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## The Evolution and Development of Ybor City

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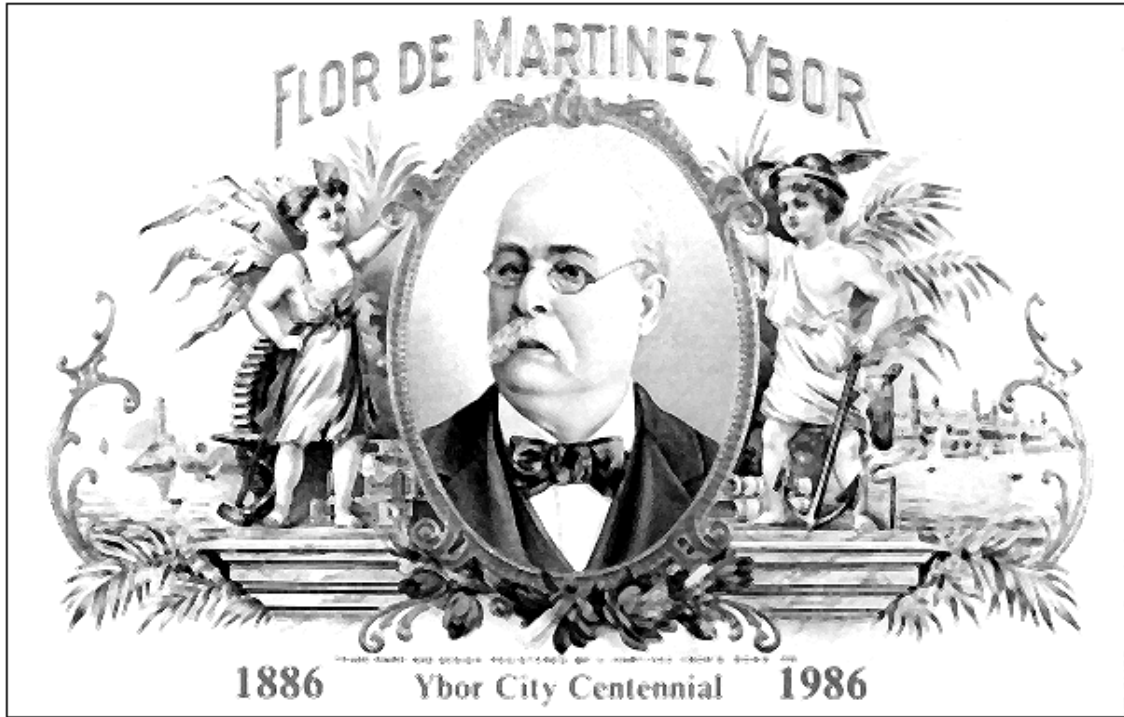
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# THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF YBOR CITY

By DR. L. GLENN WESTFALL



## CELEBRATING A CENTENNIAL

This rare commemorative cigar label was made in honor of Vicente Martinez Ybor in 1904 and was reproduced as a limited edition postcard for the Ybor City Centennial in 1986

-VANCE/WESTFALL Collection

**NOTE:** This chapter is an excerpt from a book to be printed in late 1986 entitled *Don Vicente Martinez Ybor, The Man and His Empire*, published by Garner Press in New York City.

Tampa in 1882 was a sleepy fishing village with less than 1,000 residents. Located on the Gulf coast, it was relatively isolated from the rest of Florida. A stagecoach line in 1878

connected it with Dade City, then known as Tuckertown, but it was most easily reached by water until the Plant railroad arrived in 1883. In that year, Henry Bradley Plant initiated the construction of the South Florida Railway. Additional stage lines connected Tampa to Sanford where the railway terminated. The rail line was instrumental in changing Tampa from a small village into an industrial port city.

Before the disastrous labor strike in 1885, Latin businessmen living in New York



### "FACTORY #1"

Although the cigar center was named after V.M. Ybor, Ignacio Haya, the other principal founder of Ybor City, produced the first cigar in his factory, giving him the prestigious title of "Factory #1." The firm Sanchez y Haya was honored in this 1986 commemorative limited edition postcard.

-VANCE/WESTFALL Collection

frequently traveled to Key West for business or pleasure. While some traveled the allwater route down the Atlantic, others preferred to make the journey as far as they could on land. Before Plant's South Florida Railway was constructed to Tampa, a rail line running to Fernandina terminated at Cedar Key, some 100 miles north of Tampa. Passengers embarked on boats there for Key West, and some stopped occasionally in Tampa. When the railroad reached Sanford, passengers could shorten the water route to Key West by riding the train to Sanford, taking a tiresome, rough ride by coach to Tampa, where they boarded a steamer to the Keys. The railroad line did not connect with Tampa until August 20, 1885.<sup>1</sup>

