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KYLE S. VanLANDINGHAM
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Headquarters
245 S. Hyde Park Avenue
Tampa, FL 33606
Phone (813) 259-1111

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Cover photo. Early postcard of Fort Brooke officers’ quarters.

The Sunland Tribune is the official annual publication of Tampa Historical Society, distributed to members each year. Non-members may receive limited edition issues by contacting the Society at 259-1111.

Individuals interested in contributing manuscripts for consideration should send them to the headquarters no later than August 15 of each calendar year. The Sunland Tribune Committee will review, accept or reject articles and will return all photographs and materials not selected for publication. All manuscripts should be no more than twelve double-spaced typed pages in length and should include footnotes, lists of sources as well as captions for all photographs submitted.
The President’s Report

As most of you know I assumed the presidency of THS last February following the resignation of Charles Jordan.

We have continued to push ahead and with the able help of Lois Latimer we have reorganized the office and streamlined our financial procedures under our able Treasurer, Frank Smith.

Our renovation of the Knight House is almost complete and we now have a new front porch that no one will fall through, plus a new roof -- thanks again to the Fermans for their help.

The original programs and purpose of the Historical Society still remain the focal point of the board. They are: The Sunland Tribune, The Old Timers Reunion, The Oaklawn Cemetery Ramble and Historical Markers under the direction of Arsenio Sanchez, and of course our Annual Dinner and the presentation of the prestigious D. B. McKay Award.

This past spring we added our first Antique and Collectible Sale and hopefully this will become our spring fund-raiser each year.

George Howell and his committee have continued their work on a History Video of Florida to be placed in schools in the near future. This is an exciting educational perk applauded by the school system. And of course Kyle VanLandingham, our Editor in Chief of The Sunland Tribune who has given countless hours and dedication to put together this edition.

We continue to work closely with the Tampa Bay History Center lending our support and encouragement.

Your board has worked diligently and we could not have managed without Ralph Beaver’s endless supply of mailing labels, Mary Brown and Rowena Brady’s hours of inventory, Jim Marshall and his House Committee; Charlie Brown, Richard Sessums and Frank North hawking our wares at the Antique Sale and of course Nancy Skemp, our lemonade queen, who sold gallons that day and Paul Pizzo, who has provided legal counsel for us.

My heartfelt thanks to each of them without whose help I could not have managed. But my biggest and last thanks are to all of you who support the Historical Society’s efforts through thick and thin. You are a wonderful...
group and I have appreciated your calls and notes throughout the year.

Sincerely,

Barbara Reeves
THE KNOW-NOTHINGS OF HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY

By SPESSARD STONE

The demise of the Whigs in the 1850’s led to the emergence of the Know-Nothing, or American party, whose members included many prominent citizens in Hillsborough County.

In Florida the defeat in 1852 of the Whig candidates, George T Ward for governor and Edward Carrington Cabell for Congress, severely weakened the Whigs, and the conflict over the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 rendered the party its death blow. In moral outrage to the latter the Republican Party arose, while also came forth the Know-Nothing, or American Party, from which in Florida many former Unionist Whigs formed their own unique party.

Nationally, Know-Nothingism was infamous for its anti-Catholicism and nativism, of which Rufus Choate epitaphed, "Any thing more low, obscene, feculent the manifold heavings of history have not cast up." In Florida the Know-Nothings followed a slightly different drummer and presented themselves as a loyal, patriotic party striving for a legal solution to slavery within the Union, without any overt hostility against Florida Catholics, and only to a lesser degree anti-immigrant. In Hillsborough County, however, the party deviated from the state lead in two significant tenets, being strongly anti-Catholic and anti-foreign.

The genesis of the Know-Nothings in Florida is inexact as the organization was characterized by secretiveness and its reply when queried by nonmembers, "I know nothing," thus its designation. As early as April 1854, meetings of the party were noted in the press, but not until June 17, 1854 did a Tallahassee newspaper refer to the gatherings as those of Know-Nothing lodges.

The leader of the Hillsborough County Know-Nothings was John Darling of Tampa. Born in Groton, Vermont on August 16, 1808, he, while serving in the U. S. Army, had come to Fort Brooke and served there and at other posts during the Second Seminole War (1835-42) as an ordnance
sergeant. Discharged, he settled in Tampa were in 1848 he became a business partner of Thomas P. Kennedy, a Philadelphia native, who had arrived in 1840 at Fort Brooke where he'd gained business acumen as a sutler during the Second Seminole War. The firm of Kennedy & Darling, with its store and warehouse on the corner of Whiting and Tampa streets, soon emerged as the financial backbone, not only of Tampa, but the entire southwest area of the state.6

John Darling soon became involved in civic affairs. In 1851 he was appointed a member of the first State Board of Internal Improvements and reappointed in 1853. In 1854 he was elected president of the board of trustees of the village of Tampa. Of great interest to Darling and Tampa was Sen. David L. Yulee’s Florida Railroad charter which called for rails from Fernandina to Tampa, with a branch to Cedar Key.7

Jesse Carter had been elected in October 1854, as Hillsborough County’s Democratic representative in the General Assembly. The railroad issue was preeminent to Carter, but the following letters show Senator Yulee was already distancing himself from Carter. (Yulee’s railroad on March 1, 1861 reached Cedar Key, but Tampa was without a railroad until 1884.)8

On October 6, 1854 from Tampa, Carter wrote to Yulee:

"The returns of the Election here are all in & I hasten to give you the results. My majority over Mr. [Christopher Q.] Crawford is 119 ... I was denied a defense through the columns of the Corrupt & rotten Herald, which made it obligatory on me to take the stump & make my defense before the people which I did against the combined opposition of the Herald, Magbee, Gettis, Darling, & several other kindred spirits ... it could not have escaped your observation that I was carrying you & the Rail Road ... In addition to other measures of opposition a "Know nothing" Society was organized here under the auspices of my opponent after the canvas opened, & every effort made to carry them against me upon the ground of my friendship to you of foreign birth ... You are firmly established in Hillsborough Co. & yet you have turned a deaf ear ... You may very really imagine my mortification to learn ... you have left for St. Augustine without even a line from you."9

On November 21, 1854, Carter penned to Yulee:

"Notwithstanding my great triumph the Rail Road question is kept alive by those opposed as one of the means of your defeat, & at the same time intending it shall, if possible, recoil upon me. The reports brought
here by Bradly, Hope, & others have given a new impulse to the question & you must make public at once the new state of things. And let me say this now. If you are looking to this legislature for a branch charter that branch must be for Cedar Keys & not Tampa. Take the position as one that the termini of the main trunk is at Tampa & that a branch will be extended to Cedar Keys, & make this public immediately."

At the national convention of the American party in June 1855, at Philadelphia, Southerners dominated. A proslavery resolution was passed and former President Millard Fillmore was nominated for President. The Know-Nothing National Council from Florida was: T. Y. Henry, William Judge, A. G. Lamberton, W. W. McCall, John Darling, Allen G. Johnson, and Thomas Randall.

Darling had been elected May 7, 1855, as Hillsborough County's representative to succeed Carter who had resigned due to the railroad issue. When it was learned that Darling had joined the Know-Nothing Party, "Democrat" reproved: "Col. Darling was nominated from the fact that he had held himself out for years as a thorough Democrat ... that they voted for him almost unanimously, indeed so strong was their faith that the Catholic Democrats voted for him..."

Darling countered:

"The Native American Party was fully organized in this county and known to exist ... my offense is that I knew I was a Know-nothing and did not make the fact "Publicly
known"...One would suppose from what "Democrat" says that I was a person of vast concern to the "democratic party, , the very corner stone of its political fabric ... Yet, if any "sound democrat" voted for me, believing that I was in favor of Foreigners or Roman Catholics, holding office in the United States or under, or by the authority of the United States Government, they never had any such assurances from me, but the contrary were my frequently and openly expressed opinions above board ... I had my appointment as a Delegate to the National Council before I was nominated for Representative. I feel under obligation to the "sound democrats" for their support, not because I was a Know Nothing, but because I was "sound" on the railroad issue and they knew it, neither will I believe I was voted for upon any other issue..."14

"The establishment or prohibition of slavery under the constitution of the United States can be accomplished by state sovereignty alone... The American Party will, therefore, maintain that neither the Congress nor the territory, nor both together, can establish or prohibit slavery in a territory of the United States; that no Constitution can be admitted into the Union by Congress establishing or prohibiting slavery ... The American Party affirms and will maintain the Fugitive Slave Law ... The doctrine of the American Party is "that in all doubtful or disputed points it may only be legally ascertained and expounded by the judicial power of the United States," and that "obedience" is due to the laws, whether National, State or Municipal, until they are either repealed or declared unconstitutional by the proper authority ... the know-nothings do not prefer Catholics for office-If the antis do, they have the right to exercise the privilege-Know Nothings think Catholics are not qualified for office in the United States ... The American Party will not pretend to say whether President Pierce could or could not be elected without the support of the Foreign and Catholic vote, but it does say that the Foreign and Catholic vote has been allowed by his administration to obtain an undue weight in the government, unprecedented in former years and dangerous to the liberties of the country, calculated in a few years to subvert our democratic institutions and replace them by those of the countries from whence this Foreign and Catholic vote has come."16

A meeting of the Anti- Know-Nothing Democratic Party, with sixty-five members enrolled, at the courthouse in Tampa on August 4, 1855, with William Cooley as the chairman, Cotton Rawls, president, and John Jackson secretary, unanimously adopted resolutions, which included support of the National Democracy "who patriotically defended and supported the Kansas-Nebraska acts and sustained the Fugitive Slave law against the combined forces of Know-Nothings, Freesoil and Abolitionism opposition against "Intolerance of any denomination of Christians, and making religious creeds or faith in native born or naturalized citizens a test for the qualifications to fill office."15

An anonymous Know-Nothings of Tampa defensively responded:
At Tampa on September 15, 1855, the American Party held its convention. The Rev. Leroy G. Lesley, a Methodist minister and cattleman who had come to Tampa in 1848, was chosen as chairman; and as secretary, Dr. D. A. Branch. Henry A. Crane, a New Jersey-born newspaperman, Enoch Collins, and Edmund Jones were appointed a committee for the preparation of business. In eight resolutions justification was offered for the party’s incipient secrecy, deemed no longer necessary. A constitutional union party, differing from the national party on certain key issues, was presented in the last four resolutions:

"Fifth, Resolved, That we do not construe the 8th article of the Platform as Applying to American Born Catholics who do not hold allegiance to the Pope of Rome. Sixth, Resolved, That we are proud of the position which the Party occupies on the slavery question; the secession of the Abolitionists from the Philadelphia Convention having purged the Party of Abolitionism. Seventh, Resolved, That none are of the American Party who do not stand upon the Platform, and that we will never affiliate or cooperate with the Abolitionists, nor are we or the American party responsible for their opinions or acts. Eighth, Resolved, That in the American Platform are laid down those broad Constitutional principles which, if carried out in good faith, will infallibly perpetuate the Government and Union of the United States of America; and it is only by carrying out those principles that we pledge ourselves to support the Union—not an unconstitutional Union but a Union based upon the Constitution."  

Nominated for county offices for the October election were: J. L. Lockhart, judge of probate; E. T. Kendrick, sheriff, R. H. Hardee, clerk of circuit court; commissioners: J. P. McMullen, J. T. Givens, Joel Knight, Joseph Moore; Lewis Lanier, county surveyor.  

Henry A. Crane and others were attacked by "Jefferson:"

"The Democracy of Hillsborough threw the gauntlet of defiance for public discussion to the Know-Nothings. As yet, we are sorry to say that the gage has been accepted but by two men, and both of whom are Methodist ministers…A certain long-legged ex-editor of the Tampa Herald in its palmyest days shrinks from the public contest, and like a craven knight sculks around corners, belching forth his diatribes against Catholics and furriners... The afore-said ex-editor boldly asserts that the Pre-termitters have more than 200 members of the midnight lodges enrolled, among whom are most of the principal men in the county.”

A secret member of the American party about this time was Madison Post, then Receiver of Public Moneys at the Land Office, whose party status threatened loss of this Federal position, so he withdrew.
In response to the letter to a Jacksonville paper by "Hillsborough" in which he censured John Darling, "Laureta" reprimanded "Hillsborough" for his chameleonic party loyalty:

"Within the last twelve months, several very important political changes have taken place in the young, green-bud-of-the-Law's-mind—an evidence of the profundity of his intellect, of his quick unerring comprehension, or of his ready adaptation of himself, to the appropriate principles which time with its inevitable mutations are every developing. Up to about a year ago "Hillsborough" had been, and apparently intended remaining inseparably connected with the Whig cause, but soon we find him rather closely associated with the Know Nothings, and as strongly attached, as he formerly pretended to be, to the Whig cause. Soon afterwards, however, little to our astonishment, we perceive that he has disappeared from the American ranks, "dishonorably," and in the same manner espousing publicly the National-Democratic-Anti-American party ... Being born in America with Foreign principles, and Stamina not of such a brilliant character as would induce the "Know-Somethings"—literally, to solicit his name in their catalog. I presume he will stick to the party of which he is at present a conspicuous member. The Foreign party, consisting of Foreigners, deluded and dishonorably withdrawn Know Nothings, Native Americans with Foreign feelings and sentiments, and office holders or such persons as would so disgrace themselves, as to conceal their true principles for the purpose of deceiving the Northern President with Foreign principles, thereby continuing in office which, perhaps, only pays the incumbents expenses."

"Hillsborough" uncannily resembles Tampa attorney James T. Magbee, who had represented the county three times as Democratic state representative. "Laureta" continued:

"He says, 'Col. Magbee occupies much the same ground that he did in 1850-52.' And I must admit that I admire so far as I can comprehend,
and appreciate, the sublimity of thought, and the profound style or manner, with which he disposes of this, as well as of several of his other subjects. Col. M., since 52, has I am told, shown a willingness to be the candidate of the Whig party. He, Col. M., at present holds office under President Pierce, but do not understand me, that his doing so, is the cause of his advocating in his feeble manner the sentiments of the Foreign party, for I really believe that he does so, from principle along-being born in America with no other, than Foreign sentiments and feelings. I could say a much for several of the dominicco party. 23

"He says, I knew that Mr. D. Was a Know Nothing, but could not tell my most intimate friend so.’ Did he not tell some of his "Intimate friends" several of the secrets previously to his having withdrawn "dishonorably”? I do not accuse him of committing such an act, but it would not have been much worse than leaving the order as he did.” 24

On September 15, 1855, the Alafia Convention of the Democratic Party met with Francis M. Durrance as chairman and Henry L. Mitchell as secretary. The assembly endorsed the resolutions of the Anti-Know-Nothing Democratic meeting held at Tampa on August 4 and nominated: Simon Turman, Sr., judge of probate; Henry Parker, sheriff; Joab Griffin, clerk of circuit court; commissioners: M. C. Brown, Benjamin Moody, Francis M. Durrance, William Wiggins; Michael Garrison, county surveyor. 25

In October slightly over 300 Hillsborough voters continued the status quo by returning
Democrats to the aforementioned offices by majorities of about fifty-six percent. "Kleber" crowed:

“It is my painful duty to inform you that Col. Darling's darling is no more. He breathed his last on Monday evening, 1st October, 1855 ... the Democratic party murdered Col. Darling's hopeful boy ... Where are those two hundred stout-hearted Americans who were members of the Nignasus of Hillsborough in April last. They have fled before the corporal's guard, those straw led men! ... A word about the departed fusion Sheriff. After his death, (i.e. defeat) his body was completely analyzed, and to the utter amazement of the horror-stricken people, he was found to consist of the following ingredients, to wit: Eight grains of Democracy (this he received in the Democratic cradle), three scruples of Whiggery, and one pound of Know Nothingism; enough of combustion to have destroyed Sebastopol ... We will be troubled with Sam no more. He has become quite an orderly boy, and I don't think he will be interrupting the honest old farmers of Hillsborough again.”

While going down to defeat in Hillsborough County, the local American Party was encouraged by victories elsewhere, i.e., in Duval, Nassau, Wakulla, Franklin, and Marion counties. On December 3, 1855, the party convened at Tallahassee to organize statewide. Elected president of the gathering was Thomas Brown, former Whig governor. Of special significance was the state party's adoption of a resolution against a religious test for office.

On June 2, 1856, at Tallahassee, the Know-Nothings assembled for their convention with Richard Keith Call, presiding. Nominated for governor was David S. Walker of Tallahassee and James M. Baker for Congress. They would face the Democrats' Madison S. Perry of Alachua County for governor and George S. Hawkins of Jackson County for Congress. A severe blow to the state party occurred at the national convention that same month when stricken from the platform was "Section Twelve" of the party platform of 1855, which denied Congress the power to limit slavery or prevent admission of a state to the Union on its slave status, which the Democrats soon exploited.

At the courthouse in Tampa on July 24, 1856, the Know-Nothings of Tampa, with John Darling presiding, held a meeting for the purpose of appointing delegates to the county and district party conventions. Although a goodly number of delegates were chosen, enthusiasm was lacking. County delegates selected were: E. A. Clarke, Wm. G. Ferris, J. K. Glover, G. L. Johnston, D. A. Branch, M. L. Shannahan, R. Duke, John Sewell, James Stephens, and John L. Branch. The District delegates were: Q. J. Pinkard, H. D. Kendrick, S. B. Todd, A. Miranda, John Darling, M. McCarty and John T Givens.

Statewide the American party attained its peak strength in the elections in October and November, 1856. David S. Walker carried twelve of the thirty counties, but Madison S. Perry won by a margin of 6,214 to 5,894, while the Democrats also captured the Congressional seat for George S. Hawkins and carried the state for James Buchanan by a vote of 6,358 to 4,833. Locally in the General Assembly race on October 6, 1856, Tampa attorney, James Gettis, trounced
Joseph B. Lancaster by a margin of 302 to 143.  

John Darling commiserated with David S. Walker:

"I fear the result will be as you suppose that you and Baker are beaten, but Perry's majority over you will not I would suppose give him much satisfaction..."

"This District the 20th gave Perry about 160 majority. I had little else to hope for, but when our party deserts both their principles and their colors as they have done in Manatee and, as I believe in Levy also, put their opponents into office. I am excessively annoyed at the utter hopelessness of maintaining a contest against such exhibition of policy in our own party. With a decided majority in both these counties the Americans have sent Democrats to the General Assembly..."

"Of course I cannot yet form any conception of the composition of the General Assembly, but if the Democrats have gained in the Senate that gain will not exceed the new districts and we still have a majority there. In the House one lost in Hillsborough & one in Leon, one gained in Putnam & one in Columbia. As far as I have heard but 6 American are elected in East & South Florida. Nassau, Volusia, Orange, & Brevard to be heard from..."

"I myself know of a large number of voters who have said that nothing but the pay for volunteers enticed them to vote against us and that they should certainly go the Fillmore figure in November."

"Genl [Jesse] Carter has taken the field with 150 of the state troops and it is not likely these men will get to the polls. I have, therefore, every reason to believe that this district will give a majority for Fillmore and Donelson [Andrew Jackson Donelson, Fillmore's running mate] and I cannot divine any earthly reason for this untimely movement of Genl Carter's unless it is the apprehension that the district will go any how for F & D and they wish to have the removal of these 150 vols which they will call Buchananers to accomplish the result. Genl Harney is expected here next month and the movement of the state troops is well calculated to embarrass his plan of campaign..."

The American Party, thereafter, rapidly disintegrated. In the 1857 Hillsborough County elections, the Know Nothings did not field a slate of candidates. Most Of its members joined the Democratic Party and, as often with proselytes, most became fervent adherents of the new faith:

John Darling (1808-92) from 1859-61 was a county commissioner and in 1862 was appointed by C. S. A. President Jefferson Davis as receiver of monies for the Confederate States land office in Tampa. A lifelong bachelor, he was fourteen times Worshipful Master of Hillsborough Lodge No. 25, Free and Accepted Masons. In 1897, John Darling Lodge No. 154 was created and named in his honor.

Madison Post (1815-67) was in 1858 elected mayor of Tampa and, during the Civil War,
served as tax assessor and Confederate Deputy Marshall.41

Leroy G. Lesley (1808-82) served as captain of his own Militia company in the Third Seminole War and as captain of his own Confederate horse cavalry company in the Civil War.42

Henry A. Crane (c1810-88) remained steadfast. A newspaperman, he had published the Tampa Herald and was editor of the Florida Peninsular During the Third Seminole War, he served as a lieutenant under Capt. Leroy G. Lesley and during the Civil War as a captain, later major in the Second Florida Cavalry, U.S. Army. After the war, the Republican Crane settled in Key West where he served as clerk of the circuit court and as state senator. He was also editor of the Key West Dispatch and, subsequently, founder and editor of the Key of the Gulf.43

Although tainted with chauvinism, the American Party offered a last opportunity for the moderate, Southern unionists. The victory of the radical Democrats opened the gates to secession and the Civil War.

ENDNOTES:


4 Morrison, op. cit., p. 590.

5 Thompson, op. cit. p. 42.; Tallahassee Floridian and Journal, June 17, 1854.


7 Lesley, op. cit.


9 Carter to Yulee, October 6, 1854; (David Levy Yulee Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida).

10 Ibid., Carter to Yulee, November 21, 1854.

11 Morrison, op. cit., p. 591.

12 Charleston Daily, Courier; June 11, 1855.


14 Tampa Florida Peninsular; August 4, 1855.

15 Jacksonville Florida News, August 11, 1855.

16 Jacksonville Florida Republican, September 6, 1855.

17 Tampa Florida Peninsular September 29, 1855.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Jacksonville, Florida /News, September 1, 1855.

21 Tampa Florida Peninsular, December 8, 1860.

22 Jacksonville Florida Republican, September 27, 1855.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.
25 Tampa Florida Peninsular, September 29, 1855.

26 Jacksonville Florida News, October 13, 1855.

27 Ibid., October 20, 1855.

28 Thompson, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

29 Tallahassee Floridian & Journal, June 7, 1856; Thompson, op. cit., pp.

30 Tallahassee Floridian & Journal, August 23, 1856.

31 Jacksonville Florida Republican, August 20, 1856.


33 Jacksonville Florida News, October 11, 1856.

34 Darling to D. S. Walker, October 21, 1856; Internal Improvement Trust Fund, General Correspondence 1855-56, R. G. 593, S. 914, Fla. State Archives.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Tampa Florida Peninsular July 25, 1857, October 3, 10, 1857.


42 Grismer, op. cit., p. 322.

43 Canter Brown, Jr., Florida's Peace River Frontier, 1991; pp. 108, 128, 159, 423; Charles E. Harrison, Genealogical Records of the Pioneers of Tampa and of Some Who Came After Them, 1914, p. 149. Crane did have one lapse from his Unionism. On November 24, 1860, he signed a petition of Hillsborough Countians calling for a convention to consider secession and not "to sub it to Black Republican Rule." See Tampa Florida Peninsular, December 1, 1860.

The author wishes to thank Canter Brown, Jr., and Kyle S. VanLandingham for their research assistance.
On November 24, 1860, 47 days before Florida seceded from the Union, "a large crowd" of Hillsborough Countians gathered in a "Mass Meeting" at Alafia to recommend the State’s withdrawal from the Union. Among those attending and signing the petitions were: John Darling, James Gettis, Reason Duke, James E. Bowden, Hamlin V Snell, John T Givens and Henry A. Crane.

Several of Florida’s major coastal towns were occupied by Union troops in early 1862. Tampa was not ignored. Brigadier General J. M. Brannan, commander of the Key West district, wrote to General Thomas in Washington, April 19, 1862:

Head Quarters Dept. of Key West
Key West Fla April 19, 1862

To:
Brig. Genl. L. Thomas
Adjt. Genl. U. S. A.
Washington
D. C.

