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LATIN ENTREPRENEURS AND THE BIRTH OF YBOR CITY

by L. Glenn Westfall

Tampa in 1880 was a sleepy fishing village with less than 1,000 residents. Located on the Gulf coast, it was relatively isolated from the rest of Florida. A stagecoach line connected the town with Dade City, then known as Tuckertown, but Tampa was most easily reached by water until the railroad arrived. In 1883, Henry Brady Plant initiated construction of the South Florida Railway which originally terminated in Sanford where passengers could make a connection to Tampa by stagecoach. The railroad was instrumental in changing Tampa from a small village into the leading manufacturing center of Florida by 1900.

While Tampa was still in its infancy, Key West had become a leading cigar manufacturing city after the arrival of thousands of Cubans who fled a civil war in 1868. The island community was quickly transformed into a prosperous port city when cigarworkers and manufacturers brought an economic bonanza. Cuban cigars had always enjoyed an enviable reputation among connoisseur smokers throughout the world, but a high tariff on Cuban cigars (but not on tobacco leaf) made the imported cigar too expensive for the average smoker in the United States. After 1868, light-colored Cuban tobacco leaf was shipped in large quantities to Key West, where skilled Cuban artisans hand rolled it into their famous product, known as clear Havana cigars. This soon revolutionized the smoking habits and tastes of Americans. Most of Key West’s cigar manufacturers were Spanish or Cuban natives, and many maintained business offices for worldwide distribution in New York City.¹

Before a disastrous Key West labor strike in 1885, Latin businessmen residing in New York frequently traveled to Key West for business and pleasure. While some traveled the all-water route down the Atlantic, others preferred to make the journey as far as they could on land. Before Plant’s South Florida Railway was constructed to Tampa, a rail line running terminated at Cedar Key, some 100 miles north of Tampa. Passengers completed the trip to Key West on boats, and some stopped occasionally in Tampa. When the railroad reached Sanford, passengers could shorten the water route to Key West by riding the train to Sanford, taking a tiresome, rough ride by coach to Tampa, where they boarded a steamer to the Keys. However, the railroad line did not connect with Tampa until August 20, 1885. Early visitors to Tampa were impressed with the beauty and serenity of the village.²

Three of these visitors, two Cubans and a Spaniard by birth, became responsible for initiating Tampa’s transformation into a thriving community. Bernardino Gargol was a native Cuban who lived in New York where he headed a successful import business. From his Cuban factory, he shipped jellies and preserves made from the tropical guava fruit.³ Gavino Gutiérrez, a Spaniard by birth and a civil engineer by training, also resided in New York where he was involved in various enterprises, including imports and liquors.⁴ The third Latin, Eduardo Manrara, was born in Cuba. He had become acquainted with cigar manufacturer Don Vicente Martinez Ybor in Havana, and later joined the Ybor firm after it opened offices in New York and a factory in Key
West. Manrara, twenty-seven years younger than Ybor, was the financial organizer and administrator of the Ybor enterprise. He was placed in charge of the “El Príncipe de Gale” factory in Key West, and he frequently traveled from the New York office to Florida to oversee management and production. Manrara did not like traveling by water since he easily became seasick so he avoided the Atlantic connection to Key West whenever possible. He preferred to go by train to Cedar Key, and from there by boat to Key West. When the Plant railroad was extended to Sanford, Manrara took that route since it shortened the distance he had to travel by water.

While on route to and from Key West, Manrara had the opportunity to become acquainted with Tampa. Allegedly Manrara’s frequent visits led to the belief that guava trees were abundant in Tampa and the surrounding area. When Bernardino Gargol heard these rumors, he envisioned producing guava products in the United States. He decided to visit Tampa and convinced his close friend and associate, Gavino Gutiérrez, to join him on the trip. Since Gargol did not speak English, Gutiérrez was to act as interpreter on the journey.
In the latter part of 1884, the two men came to Tampa in search of guava trees. None of the local residents knew anything about such trees, but they directed the two Latins to a village called Peru, along the banks of the Alafia River, south of Tampa. After a two-hour journey by steamer from Tampa, Gargol and Gutiérrez arrived at Peru, five miles up the mouth of the river, but to their dismay the search was fruitless. Returning to Tampa, they made plans to sail to Key West, but before embarking they decided to look around. They were impressed with the serenity and beauty of the area. Gargol felt that Tampa had great potential as a port, while Gavino, Gutiérrez, an avid lover of the outdoors, was enthralled with the abundant wild game. Gutiérrez was especially impressed and enthusiastically discussed the idea of returning to Tampa, building a residence, a dream which he later fulfilled.

