By the middle of January 1896, the Florida canal company had completed the waterway, known then as the Florida Coast Line Canal, to Biscayne Bay. Canal company president for a few more months, Henry Flagler took the first trip down the inland waterway from Lake Worth



One of the Florida canal company's dipper dredges in the East Coast Canal on the cut between Lake Worth and Lake Boca Raton, around 1910. Courtesy of the Florida State Archives.

to Biscayne Bay aboard the old Indian River steamboat *Sweeney*. Three months later, Flagler embarked on a trip down Florida's east coast as a passenger on the first train traveling to Miami, arriving there on April 13, 1896.²³

In February, the Boston and Florida land company began an important joint venture with Flagler when Sawyer agreed to grant a half-interest in the Boston and Florida firm's properties in South Florida as part of the firm's ten-thousand-acre donation for Flagler's extension of the railway to Miami. James Ingraham, Flagler's land development head, brought news of the opportunity to locate a Danish colony of four hundred families at present-day Dania Beach. Flagler set the price of pine land at seventeen dollars an acre and rich agricultural muck land at one hundred dollars an acre. With the Boston and Florida land company's consent, Flagler submitted a plat of their jointly-owned property at the settlement of Modelo (so named for Flagler's Model Land Company), laying out lots for future sale. This plan laid out a town comprised exclusively of residential lots, mostly 50 feet wide by 105 feet deep on either side of the Flagler railway, which ran through the middle of the town diagonally from the northeast corner to the southwest. The naming of many of the streets reflected the Scandinavian

origin of the early settlers. Some streets bore names like Skandia, Dannenborg and Denmark. Three avenues were named Valhalla, Thorvaldsen, and Copenhagen. Lots laid out on the west side of the railroad track were parallelogram-shaped conforming to the diagonal line along which the railway track ran through the plan. The Flagler plan also featured two large parks dedicated to the public directly across Dania Avenue from the Railroad Depot Grounds.²⁴

With the railway's completion to Miami imminent, Flagler started to lose interest in the Florida canal company's work in developing an intracoastal waterway. At the waterway firm's annual meeting in St. Augustine in March, Flagler unexpectedly resigned as president and director after a three-year stint.²⁵ According to Miles, who succeeded the railway magnate as president, Flagler resigned at his request because Flagler feared that the waterway's development might adversely affect railroad rates.²⁶ To pay back Flagler's cash advances totaling \$185,137 to dredge the waterway to Miami, the canal company deeded to Flagler nearly twenty-five thousand acres of land.²⁷

In the summer of 1896, Wallace Moses, the Lake Worth Trust's land agent and successor to Albert Robert, reported the possibility of selling the Trust's pine lands lying west of the Flagler railway and to the north and southwest of the Town of Boynton for pineapple cultivation. The land in one of the three sections belonged to Sawyer's Boston and Florida land company; the Trust owned the acreage in the other two sections. Moses suggested lowering the prices in the area to meet those offered by Flagler and the canal company for similar land in the vicinity. The Trust attempted to sell lands south of the New River to Swedes and Germans, but Julia Tuttle's plans to charge higher prices in the area caused a re-evaluation of arrangements with Flagler. In addition to reporting that it would be "impossible" to get anything done until after the elections in October, Miles boasted that the Florida canal company's longest-tenured director, Henry Gaillard, had been nominated for the state senate to represent St. Johns County, and he expected Captain Dimick of Palm Beach, another canal company friend, to be elected senator to represent Brevard and Dade counties. With Flagler's Royal Palm Hotel in Miami now "roofed-in," the Florida canal company began dredging a ten-foot channel to the Miami River from Cape Florida under a contract with the railway magnate.²⁸

In September, Miles entered into a contract with “some Swedes and Germans” for the sale of two Boston and Florida company land tracts, along with Flagler railroad and Model Land Company acreage, comprising in all some eight thousand acres of South Florida land. The Irish engineer expected land prices in the area to be set at \$12.50 per acre for pine land and \$37.50 per acre for muck land. After December 1, Miles anticipated a rise in prices to \$17 for pine land and \$50 for muck. The prospect for making sales in autumn seemed “exceedingly good.” Julia Tuttle’s land initially had been part of the sale of the large tract, but at the last minute, she withdrew her lands. Sawyer had also been studying the ramie (hemp) industry for some time, deciding to start a plantation to cultivate the plant at Seville in present-day Volusia County along the line of the Jacksonville, Tampa & Key West Railway, where both Miles and his brother owned land. A new decorticating machine for the stripping of the fiber from the plant had just been invented and Miles expected no difficulty in finding a market for the processed fiber. Miles’s plan would later attract the attention of many of the major canal company investors like Bradley and Sawyer and local investors like William Deering, leading to still another “off-shoot” business of the Florida canal-building enterprise—the National Ramie Company.²⁹

James Ingraham, Land Commissioner of the Florida East Coast Railway, reported on the progress that had been made in the joint development of the settlements at Modelo and Halland. At Modelo, the Flagler company built a road and two ditches from the center of the east side of the town across the marsh to the Florida canal company’s East Coast Canal. The ditches drained the land for half a mile on each side. To reach pine lands west of the town site, the Flagler railway began building a road across the marsh about half a mile long. At Halland, Ingraham unveiled plans to develop the Town of Hallandale. Flagler’s company constructed a ditch eight feet wide from the eastern boundary of the Hallandale town site east to the Florida East Coast Canal. A purchaser of a lot outside the town was to be given, free of charge, a town lot, 50 feet by 125 feet. On the selling out of the land in a Boston and Florida company section, Ingraham expected that the joint venture would have to build a road across a narrow marsh to reach property west of the Boston and Florida company lands.³⁰

The first sales of land in these South Florida colonies prompted the Boston and Florida company to consider owing William Linton of

Michigan a twenty-five percent commission under their year-old agreement. Miles now asked for a commission for his work in developing the settlements. Elaborating on his extraordinary work in dealing with Julia Tuttle, Miles pointed out that Tuttle's "unreasonable demands" for including her lands in the Modelo (Dania Beach) project forced the group to exclude her lands. He also agreed as the Boston and Florida company's agent to pay half of the six-hundred-dollar expense for the proposed road west of Modelo out of future sales of company lands. Still unsettled was the question of the location of the lands the Boston and Florida company was to donate to comply with Sawyer's promise to convey ten thousand acres for the railway's extension to Miami.³¹