## 2 CUBANS AND A SPANIARD

Early visitors to Tampa were impressed with the beauty and serenity of the village. Three of these visitors, two native Cubans and the other a Spaniard by birth, would become responsible for Tampa's transformation into

a thriving community. Bernardino Gargol was a native Cuban who lived in New York where he headed a successful import business. From his Cuban factory he shipped jellies and preserves made from the tropical guava fruit.<sup>2</sup> Gavino, Gutierrez, a Spaniard by birth and a civil engineer by training, also resided in New York. He was involved in various enterprises, including imports and liquors.<sup>3</sup> The third Latin, Eduardo Manrara, was born in Cuba. He became acquainted with Ybor in Havana, and later followed the Company to the United States where he joined the firm in 1872. Manrara, 27 years younger than Ybor, was the financial organizer and administrator of the Ybor enterprise. He was placed in charge of the Key West "El Principe de Gales" factory when it was opened in 1878, and he frequently traveled from the New York office to Florida to oversee management and production. Manrara did not like traveling by water since he easily became seasick; he avoided the Atlantic connection to Key West whenever possible.<sup>4</sup> He preferred to go by land, first by train to Cedar Key, and from there by boat to Key West. When the Plant railroad was extended to Sanford, Manrara took that route since it shortened still further the distance he had to travel by water.

Manrara first came into Tampa traveling by stagecoach over the rough overland route from Sanford. There he had the opportunity to become acquainted with that community before embarking for the final leg of his journey. Allegedly it was from Manrara's frequent visits to Tampa that the belief grew that guava trees were abundant in Tampa and the surrounding area. When Bernardino Gargol heard these rumors he envisioned producing guava products in the United States. He decided to visit Tampa and convinced his close friend and associate, Gavino Gutierrez, to join him on the trip. Since Gargol did not speak English,

Gutierrez would act as interpreter on the journey.<sup>5</sup>

### SEARCH FOR GUAVAS

In the latter part of 1884, the two men left New York for Sanford and then continued to Tampa by coach. There, they began their search for the guava trees. None of the local residents knew anything about such trees, but they directed the two Latins to a village called Peru, along the banks of the Alafia River, south of Tampa.<sup>6</sup> Just as the early Spanish conquistadors had looked for gold, the two men embarked on a search for the

trees. After a two-hour journey by steamer from Tampa, they arrived five miles up the mouth of the river to Peru, and to their dismay the search was fruitless. Returning to Tampa, they made plans to sail to Key West, but before embarking they decided to look around a bit. They were impressed with the serenity and beauty of the area. Sr. Gargol felt that Tampa had great potential as a port town, while Gavino, Gutierrez, an avid lover of the outdoors, was enthralled with the abundant wild game.<sup>7</sup> Gutierrez was especially impressed and enthusiastically discussed the idea of returning to Tampa, building a residence, a dream which he later fulfilled.



### INTERIOR OF IGNACIO HAYA MANSION

The Latin Entrepreneurs of Ybor City brought their cultural heritage with them to Ybor City. This interior view of the Ignacio Haya mansion reflects the opulence of a Victorian home in the cigar manufacturing city.

-VANCE/WESTFALL Collection

Arriving in Key West, Gargol and Gutierrez proceeded to the house of Don Vicente, whose winter residence was near the docks on Whitehead Street. They planned to visit their old friend before returning to New York. Don Vicente was entertaining Ignacio Haya, a manufacturing friend from New York, when Gargol and Gutierrez arrived. Haya, of the firm Sanchez and Haya, had come to Key West for both business and pleasure; he always enjoyed the warm Florida climate. Sr. Haya was also there to discuss business. Both he and Ybor were constantly being threatened with labor strikes which could cripple their operations. Haya saw the problem as so serious that he had already dispatched his associate, Serafin Sanchez, to search for other possible locations to open branch factories.<sup>8</sup> Don Vicente was also confronted with labor hostility in Key West, and he too wanted to move to a location where labor was not organized. They were undoubtedly influenced by other manufacturers who were forming company towns, away from the crowded cities, as a means of accelerating production and limiting union influence. Ybor and Haya sent inquiries to Galveston, Mobile, and Pensacola, expressing their interests in possibly locating in one of those cities. Don Vicente had earlier learned about Tampa from Edward Manrara, but had not yet given it serious consideration as a possible location for a branch factory; not until the visit of Gutierrez and Gargol.

### "A PORT CITY"

When the latter men arrived, they were warmly greeted by Don Vicente and Sr. Haya. Gutierrez explained their unsuccessful search for guava trees and their discovery of Tampa. Don Vicente heard Tampa described again in glowing details as Gutierrez chattered endlessly about its primitive

beauty, abundant wild game, and the potential which he believed Tampa had to offer as a port city. The more reserved Gargol reviewed the economic potential of the area, and the conversation soon excited the interests of all four men. They quickly decided a visit to Tampa was in order. If what Gutierrez and Gargol said was true, Haya and Ybor envisioned the area as the location for their factories. They boarded the next available ship leaving for Tampa and arrived at dawn the next day.<sup>9</sup>

A trip around the area was sufficient to convince Haya and Ybor of its assets. Conditions were ideal for cigar production. The climate was warm, Tampa was near Cuba so that tobacco could be easily imported, and the soon-to-be completed Plant railroad would give Tampa a more strategic location for market distribution. Although there were few local laborers available for cigar making, manufacturers did not consider this a serious problem; the new environment, they believed, would attract workers. The two industrialists hoped that in the new surroundings, the workers would be happier and that perhaps there would be less influence of labor organizations.