Sir

I have been credibly informed by Captain Woodhull U. S. Navy that many Union Citizens, including Women & Children at Tampa, Florida & the Neighborhood are suffering from the outrageous persecutions of the Rebel Troops in that vicinity. He also reports the number of Troops there about 900, with six pieces of Artillery, two being 32 pdrs. Not having any transportation I am unable to send a command there to protect these unfortunate people. Also my instructions from the Genl-in-Chief do not permit me to occupy that point, except for the specific object of obtaining Beef Cattle for the Troops in this Dept; also for Fort Pickens & the Navy. -- I have no doubt that if a sufficient force is sent to Tampa to occupy, hold it, & protect the people in the vicinity, we can obtain at a reasonable price all the Beef required for the entire command in the Gulf; as Captain Woodhull was informed that 30,000 cattle were ready to be sold to the U. S. as soon as it could be done with safety to the owners. -- I would therefore urge upon the Secretary of War the necessity of sending the transportation I asked for in my letter of March 3d & also be furnished with the horses required for my battery of Field-Pieces. The Citizens of Appalachicola also desire protection. -- I am unable to do anything without the Means of transportation for Troops & keeping them provided with subsistence &c., this being the Depot of Supplies. With the proper Means, I can take possession of all points on the Coast & even occupy Tallahassee if the Governor considers it of sufficient importance to hold those points.
Less than a week earlier, on April 13, Tampa was bombarded by Union ships after Major Robert B. Thomas refused to surrender the town. Another bombardment occurred June 30-July 1, 1862. Raiders destroyed the blockade runner Scottish Chief in October 1863 and on Christmas Day, 1863, Tampa was bombarded again. Most residents had moved into "the country" and Tampa was described as a "dead town." Regular Confederate troops had departed by the spring of 1864. By May, only the "home guards" under Captain James McKay, Jr., remained to offer some measure of protection.3

The Federals had established a beachhead on the South Florida mainland in January 1864 when they occupied Fort Myers. With Fort Myers as its base of operations, the newly formed Union Second Florida Cavalry conducted raids into the interior. The unit was made up primarily of southwest Florida refugees, some of whom had deserted from the Confederate army. Former Tampan Henry A. Crane was a captain in the regiment. A major objective was to "break up or check the cattle-driving business" which was at that time supplying beef to the hard-pressed Confederate armies to the north.4

Tampa's brief occupation by Union forces occurred on May 6 and 7, 1864. The official accounts of Gen. Woodbury, Col. Fellows, and Acting Master Van Sice follow:


HDQRS. DISTRICT OF KEY WEST AND TORTUGAS, KEY WEST, FLA, MAY 12, 1864.

GENERAL: I have the honor to report the temporary occupation of Tampa on the 6th and 7th instant; the capture of three 24-pounders, which were disabled by knocking off one trunnion from each, and of two iron 6-pounders, which were brought away. Twenty prisoners were brought away, of whom only 6 were soldiers. Of the little ammunition found the greater part was thrown into the water; the remainder was brought off. Ten good horses were sent by land to Fort Myers, in charge of Captain Green and a few picked men. Some old muskets and some other public property, not worth enumerating here, were brought away. The lens of the Egmont Key light could not be found.

The naval (50 men), landing with the army, forces captured a small sloop and about 50 bales of cotton.

There was no fort, no defenses against a land attack; but a single parapet near the water's edge to prevent approach by water. Behind this the guns were placed. The carriages and the log revetments around the guns were burnt.

We expected to find more public property, as Tampa has been a military post since the beginning of
the rebellion until quite recently. We also expected to find more soldiers. A party of 30 or 40 soldiers detailed for cow-driving had left the place three days before our arrival. The place was completely surprised on the morning of the 6th.

Eighty men under Capt. H. W. Bowers, assistant adjutant-general, landing 12 miles from the town on the west side of the harbor, took position at daylight on the banks of the Hillsborough River to prevent escape by water. About 200 men, under Col. S. Fellows, landing 3 miles from the place on the south side of the harbor, advanced rapidly and formed a line stretching from the Hillsborough to the head of an indentation in the bay, thus preventing an escape by land. The appearance of Tampa is desolate in the extreme. There were very few men in the place, hardly one able-bodied man between eighteen and fifty years of age. Most of the prisoners belonged to the captured sloop as crew and passengers. Many letters taken from a captured mail confirm the reports of Captain Crane that the rebels have abandoned cattle-driving south of Pease Creek. The troops engaged in this expedition were three companies of the Second Colored Regiment, under Col. S. Fellows, and two companies of the Second Florida Cavalry, under Captain Crane.

Admiral Bailey placed the gun-boat Honduras at my command and issued a general order to all masters of navy vessels in his squadron to assist our military operations in every practicable way.

My orders against pilfering were very stringent. The colored troops on shore behaved remarkably well. The refugee troops having personal wrongs to redress were not so easily controlled.

Colonel Fellows captured in the post-office about $6,000 of Confederate and State money, which will be sent to Washington in accordance with a recent order.

Respectfully,

D. P. WOODBURY
Brigadier-General.

Brig. Gen. William Dwight,
Chief of Staff.


HEADQUARTERS SECOND U. S. COLORED TROOPS,

Fort Taylor, Key West, Fla., May 10, 1864

CAPTAIN: I have the honor to make the following report of operations in the expedition to Tampa, Fla. The particulars of the embarkation from Key West, the delay at the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River and Tampa Bay, as well as the landing of Company E, Second U. S. Colored Troops, with guides, under Captain Bowers, I will omit, as they were under the immediate supervision of Brigadier-General Woodbury:

After the party assigned for the west bank of the Hillsborough River had
been landed at Gadsden’s Point the small boats (nine in number) were filled with the Second Florida Cavalry, about 140, the Second U. S. Colored Troops, 35 in number, and about 30 seamen under Acting Naval Master Fales, of the bark J. L. Davis. This force was designed to operate by way of the neck of land between Hillsborough River and the marsh, so as to enter Tampa from the north. A landing was effected at the head of a small bay near Point Deshow, about 3 miles from the city, at daylight Friday, May 6, 1864. Captain Green, Second Florida Cavalry, was immediately sent forward with a party to arrest all persons whom he could find for the purpose of gaining information. Lieutenant McCullough soon followed with the advance guard, and at the proper distance came the main body. Captain Fales, of the Davis, and the seamen under him joined the land forces. When within a mile of the city, a colored man was secured by Captain Green, who gave information that the place was not occupied in any force by the enemy, though about 20 had left the day before under the command of the post commander, McKay. When the party arrived at the neck of land between the river on the west and the marsh on the east, pickets were posted to intercept all who might attempt to escape or to enter the town. Captain Crane, Second Florida Cavalry, with a small party, proceeded to the hotel and arrested some of the leading citizens, while the main body double-quicked to the battery at the mouth of the river. The surprise was too complete to allow any opposition to be made. A few who were near the river attempted to escape to the other side; 1 was shot dead, and 2 or 3 wounded, when those who had not escaped surrendered. The party which had landed at Gadsden’s Point was now seen on the west bank of the river. It was judged best not to communicate with them before entering the town, as no opposition was expected, and we should lose time by so doing. That party now joined the main force at the old U. S. barracks.

Making our position secure from surprise by pickets of the Second Florida Cavalry, attention was turned to the public property in Tampa. The naval party under Captain Fales captured a sloop loaded with cotton, and also cotton on shore sufficient to make in all about 50 bales. The Confederate mail was secured and forwarded to General Woodbury. During Friday night a small party was sent to the west bank of the river...
to prevent a surprise from that quarter. Saturday the battery, consisting of three 24-pounders mounted on barbette carriages, and two field pieces, 6-pounders, were destroyed. The heavy guns were disabled, and the 6-pounders were brought away with us. The magazine and earthworks were destroyed by burning the timber revetments. The greater part of the ammunition and projectiles was thrown into the water, as well as some old muskets. A part of the property belonging to the lighthouse at Egmont Key was found and brought away. About $6,000 in Confederate money was secured, which I have forwarded to General Woodbury. The prisoners taken numbered 39, but 20 of them were released, for various reasons. Having secured all the property, it was decided to embark again Saturday p.m. One company of the Second U. S. Colored Troops was accordingly sent on board the gun-boat Honduras about noon. The remainder were delayed to wait for the return of the boats from the Honduras. As the leading ones entered the river and I was about to embark the remainder of the troops, a report came from the pickets that the enemy was collecting about 5 miles away to make a dash into Tampa. To provide for such a course the prisoners were put into the first boats and ordered to drop down the river to a proper distance from land. As the other boats came up they were loaded. Just as the last ones arrived a flag of truce came in, ostensibly to receive permission to take away the wife of McKay, the rebel commander. The picket returned in good order at the signal of firing a musket, and all were soon on board the boats. Some difficulty was found in navigating the channel, as it was quite dark before we left the river. We arrived on board the Honduras in Tampa Bay about 9 p.m., Saturday, May 7, 1864.

I have the honor to remain, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. FELLOWS,
Colonel Second U. S. Colored Troops.

Capt. H. W. Bowers, A. A. G. 5


U.S.S. SUNFLOWER
Tampa Bay, May 8, 1864

SIR: I have the honor to report that on the arrival of the steamer Honduras on the 4th instant, with General Woodbury and troops on board, for the purpose of making a raid on Tampa, in obedience to your circular, I immediately took steps to cooperate with the naval force here under my command. On the afternoon of the 4th instant I went up to Tampa with Captain Bowers, U. S. Army, to communicate, to ascertain the strength of the place, returning the same night. On the 5th instant, after transferring two companies of the colored troops to the bark J. L. Davis, I took her in tow and towed her up to Gadsden's Point, the Honduras with the balance of the troops coming up in the afternoon. I
then organized a naval party (consisting of 54 men from the three vessels, Acting Ensign J. H. Cox, of the J. L. Davis. Acting Master's Mate W. J. Crosby, of the Honduras, and Acting Master's Mate S. E. Willits, of this vessel, all under command of Acting Master William Fales) to land with the troops and assist in the capture of the place. After getting them all on board the Honduras we proceeded up the bay as far as practicable and succeeded in landing all before daylight. At 7 a.m. the place was taken possession of, capturing some 40 prisoners, the naval force capturing about one-half, which were turned over to the army, and a few minutes after 7 the Stars and Stripes were hoisted in the town by the navy.

I have also to report the capture of the sloop smack Neptune and a quantity of cotton, estimated at about 55 bales, by the naval force. Before closing this report I desire to make mention of the cheerful and assiduous cooperation of Acting Masters Fales and J. H. Platt. Acting Master Fales led his party into the town on the double quick, capturing several prisoners, wounding 2 who were trying to get away.

Acting Master Fales speaks in high terms of praise of the conduct of Acting Master's Mate S. E. Willits, and also says that both officers and men behaved very well.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

EDWD. VAN SICE,
Acting Master Commanding.

Acting Rear-Admiral T Bailey
Comdg. Eastern Gulf Blockdg. Squadron, Key West, Fla.6

Acting Asst. Paymaster Eugene Chapin of the U. S. Navy wrote in his memoirs:

"It was on May 6th, 1864, that some of our men took part in the attack on Tampa. We landed, one night about one o'clock, from our ship [probably James L. Davis], in the small boats, some sixty men under the command of Ensign Cox, at Gadsden Point, in the woods, which is about three miles from Tampa on the south-west side, while the gunboats landed about two hundred and fifty men some two miles below the town on the south side ... Commander William Fales went with the officers and men from the gunboats in the attack on the south side. As we
surprised and took possession of the town at daybreak, one of our gunboats run up the bay, a short distance, and soon shelled out with their guns a small earthwork that was situated in the town at the mouth of a small river called Fort Brooke, and which was destroyed in a very short time.

"After taking the place our pickets were thrown out and our forces held the town until sundown. During the meantime our men captured in the town a small sloop loaded with Sea Island cotton and also a large quantity of cotton they found stored in a barn, and the men took it away in a large scow they found there and put it on board one of the gunboats and had it taken together with the sloop to Key West where it was adjudicated and sold.

"All the small boats belonging to the James L. Davis were taken away by our men who went on the expedition, excepting a small dory, which was left behind ... [Eugene Chapin] got permission from the officer of the deck to use it, so I put on my side-arms and got into the dory and paddled across the bay, some three miles, to the United States Steamer Honduras which lay anchored near the shore, and called on Paymaster Cushing of Boston, and dined with him and several officers. After dinner he had his small boat called away and he and the surgeon and myself got into it, and the men pulled us up into the town where we went ashore and took a look at the place for several hours.

"I found the town pleasantly situated on a small river fronting on the bay and along the mouth of the river. It was a very neat, pretty place with small white painted houses, and beautiful beds of flowers in the front yards with seashell borders very neatly arranged and very attractive, while the atmosphere was redolent with rich odors from the flowers and highly scented magnolias. After walking about some time we strolled down to the fort, where we saw the ruin which the gunboat had made with her guns. The place was completely 'knocked into pie', and there was only to be seen some half dozen iron cannons lying about on the ground, all spiked, with their trunnions broken, and their carriages burning and smoking away.

"I also saw a number of old men, women and children standing about some public building and they were a very poor, dejected looking lot of people and were only about half decently clothed. After seeing all we cared to see, we returned to the small boat, and were pulled back to the Honduras, where I bade my friends good-bye and took my dory and paddled back across the bay to the James L. Davis, which vessel I safely reached about six o’clock p.m. In about an hour afterwards our men returned in the small boats feeling somewhat tired after being up all night."

 Early on Saturday (May 7), the James L. Davis "hoisted our anchor and our vessel sailed down the river and anchored off Egmont Key Light-house in the bay."
Darwin Branch Givens, not yet six years of age in May 1864, vividly remembered the Union invasion:

"They landed on the present site of DeSoto Park, being brought in by the late H. A. Crane, a Union sympathizer and father of Judge Henry L. Crane, who fought in the Confederate army. Two companies came down what was then known as the government road from the spring from which the Ybor City Ice factory first obtained its water supply. I, with Jerry Perkins, was playing in the white sand road just above East Street where it intersects with Lafayette [Kennedy Boulevard]. I saw them coming down the road with bayonets fixed and glistening in the noonday sun. Knowing something out of the ordinary was happening, I took to my heels and ran home and told father that the 'devils' were taking the place.

"There was a hotel known as the 'Florida House' standing where the McKay house stands on the same block as the Masonic Temple. My father just had time to call Mr. Duke and Judge James Gettis to come over to him which they did just as the soldiers came around the block to father's back gate. I was holding his hand and Mr. Crane said to the captain, 'Do not take my friend Givens. I'll stand good for him.' But they took the other gentlemen. My father and mother had been kind to Mr. Crane's family while he was in Key West and that was responsible for his attitude toward father. They paroled Mr. Duke and Mr. Gettis…"

"A detachment of soldiers was sent from the garrison to the old government warehouse, on the east bank of the river, near its mouth. George Washington, Charles Papy, and another young man saw them coming and staged a thrilling escape by swimming alongside a rowboat, keeping the side of the boat between them and the enemy. Several shots were fired at them, hitting the boat but the plucky boys reached the bank of the river unhurt"9

Darwin Givens' older sister, Annie, gave the following account:

"I was a good big girl when the Civil War broke out - nearly ten years old. We were all at breakfast and my younger brother, D. B., came running in and told my father the Yankees were coming, marching into town, fifty thousand of them. Father told him to run over to a hotel … and tell Judge Gettis and the other gentlemen who were living in the hotel. After warning them my brother ran on to Fort Brooke where there were a few Confederate soldiers. Both the gentlemen who lived in the hotel with Judge Gettis and the soldiers escaped. The Yankee soldiers, Negroes commanded by white officers, didn't give us much trouble. Judge Ossian B. Hart, a prominent citizen at that time, was a Republican. He saw to it that Tampa did not suffer as many other places did. Only a few of the homes were searched for money or valuables. The looters did come to our home, but they only ripped open a feather bed and turned out drawers and such like. No, they didn't get either our money or our silver. Father had only a few days before put the buckskin bag, in which it had
been stored, in a secret place in the chimney."\textsuperscript{10}

Mary Louisa (Daegenhardt) Archer, who was a child in Tampa during the Civil War, wrote her memoirs in 1929. She recalled an incident during the 1864 occupation:

"In 1864, her sister's husband, Henry Krause, came home on furlough and was out hunting for game "when the Yankees took possession of Tampa...They seemed to know Henry was on furlough (and) they put a guard around the home to watch for him."

When Krause walked in from the woods, the waiting Federals took him into custody and held him prisoner at Fort Brooke, Mrs. Archer said.

But the Union captain and lieutenant in the occupying force "had lived here but had deserted to the other side," she added. So her mother and sister prevailed upon the officers-whom they knew-to allow Krause to come home for his meals.

"He was guarded by two big Negro men every time," Mrs. Archer noted.\textsuperscript{11}

Kate E Edwards, a relative of the Nunez family of Tampa, left this account:

"The Yankees took possession of Tampa on the morning of May 6th and held it till the night of the 7th. They carried off all the Negroes and horses they could get, robbed all the stores and many of the private houses of everything they wanted. Colonel John Darling and Captain James Gettis were left with nothing but what they had on. Colonel Darling had over $80,000 deposited with him and a large amount of bond certificates which were carried off."\textsuperscript{12}

Col. John Darling, in his application for a Presidential pardon in 1865, wrote of his own experience:

"On the 6th May 1864, the Town of Tampa was suddenly occupied by Genl. Woodbury with U. S. forces. The Town was partially plundered and one of the principal sufferers from the raid was your Petitioner, who lost on that occasion over $10,000 in money and valuable papers, - was subjected to imprisonment for about thirty six hours - and then held to the close of the war as a hostage for the safety of certain Union men. What-little property he has left will not pay the debts for which he is responsible contracted before the war with merchants in New York."\textsuperscript{13}

During the brief occupation, the ceremonial tools of the local Masonic and Odd Fellows lodges were stolen by the Union troops:

"They landed forces on each side of the river and the invaders captured the old men and boys in the town, all of whom were too old and decrepit, or too young for military service.

"They ransacked every home, taking or destroying the scant supplies and clothing and everything of value they discovered.

"Among the places raided was the Masonic Lodge, where they seized the jewels, regalia and other
equipment. But when General Woodbury of the United States troops, being a Mason himself, on hearing of the desecration had all the men searched and the Lodge property was returned by the father of John L. Branch [Jr.] who had been taken prisoner and who was also a Mason.

"In the meantime before the jewels were returned, which was almost two years, the Lodge had to have working tools. Brother Givens, father, Brother J. T. Givens, fashioned the necessary working tools in his shop out of zinc, the compasses and trowel of which are still a prized possession of Hillsborough Lodge. The old jewels, however, have disappeared and no one seems to know what became of them."14

John L. Branch "served in Captain McMullen’s Company at Clearwater. After being taken prisoner by the Union forces in an amphibious raid on Tampa in 1864, he was paroled by General Woodbury to return the Masonic jewels and emblems that the troops had confiscated in Tampa."15

Minutes of the Odd Fellows Lodge contain the following:

"It was reported to the Lodge that on the 6th and 7th of May last, the U. S. Military and Naval forces captured and plundered the City and Lodge, carrying away or destroying the current minutes and account books and set of the ritual including the Rebekah degree book, as well as a large portion of the implements and furniture of the Lodge.

"It was decided, however, that regalia was not indispensable in the emergency and that the Lodge would go on with the work as here to for."16

James McKay, Jr., Tampa’s Confederate commander, writing in 1923, remembered the events of May 1864:

"They again made a raid into Tampa, capturing the town. General Woodbury in command and some 400 deserters and Negro soldiers holding the town for two days, after taking what property suited them hurriedly left, hearing that Dickison and his men were advancing on the place to attack it. I was at Fort Meade with 55 men, organizing some 1,200 head cattle, to forward to the army of Tennessee, when I received the news of the capture of Tampa at 2 o’clock that afternoon. I left with 35 men for that place, reaching within two miles of the town at 11 o’clock the same night, when I obtained information as to the force that occupied the town. Immediately upon receipt of news of the capture of Tampa, couriers were dispatched calling all citizens to report to the Six Mile creek, as quickly as possible, which they did and by noon of the next day we had about 75 men and boys. The morning after my arrival near Tampa, I sent a flag of truce into the town by Gideon Zipperer and another man, two of the bravest and best men I had with me, requesting that my wife and child be permitted to leave the town with these men, as I would attack the town within 24 hours. Mr. Zipperer is now living below Bartow on his magnificent home and orange grove. The Federals declined to permit..."
either the men or my wife to leave the town and held them until they evacuated the place, taking some 60 bales of cotton that my father owned. The two vessels that carried these troops to Tampa, named Honduras and Huzzas, both were purchased by my father and renamed the Governor Marvin, and Southern Star. This was after the war. Many times have I read the log books of these vessels giving an account of this expedition. Captain Van Sice commanded the Honduras at the time of this expedition. I got acquainted with him in Havana after the war, he then being master of the City of Vera Cruz of the Alexander Steamship Line plying between New York and Havana. He discussed with me the capture of Tampa.

"A few years later Captain Van Sice, with the City of Vera Cruz, was lost in a hurricane off St. Augustine.

"I had placed pickets on all roads leading out of Tampa, with orders to halt all passers, no matter who they were. The picket force was composed of six men. At 12 o'clock the night of the day the Federals evacuated Tampa, six men came riding up the road from the direction of Tampa and although the guard heard them talking before getting abreast of their position they were permitted to pass without challenging. I was notified two hours afterwards, when I immediately started six men after them, but it was too late, for they had some 10 or 12 miles the start of our men. The deserters proved to be Jim Green and five of his followers."17

The Gainesville, Florida newspaper, Cotton States, made the following brief mention of the Tampa affair in its issue of May 21, 1864:

"FROM TAMPA. The enemy who took Tampa consist mostly of deserters and Negroes who were persuaded to go with them, and on hearing that 800 of our cavalry were pressing down towards them, they left in a hurry. They carried away Mr. Bowden and Mr. Branch, but left Col. Snell and other citizens."18

The Union raid and brief occupation of Tampa in May 1864 was certainly a blow to "Confederate morale in South Florida." The Confederate Cow Cavalry "re-established ... control" of the area by fall but the war came to an end the following spring.19 Union troops moved in to occupy Tampa on May 27, 1865.20

ENDNOTES

1 Tampa Florida Peninsular, December 1, 1860.

2 J. M. Brannan to General Thomas, April 19, 1862, Department of the South, Letters Received, box 1, record group 393, National Archives.


5 OR, series 1, XXXV, part 1, 389-391.

6 United States War Department, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies In the War of the
Rebellion, 30 vols. (Washington, DC, 1894-1922) series 1, XVII, 694.


9 Mrs. Elizabeth Fry Page, "Tampa During the War," Confederate Veteran XXXV, no. 4, April, 1927,124.


"The invasion was well timed by the Federals. An informer had tipped off the Unionists that the Homeguard was in the woods rounding up cattle for the hard-pressed Confederate Army and that Tampa's guerrilla band, the Beauregard Rangers, was elsewhere in Florida."

13 "Petition of John Darling," August 19, 1865, Case Files of Applications from Former Confederates for Presidential Pardons, 1865-67, record group 94, M-1003, roll 15, National Archives.

14 Hillsborough Lodge No. 25, E & A.M. 1850-1976, 14.


In the 1880s, the familiar promotional brochures always noted the tremendous profits to be made from the growing of citrus crops. This was as true of Hillsborough County as any other Florida county. If the Antebellum can be called the era of King Cotton, so might the 1880s be called, in Florida, the era of King Orange. Few chances were lost to extol the virtues of the mighty orange tree and related crops. Although Hillsborough has not been recognized as one of the leading citrus areas in the 1880s, it ranked fifth in the state in the value of "orchard products" in the 1880 census, following only Putnam, Marion, Orange and Volusia Counties. Yet, ranking this high in the census figures did not mean that many people made their livelihood from citrus farming. In fact, the value of the "orchard products" was probably less than that for the sweet potato crop for the same period.

In their *Descriptive Pamphlet of Hillsborough County*, the Hillsborough County Real Estate Agency of Tampa, headed by John T Lesley, president, state flatly that the orange was the "most prominent, important and widely cultivated of all the fruits that are properly and easily produced in this county." While listing and briefly discussing the mango, guava, fig, pineapple, coffee and "alligator pear" crops, the majority of its rhetoric was spent upon the orange. Little worry, the pamphlet stated, about overproduction of the orange, if the crop only brought a penny an orange, a steady profit could be realized. The reasoning is seen clearly in the following:

On account of the immense number engaged in this industry, it is sometimes asked by unthinking men if the market will not be overstocked when all these groves come into bearing, and as a necessary sequence the profits become a "minus quantity." The question on its face is absurd, ... a thinking mind will reason, the demand creates a market, the supply controls the price. Where the supply is small the price is high and the demand is limited. Where the supply is great the price becomes low and the demand more general. To bring all the groves in Florida now into bearing simply means to open a larger market for oranges, and to place within the reach of those too poor to buy now this delicious fruit of the South. The prices of oranges may go down, and of a right ought to when the crop is increased, but if a man can get a cent apiece for his crop he can coin money out of a bearing grove. Moreover, further than this practical way of looking at this question, it is estimated that of the consumption of oranges in the United States only one-twelfth is furnished by Florida, the remaining
eleven-twelfth being received from abroad.²

An economist might fault the logic of this by noting that taste and the availability of alternative products also influence demand, however, the optimism of time for the production and sale of oranges and other citrus crops is clearly evident from the above. This same sense of optimism permeated the entire state in the period prior to the "Great Freeze" of 1894-95.

