Fantasy, Leisure, and Labor: A Story of Temple Terrace's Historic Architecture

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Fantasy, Leisure, and Labor:
A Story of Temple Terrace’s Historic Architecture

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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Department of Humanities and Cultural Studies
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my undergraduate mentor, Dr. Priscilla Brewer, who inspired me to pursue my passion for the study of living spaces, all domestic milieu, and the stories they contain. She was a great mentor and friend during the most crucial times. Life will never be the same without you.

I would like to thank my grandparents for the support they gave me emotionally, mentally, and financially. They have been an incredible source of encouragement, comfort, and optimism. I love you both.
I would like to recognize Dr. Sara Dykins Callahan, and my committee members Dr. Daniel Belgrad, Dr. Andrew Berish, and Dr. Elaine Smith for helping me find ways to make my research relevant and purposeful.

I would also like to acknowledge contributions from the City of Temple Terrace, the Temple Terrace Public Library, the residents of Temple Terrace, the Temple Terrace Preservation Society, TTPS member Grant Rimbey, Florida College, the University of South Florida’s Office of Undergraduate Research, USF Library Special Collections, The USF Department of Humanities and Cultural Studies, and The John F. Germany Public Library in Tampa,
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this project is to explore how the community planning and style of housing of Temple Terrace Estates embodies the socio-economic conflicts inherent to the United States in the 1920s. To account for missing narratives, I will approach this research from a critical cultural perspective. I chose this approach as a way to investigate the power dynamics in the city during the time it was known as Temple Terrace Estates Inc. The Estates attracted investors by encouraging northerners to purchase a Mediterranean Revival or Spanish Colonial style villa in conjunction with a parcel of a large orange grove, which would be tended by paid laborers. The rigorous nostalgia for a colonial past resulted in marginalization of the laboring class and a loss of their voice in history. Thus, my objective is to bring attention to unrepresented experiences that exist within a dominant narrative.

The following chapters outline the history of Temple Terrace Estates, examine primary sources, and discuss my experience of living in the city. They also explain the theories and methods I use in the analysis such as space/place theory, critical cultural theory, and suburban theory. I tell the story of the conception and construction of The Estates as part of the story of Tampa, Florida, and the United States during the 1920s. Next, I examine the presence of both domestic and agricultural labor in the Estates and discuss the inherent exclusion of laborer’s voices in the city’s history. I analyze maps,
ads, marketing, newspaper articles, housing styles, and agricultural practices of the Estates.

Knowledge of the city’s past provides a way to create meaning in contemporary issues such as historic preservation, crime, and education in the city. Addressing social inequality and implied violence in the history of labor at the Estates might strengthen current accusations of continued racism. However, the omission of the voices of laborers also perpetuates secrecy and mistrust. If Temple Terrace’s recent initiative toward historic status is to succeed, there must be support from the community. Scholars and community members of Temple Terrace must acknowledge the continual re-production and re-presentation of the past with a more inclusive narrative. This study demonstrates that the application of critical cultural theory has relevant application today in its ability to diffuse current conflict and aid in historic preservation. Inclusive narratives of the past can help produce safer and more beautiful communities for the future.
CHAPTER 1: EXPLORING TEMPLE TERRACE

The small city of Temple Terrace is often overlooked as a suburb of Tampa. I first moved to Temple Terrace in 2006, and that is when this project started. After nine years as a military spouse, I had become an experienced traveler with a sustained interest in local communities and cultures. I first recognized the significance of architecture when my husband and I were assigned to a house on the historic side of Hickam Air Force Base in Honolulu, Hawaii, next to Pearl Harbor. On December 7, 1941, the side of the base closest to Pearl Harbor took heavy damage from the Japanese attack. In 2006, many of the buildings that had existed during the attack had been preserved and some still displayed superficial evidence of the event. I visited the PACAF (Pacific Air Forces) building down the street from my house and learned that it was a dormitory where 60 had perished during the attack. ¹ This experience made a profound impression on me, and ever since that moment I have been curious about the history of buildings and the stories of the people who lived in them.

Each time my husband and I were to be stationed in a new place, I would research in advance the history and demographic of the surrounding area. During that time, I had found that the best way to get to know a new place is to take a walk. This experience of walking through a space is completely different from what you perceive from behind the glass of a car window. During a walk, there is time to notice details like the age of the city’s curbs and streetlights. All five senses become involved as I hear, see, touch, smell,
and taste the air and water. This sensory experience is how I first got to know the city of Temple Terrace.

Soon after moving to Temple Terrace, I started enjoying daily walks around the golf course. Walking allowed me time for contemplation, examination of detail, and involvement of all my senses. It allows for a visceral reaction to an environment. Because Temple Terrace is near the Hillsborough River, I often smelled water. The streets are long, winding, mysterious, and canopied by varieties of oaks, crepe myrtle, and the occasional cypress. I walked to explore and often found myself lost. A new vista was around each bend.

Every time I walked, it was like the city revealed a little more of itself. I would discover a small park or roundabout, a hidden bend or slope. As I walked the core of the city, it smelled woodsy, lush, and herbal. Occasionally I thought I caught a faint whiff of something very old.

While I absorbed the entire atmosphere, my attention continually returned to the houses. Some appeared much older and had distinctive arched windows, wrought iron work, detached garages, tile roofs, and were textured with stucco. Others were long and flat, with terrazzo floors and cement block construction. They had radically different architectural styles and were obviously from different time periods, yet they had come to exist together in the same neighborhood. I wanted to know more: how had these houses come to exist here? Who built them and under what circumstances? Why were all the houses not designed in one unified style as was common in many other neighborhoods? It seemed that this city must have an interesting history. As a new homeowner, I sometimes heard conjecture from neighbors (which turned out to be false) that Temple Terrace had

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been created as a subdivision for the faculty and staff at the nearby University of South Florida. No one really seemed to be certain of the city’s origins.

I began attending the Temple Terrace Preservation Society meetings I had read about in *The Beacon*, our local newspaper. There I met many of the people who live in these older homes. I listened to stories about the city’s past and about the pasts of many of the individual houses. The phrase “living history” comes to mind because the presence of historic houses is a significant element in the city’s identity today. Most of the residents had done some research on their own houses and expressed to me the unique experience of living in a piece of history. The houses continue to influence the way residents imagine the past because they literally provide a window onto the 1920s.

Yet, when I spoke of the history of the houses in Temple Terrace to my friends and neighbors, most of them were unaware of the city’s past in Florida’s citrus industry. Temple Terrace was an anomaly, a small enclave on the outskirts of a large city. Geographically located in Northeastern Hillsborough County, Florida, the city was known in the 1920s as Temple Terrace Estates. From a socioeconomic standpoint, it was one of the first elite golf course communities in the country. During the winter months, wealthy Northerners were attracted to Florida’s mild, sunny climate. The developers of Temple Terrace Estates capitalized on this attraction, encouraging northerners to purchase a Mediterranean villa in conjunction with a parcel of agricultural land, which would be tended by paid laborers. The Estates’ commercial connection with agriculture was based on cultivation of a specific variety of fruit, the Temple Orange. This fruit was developed in a Winter Park nursery owned by H.E. Gillett, the father of D.C. Gillett, one

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2 All of the conversations that I refer to throughout this document, unless indicated otherwise, occurred between myself and members of the Temple Terrace Preservation Society.
of the Estates’ original founders. A 5,000 acre Temple Orange grove, the biggest in the world and a major part of Florida’s citrus industry in 1922, surrounded the city. The country club served as a social hub; many of the original homes were built without full kitchens as the owners planned to take all of their meals at the club instead. And although these houses were not large mansions, many came equipped with detached servants’ quarters, which are now used as garages located on the side of the lot.

Discovering the city’s less well-known history in Cleo N. Burney’s manuscript *Temple Terrace: The First Fifty Years* intrigued me. Yet, the people with whom I spoke seemed overwhelmingly reluctant to discuss the economic and racial implications of a community based on pastoral fantasy. While the fantastical architecture was appreciated, the social hierarchy of the lifestyle created by The Estates was not so easily discussed. The city’s history, while a romantic depiction of “the good life,” was fraught with societal conflicts and paradoxes. Given the lack of critical information about the city, I wanted to know more about what life was like in Temple Terrace Estates. What was actually happening in 1920s Temple Terrace? Why was this specific pairing of agricultural opportunity and architectural style important?

The Estates are a microcosm of Florida’s history from the citrus industry and Land Boom of the 1920s to the depression that came in the 1930s. The community’s socioeconomic location relates to class struggle and race relations as nation-wide phenomena. Examining the city’s historic architecture reveals intricacies of the social system it was designed to support. Today, much of the architecture and original city plan is still intact. Due to this preservation, the values and goals of the city’s original planners, architects, and designers are able to transcend time, continually reinforcing the notion
that Temple Terrace is different-- a special community set apart from others. The socioeconomic implications of this community based on escapism and seclusion are still valid points of analysis today.

Just recently it became evident how much the telling of the past holds influence over current social situations. Cultural conflicts and racism today are tied to the history of Temple Terrace Estates. In 2007, The Temple Terrace Preservation Society enlisted the help of Dr. Sandy Stork (a pseudonym) from the Department of Anthropology at the University of South Florida to guide an oral history project. As witness to some of these meetings, I came to realize that reaching a consensus on how history should be told is problematic. While assessing the accounts that had already been recorded, Dr. Stork voiced her concern that there was no representation of the city’s non-white population. Betty Lion (a pseudonym), one of the oldest board members of the Preservation Society, had several heated exchanges with Dr. Stork, arguing that Temple Terrace never had a non-white population in the past so it was not a problem that minorities were not included in the project. Dr. Stork’s suggestion that the society should actively look for members of that population was largely ignored. Some members objected that it would be too difficult to locate the minorities who once lived in the city. Some members presumed that if those past minority citizens were still alive, they would not want to be found anyway. Many excuses were made. The collaboration eventually came to a halt because of opposing viewpoints. The pivotal question became, whose version of history will be told? At the date of this paper, March 2011, the preservation society’s website www.templeterracepreservation.com continues to advertise the oral history project as “coming soon!” But when will these stories be told and how will they be presented?
When collaboration between Dr. Stork and the board members came to a halt, I realized that the community was in danger of losing a significant portion of the city’s history. I felt urgently that the search for the city’s past must take a new direction. Thus, my objective is to bring attention to unrepresented experiences that exist within a dominant narrative. The purpose of this project is to explore how the community planning and style of housing of Temple Terrace Estates embodies the socio-economic conflicts inherent to the United States in the 1920s. To account for missing narratives, I will approach this research from a critical cultural perspective. I chose this approach as a way to investigate the power dynamics in the city during the time it was known as Temple Terrace Estates Inc.

In the following chapters I outline the history of Temple Terrace Estates, examine primary sources, and discuss my experience of living in the city. In Chapter 2, I discuss the theories and methods I use in the analysis such as space/place theory, critical cultural theory, and suburban theory. I refer to the work of Michel de Certeau, Kenneth Jackson, Edward Said, Henri Lefebvre, and Stuart Hall to guide the analysis. In Chapter 3, I provide a historical context to tell the story of the conception and construction of the Estates as part of the story of Tampa, Florida, and the United States during the 1920s. In Chapter 4, I examine the presence of both domestic and agricultural labor in the Estates and discuss the inherent exclusion of laborer’s voices in the city’s history. In Chapter 5, I analyze primary sources such as maps, ads, marketing, newspaper articles, housing styles, and agricultural practices of the Estates, implementing the theories discussed in Chapter 2. In Chapter 6, I discuss the collapse of the Estates as an elite fantasy community. A freeze killed the orange groves in the late 1920s and the Great Depression followed soon
after. The identity of the community changed, but much of the original architectural infrastructure survived. In Chapter 6, I explore the impact historic architecture has on the issues of today.
CHAPTER 2:
THEORIES AND METHODS

When I began researching the early years of Temple Terrace, it became evident that there was no previous critical analysis of the city’s history. Few secondary sources exist. Therefore, it was out of necessity that I structured this project as an interpretive textual analysis of mainly primary sources. Due to the lack of published literature, it was necessary to extract critical information from the limited number of existing documents. Space/place theory, critical cultural theory, and suburban theory were useful tools for identifying important themes common to these sources. I expanded my survey to consider the documents in multiple ways, employing material, rhetorical, critical, and ethnographic analyses.

Methods

In this research project, I treat the architecture and city planning, as well as all materials generated to communicate information about Temple Terrace Estates, as texts for analysis. To investigate issues of race and ethnicity in the city, I conduct an ethnographic analysis of the population to “provide descriptions, analyses, and interpretations of how members experience and understand their world.”\(^3\) In a rhetorical

analysis, I consider not only what sources such as advertisements and newspaper articles communicate, but how certain ideas and beliefs are communicate

I began my investigation by compiling various pieces of information into a narrative that included things that interested me and were rarely discussed. For example, who had lived here in the past? Who had worked here? What was their experience of daily life? The majority of primary sources I collected are contemporary to the 1920s, but I also analyzed promotional materials created recently by the Temple Terrace Preservation Society. I collected newspaper articles dated from the 1920s *Tampa Tribune* and *The Tampa Daily Times*, sales and promotional items created by Temple Terraces Inc., and advertisements from *Suniland: The Magazine of Florida*. In order to illustrate the city’s architecture as it was originally built and as it exists today, I included historic and contemporary photographs of the city. Using a digital camera, I conducted a photographic survey of existing structures to document the buildings as they are today (see Appendix A). To study the city as it appeared in the 20s, I purchased 36 photo prints from the historic Burgert Brothers Collection located in the John German Public Library in downtown Tampa.4

These articles, advertisements, and promotional materials were not easy to find and many are not available to the public. Fortunately, a member5 of the preservation society allowed me access to his private collection of Temple Terrace memorabilia. He has been collecting items for years and kept those items in boxes in his garage and guest room. His collection includes chargers from the original country club’s set of chinaware

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4 To pay for the prints, I secured a research grant of $500 from the Office of Undergraduate Research at the University of South Florida.
painted with the club’s logo. He found many of the items in his collection at yard sales or on Ebay. Through an estate sale, I personally acquired an antique couch, table, and chair that were in the house at 226 Flotto Ave when it was sold in the 1930s. The home’s elderly owner had died, and her son was selling the furniture.

Despite my luck at stumbling across a few good sources, there is no central location, such as a museum or city center, where artifacts of Temple Terrace are catalogued, displayed, and publically accessible. The city has been neglected by scholars despite being one of the first Mediterranean Revival golf course communities in the country. When I started this project in 2006, no research existed analyzing the site’s architecture. Only recently, in November of 2010, several members of the Temple Terrace Preservation Society published a small book about the city in the Images of America series. Therefore, my research is based on an interpretive textual analysis of primarily undocumented, privately owned materials and personal interviews with owners of historic homes that I conducted myself.

The homes built in the 1920s were not listed on a historic register. I identified these homes by walking the city with a notepad and recording addresses of homes that appeared to have stylistic elements common to Mission and Mediterranean Revival architecture. I then confirmed construction dates by matching the addresses to the information found on the Hillsborough County Property Appraisers website http://www.hcpafl.org/. This comparison revealed that some of the smaller homes on the outer edges of the city were also built in the 1920s, and presumably part of the original

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5 This member asked to remain anonymous to avoid possible conflict of interests within the community.
6 Lana Borroughs, Tim Lancaster, and Grant Rimbey, eds., Temple Terrace (Charleston, S.C: Arcadia Pub, 2010).
Estates development. Subsequent years of remodeling left these homes virtually unrecognizable as part of the Mediterranean Revival-styled community. Sometimes it was only a stucco façade or small details such as curved contours or detailed arches that provided a clue to the home’s historic past.

**Theories**

I was intrigued by the romantic quality of Temple Terrace’s old houses and buildings. As I walked the city, I became increasingly curious about the experiences of those people who had once inhabited these structures. I wanted to know more about the past of a city that seemed so hidden and mysterious. I especially wanted to know more about the experiences of the people who had worked in the houses, country club, and orange groves that made the Estates so well known. Since there were no books about it, I knew I had to find other ways to access this history. Could physically engaging historic living spaces today allow me to experience some untold part of the past? How has the past influenced contemporary society? How are social relationships manifested in architecture? And above all, how had architecture and city planning acted to sustain a theme of marginalized voices in the telling of history? To answer these questions, I referred to the work of theorists including Henri Lefebvre, Kenneth Jackson, Michel de Certeau, Edward Said, and Stuart Hall. Their ideas and discussions provide ways to understand themes of power and relationships between spaces, places, and social and individual identities.