Although Haya and Ybor did not plan a company town when they first visited Tampa, they soon decided that such an operation might have certain advantages. There was plenty of land, and the temperate climate would make it a pleasant place to live and work. The four men returned to Key West, elated over the visit. Gutierrez and Gargol traveled on to New York, while Ybor and Haya began writing their associates about the potential of Tampa. Manrara was delighted with the news as he already tried to convince Ybor of the value of the area. Manrara strongly believed that a branch factory there would be advantageous to the



### THE GREAT YBOR CITY FIRE OF 1908

This photo, by Pathe Studio, Seventh Ave., Ybor City, graphically shows ruins of the great Ybor City fire of March 1, 1908. The post cards must have been instantly issued, because this one bears the Ybor City Station of the Tampa postoffice postmark of March 19, 1908.

-Photo from the HAMPTON DUNN COLLECTION

firm. Not only would it be an excellent business venture, but he would no longer have to travel by water.<sup>10</sup>

### BOARD OF TRADE

Haya also wrote to his associate Serafin Sanchez about Tampa. Sanchez had been told 'about Tampa earlier by Gutierrez who explained that "chickens which sold in Key West for seventy-five cents could be bought in Tampa for twenty-five," and that plenty of land was available.<sup>11</sup> Since he was already scouting for possible factory locations, he added Tampa to his itinerary, arriving in mid-July 1885. After looking over the area, he met with the newly created Tampa Board of Trade and outlined the ways they "could facilitate their enterprise and asked for such cooperation, which the

Board assured him would be cordially given.<sup>12</sup> The town was elated over the possibility of bringing a new industry into the area. The local Tampa paper stated: "The benefits that would inure to Tampa from the establishment of such an industry cannot be too deeply impressed on our citizens. The firm of Sanchez and Haya employs 125 cigar makers and can give employment to any number of little boys and girls as strippers.<sup>13</sup> The Board offered the second floor of Miller and Henderson's large stables, rent free, for a factory, but since there were no available workers the offer was refused.<sup>14</sup> Sanchez was looking for a tract of land large enough not only for a factory but one where workers' homes and other buildings could be erected. Returning to New York, Sanchez wrote Haya and Ybor in Key West. He wanted them to return to

Tampa and begin negotiations for land. By September, Haya and Ybor were in Tampa for their second visit.<sup>15</sup> After first examining the Bradenton area, Don Vicente selected forty acres northeast of Tampa where there was a fresh water well. This tract of land, purchased a few months earlier by Captain John T. Lesley, was the property Ybor wanted. Lesley was a member of the Board of Trade; other members were William S. Henderson, Thomas Carruth, and Thomas Spencer.<sup>16</sup> All were willing to sell their land, but Ybor was only interested in the Lesley property. He was offered the tract for \$9,000, a price which Ybor felt was too high; he knew that Lesley had purchased it for \$5,000 a few months earlier. Intimating that they might locate their operations in another community, Ybor and Haya left the meeting. Later, as they were walking down Washington Street on their way back to their hotel, they stopped at the store owned by Colonel William Henderson, who had become a friendly acquaintance. When Don Vicente told Henderson about their decision to leave Tampa, the Colonel became very alarmed. Don Vicente's scare strategy worked. Henderson realized the economic potential which the cigar industry would have on the future of Hillsborough County, and he was determined to do everything he could to keep Haya and Ybor in Tampa. He pleaded with the visitors to remain in town a few more days so that the Board could reconsider their offer and arrange a way for them to get Lesley's land at an agreeable price.<sup>17</sup>

### **DEAL CONCLUDED**

Henderson offered to sell them his own land which was later to become Tampa Heights, but Ybor insisted upon the Lesley property. When the Board reconvened in an emergency meeting October 5, 1885, a compromise was worked out. Ybor would