Local pioneers of Hillsborough, throughout the period, seemed to always have the obligatory orange grove or trees on their settlement. In her description of the homestead of Sarah A. Stearns, Martha M. Parr offered the following picture: "With the help of two hired men, Sarah set about building a small one-story frame house and establishing a new home for her sons. She raised sweet potatoes, corn, sugarcane and peas. One of the several orange trees she planted around the house still stands as a landmark, though the house is gone and the property has long-since changed hands."³ Although she was drawing a scene from the era of the Civil War, the validity of the pioneering homestead pictured in the above held true throughout most of the 1880s and 1890s. This can be seen in Ms. Parr's 1981 *Sunland Tribune* article about the Davis and Miley families of Thonotosassa where she notes that they, "built first a log house, then what they called "the big house," and eventually a third house which is still standing in good repair and occupied today. Some of the orange trees he (uncle Met) planted are still bearing fruit."⁴ Mrs. Charles Gibson, in her book, *Pioneering in Hillsborough County, Fla.*, also notes that

*Citrus grove planting in the Temple Terrace area in 1921.*
-Photo courtesy of Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System
oranges and, peaches grew in abundance in early Hillsborough County and that they were frequently served at such occasions as weddings, reunions, etc.⁵ Everyone, it appears, grew oranges or some type of citrus fruit on their homestead.

In the 1880 census, the total value attributed to "orchard products" is given as $49,268. While this may have represented a significant income from the citrus crops, it pales in comparison with the other standby of Hillsborough’s agricultural community, livestock, which in the same year was valued at $225,049.⁶ This census group included all horses, mules, cows and cattle and therefore is difficult to use in showing any individual category’s worth, however, as cattle had long been the mainstay of Hillsborough’s agriculture, it may be assumed that the majority of this value can be attributed to this designation.⁷ The Descriptive Pamphlet quoted above had the following to say about the cattle "interest" of Hillsborough County:

No other industry in South Florida up to within a few years past was engaged in near so extensively or by any means embraced as much capital as that which is commonly known as stock-growing, the principal and chief branch of which pursued in this county being the raising of cattle of the more important stamp. Until quite recently more wealth and riches have accrued to the dealer through this investment than any other, a fact which conspicuously explains the number of shrewd men connected with it. Even the tillage of the soil was a secondary matter. And at present, as in the past, in all parts of the county are to be found numerous herds of larger or smaller cattle. They are permitted by their owners to run at large through the woods, and they thrive and prosper in a manner remarkably well and entirely satisfactory to the parties interested.⁸

The prosperity of the cattle interest was one of the major reasons for the general prosperity of Hillsborough County, but it did have a price.

As the pamphlet noted, the cattle were allowed to roam freely through the woods. What it did not say was that they could roam nearly everywhere without supervision or control. This brought about some serious confrontations with the growing urban population of Hillsborough County. According to the Florida Dispatch, the voice of the Florida Fruit Growers, the leading cattlemen of the 1880s were W. B. Henderson, Jonah Yates, J. T Lesley and H. T Lykes, together with the other Hillsborough cattlemen represented a total number of cattle of about 21,223.⁹ This number increased as the decade wore on and began to trouble urbanites with their trampling of gardens and lawns. As Karl Grismer stated in his history of Tampa, "Ordinances banning the roaming creatures from the city had been passed repeatedly in the past but the "cowlovers" had so much political strength that not until after the Spanish-American War were the laws enforced." In 1894, when the Consumers Electric Light and Railway Company built its dam on the Hillsborough River, hundreds of acres of former pasture land, now owned by Consumers, became flooded. Four years later, on December 13, 1898, the cattlemen, it was assumed, had the dam blown up and the waters rushed into their former channel. There was no prosecution of the perpetrators of this deed and Consumers took a financial loss from which it did not recover.¹⁰ This type of confrontation did not end until the
famed "fence-law" battles ended in the late 1940s.

The most important event for the agricultural history of Hillsborough County was the coming of the railroad. Not until the coming of the railroad was there a profitable market of significance to spur the growth of Tampa and Hillsborough County. Henry Plant, the 1880s "founder of Tampa," once stated, after a dinner in his honor in 1886, in remembrance of the opening of his railroad in late 1883: "A citizen told me on that visit that they did not value the land at anything, but the air was worth one thousand dollars an acre. That gave the value of Tampa land at that time. All are aware what is the value of Tampa land at present." The impact of the railroad on land values may be seen in the fact that in the census of 1880, the value of all farms and improvements was given as $583,767. In 1890, the value had risen to $2,964,910, even though the number of farms reporting had only increased by 22. When one compares the statistics for the growth of the value of livestock and the number of acres of improved lands, in which little actual growth appears between the 1880 and 1890 census figures, the astounding growth of the value of land and improvements can only be attributed to the actual increase in land values incident upon the arrival of the railroad. The demand for Hillsborough land was very high and by 1897, only 3,746 acres remained open to homestead entry at the United States Land Office in Gainesville, seventh lowest in the entire state behind some of the older settled counties like Jefferson, Columbia and Duval.

According to Huchinson Smyth’s *Life of Henry Bradley Plant*, the New York *Daily Tribune* for November 17, 1891 reported about Tampa: "Owing to its extreme isolation, its growth was slow, and, in 1884, there were not more than one or two shops, and a population of a little less than seven hundred. A year later the southern terminus of the Plant System of railroads was established at Tampa, and since then the growth of the place has been phenomenal."
A Hillsborough County Cabbage Patch
-Collection of Tampa Historical Society
This growth is born out by the population statistics for the 1895 census which shows the total number of people in Hillsborough County as increasing from 14,941 in 1890 to 31,362 just five years later. The city of Tampa had grown to become the third largest city in the state as a result of the tremendous growth. The population had grown to 15,634, third behind only Jacksonville and Key West. There was, indeed, just cause to call Mr. Plant, the Founder of Tampa.

The mid-1890s brought with them the "Great Freeze" and the desolation of the northern Florida citrus industry. The counties of Putnam, Duval, Nassau and St. Johns suffered tremendous losses and few recovered from the blow. Boom-time expansion left numerous ghost-towns across the northern Florida landscape when the freeze nipped this new growth in the bud. Hillsborough, however, was not a loser in the downturn after the "Great Freeze" and actually expanded. As Grismer has explained: "In the long run, Hillsborough County gained more from the Big Freeze than it lost. Citrus growers who had been wiped out in the northern part of the peninsula moved southward to sections where the cold had not been so severe or so prolonged. Hillsborough County became the heart of the new citrus belt and, as a result, Tampa profited greatly." His point is well taken and borne out by the increase in the number of farms reporting in Hillsborough County in the census of 1900. This census shows the number of farms increasing from 779 in 1890 to 1449 in 1900 and the number of acres of improved land rising from 13,518 in the former year to 22,346 in the latter.

The growth of the railroad was coupled in Hillsborough County by the rapid rise of the amount of shipping leaving the ports serving the area. In the year following the freeze, nearly 2,000 vessels arrived at Tampa Bay carrying a total tonnage estimated to be 625,744 tons. The estimated total value of all trade in this same year was an astounding $16,280,157. The biggest "Item" of trade within this large number was simply "merchandise," which totalled over $11,000,000. By 1900, just three short years, Rowland H. Rerick reported that the total value of exports was $15,188,912 and imports to Tampa $2,905,310, thus showing a total trade of a little over $18,000,000, an increase of nearly $2,000,000. These figures do not appear to reflect any of the trade generated by the Spanish American War, however, Rerick's numbers were generated by the Tampa Board of Trade and may reflect some of this trade inadvertently. Much of the normal trade with Cuba, especially in cigars, was diverted from the shipping lanes to the northern states. By the time the World War began, in 1914, the trade at the Port of Tampa and other points in Hillsborough County had grown to slightly over $37,000,000. The growth in volume and value of this immense trade fully justified the Army Corps of Engineers in their recommendations to improve the channels and harbors of Hillsborough County.

Although the "Great Freeze" actually assisted in spurring the growth of Hillsborough County, its immediate effects were to put more emphasis on other crops as alternatives to those of the citrus family. Two of the crops looked to were strawberries and celery, with snap beans as a second crop on the strawberry lands. The section around Plant City was widely known for its high quality strawberries from about the turn of the century until the present day. As early as 1910-1920, about 700 acres of land were devoted to the growing of this valuable crop. Most of the celery was grown in the vicinity of Tampa, near the Gary.
Some celery was also grown on the drained lands near Wimauma and Mango Lake. Other "truck" crops grown for shipment included tomatoes, Irish potatoes, cucumbers, eggplant, peppers and squash. By the time of the 1910 census, the total area given to truck farming in Hillsborough County amounted to 3,719 acres. Truck farming, along with citrus crops, became the way most farmers in Hillsborough County made money at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The land and soils of Hillsborough County were ideal for this new agriculture. As reported in the "Soil Survey of Hillsborough County, Florida," done in 1916: "It is generally recognized that the higher lying, well-drained soils, especially those situated near bodies of water, are best suited to the production of citrus fruits. The elevated position facilitates air drainage, and the modifying influence of the water makes injury by frost less likely to occur. The lower lying soils, on account of their better moisture condition, are best for truck crops." The same report noted that the Scranton fine sand, found in abundance near Plant City, was the ideal soil for strawberries and was also fine for tomatoes, beans, peppers and eggplants. The Norfolk and Gainesville series of soils were most desirable for the production of citrus and was plentiful in the lake region of Hillsborough County. The reclaimed lands and lower muck soils found near Tampa proved to be productive for celery. As Rerick noted with some pride: "Celery is a crop of no small commercial importance in South Florida. Planted in such rich muck lands as are near Tampa, Sanford and Kissimmee, it has been found to produce heavy crops not inferior to the best Kalamazoo celery. During the past several years a good many car loads have been shipped from Tampa in bulk ..." By 1910, Hillsborough ranked third in the production of strawberries, behind Bradford and Polk Counties, third in the production of oranges, following Orange and DeSoto Counties, and seventh in number of acres committed to growing "All other vegetables" in the state of Florida.

The growth of strawberry farming can be seen in the fact that by 1920, Hillsborough County, led by the Plant City fields, passed Bradford County to lead the state in the value of its crop. The production of strawberries reached a 459,353 quarts, compared to Bradford County's 422,034 quarts. The total of the two counties accounted for nearly three-fourths of the state's entire production of strawberries.

The rapid increase in the production of Hillsborough County's strawberry crop held on throughout the next two census recordings. The 1930 census showed that Hillsborough County accounted for over 5,000,000 quarts of strawberries, a figure that represents nearly the total for the next three closest competitors and about three-fourths of the state's total production. By 1940, this figure rose 7,571,153 quarts of strawberries, more than half of the total production for Florida. These figures represent a substantial production for Hillsborough County's agriculture and show the importance of this production to the state's total output.

The orange crops for these same years show that Hillsborough County was a leading producer of Florida’s famed fruit. In the 1920 census, the county ranked seventh in the total number of boxes produced. By the next census, it had risen to fourth place, behind Polk, Orange and Lake Counties in boxes produced. The 1940 census shows that Hillsborough County held its position as the fourth overall producer of oranges in Florida, with 1,246,280 boxes packed. The
majority of these were early and mid-season varieties of oranges. It should be noted, however, that all of these statistics include tangerines as oranges, which some studies today do not.29 The unfortunate lack of dollar values for these crops makes it difficult to evaluate the impact of other events on growth of production.

This is not true of the value of livestock, which is given in nearly every census. During the period extending from 1900 to 1940, there is ample evidence of the impact of events such as economic boom (the 1920s) and depression (1930s). The value for all livestock given in the 1900 census was placed at $364,743, which more than doubled in the 1910 census to $872,964. The $1,091,088 of the 1920 census indicates further growth of the livestock’s value, however, because this information is not recorded in the mid-census year of 1925, we do not have reliable information to evaluate the impact of the Florida land boom. But, the decline in livestock values indicated in the 1930 census (as sum of $904,445) does show how the depression of the era brought down income and value of livestock in Hillsborough County. The modest increase in the value of livestock to $1,106,640 shown in the 1940 census gives a rough estimation of the slow nature of the recovery from the nation’s Great Depression in Hillsborough County.30

Another impact of the Great Depression can be seen by the census data. The number of farms actually increased from 1930 to 1940, as did the acreage of improved land. This indicates that many people, hurt by the lack of industrial employment, went back to the farm to try and ride out the impact of the Great Depression. Indeed, the number of acres of improved land registered in the 1940 census is the largest figure in that category from 1880 until 1940, and is nearly 2,000 acres greater than the boom-time statistic given for 1925. Thus, it would appear that more people resided upon farms in Hillsborough County in part because of the long-term impact of the Great Depression and the need to simply survive.33

The above summary of some of the findings concerning the agricultural history of Hillsborough County indicates a growth and variety not found in all parts of the state. Hillsborough County’s agricultural history is diverse and productive and, at times, shows this county’s leadership in certain fields. As this is only meant to be a brief introduction to this county’s rich agricultural heritage, it is hoped that other investigators can pick up where we are leaving off, for the present, and begin more thorough research into this field. Throughout the state, there is a crying need for good agricultural history, not only county by county, but from a statewide perspective. It is hoped that the above research will lead to more investigation into Hillsborough County’s wealth of agricultural history and begin the process of weaving the state’s agricultural past into the beautiful tapestry we know that it is.
ENDNOTES


7 For good discussions of the importance of the cattle industry to Hillsborough County, I would recommend Canter Brown, Jr.'s, controversial "Tampa's James McKay and the Frustration of Confederate Cattle-Supply Operations in South Florida" in Florida Historical Quarterly. 70(April 1992): 409-433. And Robert A. Taylor's "Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy." Florida State University, Doctoral Dissertation, Fall 1991. Although not contemporary to the time period of this article, they indicate the historical importance of the cattle industry to the growth and prosperity of Hillsborough County.

8 Descriptive Pamphlet., 49.


14 Smyth. Life of Henry Bradley Plant. 75.


16 Ibid. 14-15. For a further discussion of the growth of Tampa during the Plant era, see Grismer, 174-78.

17 Grismer. Tampa. 203.


20 Ibid.


22 United States House of Representatives Document No. 1345. 64th Congress, 1st. Session. 1916. 23.


24 Ibid. 757.


Ponce de Leon, on his discovery of Florida in 1513, reached the mouth of Tampa Bay. On board Ponce’s flagship, the *Santa María de la Consolación*, the registry shows that there were two free Blacks, both were named Jorge (George) and a slave named Juan de Leon. Black history in the Tampa Bay area began with the discovery of Florida in 1513.

*The Mangrove Coast*
by Karl A. Bickel

*Juan Ponce de Leon*
by Vincente Murga Sanz

In 1528, an expedition of Spanish explorers arrived at Tampa Bay under the command of Panfilo de Narvaez. The ill-fated group, 300 strong, marched inland into the Florida Jungle and were never heard from again with the exception of four intrepid survivors. Among them was Estevanico, a blackamoor of Asemmur, Morocco. For eight years the four wandered through hostile territory until they found refuge in Mexico.

Estevanico, the Black, later joined an expedition in search of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola in the region which would later be known as New Mexico. He met his death in a shower of arrows from the hostile Zuni Indians. Estevanico is remembered as the first Black to trample through the Tampa region and helped raise the curtain on the New World.

*Spanish Explorers In the Southeastern United States*
*The Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca*
Barnes & Noble, Inc. NY, 1959

The first slave transaction took place at Fort Brooke in 1838. Maj. Donald Fraser sold a "Negro woman recently introduced into the territory" for $300.

*Tampa Bay Monthly*
April 1985

The first Indian Negro voluntarily surrendered at Fort Brooke in 1840, at the height of the Seminole Indian War.

"Aunt" Dorcas Bryant was one of Tampa Town’s colorful characters in pioneer days. She enjoyed the esteem of the community. She lived on the south end of Dorcas Pond located east of the Union Station. Her son, Peter, became an attorney "of some ability."

-Tony Pizzo Collection,
University of South Florida
Hillsborough County’s First Record Book - page 89

Gopher John was a young Black who lived with the Seminole Indians at Lake Thonotosassa. One day in 1826, John went to Fort Brooke and stated he was a Seminole Negro and spoke the English and Seminole languages. He was permitted to hang around. In time it was discovered that he was an expert in catching gophers which were considered a delicacy by the soldiers-especially prepared as a stew. John was given the job to take care of the gopher crawl (kraal). From that day on he was known as "Gopher John."

Letters From the Frontiers
by George A. McCall-Maj. Gen.
University Press of Florida
Gainesville, 1974

Louis Pacheco, an intelligent Black versed in the English and Seminole languages, well acquainted with the wilderness road to Ft. King, now the Ocala area, was rented out by his owner, Mrs. Antonio Pacheco, to Capt. J.J. Belton of Ft. Brooke for $30 a month. Pacheco was assigned to go on the ill-fated expedition led by Maj. Francis L. Dade to reinforce the unit at Fort King. Near the Little Withlacooche River, on December 28, 1835, the Seminoles attacked and massacred Maj. Dade and his men. One hundred five (105) officers and men perished. There were three survivors. The massacre prompted the Second Seminole War which lasted seven years.

Pacheco was captured by the Seminoles and eventually was taken to the Indian nation in Arkansas.

There were detractors who accused Pacheco of betraying the Americans. Until his death at the age of 95, he vehemently denied the accusations of treachery. Serious historians have studied his relations of the massacre, and believe him to be innocent of the allegations against him.

"Freed Slave Offers Defense Aid"
"White-whiskered and half-blind, 97-year-old Ben Smith, slave Negro who was emancipated when he was 21, offered himself at the Court House for civilian defense. As he gazed on the Civil War memorial in the courtyard, he expressed regret that his failing vision would keep him from helping defend a free America."

Tampa Times - May 30, 1941
Paulina Pedrosa was one of the notable women heroines of the Cuban Revolution. The site of her home in Ybor City is now Marti Park. The Cuban government honored her memory with a bronze relief plaque of her likeness which graces the wall in the park.

- Tony Pizzo Collection, U.S.F.

_Sampson Forrester, "a colored centenarian" wrote the _Tampa Journal_, was a giant of a man. When a boy, Sampson was captured by the Seminoles near Lake Harney. He lived among the Indians until adulthood. When the Seminole War broke out in 1835, he offered his services to Fort Brooke. Throughout the war he served as guide, interpreter, and spy for the Americans. After the war Gen. Zachary Taylor freed him and obtained for him a five (5) acre grant for his meritorious services to the army. He developed a productive farm and became a slave owner. "Uncle Sampson" reported the

_Pioneer Florida_
by D. B. McKay - 1959

Clara C. Frye, a devoted humanitarian, built the first hospital for blacks in Tampa in 1923. After running the hospital for many years, never pressing patients for payment, she died impoverished on April 8, 1936. The Tampa General Hospital pavilion is dedicated to the memory of Clara C. Frye

_Journal_, died "November 29, 1888" at the age of 102. He was a "highly respected colored man." Sampson was a member of the A.M.E. Zion Church.

_Tampa Journal_
December 6, 1888
_Pioneer Florida_
by D. B. McKay - 1959

Soon after Madison Post was sworn in as Mayor of Tampa, in February 1858, an ordinance was passed requiring all free Negro men to pay a city tax of $50 per year, and free women, $25 per year. A local writer
reported that "this made it quite expensive for a Negro to be free."

Author's File

In 1868, the Tampa Black Community celebrated the May festival with a picnic lunch. A queen and maids were elected.

_The Florida Peninsular_
May 16, 1868

A Black Democratic Club was organized in Tampa, August 14, 1896. Jacob Craig was elected president. The _Tampa Times_ reported that it was "an echo of discontent among the best element of colored Republicans in Tampa."

_Tampa Times_
August 1896

George Edgecomb was the first black county solicitor in Hillsborough County. The George Edgecomb Bar Association presents the George Edgecomb Award during law week each year to a Black citizen for meritorious service to the Black community of Tampa.

_Tampa Tribune_
April 30, 1993

The Watchman's Club was the first club organized in Tampa for the purpose of watching over and protecting the welfare of the colored race. There were sixty charter members. The officers were: Thomas Knight, President; P. S. Hamlin, V.P.; S. R. Poinsett, Financial Secretary; W. D. Walker, Recording Secretary, and Lum Hawk, Treasurer.

_Tampa Times_
April 30, 1894

Fortune Street, in downtown Tampa, is named for Fortune Taylor a Black pioneer, who owned a large tract of land on the east side of the river extending north from Fortune Street.
The actor Stephen Fetchit’s real name was Lincoln Theodore Perry. He started as a minstrel boy on the streets of Ybor City where his father worked in a cigar factory. Fetchit went on to become the first Black movie star.

- Tony Pizzo Collection, U.S.F

**Tampa Tribune**  
October 29, 1950

The Garrett Post Office, a part of Seffner, was named after Garrett Armwood a member of an illustrious black pioneer family of Hillsborough County. The name of Garrett Post Office existed from 1906 to 1915.

*A Chronology of Florida Post Offices*  
By Alford G. Bradbury  
Florida Federation of Stamp Clubs-1962

Ann Lowe was one of America's leading dress designers. She designed the wedding dress for Jacqueline Bouvier when she married John F. Kennedy. She ran a dress salon in Tampa from 1919 to 1928. She left to work for Saks Fifth Avenue. She designed dresses for the Rockefellers, DuPonts, Biddles, Posts and three generations of Auchinclosses. The *Saturday Evening Post* called her society's best secret" ... "the only Negro to become a leading dress designer.” Five of her designs are in the Institute of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. She died in 1981 at the age of 82.

**Tampa Tribune**  
February 28, 1981

Thomas E. Stringer became the first Black circuit Judge of Hillsborough County in 1988.

**Tampa Tribune**  
February 22, 1988

James T. Hargrett, Jr. became the first Black Hillsborough County legislator since the days of Reconstruction. He was named chairman of the Hillsborough Legislative Delegation.

**Tampa Tribune**  
January 4, 1987

Three Black citizens served on the Hillsborough County Grand Jury for the first time since Reconstruction Days.

Gen. Flor Crombet was the first Cuban revolutionary officer to visit the nascent Cuban colony in Ybor City in 1888. Gen Crombet died in combat at the age of 45 for *Cuba Libre*.

-Tony Pizzo Collection, U.S.F
Mrs. Sinai A.M.E. Zion Church is the oldest Black church in Tampa, organized in 1863, the same year the Emancipation Proclamation became effective. The first church building was built in 1869 with donations from the membership. Today the church is located at 2909 Nebraska Avenue.

Tampa Tribune
February 27, 1988

Noble Sissle, famous author-conductor died at his Tampa home December 17, 1975. He wrote many popular hits including, "I'm Just Wild About Harry," and "You Were Meant For Me." Sissle was the organizer and first president of the Negro Actors Guild.

Tampa Times
December 18, 1975

Clara C. Frye, a devoted humanitarian, built the first hospital for blacks in Tampa in 1923. After running the hospital for many years, never pressing patients for payment, she died impoverished on April 8, 1936. The Tampa General Hospital pavilion is dedicated to the memory of Clara C. Frye.

"Tampa gets first Black mailman."

Tampa Times
April 17, 1902 - April 17, 1922

At the outbreak of World War I a delegation of Black Tampans met with Mayor D. B. McKay offering their services in the war effort.

St. James Episcopal Church had its first priest, the Rev. Mathew McDuffie on the first Sunday of August, 1892.
Tampa's Dwight Gooden, is one of the great pitchers in major league history. In 1985, he won the National League Cy Young Award, and was chosen as the Associated Press Male Athlete of the Year, which includes all players from different sports in every event.

Gary Sheffield, Hillsborough High School, was voted the best high school baseball player in the country. Sheffield, Dwight Gooden’s nephew, was selected by the Milwaukee Brewers in the first round as a third baseman.

In the late 1890's, the Black people of Tampa organized the Old Settlers Club. The president was Wm. J. Walker, the grandson of "Aunt" Dorcas Walker. This Club of pioneer Blacks had forty-nine members. Their objective was to have social gatherings and to preserve their history and heritage.

William Ashley, the first city clerk of Tampa, in the early days of Tampa, died in 1873 and was buried at Oaklawn cemetery. Shortly after his death his Black servant died. She was buried in the same grave with her master. Ashley's executor, John Jackson erected a tombstone in 1878 "to commemorate their fidelity to each other." The inscription reads: "Here lies Wm. Ashley and Nancy Ashley, Master and servant. Faithful to each other in that relation in life, in death they are not separated [sic]. Stranger consider and be wiser. In the grave all human distinction of race or caste mingle together in one common dust."

Dr. Fred Smith was the first Black physician to operate at St. Joseph’s Hospital, the University Community Hospital, and other facilities.
Z. D. Green, Tampa’s first Black attorney was admitted to the bar upon presenting proper credentials from the State of South Carolina.