In the latter part of October 1896, one of Flagler's key men, James Ingraham, wrote Miles that work progressed "very satisfactorily" in the establishment of the colonies at Linton (Delray Beach), Boynton (Boynton Beach), Modelo (Dania Beach) and Halland (Hallandale Beach), with settlers coming in "daily." The only unmet requirement was the completion of a drainage system to reclaim the marsh lands. Ingraham now sought a donation of an eighty acre tract of land owned by the Boston and Florida company in present-day Boca Raton for a sand pit to be used in constructing the railway. The grant was to be deducted from the still-unsettled ten-thousand-acre grant the company owed Flagler. Grateful that Sawyer had asked his advice, Miles thought Flagler's people "somewhat 'foxy'" and not "bashful about asking favours." In fact, the Irish engineer strongly recommended a change in the donation's terms in light of Flagler's reduction of prices in the Modelo and Halland colonies. Miles further urged that the value of the railway's subsidy—suggesting one hundred thousand dollars—be agreed upon and that Flagler take a half interest in any Boston and Florida company lands included in any colony until Flagler received one hundred thousand dollars' worth of land at present-graded prices. In Miles's view, the chief advantages to Sawyer's Boston and Florida company were the benefits of any Flagler advertising as well as any railroad privileges and other perquisites granted land purchasers, thus preventing such a "powerful organization" from discriminating against their lands.³²

By the end of November 1896, the Flagler railway and Boston and Florida company had sold sixty-five acres at the Modelo colony—fifty acres of pine lands and fifteen in muck—yielding sales of \$1,200, but

only a paltry \$135.25 in cash with the balance to be paid over three years. No sales had yet been made at the as-yet-unplatted Halland site while the Flagler railway awaited the completion of surveys and drainage ditches in the area. Although a number of settlers were ready to close on their purchases, the Flagler organization had not yet completed maps for the land.³³

Indian River and Bay Biscayne Navigation Company

At the beginning of 1897, Miles, Sawyer, and other canal company promoters began formulating plans for the Indian River and Bay Biscayne Navigation Company to operate steamboats on the Indian River. It was the first of three such ventures undertaken by Miles. All three enterprises would eventually fail as a result of fierce railway competition and poor waterway maintenance. Miles chose two boats for purchase, asking Bradley to select a trustee in whose name the vessels could be titled. In order to avoid untoward interest in the venture, Miles suggested that the group appoint as trustee someone not particularly well known on the Florida east coast. Bradley asked Sawyer whether he had some “suitable friend whose name is not known” in connection with the group’s “Florida interests,” suggesting even Sawyer himself and Edward Walker, a wealthy Springfield, Massachusetts, building products manufacturer, as possible trustees to hold title to the boats.³⁴ By January 4, Miles had secured two steamers for sixty-five hundred dollars, asking Sawyer to name a trustee “this week if possible.” At the same time, Bradley worked hard to raise thirty thousand dollars to place the “Florida holdings” on a sound footing.³⁵

Sales at the colonies of Modelo and Halland slowed toward the end of January 1897. Miles complained that settlers preferred the better-located Flagler railroad and Model Land Company lands over the Boston and Florida and Florida canal company lands at Modelo. He also questioned whether the company had done well in locating the Halland colony because of the need to cut drainage canals and build roads through marsh lands. Swedish Lutheran settlers seemed pleased with the development, but complained loudly about the “outrageous freight charges” imposed by the Flagler railway. Some reported paying as much as twenty dollars to ship “a few pieces of furniture” from Jacksonville.³⁶

Miles still tried to promote the ramie industry on the Florida east coast. The Irish engineer wrote of “an old gentleman here (Mr. William

Deering) a large manufacturer of Reaping Machines and Binder twine in Chicago who is much interested in Ramie.” Miles continued to press Ingraham for details on the results of recent land sales at Modelo and Halland. The Flagler organization had not yet received complete information on the total cost of drainage and road construction to be apportioned among the joint land owners. About seventy-five hundred dollars’ worth of Boston and Florida company land had been sold in the two colonies, but only a quarter of that amount had actually been received in cash. To reach the western pine-land properties, the Flagler railway cut several main drainage ditches and built a road about three-quarters of a mile long because of Julia Tuttle’s last-minute withdrawal of two square miles of land from the proposed Modelo development. While land sales remained slow in the two colonies, Miles reported a bright spot just below the Halland colony. In the northern part of today’s Miami-Dade County, Cuban investors sought to purchase about nine thousand acres of Flagler railroad, Florida canal, and Boston and Florida company land for a sugar-growing operation. Miles expected the Boston and Florida company’s share of the sale to amount to a stunning thirty thousand dollars.³⁷

In the latter part of April 1897, Miles boasted that Flagler finally agreed to the Irish engineer’s plan for transferring Boston and Florida lands to Flagler for the railway’s extension to Miami. Miles sent Maddox a deed from the Florida canal company to Flagler and another deed from Flagler to Sawyer and Gaillard as trustees, returning to the canal company some 94,500 acres of land conveyed to Flagler, on the condition that the canal company use the sales proceeds exclusively to finance waterway construction. Of the acreage deeded, some 12,500 acres were to be conveyed to Springfield, Massachusetts, investor Edward Walker and other new waterway investors as bonus lands for purchasing canal company bonds and investing in the steamboat company. From St. Augustine, Miles reported that the Clyde Steamship Company appeared interested in chartering the New England group’s *St. Sebastian* for the summer to run between Jacksonville and Sanford on the St. Johns River. The end of April, Fred Morse, now Miami agent for the Boston and Florida land and Florida canal companies as well as for the Flagler railway and Model Land Company, informed Miles that he had found a purchaser for ten acres of land in present-day northern Miami-Dade County at the robust price of fifteen dollars an acre.³⁸

About the middle of May, the steamboat company's *Della* was not yet yielding a profit. The boat seemed too small for the pineapple business and growers feared the New England group's new steamboat line was only a temporary one. If the Flagler system gave the line "the whole of the river business at proper rates," Miles thought, "[w]e will have both railroads working for us even though they fight each other." Flagler, however, insisted on Miles's line dealing exclusively with the Flagler railroad.³⁹

The promised Flagler accounting of the lands benefitted by the Flagler roads and drainage canals in the two South Florida colonies still had not arrived. Miles sent James Colee—one of the Florida canal company's incorporators—to South Florida to investigate and report back on the holdup. Real estate sales now seemed to be picking up, with Fred Morse reporting the sale of 210 acres of canal company land about two miles west of Lemon City in present-day Miami-Dade County for \$3,150.⁴⁰ Soon Miles received a rough accounting from the railway of the money spent on roads and canals in developing the colonies of Modelo and Halland. With proceeds of lands already sold only enough to pay the Boston and Florida company's share of the expenses, the Irish engineer estimated that the company still held about fifteen hundred acres in the area valued at \$28,800. Morse sold another forty acres of Boston and Florida company land near present-day Hialeah for six hundred dollars, but only forty dollars of the purchase was paid down on the transaction—he balance was to be paid over a three-year period.⁴¹

During the summer, Miles mulled over the strength of the pineapple business on the Indian River, questioning whether to add the *St. Sebastian*, still under repair in Jacksonville. The Flagler railroad now appeared afraid that the presence of the new steamer might undercut railway rates along the Indian River. The policy of Miles's company was to accept freight from both the east and west sides of the river at the same rate, provided the mileage to Titusville was the same. The policy, however, "touched" the Flagler railway, at "a tender spot," as the railway had been "salting the people on the East Side—Merritt's Island, the Indian River Narrows, etc.—until they have left them little chance to make anything on their crops," Miles believed. Guaranteeing the Flagler railway nothing, Miles told Flagler officials that his steamboat company did not intend to cut rates at "competitive points."⁴²