Because these theorists address different and multiple concepts that sometimes overlap and intertwine, the following literature review is organized by theme. In general,
I am concerned with the ways in which physical space and place are connected to power dynamics in society. First, I examine how space is imagined, arranged, and constructed. Secondly, I consider some related categories of space such as utopia, suburbia, and the arrangement created by colonialism. Lastly, I address the implications of power through critical cultural theory.

Imagination and Social Space

Through certain processes, we invest space with meaning. How space is imagined, arranged, and constructed creates meaning with social implications. Henri Lefebvre discusses these issues in the broader context of Marxist thought in *The Production of Space*. I am particularly interested in how some of these specific ideas are applicable outside of a Marxist analysis. Lefebvre’s concept of social space is useful to imagining city planning and architecture in terms of the social relationships they support and create. In this way, we can begin to discuss space as a merging of concrete objects and abstract ideas.

Lefebvre’s analysis of social space explores the interdependence between ideas, beliefs, and the physical world. He explains the multiple functions of social space: “Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others.” Using Lefebvre’s theory of social space to understand Temple Terrace reveals the complicated integration of abstract ideas and concrete buildings. According to Edward Soja, social space is “rarely seen for it has been

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8 Ibid.
obscured by a bifocal vision that traditionally views space as either a mental construct or a physical form.”¹⁰ I am able to analyze historic architecture both ways by employing Lefebvre’s theory in my analysis. Architecture is a space that is constructed by both mental and physical elements. From this perspective, beliefs and values are just as important in the creation of a city as the brick and wood that the buildings are made of. What is important to recognize about the Estates is that they did not only sell houses. They sold a concept and a lifestyle.

Recognizing connections between the abstract and concrete also brings to light connections between human consciousness and linear historical events. I approach Temple Terrace Estates as a text, and privilege the importance of its sociocultural context in understanding its historical and contemporary relevance. Abstract ideas are given form through human action. The relationship between the abstract and the physical correlates to the connection between the mind and body. In other words, personal experience of an object is mediated by its sociocultural meaning. The Estates can be experienced as a romantic, pastoral community with greater national meaning. From this perspective, the Spanish-style architecture and surrounding orange groves embody America’s colonial origins, recalling European success of the Spanish mission system. This style invokes a time when undiscovered lands held the promise of unlimited economic growth, symbolized by the agricultural opportunity of the orange grove. This connection aligns the community with a national identity of wealth, power, and growth.¹¹

¹⁰ Soja 1989, 18.

¹¹ My concern with the connection between the mind and the body is inspired by the study of phenomenology. In the *The Phenomenology of Perception*, Maurice Merleau-Ponty establishes the lived human experience as a primary mode of perception.
Perception is where meaning is created. In consideration of architecture, lived experience is of primary importance because architecture’s first and foremost function is to provide the framework for living spaces. Michel de Certeau’s essay “Walking in the City,” resonates with my original inspiration for this project—walking in a suburban community.\(^\text{12}\) He speaks of this experience in terms of power relationships between the individual and the constructed environment. De Certeau explains that perception is ultimately a fiction that is created, given that “The desire to see the city preceded the means of satisfying it.”\(^\text{13}\) In other words, perception of the physical world has always been mediated by desire and imagination. Therefore, it is impossible to create an objective representation. I focus on de Certeau’s point that individual perception and action work against dominant narratives and can actually physically change the landscape.\(^\text{14}\) He uses the simple example of self-made footpaths made through grassy lawns to illustrate his idea.\(^\text{15}\) Individuals had rejected the established route of the sidewalk and create their own through alternative means. This example prompts me to examine more closely how the individual interacts with an architectural landscape. The “legible order given to cities by planners” is again transformed through personal experiences.\(^\text{16}\) In other words, the perceptions of the planners are not the same as the perspectives of the individuals who use those same planned spaces.

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\(^{13}\) De Certeau 127.

\(^{14}\) De Certeau 131.

\(^{15}\) Ibid.

\(^{16}\) During 126.
De Certeau argues that the function of architectural structures in New York City—especially the skyscrapers—is to create an opportunity for individuals to be “elevated” above the city and participate in the panoptic gaze. Architecture contributes to the power structure of a space. My experience of Temple Terrace was from the perspective of an outsider in an unfamiliar landscape. I encountered difficulties navigating the city on foot because of the way the city had been arranged. The Estates were designed as a private pastoral fantasy with winding roads and scenic vistas. That same planning also made it confusing for me, as an outsider, to navigate on foot and find my orientation. This confusion caused me to consider issues of exclusion and power when I reflected on my individual everyday interaction with the city as a larger power structure.

Like the skyscraper that elevates the individual above the rushing masses of the city, the Estates’ geographic location and complex design sets it apart from the common population. The rejection of the utilitarian grid-like street in favor of romantic winding lanes changes a pedestrian’s experience and creates a dichotomy between inside and outside the city. The winding roads of the city’s original core make the historic neighborhood seem like a completely different city than the newer, annexed grid-style portion of Temple Terrace. This separation creates an otherness and delineation between “us” and “them”, insiders and outsiders. I had been informed by older members of the Preservation Society that I did not “really” live in Temple Terrace because my home did not lie within the original city plan of the Estates. I lived in the newer annexed area

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17 De Certeau 127.

18 Ibid.
structured by grid-like streets. In the imaginations of many of the residents, the city was still limited to the inner nucleus of winding roads shaped by the golf course plan. The delineation created by contrasting street designs also called into question the balance of power between residents and non-residents. Living within the original city limits bestowed residents with the authority to decide who could be considered a legitimate resident and who could not, which directly influences perceptions of authority in the telling of history. Realizing this connection leads me to next apply suburban theory to further explore the social implications of city planning.

Is suburbia a utopia?

Temple Terrace Estates were originally planned as a community set apart from the businesses and dense population of the city of Tampa. The Estates were incorporated as a city in the early 1920s and followed the pattern of suburbanization.19 Kenneth T. Jackson’s *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* provides a basis for an historical understanding of street design and landscape planning.20 Jackson’s suburban theory addresses pastoral living and picturesque communities and discusses the ideological underpinnings of the suburb as “romantic community in harmony with nature,” positioning suburbia as a cultural phenomenon.21 He also provides a foundation for understanding how architectural concepts such as the gated community are symbolic of social values and conflicts.22 Jackson traces these notions to the 1800s and the


20 Jackson 73.

21 Ibid.

22 Jackson 74.
Enlightenment as the expression of desire for an ideal, utopian lifestyle. Temple Terrace Estates is the continuation of a long tradition of suburban planning for the elite classes, reaching back to the 1800s. The original proponents of the concept of a romantic pastoral community—individuals including Andrew Jackson Downing, Catharine Beecher, and Calvert Vaux—sought to create an idyllic semi-rural lifestyle.23

The Estates, however, were fraught with too many complications to ever have been defined as a utopia. The Estates are a location where conflicting ideas converge in one place and exit simultaneously.24 The most obvious conflicts were of time and space. The Mediterranean Revival style of architecture used in Temple Terrace is appropriated from the style specific to the Southwest in the 1700s and 1800s, rather than the actual Spanish Colonial styles from Florida history. The southwestern styles have a more grandiose and romantic aesthetic exhibited by stucco walls, arches, ironwork, and terracotta roof tiles. These architectural elements symbolized wealth, prestige, and power because the Spanish were more established and influential in the American southwest. For example, Addison Mizner, one of the best known architects of Mediterranean Revival in Florida, designed his fanciful buildings to “give a hint of tradition, of romance, an impression of the centuries it has taken to create the great houses, the cathedrals of the world.”25 Using mission and Mediterranean revival style architecture. during the land boom in 1920s Florida recalled earlier successes in development of the untamed

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23 Jackson 74,75.

24 This idea is inspired by Michel Foucault’s essay “Of Other Spaces” where he explains that “utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces” (24). Because The Estates exist in real time, it cannot be considered a utopia. Instead, suburbs are more accurately understood as a heterotopia because of its location in the convergence of conflicting ideas.

southwest. Invoking the past through architecture could inspire developers with a similar sense of adventurous optimism and manifest destiny during the 1920s, a high point of land speculation and real estate investment. These same symbols of material success were transposed to Florida 150 years later in the form of revival architecture. Therefore, Mediterranean Revival architecture in Florida is somewhat of an anachronism. The style is a recreation of a time and place that never existed in Florida’s history.

This fantasyscape is perpetuated by the finer details of the Mediterranean Revival style that reference other cultures. Mission and Spanish Eclectic Revival architecture are actually based on romantic notions of cultures considered to be exotic, eastern, and “other.”26 The themes of fantasy and escapism are demonstrated by Moorish and Islamic architectural conventions that feature prominently within Mediterranean Revival. These elements explain why Mediterranean Revival and Missions styles are more accurately described by architectural historians as Spanish Eclectic, or “Mission mish-mash” given the broad range of cultural influence.27 “Othering” of non-western cultures occurs within this architectural discourse of fantasy and exoticism. The concept of “the other” comes from Edward Said’s notion of orientalism, which refers to a power balance created by the western manner of representing the west and the east as a dichotomy between “us and “them.”28 Stylistic traditions of other cultures are lumped together by westerners and considered interchangeable pieces to be reconfigured and represented (literally re-presented in this case) by a western architect’s interpretation of exoticism. The conflation


28 Said 2.
of time and place that occurs in the juxtaposition of cultural elements is another example of the conflicting ideas in the design of the Estates and the idyllic fantasy described by Jackson.29

The Estates’ architects capitalized on the use of elements that are considered stylistically “oriental” to establish an exotic aesthetic in the community. Features such as domes, decorative tile, geometric motifs, enclosed courtyards, fountains, arches, ironwork, and crenellation detail are characteristic of the Mission and Mediterranean Revival styles.30 Said’s theory of the Orient as a romantic western invention provides a good model for analyzing this combined use of culturally incongruent styles. Conceived as a “place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, [and] remarkable experiences,” this East is part of a larger power balance.31 Within this power balance lies the issue of representation. In the creation of Mission and Mediterranean Revival, western architects restructure the architectural traditions of other cultures to suit a specific western concept of those cultures. The application of Orientalism in this analysis hinges on its definition as “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient,” which is also the socially constructed opposite of the West.32 Romantic ideas of “Oriental despotism, Oriental splendor, cruelty, [and] sensuality” must be reinforced to keep power balanced in favor of the “civilized” West, especially in justification of colonial ambition.33 This power balance is reflected

29 Jackson 74.
30 Gellner 21, 25.
31 Said 1.
32 Said 3.
33 Said 4.
architecturally in the style of the Estates, as different cultures are objectified as “the other” and considered aesthetically interchangeable.

The concept of Mission and Spanish Eclectic revival architecture as a fantasyscape is based on romantic notions of “the other.” The concept and history of Temple Terrace Estates holds cultural and symbolic meanings tied to wealth, luxury, and power expressed through appropriating and representing a jumble of stylistically “oriental” elements from other cultures and countries. In this architectural narrative of ancient history and exotic places, I began to wonder about a narrative that was missing. The story of the people who worked at the Estates to support the grand fantasyscape was conspicuously absent.

Questioning the absence

As I researched the story of Temple Terrace Estates, I found a narrative that was one-sided. I saw the fanciful buildings and the grand ambitions, but I realized that an entire service industry must have once operated to support this leisurely lifestyle. In 1921, an article in *The Tampa Morning Times*optimistically estimated the necessity of 2,000 workers for agricultural labor alone.34 Who were these objectified servants and laborers, and where did they come from? Of all the photographs of Temple Terrace located in the Burgert Brothers Collection, few show people, and only two show workers or employees in much detail. Until recently, the most complete published history to date was *Temple Terrace: The First Fifty Years* (1975) by Cleo N. Burney. In November of 2010, members of The Temple Terrace Preservation Society published a book as part of the Images of America series. This book consists of archival photographs with captions

explaining the city’s history. This publication acknowledges the existence of black workers at the Estates, but largely focuses on the golf and leisure-centered pastimes of the city as a grand tradition. In contrast, my work focuses on reinforcement of the power balance between worker and property owner.

Much of the material Burney uses is taken without citation from J.M. Bregar’s *Out of the Past: A History of Temple Terrace*, a series of articles which appeared in the *Temple Terrace News* from 1957 to 1958. Neither Burney nor Bregar’s histories account for the voices and perspectives of people who worked as servants at the country club or as domestic laborers in the homes. Other omissions include Burney’s deliberate omission of information about the decline of the Estates as the Great Depression began. Burney also admits deliberately omitting information about the decline of the Estates as the Great Depression began. Burney’s justification for ignoring this historic moment was that it was not a high point of the city’s history.35 The publications by Burney and the Preservation Society attempt to portray Temple Terrace only in positive terms. Thus, both omit or choose not to draw attention to the experiences of non-white workers at the golf course and country club. Thus far, no historical narrative has addressed the history of labor because it does not reinforce the city’s romantic identity.

Postmodern theory is useful in accounting for multiple stories and multiple histories of Temple Terrace Estates. From a postmodern standpoint, Burney’s narrative is only one of several possible perspectives. Indeterminacy and ambiguity open the concepts of “history” and “reality” to simultaneously existing and conflicting accounts. The acceptance of fragmentation, or differing accounts, allows for multiple narratives to

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be engaged at once through discussion and questioning. One of the pivotal features of postmodern analysis is the opportunity to question dominant narratives.36 Ihab Hassan explains that participation in historical discourse is prompted by indeterminacy, eliciting response and revision of history.37 Indeterminacy is a key element of postmodern analysis. Ihab Hassan notes the implications of giving recognition to indeterminacy and explains that the practical application of subversion “may take other, more benevolent forms such as minority movements.”38 The application of postmodern theory is useful to bring such movements their own legitimacy and power to challenge mainstream views. One of the most effective and affective ways of doing this can be to conduct research and represent people and experiences that have not been given representation. Representation is a key issue in an ethnographic analysis of Temple Terrace Estates.

Prompted by an absence of representation of the working class, I call into question our knowledge about the early years of Temple Terrace. How was labor present in The Estates? Why is there a lack of information? In this case, the lack itself is a point of commentary. Critical cultural theory addresses the larger power structure in which historical knowledge is created. People in power get to write their version of history.39 It did not suit Burney’s interests to write about minorities and the complete effect of the depression on the city, so she did not include that information. In contrast, critical

37 Hassan 507.
38 Hassan 505.
39 This idea is inspired by Michel Foucault’s observation of the relationship between power and knowledge in Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison and his suggestion that “We should admit, rather, that power produces knowledge” and it is power that “determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge” (27-28).
cultural theory allows for “the possibility of ‘breaking’ and remaking history to include
another point of view.”40

This research is an opportunity to retell the story of Temple Terrace Estates in
light of the social inequalities characteristic of the 1920s. Embedded within a dominant
narrative that romanticizes colonial-era power structures, another story exists. The ability
to tell this other story holds “emancipatory value of the historical imagination, of people
‘making history’ rather than taking it for granted”41 Stuart Hall, a scholar of critical
theory, explains that history is relative and transmutable because “It is the participants in
a culture who give meaning to people, objects, and things. Things ‘in themselves’ rarely
if ever have one single, fixed, and unchanging meaning”42 I believe that seeking
inclusivity is an important step in the creation of a community’s identity. In regard to the
history of Temple Terrace, alternate meanings have yet to be discussed. To open future
possibilities, considering multiple narratives creates a fuller and more complete
understanding of the past.

Telling New Stories

My goal in investigating the absence of representation of minorities and
agricultural and domestic workers in the history of Temple Terrace Estates is to account
for conflicts in the telling of history and allow the possibility of other stories and
meanings. Accounting for the past is complicated—simultaneously, we create our


41 Ibid.
environment as our environment creates us. We arrange our living spaces to invent
different ways of imagining ourselves and our place in the world. The theories of
Lefebvre, Jackson, de Certeau, Said, and Hall do not provide definitive answers, but
allow us to find ways to discuss and understand these issues.

Lefebvre’s analysis of social space explores the interdependence between ideas,
beliefs, and the physical world. The application of phenomenology takes the concept of
social space a step further to understand specific connections between mind and body, the
internal and external. Within the community, there are some significant power issues at
work. Michel de Certeau’s theory works well to addresses power relationships between
the individual and the constructed environment. I will apply de Certeau’s concept of the
city as a larger power structure in my reflection of traversing the city on foot. Jackson
provides a basis for an historical tradition of street design and landscape planning
symbolic of social values and conflicts. Said’s theory of Orientalism complements
Jackson’s concern with social values, helping to explain the process of “othering” innate
to the creation of an “oriental” fantasyscape. This process of othering is evident within
the social structure of the city itself. Prompted by the absence of representation of
minorities, I will apply critical cultural theory to address the power inequalities in the
telling of history and ultimately account for missing narratives.