The Jim Crow Law went into effect in Tampa July 1, 1905. The Black populace was incensed and boycotted the streetcars.

The Rev. A. W. Puller, pastor of the Bethel Baptist Church, on August 5, 1924, became the first Black to address the Tampa Rotary Club. "The pastor entered the room to the tune of Old Black Joe, unheralded and unintroduced." His message was, "What a Negro can be and do if he wants to." He called upon the Rotary Club for assistance in bettering school conditions. The program was considered one of the best and enjoyable of the year.

The first Blacks served on the Hillsborough County Commission during the Period of Reconstruction. The following were members of the commission during 1871: Mills Hollyman, Cyrus Charles, Bob Johnson and John Thomas.

E. L. Bing was the first Black to serve on the Hillsborough County Commission in the twentieth century. He was appointed by Gov. Bob Graham in 1983. Rubin Padgett was the first Black elected to the commission. Sylvia Kimbell, the present member, is the first Black woman to be elected to the county commission. Bing was a celebrated educator, and a citizen of great merit. Bing Elementary School honors his memory.

"The Washington Post published an interesting article about Willie Moore, a one-armed Black citizen of Tampa who was visiting the capital to attend McKinley's inauguration."

Dobyville, the small Black community in Hyde Park was named after James C. Doby, the ice peddler of Hyde Park. He was very popular with the white children who used to hitch rides on his wagon while he serviced his route.

Levin Armwood was the first Black deputy sheriff in Hillsborough County.

Blanche Armwood, an extraordinary woman, was the first executive secretary of the Tampa Urban League and first supervisor of "Negro schools" in 1922. Armwood High School is named in her honor.
large, family and gave all of his children an education. Two of them served as school teachers for many years.

*Pioneer Florida*
By D. B. McKay

On June 6, 1888, Gen. Flor Crombet, a hero of the Ten Years War in Cuba (1868-1878) visited Ybor City. He, was the first Cuban military figure who came to inflame the hearts of the Cubans to continue the struggle for a *Cuba Libre*. The workers honored him with a concert at the Liceo Cubano where a few years later José Martí would incite his people, to rebel against the Spanish oppressors. The following day the Afro-Cuban patriot was feted at a picnic at Sulphur Springs by the Armonia Club. Gen. Crombet entertained his compatriots with his superb horsemanship and military tactics. The cigar workers honored him further by forming a patriotic club and named it Flor Crombet. The affair was celebrated with a grand parade through the sandy streets of Ybor City, and a big feast was held in the Monne Cigar Factory. Crombet died in battle during the Cuban Revolution of 1895.

*José Martí - Evangelio*
Doctrinal En Las Emigraciones’ Institute
Civico Militar Habana, Cuba, 1943
Author’s File

Pauline Pedroso, an Afro-Cuban, is one of the heroines of the Cuban Revolution of 1895. An ardent supporter of José Martí, she safeguarded him in her home in Ybor City after an attempt was made to poison him. The site of her home is today the site of Martí Park. In 1902, Cuba became a republic. The Cuban community celebrated in a grand way. Funds were raised and Paulina was sent to lay an immense wreath of *Forget Me Nots* on the tomb of the martyred José Martí. Paulina returned to Cuba where she died in her nineties, nearly blind. She requested she be buried with a picture of José Martí over her heart, and the Cuban flag in her coffin.

*Vedas Ejemplares*
By Manuel García Ramerez
Habana, Cuba, 1928

The first cigar-maker in Tampa history was a Cuban slave. She was brought to the village of Tampa in 1837 by Odet Philippe, the first settler of safety Harbor. She made cigars in the Oyster saloon on Whiting St. and the river.

*Tampa Town*
By Tony Pizzo, 1968

The state Black baseball championship game was played in Tampa May 16, 1894, between the Tampa Baseball Nine, composed of Afro-Cuban players from Ybor City, and the Oak Hall Club, an Afro-American team from Gainesville. Four hundred fans came by train from Gainesville to cheer for their team. The "Tampa Colored Band" added to the festivities. The Tampa team won 10 to 9.

*Tampa Times*
May 16, 1894 (5-16-1918)

An unknown story is that out of the Black cigar-makers some broke away from being cigar rollers to become cigar manufacturers.

Andrew Williams was a good example. In the 1915 special publication of the *Tampa Times* he ran an ad showing a photograph of his factory located at 1111 Scott Street. The advertisement proclaimed, "Established 1906. Largest cigar factory know to be owned and controlled by a negro. We ship
our delightful Havana Cigars to nearly every state in the Union and Nationalities."

_Tampa Times_
January 28, 1915

Several Afro-Portorican also became cigar manufacturers. Catalino Cascllas established a small factory (Chinchal) in 1910, at 1604 23rd St., and his brother Pedro also ran his own Chinchal.

_Afro-Cubans in Ybor City_
By Susan D. Greenbaum, U.S.F.

La Union Martí-Maceo was organized in 1904, by Afro-Cubans of Ybor City. They erected an impressive two story brick Clubhouse on 6th Ave., and 11th St. The club also had an adjacent walled-in patio where many social functions were held. Its members received medical and hospital services. The Club house had a cantina where dominoes Mid card games helped while away their time. In the early days classes were held for teaching the English language. The Afro-Cubans have played a vital role in the life of Ybor City.

_Afro-Cubans / Ybor City_
By Susan Greenbaum

Black Cubans, cigar-makers, established a school in Ybor City, August 2, 1892. Marcello Cartillo was supervisor.

Author's File

Cloe Cabrera, a native of Cuba, reared in Ybor City, was the first runner-up in the Miss U.S.A. Pageant in Albuquerque, N.M. in 1987. The beautiful and talented Miss Cabrera is now a _Tampa Tribune_ reporter.

_Tampa Tribune_
February 20, 1987

The spirit of the Old West was made evident one Saturday night when two young Black girls put on a dramatic equestrian exhibition. "Carry Bell and Little Adams, dressed as cowboys, thought they might have a high old time, wild west style, whooping and galloping through the sandy streets of Ybor City. Officer Short put a stop to the fun. The festive young ladies were socked with a hefty fine of $25-00 for their horse play."

_Tampa Tribune_
December 18, 1891

In 1897, Wen Galvez, a Cuban peddler of Ybor City wrote "the police patrol (wagon) is called the Black maria because the first person to ride it was a poor Negro woman who carried the name of the Virgin Mary while on this earth, and is now in the heavens."

The term Black Maria for the police patrol was in common use in Tampa through the 1930's.

_Imressions De Un Viaje a Tampa_
By Wen Galvez
Cuba Printing Co., Ybor City, 1897

Robert Meacham had been one of Florida's outstanding Black Reconstruction leaders. He served as a Florida presidential elector in the 1868 election of Ulysses S. Grant as president. In his last years he ran a shoe shop in West Tampa. He died in Tampa, February 27, 1902.

_History-Heritage, Tampa Tribune_
Leland Hawes, August 5, 1990

Christine Meacham was Tampa's first Black woman school principal. In 1914 she was principal of Harlem Academy. When she
died in 1927, every Black school in Tampa closed during the funeral.

_Tampa Tribune_
Leland Hawes, February 2, 25, 1990

Clara C. Frye, a devoted humanitarian, built the first hospital for Blacks in Tampa in 1923. She devoted her entire life to the health care of her people. The Pavilion at Tampa General honors her memory.

_Tampa General Hospital Program_
February 24, 1991

The largest Emancipation Day parade was hailed to be "the largest held in Tampa until then."

_Tampa Tribune_
January 2, 1906

St. Peter Claver Catholic School, with an all Black student body, opened February 2, 1894, in the old Methodist church building on LaFayette St. (Kennedy Blvd.) The sisters of the Holy Names Jesus and Mary were in charge.

_Author’s File_

The Rev. Abe Brown became the first Black to receive the coveted Civitan award as the Outstanding Citizen of Tampa for 1990.

_Civitan Program, 1990_

Henry Clay, one of the Black farmers of the earl 1890's owned a farm in the Sweetwater Creek area. He was a picturesque figure who drove an oxen at a brisk trot when he came into Tampa Town. He enjoyed giving white children rides in his two wheel cart.

_Pioneer Florida_
By D. B. McKay, 1959

The First Baptist Church was organized in 1859. The house of worship was located at the corner of Twiggs and Tampa streets. The small frame building seated eighty members. Colored persons were enrolled, to wit: "Toney a manservant, and Harriet, a woman servant, both belonging to Capt. James McKay; Grace, a free woman, s/Samuel, a manservant, and Amy, his wife, belonging to John Darling; Millissy, a woman servant, belonging to Jesse Carter; Delia, a woman servant belonging to William H. Meredith." With the seven black members the original membership of the church was 23. As the Negro membership began to grow a separate service was held for them each Sunday.

In 1865, after the Civil War, the black members decided to establish their own church which is know today as Beulah Baptist Institutional Church.

_The Baptist Church_
By William E. Sherrill, 1984

Rev. Leon Lowry, Pastor of the Beulah Baptist Institutional Church, for years has been a dedicated community leader. He has served on many committees, commissions and boards dealing with religion, education and race relations. Rev. Lowry was the first black elected to the Hillsborough County School Board. He was honored by the Hillsborough County Bar Association with the prestigious Liberty Bell Award. The Leon Lowry Elementary School stands as a symbol for his many years of outstanding community service.

_Tampa Tribune_
September 7, 1974

At the outbreak of World War II, Ben Smith, a white-whiskered 97 year old former slave, stood before the Confederate Memorial in
front of the courthouse and offered his services for civilian defense to help defend a free America.

_Tampa Times_
May 30, 1941

Julian "Cannonball" Adderly, a Tampa native became famous as America’s jazz artist. After graduating from Florida A & M College he enlisted in the army, and led the 36th Army Dance Band. Later he studied at the Naval School of Music in Washington, D.C. Adderly was called the prophet of jazz. He became a very successful recording artist. _Downbeat Magazine_ named him new alto star of the year 1959. He died in 1974.

_Tampa Tribune_
August 1974

The 1850 census of Hillsborough County showed a population of 2,377. The Black population was 671.

Robert (Bob) Morrison, Jr., the energetic and bright young man became the first Black Chief Administrator to the Mayor of Tampa. With Mayor Bob Martinez they solved many public problems.

_Florida Business_
May 11, 1986

The first branch library for Blacks was opened in 1923. The library was located at 1310 Marion St., the home of Rev. Andrew J. Ferrell, Jr. It was named the Harlem Library after the Harlem Academy, the oldest colored school in Tampa.

_Tampa Daily Times_
May 23, 1923

first city playground for Black children was established on Buffalo Ave. and 22nd Street, June 8, 1944.

_Tampa Tribune_
June 18, 1944

Howard Bishop was the first Black policeman in Tampa.

_Tampa Tribune_
June 12, 1895

_Tampa Times_
March 12, 1917

Bennie Holder a beat cop of the Tampa Police Department worked his way to the rank of major. On June 25, 1993, he was named by Mayor Sandy Freedman as the first Black police chief in the history of Tampa.

_Tampa Tribune_
June 26, 1993

Central Avenue was to Black Tampans what Seventh Avenue was to the Latin cigar-makers of Ybor City. The main business avenue of the Black community extended from Cass St. to Kay St. Streetcars travelled the length of the thoroughfare connecting with all sections of the city. Central Avenue was a good example of the variety of businesses found in larger commercial districts. For example, drugstores, barbershops, restaurants, dance halls, cafes, clubhouses, butcher shops, grocery stores, clothing stores, two theatres- the Central Theatre and the Maceo theatre, and the one block long, two story, brick hotel carrying the name Mugge. The avenue was patrolled by two white patrolmen on foot.

In 1927, my father had an interest in the Liberty Cafeteria located on Central and
Cass Streets. I was 15 years old then and helped out at the cash register. Franklin St., 7th Ave. and Central Ave. were the three great gathering places of the old Tampa of yore. I remember them well -- Tony Pizzo.
EDUCATION: FROM ITS BEGINNINGS IN THE TERRITORY TO PRESENT

By NORMA GOOLSBY FRAZIER

Educational opportunities available to children residing in Hillsborough County today are quite a contrast to the situation faced by central Florida’s earliest settling families whose youngest members’ first schoolmaster was most likely their mother, and their first textbook, the family Bible.

Today, the Hillsborough County Public School System is the third largest in the state and ranks twelfth in the nation with a total enrollment (K-12) in the Fall of 1992 of 127,958. The Hillsborough County Public School System, headed by Walter L. Sickles, Ph.D., Superintendent, strives for excellence and during the 1992-’93 school term operated 148 regular public schools for K-12, offered classes at educational centers to meet the specialized needs of students and also offered programs for adults.

Early pioneering families were so busy settling themselves, establishing government and dealing with hostile Indians, that few efforts were made to organize and establish schools.

Public education in Florida dates back to the territorial days. In 1822, although every sixteenth section of land in each township was reserved for the maintenance of primary schools, for ten years there would be no schools in Florida except for the few private schools which existed at that time. In 1823, one year after Florida became a territory, "seminary lands," for two institutions of higher education, were reserved by Congressional legislation; these were the "ancestors" of the University of Florida and Florida State University.¹

Private schools were established by churches and religious groups. In 1831, a public meeting was held at Key West for the purpose of securing a clergyman to minister to the residents of the town. It was agreed by those attending that in addition to being a preacher, the new minister should be a competent schoolmaster. In 1834, Rev. Alva Bennett arrived in Key West and immediately established a school which served the community for several years. By the close of the territorial period in 1845, a number of other private schools were in operation in East, West and Middle Florida.²

School readers including The McGuffey Reader, which began to appear in 1835, became a favorite of Floridians and remained in that status for some forty years. It contained such favorites as "Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star," "Mary’s Little Lamb," and "The Hare and the Tortoise." In territorial Florida, the Bible was the most universal, followed by Robinson Crusoe by
DeFoe, Murray’s *English Reader* and St. Pierre’s *Paul and Virginia. The Sermons of Richard Flavel* were also popular.³

Attempts to establish a public school system were made in 1839 and again in 1844; however, until 1845, schools in Franklin and Monroe counties were the only true public schools in Florida. Finally, in 1849, the first real state school system was authorized but forty years would transpire before in 1889, the "New Law," the School Law of 1889, defined in detail the "powers and duties of school officials, providing uniformity among county school systems."⁴

In 1848, children of Tampa's pioneering families attended the first community school in the Hillsborough County Courthouse constructed by James McKay. The grounds also contained the county's first jail which was built on the courthouse square by Simon Sikes at a cost of $345. In order to keep wandering cows and hogs at a distance, at no additional cost, Sikes built a fence around the early courthouse. School sessions were held in the courtroom with W. P. Wilson of Boston who had come to Tampa for his health and had been urged by town leaders to start the school as its teacher. The "class room" was provided by county commissioners with Wilson being paid through tuition fees which were paid by children attending the early school.⁵

School sessions would be violently interrupted only two weeks later when the West Coast of Florida was struck by the devastation of the history-making hurricane of 1848 which left tremendous damage in its wake and caused heavy loss of life in the Florida Keys and the lower East Coast of the state. The fourteen pupils attending were on hand for the first day's instruction on Monday, September 11, 1848. They were: Louis and Eliza Jane Bell, Joseph and Mary Ferris, William B. and John Alexander Henderson, Mary R. Jackson, John Thomas Lesley, George and Sarah McKay, and Eliza Jane, William James, John Howard and Caroline Elizabeth Spencer.⁶

In the Fall of 1853, a young Methodist minister, Jasper K. Glover, opened a "high class" private school in Tampa soon after his marriage to Lavonia Branch, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Franklin Branch. The first year was considered to be a successful one with forty-five pupils attending but the following year, Mrs. Emelia Porter of Charleston, South Carolina established an exclusive private school for girls which presented a problem to Rev. Glover. Being left with only the boys and unable to make a living as a schoolmaster, Rev. Glover soon left town.⁷

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*The Little White Schoolhouse*
*On the grounds of University of Tampa.*

-Photos courtesy of Charles A. Brown
When the first public schools were opened in Hillsborough County in 1854, Mrs. Porter’s private school was faced with some serious competition; the school term was short-lived, lasting only a few weeks due to a lack of funds. Available resources amounted to only $307.04 with which to fund the operating costs of ten districts then existing in the county. The county had outgrown its first courthouse, built in 1848; which probably explained its lack of funds. In May 1853, a contract was awarded to Rev. J. A. Breaker with a two-story building consisting of offices on the first floor and court and jury rooms on the second, being constructed on the site of the original courthouse. The impressive structure which was decorated with four large columns at each end and entrances on Madison and Lafayette Streets, was completed on June 5, 1855, at a cost of $5,000.8

Shown as teachers of Tampa’s public schools which opened in late Fall of 1854 were: James Petty, Esther Hawks, E C. M. Boggess, Mrs. Otwayanna Roberts, H. L. Mitchell, W. P. Wilson, William N. Campbell, Jeremiah Newman and Thomas McCormick. Teachers at that time earned from $22 to $40 each school term.9

In Florida those citizens interested in education for their children and facilities for such were often planters who were educated to some degree themselves and who could afford to employ tutors to instruct their own children and those of their neighbors. In 1849, Jesse T. Bernard, a Virginian and student at William and Mary, was employed at Bradfordville in Leon County to teach the children of plantations in that vicinity. Young ladies were sent to female seminaries and young gentlemen were sent "off to college" with the children of poor whites and squatters often going without formal schooling.10

The general feeling held by many seemed to be that education was a private concern and not a public one with taming the wilderness and establishing government taking priority over public schools for which no funds were available. There was little desire to collect and appropriate local taxes for such an effort during that period in the state’s history. Florida held its own in private education during the antebellum period in the establishment of private and semiprivate schools but lagged far behind in its concern for public education for its children.

Within a year after the Civil War’s end, Mrs. Hawkins Private School for Girls and Samuel C. Craft’s Private School for Boys were opened in Tampa. Both charged tuition fees of $8 per term if paid in advance and $12 if paying in installments. Those attending Craft’s private school were compelled to adhere to strict rules with the warning that "those who make a practice of visiting any drinking or gambling place or other resorts of vice" would be promptly expelled; the school was not a financial success and closed after only one term. In addition to his position as proprietor of the school, Craft was pastor of the Baptist Church and editor of the Peninsular newspaper. On July 21, 1867, he reported that his income from all sources had been only $149 for the first six months of the year. "That’s not enough to live on," he moaned, "particularly now that we have to pay 10 cents a pound for beef."11

In The Story of Florida, W. T Cash said that in 1860, there were 5,341 illiterates over the age of twenty in the state with a total school population of 30,461 and an annual public income of $27,189. Many people then living in Florida lived in such isolated places that
establishing schools for their children was not only complicated by a lack of funds but was also hindered geographically. By 1850, however, Floridians were becoming a reading people with ten newspapers in the state and a total subscription list of 5,750; in 1860, with an increase to twenty-two papers, subscribers had increased to 15,750.12

In addition to Mrs. Hawkins Private School for Girls and Samuel C. Craft’s Private School for Boys, another private school was opened by Mrs. Robert E Nunez. In 1862, shortly after their marriage, Robert Nunez, who had previously owned a general store, enlisted in the Confederate Army and served as captain in Co., B., 7th Florida Regiment. He saw service in Tennessee and Kentucky and not being accustomed to the colder climate, he contracted pneumonia. In 1868, Capt. Nunez died, leaving a widow and two children. Official minutes of the Hillsborough County Board of Public Instruction date back to 1871, at which time there were already several schools in existence in southeastern Hillsborough County. A Board of Public Instruction was elected in the fall of 1870 which included John T Givens, Thomas K. Spencer and Dr. Franklin Branch. Superintendent was A. Watrous. The city’s first public school building was constructed on Franklin, between Madison and Twiggs Streets in 1876.13

The September 21, 1870 issue of the Florida Peninsular newspaper contained the following: "Pleasant Hill School will open in September for 10 months, two miles northeast from Tampa. Rev. D. P, 1. Murphy, Principal; Trustees: James Morris, Joseph Robles, Thomas Jackson." This school probably became known as "Nebraska Avenue School." Enrollment in March 1872, was 147 pupils in School No. 1 with 39 pupils in School No. 2 (neither is identified by name or location). When these schools originated is not known. The following action took place at the School Board meeting of April 6, 1873: "The bill of John Williams for services as teacher of No. 2 for 1870 amounting to $50 was on motion allowed and ordered paid out of any moneys (sic) in the Treasury."

Rocky Creek was mentioned in School Board minutes of December 10, 1871. Sparkman School was also mentioned that same date and is believed to have been located between Dover and Cork, west of Plant City. Alafia School in the Alafia community, north of the Alafia River was one of the six schools shown in the earliest School Board minutes (August 28, 1871).

In his Story of Southwestern Florida, James W. Covington relates an account given by a member of the pioneer Whidden family (many of whose members are listed in the...
1850 census of Hillsborough County) which speaks of the young girl’s early school-days:

"There were not any free schools in those days. The neighbors lived close together and would join in and hire a teacher. My first teacher was an old man named Davis. He taught school in my grandfather, Howard’s barn. The men made benches and put them along the sides of the wall. They were split logs smoothed off with a plane, with wooden legs pegged into them. We didn’t have any blackboards nor any slates. A few had pencils and paper but paper was scarce. When a child got a sheet of writing paper, he thought he had something wonderful.

"At my school, the big boys and girls had slates. We little ones had the Blue Backed Speller. It had reading in it, and that is all we had to study out of. I went with my two older half-sisters, and besides us, there were my grandfather’s three boys and two girls, the Roberts children, Lizzie Tucker, two Hendry girls, and a boy by the name of Dan Pate. Yes, there was an Arno girl, too.

"My next school was taught by a young man named Buddie Payne. The schoolhouse was in a hammock this side of where the Zion Church is now. I did not learn much from him, for he put in all his time with the big boys and girls. We little ones had only one lesson a day. My third school was taught by Miss Lizzie Berry. It was called the Taylor school and was five miles from home. My two half-sisters, my little brother Naaman, and I went from our house. The other children were the Taylors, Knights, Wingates, Stevens, Harrisses, and Pitts. I studied the Blue Backed Speller and a reader. I had a pencil and paper. I don’t remember any blackboard in this school.

"We carried our dinner in tin buckets, if we could get buckets. Some of us had to use homemade baskets that some of the family had made out of strips of inner bark of certain trees. They were alright, but everybody had baskets of this kind of all sizes from little to big, while tin buckets had to be bought at the store, and that made us feel that they were more valuable. Our dinner consisted of corn bread, rice, and meat of some kind. Sometimes we had biscuits, but flour wasn’t as plentiful as corn meal. We didn’t always have flour, but we always had corn meal, grits, and rice. One of the best things we had was sweet potato pone. It was made of grated sweet potatoes, eggs, and spice, and was sweetened with some of our homemade sugar.

"We had to walk five miles to Miss Berry’s school. We took a path through the woods and we often saw wolves and wildcats, but they never bothered us and we were not afraid. A big girl named Adaline Pitts came home with us sometimes. Sometimes Adaline would carry Naaman part of the way on her back. She would talk and laugh with us and tell us stories, and we loved her to go home with us to stay all night. Then, of course, we would have her to go along with us back to school the next morning.

"At recess, we played ball and Three Old Cats. Sometimes the boys played
Bull Pen. Boys and girls did not play together. We girls played such games as Dare Base, Poison Stick, and Wood Tag. I was almost grown before we learned to play Handkerchief and Go In and Out the Windows. Singing games like "Skip to Me Lou," came in at about this same time. We had recitations on Friday afternoons. Some of the neighbors would sing songs, too.

"We never had a Christmas tree at school nor at home either, but we always hung LIP our stockings. Sometimes we would get a little toy made out of wood, but we never got any china dolls. Our dolls were all homemade. We always got candy and sometimes an apple."

Hyde Park School (today's Gorrie Elementary School) was first mentioned in School Board minutes on September 3, 1889 "when Mrs. Florence Ray was appointed teacher at Hyde Park, No. 3."

Joseph J. Wilson, a native of Tampa who served as director of local news for radio station WPLA in Plant City and who was connected with the Tribune for half a century, inspired by the picture of an old school building, wrote of his own school experiences in the village of Tampa. The account appeared in D. B. McKay's Pioneer Florida:

"That little school was in walking distance of where I was born, and when I was a kid it was a kindergarten. I attended one term and "graduated" to the first grade in the first brick school built in Tampa, located on South Boulevard. I believe it is now called Gorrie School. The street car line to Port Tampa ran a little south of the brick school to make its way to what is now Bayshore Boulevard. The ornate home of Peter 0. Knight was located behind the school and what I remember as Spanish Town Creek was also in that neighborhood.