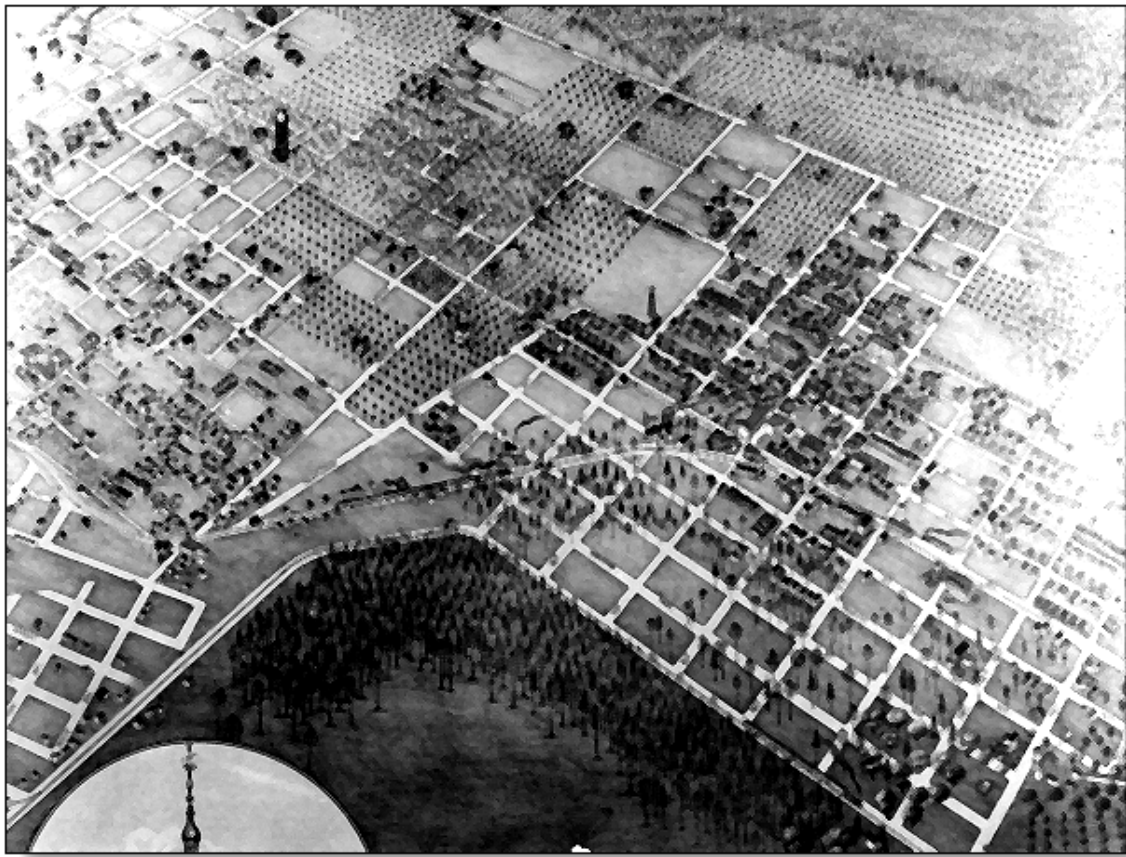
pay \$9,000, Lesley's price, but he would be reimbursed \$4,000 by the Board.<sup>18</sup> The meeting ended successfully: Lesley received his price; the Board of Trade had successfully induced the manufacturers to build in Tampa; and Don Vicente received the land he wanted. Everyone seemed satisfied, and plans were soon underway to construct Ybor's cigar factory and town.

At first, Haya remained in the background, but once definite plans for the construction of the factory began, he purchased land adjacent to Ybor's and started his own factory. Although Haya was one of the original founders of the cigar industry in what was to be called Ybor City, the honor of beginning the company town went to Don Vicente.

Ybor did not at first announce whether he intended to construct a company town or a pilot factory northeast of Tampa. Judging from the amount of land he purchased it seems as though he intended to begin a small factory and if it succeeded, to expand production. Ybor still maintained his "El Principe de Gales" operation in Key West while the wooden structure was being built on the outskirts of Tampa. He even considered expanding his Key West business by attempting to purchase an extension of land called "La Saline" in Monroe County, but the price was too high, and he gave up that idea.<sup>19</sup> The disillusionment over not purchasing the La Saline land was minimized by a more catastrophic event.

### **KEY WEST FIRE**

On April 1, 1886, a devastating fire in Key West destroyed many buildings, including Ybor's factory.<sup>20</sup> Had he been able to purchase the La Saline land, perhaps he would have maintained production in Key



#### **A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF YBOR CITY**

**This bird's eye view of Ybor City was sketched in 1892. In the center of the photograph is a train connecting downtown Tampa (to the left) with the cigar center Ybor City (to the right).**

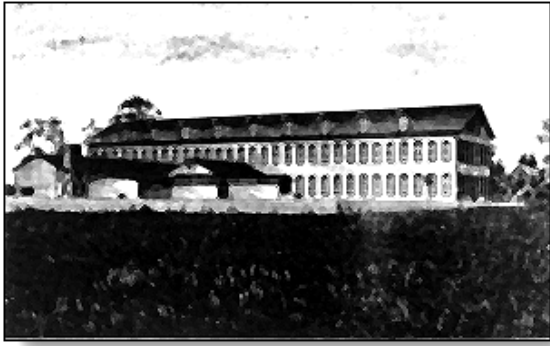
-Photo courtesy Dr. L. Glenn Westfall

West. Now, Don Vicente decided to leave south Florida and transfer all of his operations to his Tampa site. He was sixty-eight years old when he began building a factory and laying out a town which was to make Tampa one of the leading cities of the South.

Although Ybor did not have an elaborate master plan for Ybor City in the beginning, he quickly developed one. He was influenced by the trend in some American industries where manufacturers developed their own functional communities. These company towns, constructed to support the operations of a single company, included

homes for the workers and commercial buildings.<sup>21</sup> George Pullman had established such a town in Illinois, and it served as a model for other businessmen. Although Ybor's city was not on the massive scale of Pullman's settlement, it was developed with the hope of providing a good living and working environment so that labor unions would have fewer grievances against owners. It would also operate as a profit-making venture, like the southern cotton mill towns. Ybor had purposefully selected land somewhat distant from the community of Tampa. This isolation would have a major social importance to the workers - primarily Cubans, Spaniards and





### OLD FACTORY STILL STANDING

The El Recurso cigar factory built in 1890 is the only remaining early wooden factory still standing. It is located on Palm Avenue, directly behind the Ybor City State Museum.