In this way, the missing narratives and marginalized voices can be made relevant
to issues of community identity and social involvement that affect the city today. In terms
of creating an oral history project, who will be represented? Who will not? What are the
implications of disagreements within a community? The local history of Temple Terrace

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in association with the Open University, 1997) 3.
is embedded within a greater historical context. The next step is to examine how the conception and construction of Temple Terrace Estates fits within the history of Tampa, Florida and the story of the United States during the 1920s.
CHAPTER 3:

OUT OF THE PAST

The Hamner, Gillett and Helm development group constructed Temple Terrace Estates in the 1920s as a suburban enclave in a rural setting. The story of the city is situated within larger social narratives. This larger story is about events that happened in the state of Florida. But it is also about the issues and changes happening throughout the United States. The story of Temple Terrace Estates reflects the optimism of Florida’s land boom, but also provides evidence of ambivalence and social changes that happened during the jazz age. These changes however, are connected to industrial and economic issues prompted by the Great War. In his chapter, I outline class struggle and race relations in Florida and the United States in the 1920s to provide context for the history of Temple Terrace. I will then provide a brief history of the city including its aristocratic start as the property of Bertha Honore Palmer, who later founded the city of Sarasota. Socioeconomic status has always been a defining factor in The Estates’ identity and history. Thus, the Estates are representative of socioeconomic conflicts inherent to the United States in the 1920s.

The United States in the 1920s

Race was a defining issue of the 1920s. It was fashionable for whites to mingle with black musicians and entertainers in jazz clubs like The Cotton Club in Harlem, New
York City and to emulate black musical styles. The jazz age, particularly before the depression, is often thought of as an era of liberal attitudes, financial excess, and good times. World War I had just ended in 1918 and the country collectively looked forward to better times.

The Great War marked the beginning of the modern age with a horror yet unmatched. In Europe, ten million died in combat and twice as many would die from the disease and starvation associated with destruction. In *A People’s History of the United States*, Howard Zinn observes the extreme irony of The Great War occurring in the midst of early twentieth-century rhetoric about the miracle of “progress and modernization.” The war’s unprecedented atrocities disproved the notion that things were constantly getting better. Henry James expresses a common sentiment at the beginning of the war: “The plunge of civilization into this abyss of blood and darkness is a thing that so gives away the whole long age during which we have supposed the world to be gradually bettering.” Actual casualty numbers were kept from the public, adding to the shock of Americans at the reality of engagement in 1917. The U.S. found itself in a “pit of death and deception.” Zinn argues that as a result, no one has since been able to successfully defend the claim that The Great War brought progress worth the loss of life it caused. However, the destruction caused by a war fought largely on European soil propagated fertile conditions for change in American social and economic structures.

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44 Zinn 360.

45 Ibid.

46 Zinn 361.
Wartime meant an increased need in national support. Threats from perceived external aggressors overshadowed internal conflicts. While social conflicts still existed, the greater threat and need to survive as a nation necessitated temporary laxity in the usual social order. The resulting state of economic disorder and unbalance provided an opportunity for the slow trickle of black southerners traveling north to become the torrent later described by historians as the Great Migration.\textsuperscript{47} The supply of European immigrants into the United States slowed dramatically while the demand for workers increased. The supply of laborers numbered in the millions in 1914, but fell dramatically to thousands by the next year.\textsuperscript{48} Many white workers and laborers were drafted into the military, further reducing the American workforce. The industrial economy grew while the pool of available workers did not. African Americans, along with women and other minorities, were increasingly recognized as a valuable labor resource. Northern factories began to capitalize on the availability of southern black labor.\textsuperscript{49} Most notably, Ford Motor Company opened its doors to the black worker. Thousands of migrants hired by Ford were now resourced from the American south rather than from European countries. Other northern industrial areas employing black wartime workers included steel mills, railroads, packing houses, and factories.\textsuperscript{50}

Opportunities were increasingly optimistic, especially for black women relegated to low-paying domestic work in the south. Although many jobs available in the north


\textsuperscript{48}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{50} Arnesen 8.
were domestic work, black women could expect higher pay in the north. Even a small pay increase hinted at the possibility of increasing socioeconomic status.\(^{51}\) Other options for women were found in cities that were not mostly driven by male-dominated heavy industry. For example, cities such as Chicago offered a surprisingly broad spectrum of employment for women such as “working on power sewing machines, to working in railroad yards, cigar factories, box factories, and lumber yards.”\(^{52}\) The social structure of domestic life that previously relied on the availability of black female servants was profoundly changed. Who would run the household and maintain the standard of fine living that the white middle and upper classes had come to expect? The northern migration was noticeable in this sector as, “In a quiet, unorganized, but perceptible way, black women in the South and North used wartime labor shortages to move out of domestic service into alternative, less demeaning, and often better paying work…much to the chagrin of the white men and women whose households they had previously cleaned.”\(^{53}\) Increasing opportunities contributed to a more liberating social perspective for blacks and women. However, it was also a time marked by ambivalent feelings toward laxity in social order that challenged race boundaries.

The influx of southern blacks to northern industrial cities changed the demographic of predominantly white urban communities and workforces. Because of this, the trend of black southerners going north for work resulted in a backlash effect. The “approximately half million African Americans [that] left the South for northern urban-

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\(^{51}\) Ibid.

\(^{52}\) Arnesen 9.

\(^{53}\) Arnesen 27.
industrial centers like Harlem, Chicago, St. Louis, and Detroit” between the years 1915 and 1918 were followed by another 700,000 that came in the 1920s. To urban whites, the Great Migration was perceived as a threatening surge of outsiders that added to the competition for jobs and living space in already crowded cities. Racial, social, and economic tension boiled over into race riots. 1919 was a particularly bloody year as, “rioters in at least 25 separate violent outbreaks killed 400 people and injured countless others.” It was for this reason that the summer of 1919 is remembered as the “Red Summer.”

**Florida and Tampa in the 1920s**

Ambivalent feelings resulted in violent actions in Florida as well. Historian William W. Rogers notices that while the number of lynchings reduced from 8 to 1 from 1920 to 1930, race relations were still far from good in the state. In 1923, Election Day in Ocoee turned violent. Lynching and riots in Levy County in January of the same year resulted in the burning and destruction of homes. Rogers notes that although progress


55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.


59 Ibid.
toward social equality slowly progressed, overall “The mass of Florida’s blacks remained second-class citizens and victims of prejudice throughout the 1920s.”

But in Tampa, race issues were not only between blacks and whites. Latin Americans migrated to Florida and had a powerful presence in Ybor City’s cigar industry. Women were the best organized of all the cigar workers because “of the Cuban-born women surveyed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics surveyed in 1911-1913, nearly 90 percent had worked in the cigar or tobacco industry at home before migrating to Tampa.” By the 1920s, Latin American women in Tampa were highly organized, highly skilled working professionals and attained leadership roles politically and professionally. Because men would often leave Tampa during a strike, women became “household heads and primary breadwinners in the absence of husbands and fathers.” In the greater Tampa bay area, “similar developments [happened] among African American and Anglo Tampans, creating new initiatives in each community and a small but growing common ground from which the first sustained and interracial and interethnic coalitions among women would emerge.” Latin American women in 1920s Tampa directly challenged the traditional male domination of the workplace and asserted their own independence.

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60 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
Exemplified by the activities of Latin American women in Ybor City, working class minority women were beginning to find mobility and agency through varying levels of increasing professional opportunities and political representation. In the 1920s, black women “organized around women’s issues” rather than directly challenging male dominance, and “their significance in community efforts expanded.”65 Black women also campaigned for voting rights. Nancy A. Hewitt, author of *Southern Discomfort: Women’s Activism in Tampa, Florida 1880s-1920s* explains, “Neighboring cities, including St. Petersburg, instituted municipal suffrage for women; Tampa did not, so women remained depended on male voters to make their case.”66 If women could vote, it meant *black* women would gain a stronger voice in politics, much to the chagrin of white male voters. However, a fear of increasing minority organization and visibility was not completely unique to Tampa or the state of Florida. These issues merely reflect the larger political climate of the country in general at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. The story of race, gender, and economic standing in Florida is also evident in the social structure and history of Temple Terrace.

**The Story of Temple Terrace**

The “golden years” of Temple Terrace coincide with the peak of Ybor City’s cigar industry. Temple Terrace and Ybor City were both in high operation during the 1920s and are less than 12 miles apart. Previous versions of the history of Temple Terrace define the city’s origins in terms of real estate that was bought and sold. Cleo N.

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65Hewitt 223.

66Ibid.
Burney, author of *Temple Terrace: The First Fifty Years* (1975) discusses people, dates, and events, but does not address the underlying cultural reasons why a city such as Temple Terrace was created. According to Burney’s chronological history, Bertha Honore Palmer purchased the land in the early 1900s as a private hunting preserve. Mrs. Potter-Palmer is most notably recognized as the billionaire from Chicago who founded Sarasota.\(^67\) She eventually sold the preserve to land developers Hamner, Gillett, and Helm.\(^68\) The Hamner development group split after the purchase, forming Temple Terraces, Inc. and Temple Terrace Estates. The former managed the area north of Druid Hills Road as agricultural land and cultivated orange groves.\(^69\) Temple Terrace Estates developed an elite golf course community of winter vacation homes for wealthy northerners. Aside from the three original founders, prominent Tampa bankers and businessmen financed the creation of Temple Terrace. Perhaps most significant was the participation of a woman, Maude C. Fowler, for whom Fowler Avenue is named. Investors provided financial support exceeding $500,000 to Temple Terraces, Inc.\(^70\)

The Estates were originally planned as one of the first elite golf course communities in the country.\(^71\) During the winter months, wealthy Northerners were attracted to Florida’s mild, sunny climate and purchased a Mediterranean villa in conjunction with a parcel of agricultural land. The estates’ commercial connection with


\(^68\) Cleo N. Burney, *Temple Terrace The First Fifty Years* (Temple Terrace, Fla: Friends of the Temple Terrace Public Library, 1975)\(^7\).

\(^69\) Ibid.

\(^70\) Burney 7.

\(^71\) Temple Terrace Estates may have been the first elite golf course community in the country.
agriculture centered on cultivation of a specific variety of fruit, the Temple Orange, developed in a Winter Park nursery owned by H.E. Gillett, the father of original founder D.C. Gillett. According to J.M. Bregar, author of *Out of the Past: A History of Temple Terrace*, the original Temple Orange was kept behind a security fence because of its value. A 5000 acre Temple Orange grove surrounded the community. It was the biggest in the world and a major part of Florida’s citrus industry in 1922.

Some of the groves had been purchased and cultivated by December of 1921, and construction had already started on the custom-built residences. The golf course and country club were completed during the winter of 1922-1923. An article from the March 4, 1922 edition of the *Tampa Daily Times* described a floor plan designed by eminent Tampa architect M. Leo Elliott. A grand fireplace stood in the lobby, thirty-six suites accommodated guests, and a formal dining room seated one hundred fifty people. The golf course, designed by Tom Bendelow, offered one of the most unique, challenging and aesthetically pleasing layouts in the country, according to the same *Times* article. The Estates also boasted the prestigious work of high-status professionals such as architect Dwight James Baum who designed John and Mabel Ringling’s Ca’d’Zan in Sarasota.

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73 Ibid.

74 [Grant Rimbey], *Temple Terrace Tour of Historic Homes* [2005] 2.

75 Burney 8.

76 [Rimbey] 2.

77 [Rimbey] 2, 3.
The Estates also feature houses built by Bing & Bing Construction Company, a firm whose luxury apartments are still some of the most sought-after in New York City.  

Several other landmark buildings included the Terrace Apartments, Morocco Club, and a domed building which housed the administrative offices of Temple Terrace Estates. Built in conjunction with the main clubhouse, these buildings were constructed during “The Fabulous Years” of the Florida land boom, approximately 1923 to 1926. During this time civic works projects planned a sewer system, paved roads, sidewalks, and a municipal water supply.  

120 other homes were ambitiously planned aside from the original developers’ houses. Burney estimates that in actuality only about 30 were built, conflicting with the present-day preservation society’s count of 85. According to a survey I conducted in 2008, only 65 still exist. Temple Terrace was incorporated on May 28, 1925, after the completion of most of its residences. The city’s limits “extended east of the river almost to Harney, north even beyond the river, and south of Bullard Parkway, the western boundary was approximately one quarter of a mile west of 56th Street. The Southern boundary was the river.” The development’s cost in millions further reinforces the point that Temple Terrace was “in the first rank of all American

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78 Ibid.

79 Burney, 11.

80 [Rimbey] 3.

81 This survey was not published publically and was created for my research purposes only. For the results of the survey, see Appendix A.

82 Burney 14.

83 Ibid.
suburb communities” and marketed as an investment opportunity as well as a place to live.84 

Optimism was short-lived however, because in 1926 real estate sales began to decrease.85 Mr. B.F. Van Ingen of New York was unable to borrow money to purchase real estate bonds from Cody Fowler, son of financier Maude C. Fowler.86 Banks had stopped lending toward investment in Florida property.87 A freeze in 1927 killed most of the 5000 acres of orange groves surrounding The Estates, devastating hopes for agricultural profits.88 By 1929, the Great Depression was near and the elite alcove of Temple Terrace felt the effects along with the rest of the county.89

**Times of Change**

Work, class, labor, and race are multiple interdependent aspects of society. Increasing economic mobility of the working class and women set the stage for an investigation into how labor existed in Florida in the 1920s. Specifically, how did domestic and agricultural labor exist within the Temple Terrace Estates, a community created as an exotic fantasy? The structure of society in the 1920s was influenced by the Great War that changed the demographic of the workforce and ended only two years before the inception of Temple Terrace Estates. When The Estates were established,

85 Burney 14.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
Americans were still thinking about recovering from World War I. A full-page advertisement in the November 30, 1924 issue of the Tampa Tribune capitalized on lingering wartime insecurity by declaring, “WAR was an important thing seven years ago—but DRUID HILLS on Temple Terrace Highway is the biggest thing in Tampa’s history TODAY!” How does the organization of labor in The Estates reflect socio-economic conflicts inherent to the United States in the 1920s?

Local historians have not yet asked how labor was present within the elite community of The Estates. The fact that labor did exist has been often overlooked in favor of a narrative that privileges the leisure activities of white landowners. The purpose of Chapter 4 is to present evidence of labor in The Estates and demonstrate the possibility of unrepresented narratives.

[^89]: [Rimbey] 3.
CHAPTER 4:

HAPPY HELPERS AND MARGINALIZED VOICES:

THE PRESENCE OF LABOR IN TEMPLE TERRACE ESTATES

When I first started exploring the city, I noticed they shared a unique feature. Almost all of the oldest houses are accompanied by a smaller building on the same lot. Most of the custom residences of Temple Terrace Estates were designed with a live-in servant in mind. One of the most distinctive features of the historic houses in Temple Terrace is the detached garage. As I began to explore the community and get to know the residents, I was invited by several owners to see the interiors of their houses. I was told by many owners that the detached buildings used today as garages were originally built as living areas for household servants. This information was correct according to J.M. Bregar, author of “Out of the Past,” a newspaper column about the city’s early years.\(^90\) The same column described how the most distinctive selling feature of the community was the orange grove that surrounded the Estates in the 1920s.\(^91\) This orange grove was not just planted for aesthetic value, it was also marketed as a practical economic opportunity. Residents could purchase a parcel of agricultural land along with a Mediterranean Revival style house and cultivate and sell the Temple orange for profit.


\(^{91}\) Ibid.
large part of Temple Terrace Estates’ identity was based on two related sectors of labor that supported this lifestyle—domestic labor and agricultural labor.

**Evidence of Domestic Labor**

It is apparent through the quality of craftsmanship and design that no expense had been spared in the original construction of Temple Terrace homes. Dwight James Baum who designed John and Mabel Ringling’s Ca’d’Zan in Sarasota had been one of the primary architects in their construction. Although designed by some of the best architects, most houses were not originally built with full kitchens. This was not an oversight; rather it implies most people would not cook for themselves, but eat formal meals in the country club’s elegant dining room. Homeowners could be transported by chauffer to the club for meals and other social activities. As indicated by the photographic record of the Burgert Brothers Collection, chauffeurs were housed in a small apartment building on the edge of the city. The same photographic collection reveals that a large Mediterranean-style garage once existed to house the cars of owners who did not want to be inconvenienced with operating and maintaining their own vehicles [see Appendix B].