"But to get back to that little building, I remember that my teacher was Miss Louise Morton. The 15 or 20 kids that attended the year I did thought so much of Miss Morton we used to walk up to her home on Hyde Park or Plant Avenue and walk back to school with her every morning. I remember a few of the students attending the kindergarten the year I was there with my sisters. Kathleen McDermott was one, and others were Eloise Boyer, Harry Bomford, a boy named Homes, whose father had a livery stable in the vicinity of the city hall, Gillie Trezevant, Ena Sherril and her fat little brother, and others whose names I can't recall at the moment.

"The next term I, along with two of my sisters, attended the new brick school, and my first teacher was
Miss Alice Warner, and I’ll never forget her for one outstanding reason; Howard Parks sat behind me. He was full of mischief, and, as I remember, somewhat of a loudmouthed youngster. He was always talking to some girl while classes were in progress, and he did it in such a manner that Miss Warner thought I was the culprit. She admonished me several times to stop talking, and I tried to explain that I wasn’t doing the talking.

"However, this must have been a hot, miserable day—she could stand it no longer, left her desk and hurried down the aisle in my direction. I paid no attention, thinking she was going after Parks, but the next thing I knew the teacher had given me a sounding slap on my cheek, and then gave me ‘what-for’ for talking. Parks was decent enough to admit his guilt, and Miss Warner apologized profusely.

"Miss Warner was my teacher through the fourth grade, and near the close of the term asked me to remain after classes. I thought I was going to catch it for something or other, but what she wanted was for me to skip the fifth grade and go into the sixth the next term. I never will know whether she thought I was smart enough to skip a grade, or whether she was trying to make up for that hefty slap she gave me. All I can remember about the principal of that school for several years is a short, stubby man, who wore glasses, and who used to skip up and down the walks with the girls, and whom we knew as ‘Professor Ellis.’ In those days the boys had to play on one side of the building and the girls on the other. We had no directed play, no football, and believe it or not, we had to brush our own teeth without any help from teacher, or without lectures about oral hygiene.

"Former Sheriff Hugh Culbreath was also a student at this school, and I can remember that Hugh, perhaps his sisters and brothers, and maybe some neighbor kids, came to school each morning in a two-mule wagon. The Culbreaths lived on the bay, west of Tampa, and the mules and wagons were parked in the shade of several pine trees across the street car tracks from the school building. It also seems to me that O. D. Wetherell and his sisters lived across the street from the school and were students.

"When I was a kid the only paving in town was oyster-shell surfacing from Tibbett’s Corner to the North on Franklin Street to Harrison and I distinctly remember board sidewalks on both sides of Franklin. The first moving picture I ever saw was on the..."
side of the Ball grocery store building across the bandstand in the courthouse square. These pictures, plus a band concert, were shown every Saturday night, and the first picture I saw was a man swimming in a river, with a tramp coming along to steal his clothing. That much of it has stuck in my memory.

"I also remember the old wooden Lafayette Street bridge, the only span across the river in my young days, and I remember when Maas Brothers store was across the street from its present location in one room. The first knickerbocker pants I ever wore came from Wolf Brothers, and I carried a Tribune route in Hyde Park when the paper was printed on a flat-bed Duplex press upstairs at Polk and Franklin. In one way or another, I have been connected with the Tribune off and on for nigh on to 50 years.

"In those days there wasn’t much money, but life was pleasant, no one was in a hurry, and schools taught kids how to read and write and do arithmetic problems.

D. B. McKay added: "I think the first school mentioned by Mr. Wilson was a private school on Cedar Avenue which was operated about the time he specifies next to the Hyde Park Methodist Church."

Several schools were already in existence in southeastern Hillsborough County when the first official minutes of the Board of Public Instruction for, Hillsborough County were recorded in 1871. The Alafia School (in the Alafia community north of the Alafia River), the Antioch School (east of Thonotosassa) and Alderman’s (south of the Alafia River), were among the earliest. The Bryant School is mentioned in School Board minutes of September 2, 1879: "On motion, the school at Moody’s Church be moved from said house to the school house near Bryant and to be called Bryant’s school house" (probably located south of the Alafia River in the southeastern part of the county). Cork School was first mentioned in School Board minutes of August 3, 1872: "School No. 12, ‘George W. Knight is listed as teacher.’ " Fish Hawk, first mentioned November 6, 1875: "School near J. J. Pringle’s was reorganized and called Fish Hawk and No. 34, with Nathan Boyett (sic) and Britton J. Burnett as trustees in the present-day Boyette vicinity."

In the peaceful and prosperous community of Trapnell near Plant City, parents residing in the surrounding communities of Hopewell, Springhead and Turkey Creek combined their efforts in establishing a school which was erected near the home of early settler, Marvin Sparkman. John Deshong was its first instructor with students including children of pioneering families such as the Hamiltons, Howells and Clemens of Springhead, Crum and Burts of Plant City, Waldons of Turkey Creek and Matchetts of Hopewell. In 1902, another school was established with R. W Trapnell, S. A. McDonald and Dave Clemons instrumental in its establishment.14

Not far distant, Cornelius English ran the first grist mill in what was then known as English Mill Creek. Customers came from as far away as Lakeland, walking the distance carrying their corn to the early mill and returning to their homes with their corn sacks upon their backs. The little one-room, log-house school erected at English Mill Creek had a Mr. Belton as its first teacher, followed by Mr. Hollingsworth. This school was supported by tuition fees paid by those
parents who could afford the required fees. A good flowing spring was found nearby with the schoolhouse later being moved about a quarter of a mile up the road to what later became the home-site of Pad English. In 1880, it was moved again and became a free school. In 1928, Ernest L. Robinson in his *History of Hillsborough County*, wrote that a brick building had been erected five years earlier and had recently been enlarged to a two-story brick structure, with the faculty having been increased to eleven teachers.

School Board minutes of October 15, 1875 show a "Moody's and/or Moody's Church-background somewhat muddy." Moody's school is shown to have been near W B. Moody's home and was probably located in the early settlement of Peru on the south bank of the Alafia River. "Lesley's Ferry" was named for Rev. Leroy G. Lesley, a soldier and Methodist minister who settled on the Alafia river-banks soon after the end of the Civil War: "Only mention, September 2, 1883: G. W Kennedy, J. M. Boyett and G. H. Symmes were appointed trustees for 'Lesley's Ferry.'"

The Peru School (mentioned September 1, 1885) and the Pine Landing School (mentioned August 4, 1893) were consolidated: "Petition from a part of patrons of Peru School asking permission to patronize Riverview School (organized in 1885 on the north bank of the Alafia River was not granted."

Many students who are presently attending Brandon Schools, in the early 1880s would have attended an early school in Providence called Oakridge. This early school drew the children of pioneering families then living in Mill Point (Gibsonton), the Riverview area and the early Peru settlement. School No 38 had a teacher as per minutes of June 1, 1881; the Providence School is also mentioned in School Board minutes of December 8, 1888: "Petition of Providence No. 38 to use one month appropriation on building was granted." Minutes of August 4, 1893: "Petition from Providence settlement to establish school was granted. School building to be erected near Providence Church (established 1877). No number was listed for this school which was located between Brandon and Riverview and whether this is the same 'Providence' Area of School No. 38 earlier, is unknown."

Ellen Hendry McMillan, born in 1881 and a small child at the time, often told her young niece, Sarah Maxine Meeks Easton, colorful tales of the early days in Hillsborough County. Many of these were centered around events which occurred on the long walks from Mill Point to the school which was located near the Providence Baptist Church. The early school of Oakridge and the Bloomingdale School were later incorporated into the Brandon District School. This school housed twelve grades with as many as three grades in one room.

At Hendrix Chapel located between the communities of New Hope and Bloomingdale (south of the present Brooker Elementary School), parents paid for their children's education and boarded the teacher in their homes. Classes were from sun up to sundown. Hendrix Chapel was organized "September 27, 1883, when John Carlton and G. W. Smith were appointed trustees for Hendrix Chapel, better known as 'Roes Ford.'"

A little farther south in present day Riverview, school sessions were held on the old Baumng property with E S. Morrison serving as schoolmaster when the first known schoolhouse was built in 1878. As late as 1899, the Riverview DeSoto Masonic
Lodge Hall was erected to operate in conjunction with the Hillsborough County School system. This transaction was later declared to be illegal and the building was sold to the School Board by the Masons for one dollar. The School Board leased the top floor to the Masons with this arrangement continuing until 1929 when the school fronting present Highway 301 (Riverview Shopping Center) was erected.15

During those early years, family members brought dinner to the school for the entire family with the children of each individual family sharing their noon meal (often from a lunch bucket) under the shady oaks where neighboring children were gathered. Otha, Lulabelle and Rosalie Goolsby often shared their abundance of fresh citrus with their neighborhood friends and fellow students; the oldest child in each family normally served the cold food to their siblings.

Dorothy Hemrick Strock of Tampa recalled attending the old Riverview School on DeSoto Road. Dorothy fondly recalled a favorite teacher, Mrs. Littlejohn and the one armed principal who is remembered by many of present Riverview's oldest residents who were students at school.

Dorothy vividly recalled school sessions held on the ground floor of the two story structure. She said that older students encouraged an old ghost story which supported the theory that a goat lived upstairs where the men held their meetings in the old Masonic Hall. The younger children were instructed by their older peers to be very quiet so they might hear the goat as he made his way down the creaky wooden stairs.

The early schoolhouse served as a place of learning for many members of Riverview's pioneering families. "Miss Mary" Moody, born in Riverview in 1901, and who later taught at the school, recalled attending classes as a child. In 1906, at the age of five, on weekday mornings she often observed the "big girls" heading for the schoolhouse on their way to school and pleaded with her parents to allow her to go too. Mrs. Moody finally consented but Mary soon changed her mind about attending school early when the "big girls" put her up to "make faces" and was reprimanded by the teacher. She also remembered an early principal, Mr. Carlton, spanking her brother Sanford and a young lad named Thompson.

According to "Miss Mary," children in grades one through four were assembled in "the little room" with those in grades six, seven, and eight being confined to the "big room." Years later, she joined two other "school mams," Mrs. Bea Moody and Mrs. Hattie Thompson as a part of the school's small faculty.

Hooker's Landing, named for William B. Hooker, a prominent cattleman who settled in Hillsborough County in 1843, was mentioned in School Board minutes of November 6, 1886, and the location of the school could have been southwest of Ruskin where the river empties into the bay. Some of Manatee County's children are believed to have attended this school: "The Board agreed to pay according to the average for all pupils from the county attending a school at Hooker's Landing on Little Manatee River."

In 197, J. H. Reese in his Florida Flashlights, said that there were 2,916 public schools in Florida with the total school population (ages six to twenty-one) being 302,038. Florida at that time spent $2,818,675.13 for public education; the number of teachers employed at that time was 5,734, with their average pay being
$56.25 (based on twelve months, the average was $30.32).

The average number of days attended at that time was 130 with schools in many districts running for a period of eight months. In 1917, Florida had 104 high schools with the state’s local option compulsory school attendance law having been adopted in only a few counties at that time.16

Rollins College in Winter Park, a coeducational college incorporated and founded in 1885 (five miles north of Orlando), is the oldest institution of higher learning in Florida. Dr. Edward P Hooker was its first president.17

Florida’s pioneering forefathers and concerned citizens who desired a formal education for Hillsborough County’s earliest children, and who laid the groundwork for the educational system which exists today, could not have possibly envisioned the present Hillsborough County School System which on August 19, 1993, "opened its doors" to an expected 131,000 students housed in a total of 161 elementary, junior and senior high schools. Students of today no longer share a cold meal with their siblings beneath the branches of a live oak tree; today’s students may expect a well-balanced meal at lunchtime provided by the county’s School Food Service Program which began serving hot lunches in Hillsborough County schools soon after the end of World War II.

The 1993-94 school term got underway with a fleet of 930 modern buses which are driven by well-trained personnel who transport students to schools throughout the county, quite a contrast to dusty walks through woodlands filled with wild animals, a daily experience for school students attending Hillsborough County’s first schools over one-hundred years ago.

ENDNOTES

2 Sidney W. Martin, Florida During the Territorial Days, (Athens, GA, 1944), 220, 221.
3 Florida Centennial Commission, Florida Becomes State, (Tallahassee, 1945), 9, 10.
4 Morris, Florida Handbook 278, 279.
5 Karl H. Grismer, Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida (St. Petersburg, 1949); 109, 111, 112.
6 Ibid., 112
7 Ibid., 121-122. Records of Hillsborough County’s early public schools can be found in Office of Comptroller, Vouchers 1846-62, Common Schools, RG 350, Series 565, Box 8, Florida State Archives.
8 Ibid., 122.
9 Ibid.
11 Grismer, Tampa, 161.
13 Grismer, Tampa, 162.
14 Ernest L. Robinson, History of Hillsborough County, Florida (Tampa, 1928), 16.
16 J. H. Reese, Florida Flashlights, 29.
17 Ibid.

OTHER SOURCES: Records of the School Board of Hillsborough County, The Neighborhood Origins of
REGENSBURG CIGAR FACTORY PAY  
CAR HELD UP BY BANDITS  

By ARSENIO M. SANCHEZ

By the time West Tampa was established as a separate city in May 18, 1895, the rapid growth of this municipality brought on great expectations.

The payroll for a large number of cigar factories in the city, in the 1920's was in the thousands of dollars weekly.

Bandits made an attempt Saturday Sept. 3, 1921 to hold up the pay car of E. Regensburg & Sons West Tampa cigar factory of $20,900.

The holdup, one of the most daring in the annals of Tampa's history occurred in broad daylight on Howard Avenue, near Homer Hesterly Armory which was Benjamin Park at the time and an aviation landing field only two blocks from Grand Central Avenue (Kennedy Blvd.).

Luther M. Davis, head bookkeeper and office manager of the Regensburg factory in Ybor City; Laureano Torres, manager of both Regensburg factories here; Eugene L. Brightwell and Jack Hayes, Negro chauffeur, were in the car carrying the payroll when the holdup was staged. In the exchange of gunfire, Hayes was wounded in the shoulders and Davis received a scratch in the back of the neck.

The scene of the holdup was a sparsely settled section on the edge of West Tampa. Howard Avenue at that point was lined by shrub growth on either side. In the growth a
man could easily crouch so as not to be seen from the street.

Into this street the pay car turned from Grand Central Ave. bound for Regensburg’s West Tampa cigar factory at the corner of N.

Before turning off of Grand Central Avenue the payroll car’s chauffeur, Jack Hayes, observed a Ford touring car sitting at the side of the road unoccupied.

When the payroll automobile had proceeded about two blocks on Howard Avenue going north, another car was seen to back out of an unpaved street into the main thoroughfare, effectively blocking any traffic on the street. The car seemed to start north on Howard Avenue then all of a sudden stall. The pay
car came to a halt, waiting for the other vehicle to start up and clear the road, when several men leaped from the bushes on both sides and opened fire.

None of the men firing from the street shouted a command of any kind. But the moment the firm's began, the men in the pay car reached for their arms, and a spectacular pistol battle between the bandits and the occupants of the pay car began. Torres and Brightwell fired their weapons, but Davis did not use his.¹

One of the men, who was wearing a handkerchief over his face, leaped into the road in front of the pay car and was struck by a bullet from Brightwell's automatic. Arthur Gill, the wounded bandit was shot in the leg shattering the bone, by a bullet from Brightwell's .45 caliber Army pistol. Davis and Torres were armed with .38 caliber Army automatic pistols. When Gill fell wounded, the other bandits were frightened and fled in the car obstructing the road. Sheriff's deputies apprehended Philip M. Licata and DeWitt Adams through description and information supplied to them by Gill, who was arrested at the scene of the attempted robbery.²

Gill had been standing at the edge of the bushes bordering the street, and when wounded he dropped in his tracks. The men in the pay car, however, made an effort immediately to get away from the scene. Hayes, the chauffeur, who was severely wounded in the shoulder by a bullet, managed to throw the car into reverse and succeeded in backing it away hurriedly on to Grand Central Avenue. He then drove to the sheriff's office, where Chief Deputy D. B. Givens, who was in charge in the absence of Will C. Spencer, was informed of the attempted robbery.

After the foiled attempted holdup, two cars, a Haynes touring car which Licata used to block the road so that the pay car could not pass, and a Ford car from which Adams gave a signal to his confederates of the approach of Davis and his party, were confiscated by the sheriff's office.

With the information furnished by Gill, the sheriff's force arrested all accused of the attempted robbery: Philip M. Licata, Arthur Gill, and DeWitt Adams and charged them with an assault with intent to murder, assault with intent to rob and an attempt at robbery. Charges were filed Sept. 22, 1921 by County Solicitor Morris M. Givens. Joe Reina and Gio Cacciatore who never were arrested, were included in the charge. Mr. Givens recommended that bond for the men be set at $20,000.
Licata was released from custody on Sept. 25, after furnishing a cash bond of $20,000. After a conference between the attorneys for the state and defense and criminal court Judge Lee J. Gibson, it was decided that Nov. 16th was probably the best day for the trial to come before the court. But the trial opened Thursday Nov. 17th and practically all of the day was spent in securing a jury.

Arthur Gill, DeWitt Adams and Philip Licata were put on the witness stand and cross-examined. Witnesses for and against the men on trial were placed on the witness stand.

While on the witness stand, Jack Hayes was asked by Attorney Hugh Macfarlane, if when he returned to Howard Ave., and Grand Central, he had seen anything. His reply was that he saw the Ford car and at that time it was occupied by DeWitt Adams, who asked him, "What's the trouble up there?" Macfarlane also asked Hayes if he recognized in the courtroom the driver of the large car that blocked the roadway. He said "yes," and pointed to Philip Licata.

In the instructions to the jury the Court advised that the testimony of an accomplice should be received with caution, and if you believe from the evidence that Arthur Gill was an accomplice in the commission of the felonies charged against these defendants in the Information, you should act upon his testimony with great care and caution, subjecting it to a careful examination in the light of all other evidence, and you should not convict the defendants Philip M. Licata, and DeWitt Adams upon Arthur Gill's testimony alone unless you are satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt of its truth.

"We, the jury, find the defendants, Philip Licata and DeWitt Adams not guilty, so say we all. E. H. Knight, foreman; J. N. Aldnage, Chas. Jochumsen, S. C. McDonald, V L. Wadsworth and H. E. Boyett." "Not guilty," was the verdict returned Monday, Nov. 28, 1921, by the Jury in the cases of Philip Licata and DeWitt Adams. The verdict was reached about 1:30 o'clock Sunday morning after the jury had been locked up upon instructions from Judge Gibson. The verdict was sealed and handed to the clerk of the court and opened in the court Monday morning Nov. 28, at 10 o'clock. The case was concluded after eleven days of deliberation.

The trial of Gill, a man who had been sentenced to life in the state penitentiary, for murder, but was later pardoned and restored his civil rights, was set aside for a later date. If he was tried again, there is no record available of what happened.

Many well known citizens of Tampa opposed the verdict. Dr. L. A. Bize, president of the Citizens-American Bank & Trust Co. stated that he thoroughly agreed with a critical Tampa Tribune editorial, published Nov. 29, and he felt it was a "damnable outrage," for such a verdict to be rendered. The editorial dealt with the "notorious record" of Hillsborough County Juries in this and other recent trials.

The trial had been attended by "packed houses" at practically all sessions and an unusually large attendance was present the morning when the sealed verdict was opened and read in court.

Dr. Bize announced on Dec. 30 that the Citizens-American Bank & Trust Co. had ordered a steel-armored car for the delivery of payroll money to its patrons. The bank hoped to make it impossible for bandits to successfully get away with a payroll.

Macfarlane had assisted County Solicitor Givens in the prosecution of the case, having
been retained by the Cigar Manufacturers Association. The case was termed one of the hardest-fought legal battles in many years. C. J. Hardee defended Adams and W. K. Zewadski, Jr. represented Licata. The two other men implicated in the attempted robbery were never apprehended by the authorities. 

ENDNOTES

1 *The Tobacco Leaf*, Sept. 8, 1921.

2 Tampa Morning Tribune, Sept. 26, 1921.

3 *Tampa Morning Tribune*, Oct. 25, 1921.

4 *Tampa Morning Tribune*, Nov. 29, 1921.

5 *Tampa Daily, Times*, Dec. 30, 1921.

6 *Tampa Morning Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1921.

The Author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Leland Hawes in proofreading this article.

Photos are from the author’s collection.
CAUGHT IN THE CROSS FIRE: AFRICAN AMERICANS AND FLORIDA’S SYSTEM OF LABOR DURING WORLD WAR II

By JAMES A. SCHNUR

The Second World War greatly altered Florida's social climate. The trends of tourism, business progressivism, urbanization, and industrial development that evolved during the war and flourished in its aftermath competed with conventional agricultural and extractive enterprises. Countless soldiers served on Florida's military bases, and many returned after the war in search of jobs and greater economic mobility. Women answered the call to fill vacancies in wartime industries. The state's African American residents, however, were caught in the cross fire between the immediate labor demands of a nation transformed by war and the long-standing traditions of segregation and paternalism that had historically stifled their economic welfare. When the Pittsburgh Courier announced its "Double V" campaign two months after the attack on Pearl Harbor, it encouraged blacks throughout America to fight for victory in two distinct wars: the external struggle against Fascism and the internal culture of racism. This essay examines the precarious balance between labor and race relations in Florida during World War II.¹

Despite their loyalty and patriotism, blacks in Florida encountered blatant discrimination and paternalistic race relations in the years prior to World War II. A story in a 1917 issue of the Tampa Morning Tribune claimed that German agents hoped to incite blacks to rebel by promising them "complete franchise, freedom, and political and social equality." Guards closely monitored activities in the Scrub and other black areas of the Cigar City. In June 1918, the mayor of Miami ordered police to prohibit any gathering of blacks in Colored Town because he feared such an assembly might become rowdy and unmanageable. Police abuse, coupled with other forms of institutional bigotry and a revived Ku Klux Klan, haunted blacks throughout Florida long after hostilities concluded on Armistice Day in 1918. The Klan reemerged in Florida during the early 1920s and promptly became immersed in the political hierarchy. Wherever klaverns appeared, violence soon followed. In this paternal culture, many of the white Floridians who rewarded blacks for deferential behavior would evoke terror to maintain their social and economic hegemony. Similar to abusive parents who excessively punish their children, Southern whites considered it their duty to discipline blacks for any infringement of customs and traditions. Blacks who challenged the division of labor that relegated them to low-wage, low-skilled jobs often endured acts of public humiliation, beatings, and, occasionally, murder.²

Florida’s unbalanced scales of justice promoted a system of statutory bondage. In the years following the Civil War, authorities maintained a supply of cheap labor by instituting a convict lease program.
and enforcing debt peonage regulations. Blacks constituted a majority of the convicts leased from Florida's prisons to work for private companies. Though the state officially ended this exploitative program in 1923, the custom of leasing prisoners persisted into the 1940s. A law enacted during the 1919 legislative session considered it “prima facie evidence of the intent to defraud” if individuals accepted any item of value -- such as transportation to a labor camp -- but refused to fulfill their obligations. White recruiters could mislead desperate and impoverished African Americans by promising them free transportation, food, and accommodations if they worked in the forests or plantations. In this modern form of indentured servitude, once new employees arrived at the labor camps, they witnessed deplorable conditions and realized that they owed the company for their passage. The law offered no recourse for the duped black laborers because it required them to prove that the employer had misled them: Florida courts would never permit blacks to make such accusations against the white businessmen who bolstered the state's economy with captive labor.3

Turpentine camps egregiously violated the civil rights of black workers. Camp authorities colluded with sheriffs, politicians, and civic leaders to keep African Americans in a state of peonage. Beatings, attacks, and murders frequently occurred within the guarded confines of these camps. Some rural law enforcement officers arrested innocent people on vagrancy charges to meet quotas established by turpentine operators. Similar to the purchase of a slave in the antebellum period, camp administrators could secure additional workers by assuming the accounts of indebted blacks from other camps. The government made no attempt to halt this practice, even after the U. S. Department of Justice and a committee assembled by Governor Doyle E. Carlton conducted investigations during the early 1930s. In the fall of 1936, newspapers throughout America reported that 400 blacks remained enslaved on a farm in Macclenny. One man remarked that "it would be easier for an enemy of Hitler to operate in Germany than for a union organizer to attempt to set foot in one of these camps." By the end of the decade, Governor Fred P. Cone denied that forced labor existed in Florida. When someone once asked Cone about the 1919 codes that reconstituted slavery, he replied: "It's a good law. Peonage? We have no peonage in Florida. Our colored people are the happiest folk on earth-when the Yankees'll (w) let them alone." Debt peonage served as an important investment for Cone and the state of Florida. Authorities usually managed to capture laborers who escaped from the plantation, and judges placed the escapees on chain gangs and forced them to build Florida's roads and infrastructure.4

Despite federal intervention, peonage at turpentine camps continued throughout the war years. A turpentine foreman told folklorist Stetson Kennedy during a 1941 camp visit that his authority allowed him to act as "the law, judge, jury, and executioner.... even rank(ing) ahead of God." These plantations-often owned by Northern business interests -- used their Southern brand of justice on any unwelcome interloper: Authorities even charged Federal Bureau of Investigation agents with criminal trespass for trying to investigate conditions at these camps. In 1945, a Marianna turpentine operator falsely arrested and forcibly transported across the state a black man who owed him money. A similar case of bondage prompted the U. S. Supreme Court decision that annulled the peonage statute. Emanuel Pollock received $5 after
he agreed to pay off a loan by performing acts of labor. When Pollock failed to keep his promise, the judge levied a $100 fine and imprisoned him.