By the end of July, Miles had returned to Boston for Sawyer's approval of an application to purchase forty acres of Boston and Florida

company land located two and a half miles west of Biscayne Bay at \$12.50 an acre. Miles and Sawyer still were exchanging drafts of proposals for the formal written agreement on the Boston and Florida company's promise to provide land for the railway's extension to Miami. Miles insisted that the joint development contract require that in the event Flagler terminated the agreement, Flagler would lose all rights to unsold land in the Modelo and Halland colonies, taking the balance of the subsidy from the Boston and Florida company's average-graded lands. He believed that as long as Flagler's interest in the colonies remained an undivided half portion, his railway land department would remain interested as the "colonizing medium," thus permitting the Boston land company to ride Flagler's "coat-tails."⁴³

During the first week of August, the Florida land business seemed to be improving along the Florida coast. And Miles expected a "boom" in the business during the winter. Joseph Parrott, Flagler's right-hand man, told Miles that Flagler planned significant improvements at Miami. Flagler had purchased "a considerable portion" of Julia Tuttle's interest in the town for "nearly \$90,000," according to Miles. The Irish engineer regarded the sum as "absurd," given that the lands had been "wild" only eighteen months before.⁴⁴

By the middle of October 1897, Ingraham had reported that six hundred acres in ten-acre lots had been purchased at the Halland settlement and that a hundred tickets had been sold for an excursion from Jamestown, Ohio, to Halland, despite the absence of a formal survey and plat. Miles expected the sale of the six hundred acres would net twelve thousand dollars after commissions, with half of the land Boston and Florida company acreage. Ingraham reiterated the terms and conditions of sale at the two colonies. Each purchaser of "outside" lands who wished to build in the town was to receive one lot free, with such lots to be taken alternately, leaving the remaining lots available for sale. Cash buyers were to receive a deed, but if buyers paid over time, they were given an agreement to convey the lot either when buildings were erected or the lot was otherwise improved, or when buyers paid all of the installments due on the purchase.⁴⁵

Prospects for the Boston and Florida company's properties in present-day St. Lucie, Palm Beach, and Broward counties continued to brighten, while the steamboat business progressed daily. Writing from Florida at the beginning of December, Miles reported that new settlers were arriving

at White City in today's St. Lucie County, while old settlers expected to ship fifteen thousand crates of vegetables from the area. There was also "a renewal of overtures" from the Flagler railway, which seemed inclined to give Miles's steamboat company "the whole of their business" without requiring the company to tie itself exclusively to the railway. Miles's company would thus be left free to deal either with the Flagler railway or the Jacksonville, Tampa line.⁴⁶

By the end of 1897, opportunities for the Indian River and Bay Biscayne Navigation Company looked even more favorable with news that Flagler still had under consideration using waterway transportation in connection with his railroad business. The Florida canal company had almost completed construction of the canal connecting the Indian River with Lake Worth, and the steamer *Courtney* reportedly cruised through the passage.⁴⁷

The New England group's steamboat company advertised a schedule of hefty charges to transport passengers and freight on the waterway between Titusville on the Indian River and Palm Beach on Lake Worth, with thirty-three stops in between, including Cocoa, Melbourne, Fort Pierce, Jupiter, and Juno. A passenger traveling the entire distance—spanning some 143 miles—would expect to pay \$4.30 for the trip, with an extra charge of seventy-five cents for a meal. A single state-room berth cost an additional dollar, while the charge for an entire state-room called for another \$2.00. Miles's company allowed each passenger 150 pounds of baggage without extra charges.⁴⁸

As the outlook brightened for the Boston and Florida company's properties at Halland, Modelo, and White City, Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway, the development company's partner in the projects, furnished funds for the return of Ormond pioneer John A. Bostrom to his native country, Sweden, to encourage Swedes to settle in their South Florida communities. While in Sweden, Bostrom interviewed prospective settlers and published a pamphlet in Swedish advertising the settlements. Because of the Boston and Florida company's stake in the same properties, the Flagler company later suggested in a letter to Miles that the Boston and Florida company contribute a quarter of the cost of the promotion, which totaled \$734.61 for Bostrom's passage and expenses. Miles sent the request to Sawyer, advising that "the expense was not authorized in any way by us." Flagler would also employ another Swede, Olaf Zetterlund, to attract a colony of

Swedes to settle in Hallandale in the southernmost part of today's Broward County.⁴⁹

In the spring of 1898, Sawyer's Boston and Florida land company and Flagler's Florida East Railway Company jointly platted their land holdings at the Halland settlement, naming the new community, "Town of Hallandale, Dade Co., Fla." One square mile of the southernmost portion of the community lay in what is now the northernmost part of Miami-Dade County. The formal map of the town displayed a 160-acre town center comprised of small lots surrounded by large ten-acre plots to be used for agriculture.⁵⁰ Flagler's land company also joined the Florida canal company, the Bradley trusts, and the Boston and Florida land company in employing the same real estate agents to sell their combined Florida land holdings at Linton (now Delray Beach) and Boynton (now Boynton Beach) in what is now Palm Beach County, at White City in present-day St. Lucie County, and at Modelo and Halland in today's Broward County. Joint real estate agents would represent the four groups' holdings well into the next century, selling contiguous as well as jointly-owned lands.⁵¹

On February 4, 1898, Albert Sawyer and his son, Albert Hayden Sawyer, became trustees of the third Bradley trust, called the Walker Land Trust, created for the benefit of investors in the steamboat venture and the canal company's latest issue of debentures, including Bradley, who held 100 shares in the trust; Edward M. Walker, Treasurer of the Florida canal company, who also held 100 shares; Fred Amory, 15 shares; Sawyer, 15 shares; Sam Maddox, 10 shares; and a new investor, Arthur Merriam of Manchester, Massachusetts, 10 shares. The Florida canal company transferred 12,500 acres of land in Brevard and Dade counties to the trust as part of an agreement to attract new capital for dredging operations reached among Bradley and his colleagues some months before.⁵²

The Spanish-American War

In March, the Florida canal company officially offered the U. S. government the "full use" of its private inland waterway in the event of war with Spain, which appeared imminent following the sinking on February 14 of the battleship *Maine* at Havana, killing 260 men. Bradley believed that the war would demonstrate the usefulness of the waterway for defense purposes, making a future sale of the Florida East

Coast Canal to the United States government a real possibility. At the same time, the Flagler railway land department made considerable sales of Boston and Florida company lands. In the opinion of Miles, the proceeds of the sales would easily enable the company to obtain a loan to pay the taxes on the company's substantial inventory of unsold land.⁵³