Most of the 1920s houses are not extremely large, perhaps 2,000 square feet on average. However, these residences were also only intended for use as seasonal vacation homes by affluent owners from the north who came to Florida to escape the winter. These residents brought servants to continue their accustomed lifestyle. Live-in servants were present, but not necessarily practical. Their presence is arguably more of a gesture toward maintaining an older tradition of class hierarchy. To further establish class boundaries,
these servants often did not live in the house, but in a detached apartment. The apartments also seem to work as visible signifiers of the reification of a class system.

The detached servant’s quarters on the side of 322 Sleepy Hollow Avenue have been bisected as a result of a property division; the other half has since been demolished. Given that the building today is not connected to hot running water, it is questionable whether it ever had been connected at any point in the past. The current owners have investigated the plumbing and do not believe it was ever equipped for hot water. Any domestic help living here might have had to settle for cold showers and baths. The elliptical symbols located on both the front and back of the servant’s quarters may be Masonic in origin as Masons’ conventions have been documented in historic photographs of the area. Indeed, the detail seems identical to the apotropaic ‘all-seeing eye’ found on the dollar bill, reputed to be a Masonic symbol as well. In this context, the eye might have been applied as a cautionary symbol, reminding servants that they are being overseen by their masters.

There were, however, a few servants’ quarters included within the residences. For example, 204 Greencastle Avenue, contains a small maid’s room behind the kitchen. The servants’ quarters at 208 Glen Arven shares space with a garage. The house at 310 Glen Burnie Avenue shows evidence of a walled-up servants’ entrance toward the rear where workers would come and go without being seen from the front of the house. In this house, a brass button was installed in the floor beneath the dining room table so servants could be magically summoned without interrupting the host’s entertainment.

92 [Grant Rimbey], Temple Terrace Tour of Historic Homes [2005] 11.

93 [Rimbey] 14.
It is evident that the houses in Temple Terrace were specifically designed for the primary purpose of seasonal leisure. These houses were never meant to support the practical needs of year-round living, yet the owners employed servants. Architectural design and style provide some of the only evidence of the relationships between servants and homeowners. It is also important to remember that the servants most likely did not have the same perception and experience of the architecture as their supervisors. The Mediterranean revival villas in Temple Terrace were architectural symbols of wealth and affluence. However, to those who worked at The Estates, the houses could also symbolize inequality, oppression, and control. But houses are not the only evidence of the labor system in the city.

Evidence of Agricultural Labor

Temple Terrace offered patrons an opportunity to enjoy an elite residential community while profiting from Florida’s booming citrus industry. The orange groves offered for sale in conjunction with the estate residences were maintained by agricultural workers freeing the owners from the inherent demand of manual labor. From this arrangement of labor and leisure, it is evident that an entire service industry operated in support of the lifestyle offered by Temple Terrace Estates. In 1921, an article in The Tampa Morning Times optimistically estimated the necessity of 2,000 workers for agricultural labor alone.

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94 Temple Terraces: Tampa’s Orange Grove Suburb De Luxe’ (Temple Terraces Inc., 1923) 9.

The residential area and orange groves were marketed together as a total concept which Cleo Burney praised as “most ingenious.”96 Considering the marketing campaign, it seems developers were well aware they were not just selling houses; they were selling a lifestyle. The profit potential of the orange grove might have appealed to retirees grown wealthy from business ventures. Adventurous investors would appreciate the opportunity to pursue capitalistic gains as a hobby to complement their pastoral retirement. Stories told today about the city speak to the Estates’ historic connection to the agriculture industry, since many of the physical reminders have been lost to time and redevelopment.

The owner of the house at 204 Greencastle Avenue enjoys sharing the history of her home and her experiences living in her home. According to her, in the 1930s the house was owned by Mr. McSweeney, a successful orange grower and owner of a grove on what is now Bullard Avenue.97 The rumor is, the previous owner believed the house to be haunted by Mr. McSweeney, who reportedly died in the house.98 The story about Mr. McSweeney is connected to the city’s historic role in Florida’s citrus industry. Telling the story of this house is a way to tell the story of the agricultural labor system in Temple Terrace and keep that history relevant to the identity of the city.

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97 [Rimbey] 5. This 1926 Mediterranean Revival house is a good example of Bing and Bing Construction Fortunately, many of the original fixtures such as wood floors, red roof tile, doors, steel casement windows, and interior lights remain intact because of the current owner’s appreciation of their historic value. An original crystal chandelier was recently converted to electricity and hangs over the dining room table.

98 After Mr. McSweeney’s death, neighbors have claimed to see him looking out of upstairs windows. The current owner would occasionally hear doors open and close, and thinking that her husband had come home, she checked only to find that there was no one else in the house. She explained that these experiences became infrequent after she removed the dark, heavy drapes installed by the previous owner and restored the house to its original condition. When the current owners purchased the house in 1998, grey paint obscured the cobalt blue, hand-painted, Moorish hearth tile and the terracotta peacock relief tile above the fireplace.
Besides relying on local stories and hearsay, I needed to find more ways to understand the agricultural component of Temple Terrace Estates. The houses still exist, but the 2,000 acre orange grove died more than eighty years ago and the land has been subdivided for other purposes. Virtually nothing remains of the agricultural product that is the city’s namesake. No memoirs of the workers exist and no business records can be found of the Estates’ production values. Today, the image of the temple orange is only a reminder of a fantastic yet short-lived business experiment that crashed with the advent of the Great Depression. To gain more insight into the operation of labor and agriculture in the Estates, I looked at the advertisements of similar businesses in 1920s Florida for context. The same issues of *Suniland Magazine* that advertised the Estates also advertised other opportunities for speculation in agriculture. Some of the questions I asked were: how were these marketing approaches the same as the approach used by the Estates? How were these advertisements different? Did they state ideas not directly communicated in advertisements for the Estates? Was there a common theme? Do they offer any insight into the labor force of Temple Terrace?

**Labor in Advertisement**

The Taylor-Alexander Company of Winter Haven describes itself as “The Original Plantation Developers” and advertises investment in banana plantations. A two-page spread depicts plantation workers carrying bananas while a white supervisor in jodhpurs watches with a satisfied expression (see Fig. 1). The workers appear to have dark complexions and their features are obscured by shading. While their features are not

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as clearly defined, the workers appear to be black or possibly Hispanic. However, their identities as individuals are not as important as the function they perform as laborers; the three workers look virtually the same. Their individual identities have literally been obscured by their darkness. While the ad claims Banana Culture is “The BIG Thing in Florida’s Future,” only the supervisor benefits from the labor, since he is the only person who looks happy and satisfied with the labor arrangement. The copy explains, “For many years bananas have been successfully grown in Florida, but only recently has there been a concerted action towards placing Banana Culture on a large commercial basis.” What kind of culture is really being endorsed in this advertisement? The Taylor-Alexander Company emphasizes “Our Plantations” in all capitals bold text. The implication is, this company seeks to establish a plantation culture in Florida. When describing themselves as “The Original Plantation Developers,” the company recalls a time in American history when plantations were hugely profitable. After all, the original plantation developers were slave owners. The profit made from plantations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was possible because of slave labor. Connecting banana plantations of the 1920s with plantations of the past implies nostalgia for the existence of a small land-owning class of elites and a subservient, non-white laboring class.

The Taylor-Alexander Company is not alone in capitalizing on ideas about race and class. Similarly, Lake Marian Groves Corporation solicits “Mr. Business or Professional Man…Mr.Farmer or Homeseeker” with the promise of “Happy Helpers” as

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100 Ibid.
This advertisement capitalizes on nostalgia for a time before race relations were challenged and black laborers were perceived as “happy” workers. The Lake Marian advertisement also highlights the lifestyle of health and leisure that might be attained by the ownership of agricultural land in Florida. It appeals to the reader in two ways: through the description of pastoral fantasy and through the promise of economic opportunity. The advertisement describes an idyllic existence: “fishing, hunting, bathing, boating, golfing, or other forms of amusement you seek—while others will be interested in cozy homes, surrounded by stately oaks and whispering pines overlooking crystal lakes in a climate where flowers bloom every day in the year.” The reader is also addressed as “Mr. Business of Professional Man” and the agricultural opportunity is described: “why not invest in our 10-or-20 acre orange, grapefruit, or avocado groves? You can have them scientifically cared for, fertilized, and cultivated by experts until you are ready to come to Florida to live. This will increase your estate and add to your income.” Clearly, the owners are not expected or required to do any of the manual or physical labor. The idea was that speculators would merely purchase land, which would be worked by others, and the speculator would reap the profits while living the good life. 

There are many ways in which these advertisements are similar to the advertisements of Temple Terrace Estates.

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Comparing Evidence

The advertisements by the Taylor-Alexander Company and Lake Marian Groves Corporation are contemporary to advertisements placed in *Suniland: The Magazine of Florida* by Temple Terrace Estates. *Suniland* and all the articles published within its pages are primarily advertisements of 1920s Florida land boom tourism. The advertisements I examined from the Taylor Alexander Company and Lake Marian Groves share many similarities and several significant differences with advertisements of Temple Terrace Estates. Taken in combination, these advertisements provide a more complete picture of the elements of leisure, agricultural production, and labor found in the Estates.

The advertisement that declares the Estates to be “A Private Paradise!” focuses on exclusivity, entertainment, and community development, but mentions nothing about the orange groves linked with the community’s concept. Contemporary marketing and similar concepts by the Taylor-Alexander Company and Lake Marian Groves Corporation provide more insight to the labor and agricultural aspect of the Estates. The Taylor-Alexander company states the connection to the plantation system that is only implied in the Estates’ combined marketing of housing and land. The Taylor-Alexander Company and Lake Marian Groves Corporation provide a visual depiction of the workers themselves. These two companies also depict the relationship between landowner and employed worker that is absent from the Estates’ marketing. Within this representation, I am able to gain some insight into the way workers were viewed by corporations and the magazine’s readers (or possibly how the white public would have wished to view non-white workers). In these advertisements, non-white agricultural workers during the 1920s
Florida land boom were viewed either as expressionless figures that simply served as elements in a larger system of production, or as “happy workers” eager to please their supervisors. In either case, the workers’ representation is dictated by a business model, and they are not provided with an opportunity to represent themselves.

**Finding Identity**

Who were these laborers and where did they come from? Of all the photographs of Temple Terrace located in the Burgert Brothers Collection, not many show people, and few show workers or employees in much detail. Given the general social structure of Florida in the 1920s paired with specific pieces of historic evidence I just discussed, it is reasonable to argue these unrepresented people came from the working class and that many were probably black or Latin American. Cleo Burney’s description of the city’s troubled depression years offers another clue to the identities of these laborers.

During the 1930s the city faced a lack of funding and paid its employees with tax certificates in lieu of cash.\(^{102}\) According to Burney’s account, one of the city’s most alarming problems was the misuse of a city-run bus system. Its main function was the transport of caddies and other workers from Sulphur Springs to Temple Terrace.\(^{103}\) Under-funded, the bus system no longer ran regularly and was “being abused by unauthorized people not entitled to the service but who, nevertheless, were being allowed to ride.”\(^{104}\) At a town meeting in 1932, the mayor passed several motions enforcing very

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\(^{102}\) Burney 17.

\(^{103}\) Bregar 11.

\(^{104}\) Burney 17.
strict regulations in an attempt to control the influx of outsiders. The driver was not allowed to “pick up or discharge passengers beyond the city limits.”\textsuperscript{105} Caddies were issued and required to carry identification cards with them at all times and the driver was authorized to enforce discipline upon the passengers.\textsuperscript{106} The golf pro hired by the country club was also given authority to “promulgate regulations ensuring gentlemanly conduct upon the part of caddies on the bus and in and about the golf course.”\textsuperscript{107}

Violation of any of these rules would result in revoked bus privileges and, quite possibly, a lost job. An typical indicator of the status of civil rights, analysis of bus system operation provides much insight to social issues. Burney identifies Sulphur Springs as the origin of many of the Estate’s workers. Her discussion of this problem reveals that menial workers from Sulphur Springs were bused in and out daily, caddies and employees of the country club were not residents of the city itself, and “unauthorized people” were of great concern to the small, insulated enclave.\textsuperscript{108} Temple Terrace was not a private community barred to the public, yet city officials enforced a policy of restricted access, putting forth serious effort to keep outsiders out through the use of a regulated bussing system.

According to the Sulphur Springs Museum and Heritage Center, “silences still prevail around the history and cultural activities of African Americans that lived and worked in Sulphur Springs – many of whom reside in an area of the community known as

\textsuperscript{105} Bregar, 11.

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{107} Bregar 11.

\textsuperscript{108} Burney 17.
Spring Hill."¹⁰⁹ The Heritage Center has identified that “Numerous black families settled in the Spring Hill community, which consists of five streets (labeled 1st – 5th).”¹¹⁰ The agricultural and domestic laborers employed by Temple Terrace Estates could possibly have come from this area. The bussing system enforced the physical exclusion of the labor force from the city. The exclusion of the Estates’ labor force is perpetuated in today’s telling of the city’s history. The absence of laborer’s voices and images causes a conspicuous gap in information We are only given hints of their existence through passing references, advertisements, old photographs, and the architecture of extant historic buildings. At present, the story of the labor in Temple Terrace Estates can only be a partial story because there is a significant absence of information. However, the absence itself is a point of comment that prompts me to take a closer look at the past.


The BIG Thing in Florida's Future

Banana Culture

The BIG thing in Florida's future is Banana Culture. For many years Bananas have been successfully grown in Florida, but only recently has there been concerted action towards placing Banana Culture on a large commercial basis.

The Cavendish Banana, a subtropical fruit ideally adapted to Florida's subtropical climate, is a much more palatable fruit than the tropical Banana we are accustomed to. Because of this luscious flavor, it commands a higher price in the markets.

OUR PLANTATIONS

The largest in the State. Ten thousand acres of rich soil in Peace Valley, planned for its fertility, are being planted to Cavendish Bananas. You can become the owner of a 5-acre plantation, on an easy-payment plan. We will see your plantation and market the fruit as it ripens, month by month.

For a Plantation!

For Income

Company

DEVELOPERS

Florida.

Write for Banana Booklet, giving an interesting story of growing Bananas in Florida on a large commercial scale.

Fig. 1. "Banana Culture", Suniland: Magazine of Florida (Feb 1925), 6, 7.
BEAUTIFUL LAKE MARIAN

in the Scenic Highland: where it’s June in January

Let your mind’s eye dwell on the things in front of you—may be fishing, hunting, bathing, boating, golfing, or other forms of amusement you seek—while others will be interested in cozy homes, surrounded by stately oaks and whispering pines overlooking crystal lakes in a climate where the flowers bloom every day in the year. Lake Marian can supply these.

Mr. Business or Professional Man

why not invest in our 10-or-20 acre orange, grapefruit, avocado or banana groves? You can have them scientifically cared for, fertilized and cultivated by experts until you are ready to come to Florida to live. This will increase your estate and add to your income.

Mr. Farmer or Homeseeker

Are you not interested in some of the many opportunities in this truly beautiful country? The growing of citrus fruits, bananas, avocado pears and berries can be successfully carried on while you engage in dairying, raising sows or early market vegetables—with ready markets at high prices—how can you fail?

LAKE MARIAN IS IN “IMPERIAL POLK COUNTY”
The richest per capita in the United States. We have 400 miles of velvet highways. Fine schools, colleges, churches and public buildings and a year round climate unsurpassed; health and happiness is more assured here.

A townsite has been plotted with business section, parks, boulevards, athletic field, and many wide streets and avenues are provided for. This and has never been offered for sale in a retail way. You can buy now at low prices and easy terms.

Valuable Land for Laying

Grapefruit, oranges, pears, bananas and all varieties of fruit trees can be obtained from this firm. This fruit is the only business and a good market awaits you. Why not come?

LAKE MARIAN GROVES CORPORATION

FRANK B. HUGHES, President of Sales

Winter Haven, Florida

Representatives Wanted

If you secure the buy line from Tampa to Melbourne, saving 70 miles in the round trip—all paved but 40 miles.

Opportunity is again knocking at your door. Will you answer her call? Come to the land of sunshine and flowers, where health and happiness are always assured.

Lake Marian Groves Corporation, Winter Haven, Florida.

Please mail below and full information regarding your land, groves, towns and lake-front lots.