-WESTFALL Collection

control the lives of the workers, a characteristic of several other company towns in the United States.<sup>22</sup> Don Vicente had earlier mentioned that his only problem would be finding a source of labor. Now he felt that the cost of living, lower than that in large cities and Key West, would be an inducement to workers to move to Ybor City.

Ybor hired Gavino Gutierrez as a civil engineer to survey the land and to oversee construction. Workers and supplies came first from Savannah.<sup>23</sup> Ybor was so anxious to start that he initiated construction even before he received his \$4,000 from the Board of Trade. Work began October 5, 1885. Land was first cleared so that Gutierrez and his surveyors could divide the property into plots for sale.<sup>24</sup>

### MORE PROPERTY

Don Vicente quickly added to his original forty acres by purchasing land from John Lesley, Stephen M. Sparkman, Thomas Spencer, and he also bought land from Gavino Gutierrez who had secured it earlier.<sup>25</sup> Ybor also purchased an additional

Italians. The isolation allowed Ybor to more easily

adjoining fifty acres which ran from Tampa Heights to the edge of the Hillsborough Bay.

The first city plan gave numerical designations to streets running north and south; those running east and west were named after states of the union.<sup>26</sup> Later, most streets and avenues were given numbers. There were considerable changes in the original terrain during the development of Ybor City. The northern lands were high, palmetto covered sands, surrounded to the east and west by forests. To the south were swampy marshes which drained into Tampa Bay.<sup>27</sup> Wildlife was abundant, and even after the town was constructed, alligators from the southern marshes sometimes crawled through the streets at night.<sup>28</sup> The marshlands in the area between the Bay and Sixth Avenue were one of the earliest problems that needed solving. Thousands of loads of sand and sawdust were brought in, but this landfill operation was only partially successful because of the size of the water-soaked area.

C.F. Purcell, a local building contractor, received the contract to construct a three-story wooden cigar factory and houses for fifty workers.<sup>29</sup> Local lumber was used. The buildings constructed were set on a foundation of brick pillars which raised them out of the damp, sandy earth, and made them less susceptible to the insects and small rodents which inhabited nearby thickets and swamps.

### "SOMETHING NEW"

The construction of the city was viewed as a marvelous undertaking by the local newspaper.

If a person would visit this place every day there would be something new to see, some

new evidence of the substantial growth and development. But when a person goes out there only once in two or three weeks, astonishment meets the eye and it is difficult to understand how much can be done in so short a time. And when one remembers that less than six months ago this site was a forest, the transformation furnishes a matter for interesting consideration. A person cannot fail to be impressed until the idea that the enterprise is backed by immense capital and at the same time is being directed by master minds. Apparently not a single mistake has been made, evidence of business sagacity and worthy ambition abound on every hand. The senior member of this great firm is Mr. V. Martinez Ybor.<sup>30</sup>

With his temporary wooden factory construction underway, Ybor had a larger, more commodious brick factory begun on the corner of Ninth Avenue and Fourteenth Street. Even before it was completed, the Tampa Guardian recorded:

The mammoth three story brick cigar factory of Messrs. V. Martinez Ybor and Company is nearing completion; there is not a more substantial structure in the State of Florida. None but the very best material has been used in any part and no expense spared to make it both handsome and convenient. The Company has provided for emergencies and convenience by constructing two flights of stairways from the first to the third floor, besides, a large elevator goes from the bottom to the top. There is a large handsome observatory on the top from which a most magnificent view can be taken, embracing the two cities of Tampa and Ybor, the country on the north and west, and the grandure of the bay on the east.<sup>31</sup>

Ignacio Haya, the silent fellow manufacturer in land negotiations, was convinced that Ybor City would be a success, and he

purchased ten acres of land adjacent to that owned by Ybor. He constructed his own factory and several workers' homes. His factory was a two-story wooden frame building located between Sixth and Seventh Avenues on Fifteenth Street. Work started approximately the same time as Ybor's buildings, and a race began to see whose would be finished first. By the beginning of 1886 both wooden structures were ready, and plans were made to open them the same day. Circumstances prevented Ybor from opening his factory as planned, and the first cigars in Ybor City were produced by Sanchez and Haya's "Flor de Sanchez y Haya" factory. Ybor had ordered bales of unstripped tobacco from Key West, and this caused his delay; Sanchez and Haya used tobacco which already had the stems stripped from it.<sup>32</sup> It was also claimed that Ybor was unable to begin production as he had planned on March 26, 1886, because the Cuban workers employed in the new "El Principe de Gales" factory refused to work under the newly hired Spanish foreman. Cubans had brought their resentment of Spaniards with them from Key West and Cuba.<sup>33</sup>

## REAL ESTATE PROFITS

With construction under way, several contracts were awarded by Ybor to A.P. Gladden, a Tennessee contractor and builder, whose total work amounted to \$81,000 during 1886 and 1887.<sup>34</sup> This included furnishing 1,100 pairs of window blinds for workers' homes.<sup>35</sup>

As Ybor City grew, its founders carefully planned its expansion so that they could realize profits not only from cigars but also from real estate. On October 15, 1886, Ybor and his associates formed the Ybor City