While most of the U.S. Army's activity during the Spanish-American War centered around Tampa Bay on Florida's west coast, the military's top brass became increasingly interested in the possibility of using transportation facilities along the east coast as an alternative. So tempting was the potential railway business during the war that Henry Flagler personally lobbied Washington officials to use his railway to transport men and materiel down the Florida east coast to the island of Cuba. Florida Congressman Robert W. Davis wrote Flagler on May 3, 1898, that he had visited both the War and Navy Departments "time and time again" in the interest of the Florida East Coast Railway and towns and cities along the Florida east coast, pointing out "the superiority of Miami over Port Tampa from a sanitary point of view." Only a few weeks later, on a tour hosted by the Flagler railway, Major General J. F. Wade, accompanied by his aides, Lieutenants Read and Almy, Army Corps of Engineers Captain David Gaillard, Colonel J. E. Weston, and Surgeon Woodson of the Army's medical department, traveled together to visit West Palm Beach and other towns along the east coast to locate suitable camping grounds for troops and determine what modes of transportation existed. Captain Gaillard, a South Carolina cousin of Henry Gaillard, the Florida canal company's longest serving director, would later become internationally famous as the superintendent of construction of the Culebra Cut, the scene of the most difficult blasting and dredging work during the construction of the Panama Canal. On the Army's departure from the West Palm Beach visit, a local newspaper remarked, "[t]hat some of them fully enjoyed every minute of their stay here they admitted, also their surprise at what and whom they found in this supposed wilderness."⁵⁴

In late May, the U.S. Army contracted with Miles's steamboat company to transport three mortar carriages down the waterway from Titusville to Key West for the war effort in Cuba. A local account of the company's munitions shipments reported that the steamer *Sebastian*, bound for Key West, carried a forty-ton mortar through the canal at Juno on Saturday, May 21, 1898. So large was the cannon, according to the

report, that “a man on horseback could easily pass through it without dismounting.”⁵⁵ The Army chose Miles’s company to ship the freight, according to Miles, when the Plant system of railways and steamships on Florida’s west coast refused to take the cargo from Tampa to Key West for less than nine thousand dollars. The Irish engineer had the material shipped by rail to Titusville “where I had them transferred to one of our steamers and we delivered them at the Key West fort for \$2,500.” Miles’s firm later abandoned the transportation business, with the loss of its railroad connection at Titusville after Flagler purchased the Enterprise Junction-to-Titusville branch line.⁵⁷ The failure would not be Miles’s last. During the next twenty years, Miles would attempt two more times to establish a steamboat business on the Florida east coast canal, but neither effort proved profitable and both eventually failed.

A year after the Spanish-American War, in 1899, Miles resigned the presidency of the Florida canal company. Miles’s Pomfret, Connecticut, neighbor, George Bradley, succeeded the Irish-born engineer, heading the enterprise until his death in 1906.⁵⁸ In May, James Ingraham met with Bradley and Miles at Bradley’s Washington, D.C., home to discuss business relating to both the Flagler interests and the Florida canal company’s ventures. Ingraham informed the two that Flagler was “not prepared to go on with the Sugar Co.,” an enterprise Flagler and the canal company had discussed undertaking. Suggesting that Flagler consider managing the canal company’s lands, Miles also told Ingraham that the canal company had in hand sufficient capital to extend the Florida waterway to St. Augustine and planned to dredge the channel eight more miles to the St. Johns River to link Jacksonville to the inland waterway. In a letter to Joseph Parrott, Ingraham later warned that if successful, the Florida waterway would “afford competition enough to affect [railway] rates unfavorably.”⁵⁹ Cooperation, though, between Flagler and the Florida canal company would last at least until the next year, when Flagler hired the canal company to dredge rock and sand from the bottom of Biscayne Bay for Flagler’s ocean shipping operation at Miami.⁶⁰

On July 21, 1900, James Ingraham, now titled Third Vice President of the Florida East Coast Railway for Lands and Industrial Enterprises, confirmed in a letter to Sawyer that the Boston and Florida company owned the west and south tiers of forty-acre lots in one of the sections included in the White City colony. Because Miles was absent Ingraham did not know whether Sawyer’s company was still in the arrangement

with Flagler. In any event, he sent Sawyer an application for deed to five acres of the land, along with a check for \$55.66 and a commission receipt for \$10. Ingraham asked Sawyer to send a deed for the sale and a memorandum of all prior sales made in this section.⁶¹

Two years later, in the fall of 1902, just west of the original town of Boynton in southern Palm Beach County, Albert Sawyer, as Trustee of the Lake Worth Land Trust, subdivided a 20-acre tract of land into 22 lots, each approximately 273 feet long and 40 feet wide, with two more lots each about 100 feet square surrounding a centrally-located site for the Boynton public school, which the trust donated to the Dade County School Board in 1896.⁶² The Newburyport investor named the subdivision "Sawyer's Addition to the Town of Boynton." The next year, with Bradley still at the helm, the Florida canal company completed dredging the waterway between Ormond and Miami—a distance of about three hundred miles. Two dredges, working at opposite ends, however, kept on dredging the Matanzas-Halifax canal, soon to connect St. Augustine with Ormond to the south.⁶³

Albert Page Sawyer Dies

On Saturday, November 21, 1903, just ten months after floating a one hundred thousand dollar bond issue to finance canal construction, tragedy struck the New England group when Albert Page Sawyer, the Boston and Florida company's president, died at his home in Newburyport, Massachusetts, having been in poor health for a number of years. Trustee of the three Bradley land trusts in Florida, Sawyer reportedly had been one of the wealthiest men in Newburyport when he passed away at age sixty-three.⁶⁴ Sawyer's son, thirty-two-year-old Albert Hayden Sawyer, an 1894 graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, would succeed his father as trustee of the Bradley trusts and as president of the Boston and Florida land company.⁶⁵

State Freezes Canal Company Land Grants

A few months after Sawyer's death, with only nine miles of cuts remaining before completing the Matanzas-Halifax canal, the first of a flurry of lawsuits emerged over the public land grants promised both Flagler's railway and the Florida canal company well before the turn of the century. State land grants already made to the canal company for dredging the Florida waterway amounted to 475,015 acres. Frustrated over the

failure of the canal company to carry out dredging operations with sufficient speed, state trustees froze further grants south in what is now Miami-Dade County, even ordering a return of 92,070 acres regarded as erroneously deeded to the company. In a court proceeding brought in Tallahassee in June 1904, the Florida canal company sued to keep state trustees from disposing of public lands reserved for the company. A Leon County Circuit Court judge temporarily stopped the state from disposing of the canal company's reserved lands. As Miles observed at the time, the State "cannot give valid title but they may put us to much inconvenience if we permit them to do so." More suits and countersuits followed, tying up the public lands so tightly that neither the state nor the canal company could dispose of the vast expanse of Florida lands.⁶⁶

In October 1904, Edward Walker, a leading waterway investor and the Florida canal company's vice president and treasurer, brought sobering news that land sales had fallen off and the dredges were not doing good work, especially the *Wimbee*, which advanced only four thousand feet in September. Repair bills had been staggering. Walker now called on Bradley for three thousand dollars to pay September bills amounting to almost four thousand dollars.⁶⁷ By the end of the month, Miles suggested a scheme to drain their lands in order to stimulate land sales. Sir Sandford Fleming, the acclaimed Canadian Pacific Railway engineer, now seventy-seven years old, seemed to Miles "impatient to realize something" on the investment he made in the Boston and Florida land company twelve years before, recalling that Fleming expected him "to do everything in my power to see that some substantial results are obtained, as I am responsible for his purchase of the stock." Miles offered to resign as a director in favor of Fleming's son, Sandford H. Fleming, but had not yet heard from Fleming. Sawyer hoped that Miles would not resign, suggesting that Fleming's son could be added to the board and that he (Sandford H. Fleming) might want to travel to Boston to look over the books with Sawyer and Piper. On the question of selecting local real estate agents, Miles urged Sawyer to consider carefully the question of appointing real estate agents who were not "mixed up" with the Flagler companies, believing that better results would be obtained otherwise.⁶⁸

Walker Dead

In August 1905, the New England group learned that the Florida canal company's fifty-nine-year-old vice president and treasurer, Edward M.