Name: ____________________________

Address: __________________________

City: _____________________________

State: ____________________________

Fig. 2. “Beautiful Lake Marian”, Suniland: The Magazine of Florida (Dec. 1924), 10.
CHAPTER 5:
LEISURE, LABOR, ARTIFACTS, AND ANALYSIS

Discussing the story of labor in Temple Terrace Estates challenges the development’s popular image as a fantasyscape of leisure. The presence of domestic and agricultural laborers has been obscured by the lifestyle of luxury and pleasure offered by the Estates. Addressing the system of labor makes visible this otherwise repressed perspective. In order to understand the implications of the power dynamics contributing to an unrepresented laboring class, I apply several theories. Phenomenology, suburban theory, space/place theory and critical cultural theory help to analyze common themes of power and representation in the collected materials relating to Temple Terrace. I consider the work of Michel de Certeau, Kenneth Jackson, Edward Said, Henri Lefebvre, and Stuart Hall as tools for analysis. The main question I ask: how are physical space and place connected to power dynamics in society?

In this chapter, I address the implications of power through critical textual analysis of maps, ads, marketing, newspaper articles, housing styles, and agricultural practices. The chapter is divided into sections based on the type of source being discussed. As I survey these different sources, I focus on what messages these sources communicate as well as how the messages are communicated.
Community Planning and Maps

The maps I looked at serve multiple purposes. Map-making is a practical and utilitarian necessity, but maps are not necessarily simple representations of what already exists. Rather, they simultaneously create and perpetuate notions of “reality”. Original maps depicting the Estates are symbolic representations of exclusion and differentiation. The ways in which the original maps depict the Estates is another point of analysis in power relations. A promotional map renders the community as a constellation of simple lines and shapes, but outlining an eccentric residential area based on elitism and uniqueness—no two plots are the same. No one would mistake Temple Terrace Estates for any other community in Tampa or Florida, because it fits no standardized system of land development that can be easily recreated anywhere. The development is specific to the contours of the Hillsborough River. This map, depicts the community’s unique plan, a community planned around the geography of a certain environment

The original city planning of Temple Terrace marked the land as a clearly delineated territory unique to the surrounding area and difficult for outsiders to navigate. There were several lines of defense against interlopers. Firstly, its remote location in rural, agricultural Florida set it far away from the industrial development of the Northeast and apart from transient port city hustle of downtown Tampa. Secondly, the community itself was ensconced by a large grove of orange trees and many of the houses were not visible from a distance. No one without prior knowledge would have reason for visiting the area, just as no one who happened to drive by would be able to view the country club estate—most homes were positioned far away from the main thoroughfare, and not
visible from Temple Terrace Highway. In fact, it is still this way today. To recognize the extent of the area, one would need to venture into the winding roads that shape the center of the community.

Lastly, the city’s original roads themselves perform multiple functions. Aside from serving as routes of transportation, the long undulating curves, small hills, and organic shapes of the streets form beautiful scenic vistas and a distinctive atmosphere and sense of place. However, they are also incredibly difficult to navigate. Unless a visitor has a map, or is already familiar with the area, it is easy to get lost. The roads follow no predictable pattern as they do in the common urban grid system and are in fact more reminiscent of the paths in historic cemeteries and parks. The Estates’ complex winding roads are not efficient or economic, but are aesthetically pleasing. The entryway to the city was an ornamental gate, establishing Temple Terrace Estates as a unique and special symbolically bounded entity set apart from the outside world. The social effects of this arrangement became apparent to me as I walked the city’s streets and spoke with residents.

Michel de Certeau’s essay “Walking in the City” became useful to me in this regard because I identified with his experience as an individual interacting with a larger landscape.\(^\text{111}\) On my walks I began to realize how easy it is to get lost in the tangle of winding roads that comprised the core of the city. I also found it interesting that the traffic was greatly reduced in the older parts of the city, due to the fact that the scenic roads did not accommodate commuters. The lack of traffic changed the city’s character greatly because it changed the ambient sounds of the city; there seemed to be a barrier of

quiet that blocked out the noise of busy Tampa roads. But most of all I wondered how my lived experience of the city, almost 90 years after its conception, was different than the lifestyle city planners had envisioned for residents. The planners’ concept was a system fixed in one point in time—Florida in the 1920s. But times change and now Temple Terrace is a small city on the edge of Tampa and the busy University of South Florida area. The identity of Temple Terrace changed as the area around the city evolved.

It seemed as though the history of the city was as difficult to locate as my exact geographic location when I went on my walks around the golf course in the center of the city. The contrast between the city’s historic core and the later annexed grid-based street system generated a perception of residency based on style of street rather than mailing address. Those residents who live along the winding roads and within the scenic environment are perceived as “real” residents and outsiders are interlopers. De Certeau discusses the relationship between the individual and the larger community. I felt that his analysis of this relationship might provide a way for me to understand the power dynamic between the resident and the community. De Certeau theorizes that a separate, individual interaction happens within a larger power structure.112 Recognizing this interaction enables validation of experiences that contradict or challenge the dominant narrative and reverse patterns of exclusion.113 Exclusion and marginalization occurs in Temple Terrace when some residents are not recognized as “real” residents because of their house’s location within the city. The layout of the city becomes in itself, a dominant narrative.

112 De Certeau 127.
113 Ibid.
De Certeau also reveals the dominant narrative to be a fiction when he explains that historically, “the desire to see the city preceded the means to satisfy it. Medieval or Renaissance painters represented the city as seen in a [aerial] perspective that no eye has yet enjoyed. This fiction made the medieval spectator into a celestial eye.”\footnote{Ibid.} The original city plan of the Estates is portrayed in maps from an aerial perspective and was inspired by a long tradition of scenic suburban aesthetics. Arrangement of the city also acted and continues to act as a mechanism that reinforces and perpetuates a power structure of exclusion and elitism. However, perception of the Estates is relative and subject to manipulation through visual cues such as maps, and verbal cues such as discussion. De Certeau’s ability to question the dominant narrative provides a way to take another look at the city plan of the Estates.

De Certeau observes “how everyday life has particular value when it takes place in the gaps of larger power structures.”\footnote{During 126.} In this way, the experiences of “interlopers” can be considered legitimate experiences of the city and therefore part of the city’s history. This is especially important in the telling of history; excluded narratives such as those of the visitor and the laborer are legitimized and excluded narratives are given voice. In the context of exclusion and elitism, I compared the Estates’ organization of streets to Kenneth Jackson’s suburban theory in \textit{Crabgrass Frontier} to understand an elite suburban enclave as a cultural phenomenon. Often, when I asked residents to describe their perception of the city today, the residents expressed a belief that they felt a “sense of place” that was like nowhere else. Interestingly, this “sense of place” was not
expressed at all by residents who lived beyond the original boundaries of the city. Notably, the designs and efforts of the original city planners 90 years earlier continue to have an impact on the perception and behavior of people today. This correlation between the past and the present leads me to believe that recognizing history through storytelling is vital to understanding and resolving present-day conflicts, such as disagreement about conducting the oral history project.

There are many elements of the city’s past that continue to influence life today. While the orange groves managed by Temple Terraces, Inc. have long since died and the land subdivided for other purposes, the original residential city plan described by the maps remains largely intact. This is fortunate for the city today; its winding streets and scenic vistas are essentially unchanged from the 1920s. Jackson establishes that picturesque suburban street design and landscape planning have historical precedent in America dating back to the 1800s.\textsuperscript{116}

Frederick Law Olmstead is one of the best-known pastoral urban planners, as one of a team of designers who created Central Park in New York City in the 1860s.\textsuperscript{117} Olmsted “conceived of the urban park as an integral part of the complex system of a city.”\textsuperscript{118} The design of The Estates is similar to that of Central Park, as it “interrupts an otherwise monotonous grid.”\textsuperscript{119} Likewise, The Estates are an oasis of winding roads in the middle of a grid-like street system. This difference in street design creates a unique

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{118}] Ibid.
  \item[\textsuperscript{119}] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
atmosphere of pastoral tranquility in the middle of a busy city. From this perspective, The Estates functions as both a park and a residential area by “creating a complete environment that fulfilled expectations of a tranquil life, close to nature, with urban comforts.”120 Olmsted’s practice of landscape architecture later “declined as an art” when “designers of landscape and building embraced the aesthetics of technology and engineering.”121 It seems that many elements of Olmsted’s pastoral urban aesthetic have been continued in the creation of The Estates, even as his practice fell out of fashion.

The Estates embody the pursuit for the idyllic, semi-rural lifestyle envisioned by Olmstead and described by Jackson. The Estates, with their ornate architecture, hills, and shady lanes, are the continuation of an American tradition of fantasy-building. As Jackson points out, “By the 1890s, country life periodicals that had nothing to do with farming were devoting their issues to a ‘simple life’ of large, free-standing houses amidst ample acreage and appropriate foliage.”122 The creation of a suburban pastoral fantasy is intrinsically tied to socioeconomic issues because “Such residences were attainable only by the middle and upper classes.”123 The contradiction of the situation is apparent when you consider that, “For most Americans life consisted of unrelenting labor either on farms or in factories, and slight relaxation in decrepit lodgings.”124

For the designers of elite pastoral communities like the Estates, the actualities of building a working city presented a problem. The impulse to live a wholesome and

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120 Jackson 86.
121 Sutton 19.
122 Jackson 72.
123 Ibid.
124 Ibid.
“simple life,” untainted by modern problems presented a conflict. The suburb described as a “retreat from commercialism” was actually made possible because “amid the dense foliage, somewhere below the streets, pipes and wires brought the latest domestic conveniences to every respectable home.” All the modern conveniences Temple Terrace Estates had to offer, such as street lighting, running water, and a sewage system, supported the “simple life” of leisure that its residents enjoyed. The rustic life characterized by colonial revival buildings in the Estates was only a façade. This is one of the reasons why the Estates are a location where conflicting ideas converge. Notions of modern and rustic contradict each other, but exist simultaneously, coming together in the Estates to create a fantasiescape of leisure.

An anachronism is evident in the case of the Estates, which architecturally transpose colonialism of the 18th and 19th centuries onto the landscape of the American 1920s. In this way, the Estates can be considered a creative, aesthetic solution to an ideological conflict—the impulse to escape from modern problems and live the “simple life” of the past while retaining a lifestyle of leisure and modern luxury as described by Jackson. I expand on Jackson’s suburban theory to discuss how city planning, architecture, and maps are institutionalizations of power. Maps are often thought of as technical, practical, and precise tools with no room for ambiguity or personal bias. They

125 Ibid.
126 This observation was influenced by my reading of Michel Foucault’s essay “Of Other Spaces” and his third principle of heterotopias that, “The heterotopia has the power of juxtaposing in a single place different spaces and locations that are incompatible with each other” (25). Foucault’s fourth principle states that “Heterotopias are linked for the most part to bits and pieces of time,” which The Estates represent (25).
127 Jackson 72.
often reflect more than just what is visible in the world; they reflect power and the exercise of power.  

Demonstrations of Space

The physical shape and space occupied by the Estates is illustrated in several maps. These maps are an expression of bounded space that has fixed boundaries and established parameters that designate differences. They describe how the Estates are unique and different from the surrounding area. I am particularly concerned with the overall shape and area the original community planners designated to be Temple Terrace Estates and what made that location unique. The aerial perspective maps express clearly established boundaries, borders, and compartmentalization. The maps confer a sense of authority to the contractor and city planners. The all-seeing “celestial eye” of aerial perspective referred to by de Certeau exists in the maps of the Estates. This perspective gives the viewer a sense of mastery over the city and by extension, narratives about the city. 

On the contractor’s map, it is apparent that the design of the Estates has also been dictated by the aesthetic requirements of a golf course. The contours of the golf course are shaped by its location on the Hillsborough River. The golf greens and the numbers on the greens are the most prominent feature (see Fig. 3). In a colorized map produced by the developers, the actual size and shape of the country club is greatly exaggerated, as well as the placement of nearby buildings (see Fig. 4). This map is extended, and

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128 These ideas were influenced by Michel Foucault’s analysis of Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon model of observing prison inmates in *Discipline and Punish*. As Foucault notes, “the very architectural layout of the panopticon affords various techniques of control,” because surveillance provides knowledge and “knowledge is inseparably bound to power (24-27).

129 De Certeau 127
represents the housing development as well as surrounding areas. This map demonstrates that the system of roads surrounding the original 1920s community were first established as orange grove roads, explaining their grid-like system of navigation. The difference between street design of the older neighborhoods and newer areas perpetuates the notion of “real” residents and interlopers.

The small assortment of maps that I examine depicts the Estates in different ways and serves different purposes. The promotional poster map emphasizes the closeness of the community with nature and its uniqueness to a specific place by highlighting the Hillsborough River. The contractor’s map emphasizes the connection with golf by including the numbers of the greens. The developer’s map dramatizes the size of the country club building and uses color to emphasize the vibrant orange and green of the Temple Orange groves. Rather than being simple depictions of what already exists, the maps help create Temple Terrace Estates into what people wish it to be—a special opportunity for the elite to experience Florida as a luxury. In this way, maps can also be considered advertisements.

Advertisements, Marketing, and Newspapers

Maps were also used as part of a marketing approach. How a map represents a physical space shapes our perception of that space. In a 1925 issue of Suniland: The Magazine of Florida, developers of Temple Terrace Estates used maps as a marketing tool (see Fig. 5). The headline and first sentence of text declares: “A Private Paradise! Temple Terrace is an exclusive, restricted community.”

Whom against? The meaning of “restricted” as employed by the advertisement implies an affluent clientele comprised of only the best people. Marketed as an investment opportunity as well as a place to live, the development’s cost in millions further reinforces the point that Temple Terrace was “in the first rank of all American suburb communities.”\textsuperscript{131} While describing the available amenities and activities, such as trails for horseback riding, tennis courts, swimming pools, and gardens, the advertisement also uses illustrations to reinforce a perception of leisure and luxury. The map is one of the illustrations used to reinforce exclusivity as fact.

In the top left corner of the advertisement declaring the Estates to be a “Private Paradise,” a map is inserted to demonstrate the geography of the golf course as an important part of the community’s identity. An arrow points to this map and text explains, “Diagram of map shows location of greens on the sportiest golf course in Florida.”\textsuperscript{132} In this example, a map has been used to reinforce the characteristic of exclusivity as fact. When depicted as a bounded physical space locatable on a map, the advertisement gives us the impression of being able to see for ourselves the property in question.\textsuperscript{133} We are also able to see The Estates’ separateness from the surrounding area. In the last line of copy in the advertisement the developers assert, “Temple Terrace Estates is a monument to promises kept!”\textsuperscript{134} This rather ambiguous statement leaves me wondering about the greater significance of this marketing approach. It implies a shared

\textsuperscript{131} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid

\textsuperscript{133} The significance of this impression relates to Foucault’s assertion in \textit{Discipline and Punish} that power creates knowledge (27-28). In this example, the power to see creates knowledge of The Estates.

\textsuperscript{134} A Private Paradise by The Temple Terrace Estates 53.
understanding between reader and land developer about what promise had been made and to whom. The implication of this shared belief creates appellation and a sense of being “in” on the secret that to which the advertiser is referring. Through response to the advertisement, the reader can feel as though they are one of the selected few. Thus, an identity based on exclusivity is created by the advertisement’s established delineation between inclusion and exclusion.

The suggestion that The Estates functions as a “monument” invests this community with greater meaning. But the advertisement leaves questions unanswered. What has been promised? To whom has this promise been made? If they Estates were created as a monument, what are they memorializing? To answer these questions, I look at the ways in which objects and places become invested with meaning. Advertising Spanish-style architecture and selling villas in conjunction with surrounding orange groves recalls European success of the Spanish mission system.\textsuperscript{135} Spanish colonial architecture also embodies America’s colonial origins. This style references a time when undiscovered lands held the promise of unlimited economic growth, symbolized by the agricultural opportunity of the orange grove. The meaning of the advertisement’s suggestion that The Estates are a “monument” is explained from a symbolic standpoint. Creating a mental association between The Estates and the success of the colonial era aligns the community with a national identity of wealth, power, and growth.\textsuperscript{136}


\textsuperscript{136} Finding these connections between mind and body, internal and external, creates a more cohesive and holistic understanding of architecture. As W. Arthur Mehrhoff explains in \textit{The Gateway Arch: Fact and Symbol}, “Phenomenology is useful in its application of intentionality: “The principle concern of the phenomenologist turns out to be the intentionality behind human behavior such as architecture and landscape architecture...It is human intentionality that gives physical and cultural objects and places...the various meanings they can be discovered to have” (10).
The developers referenced a romantic story of colonial history in their choice of architectural style to prompt spending and economic optimism, The Estates were completed and incorporated in 1921, but the conception of the community must have happened years earlier, following the end of World War I in 1918. Considering the community’s historical context, it becomes apparent that the Estates were created as a post-war marketing concept. Their location in time, only two or three years after the end of the first mechanized war, is a factor in The Estates’ development. It is possible that the themes of luxury, fantasy, and escapism embraced by the Estates were a reaction against anxiety brought by social change and modern industrialization. Mechanization and industrialism had changed the world forever and possibly not for the better. Child labor, crowded tenements, and unsafe working conditions provided a troubling counterpoint to rhetoric about progress and social improvement.\textsuperscript{137} The 1920s were an opportune moment for escape.