Land and Improvement Company. Shortly afterwards another land and real estate company was organized by Sanchez and Haya.<sup>36</sup> Ybor's company was the largest of the investment companies. Its charter outlined its function as buying selling, and improving real estate.<sup>37</sup> After land companies were formed, construction expanded rapidly. Both the Ybor and Sanchez and Haya companies built workers' houses, and factories, and induced other manufacturers to move to Ybor City. By May 1886, Ybor and his partners had constructed eighty-nine houses, including thirty-three two-story family dwellings.<sup>38</sup> Ybor brought in his own materials, labor, and supplies. By the end of the year, he erected a total of 176 dwellings. These houses were small, built of upright boards, and were sold from \$750 to \$900, depending on location.<sup>39</sup> Each house had two to three rooms, and families shared outside privies. The white-painted picket fences which outlined the properties added a pleasant atmosphere to the streets. The houses were considered superior to worker dwellings in Key West or Havana, and were part of the inducement to draw workers to Ybor City.

Several serious problems confronted Ybor and his contractors in the development of the city. Besides the marshlands, sewage ran directly into the lowland areas south of Seventh Avenue, polluting much of the potable water. There was only one deep well which supplied water for many people, and it was difficult to carry the water long distances over the sand-covered roads. The Key West population had always been faced with a shortage of water, and so they resorted to draining rain water from roofs and collecting it in barrels. When workers arrived in Ybor City, they used these same means of collecting water, but they found that the process of straining out thousands of insects from the water barrels was a difficult

task.<sup>40</sup> Hand pumps later provided some water, but mud, sand, and pieces of rock had to be filtered out. The marshes were breeding grounds for gnats and mosquitos, and along with an inadequate sewage system, they created a danger to health. Malaria and yellow fever were commonplace, and Sr. Ybor brought in a doctor from Cuba to care for his workers. Other physicians soon arrived and organized a social welfare organization called La Iguala (The Equal). Workers paid a weekly fee of ten cents for medical care. This was the prelude to several Latin medical centers which organized as the population of the community increased.<sup>41</sup> Although neighboring Tampa had physicians, most of them were unavailable to Ybor City residents. Some refused to treat Latins, or else they closed their offices on Sunday, the only day the cigar workers had free.

## TRAVEL BY FOOT

Producing sufficient food was still another problem. The workers were not accustomed to growing their own crops for consumption, and in the first few months residents had to rely upon outside distributors. A Cuban, Santos Benitez, imported commodities which were distributed to the settlers.<sup>42</sup> By the middle of 1886, several grocery stores were in operation. M.M. Castillo's store carried a full stock of family groceries. Garner and Son was another popular establishment, and there were meat markets, ice cream and cold drink emporiums, drug stores and restaurants.<sup>43</sup>

Early transportation was veritably nonexistent. Most people traveled by foot since the thick sand made other modes of transportation difficult. According to one early resident, in order to walk from one end of the village to the other, a person had to

prepare himself as though he were making a journey across a desert.<sup>44</sup> Sand was a problem for building constructors; wheels easily bogged down, making it frustrating to transport building materials. An attempt to solve this problem was made by lining Seventh Avenue with wooden blocks. Sidewalks were also made of wood blocks, but when they were wet they would swell, only to fall back into place when they had dried out.<sup>45</sup> Sawdust, and later oil, was placed on the streets to keep the dust down, but it was not until nearly the beginning of the twentieth century that streets were paved with bricks.

To light the houses, Ybor first distributed candles. When there were kerosene lamps available, he personally distributed them to the workers' homes.<sup>46</sup> Lighting the cigar factories by artificial light was an impossibility, so large windows were placed on each floor. Laborers started to work early in the morning and remained until sunset to take advantage of the available natural light. On extremely cloudy or rainy days, the workers who sorted tobacco leaves into various qualities according to color were often sent home since they did not have sufficient light to do their jobs.

## LATIN CULTURE

Coffee houses, clubs, and theatres were important to the Latin culture, and once Ybor's factory was completed, he turned over his wooden factory building for use as a theatre. Later it became known as Liceo Cubano, and was used as a club for the workers.<sup>47</sup> There were not many women in Ybor City to begin with. Some workers sought wives in Key West or Havana, and many frequented the "Scrub" area of Ybor City, where a group of prostitutes resided. Long lines gathered, particularly on

weekends, and the women made a very profitable living from their activities.<sup>48</sup> Even after families moved in, "visiting the houses" was an active weekend pastime.

In the first few months of its history, work went slowly because of the natural problems encountered in forming a new community, and Haya decided to put up his entire property for sale. This, in turn, discouraged Ybor, and each man was fearful that the other would leave. According to Tobacco, Mr. Gutierrez, an employee of Ybor's, worked out a scheme which, as it turned out, worked.