Walker, lay dying. Suffering from the final stages of Bright's disease, friends and associates expected Walker to live only a short while. With Bradley, the canal company's president, vacationing in Europe for the summer and its vice president near death, the firm struggled to secure releases to sell company land. Albert Hayden Sawyer traveled to Springfield, Massachusetts, to obtain the dying Walker's signature to secure one release. While acknowledging the "great loss" that Walker's impending death would bring, Bradley wrote young Sawyer from abroad that he (Bradley) had personally loaned the Florida canal company from month-to-month since October 1904 a total of \$46,300 to finance dredging operations. Walker finally died on October 2, 1905, at the age of 59.⁶⁹

Bradley Dies

Less than six months later, on March 26, 1906, George Lothrop Bradley, the Florida canal company's president and largest stockholder, also passed away at the age of fifty-nine. Within a span of three years, three of the most important figures in the Florida canal and Boston and Florida land enterprises had passed away. Following an operation in New York City, Bradley died of pneumonia at his Washington, D.C. home, just a few weeks after returning from a Florida canal company board meeting at St. Augustine. Bradley's death now left serious doubts as to whether the waterway would ever be completed. Efforts to complete the Florida waterway had slowed for more than three years with hundreds of thousands of acres of state land tied up in protracted litigation.

On December 1, 1906, within nine months of Bradley's death, state trustees and the St. Augustine canal company reached an agreement to settle the lawsuits that had plagued the company and delayed construction. The canal company agreed to pay \$50,000 for more than 200,000 acres of state land and to escrow with pioneer Jacksonville banker Bion Barnett (son of the founder of the Barnett Bank), as trustee, 100,000 acres to be sold for the construction of a waterway from St. Augustine to Jacksonville. For its part, the state of Florida deposited two deeds in escrow with Barnett, each representing more than 117,000 acres of state land, for the construction of the remaining portions of the canal. The first deed was to be delivered to the canal company when the canal between the Matanzas and Halifax rivers was completed and half of the work between the St. Augustine and the St. Johns rivers was done. The



View of the high banks of Fox's Cut in Flagler County, 1915. The Florida canal company dredged this and other 'dry' cuts between the Matanzas and Halifax rivers for thirty years, off and on, from 1882 until 1912. Courtesy of the Florida State Archives.

second deed, representing the balance of the state land grant, was to be turned over when the canal company finished dredging the St. Augustine-to-St. Johns River canal. Further securing the waterway's future, both Bradley's estate and his wife, Helen, continued to invest hundreds of thousands of dollars in the dredging work to protect the Bradley estate's interest in the four hundred thousand acres of land the canal company expected to earn in completing the waterway project.

Flagler Sues the Florida Canal Company and State Trustees—Twice Four years later, while the Florida canal company moved forward with plans to finish the waterway under a new contract with the state, a proposed sale of over a hundred thousand acres of its promised land grant to John M. Barrs, a close associate of former Governor Napoleon Broward, caused Flagler to sue both the state of Florida and the canal company to stop the conveyance. In one lawsuit filed in the Palm Beach County Circuit Court in October 1910, the Flagler railway claimed it was owed 75,582 acres of land for extending the railway south to Miami under several agreements with the canal company, beginning with Flagler's land-sharing proposal in 1892. The suit sought fifteen hundred acres of state land for every mile of railway constructed for the railway's extension beyond Palm Beach to Biscayne Bay.⁷²

Two years later, in December 1912, the Flagler railway filed another lawsuit against the Florida canal company seeking essentially the same

relief, but this time the suit was filed in the St. Johns County Circuit Court at St. Augustine.⁷³ Both cases moved slowly through the court system until finally the Flagler and Florida canal companies reached a settlement, resulting in the dismissal of the West Palm Beach suit in January 1913, and the St. Augustine litigation seven months later.⁷⁴ To settle both suits, the Florida canal company agreed to convey another 20,002 acres of land lying within Dade, Orange, and Brevard counties to Flagler's railway company.⁷⁵

Meanwhile, in November 1912, the Boston and Florida company subdivided for development two large tracts of land in the northern part of Broward County and the southern portion of Palm Beach County. The tracts, each a square mile in size, occupied the northern part of Deerfield Beach and the southern section of Boca Raton, straddling the Hillsboro Canal. Each tract encompassed 64 lots, each approximately 660 feet by 660 feet, with large stands of cypress and sawgrass running throughout the sections. Today the easterly tract is bounded on the west by the Sunshine State Turnpike and on the east by Powerline Road.⁷⁶

State Trustees Make Final Grants to Canal Company and Flagler

Six years after Bradley's death—and nearly thirty years after the Florida canal company had begun dredging work, Florida trustees finally accepted the Florida East Coast Canal as finished according to the state's specifications. In November 1912, Fred Elliott, the state's drainage engineer, told state trustees that the canal company had completed the thirty-mile-long Matanzas-Halifax Canal between St. Augustine and Ormond, just above Daytona, with the exception of a three-and-a-half-mile strip. Notwithstanding the unfinished work, the trustees, in December, made their final land grant to the St. Augustine canal company, resulting in a total of 1,030,128 acres of public land granted to the privately-held firm for dredging 268 miles of inland waterway during the thirty-year period beginning in 1882.⁷⁷

While the Florida canal company's request for the last of the land grants generated considerable debate throughout the state, the state trustees' compromise over the grants promised the Flagler railway caused hardly a whisper. On December 20, 1912, to complete settlement of the lawsuit Flagler brought against the State and the Florida canal company over lands held in reserve for both the railway and canal

companies, state trustees agreed to deed the Flagler railway 250,000 acres of public land, 200,000 acres of which lay in the extreme southern portion of the Everglades, with the remaining 50,000 acres located north of the new town of Fort Lauderdale.⁷⁸

Seventeen years after the last land grant, in 1929, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers assumed control over the Florida East Coast Canal and by 1935 had converted the old privately owned toll way into the modern-day Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway from Jacksonville to Miami. By the boom times of the 1920s, Flagler as well as the Florida canal company, the Boston and Florida land company, and the three Bradley trusts had disposed of most of their holdings, enriching the heirs of investors like Sawyer and Bradley who had held onto their investments for more than thirty years. Today, over a million acres of Florida east coast land stretching from St. Augustine to Miami originate in grants made to the Flagler railway and the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company for developing Florida's east coast transportation infrastructure beginning in the early 1880s.