A full-page advertisement found in the November 30, 1924 issue of \textit{The Tampa Tribune} declared, “WAR was an important thing seven years ago—but DRUID HILLS on Temple Terrace Highway is the biggest thing in Tampa’s history TODAY!” The marketing industry capitalized on the anxieties and insecurities of their target audience. Recovery from World War I was still in the minds of Americans in the 1920s. Contrasting a war of the past with an optimistic new housing development of today reminded consumers that in order to move forward they had to invest in the future, specifically in the comfort of an exclusive neighborhood filled with houses styled as

Spanish Colonial villas. The fantasy, exclusivity, and exoticism of a Mediterranean Revival-themed community is rooted in a desire to escape.

**Escapism and Exclusion**

Although Spanish Colonial revival architecture was not new to the 1920s, its popularity at this time was in great part due to the element of escapism represented by the eclectic style. While many 1920s-era golf course communities were inspired by the “foreign mystique” of Florida’s sunny, humid climate reminiscent of Spain or the Mediterranean, Temple Terrace Estates was one of the first communities in the country to capitalize on this image. A 1922 edition of *The Tampa Daily Times* ran a full page article entitled “Twentieth Century Magic at Temple Terrace”:

> Do you remember when you were a child and first read the story of Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp? Do you remember how you were spell-bound and inexpressly thrilled by the marvelous exploits of those genii who produced jewels, castles, and wonderful estates in the twinkling of an eye. As a matter of fact, didn’t you and the other kids ruin some of the lanterns in your father’s barn, with mighty rubbings, accompanied by commands to “Appear Slave of the Lamp.” Those were the good old days when you believed in fairies. The days that you think can never come again.

> But it seems, those times have not gone forever. Truth is stranger than fiction, for in the suburbs of Tampa, South Florida’s foremost city, is a remarkable development whose magical unfolding savors of the days of Aladdin. I refer to that wonderful club and beautiful suburb, set in the heart of the world’s greatest orange grove, called Temple Terrace.  

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138 [Grant Rimbey], *Temple Terrace Tour of Historic Homes* [2005] 2, 3.

The article celebrates the final stages of development, generating positive publicity for the community by drawing comparisons to a fairy tale fantasy, complete with a genie to grant every wish. Although this article depicts a romantic, exotic, Eastern-inspired lifestyle, the reality of colonialism was far less than ideal for many people, particularly those already living in the Americas which Spain and Britain had distributed sight-unseen to various conquistadors and explorers. The “jewels, castles, and wonderful estates” of the past were not created by the magic of a slave genie, but by exploitation of real people: slaves, indentured servants, and paid laborers. Playing on romantic notions of the “good old days” of colonialism as well as the splendor of the mysterious East, this escapist fantasy also serves to reinforce a cultural precedent of subjugation. The invention of a colonial fantasy is supported by romantic notions of the exotic “other” and the “noble savage,” embodying racial conflicts and social exclusion inherent in the United States in the 1920s.  

Investors in the 1920s Florida land boom employed the rhetoric of entrepreneurial freedom and maverick success related to colonialism to sell their real estate. An issue of Suniland: The Magazine of Florida opens with an illustration alluding to the Spanish colonization of Florida on its contents page. Conquistadors stand tall on the horizon while “primitive” looking Native Americans are seen cowering in the presence of the Spanish (see Fig. 6). Analysis of early Temple Terrace’s social organization clearly demonstrates a constructed fantasy of the Spanish Colonial lifestyle, complete with haciendas, plantation land, and laborers to do the work while landowners relaxed and reaped the rewards.

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Exclusion is a common theme in the elite pastoral suburb of Temple Terrace Estates. Minimum price restrictions were placed on new construction in the Druid Hills subdivision. An advertisement placed in the 1924 *Tampa Tribune* by Cotter Realty Company assured an enforced standard, banning homes that cost less than $5,000.\textsuperscript{141} The advertisement also promised restriction against “Bungalettes or temporary structures” that could be inexpensive homes affordable to the lower working classes and minorities.\textsuperscript{142} According to an article in the 1924 *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, amenities offered by the country club such as the casino, pool, and first class dining were restricted to the general public. As the article explains, pool and dinner parties were exclusive events and while visitors and tourists came from miles around, general use of the facilities was a privilege extended “strictly by card.”\textsuperscript{143}

Adding to the concern of intrusion by outsiders, the media blamed crime on “unauthorized” blacks in the Hillsborough area. For example, the July 21st 1921 edition of the *Tampa Tribune* reported the shooting of a black man on the Hillsborough River. This event occurred when a white man discovered an amateur moonshine still operated by local blacks, five gallons of alcohol, and two hundred gallons of mash.\textsuperscript{144} This narrative seems overly alarmist considering that, according to local hearsay, it was commonly known the restricted, elite country club ran an illegal casino out of the Morocco Club. Allegedly, this casino operated in conjunction with well-organized

\textsuperscript{141} Announcing Druid Hills, advertisement, The Tampa Tribune 19 Oct. 1924: 5-C.

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{143} “Northern Investors ‘Sold’ On Temple Terraces Sites,” *The Tampa Sunday Tribune* 27 July 1924: 10-D.

\textsuperscript{144} “One Negro Captured and Another Badly Scared By Officers in Still Raid,” *The Tampa Tribune* 21 July 1921.
bootleggers from Ybor City who used the building as a stop on their route. It was not until 1926 that a criminal code was established in Temple Terrace, and 1928 before it was suggested that a night policeman be hired. As a result of this suggestion, the country club’s golf pro was hired as a policeman and equipped with a bicycle as his primary equipment to fight against crime. With the golf pro as acting police chief, it seems very unlikely that the city of Temple Terrace was seriously interested in curtailing its own profitable, pleasurable—albeit illegal—night-time activities.

The local rumors of an illegal casino and bootlegging fits perfectly into the myth of the 1920s Florida land boom as a time of unlimited economic opportunity for entrepreneurs. Marketing, newspapers, and advertisements provide information about what Temple Terrace Estates offered to investors. These sources also worked to shape public perception and generate interest in the area. They capitalized on anxiety about change, modern industrialization, and the desire to reassert a powerful national identity. Land speculators would be enticed by the perception of rural Florida as ripe for exploitation. The local rumors made it seem that a sort of “revival” of colonialism was recurring in Florida—it was a place of mystery, adventure, and romance where anything was possible and dreams could come true.

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145 This information is based on hearsay.

146 Cleo N. Burney, Temple Terrace The First Fifty Years (Temple Terrace, Fla: Friends of the Temple Terrace Public Library, 1975) 15.

147 Ibid.
Fantasy Villas and Groves of Gold

Recognizing this trend of reviving colonialism, practicing Floridian architect of the 1920s Franklin O. Adams identifies Spanish style construction as a symbol of the “true spirit of Spain when it was a country ablaze with color, glory, and wealth.”

Spanish colonial architecture is an eclectic mix of Baroque Italian, Moorish African, and various Mesoamerican cultures. Mediterranean Revival is more accurately described as “Spanish Eclectic” because Moorish and Islamic architectural conventions are prominent within the style.

The mission style house is a revival of Spanish colonial architecture. According to Virginia and A. Lee McAlester, authors of *A Field Guide to American Houses*, mission style is commonly characterized by adobe stucco walls, mission dormers, roof parapets or espadañas, and red terracotta roof tiles. As a result of colonization, indigenous American building conventions such as stucco and adobe were incorporated into Spanish architectural design, producing Mission style. Colonization related to the Spanish mission system also resulted in the subjugation of indigenous peoples. Native populations became serfs on their own land, now controlled by the Spanish. In effect, this arrangement created a plantation system of land owners and subservient workers. While...

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148 “‘Spanish Plotteresque’ Best Home Type Here, Says Adams,” *The Tampa Tribune* 26 Oct. 1924: 4-C

149 Arrol Gellner and Douglas Keister, *Red Tile Style America’s Spanish Revival Architecture* (New York: Viking Studio, 2002) 21, 25. The eighth-century Moorish conquest of the Iberian Peninsula resulted in the presence of eastern elements already within Spanish culture at the time of Florida’s colonization. As an archetypal example of this fusion, in the 12th and 13th centuries the Alhambra in Granada was constructed as a lavish, arcaded palace built around a tranquil pool and lush gardens.

150 Ibid.


152 Ibid.
colonial-era mission buildings inspired architects of the 1920s, the architects also recognized Spanish adaptations of “primitive” indigenous construction techniques. Because indigenous techniques and available materials varied across the continent, Spanish colonial architecture was regional, not one uniform style. Upon close analysis Florida’s Spanish colonial revival architecture actually more closely reproduces building conventions found in the American southwest.

Historically, less Spanish architectural evidence survived in Florida than in the southwest. As a result, Floridian revival does not recall its own Spanish colonial past because it was not as well-established, ornate, and distinctive. For example, Floridian colonial revival architects of the 1920s chose southwestern conventions such as adobe brick which seemed more typically colonial-looking. Errol Gellner, architect and author of Red Tile Style, further explains the reality of the situation. Florida’s Spanish era was rather short-lived in comparison to the west.\textsuperscript{153} From the end of Spanish Florida, “Anglo architecture would predominate until the arrival of architect Addison Mizner almost a century later,” who popularized the [Spanish] style in Florida.\textsuperscript{154} Florida has a stronger precedent of Anglo architecture than Spanish architecture; the revival of Spanish colonial era was grander than the period itself. The desire for escapism rather than concern with historical accuracy drove this movement. However, land developers in the boom of the 1920s also evoked feelings of entrepreneurial prospect with the use of Mission Revival domestic architecture, recalling that the mission system served as the infrastructure which made Spanish territorial expansion possible.

\textsuperscript{153} Gellner 21-25.

\textsuperscript{154} Gellner 4.
Some elements were already present in traditional Spanish architecture before colonial influences. Domes, decorative tile, geometric motifs, enclosed courtyards, fountains, arches, ironwork, and crenellation details give mission and Mediterranean Revival (or Spanish eclectic) style its romantic, exotic, eastern appearance. Edward W. Said’s theory of the Oriental east as a romantic Western invention provides a good model for analyzing European perceptions of foreign cultures. The “oriental” east is conceived as a “place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, [and] remarkable experiences.” More importantly, the application of Orientalism in this analysis hinges on its definition as “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient,” which is the socially constructed opposite of the West. Romantic ideas of “Oriental despotism, Oriental splendor, cruelty, [and] sensuality” must be reinforced to justify keeping power balanced in favor of the “civilized” west. Several factors support the idea that Mission and Spanish Eclectic revival architecture were actually built on these romantic notions of “the other.” Revival architects treat the styles of other cultures as aesthetic elements to be rearranged and reconstructed. It is a matter of representation, as other cultures (often non-western ones) are never represented on their own terms. Instead, they are used as curiosities and symbols of fantasy, romance, sensuality, and mystery. While Mission Revival is used to create a fantasyscape of grandeur and glory, it simultaneously references a time of oppression and exploitation of many non-western cultures.

155 Ibid.


157 Said, 3.

158 Said 4.
Temple Terrace Estates appropriates the symbols of exotic fantasy in order to evoke impressions of far-away places. A famous example of eastern architecture, the Taj Mahal, is featured prominently in the country club’s logo. The picture is affixed with a small label identifying the building by name, should the viewer not recognize he landmark and miss the message of exoticism (see Fig. 7). The most apparent examples of Orientalist architecture at The Estates are 210 Inverness Avenue and the Morocco Club adjacent to the main country club on Glen Arven Avenue. The building at 210 Inverness Avenue has a distinctive domed roof. The popular belief is that the dome was built to resemble an orange.\(^\text{159}\) Recent repairs contradicted a longstanding rumor that the dome was once painted orange and the dimpled texture was meant to resemble the Temple Orange for which the city is named.\(^\text{160}\) When the dome was repaired, no orange paint was found beneath the recent white paint.\(^\text{161}\) It seems more likely that the dome was included as a basic convention of Islamic architecture such as that seen in a mosque. Ironically, the building is now owned by the Temple Terrace Community Church, although it was originally the administrative offices of Temple Terrace Estates.\(^\text{162}\) The dome’s supporting structure is shaped like an octagon, reflecting the Moorish artistic principle of geometric order in architectural design. Not many of the original decorative details and flourishes remain; only a small urn-shaped detail above the fan window and two lion heads hidden on the interior walls of the surrounding patio.\(^\text{163}\)

\(^{159}\) [Rimbey] 4.

\(^{160}\) Ibid.

\(^{161}\) Ibid.

\(^{162}\) Burney 11.

\(^{163}\) A smaller domed roof can be seen on the house at 306 Glen Arven Avenue.
A comparison of the original picture of the building and the building as it stands today reveals many of the eastern-looking elements have been covered up or removed. In fact, the stylistic integrity of many of the houses and buildings in Temple Terrace have been compromised because residents do not know about the city’s historic past and do not recognize “orientalist” Mediterranean Revival as a distinct and deliberate style. I spoke with one resident who wished to remain anonymous and deeply regrets remodeling her Mediterranean Revival home. In the 1980s, she has the home renovated to look “more modern” because she did not recognize the historic significance of her house. The city’s unique history is slowly being lost through a lack of awareness.

The Morocco Club (now the Student Center of Florida College) is another example of “Orientalist” architecture and has a very interesting and telling history. An article in the December 10, 1971 edition of The Tampa Times titled “Betcha didn’t know…Temple Terrace City Hall was once a gambling casino” suggests this 1925 building hid some illicit activities behind its Moorish style façade. According to the article an attached swimming pool, long since filled in, added to the glamorous atmosphere of the nightclub, which featured a variety of illegal activities in the exclusive second-floor casino room.164 The amusements of the Morocco Club were centered on a theme of Eastern luxury and decadence. According to the above mentioned article, the

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164 Analysis of the city’s early years demonstrates that it was practically unregulated for almost ten years since its incorporation in 1921. During this time the Estates appear to have been basically autonomous, its members monitoring themselves. The city would have made an ideal shelter for organized crime during prohibition, given the possibly unregulated nightlife of this remote and exclusive riverfront country club (with swimming pool and hotspot casino) in the Roaring Twenties. City officials could have allowed “favorable” illegal activities, such as gambling in the Morocco Club, while preventing outside “riff-raff” from penetrating too deeply into the community and changing its original demographic or sharing financial opportunities for profit in bootlegging. The possibility of an unregulated area seems incredibly attractive to individuals seeking to pursue their own potential for profit. The developers of the Estates capitalized on the perception of a community that was designed to indulge dreams and desires by creating a fantasyland for wealthy northerners.
casino’s original interior was “draped in deep folds of brightly-colored, expensive silk,” which eventually succumbed to the effects of neglect and water damage. The article’s unknown author paid attention to describing Moorish details such as crenellated arches, an elaborately tiled foyer and fountain, embellished cypress ceiling beams, and mosaic border patterns. In addition, the *Tampa Times* article notes, an “authentic” imported Egyptian sarcophagus served as decoration in the center of the foyer’s back wall to complete the Eastern effect.165

Specific examples of Eastern influence such as the use of decorative tile can be found throughout Temple Terrace Estates, particularly in the entryway of the main country club building, the Morocco Club, and in the terra cotta peacock tile, which serves as the logo of Bing and Bing Construction.166 In addition, the Moorish-inspired enclosed garden is interpreted through Spanish culture, resulting in the double courtyard plan of several residences.167

Decoration takes many forms at the Estates. Surprisingly, swastikas are used as a decorative pattern in the tiled entryway of Temple Terrace Estates’ main country club building (see Fig. 8). This choice indicates the inclusion of these decorations prior to World War II (the club was built in 1921). The drastic change of context of the swastika caused by the rise of the Nazi party arguably prevented its use after World War II. However, the history of the swastika reaches much further back than the 1930s The

165 December 10, 1971 edition of *The Tampa Times* titled “Betcha didn’t know…Temple Terrace City Hall was once a gambling casino.”Page number unknown.

166 [Rimbey] 5.