He went to Mr. Haya, and very seriously told him that he had a buyer for all his property. "Who is it?" says Mr. Haya. Mr. Gutierrez told him that it was Mr. Ybor. "You don't tell me!" said Mr. Haya; "why if he stays, I'll stay too." When Mr. Gutierrez told Mr. Ybor that afternoon, Mr. Ybor said: "No, no, I don't want to"; but when it was explained to him he chuckled, and told Mr. Gutierrez to go with him to Mr. Haya. When Mr. Ybor made the same proposition, Mr. Haya replied that if Mr. Ybor was going to stay he did not want to sell anything but would also stay. They both acknowledged their fear of the other's leaving. They shook hands, and that night a champagne supper decided the question of their staying. Such was the casting straw which settled the question for Tampa's prosperity.<sup>49</sup>

A streetcar began operating between Ybor City and Tampa, running on narrow-gauge rails and pulled by little dummy engines. When Tampa backers of the project questioned its success, Ybor and Manrara, who felt the railroad was a necessity, bought controlling interest on November 14, 1885. The following April, it was in full operation.<sup>50</sup> At first there was no regular schedule, but soon it was running hourly between communities. The engines were

named after the prominent ladies of Ybor City; the Fannie, after Mrs. Ignacio Haya, and the Jennie, Mirta and Eloise for Ybor's daughters.<sup>51</sup>

### "LITTLE HAVANA"

With the streetcar in operation, it soon became a popular weekend pastime for the Latins to visit the parks of Tampa, while Tampa residents enjoyed visiting the foreign atmosphere of the cigar community. They called Ybor City "Little Havana" and delighted in weekend dining at the Latin restaurants. These were the few major cultural contacts between the Latins and the Anglos; most of the time each community remained isolated from the other, preserving their own traditions and cultures. Only among the wealthier classes were there occasional social exchanges.

In spite of the early hardships, the cigar city was a success; Cuban, Spanish, and later Italian immigrants came to Ybor City by the thousands. During the first few years, the city faced the growing pains typical of new settlements. A serious problem was that there were no police; this was one of several reasons the city of Tampa was interested in annexing Ybor City. A small guard force was hired by Ybor and other manufacturers and they tried to assure domestic order, but the detachment was too small to maintain law and order in a fast-growing community.<sup>52</sup>

As the town expanded, the Tampa Board of Trade urged legislation to extend Tampa's boundaries to include Ybor City. Ybor strongly opposed annexation; he argued that the municipal laws and taxes of Tampa would hinder his operations. There would be very few benefits for the Latin community through annexation, he felt, and his

company had already improved the streets, provided lighting, and laid the sidewalks.<sup>53</sup>

In spite of his protestations, on June 2, 1887, Ybor City was incorporated into the City of Tampa, becoming its fourth ward. Although economic benefits of annexation to Tampa were obviously an advantage, the Tampa Tribune noted one of the major changes was the appearance of Tampa policemen which calmed down the wild frontier town, making it a more respectable place to visit on Sundays.<sup>54</sup>

Even after annexation, Ybor City retained its ethnic identity and traditions; it was a city within a city. Local Tampanns began to share in the wealth of the city founded by immigrant capital, and Ybor and his associates continued to expand their economic interests. The sleepy coastal village was fast becoming a major urban community.

### FOOTNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Grismer, Tampa: A History, 175.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Pizzo, "Gutierrez Descubre a Tampa," *Tropico: Revista Mensual Ilustrada al Servicio de Hispano-America* #9 (March, 1955), 115; June Connor *The SZ of Tampa* (Tampa, 1927). Connor, an early resident of Ybor City, personally knew several of the prominent Latin manufacturers and worked in the Ybor-Manrara factory as a bookkeeper for a few years. She wrote several articles for local newspapers, tobacco trade journals, and compiled a personal collection of papers donated to the Tampa Public Library. Much of her materials were plagiarized by the Federal Writers Project writers. Mrs. Connor wrote under the pseudonym of "Quien Sabe," which she translated to mean "the one who knows."

<sup>3</sup> Pizzo, "Gutierrez Descubre a Tampa," 5; Trow's *New York Directory*, New York. Although Gavino Gutierrez was not listed as a civil engineer in the directory, his activities for the following years included: 1875, owner of a liquor distributorship at

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415 5th Avenue; 1876, 1887, 1888, a merchant at 84 Duane Street.

<sup>4</sup> Durward Long, "The Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modern Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly* XLV (July 1966), 32.

<sup>5</sup> Jesse Keene, "Gavino Gutierrez and His Contributions to Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (July 1957), 37.

<sup>6</sup> Pizzo, "Gutierrez Descubre a Tampa," 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 17. An August 16, 1893 article in the *Tampa Morning Tribune* is devoted to the attractions of Peru, Florida. It mentions the steamer, "Antique City," and local sources claim this was the same steamer which took Gutierrez and Gargol to Peru.

<sup>8</sup> Rivero Muniz, "Los Cubanos en Tampa," 12.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>11</sup> "New York, Tobacco Leaf, July 12, 1895.

<sup>12</sup> Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, Tampa Chamber of Commerce, Tampa, July 15, 1885.

<sup>13</sup> *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 16, 1885.

<sup>14</sup> "New York, Tobacco Leaf, July 12, 1895.

<sup>15</sup> "Rivero Muniz, "Los Cubanos en Tampa," 13.

<sup>16</sup> "Grismer, Tampa: A History, 180.

<sup>17</sup> "Connor, The Story of Tampa, 10.