In *Pollock v. Williams* the Supreme Court declared Florida’s 1919 law unconstitutional because it violated the Thirteenth Amendment and federal anti-peonage statutes. But this 1944 verdict failed to curb de facto peonage. In 1949, the Workers’ Defense League (WDL) claimed that 14 more forms of forced labor are more widely practiced in Florida than in any other state. Its legislature by successive enactments has most consistently attempted to evade or ignore United States Supreme Court decisions. During a visit to Alachua County in 1949, the WDL located fourteen turpentine camps which flagrantly violated workers’ civil rights.

Atrocities also occurred on sugar plantations around Lake Okeechobee. The United States Sugar Corporation (US Sugar) harvested its first successful crop near the Everglades in 1931. For the next eleven years, white agents recruited Southern blacks to cut cane by offering the false assurance that the company would provide free housing, food, medical care, and transportation. When America’s entry into World War II seemed inevitable, the sugar industry cloaked its exploitation under the guise of patriotism. Recruiters for U. S. Sugar and other firms told prospective laborers that they worked for the government and tried to convince blacks that cane cutters served an important role in national defense. Once again, plantation managers conspired with government officials to enslave African Americans. Local constables did nothing to prevent farm supervisors from attacking their workers with guns, blackjacks, or machetes. Ironically, one black newspaper that documented peonage cases throughout the South printed an article informing readers that the sugar industry needed 500 laborers during the upcoming season. This story in an August 1942 edition of the *Atlanta Daily World* mentioned the same "free" benefits that white recruiters had promised to unsuspecting black men on street corners. The paper asked interested persons to contact the U. S. Employment Service, an agency that enlisted cane cutters for sugar corporations. The Employment Service claimed it assumed no responsibility for the welfare of the workers once they entered the plantation.

The sugar industry modified its hiring practices by 1943. A year earlier, U. S. Attorney General Herbert S. Phillips had zealously prosecuted U. S. Sugar. Although the court revoked a grand jury indictment that claimed U. S. Sugar forced field hands to toil under peonage, sugar corporations decided to halt the recruitment of blacks with United States citizenship to prevent further litigation. Beginning in 1943, Caribbean residents of African descent replaced the black Americans who found employment opportunities in other areas during World War II. This non-native black population posed new difficulties for a region that staunchly adhered to segregation: The government detained and deported many immigrants who challenged the discrimination found in the plantation system. In an October 1943 incident, staff at U. S. Departments of State, Agriculture, and Labor attempted to suppress public knowledge of the incarceration of nearly 900 Jamaicans. When the islanders refused to sign a Jim Crow agreement given to them by Jamaican and American officials, authorities notified the immigration office and transferred them to jails in Tampa and Miami, as well as the penitentiary at Raiford. An official dispatched from the War Food Administration the following year
discovered 25,000 West Indian recruits seething in near rebellion and heard that peace officers had arrested thousands of other Caribbean natives upon their arrival. Slavery continued, only the birthplace of the victims had changed.  

Long before Jamaicans replaced Afro-Americans on sugar plantations, whites had erected barriers to fetter economic mobility among blacks. New Deal programs often excluded blacks: While over 850 white Floridians participated in the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1935, coercion by state and local officials limited the black enrollment to less than twenty. Similarly, few African Americans profited from National Youth Administration work-study programs because Southern blacks could not enroll in white technical schools. As America prepared for war, whites hoped to forestall an exodus of blacks from Southern farms to Northern industries.  

On editorial urged blacks in Seminole County to "think twice" before leaving because:  

(S)outhern darkies who have migrated (N)orth have lived to regret it... Only those with exceptional talents, or who manage somehow to keep one jump ahead of the law for a short time, ever find living conditions better off in the (N)orth ... The average (N)egro is far better off in the (S)outh where he is among friends who understand him and his problems and where the climate is much more suited to his nature.  

Whites denied black farmers membership in many agricultural organizations, even though they demanded that blacks contribute more than their share to sustain wartime needs. By 1942, the St. Lucie Defense Council encouraged blacks to enroll in a labor pool that would assure the harvest of tomato and fruit crops. The council planned to submit the list to St. Lucie County authorities for verification, and also offer it to employers in need of laborers.  

"Work-or-fight" mandates prolonged black personage. In a sense, "wage slavers" could keep blacks in a subordinate role by regulating the status and location of their employment. If black workers protested too loudly, authorities might threaten to invoke the Selective Service Act. Throughout Florida, law enforcement officers broadly interpreted vagrancy laws while patrolling in black neighborhoods to meet the demand for labor on the home front. Beginning in 1942, St. Petersburg police mustered able-bodied men from black establishments. Police officers and city councilmen coordinated raids exclusively in the African American community to coincide with the menial and agricultural labor needs of local business interests. The following year, a Key West Judge vowed to investigate residents who terminated their employment in Monroe County without a good reason and arrest them for vagrancy. While citrus workers in some central Florida groves faced fines and jail terms for not appearing in the fields on Saturday, a Clearwater man served a ten-day sentence for missing one day of work.  

By January 1945, Governor Millard E Caldwell asked all sheriffs to eliminate indolence. The Martin County sheriff promptly seized this opportunity to warn loafers that: "It is going to be the policy of this office to cooperate with farmers, saw-mill men, and others doing essential work-to see that they get all the help available." A month later, Hillsborough County's community war production committee planned a drive to combat "idlers" in the city of Tampa. White newspapers also supported the governor's request when they waged an editorial war against loafing. The press exhorted community leaders to confine "Indolent"
blacks, cure any venereal diseases they may possess, and haul them before local draft boards.\textsuperscript{11}

State officials sought to supervise the behavior of African Americans through economic and social coercion. By considering themselves the final arbiters of proper moral behavior, politicians, bureaucrats, law enforcement officers, and members of the State Defense Council assailed jook joints, social diseases, and other influences that might "sabotage" the war effort. As early as August 1942, Governor Spessard Holland and the state Board of Health negotiated with the federal government to secure land for detention camps to house diseased prostitutes. The state planned to offer defense training to women confined in these former Civilian Conservation Corps camps, and assign them to war industries upon their release. Officials at the U. S. Public Health Service, claiming the Florida possessed the highest venereal disease rate in the nation, asked policemen to corral "professional disease spreaders." Local authorities seized this initiative. Under the orders of Mayor John Alsop, Jacksonville police officers arrested 1140 prostitutes and place more than 200 of them on a prison farm during the first nine months of 1942. By July 1944, Alsop ordered the detainment of all un-escorted women "who have no legitimate reason for being alone in the streets." Though officers did incarcerate many white "Victory Girls," they tended to search for salacious behavior in black neighborhoods. A poor black woman, lacking the economic mobility available to her white counterparts, offered a much easier target than the white "Rosie the Riveters" that community leaders deemed essential to the war effort.\textsuperscript{12}

One sheriff created a notorious "vagrancy dragnet." Broward County Sheriff Walter Clark exhibited malfeasance of office by repeatedly seizing African Americans. By 1944 Clark had established an "enforced labor decree" that offered him full discretion to hold any person found idle on the streets. Without providing a trial or any semblance of justice, he gathered blacks from Fort Lauderdale's slums and placed them in bondage on a farm owned by the mayor of nearby Oakland Park. Although state officials intended for "work-or-fight" regulations to apply to unemployed and unproductive adults, a substantial number of Clark's victims possessed jobs with stable incomes. Some of the men also belonged to labor unions. While the Workers' Defense League scorned the sheriff's actions and demanded an investigation by the Justice Department, law enforcement officers who admired Clark's successful tactics emulated them elsewhere in Florida. By the spring of 1945, a similar "reign of terror" had appeared in Sebring; others soon followed.\textsuperscript{13}

"Jook joints" offered an obvious target. These roadside drinking establishments, often found in rural areas and frequented by farm workers, rankled civic leaders who feared that leisurely drinking sapped the productivity of black laborers. Any expression of freedom -- even if confined to a segregated bar in the black community -- threatened white social control. A May 1942 report from the Florida State Defense Council blamed a decline in agricultural yields on the "vagrancy, laziness, and indifference" of blacks who often lived "in the Negro quarters of various cities where they are not under such strict control and have amusements more to their liking." The State Agricultural Labor Committee, a branch of the Defense Council, believed that drinking by farm laborers amounted to "sabotage of the war effort." Rural whites agreed with this assessment. For example, a May 1942 editorial in the \textit{Ocala Evening}
Star accused unscrupulous customers in black jook joints of committing most of the crimes in Marion County. While the Defense Council passed a resolution that urged the closing of jooks in farming areas, municipal authorities often profited from keeping their saloons open. Frequent police raids in Pensacola, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere provided laborers for the white community.  

Economic barriers stifled career opportunities for urban blacks. When jobs became scarce during the Great Depression, employers often replaced African Americans possessing years of loyal and reliable service with less-qualified whites. Edward D. Davis, a prominent black Floridian who contributed to the postwar civil rights movement, once estimated that ninety percent of Tampa’s black residents appeared on the relief rolls in the 1930s. Even though infusions of federal capital invigorated the economy in Pensacola by the late 1930s, most Afro-Americans in this port city on the Panhandle continued to subsist in squalor. Jim Crow traditions prevented black laborers from fully reaping the benefits of the wartime boom. White women secured better industrial Jobs than black men, and women of color discovered even fewer opportunities for economic mobility. A city ordinance in Miami discouraged blacks from seeking skilled or semi-skilled jobs outside of their residential neighborhoods; no similar law prevented them from shining shoes or cleaning houses in the white community. When one Tampa firm advertised that it desperately needed workers, twenty-four black carpenters from Columbia, South Carolina, dutifully answered this call for laborers. After the carpenters arrived in Tampa, however, company officials refused to employ them because of their race and offered no compensation to help them return to South Carolina.  

Racism also hindered labor reform. Due to the precarious nature of an economy historically based on tourism and agriculture, Floridians tolerated little dissension among workers. When the Second World War redefined Florida’s economic structure, business executives assiduously protected their financial interests. They manipulated the prejudices of workers to subvert attempts by labor unions to organize. Business and community leaders refused to forsake their hegemony over the state’s developing economy at a time when military installations and industrial enterprises proliferated throughout Florida. These moguls would not condone any overtures that resembled A. Philip Randolph’s proposed March on Washington. Labor organizations faced formidable barriers that federal authorities sometimes failed to confront. Despite the protests of Tampa’s National Maritime Union, ships docked in the harbor continued to violate contracts by adamantly refusing to hire blacks. At citrus plants in Bartow and elsewhere, managers distributed brochures which implied that a vote for the union would inevitably lead to racial equality. On the day the National Labor Relations Board sponsored a ballot at one company, officials sent all black workers home two hours before the election. White cronies patrolled black neighborhoods and intimidated any laborer who tried to return to the plant and vote. The Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPQ offered limited assistance during the wartime years due to a small budget and constraints imposed by its parent War Manpower Commission. When President Roosevelt restructured and strengthened the FEPC in 1943, his actions angered Southern politicians who knew that
blacks filed a majority of the complaints investigated by this agency.\textsuperscript{16}

Many whites loathed black civil servants and blamed the Roosevelt Administration for damaging race relations by allowing African Americans to compete for federal positions. One Southerner epitomized the sentiments of white supremacist Floridians by saying to Stetson Kennedy that: "When the war’s over we oughta (sic) take all the Germans, Japs, Wops, Jews, and every nigger who’s worked for the federal government and pen’em (sic) all up behind electrified barbed wire and keep’em (sic) there." Such a statement conflicted with the maxims Americans repeated to people throughout the world as they waged a "war for democracy."\textsuperscript{17}

Despite the throes of Jim Crow, African American educators did win an important victory during the war years. The struggle to equalize salaries, which began with a suit filed by a Brevard County principal in 1938, received support from civil rights organizations and garnered publicity from the national Negro press. Blacks filed lawsuits against boards of public instruction throughout Florida when school officials repeatedly ignored their pleas for fair compensation. While attorneys for the plaintiffs never questioned the premise of segregated education, they did request that administrators offer equal salaries to teachers working in black schools. During the early 1940s, Thurgood Marshall and other talented lawyers from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund successfully argued their cases in Florida courts. Judicial decisions that compelled authorities to disburse wages "without discrimination because of race or color" encouraged educators in other counties to demand reform. Some participants did jeopardize their careers. Officials in Escambia County fired a principal who led the movement among Pensacola’s teachers. They justified this action by deeming the principal "negligent in authority" because he failed to prevent the beating of two white vendors who visited the campus, even though the incident occurred off school grounds. This fight to equalize educational salaries served as a skirmish in the larger battle to improve educational opportunities for blacks.\textsuperscript{18}

The state’s provision for segregated education met the needs of white business and agrarian interests. Boards of public instruction in Florida subjected most blacks to inferior curricula, inadequate school terms, appalling facilities, and poorly-trained teachers. Courses in home economics, farming, and industrial arts offered at Leon County’s black high school prepared graduates to serve as maids, office workers, and agricultural laborers. Abbreviated school terms hindered educational opportunity by emphasizing manual labor rather than academic enrichment. Officials adjusted the duration of classes in many schools so they would not conflict with agricultural needs. School authorities aggravated this situation by refusing to enforce compulsory attendance laws. While some rural regions furnished only two or three months of instruction each year, others failed to provide any facilities for black children. Teachers often lacked adequate resources and proper training. They usually conducted classes with a paucity of materials in dilapidated shacks or buildings abandoned by whites. Some teachers entrusted with the intellectual development of black children had never completed fifth grade during their educational careers.\textsuperscript{19}
Labor reform and economic empowerment in the black community required educational reform. As a number of college-educated blacks entered the teaching profession, they joined the Florida State Teachers Association – the counterpart to the all-white Florida Education Association—and established regional chapters that worked with the NAACP and other civil rights organizations. In 1943, two years after its creation, the Palm Beach County Teachers Association successfully challenged an edict to close black schools "in the interest of the national war effort" so children could harvest crops. Even though the board of public instruction in Palm Beach County sought to close black schools, it allowed white schools to remain open. Due to their efforts, African American teachers reversed this order and even persuaded white administrators to abolish split school terms.20

Moderate improvements in black education throughout Florida during the Second World War fostered greater reform in the postwar years. A progressive method of school financing adopted by lawmakers in 1947 benefited Afro-Americans. This measure created a Minimum Foundation Program that made no racial distinctions in the allocation of school funds to individual districts. While black schools received less than forty-five percent of the instructional dollars provided to white schools in 1939-1940, that percentage increased to nearly seventy-eight percent by 19491950. But gross disparities remained. Despite Governor Caldwell's insistence on equal educational opportunity regardless of race, some blacks saw the perpetuation of segregated education as an obstruction to social equality. By seeking admission to the law school at the University of Florida in 1949, Virgil Hawkins openly defied the system of Jim Crow schools mandated in Article XII, Section 12, of the 1885 state constitution. When the landmark 1954 Brown v. Board of Education declared segregation unconstitutional, Florida responded by constructing numerous black schools and junior colleges-and by designating Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College as a full-fledged university-with the false hope that the Court would vacate its decision if the state improved separate facilities.21

With the contemptible institution of segregation, blacks faced an unyielding menace that granted more liberties to prisoners of war than to a substantial number of American citizens. Although Nazi P.O.W.'s incarcerated in Florida did provide the state's lumber and agricultural industries with cheap labor, they often received better treatment in detention camps throughout the South than did black soldiers in uniform. Amazingly, American military personnel even acquiesced to the prejudiced demands of German prisoners. Though black and white soldiers shared a single mess hall at MacDill Field in Tampa, Jim Crow customs required that members of each race sit on a separate side of the building. When German prisoners in the kitchen refused to work because American soldiers of both races shared the same dining center, military authorities appeased the P.O.W.'s by removing blacks. Such an incident causes one to wonder which nation's ideals truly won the war in the short term.22

Scholarship has neglected the economic contributions of black Floridians during the Second World War. Fortunately, newspapers such as the Pittsburgh Courier, the Atlanta Daily World, and the Baltimore Afro-American recounted the heroic efforts of blacks on both the home front and the battlefield. After the Courier launched its "Double V" campaign in early 1942, black
journalists, intellectuals, and community leaders demanded greater social, political, and economic empowerment. Although veterans returning from the war discovered that many of the same perverse Jim Crow barriers continued to restrain their mobility, they viewed race relations differently: The democratic rhetoric of the Second World War compelled blacks to choose adept civic leaders and to strengthen neighborhood institutions. During World War II, one writer captured the essence of the emerging struggle to refine racial and labor relations in this brief passage: "It was as if some universal message had come through the great mass of Negroes urging them to dream new dreams and protest against the old order." Victory against fascism instilled new life in a struggle over the division of labor that had persisted since the days of slavery. However, blacks would continue to find themselves caught in this cross fire for many years after the Allied forces had secured military victory.23

ENDNOTES

1 For a more detailed account of race relations in Florida during World War II, see: James A. Schnur, "Persevering on the Home Front: Blacks in Florida During World War II," in Florida at War, ed. Lewis N. Wynne, (St. Leo: St. Leo College Press, 1993), 49-69.


7 Wilkinson, Big Sugar, 5-6; McCally, "Cane Cutters," 59-62, 69-70; Atlanta Daily World, 26 October 1943, 1; Frank E. Pinder, Jr., Pinder: From Little Acorns (Tallahassee, Florida A & M University Foundation, 1986), 61-64.


9 Sanford Herald, 15 November 1941, 2.

10 Florida Times Union, 11 November 1942, 6.

11 Kennedy, Southern Exposure, 56-61; Raymond 0. Arsenault, St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1880-1950 (Norfolk: The Donning Company, 1988), 305-306; Key West Citizen, 1 March 1943, 1; Atlanta Daily World, 2 May, 1945, 1; 1 June 1945, 1; Stuart News, 25 January 1945, 1; Ft Lauderdale Daily News, 28 February 1945, 1.
For a thorough examination of prostitution in Tampa during World War II, see: Dawn Truax, "Victory Girls and Social Protection in World War II Tampa," in Florida at War, ed. Lewis N. Wynne, (St. Leo: St. Leo College Press), 29-48. See also: Ocala Evening Star, 8 August 1942, 6, 15 August 1942, 1, Bristol Fire Press, 20 August 1942, 1; Florida Times-Union, 4 September 1942, 8; 6 October 1942, 13; Atlanta Daily World, 8 July 1944, 2.

Atlanta Daily World, 10 March 1944, 1; 8 September 1944, 1, 31 October 1944, 1; 31 October 1944, 1, 15 March 1945, 1, 7 April 1945, 1.


Kennedy, Southern Exposure, 57-58.


The bread and biscuit bakers of Philadelphia in 1788 coined a phrase, "May our Country never need bread." The Jose and Rosalia Gonzalez family seemed to have taken this charge seriously as they came over from Spain to provide bread for at least two decades for the immigrant community of Ybor City.

In 1905 Jose and Rosalia and their children left their home in the village of San Martin de Luina in Asturias, Oviedo, Spain. They came to join the brothers of Rosalia: Saturinino and Gumersindo Pardo, who had established a bakery in Ybor City. After arrival, the Gonzalez family moved into a home on Eighth Avenue - next door to the bakery.

The bakery was a two-story building. The rear section of the first floor contained four wood-fired ovens for bread baking. Later, in...
the 1920's the ovens were fired with gas burners. Upstairs were housed the young apprentices who came to learn to bake and begin a new life in Tampa. Like the old patriarchal times, daughter America Escuder tells that, "when you hired a young man, you provided housing, as well." Spanish speaking workers were usually hired at the bakery. Neighbors were mainly Italians with the exception of the Gonzalez relatives. An unusual fact was that, "the Italian people learned to speak Spanish but few Spaniards spoke Italian."2

The bakery deliveries required six horse-drawn wagons. The horses were housed in stables behind the bakery. Bread was delivered to homes in West Tampa and Ybor City. An early delivery for breakfast and lunch began at 4AM and from 2PM to 5PM for the dinner delivery. Many of the customers were cigar factory workers and Cuban bread was primary for a typical breakfast of 'pan y cafe con leche' and for sandwiches at lunch.

The drivers of the wagons had an assistant, usually a young gentleman, 12-14 years old, and sometimes younger. These helpers were called "secretarios." A bonus for them was free bread for the family. The driver and "secretario" would gather loaves in baskets and divide the block to deliver the bread by impaling it on a large nail located next to the front door. The horses learned where to stop on the routes, but a weight "pesa" was placed in the road to prevent the horse and wagon from moving. The horses were equipped with blinders and in the summer wore straw hats. All drivers had to wear white shirts and dark trousers.

A former "secretario" who remembered in his early teen years helping with deliveries was Ralph Reyes who worked at Pardo and Gonzalez Bakery. Reyes remembers bread costing five cents a loaf and recalled, "earnings of $12.00 a week."3 He later owned his own bakery after a series of training, first to work dough by hand, and to make his own yeast. He attended THEORY OF BAKING AND COOKING SCHOOL in Miami in 1943. After returning from service in World War II he was a Master Baker and eventually owned his own "Capri Bakery."

Tampa celebrity and former baseball player Al Lopez, Sr., recalls, "a family member became III and though he was only nine years old he knew how to carry on! The bread must be baked and delivered."4

Pardo Gonzalez Bakery produced five different loaves of bread. The regular long Cuban loaf and a short, fat Italian type. A soft, dense "Vienna" bread had added shortening. It was formed in a short loaf, rolls, and a twisted loaf with small "horns" on each end. A large round loaf was popular for holidays. At Easter, colored eggs were baked on top.

At Christmas time the bakery would accept the traditional suckling pigs to be roasted in their large ovens. These were brought in large pans, already fragrant with lemon or sour orange, garlic and sage seasonings. There were as many as 40-50 pigs roasted in the four large ovens.

The Gonzalez home had contained four bedrooms, living room and dining room. A favorite area was a large, screened porch that extended around the house. There were two tables on the porch that could accommodate forty people. The children would use the porch on rainy days for roller skating. All yards contained fig trees. Figs were mostly eaten raw and the surplus was stewed.
Pardo-Gonzalez Bakery – 2011 8th Avenue, Ybor City, Florida.
Gonzalez enjoyed visits with his friend Casimiro Hernandez at the Columbia Restaurant and have his usual cup of cafe solo. Nearby the Falsone family owned a bar. In the evening the parents would send a son to pick up a pitcher of beer from Falsone for the dinner table.

In the 1920 City of Tampa Directory, the following Tampa bakeries were listed:

Alessi, Nicola, 734 Cherry St., West Tampa
Allen, E H. Co., 701 Polk St.
Anastasie C. & Co., 1904 7th Ave.
Barbera, Antonio, 636 Main St., West Tampa
Bostain’s Bakery, 110 W. Lafayette
Colom, Antonio, 916 7th Ave.
Columbia Bakery, 2118 7th Ave.
Diaz, J. & Bro., 1320 7th Ave.
Federal System of Bakeries, 116 Lafayette
Ferlita, Rosario, 2516 15th Ave.
Garcia, Silverio, 1818 9th Ave.
Gareiga, Serafin, 1714 Nebraska Ave.
Georginni, Pietro, 2704 Nebraska Ave.
Golden State Bakery, 2311 Florida Ave.
I & L Bakery, 1320 Franklin
Joyce, H. C., 1332 7th Ave.
LaBarbera, Guiseppe, 2605 15th Ave.
LaCentral Paraderia, 1223 Garcia Ave.
Los Dos Hermanos, 2101 7th Ave.
Mohr, E W., 201 Tampa St.
Palm Bakery, 2303 Jefferson St.
Pardo & Gonzalez, 2011 8th Ave.
Rodriguez, Enrique, 1507 8th Ave.
Testasecca, Nila Mrs., 1907 11th Ave.
Worthingstun’s Bakery, 214 E. Tyler St.
Ybor City Steam Bakery, 2516 15th Ave.
America G. Escuder particularly remembers Manuel Securi, a baker who was especially skilled in making "Cocas". "This was a sweet breakfast bread, elaborately arranged with fruit such as apple and peaches. This bread was cut in wedges and sprinkled with sugar. These are common in some areas of Spain."5

On the origins of Cuban bread, America Escuder believes, "it may have been a variation of long French bread which contained no shortening and Spanish bread which contained a small amount of shortening and no sugar."