167 Gellner 25. It is possible this convention was originally inspired by Islamic religious belief because it created a private space for women of the family to enjoy being “outside” without being observed by outsiders.
swastika is an ancient auspicious symbol originating from the Indus Valley around 2500 B.C.E.\textsuperscript{168} The swastika is almost universal in its historical presence and appears in many early civilizations, usually in the reverse direction of the more recently known Nazi symbol.\textsuperscript{169} When viewed in its earlier historic context, the swastika is actually eastern, ancient, and exotic. Architectural revivalists in the 1920s wanted houses and decorations that looked “rustic, tribal, and folk-influenced,” even if only superficially.\textsuperscript{170} Thus, use of the swastika as an aesthetic element reflects the artistic interest of the Primitivist movement. Primitivist artists use native material culture a commodity that can be adapted to purely aesthetic purposes outside of the intended meaning in its culture of origin. In The Estates, it is not just the house itself that is sold, but a lifestyle conceptualized by Westerners as pre-industrial, unmechanized, and therefore more authentic and in harmony with the natural world. Gellner points out that the American Mission Revival movement, like the European Arts and Crafts movement, reacted against modern mass-production and recalled “the imagined simplicity of medieval times.”\textsuperscript{171} Temple Terrace Estates offered an alternative lifestyle in rejection of the fast-paced, mechanized, modern world that had become seemingly disconnected from nature and its cultural roots.

It is evident from the choices of interior decorations at Temple Terrace Estates that various Eastern cultures such as Moroccan and Egyptian were referenced simultaneously, transposed upon one another, and lumped together as if essentially the


\textsuperscript{169} Heller 38.

\textsuperscript{170} Gellner 10.

\textsuperscript{171} Gellner 10.
same and therefore interchangeable. For example, Robert B. Stacy-Judd, foremost architect of Mayan Revival in the 1920s, openly explained he never chose to accurately reproduce any friezes from temples. Rather, he simply “assembled the curious units to [his] own fancy,” as did many artists who incorporated various indigenous symbols. Rather than being concerned with appreciating and recognizing specific and distinct foreign cultures, the goal was to approximate a sensation of the exotic “other” as a curiosity through which to escape from mundane life.

**Suburban Stories and Legends**

The architects of the Estates were effective in their goal to create an exotic fantasiescape. Local legends and hearsay about the city’s past provide evidence that a sensation of exoticism and romance was and continues to be instilled in common perception of the city. To some extent, it does not matter whether the rumors of bootlegging and casinos are true or not. The rumors alone they tell us much about people’s perceptions of the city. Burney’s history includes background information gathered from the 1971 *Tampa Times* article about casino activity, but she does not mention the local rumor that the large Spanish-style house shaded 416 Bon Aire Avenue was once a brothel. The current owner believes the operation ran in conjunction with the casino’s illicit pastimes, supported by bootleggers from Ybor City. She even claims to

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173 The owner was very open, helpful, and forthcoming with information pertaining to her house and others in the neighborhood. She is one of the older citizens of Temple Terrace and wishes to remain anonymous for privacy reasons and because her address has been published as part of this research. The bootlegging connection seems possible because Temple Terrace and Ybor City both experienced their height at the same time in the 1920s. In fact the main country club in Temple Terrace and the building next
have found a speakeasy-type door in the basement and heard accounts from neighbors who played in the house as children that a secret tunnel existed leading from the house to the Hillsborough River.

These rumors, substantiated or not, are evidence of the perception that fantastical architecture holds elements of mystery and sensuality powerful enough to shape our everyday experiences. After listening to these stories, I understood the historic houses in Temple Terrace as more than just architectural structures; they are storytellers. No longer do I perceive these houses as static objects, they are transmitters of history and active agents that generate beliefs and identities within the community. I have considered the Estates’ city planning and architecture in terms of the social relationships that they support and create. Lefebvre’s concept of social space is useful because it gives a name to this otherwise abstract idea. Narratives are repressed because of the unequal power dynamics enacted by these social relationships. In the context of Lefebvre’s analysis of space as a “mental thing” and also space as essential to the existence of social life, “which also presumably must unfold in space,” stories about the community suddenly gain relevance.174 Because social life consists of language, stories, and interactions between people, Lefebvre’s argument prompts me to consider how architecture plays an important role in the creation of social space.

Lefebvre can extend Jackson’s analysis of suburban, pastoral communities by explaining about the role of class struggle in community space. “Its role in the production of space is a cardinal one in that this production is performed solely by classes, fractions

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of classes and groups representative of classes. Today more than ever, the class struggle is inscribed in space.”\textsuperscript{175} The creation of the Estates is performed as a representation of the upper-class lifestyle and produces space to distinguish an upper class that is exceptional and different from the rest of the urban American population.

The notions and ideas involved in the creation of the Estates embody the socio-economic conflicts inherent to the United States in the 1920s. The fantasy lifestyle embraced by The Estates almost be described as a counter-culture movement against outward signs of change and modernism. As Lefebvre explains, “A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language, and on space.”\textsuperscript{176} In other words, for an ideology to be actualized, it must be physically manifested; it must produce its own space.\textsuperscript{177} Investors managed this actualization by creating the Estates as a “leisure-orientated space” and a “non-work space” that had another function.\textsuperscript{178} Participating in all the leisurely activities such as golf, horseback riding, and canoeing, required large amounts of free time. These activities contrast with the more restricted activities of the Estates’ workers. Thus the “leisure-oriented space” described by Lefebvre also acted as a mechanism to keep the “social division of labor” in place without overtly stating the real power relations.\textsuperscript{179} Instead of celebrating modernity, the Estates used architecture to employ a rigorous

\begin{footnotes}
\item[175] Lefebvre 55.
\item[176] Lefebvre 54.
\item[177] Lefebvre 53.
\item[178] Lefebvre 58.
\item[179] Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
nostalgia for pre-industrial, colonial life—the “simple life” as described by Jackson.\textsuperscript{180}

The core concept of the Estates is about establishing a space where an elite class of leisure-seeking landowners will capitalize on the laboring underclass. Reproducing the “simple life” of the colonial past simultaneously reinforces traditional hierarchies of class and race. The reification of traditional roles would be comforting in society affected by social shifts occurring during the 1920s.

Marginalized Voices and Untold Stories

Temple Terrace Estates’ social organization demonstrates a constructed fantasy of an imagined Spanish Colonial lifestyle, but with the inclusion of modern conveniences. This fantasy is constructed in a community based on pastoral sensibility and romantic scenic traditions complete with haciendas, orange grove plantation land, and hired laborers to do the work. In effect, the presence of a laboring class also became part of the romantic landscape. The reality of the workers’ daily lives is not represented except as a quaint element in an idealized scheme of “living the simple life.”

There is a significant absence of laborers voices and images in the city’s history that made the fantasyscape of Temple Terrace Estates possible. The fantasy based on exclusion and boundaries has also created a class of mentally and physically marginalized people whose stories have yet to be told. Stuart Hall’s concept of cultural hybridity supports the validity of acknowledging another narrative. The definitive history of Temple Terrace has not been written, because history is not fixed, singular, and

\textsuperscript{180} Jackson 72.
unchanging.¹⁸¹ The romantic suburban landscape is more than just a pretty scene—it is in fact a mediator of power. The landscape influences the content of our knowledge by producing and reinforcing a relationship between the individual and the larger environment. I have discussed the ways in which the architectural environment mediates social interaction and the resulting power relationships. Architecture can determine who is seen and who is not seen. Rather than thinking knowledge produces power, I suggest that perhaps power exists first then creates a given set of knowledge which supports the already existing power structure.¹⁸² Thus, I explore in depth another side of the city’s history; a side that conflicts with the dominant story of “grand beginnings,” leisure, exoticism, and romance in an effort to challenge the knowledge produced by the hegemonic power of the elite white population of Temple Terrace.

Postcolonial criticism is particularly useful in examining The Estates because Spanish Colonial-revival architecture is the dominant style chosen by the land developers. “From a postcolonial perspective, Western values and traditions of thought and literature…are guilty of a repressive ethnocentrism,” therefore scholars must call into question presumed attitudes about class and race.¹⁸³ Hall’s concept of hybridity shatters the stoic, singular narratives with the assertion that cultural identity is not an “already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent.”¹⁸⁴ Instead, social


¹⁸² This suggestion is inspired by Foucault’s observation that power creates knowledge (1997, 27-28).


structures can bring “to the fore the doubleness or double-voiced structures which [Hall] sees as constitutive” to an experience.\textsuperscript{185} In terms of the Estates, this idea means acknowledging the history of the city in terms of marginalized histories as well as the dominant, white historical narrative. Hall’s original reason for different ways of thinking about cultural identity was his consideration of the black diaspora experience.\textsuperscript{186} The notion of hybridity can be expanded to other situations where race plays a role in identity. Hall also makes the point that he is not looking for “the rediscovery, but the production of identity. Not an identity grounded in the archaeology, but in the re-telling of the past.”\textsuperscript{187} The absence of laborer’s voices and images at the Estates constitute a crisis in local identity that must be addressed for the city to preserve its role in Florida’s agricultural history and ensure a viable future.

\textbf{Unraveling “Grand Traditions”}

Throughout my research I kept returning to the question of community identity and of the cultural significance of pairing revival architecture with plots of orange groves. I had an idea of who purchased and lived in the houses, but I could discover practically nothing about the people who cultivated the groves. I quickly realized that the perspectives of the land developers, investors, and homeowners were the dominant narratives in the story of labor and leisure in Temple Terrace Estates. Marginalization and exclusion were the byproducts of the creation of the “leisure-oriented space” as described

\textsuperscript{185} Selden 231.
\textsuperscript{186} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{187} Hall 1994, 393.
by Lefebvre.\textsuperscript{188} The marginalization that occurred at the Estates is an indicator that Temple Terrace embodies the socio-economic conflicts inherent to the United States in the 1920s. Marginalization of workers’ voices were, and continue to be, a result of space that also kept the “social division of labor” in place without formally acknowledging the actual power relations between people of color and whites, lower class and upper class.\textsuperscript{189}

As Lefebvre points out, “Only class struggle has the capacity to differentiate, to generate differences, which are not intrinsic to economic growth.”\textsuperscript{190} It was necessary for the developers of The Estates to marginalize and exclude its labor force as “the other” in the creation of a leisure-oriented space modeled after the lifestyle and social hierarchy of a colonial plantation.\textsuperscript{191} In this arrangement, the developers and landowners became positioned as the western “imperialist subject[s]” which “postcolonialism seeks to undermine.”\textsuperscript{192} Radical differences between “inside the city” and “outside the city” I experience today in conversations with residents and walking the city streets were created as a result of class struggle.

Hall’s theory addresses the issues of marginalized voices within the context of existing dominant narrative. Hall’s analysis of hybridity supports Said’s Orientalism and my analysis of social power structures. Together, these theories explain how power in society is leveraged in favor of a dominant narrative. Race and class play significant roles in history since evidence suggests that many of the Estates’ workers were people of color.

\textsuperscript{188} Lefebvre 58.
\textsuperscript{189} Lefebvre 58.
\textsuperscript{190} Lefebvre 55.
\textsuperscript{191} Said 5.
\textsuperscript{192} Selden 222.
Temple Terrace today is undergoing a crisis of identity that can only be redressed by the negotiation of new identity, as suggested by Hall. This identity must represent more than one just one faction of the community and the dominant narrative of the city’s “grand traditions” of golf and country club events. Many attempts have been made to record a collection of oral history narratives, but organizations in the city have not been able to reach a consensus on which narratives to include, therefore the histories have never been published. Many of the older residents who remember the 1940s and heard first-hand accounts of the city in the 1920s and 1930s have passed away and their stories may be gone forever.
Fig. 3. *Temple Terrace: The First Fifty Years*. By Cleo N. Burney. Temple Terrace, FL: Friends of the Temple Terrace Public Library, 1975. 62
Fig. 4. Colorized map from privately-owned collection.
Fig. 5. “A Private Paradise!”, Suniland: The Magazine of Florida (April 1925), 53.
Fig. 6. Contents Page, *Suniland: The Magazine of Florida* (Nov. 1925), 3.
Fig. 7. Country Club logo on charger plate, 2007. Photo by author.
Fig. 8. Floor tile inside the main country club entrance, 2007. Photograph by author.
CHAPTER 6:
AFTER THE FANTASY

Discussing the story of labor in Temple Terrace Estates challenges the community’s image as a fantasyscape of leisure. The presence of domestic and agricultural laborers was situated within the lifestyle of luxury and pleasure offered by the Estates. The incongruity of a “simple” yet comfortable pastoral life made possible through technology such as electricity and running water was overlooked. However, the rigorous nostalgia for a colonial past resulted in marginalization of the laboring class and a loss of their voice in history. In order to make apparent the presence of these marginalized people, I employed critical textual analysis of maps, ads, marketing, newspaper articles, housing styles, and agricultural practices. In these texts, I discovered the perspectives of the land developers, investors, and homeowners were the dominant narratives in the story of labor and leisure in Temple Terrace Estates. The marginalization of the working class that occurred as a result is an indicator that Temple Terrace embodies the socio-economic conflicts inherent to the United States in the 1920s.

The End and the Beginning

In 1926, real estate sales began to decrease in Temple Terrace Estates. As a warning of the dire times ahead, Mr. B.F. Van Ingen of New York was unable to borrow money to purchase real estate bonds in Temple Terrace Estates because banks had
stopped lending toward investment in Florida property.\textsuperscript{193} In my research for newspaper articles about the city prior to the market crash, I found there were practically none expressing concern over the changing economy. It was as though the escapist fantasy world of The Estates also created a bubble of denial for its residents. A freeze in 1927 killed most of the 5000 acres of orange groves surrounding the Estates, devastating hopes for future agricultural profits.\textsuperscript{194} By 1929, the Great Depression began and the elite alcove of Temple Terrace felt the effects along with the rest of the county.\textsuperscript{195}

During the Depression era through the 1940s, The Estates became known only as the city of Temple Terrace, dropping the “Estates” from its name. Out of necessity, the community became more open to the middle class and less of an exclusive playground for wealthy northerners. The Historic Resources Survey of 1988 includes a list of the city’s residents and their occupations in the year 1932. Originally published in \textit{Temple Terrace Topics}, a monthly newsletter that began publication in the same year, the represented demographic already reflected a mix broader than only vacationing winter-home owners and wealthy retirees. Working professionals lived in the city year-round; some of the listed occupations include lawyer, real estate manager, dentist, golf shop employee, public accountant, city tax collector, and minister.\textsuperscript{196} Laborers, caretakers, and mechanics are also included, but their places of residence remained largely on the

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\textsuperscript{193} Cleo N. Burney, \textit{Temple Terrace The First Fifty Years} (Temple Terrace, Fla: Friends of the Temple Terrace Public Library, 1975) 14.
\textsuperscript{194} [Grant Rimbey], \textit{Temple Terrace Tour of Historic Homes} [2005] 3.
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{196} \textit{Temple Terrace Topics}, Nov. 1932.
\end{flushright}
outskirts of the city or in apartment buildings.\textsuperscript{197} Even during the Depression, Temple Terrace retained a largely upper-middle class population. According to J.M. Bregar, author of “Out of the Past,” a newspaper column about the city’s early years, some residents even managed to retain full-time, live-in household help during the country’s financial crisis.\textsuperscript{198} Regardless, Temple Terrace began to taken on a different identity from the fantasyscape of leisure that characterized the city in the 1920s.

As a response to changing demographics, The Morocco Club and adjoining pool, local attractions whose access had been “strictly by card,” were in the process of becoming municipal buildings. By the 1940s, the building could be rented out for $15.00 a night to groups such as the Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Rooks, the USO, and the Trianon Club.\textsuperscript{199} These parties were still private and subject to approval by the trustees of the building, but the function had changed considerably. The buildings now held potential to serve broader civic interests as well as the exclusive leisure and entertainment purposes of a select few. A church school was established in 1941, due to the fact that transportation to and from worship services in Tampa could be problematic for many residents. Temple Terrace was still a relatively remote location and according to Burney, “almost everyone attended this non-denominational Sunday school,” which ironically held its first meeting in the former casino, Club Morocco.\textsuperscript{200} It was simply renamed “the swimming pool building” to more accurately reflect its present use as well as downplay

\textsuperscript{197} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{199} Burney 24.