Conclusion

Crucial to the development of the Florida east coast that began in the 1880s were the State's large reserves of public land and its willingness to grant land for railway and inland waterway development. Such grants led to the construction of Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway and what would become Florida's modern-day Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway. Flagler received public land not only from the state of Florida but also from private entities such as the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company and the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company as well as from private individuals such as Julia Tuttle and the Brickells for extending the Florida East Coast Railway into the southern reaches of the Florida peninsula. Both Flagler and the Boston and Florida land company cooperated in developing settlements along the lower east coast such as White City (near Fort Pierce), Linton (Delray Beach), Boynton (Boynton Beach), Modelo (Dania Beach), and Halland (Hallandale Beach). In the final analysis, competition between the two enterprises lowered land prices and transportation charges for newly arriving settlers. The firms developed Modelo and Halland in different ways. In the case of Modelo, the Boston and Florida company's interest in the platted land remained completely undisclosed. In a similar

way, Flagler and the Brickells developed the Town of Fort Lauderdale, but it was Flagler's interest that remained hidden from the public record until the Brickells began conveying lots to Flagler's Fort Dallas Land Company soon after the plat's submission as a public record. In developing Hallandale with the Flagler railway, the Boston and Florida land company's interest was expressly stated and made a part of the public record. Both entities developed what is today Hallandale Beach.

While the Model Land Company papers shed light on the development of the Florida east coast from the perspective of Flagler's interest in developing his land grants, the Sawyer papers draw our attention to the land and waterway operations of the Florida canal company and its related enterprises such as the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company, the Bradley trusts, and the Indian River and Bay Biscayne Navigation Company in their attempts to exploit the canal company's vast real estate holdings stretching from St. Augustine to Miami. Although much is known about Flagler and his associates and enterprises, little is known about Albert Page Sawyer, George Francis Miles, and George Lothrop Bradley, as well as their Florida businesses. Miles's connection to Canadian investors like acclaimed engineer Sir Sandford Fleming of the Canadian Pacific Railway has also not yet been fully examined. Moreover, no photographs or other pictures of Sawyer or Miles are known to exist. And to date, there exists no finding aid or other guide to assist those interested in exploring the Sawyer papers in greater detail. To those interested in these important papers is left the task of wading through the thousands of pages of manuscript spanning twenty years to unravel the complex and sometimes convoluted business transactions of an obscure group of New England investors who sought to develop what is today Florida's Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway and over a million acres of Florida east coast land from St. Augustine to Miami.

Notes

¹ William E. Brown, Jr. and Karen Hudson, "Henry Flagler and the Model Land Company," *Tequesta* LVI (1996).

² A. P. Sawyer Papers, MSS 175, Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida.

³ William G. Crawford, Jr., "A History of the Florida East Coast Canal: the Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway from Jacksonville to Miami," *Broward Legacy* 20, Nos. 3-4 (Summer/Fall 1997), pp. 7-9. Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, II, Francis P. Fleming, ed., (Atlanta: The Southern Historical Association, 1902), pp. 157-58. See, also, Joe Knetsch, "A Finder of Many Paths: John Westcott and the Internal Development of Florida," in *Florida Pathfinders*, Lewis N. Wynne and James J. Horgan, eds. (Saint Leo, Fla.: Saint Leo College Press, 1994), for a well-researched biographical sketch of Westcott. "Death of Dr. Westcott," *Florida Times Union*, 2 January 1889. Articles of Association of the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company (hereinafter referred as "the Canal Company"), dated 7 May 1881, and recorded June 24, 1881 in Book B, at Pages 214-15, Office of the Secretary of State (Letters Patent issued May 23, 1881); Additional Articles of Association of the Canal Company, dated 24 June 1882, and recorded 10 August 1883, in Book B, at Page 440, Office of the Secretary of State; and second Additional Articles of Association of the Canal Company dated 24 February 1885, recorded 11 November 1885, in Book B, at Page 562, Office of the Secretary of State.

⁴ Certificate of Organization of the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company (hereinafter referred to as "the Boston and Florida Company"), 24 November 1891, recorded in Corporations Book 1, at page 29, of the Public Records of Broward County, Florida. Deed executed by the Canal Company in favor of the Boston and Florida Company on 4 January 1892 and recorded on 30 January 1892, in Deed Book "E," at Page 343, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida. For biographical information on Sawyer, see, "Death List of a Day: Albert P. Sawyer," *New York Times*, 22 November 1903, p. 7, col. 5; Eleanor Grace Sawyer, *Sawyer Families of New England, 1636-1900* (Camden, Me: Penobscot Press, 1995), pp. 95,134; John D. Parsons, *Newburyport: Its Industries, Business Interests and Attractions*, (Newburyport, Mass.: William H. Huse & Co., 1887), pp. 83, 88; *Newburyport and Amesbury Directory, 1891* (Boston, Mass.: Sampson,

Murdock, & Co., 1891), pp. 351-52; *Ibid.* (1892-3), pp. 351-52; Laurence P. Dodge, "Sea Water Gold," 23 February 1954, typed manuscript, Newburyport (Mass.) Public Library. For a biographical sketch of Fleming, see, W. Stewart Wallace, *The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 3rd ed. (London: MacMillan, 1963), p. 236. On Fleming's purchase of the Boston and Florida securities, see, George F. Miles to Sandford Fleming, 21 March and 1 May 1893, *Flagler Enterprises Letters*, MSS 0:107, Box 146, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. ⁵ Warranty Deed executed by the Canal Company in favor of Albert Sawyer, Trustee, on 26 May 1892, and recorded in Deed Book "E," at page 343, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.

⁶ Lake Worth Land Trust, 27 May 1892, recorded in Miscellaneous Book 1, at Page 212, of the Public Records of Palm Beach County, Florida. New River Land Trust Declaration, 28 May 1892, Miscellaneous Book 1, at Page 218, of the Public Records of Palm Beach County, Florida; Warranty Deed executed by the Canal Company in favor of Albert P. Sawyer, Trustee, on 26 May 1892, and recorded in Deed Book "E," at Page 494, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida. *Plat of Sawyer's Addition to the Town of Boynton*, recorded December 11, 1902, in Plat Book "B," at Page 68, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida. *Plat of E 1/2 of W 1/2 of Sec. 33, T. 44, R. 43; West Half of Sec. 28, Tp. 44, R. 43; and West Half, Sec. 21, Tp 44, R. 43*, recorded on 2 September 1913, in Plat Book 5, at Page 12 of the Public Records of Palm Beach County, Florida. Albert W. Robert to Albert P. Sawyer, 13, 24 June and 19 July 1892, Albert P. Sawyer Papers (hereinafter referred to as "SP") Folder 1. Compare advertisements for "Albert W. Robert," *Tropical Sun* (Juno), 16 June 1892, showing Robert as agent for the Canal and Boston and Florida companies as early as June 1892.