Anthony Moré, whose family is still active in the bakery business believed that "Cuban bread was developed in Cuba during the Spanish-American War."6 His father, the late Juan Moré, learned to bake after being drafted into the Spanish Army. Juan found his way to Tampa after the war bringing the Cuban bread recipe with him.

America remembers Jewish neighbors who would invite their family to celebrations. "Spanish people did not have prejudices.
There was a unity among the immigrant families."

Adam Katz and the Steinberg Shop were the shops that the family purchased their yard goods, shoes, bed linens, towels and home needs. America recalls patent leather Mary Jane’s for Sunday and oxfords and high tops for winter days. Gonzalez paid his bill once a year for these family supplies.

Jose and Rosalia wanted their family to benefit from their new homeland and make a contribution to the community. Rosalia Sullivan was the first immigrant graduate of Hillsborough High School in 1913. Both Rosalia and America were among the first young immigrants to attend Florida State College for Women (FSU). America attended Barnard College in New York for further studies in Nutrition and Rosalia Sullivan was the first Spanish teacher on Channel 3 - WEDU - in the 1960’s. Anita Quintana and America Escuder were charter members of Altrusa International of Tampa Bay. Anita Quintana was in the employment of the Social Security Administration for many years and lived in retirement in Miami. Youngest daughter, Zenaida Nunez, now deceased, managed real estate in Pinellas County.

Oldest son, Anibal, remained in the bakery business until it closed due to the demise of the cigar industry, "brought about by the increase of supermarkets and community growth especially after World War II." He then joined his wife, Anita "Nena" at Casa Arte in Ybor City which was well known for many years as a center for classes and supplies in sewing and needlework. Their son, Rene Gonzalez, is founder and thirty-two year director of the Spanish Lyric Theatre.

The youngest son, Ricardo "Tayo", became affiliated with the Red Star Yeast Company for many years and returned to California.

ENDNOTES


2 Interview with America Escuder, September 17, 1982.

3 Interview with Ralph Reyes, September 1988.


5 Interview with America Escuder, September 17, 1982.

6 Food Section, Tampa Tribune, February 19, 1976, 3E.

7 Interview with Rene Gonzalez, September 2, 1993.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Anthony P. Pizzo</td>
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<td>Hampton Dunn</td>
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<td>Dr. L. Glenn Westfall</td>
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<td>Leslie Nink</td>
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<td>Kenneth W. Mulder</td>
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<td>Randy Stevens</td>
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<td>George B. Howell, III</td>
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<td>Barbara G. Reeves</td>
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SEÑOR: THE MANAGERIAL CAREER OF AL LOPEZ

By WES SINGLETARY

In his autobiography, *Veeck-As in Wreck*, Bill Veeck declared, "If Al Lopez has a weakness as a manager, and I said if, it is that he is too decent ... Al was completely relaxed. In that cool, calm way of his he squeezed every possible drop of talent out of his team".

This quote in many ways sums up the managerial career of Al Lopez. While known throughout baseball as a living refutation of Leo Durocher's axiom, "Nice guys finish last," Lopez would none the less scratch and claw for every strategic advantage and in the end usually found a way to win.

Lopez had exemplified these attributes since childhood and had evidenced them throughout his tenure as a player. In a playing career that spanned eighteen years in the National League and one in the American, Lopez was nothing if not competitive and hungry for victory. Durability and respect typified his career as he established the record for most games caught in a career at 1,918, a record which held up for many years. Yet in spite of his own desire, he was on a first division club only nine times with most of those teams finishing no better than fourth. The 1944 Pittsburgh Pirates gave him his highest finish placing second that year. It was also the Pirate organization that gave him his first opportunity to manage at the professional level by naming him skipper of their American Association affiliate in Indianapolis. Passion for the game, desire, heart, a demand for respect... these are qualities that Al Lopez initially brought with him to Indianapolis for the start of the 1948 season.

Al spent three highly successful years at Indianapolis, winning the American Association pennant in his maiden season, 1948, and following it with two second place finishes in 1949 and 1950. While at Indianapolis, Lopez, for a short time, acquired the services of his long-time teammate, roommate and friend Tony Cuccinello, as a coach. According to Lopez,
Cuccinello had always been "the type of player you could win a pennant with ... Tony was a good ballplayer. He was a pretty good hitter; Fine on double plays. Didn't have a great arm or great speed. If he had great speed he would have been a Hall of Famer." These were qualities which Al hoped Cuccinello could pass along to the players as coach.

Upon receiving the managing Job in Indianapolis, Lopez explained to the owner of the team that he would need a coach for those occasions in which he might be thrown out of a ballgame or when he may have to step in and catch a game himself. Lopez recalls,

"I wanted a coach because I was going to have to catch some, I caught about 50 games at Indianapolis. Then the Cincinnati Club comes over and asks me if they can have permission to talk with Tony about going back up to the big leagues as a player and I said that if he can go back to the big leagues, I wouldn't stand in his way. So he went to Cincinnati."

Cuccinello later returned to assist Lopez after the latter began managing at Cleveland and subsequently began a long relation as Al's right hand man.

In November, 1949, Bill Veeck and his partners sold the Cleveland Indians to a syndicate of local businessmen headed by an insurance executive named Ellis Ryan. Hank Greenberg, the former Detroit Tiger slugger who had most recently been the farm director for Cleveland (and in such capacity had developed an instructional baseball facility in Marianna, Florida), was installed as the General Manager. Having no great regard for the leadership qualities of then manager, Lou Boudreau, Greenberg wanted someone as manager that "he could work with". Al Lopez was that someone and following the 1950 season, Greenberg hired him to take over in Cleveland.

Greenberg remembers believing that the decision to replace Boudreau with Lopez would be unpopular because of the length of time Boudreau had spent in Cleveland and the player-manager's overwhelming popularity. Also, the press had already been reporting that Boudreau was going to be re-signed for another season and Greenberg felt that they may feel slighted when their sources proved incorrect.

On the night of the signing, Greenberg secretly flew Lopez into Cleveland and took him to the "Wigwam", Cleveland Stadium's dining room for the press and employees of the club. In his autobiography Greenberg recalled that,

"Reporters had come from the surrounding cities and were gathered around conversing when out walked At Lopez from the men's room into the huge dining room. I said, 'Gentlemen, here's your next manager of the Cleveland Indians, Mr. At Lopez.' Well, you could have knocked the writers over with a feather. They felt they had been outsmarted even though it was they who had gone out on the limb to announce Boudreau as our manager."

Greenberg further explains,

"Fortunately for me, At Lopez had played for the Cleveland Indians in 1946 and was a veteran ballplayer with a great personality and great disposition. He had been friends with all the writers, and they had enormous respect for him. So while
they disliked me for having pulled a fast one on them, they still respected my decision. They heaped praise on the choice of Lopez becoming the new manager but took their embarrassment out on me for getting rid of a great hero in Lou Boudreau."

Thus, amid some controversy, began the big league managerial career of At Lopez.

"A major league manager is like a lion tamer. Danger can come from any quarter. Victory and defeat hang on fractions of inches and split-second decisions. He dare not wait one pitch too long to lift a pitcher. He must order a steal at exactly the right instant. Moving a fielder three feet as the count on the batter changes may save or lose the ball game. Every play and every pitch is a crisis."\textsuperscript{10}

At Lopez spent six crisis filled seasons in Cleveland, and during that time the Indians never won fewer than 88 out of 154 games. The Indians had slouched into fourth place in 1950, however, in the six years that followed, they finished second five times and captured the pennant in 1954.\textsuperscript{11}

Lopez always believed that a manager had to adapt his style to his material. In Cleveland the material was powerful but lacked speed. He recalls,

"I didn’t have too much speed on the (Cleveland) club, we usually only stole around thirty bases, but we did have guys who could hit the ball out of the park; Vic Wertz, At Rosen, and Larry Doby. So our game was to hold the other side with our good pitching and wait for somebody to sock one out."\textsuperscript{12}

(This was a practice of tried and true method later made popular by Earl Weaver and his Baltimore Orioles of the late 1960's and early 1970's.)

This Cleveland Indian squad combined pitching and power hitting in a manner that few teams had ever equaled. The pitching rotation of Bob Lemon, Early Wynn, Mike Garcia, Bob Feller and Art Houtteman is what many believe, the best pitching staff in big league history. The fact that three of the hurlers (Lemon, Feller, Wynn) are now in the Hall of Fame lends Justifiable credence to the claim. Add to this, the above mentioned power hitters and defensive whiz catcher Jim Hegan and the Indians composed a formidable lineup.

The ace of the staff, Bob Lemon had once been a third baseman and later an outfielder. However, in 1947, Lopez then a player with...
Cleveland, had been asked to spend some time with Lemon to help him make the switch to pitching. Bob Feller, in his autobiography, *Now Pitching Bob Feller*, remembered that Lemon had what baseball people consider "a live arm," one with the strength to throw hard and to put movement on the ball, but he needed help.

Feller writes:

"Lopez told him to concentrate on two pitches, his curve and sinker, and to work hard at throwing them for strikes. Lopez was teaching him what every pitcher learns early in his career, that pitching is like real estate, the three most important things are location, location and location.... Lopez told Lemon to keep throwing the curve and sinker and to not even look to At behind the plate for any signals. The instruction was right on the money, and when cached in with three straight 20 win seasons right after that, you had to think that Lopez, who helped Lemon so much although he had no experience as a coach or manager, was destined for greater things." 13

Lopez recalls that he felt like Lemon would have a long pitching career but that it was cut short on account of the way he threw the sinker; his best pitch. "He came up with chips in his elbow. It was the way he threw the ball. He threw it in a manner where it jerked the hell out of your arm and caused the chips."14

One of the pitchers that Lopez had to use "kid gloves" with, so to speak, was the often volatile but extremely effective Early Wynn. Lopez laughingly remembers his relationship with Wynn and recalls that the pitcher wasn't as ornery as the press often made him seem.

"Early was a real competitor. Won twenty some-odd games every year. How could you not like him? But he was a competitor and you know, this one time, he was arguing with an umpire and I went out there to take him out. I had a rule that even if you were pitching like a dog, I am going to go out there in a nice way and ask you for the ball, pat you on the back and you could go in. If you had something to argue about, wait until we get back in the clubhouse. When I go out there it's not to show you up so don't show me up.

"So this one day Early was arguing with the umpire when I came out there and he threw the ball at me hitting me in the stomach. It was more of a flip/ toss but the press played it up. I said give me the goddamned ball and don't be throwing it at me. After the game he came and apologized to me. I said, Early, I know how you feel but the people upstairs, the fans and media, they see that and think your mad at me. I told him don't get mad at me,
get mad at the guys who are hitting."

Lopez tells another story about Wynn in that,

"One day Early had been having a bad day and I had gone out to talk with him. In that league if you went out to talk with your pitcher, then the second time he had to come out. Well, Early was in trouble and arguing with the umpire and he sees me coming and just lets the umpire have it. The umpire told him that if he kept it up that he would be gone. Early said, 'What do you think Lopez is coming out here for, to bring me a ham sandwich?'"

However talented the Indians may have been, only one team could win an American League pennant and since 1949 that team had been the New York Yankees. Led by Casey Stengel, the Yankees, whose scouting system continually produced performers that took the measure of their American League counterparts, won all but two pennants in the years from 1949 until 1964.

In 1958, Life Magazine published an article written by Marshall Smith entitled "A Plot to Whip the Yanks", that accurately portrayed the doggedness and frustration with which Lopez pursued the Yankees. Smith writes that:

"For as long as most people can remember, a Yanqui desperado named Casey Stengel has been shooting up the American League and getting away with the swag. Catching him seems almost impossible. Not only does he know all the tricks and the short cuts, but his equipment is superb. He has powerful guns capable of firing accurate, murderous shots that make an enemy helpless. He also has the horses, the finest, strongest, swiftest horses that money can buy. If any of his guns falls to shoot straight, he has others cached away in carefully protected arsenals. If any of his magnificent horses gives out, he has others hidden in the canebrakes, waiting for his whistle. With all limitless resources and daring, the Yanqui should feel completely safe from pursuit ... But he does not. Every time he looks over his shoulder he sees the same relentless, inescapable figure ... He is always there, always following. This pursuer is not a glamorous hero but a doleful, threadbare man wearing a big sombrero ... Alfonso Ramon Lopez never gives up."

The Lopez led Indians were the American League bridesmaids in 1951, 1952 and 1953 with 93, 93 and 92 wins respectively.

Cleveland third-baseman, Al Rosen, put together a tremendous season in 1953 with a league leading 43 homeruns and 145 runs batted in. He just missed out on winning the triple crown when he finished a percentage point behind Mickey Vernon of Washington, with a .336 batting average to Vernon's .337.

Lopez fondly describes Rosen as a great fellow and a nice guy to have had on the team. Lopez recalls that the 1953 batting race came down to the last game of the season and in one particular at bat, Rosen missed first-base and was called out by the umpire. The lost hit proved to be the difference. "The umpire said that he didn't hit first base ... if he had hit the bag, he would have been called safe."
Lopez’ first three years in Cleveland would not have been considered a bad start by most managers. For Lopez however, second place was just that and he became even more determined to beat the Yankees and believed that 1954 could prove the trick. Yet, Casey Stengel, who felt nothing but contempt for the rest of the American League after winning five straight championships, was every bit as confident that the Yankees would take home another crown and made no secret about it. "If I don't win the pennant this year," remarked a boastful Stengel, in the spring of 1954 and despite the obvious Cleveland threat, "they oughta commence firing the manager."

When told by a reporter that Lopez said he could beat Stengel, Casey replied, "Did the Mexican say that? Well, you tell the Señor, unless my team gets hit by a truck and my brain rots, he ain't gonna win because the Yankees are." Both Cleveland and the Yankees got off to a fast start that season. However, the Indians remained hot while New York cooled just a bit. On September 12th the two teams faced off in a crucial late season doubleheader with Stengel still clinging to the hope that his team would catch them. His hopes were dashed however, as the tribe won both contests and were never challenged again.

The Indians paced by their vaunted pitching staff and Larry Doby's league leading 32 homeruns, won 111 games that season, the best record in baseball history, and were showered with a parade across Euclid Avenue in downtown Cleveland "while the lake breezes blew through the open convertibles filled with happy Indians".

The Yankees would up the campaign with an outstanding 103 victories, ironically the most ever under Stengel. "Years later, on quiet summer nights, Stengel would sit at some hotel bar and talk about his 1954 Yankees. He would try and explain how a team could win 103 games and not win the pennant. Then he would say, 'We had a splendid season, but the Señor beat me and you could look it up.'"

After losing seven straight World Series, the National League wanted nothing more than to smash the American Leagues's dominance of the fall classic and to unlock the stranglehold that the junior circuit held on the championship.

The New York Giants, led by fiery Leo Durocher, had finished fifth in 1953. But, in 1954 they had been transformed into a pennant winning club, buoyed by the return of Willie Mays from the Army and the acquisition of Southpaw Johnny Antonelli from the Braves in a winter deal for outfielder Bobby Thomson.

Sal "The Barber" Maglie, whose moniker came about because of his propensity to give batters a close shave, started the "lidlifter" for the Giants against Bob Lemon. Maglie fell behind 2-0, in the first inning when Cleveland Outfielder At Smith was nicked by a pitched ball, second-baseman Bobby Avila singled and Vic Wertz tripled.

The Giants tied the score in the third on singles by Whitey Lockman and Alvin Dark, Don Mueller's forceout, a walk to Mays and a single by third-baseman Hank Thompson.

The game stayed locked at 2-2 into the eighth inning, when with two men on, Vic Wertz sent a towering drive to the deepest region of the Polo Grounds. With his back to the plate, Willie Mays sprinting full throttle as the ball came in directly over his head,
made a tremendous stab and catch of the 460 foot wallop, then turned and threw the ball while falling down and subsequently thwarted the Indian's rally.  

Lopez remembers "The Catch" as,

"a great play, no question about it. But, I think Willie overran the ball a little bit. He let it get over his head which is the most difficult kind to catch. He made a great play; but he was coming from this angle and then the ball just got over him and he had to catch up. Then he fell down on the ground while making the throw and that made the catch seem all the more sensational."

The smash came off Don Liddle, who had just replaced Maglie. Marv Grissom, an American League castoff, then took the mound and went the rest of the way for New York. With one out in the tenth, Willie Mays walked for the second time and promptly stole second. Hank Thompson, who according to Lopez had a great series, drew an intentional pass setting the stage for pinch-hitter Dusty Rhodes. Rhodes, seldom used but hitting a career high .341 that season, batting in place of Monty Irvin, sent Lemon's first pitch into the rightfield corner section of the stands for a 260 foot "Chinese Homer" that secured the victory.

The second game found Johnny Antonelli taking the mound for the Giants against 23 game winner Early Wynn. The Indians got off to a bang when leadoff batter At Smith hit Antonelli's first pitch for a homerun. Antonelli yielded seven more "safeties" and walked six but stopped every Indian threat.

In the fifth, Wynn walked Willie Mays and gave up a single to Hank Thompson. Dusty Rhodes then stepped to the plate again for Irvin and dropped a "Texas League" single into short center, scoring Mays with the tying run. After Davey Williams "fanned" for the first out, Wes Westrum walked. Antonelli then grounded to Avila, forcing Westrum at second, but Thompson scored the Giants go-ahead run. Rhodes, who went into leftfield, iced the 3-1 victory with a powerful homer in the seventh, his second of the series.

Lopez remembers that game as a heartbreaker and one that Bob Feller remembers as having made Lopez feel as though his back were against the wall. Lopez recalls that his team just could not get a break.

"First man up, At Smith, hits a homerun. I think, gee that's great. But we just, what's his name, Hegan hit a ball in the Polo Grounds that everybody thought was top tier. But the wind was blowing in that day and Monty Irvin ended up making the catch. Irvin told Hegan that the ball couldn't have missed the stands by an inch. It would have been a homerun with three men on. Not an inch, he said. 'I gave up on it, lost it.' The upper tier in the Polo Grounds used to jut out toward the field and
Irvin said that the ball was up near the stands and started coming out and came down barely missing the stands."38

Bob Feller claims that the loss of that second game might have changed Lopez' pitching strategy for the rest of the series. He believes that Lopez, rather than pitch Feller, who had gone 13-3 that year, in either the third or fourth game, chose to pitch 19 game winner Mike Garcia in the third game and come back with Lemon in the fourth.39

In any event, Feller, who finished his War-interrupted career with 266 wins and is considered to be one of the very best pitchers of all time, did not pitch an inning during that series. "I've never been quite sure why Lopez didn't use me in that series", Feller said in his autobiography.

"I've never asked him myself, even though I have seen him a thousand times since. Leo Durocher, the Giants manager at the time, said that he has often wondered the same thing. Lopez never said anything about it [to me]. He could just tell me he thought that Lemon had a better chance to win in the fourth game and I would accept that. To the best of my knowledge, Al has never given his reason to anyone."40

Feller though had a hunch that Al didn't think he (Feller) could win in the series.

"In those later years, Lopez seemed to think I was doing it with mirrors. He didn't seem convinced of my ability. He had trouble believing that I could get people out because I didn't have the blazing fastball anymore. It almost seemed that he couldn't wait to take me out if I gave up a couple of hits. He'd almost beat the ball back to the mound."41

Feller's hunch proved correct. When recently asked why Feller wasn't used in the 1954 World Series Lopez frankly gave his reason that, "He wasn't that good of a pitcher anymore. If he had still been great I would have been pitching him more regular than for him to just go 13-3. Art Houtteman won 15 that season, I could have used him."42

Shifting to Cleveland, the Giants won the third game 6-2, behind the four hit hurling of Reuben Gomez and Hoyt Wilhelm. New York scored a run off Mike Garcia in the first inning on two singles and an error, and routed Garcia, the "Big Bear", with a three run attack in the third. After two singles and an intentional walk loaded the bases, Dusty Rhodes, who was having a career series, rapped another pinch-single on the first pitch to bring home two more runs. Davey Williams, the Giants second-baseman, then laid down a squeeze bunt to tally the final score.43

The Giants mopped up in the fourth game 7-4, to become only the second National League club to sweep a World Series. Bob Lemon, whom Lopez was pitching on three days rest, was routed in the fifth inning and Hal Newhouser failed in relief as the Giants took a 7-0 lead and never looked back.44

The 1954 series was, to that point, the most lucrative in history for the players, who shared in a record pool of $881,763.72. The attendance of 251,507 also set a new record for a four game series.45

While Cleveland's three and four hitters, Larry Doby and Al Rosen combined for an anemic .194 batting average with 0 runs batted in, and the big three of Lemon, Wynn and Garcia posted earned run averages of
6.75, 3.86 and 5.40 respectively, Vic Wertz gave Lopez reason to smile by batting .500 and becoming the only Cleveland batsman to hit safely in all four games. This was in addition to the tape measure blast that Mays secured.  

On the series Al painfully explains,

"Let me say this about the 1954 World Series. We won 111 games that year. Still a record. I don't think we lost over two games in a row the entire season. We never had a slump all year. There hasn't been any club that ever played ball that didn't have a slump during the season and I think that is what happened to us; we hit a slump at the World Series. I could feel the club was slacking a little bit toward the end of the year. Things were not going the way they should. The last three or four days of the season we had already clinched and that may have hurt us. I still think that on account of our pitching, we were the best team but the best team didn't win."  

The remainder of Al's career in Cleveland was much the same, as his teams finished second to the Yankees in 1955 and 1956. Referring to Lopez' penchant for finishing second, Casey Stengel opined, "The big knock you hear about Al is that he has an outstanding record of finishing second. One great ballplayer could make him recognized as a great manager." Hank Greenberg chimed in that "Lopez has finished second because he has had second place material."  

Lopez, once commenting in *Sports Illustrated*, gave his opinion of the continued second place finishes. "I'm not a failure, but I don't feel that I have accomplished what I've wanted. I want to

win. I keep saying that the Yankees can be had because I keep thinking they can, and I want my guys to believe they can win. I want to finish first!"

What Lopez left unsaid was that, for the most part, his players had never measured up to New York's. At Cleveland, he had pitching and power but lacked speed and had an inconsistent defense. Later at Chicago, he greatly improved an undistinguished pitching staff, had speed and fielding, but never had power and the hitting was indifferent.  

After six seasons with the Indians, Al, provoked in part by the media and low attendance figures, came to the conclusion that the Cleveland fans were becoming tired of seeing their club finish second under him, so he left the helm voluntarily and gave them to finish sixth under someone else.  

The Chicago White Sox, then controlled by former Cleveland owner, Bill Veeck, promptly hired Lopez to manage in Chicago. "He left one club that couldn't beat the
Yankees,” remarked one reporter, "to join another club that can't beat the Yankees."53

Immediately Al began to skillfully tailor the White Sox and their strategy to the vast acreage of Cominsky Park. He built the club on speed and alertness, on flawless pitching, yet with little power hitting to back it up. Virtually the antithesis of the club he won with in Cleveland in 1954, Al opined that you had to build your club according to your park. "After all", he said, "you play 77 games at home."54

A religious man, Lopez never believed it fair to appeal for divine help to win ball games. "If I pray and the other guy prays, what's the Lord going to do?" Lopez asks. A big league manager endures the agony alone.55 Alone on a baseball diamond and yet studiously aware of the events unfolding before him, Al developed his own set of stratagems to combat the often superior forces that he found mounted against him. Lopez believed that a manager could best contribute two things to a club. He could inspire his players and he could do a good job of handling the pitchers. The big concern is, can the manager handle the personnel? He remarks, "The manager has to be up every day and keep those guys in the best frame of mind, and he has to keep the pitchers fresh and strong."56

While often viewed as stern, Lopez was never an advocate of clubhouse meetings or of fines. "What's the sense of lecturing or fining players?" he once said.