\textsuperscript{200} Burney 25.
its questionable past.\textsuperscript{201} Church meetings were eventually held at Woodmont Clubhouse, as perhaps a more appropriate location, and the former casino was no longer used for religious purposes.\textsuperscript{202}

The domed building that once housed the real estate offices of Temple Terrace Estates Inc. was purchased in 1943 for use as a community church and remains so to this day.\textsuperscript{203} In fact, most of Cleo Burney’s history from the 1940s concerns the development of churches and schools which, except for Florida College, were public and municipal institutions.\textsuperscript{204} It is evident that by the 1940s, the population and demographic of Temple Terrace were changing from an elite, seasonal, vacation-playground for the rich to a suburban neighborhood supporting a Civic Association and middle-class families.\textsuperscript{205} By the end of the 1940s, the pool and old casino (now simply titled “pool building”) were owned by the city’s Civic Association and available to open-membership groups such as the local PTA and Garden Club.\textsuperscript{206}

On the eve of the 1950s Temple Terrace was still sparsely populated with about 80 homes and 433 residents.\textsuperscript{207} Instead of being marketed solely as an elite vacation property with the potential for agricultural profit, proponents of Temple Terrace highlighted the “Essentials of a Good Community” such as “good drinking water, a good

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{201} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{202} Burney 25.
\textsuperscript{203} Burney 25-39.
\textsuperscript{204} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{205} Burney 29.
\textsuperscript{206} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{207} Burney 32, 33.
\end{flushright}
school, an excellent swimming pool and other recreational facilities. These assets appealed to potential property owners interested in a good quality of year-round living, not a seasonal escape from everyday life. Property became more attainable in the wake of the depression. Burney records the city’s sale of five lots for $300, three blocks for $700 and one lot for an unbelievable $10. However, most of these were sold by the city to city officials or earlier residents and in all actuality the sales were not an equal opportunity for all. The city ended sales by 1956. Hope of new opportunity had been instilled in the community. As a burgeoning suburb increasingly dominated by mid-century architecture, Temple Terrace held the promise of post-war domestic success.

Fifty years have passed since and the demographic of the city has dramatically changed within that time. Knowledge of the city’s history has become even more meaningful to an effort at historic preservation. The population is more ethnically and economically diverse than ever before. Recognizing the multiple identities of a community is vital to gaining community support for preservation.

208 Burney 33.
209 Burney 34.
210 Ibid.
211 Ibid.
Implications for Today

Awareness of the city’s past has critical implications for the preservation of one of Florida’s most historically significant neighborhoods. Fortunately, much of the city’s original design and infrastructure still exists today. The original roads, golf course, and city plan are virtually unaltered. Many of the houses still exist in their original positions, although many have been remodeled. Aside from the developers’ houses, 120 other homes were originally planned. Cleo Burney estimates that in actuality only about thirty were built, conflicting with the present-day preservation society’s count of eighty-five, of which sixty-five still exist.\textsuperscript{213} Unfortunately, many of the houses have been lost to neglect, abandonment, and a simple ignorance of their historic value.

The concern for history led to the creation of the Temple Terrace Preservation Society. This concern also prompted the society’s initiative to create a database of oral histories that could be easily accessed by the public. These histories are in danger of disappearing forever because each year, there are fewer elderly residents who remember the city in its early years. In the early stages of my research, I asked friends and neighbors about the historical value of the houses in Temple Terrace and discovered that many people were unaware of the city’s historic past as a participant in Florida’s citrus industry. To preserve the city’s history it is necessary to share, on a broad scale, the stories of the city’s past. However, this task becomes complicated when there is a major conflict within the community. A small city like Temple Terrace needs cooperation between its residents in order to make the city visible and valuable to the greater Tampa Bay area. Without a cohesive narrative of identity, the historic value of Temple Terrace

\textsuperscript{213} [Rimbey] 3.
will not be fully recognized. The question becomes, how should the city be represented? In my research, I identified two problems: a reluctance to discuss certain aspects of the city’s past and lack of consensus within the community, which hinders cooperation on future initiatives.

**Meaning and Phenomenology**

While the fantastical architecture is easily recognized, the social hierarchy of the lifestyle created by The Estates is less visible. Members of the community that I spoke with seemed reluctant to discuss the economic and racial implications of a community based on pastoral fantasy. There are several reasons for this reluctance that are deeply rooted in the creation of meaning. The discussion of the role of the non-white laboring class in Temple Terrace’s past pose some serious issues today because they provide a way to create meaning in contemporary events.

**Pivotal Events**

In December of 2004, the *St. Petersburg Times* published an article titled “Whispers of Lynching Cloud Hanging Inquiry” about a black man that was found hanging from a tree in an office park in Temple Terrace, just five miles from the University of South Florida. The grim discovery was described this way: “Police say they think Damien Johnson took his own life. But Johnson's family and an assortment of other people—including a former Temple Terrace City Council candidate—say they

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don't trust what the police are saying. They suspect he was murdered."\(^{215}\) The practice of lynching, a horror of racial hatred and prejudice in the past, had resurfaced as a contemporary issue with serious implications for the identity of Temple Terrace. Was this event evidence of a racist city and government? This event polarized the community and created assumptions about its character. For example, “That police can't say why Johnson would walk five miles to hang himself helps explain the divide. It also raises rumblings about unconscious racism. Johnson's family members say police in the small town of 23,000 would have investigated more thoroughly had he been white."\(^{216}\) When I discovered the story about the recent hanging, I suddenly had another perspective on the city’s reluctance to discuss the marginalized voices of minority country club workers.

The article goes on to draw a direct correlation between the past and the present as a way to give meaning to a current event: “The specter of a black man found hanging conjures dark images from America's history of lynching. Because of that past, ‘it's hard for an African-American to take at face value the reports handed down by police personnel,’ said Ben Chaney, brother of civil rights icon James Chaney, a voting rights worker killed in Mississippi in 1964."\(^{217}\) The death of Damien Johnson has become a political rallying point as, “Eddie Adams Jr., Temple Terrace's first black City Council candidate and the person spearheading efforts to reopen the investigation, said other factors should have raised doubts."\(^{218}\) Adams was a candidate for the Temple Terrace City Council only months earlier in October 2004. Before this event, the issue of racial

\(^{215}\) Ibid.

\(^{216}\) Ibid.

\(^{217}\) Ibid.

\(^{218}\) Ibid.
representation was at the forefront of his campaign. In this campaign, Adams “argues that plans for a better Temple Terrace will lack substance without greater ethnic diversity in the city's leadership. Blacks, Hispanics and the largest group, Arabs and Muslims, make up an estimated one-third of Temple Terrace's population of 22,000.” Adams appeared aware of the issue of representation in his approach to politics. He took the death of Johnson as an opportunity to represent one experience of a black man in Temple Terrace. Adams had explained his intention in his candidacy: "A city this size should have minority involvement in everything they do… I'm running to represent people that have never been represented before.”

In 2004, Johnson's death was ruled a suicide and the case was closed. Two years later in 2006, perceptions of racism arose again in the issue of public schooling, another archetypal indicator of the status of civil rights. The St. Petersburg Times published an article asking, “In this well-educated, high-income city, why were so many of the public schools low-performing?... Is it test scores? Racism? Misperception? In any case, Temple Terrace schools are losing students.” These statements generated some heated debate amongst the city’s residents. The article raises the issue that many of Temple Terrace’s residents prefer to enroll their children in private schools rather than public schools, thus creating a demographic within the public schools that does not reflect the ethnic make-up of the city. The article discusses racism within the city and describes the point of view of


220 Ibid.


222 Ibid.
local architect and historian Grant Rimbey: “Rimbey, who is white, dismisses the whispers by some that white families in Temple Terrace are racist. ‘I don't have any race issues,’ Rimbey said. ‘I just want my kids to get a good education.’”\(^{223}\) However, a counterpoint is offered by another resident: “Kimberly Williams doesn't totally rule out the racism charge. ‘It's a possibility,’ she said.\(^{224}\) This discussion between residents demonstrates that perceptions of racism are highly subjective and influenced by knowledge of the city.

**Facing the Future**

After struggling to empathize with these racially charged events and issues, I begin to understand why the residents of Temple Terrace today are reluctant to draw attention to the historical inequality of race relations that characterized the city in 1920s. Examples of the city’s past identity have been used to extrapolate meaning in current conflicts such as unsolved deaths and social inequality. Accusations of racism today are influenced by already-existing issues of agency, identity, power, and inherent violence in the history of the south. Photos and representations of the non-white laboring class in Temple Terrace’s early years provoke questions about the continuation of those same disturbing issues. Thus, the question of how to represent the history of the non-white demographic is a major point of controversy and contention. In my research, I found little evidence about the existence of the agricultural and domestic laborers in Temple Terrace Estates because there has been no unified, concerted effort to represent their stories.

\(^{223}\) Ibid.

\(^{224}\) Ibid.
The most recent representation of people of color in early Temple Terrace has been included in *Images of America: Temple Terrace* written by Lana Burroughs, Tim Lancaster, and Grant Rimbey with the Temple Terrace Preservation Society in November 2010. This publication acknowledges the existence of black workers at the Estates, but largely focuses on the golf and leisure-centered pastimes of the city as a grand tradition. This book consists of archival photographs with captions explaining the city’s history. Unfortunately, none of the information provided in caption has been cited properly and, in most cases, not cited at all. Where did this information come from? What are the sources? What is the context of this information? Most alarming was the inclusion of an original Burgert Brothers photo that was shown to me in 2006 by the owner of private collection, who will remain anonymous. The photo was discovered by an older resident of the city when she purchase of an antique photo album. This album contained images of The Estates when it was still new. This particular photo now published in a book depicts a black waiter raising a stick and fending off a crowd of white men in Shriner’s hats (see Fig. 9). The tableau can be read as the record of an assault. There have been no explanations as to what is actually occurring in this picture, other than it documents a Masonic social function, which was not uncommon in the Estates in the 1920s.

The *Images of America: Temple Terrace* publication describes the scene outside of the Estates’ country club as a “jovial battle.” From what source did the authors retrieve this information? Is this a “staged” attack? How can we be sure? In the south and parts of Florida, lynchings were common events and even “family entertainment” that

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226 Ibid. 37.
bystanders regularly documented and photographed.227 Some of these photos were also sent as postcards with messages such as “This is the barbeque we has [sic] last night my picture is to the left with a cross over it.”228 This picture raises questions of agency, identity, power, and inherent violence that the authors would rather not address. Instead, the authors have made an assumption about the intent of the group and the perception of the black waiter. Why would the authors choose to make the assumption that the photo was staged? Assuming that the photo was staged is a way to discuss the past without contradicting the dominant narrative of idyllic life that existed at The Estates. This assumption avoids the ugly reality of inherent threat of violence that minorities experienced as part of daily life in the 1920s. Because of the context of race relations in the American South in the 1920s, we should question the events in this photo—a black waiter is assuming a defensive posture toward a group of white country club patrons.

Addressing the system of social inequality and implied violence in the history of labor at the Estates would have consequences for the city’s future, perhaps strengthening current accusations of continued racism. However, the omission of the voices of laborers also perpetuates secrecy and mistrust. This deliberate omission undermines the creation of a cohesive community identity because a significant portion of the population has not been represented. The ethnic population of Temple Terrace today is growing, as is the need for history that acknowledges more than only the experiences of elite, white property owners. Recent attempts at a more inclusive narrative have not been successful. The Temple Terrace Preservation Society’s efforts to record a database of oral histories


228 Ibid.
has not yet been completed because inclusion of minority voices was too polarizing a
subject for some of the TTPS council members. Although the Preservation Society
enlisted the guidance of Dr. Sandy Stork (a pseudonym) because she is an anthropologist
at the University of South Florida, its members were resistant to her insistence that
minorities must be included in the survey. Betty Lion (a pseudonym), argued that Temple
Terrace never had a large non-white population in the past so it was not a problem that
minorities were not included in the project about the city’s history. Due to opposing
viewpoints, the collaboration eventually came to a standstill. The pivotal question
became, whose version of history will be told? As of November 2010, the preservation
society’s website www.templeterracepreservation.com continues to advertise the oral
history project as “coming soon!” My question is, how and when will these stories be
retrieved and told?

The responsibility to tell history does not just belong to historical societies.
History and identity are intertwined, as storytelling is the way we identify ourselves and
our place in time. The lack of tolerance for the presence of multiple inclusive and
trustworthy narratives narrative undermines community identity. But how is a community
to resolve the kind of historical conflict that exists in Temple Terrace? Is the creation of a
new community identity the answer? Is there a “true” identity of the hidden history of the
city that must be recovered? In answer, Hall theorizes a history based “not [on] the
rediscovery but the production of identity. Not an identity grounded in the archaeology
but in the re-telling of the past.”229 Emphasizing that identity as well as knowledge are
produced, Hall’s approach acknowledges the role of imagination in our perceptions of the

229 Patrick Williams, ed. Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader. (New York:
past. If history is produced, relative, and based on imagination, then a multitude of narratives become possible. The revelation of multiple possible narratives allows another analysis of history that formalizes “ways in which black people, black experiences, were positioned and subject-ed in the dominant regimes of representation.” Hall’s theories allow a place for the non-white population of Temple Terrace Estates in the history of the city.

Scholars and community members of Temple Terrace must acknowledge the continual re-production and re-presentation of the past. The Preservation Society is currently re-producing the past by hosting “Hickory Hacker” golf tournaments where players sport styles of the 1920s and use historically appropriate equipment such as hickory-shafted clubs. The vintage-themed games generate publicity and awareness of the city’s past, as well as its recent application for historic status. Efforts are being taken to promote the city as an historic destination by performing a sport of the 1920s 90 years later in 2011. However, participating in this event is more than just entertaining. It is an opportunity to also rethink a narrative that accounts for the experience of the black labor force in the city’s history, providing a more inclusive identity for the community that exists today. If the initiative to apply for historic status is to succeed, there must be support from the community. A recent St. Petersburg Times article describes the effort: “Many want to see it listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The process could


232 Ibid.
take six months to a year. If they get what they want, Temple Terrace's golf course would be only the second in the state and one of a handful nationwide on the prestigious list.”\textsuperscript{233} Gaining historic designation could mean great things for the city. Property values would increase and the architectural quality of Temple Terrace would improve because people would have more reason to invest in preservation and maintenance of their property. The city could become even more beautiful and unique.

Whether or not the city is accepted on the National Register of Historic Places will influence the fate of the historic houses and the city itself. Land owners, genealogists, the media, and the public all play roles in the creation of a community’s identity. Is the architecture of Temple Terrace worth preserving? If that is so, then a broader approach to the narrative of its past must be taken. Paradoxically, the future of the city depends on our ability to rethink and recreate its past. Today in 2011, community members must seriously consider how they envision the future of the city. Does the city have a future or only a past? The city of Temple Terrace is no longer an enclave to itself, and perhaps it never really was, as many of its original workforce came from the Tampa subdivision of Sulphur Springs. Research on Temple Terrace should be extended into Sulphur Springs, and particularly the historically black neighborhood of Spring Hill, where many of The Estates’ workers lived during the 1920s. It is possible that some of the country club’s employees or their family members might still live there today. Now is the time to start in a new direction in oral history and seek out stories from the perspective of the labor force that supported the grand lifestyle of The Estates.

\textsuperscript{233} Ibid.
Fig. 9. A Burgert Brothers photograph from a privately owned collection.
REFERENCES


[Rimbey, Grant]. *Temple Terrace Tour of Historic Homes*. [2005].


208 North Glen Arven Avenue  
212 North Glen Arven Avenue  
306 North Glen Arven Avenue

310 Glen Burnie Avenue  
312 North Glen Arven Avenue  
404 Park Ridge Avenue

405 Deer Park Avenue  
406 Glen Ridge Avenue  
407 Druid Hills Road
322 Sleepy Hollow Avenue  
213 Greencastle Avenue  
215 Bannockburn Avenue

227 Willowick Avenue  
228 Willowick Avenue  
312 Park Ridge Avenue

313 Sleepy Hollow Avenue  
317 Sleepy Hollow Avenue  
318 Sleepy Hollow Avenue
319 Sleepy Hollow Avenue
406 Mission Hills Avenue
415 Deer Park Avenue

615 Bannockburn Avenue
201 Avondale Avenue
105 South Lockmoor Avenue

210 Sunnyside Road
216 Sunnyside Road
226 Flotto Avenue
421 Bannockburn  
418 Mission Hills
Appendix B: Selected Photographs from the Burgert Brothers Collection, John F. Germany

Public Library, Tampa, FL

The chauffer’s lodge, 1920s. City gate, 1920s.

Formal dining at the country club, 1920s. Country Club exterior, 1920s.
Country club lounge, 1920s.

Country club lobby, 1920s.

Founding fathers, 1920s.

The garage, 1920s.
310 Glen Burnie Avenue, 1920s.  306 North Glen Arven Avenue, 1920

312 North Glen Arven Avenue, 1920s  212 North Glen Arven Avenue, 1920s.
306 Bullard Parkway, 1920s.

The pool at Club Morocco, 1920s.

Office of Temple Terrace Estates, 1920s.

The sun porch, 1920s.