⁷ (Verified) Complaint, *Florida East Coast Railway Co. v. Canal Company, et al.* and Exhibits thereto, St. Johns County Circuit Court, Chancery Case No. 1162, 28 December 1912 (hereinafter referred to as *FEC v. Canal Co. (St. Johns/Putnam)*). Case later transferred to Putnam County because of Judge Gibbs's recusal on grounds of bias and prejudice.

⁸ George F. Miles, "History of the Florida Coast Line Canal & Transportation Company," undated typewritten manuscript attached to a letter written by Miles to Gilbert Youngberg dated 30 September

1928, Gilbert Youngberg Papers (hereinafter cited as "YP"), Box 4, Folder 1, Special Collections, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, at pp. 7-8.

⁹ George Bradley to Sawyer, 12 August and 14 October 1892; George Miles to Sawyer, October 15 1892; Bradley to Sawyer, December 21, 24, 1892; all SP Folder 1.

¹⁰ Bradley to Sawyer, 31 January 1893, Sawyer to George T. Manson, 13 February 1893, SP Folder 1. Seth Perkins (Florida Canal and Transportation Company) to Youngberg, 4 May 1928, and Swan to Youngberg, 4 September 1928; both in YP, Box 4, File 29. See, also, Edward N. Akin, "The Sly Foxes: Henry Flagler, George Miles, and Florida's Public Domain," *Florida Historical Quarterly* LVIII, No. 1 (July 1979), pp. 22-36, for a discussion of Flagler's indirect acquisition of public lands through agreements with the Canal Company and the Boston and Florida land company. Swan to Youngberg, 4 September 1928, YP Box 4, File 29. [No title], *Tropical Sun* (Juno), 30 March 1893.

Typewritten notes of Youngberg on Flagler to Tuttle, 27 April 1893, Tuttle Collection, State Library of Florida, in YP Box 4, File 9. Evidence of Tuttle's ownership of Canal Company debentures (bonds) may be found in a transcript of a letter from Tuttle to Horace S. Cummings dated 20 March 1893, filed 4 April 1899, and recorded in Deed Book "U," at Page 301 of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.

¹¹ "The East Coast Canal," *Florida Daily Citizen*, 6 June 1894.

¹² (Verified) Complaint, *FEC v. Canal Co. (St. Johns/Putnam)*, p. 6.

¹³ "A Great Strip of Land," *Tropical Sun* (West Palm Beach), January 31, 1895

¹⁴ Bradley to Sawyer, 17, 19, 21-22 April 1895, SP Folder 4.

¹⁵ *Business Directory Guide and History of Dade County, Fla. for 1896-97*, West Palm Beach, Fla.: C. M. Gardner and C. F. Kennedy, Publishers, (Tropical Sun Print), p. 32.

¹⁶ Linton (Southern Florida Land Company) to Sawyer, 19 June 1895; Agreement between Jacksonville, St. Augustine & Indian River Railway Co. and Florida Coast Line Canal & Transp. Co., first parties, and William S. Linton, second party, 21 May 1895; both in SP Folder 4; Bradley to Sawyer, 25, 27 July 1895, SP Folder 5.

¹⁷ *Business Directory*, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 36. *Town of Fort Lauderdale, Dade Co., Fla.*, surveyed by A. L. Knowlton on 20 April 1896, and recorded on 1 September 1911, in Plat Book B, at Page 40, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.

- ¹⁸ Larry Wiggins, "The Birth of the City of Miami," *Tequesta* LV (1995), pp. 5-38; see, also, "East Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company," *Indian River Advocate* (Titusville, Fla.), 23 August 1895.
- ¹⁹ "Building the Big Bridge," *Florida Times-Union*, 17 August 1895.
- ²⁰ "Cutting the Big Canal," *Florida Times-Union*, 18 August 1895.
- ²¹ (Verified) Bill of Complaint, *FEC v. Canal Co. (St. Johns/Putnam)*, pp. 4-5. Parrot to Sawyer, 9 November 1895, SP Folder 5.
- ²² Bradley to Sawyer, 24 November 1895; Robert to Sawyer, 26, 30 November and 17 December 1895; all in SP Folder 5; Robert to Sawyer, 14 April 1896, SP Folder 6.
- ²³ Wiggins, "Birth of Miami," *op. cit.*
- ²⁴ *Map of the Town of Modelo*, prepared by W. C. Valentine on 29 July 1896, and recorded on 1 September 1911, in Plat Book B, at Page 49, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida; Miles to Sawyer, 15 February 1896; Ingraham to Miles (copy of telegram), 15 February 1896; Ingraham to Miles (copy), 15 February 1896; Ingraham to Sawyer/Miles, 23 March 1896; Sawyer to Ingraham (copy), 24 March 1896; all in SP Folder 6. Akin, "Sly Foxes," *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- ²⁵ Gilbert A. Youngberg, "The East Coast Canal." *Florida Banker* 7 (September 1931), p. 28.
- ²⁶ Miles to Youngberg, 15 September 1928, YP Box 4, File 20.
- ²⁷ Warranty Deed executed by the Canal Company in favor of the Model Land Company on 28 February 1896, and recorded on 16 June 1896, in Deed Book "O," at page 166, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.
- ²⁸ Wallace Moses to Sawyer, 17 August 1896, 4 September 1896; Miles to Sawyer, 27 August 1896; all in SP Folder 7.
- ²⁹ Miles to Sawyer, 12 September 1896, SP Folder 7.
- ³⁰ Ingraham to Miles, 18 September 1896, SP Folder 7.
- ³¹ Miles to Sawyer, 19 September 1896, SP Folder 7.
- ³² Miles to Sawyer, 23 October 1896; Ingraham to Miles, 27 October 1896; Ingraham to Sawyer, 4, 11 November 1896; all in SP Folder 7.
- ³³ Ingraham to Miles, 24 November 1896, SP Folder 7.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ Bradley to Sawyer, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 17 January 1897, SP Folder 8.
- ³⁶ Miles to Sawyer, 28 January 1897; F. Jacobson, Pastor, Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Bethlehem Church to Ingraham (typewritten copy on Canal Company stationery), 2 February 1897; Moses to

Sawyer, 2 February 1897; all in SP Folder 8.

³⁷ Miles to Sawyer, 20 February 1897, SP Folder 8.

³⁸ Miles to Sawyer, 21, 23 April 1897; Frederick Morse to Miles, 29 April 1897; both in SP Folder 8.

³⁹ Miles to Sawyer, 18 May 1897, SP Folder 9.

⁴⁰ Miles to Sawyer, 11 May 1897, SP Folder 9.

⁴¹ Miles to Sawyer, 11 June 1897 (second letter this date written on Canal Company stationery), SP Folder 9.

⁴² Miles to Sawyer, 25 June 1897, SP Folder 9.

⁴³ Miles to Sawyer, 30 July 1897, SP Folder 9.

⁴⁴ Miles to Sawyer, 7 August 1897, SP Folder 9.