"They're adults. If they won't play our way, let them play their own way, someplace else. Pep talks are O.K. in football when you have to get a club up for only a handful of games, but you can't get a club up for 162. Most of the players don't listen to what you say in a meeting anyway."57

Lopez traditionally had three rules he wanted his players to obey:

"Outfielders must always throw to the cutoff man rather than to a specific base, no player should ever hesitate rounding first on a single when a teammate is trying to score from second and everybody must keep the curfew. 'I don't believe in being too tough,' Al says. 'If you're going to start fining for missing signs - bunts, steals - you've got a tight ballplayer.'"58

Bill Veeck once said that Al Lopez was at his best with a club that acted and played as intelligent professionals should. "Al's not the type to get along with screwballs," Veeck stated.59

Earl Battey, who once played for Al in Chicago recalled,

"He's the nicest guy in the world, but he rules with an iron hand. Lopez had a temper, but I never realized it until he got mad at Vic Power [a large, powerful man with flamboyant tendencies] one day and started taking off his glasses. Lopez gives you the impression he doesn't pay any attention to you, yet he's always watching. When you are warming up pitchers he might be way on the other side of the field, but he might notice you were catching the pitcher the wrong way and come to tell you. He is not a taskmaster, but he expects certain things from his players and gets them."60
Jerry Holtzman, who once covered the White Sox for the Chicago Sun-Times, didn't think that Lopez was the easiest manager to play for. "For the guy who is putting out every day, there is evidently no problem, but ballplayers don't put out every day, and that's when they run into trouble with Lopez." \(^{61}\)

Smart and fast ballplayers are what Lopez desired the most. "I'm speed conscious. Speed and arm, these are the basics. I like a running club. You win games by scoring runs and speed is what gets them." \(^{62}\) It is not surprising then, when recently asked which team he most enjoys watching today, Al responded by answering the St. Louis Cardinals, a team that is tailored for running on the hard, artificial surface of Busch Stadium. \(^{63}\)

When queried as to which of his former managers most influenced his coaching style, Lopez responded that his style was more an amalgamation of all that he learned during a playing career served under six Hall of Fame managers (Wilbert Robinson, Max Carey, Casey Stengel, Frankie Frisch, Bill McKechnie and Lou Boudreau).

In any event, these assessments expose a persona that thrived on winning and could not tolerate those individuals whose drive to succeed was less than his own. Lopez was more than willing to treat his players as the professionals they were provided that they reciprocated by being professional and worked toward the aim of a successful organization. In no instance did a team better characterize this driven Lopez work ethic than the club he created in Chicago.

The Chicago White Sox under Al Lopez was a team whose entire success was built on the then anachronistic theory that baseball is played primarily with a ball and not a bat. The White Sox could not hit but they could squeeze an astounding number of runs out of their opponents mistakes - walks, hit batsmen, dropped third strikes, passed balls, wild pitches and balks mixed in with an occasional stolen base or sacrifice fly. An Aparicio double (named for the swift Chicago base thief) became renowned throughout the league as a walk and a stolen base. \(^{64}\)

After finishing third for five consecutive seasons, the 1957 White Sox, in Lopez inaugural year at the helm, won 90 games and crept up a notch to the customary Lopez roost of second place. The following season was little different as the "Pale Hoes" eked out 82 victories in another runner-up campaign. \(^{65}\)

Toward the end of the 1958 season Lopez announced that he would return as manager of the Chicago White Sox in 1959. There had been some speculation that he might retire because of his continued frustration over the apparent invincibility of the New York Yankees. On announcing his decision to stay Lopez said, "I wouldn't have taken the job if I didn't feel the club had a chance to win the pennant ... I'm not in this thing for the money. Fortunately, I'm pretty well fixed. But I love baseball and I think we have a good chance of winning this thing." \(^{66}\)

This was however a familiar Lopez battle cry and the majority of experts, turning a deaf ear to it, proceeded to choose the New York Yankees in their preseason polls. Yet seemingly immune to such speculation, the 1959, "Go-Go Sox", adhering strictly to the percentage baseball techniques of their skipper won the American League pennant for the first time in forty years (the last being won by the 1919 Chicago "Black Sox") and in doing so astounded the baseball world.
In 1959, Stengel’s Yankees stumbled out of the blocks never getting started and by the beginning of August it was apparent to all concerned that the league championship would be resolved between Cleveland and Chicago. In late August the White Sox swept a four game series with the Indians and were never again headed. Chicago, ironically, clinched the pennant in Cleveland on September 22 with a 4-2 victory over Lopez’ old team.67

During the prior forty years, a period in which every other major league team had won at least one pennant, and the Yankees 24, the White Sox had become more than a religion for the hopeless; they were what has been aptly described as a form of "self-flagellation."68

Yet 1959 was different. The team earned its "Go-Go" moniker with "jackrabbit" lineup that stole 113 bases, an astonishing number in those years and nearly three times the league average. It was built upon the Lopez-stressed fundamentals of speed, pitching and defense. The double play combination of Luis Aparicio at shortstop and Nelson Fox at second-base was as sure handed as any in baseball. Each led the league at his position in putouts, assists and fielding average. Aparicio stole 56 bases; Fox batted .306.69

Lopez recently recalled a funny story about "Nellie" Fox:

"Fox originally came up with the Athletics. In those days all of the owners were baseball men and knew each other. Connie Mack of the Philadelphia Athletics had brought Fox up from the minors. Mack had Fox playing first base, which was a mistake. Fox had no power, so Mr. Mack put him on waivers. Back then the waiver price for a ballplayer was $15,000 or something like that and Clark Griffith of Washington claimed him. So, Mr. Mack, doing Griffith what he thought was a favor, called him on the phone and said, 'Mr. Griffith, I see where you claimed this young man Fox.' Griffith replied, 'Mr. Mack, I need players. I'll claim a guy with one arm or one leg.' Mack says, 'Mr. Griffith, you are throwing your money away. He is not worth $15,000.' So Griffith withdrew the waiver claim and Mack kept him. Well Fox is on the Athletics and Chicago has got a guy by the name of Joe Tipton, this screwball catcher. Tipton is not getting along with the White Sox manager, Jack Onslow, so Chicago wants to get rid of him. They call Mack and Mr. Mack says, 'I'll give you Fox for him.' Chicago took him just like that and shipped Tipton the hell out of there, without even attempting to find out anything about Fox."70

Lopez continues,

"It turned out to be a great trade for the White Sox. By God, Fox came over there and between Joe Gordon helping him on his fielding (Fox was converted to secondbase), and making the double plays and stuff like that and Roger Cramer teaching him to use that thick handled heavy bat (which had been the Cramer model when Cramer was with the Athletics) to try and hit the ball all over, they made him a good ballplayer."71
The anchor of Lopez’ White Sox pitching staff was the tough veteran Early Wynn, who won 22 games in his 19th big-league season. His supporting cast consisted of Bob Shaw, Billy Pierce and Dick Donovan, with Gerry Staley and Turk Lown working out of the bullpen. William Furlong, a Chicago sports columnist speaking for many amazed onlookers, described this team as, "a raffish array of peripatetic ballplayers who have moved from club to club with the mournful frequency of derelicts changing flophouses, if with somewhat greater style."

Another skeptical Chicago wag had gone so far as to decry early in the season that if Lopez could win the pennant with this team he wouldn't simply be manager of the year but manager of all-time. Chicago's success surprised many doubters that season, but not their irrepressible, "manager of all-time", who after all, had expected it.

Their opposition in the 1959 World Series was the Los Angeles Dodgers. Having moved to Los Angeles from Brooklyn two years prior, the Dodgers boasted a strong lineup featuring Brooklyn holdovers Gil Hodges, Carl Furillo and "Duke" Snider and young pitchers Don Drysdale, Johnny Podres and Sandy Koufax.

Walter Alston, the Dodger manager, decided to open the series with journeyman pitcher Roger Craig. Alston doubtless would have preferred to use Don Drysdale or Johnny Podres, but his staff had been worn thin under the pressure of the National League pennant race. The Dodgers, in fact, had been shuttling back and forth across the country on almost a daily basis. They had closed out the regular season at home, flown to Milwaukee that same night for a league playoff game against the Braves, then back to Los Angeles a day later, and now, with just one day off, they were in Chicago for the start of the Series.

The late season strain may have exacted its toll, for it was a listless crew in Dodger blue that took the field in Comiskey Park. Craig was simply ineffective. He could not get out of the third inning as the White Sox built a 9-0 lead, then added two more runs in the fourth. Ted Kluszewski, the powerful first-baseman who had come to Chicago from Pittsburgh in mid-season, led the attack with a pair of two-run homers. Dodger bats, meanwhile, offered no response. Early Wynn and Gerry Staley shut them out on eight hits for an 11-0 decision.

"A club with less spirit and desire might have been discouraged by the walloping, but the Dodgers fought back to win the second game, 4-3." The White Sox again had jumped out to a 2-0 lead in the first inning, this time off Johnny Podres. The Dodgers then broke out of their slumber when Charlie Neal homered off Bob Shaw in the fifth inning. In the sixth, with two out, Chuck Essegian batted for Podres and came through with a home run to tie the score at 2 apiece. Jim Gilliam followed with a walk and Charlie Neal belted his second homer of the game to put the Dodgers ahead.

Larry Sherry, an obscure, 24 year-old righthander, making his first relief appearance of the Series, had his back to the wall in the eighth as Kluszewski and Sherm Lollar singled for the Sox. Earl Torgeson was then put in to run for Kluszewski. Al Smith followed with a double to deep left-center, scoring Torgeson, but Lollar was
nailed at the plate on Wally Moon’s throw to Maury Wills and the shortstop’s relay to catcher, Johnny Roseboro.\footnote{82} Sherry, then going the rest of the way, sealed it up for the Los Angeles. The rest of the Series belonged to him.\footnote{83}

Back in Los Angeles, after an open date for travel, the Dodgers quickly and efficiently seized control. With Don Drysdale and Dick Donovan locked in scoreless combat, Carl Furillo broke the tie in the seventh with a two-run, pinch-hit single. Larry Sherry, growing seemingly stronger as the series went on, earned his second straight save, this time in relief of Don Drysdale, who was credited with the 3-1 victory.\footnote{84}

Roger Craig and Early Wynn, mound opponents in the opener, faced each other again to start game four. The Dodgers chased Wynn in the third inning, scoring four runs with two outs. Although in frequent trouble, Craig staved off the White Sox until the seventh, when with a run in, two on and two out, Sherm Lollar launched a home-run that tied the score.\footnote{85}

In the eighth however, Larry Sherry took the mound again for the Dodgers and held on for the win as Gil Hodges blasted a Gerry Staley pitch just to the right of the screen in left-center field and sealed the 4-3 victory.\footnote{86}

In game five, on the verge of elimination, the White Sox fought back courageously to gain a 1-0 victory in a contest that was highlighted by the maneuvering of Managers Lopez and Alston. The only run of the game was scored off Sandy Koufax in the fourth inning when Nelson Fox singled, took third on a single by centerfielder Jim Landis and came home when Sherm Lollar grounded into a double play.\footnote{87}

The two teams headed back to Chicago to conclude the Series with the knowledge that, win or lose, their coffers were bulging. More than 92,000 had attended each game at the Los Angeles Coliseum: the crowd for the third game, 92,706, was the largest of all. Every World Series record for attendance and gate receipts was on its way to extinction, and only six games were needed to do it.\footnote{88}

In the final game Larry Sherry once again proved to be the difference, pitching five and two thirds scoreless innings in relief of Podres to assure a 9-3 win. Sherry had finished all four of the Dodgers’ winning games; he had won two and saved the other two. In all he pitched 12-213 innings, yielding only one run and eight hits, and was named the Series’ Most Valuable Player.\footnote{89}

When asked to recall the 1959 World Series, Lopez remembered it as another one of those World Series when the unexpected player rises to the occasion and carries his team to victory.

“That happens in the World Series. You watch the World Series and there are always one or two guys that you don’t expect to do any trouble, you know, do the harm, and those are the guys that kill you. The stars never hurt you that much because, I guess, you concentrate more on those guys. We had never heard of that pitcher [Sherry]. We never heard of him and he came up there and by God he was striking everybody out. They had a guy by the name of Charlie Neal, second base, did a tremendous job. He hit everything (Neal batted .370 in the series). Roseboro, our report was that he had a strong arm but was a little erratic. We had a good running ball club.
Every time somebody tried to run, he made a perfect throw ... everytime.\(^90\)

Upon being asked if in hindsight, there was anything he thought that he might have done differently, Lopez responded, "Nothing. I always tried to give the best I had. Tried to work percentages and I don't think there was anything different that I could have done."\(^91\)

While describing the 1959 White Sox, Lopez recalls that he had a great time managing them. "That club took managing and I enjoyed that. It took a lot of time to squeeze a run here and get a run there. We didn't have much power you know. Every game in Chicago you had to struggle to win. You had to play advantages and maneuver around to try and win it."\(^92\)

There was one instance that season when Al was called upon to make the kind of decision that isn’t always noticed by casual observers of the game.

There was this pitcher, he wore these real thick glasses and for whatever reason he didn't like our centerfielder, Jim Landis. He used to knock poor Landis down everytime he faced him. What the hell was that pitcher's name?

"Anyway, we were in spring training and Landis came to bat against him and damn f he doesn't knock him down again. I say 'Holy Jesus', here Landis is on the ground and I go over to him and asked if he was alright, because it burned me up. It burns you up when they knock one of your players down during the regular season, but in spring training, my God. What the hell was the name of that goofy guy? I told Yogi (Berra, catcher for the Yankees), to tell him that the next time he throws at Landis, I'm going to get somebody to throw at him, because pitchers hit in those days.

"I guess Yogi told him but then the season started and early on the Yankees came over to Chicago to play us and Casey brings him, Ryne Duren, in to pitch. Well the first time Landis comes up, Duren throws at him again. With a 7-1 lead! By God I called down to the bull-pen and I said get me someone down there, I want him drilled in the ribs. There were no volunteers except for this young Cuban boy name of Rodolfo Arias. He volunteered sure enough. I spoke to him in Spanish, because he couldn't speak English. He was a lefty and I had wanted a righthanded sinker ball pitcher because a sinker in the ribs hurts more. So I put him in and instructed him to make the first pitch outside so Duren wouldn't be suspicious.

"So Arias puts the first pitch outside, but the next one comes inside real tight and I guess it must have dawned on Duren because he looks over at me in the dugout. I said, 'Yeah, you godamned right, we're gonna getcha.' The next one hits Duren high on the hip bone and he yelled to Arias, 'You son of a bitch, wait until you come up.' But I said from the dugout, 'You aint gonna get him because I'm taking him out.'"\(^93\)

Lopez recalls that after the 1959 season he received a special honor in the form of a personal note from one of the all-time great ballplayers. "After the season was over Ty Cobb wrote me a real nice letter congratulating me on managing the way I
did, the old fashioned way. He claimed that was how they managed in the old days, scrap for a run, bunt, steal. "94

"This club", Lopez said, immediately following the 1959 World Series, "with only a little help, is good enough to win the pennant again."95 Unfortunately for Lopez, help didn't arrive.

Over the next three seasons, White Sox fortunes steadily declined and they dropped to third, fourth and fifth place respectively. However, in 1963 and 1964, Lopez again spurred his troops to second place finishes by chasing the Yankees up to the wire before conceding the pennant.96

After another second place finish in 1965, Lopez, deciding it was time to swap the pressures of baseball for the pleasures of golf and quiet Florida living, retired.97

Upon his retirement, Lopez did remain with the White Sox in an administerial capacity, and even returned to the dugout briefly in 1968-69 with the White Sox sputtering. His stay however, was short-lived, and after posting a 178 start in 1969, he called it quits for good.98

Having completed seventeen seasons as a big league pilot, the Señor, wrapped up his much admired career tied for ninth place on the all time winning percentage list with a .584 average and, in 1977, was enshrined in the Baseball Hall of Fame as a manager.99

ENDNOTES


2 Ibid., 574.


5 Id.


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8 Ibid., 207.

9 Id.


14 Singletary, *Conversation with Al Lopez*, p. 18


16 Singletary, *Conversation with Al Lopez*, p. 17.

17 Id.


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25 Id.

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56 Rogen, “Valiant Yankee Chaser,” p. 38

57 Id.

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59 Id.

60 Ibid., 41.

61 Id.

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80 Id.

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91 Id.


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95 Moritz, Current Biography, p. 242

96 Thorn, Total Baseball, p. 2482 and Hirschberg, Greatest Catchers, p. 107.

97 Hirschberg, Greatest Catchers, p. 108.

98 Thorn, Total Baseball, p. 2482.


Photos are from the author’s collection.
Two University of South Florida professors have been selected as winners of the Tampa Historical Society’s 1993 D. B. McKay award for their notable contributions to Florida history.


Their book has been acclaimed for its detailed look at the work of the Burgert family photographers in recording the pictorial images of Tampa and surrounding locales from the 1890s into the 1960s. More than 200 photographs in the book show the scope of the firm’s activities.

Robert E. Snyder, a native of New York state, got his bachelor’s and master’s degrees at Union College in Schenectady, N. Y. He received his doctorate at Syracuse University.

He has been at the University of South Florida since 1980, in the American Studies department. His teaching and research specialties are The American South, Popular Culture, Film in American Culture and Photography in American Culture.

Dr. Snyder won the USF award for excellence in undergraduate teaching in 1987.

In addition to the Burgert book, he wrote *Cotton Crisis* in 1984, and he has two other books in preparation: *The Regional Imagination: Documentary, Photography in*
the South and The South of Erskine Caldwell.

Dr. Snyder is married and the father of a son and a daughter.

Born in Maplewood, N. J., Jack B. Moore received his bachelor's degree from Drew University, his master's from Columbia University and his doctorate from the University of North Carolina.

He teaches American Literature, American Studies and Humanities at USF, specializing in American and African cultural studies as well as racism. For the last 14 years he has been chairman of the American Studies department.

Dr. Moore has been a Fulbright professor twice - at Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone and at Stuttgart University in Germany.

He has written books on baseball hero Joe DiMaggio, poet Maxwell Bodenheim and civil rights activist W. E. DuBois.

In 1990 he was given USF’s Distinguished Scholar Award.

Dr. Moore and his wife have five children.

The two authors' book on the Burgerts already has won awards from the Florida Historical Society and the American Association for State and Local History.

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MEET THE AUTHORS

JoANN HASKINS CIMINO received her B.A. degree from the University of South Florida. She is descended from Tampa pioneers Levi Collar and Leon and Josefina F. Arduengo. She has previously written for the Sunland Tribune.

LAURA ETHRIDGE is a fourth generation Floridian from Gadsden County. She is a graduate of Tallahassee Community College and attended Florida State University. Ms. Ethridge is currently employed with the Technical Services Section of the Bureau of Aquatic Plant Management as the Environmental Education Desktop Publishing Specialist.

NORMA GOOLSBY FRAZIER is a native Floridian, born in 1936 in the early settlement of Peru, Florida which then existed on the south bank of the Alafia River. She is a descendant of the pioneer Goolsby, Hendrix, Tyner, and Purvis families and makes her home on the Goolsby family property purchased shortly after the turn of the century. Norma retired from the Hillsborough County School Board in 1989, serving for the previous 11 1/2 years as Executive Secretary to the Director of Administration of Hillsborough County Schools. Prior to that time, she was associated with Brandon State Bank (now Sun Bank of Tampa Bay) as Executive Secretary to Charles Westfall who retired as bank president. Business courses completed during her career, include banking, word processing and computer skills. While at Brandon State Bank, she served as correspondent for the Brandon News for 12 years, with her writings including articles of historical interest regarding early churches, people, places, and events. In 1993, Norma completed her first book, A Light in the Wilderness.

LELAND HAWES, JR. is a native Tampan who grew up in Thonotosassa, where he published a weekly newspaper at age 11. A graduate of the University of Florida in 1950, he worked as a reporter for The Tampa Daily Times for two years, then for
The Tampa Tribune in various capacities since then. For the last several years he has been writing a history/heritage page.

DR. JOE KNETSCH was born in Galesburg, Michigan and received his Bachelor of Science degree from Western Michigan University. Loving to Florida in 1969, he taught high school at North Fort Myers Sr. High and proceeded to Florida Atlantic University where he received his Masters of Arts degree (history) in 1974. During and after his days at E.A.U., he taught at Broward Community College, Florida Atlantic University and in the Broward County School system (and at two private schools in Southeast Florida). After serving on the Broward County Historical Commission and on the Board of Directors for the Broward County Classroom Teachers Association, he left the county to work on a Ph.D. at Florida State University. While working on his degree, he taught at Tallahassee Community College and Florida State University and began his current career with the State. He received his degree in 1990 and has continued to work for the Florida Department of Natural Resources as a Senior Management Analyst II. His primary function with the Department is to research Florida's history for early methods of transportation on and the usage of Florida's water-bodies. He has recently been president of the Tallahassee/Leon Historical Society a member of the Board of Directors for the Florida Historical Society and is currently vice-president of the newly Civil War Roundtable. He is married to the former Linda Drexel of Sarasota and lives in Tallahassee.

ARSENIO M. SANCHEZ, a native of West Tampa, has been researching the history of West Tampa, and of the Tampa area. He became interested in the history of the area when asked to research buildings for a Rey Park mural. Sanchez attended Jesuit High School and graduated from Plant High in 1937. He served in the Navy during World War II and graduated from the University of Florida in 1951. Sanchez was employed by the U. S. Department of Agriculture until he retired in 1978. He has been on the board of directors of the Tampa Historical Society since 1987.

JAMES A. SCHNUR presently pursues masters degrees in History and Library
Science at the University of South Florida. He works as Special Collections assistant at the Nelson Poynter Memorial Library on the USF St. Petersburg campus. James serves as First Vice President of the Pinellas County Historical Society, located at Heritage Park, and will take office as President in January 1994. Currently, he is writing a biographical essay on former-Governor LeRoy Collins and completing research for his masters thesis on the Johns Committee.

CHARLES WESLEY SINGLETARY, JR., was born and raised in Tampa, Florida, attending both Hillsborough and Land O' Lakes High Schools. In 1982, upon being discharged from the United States Air Force, Wes began college in Cheyenne, Wyoming, and subsequently transferred to the Florida State University where he earned a B.S. in Political Science in 1985 and an M.A. in history in 1992. Wes currently plans to pursue Doctorate work in history at Florida State beginning in the fall, 1993 term, where he will continue the effort begun in his M.A. thesis, *Señor: The Life of Al Lopez*. Toward this aim, Wes recently presented a paper titled *The Early Career of Al Lopez* to the 1993 University of South Carolina graduate history symposium.

Furthering his interest in the history of sport Wes has also presented a paper on the life of *James Roosevelt Robinson*, to the 1992 Graduate History Forum at the University of North Carolina Charlotte. That paper emphasized baseball pioneer Jackie Robinson's role as a leader among Black Americans.

Wes has previously had two minor publications. The first was an essay titled "The Inter-Social League: 1943 Season," that documented one season in a World War Two era, Tampa, Florida, baseball league. It appeared in the Fall, 1992, edition of the *Sunland Tribune*, an annual publication of the Tampa Historical Society. Secondly, Wes prepared a book review of Loren Beth's *John Marshall Harlan*, a biography of the often overlooked Supreme Court justice whose early twentieth century judicial dissents laid much of the groundwork for later landmark civil rights decisions. The review appeared in the Spring, 1993, issue of the *Southern Historian*, a journal of the University of Alabama History department.
Wes is married to the former Toni Zarate of Cheyenne, Wyoming. They have been happily married for eleven years and make their home in Tallahassee, Florida.

**SPESSARD STONE**, a sixth generation Floridian, is an accounts receivable clerk in Wauchula. He has had published over 100 historical articles and is the author of two family histories, John and William Sons of Robert Hendry and Lineage of John Carlton.

**KYLE S. VanLANDINGHAM**, is a sixth generation Floridian. He received his B.A. degree from Maryville College in Tennessee and his J.D. degree from Cumberland School of Law of Samford University. He is the author of several historical and genealogical books and has been Editor of the Sunland Tribune since 1991.
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The Tampa Historical Society expresses its appreciation to Mr. J. Edgar Wall, III, for allowing us to reproduce his copy of Jackson’s 1886 "Plan of Tampa." Most of the buildings in existence in 1886 are identified on Mr. Wall’s copy of the plan.
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DOYLE CARLTON’S BIRTHDATE

We quote from Linage of John Carlton, by. Spessard, Stone, 1993, p. 44:

“DOYLE ELAM CARLTON, son of Albert and Martha (McEwen) Carlton, was born July 6, 1885 in the Oak Grove community, west of (now) Wauchula, Florida. Standard references sources, including Pioneer Florida, Volume 3 and Allen Morris’ Florida Handbook, list Doyle's birth year as 1887… However, Albert Carlton, his father, in his Civil War pension application on March 25, 1908 and again on April 1, 1915, stated Doyle was born July 6, 1885. The Treasure City Tampa (1983), p. 204, has Doyle E. Carlton 1885-1972. Governor Doyle Elam Carlton died October 25, 1972 at Tampa, buried Myrtle Hill Memorial Park, Tampa, Florida"
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