<sup>18</sup> Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, Tampa Chamber of Commerce, Tampa, October 5, 1885. Although a \$4,000 inducement was promised to Ybor, he had a difficult time collecting the money from the Board of Trade, a point of much irritation for the manufacturer. Failure to pay Ybor and Company, and an apology for not inviting Ybor to a banquet in honor of Henry B. Plant were topics of the *Tampa Guardian Supplement*, May 5, 1886, approximately eight months after the money was to have been paid. Two months later, the money was not yet collected by the Board, and a special committee was formed to hasten the collection of funds. (Records of the Tampa Board of Trade, July 21, 1886.) By December 15, 1886, the Board still had a

small amount to collect; by the end of the year, lands valued at \$3,300 and \$700 cash were paid to the V. M. Ybor and Company. (Minutes of the Board of Trade, December 15, 1886.) Durward Long, "The Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modern Tampa lists private source, as responsible for paying the remaining amount of money owed to the manufacturer.

<sup>19</sup> "A History of Ybor City," W.P.A. Federal Writers Project for the State of Florida (Tampa, n.d.), 34. Hereafter, W.P.A. writings will be listed as W.P.A. Federal Writers Projects.

<sup>20</sup> Rivero Muniz, "Los Cubanos en Tampa," 16.

<sup>21</sup> James B. Allen, *The Company, Town in the American* [Vest (Norman, Oklahoma, 1966), 4.

<sup>22</sup> *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, s.v. "Company Towns," by Horace B. Davis.

<sup>23</sup> Emilio del Rio, *Yo Fui uno de los Fundadores de Ybor City* (Tampa, n.d.), 8.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Gilbert Flores, Architect, Tampa, Florida, April 3, 1976. According to Mr. Flores, the Ybor City grid layout was based on 200-ft.-wide by 350-ft. blocks with 50-ft. right-of-ways and 10-ft. alleys, running through the middle of the blocks. By adding two 50-ft. right-of-ways to the 200-ft. width, and one 50-ft. right-of-way to the 350-ft. length, a dimension of 300 ft. by 400 ft. is obtained, which forms a simple 3-4-5 triangle, a basic triangle commonly used in surveying. This information allows us to know what type of layout was used by Gavino Gutierrez in surveying Ybor City.

<sup>25</sup> "Map of Ybor City," March, 1886, Plat Book 1, Hillsborough County Clerk of the Circuit Court, Tampa, 11.

<sup>26</sup> Pizzo, "Gutierrez Descubre a Tampa," 17.

<sup>27</sup> D. Paul Westmeyer, "Tampa, Florida, A Geographic Interpretation of Its Development." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Florida, 1953), 17, 58.

<sup>28</sup> Fernando Lemos, "Early Days of Ybor City," W.P.A. Federal Writers Project (Tampa, n.d.), 22

<sup>29</sup> Rivero Muniz, "Los Cubanos en Tampa," 15.

<sup>30</sup> *Tampa Guardian*, May 5, 1886.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., June 9, 1885.

<sup>32</sup> Long, "The Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modern Tampa," 35.

<sup>33</sup> Rivero Muniz, "Los Cubanos en Tampa," 16.

<sup>34</sup> Tampa Weekly Journal, May 26, 1887.

<sup>35</sup> Tampa Journal, January 26, 1887.

<sup>36</sup> Wells to Sanchez and Haya, December 16, 1886, Deed Book R, Hillsborough County Courthouse, Tampa, 256. Sanchez and Haya purchased an additional 10 acres of land, substantially increasing the holdings of their Land Company in Ybor City.

<sup>37</sup> Articles of Incorporation, the Ybor City Land and Improvement Company, October 10, 1885.

<sup>38</sup> Long, "The Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modern Tampa," 35-36.

<sup>39</sup> "Ybor City, 1884-1935," W.P.A. Federal Writers Project (Tampa, n.d.), 4.

<sup>40</sup> "A History of Ybor City," W.P.A. Federal Writers Project (Tampa, n.d.), 4.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 36: "Ybor City, General Description, Latin Population," W.P.A. Federal Writers Project (Tampa, n.d.), 4.

<sup>42</sup> Fernando Lemos, "Early Days in Ybor City," W.P.A. Federal Writers Project (Tampa, n.d.), 19.

<sup>43</sup> Tampa Guardian, June 9, 1886.

<sup>44</sup> Jose Rivero Muniz, "Tampa at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," Florida Historical Quarterly XLI (April 1963), 337.

<sup>45</sup> "A History of Ybor City," W.P.A. Federal Writers Project (Tampa, n.d.), 5.

<sup>46</sup> Lemos, "Early Days of Ybor City," 18.

<sup>47</sup> Del Rio, Yo Fui uno de Los Fundadores de Ybor City, 11.

<sup>48</sup> Jose Garcia, "The History of Ybor City," W.P.A. Federal Writers Project (Tampa, n.d.), 10.

<sup>49</sup> New York, Tobacco Leaf, July 12, 1895.

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<sup>50</sup> Grismer, Tampa: A History, 191.

<sup>51</sup> Ybor City, General Description, Latin Populations," W.P.A. Federal Writers Project (Tampa, n.d.), 165.

<sup>52</sup> Tampa Guardian, October 27, 1886.

<sup>53</sup> Florida Senate Journal (Tallahassee, 1887), 273, 275.

<sup>54</sup> Tampa Tribune, October 13, 1887.