⁴⁵ Miles to Sawyer, 14 October 1897; James Ingraham to Sawyer, October 20, 1897; both in SP Folder 10.

⁴⁶ Miles to Sawyer, 6 December 1897, SP Folder 10.

⁴⁷ [no title], *Miami Metropolis*, 17 December 1897.

⁴⁸ *Indian River and Bay Biscayne Inland Navigation Company, Local Passenger Tariff No. 2 in Effect March 2st, 1898*, A. M. Taylor Papers, Alma Clyde Field Library of Florida History, Florida Historical Society, Cocoa, Florida.

⁴⁹ Ingraham to Miles, 14 December 1897; Miles to Sawyer, 16 December 1897; both in SP Folder 10. See, also, Ingraham to Parrott, May 1, 1897, *F. E. C. Railway Correspondence*, Florida East Coast Railway, St. Augustine, Fla., Box 1, Folder 9 (1897), for preliminary planning by Ingraham for the trip.

⁵⁰ *Map of the Town of Hallandale, Dade Co., Fla.*, prepared by W. C. Valentine on January 27, 1898, recorded on 1 September 1911, in Plat Book B, at page 13, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Model Land Company Papers, Box 13, File 361 (Special File 439), correspondence written in 1916 between A. H. Sawyer, representing the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company and the New River Land Trust, Frederick Morse, a Miami real estate agent, and James E. Ingraham, representing the Model Land Company.

⁵² Walker Land Trust, executed on 4 February 1898, and recorded on 9 March 1899, in Miscellaneous Book B, at Page 195, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida.

⁵³ Bradley to Sawyer, 2, 5 March 1898, SP Folder 11. See, also, Miles (on Maddox's letterhead) to Secretary of Navy John D. Long (Copy), 3 March 1898, offering the use of the Florida waterway to the federal

government, and Long to Miles (Copy), 5 March 1898, acknowledging the offer; both in SP Folder 11.

⁵⁴ Davis to Flagler, 3 May 1898, *Florida East Coast Railway Correspondence*, Florida East Coast Railway, St. Augustine, Florida (1898), Box 1, Folder 10. "Major-Gen. J. F. Wade and Staff," *Tropical Sun* (West Palm Beach), 19 May 1898.

⁵⁵ Irvine Mather, "Inland Water-Ways of Florida," *Florida Magazine* 6, No. 1 (January 1903), pp. 5-15, 13-14; "Juno Jingles," *Tropical Sun* (West Palm Beach), 26 May 1898.

⁵⁶ Miles to Youngberg (Note), 26 August 1928, YP Box 4, File 20; George F. Miles, "The Inland Waterways of Eastern Florida," Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, *Proceedings*, 17-20 November 1909, p. 87.

⁵⁷ Miles to Youngberg (Note), 26 August 1928, YP Box 4, File 20.

⁵⁸ Miles, "History," *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁹ Ingraham to Parrott, 8 May 1899, *Florida East Coast Railway Correspondence*, Florida East Coast Railway, St. Augustine, Florida, Box 1, Folder 11 (1899).

⁶⁰ U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers*, 1900 (Part 3), pp. 2009-10.

⁶¹ Ingraham to Sawyer, 21 July 1900, SP Folder 14.

⁶² *Plat of Sawyer's Addition to the Town of Boynton*, recorded in Plat Book B, at page 68, of the Public Records of Dade County, Florida, on 11 December 1902.

⁶³ Mather, *Inland Water-Ways*, *op. cit.*, p. 9; George F. Miles, "The Waterway of the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Co.," *Engineering News* 52, No. 8 (August 25, 1904), pp. 163.

⁶⁴ "Death List of a Day—Albert P. Sawyer," *New York Times*, 22 November 1903, p. 7, col. 5; "Laid at Rest," *Newburyport Daily News*, 23 November 1903.

⁶⁵ See, Albert H. Sawyer, "Comparison of Vital Statistics of Groups of Towns of Various Populations in Massachusetts," Thesis (B.S.), 1894, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Institute Archives, Cambridge, Mass.; "Albert Haydn [*sic*] Sawyer," *New York Times*, 20 April 1941, p. 43, col. 2.

⁶⁶ Bill of Complaint, 30 June 1904, *Florida Coast Line Canal & Transp. Company v. Trustees of Internal Improvement Fund*, Leon County Circuit Court, cited in sworn Answer of the Canal Company in *Florida East Coast Railway Co. v. Albert W. Gilchrist, et al.*, TIII; Chancery Case No. 59,

Palm Beach County Circuit Court (hereinafter cited as "*FEC v. TIIIF (Palm Beach)*"), pp. 30-37. Miles to A. H. Sawyer, 3 June 1904, SP Folder 18.

⁶⁷ Edward Walker to Hayden Sawyer, 14 October 1904, SP Folder 18.

⁶⁸ Miles to Hayden Sawyer, 26 October 1904; Hayden Sawyer to Miles, 29 October 1904 (copy); both in SP Folder 18.

⁶⁹ Miles to Hayden Sawyer, 2 August 1905; Hayden Sawyer to Miles, August 9, 1905; Bradley to Hayden, 11 August 1905; all in SP Folder 20. "Death of Edward M. Walker," *Springfield (Mass.) Daily Republican*, 3 October 1905.

⁷⁰ "Death of Mr. Bradley," *The Tatler* (St. Augustine), 31 March 1906.

⁷¹ Sworn Answer of the Canal Company, *FEC vs. TIIIF (Palm Beach)*, pp. 30-37. A copy of the 1906 Agreement is attached to the Answer.

⁷² Bill of Complaint, *FEC v. TIIIF (Palm Beach)*.

⁷³ Bill of Complaint, *FEC v. Canal Co. (St. Johns/Putnam)*.

⁷⁴ Progress Docket, page 2, *FEC v. TIIIF (Palm Beach)*; Order of Dismissal, August 2, 1913, *FEC v. Canal Co. (St. Johns/Putnam)*.

⁷⁵ Perkins to Youngberg, 21 April 1928, YP Box 4, File 9.

⁷⁶ *Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Co.'s Subdivision of Section 33, Township 47 South, Range 42 East*, recorded on 5 November 1912, in Plat Book 2, at Page 62 of the Public Records of Palm Beach County, Florida. *Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Co.'s Subdivision of Section 35, Township 47 South, Range 42 East*, recorded on 5 November 1912, in Plat Book 2, at Page 63 of the Public Records of Palm Beach County, Florida.

⁷⁷ *Minutes of the Internal Improvement Fund*, 19 November 1912, pp. 575-79; "Intracoastal Waterway from Jacksonville, Fla. to Miami, Fla.," House Document No. 586, 69th Cong., 2d Sess. Letter from the Secretary of War transmitting Report from the Chief of Engineers on Preliminary Examination and Survey of Intracoastal Waterway from Jacksonville, Fla., to Miami, Fla., 10; Youngberg, "East Coast Canal," *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁷⁸ "Compromise Effected With State Over Florida Lands," St. Augustine Record, 20 December 1912.