The adventurers departed next for Key West where they proceeded to the house of Don Vicente Martínez Ybor who was entertaining their friend, Ignacio Haya. Haya, founder of the
New York-based firm Sanchez and Haya, frequently visited Key West for both business and pleasure. On this particular occasion, Haya and Ybor were discussing the growing threats of organized cigarworkers whose unions crippled production as strikes became more frequent. Haya was so concerned with labor disruptions that he had already dispatched his associate, Serafin Sanchez, to search for possible locations to open branch factories. Ybor had already been forced to close an unsuccessful venture when cigar production at his “El Coloso” factory in New York was interrupted by strikes. He also confronted labor hostility in Key West, and he, too, wanted to move to a location where labor was not organized. The two factory owners were undoubtedly influenced by other manufacturers who were forming company towns, away from the crowded cities, as a means of accelerating production and limiting union influence. Ybor and Haya had sent inquiries to Galveston, Mobile, and Pensacola, expressing interest in possibly locating in one of those cities. Although he had earlier learned about Tampa from Edward Manrara, Don Vicente had not yet given it serious consideration as a possible location for a branch factory.

When Gutiérrez and Gargol arrived in Key West, they were warmly greeted by Haya and his host, Ybor. Gutiérrez explained their unsuccessful search for guava trees and their discovery of Tampa. Don Vicente again heard Tampa described in glowing details as Gutiérrez chattered endlessly about its primitive beauty, abundant wild game and potential as a port city. The more reserved Gargol reviewed the economic promise of the area, and the conversation soon excited the interests of all four men. They quickly decided that a visit to Tampa was in order. If what Gutiérrez and Gargol said was true, Haya and Ybor envisioned the area as the best choice to open new factories.

The four entrepreneurs boarded the next available ship leaving for Tampa and arrived at dawn the next day. A trip around the area convinced Haya and Ybor that its conditions were ideal for cigar production. The climate was warm, and Tampa was near Cuba so that tobacco could be easily imported. Moreover, the soon-to-be completed Plant railroad would give Tampa a more strategic location for market distribution. Although the town had few local laborers available for cigarmaking, Haya and Ybor did not consider this a serious problem since they believed the location would attract workers. The two manufacturers hoped that in the new surroundings cigarworkers would be happier and that perhaps labor unions would have less influence. Although Haya and Ybor did not plan a company town when they first visited Tampa, they soon decided that such an operation might have certain advantages since this isolated area had plenty of land available and a climate that would make it attractive to Latin workers.

The four men returned to Key West, elated over the visit. After Gutiérrez and Gargol returned to New York, Ybor and Haya again wrote their associates about the potential of Tampa. Manrara was delighted with the letter he received as he had already tried to convince Ybor of the economic potential of Tampa. Manrara had been convinced for several years that a branch factory there would be advantageous to the firm. It held great promise as an excellent business venture, and it would also end his hated voyages to Key West by water.

Haya had also written his associate Serafin Sanchez about Tampa. Sanchez had earlier been told about Tampa by Gutiérrez who explained that plenty of land was available and that “chickens which sold in Key West for seventy-five cents could be bought in Tampa for twenty-five.” Since Sanchez was already scouting for possible factory locations, he added...
Tampa to his itinerary, arriving in mid-July, 1885. After looking over the area, he met with the newly created Tampa Board of Trade and outlined the ways it “could facilitate their enterprise and asked for such cooperation, which the Board assured him would be cordially given.”

Tampans were elated over the possibility of bringing a new industry into the area. The local Tampa paper stated: “The benefits that would inure to Tampa from the establishment of such an industry cannot be too deeply impressed on our citizens. The firm of Sanchez and Haya employs 125 cigar makers and can give employment to any number of little boys and girls as strippers.” (Strippers were the workers who removed the stems from tobacco leaves.) The Board of Trade offered the second floor of Miller and Henderson’s stable for use as a cigar factory rent-free, but Sanchez refused the offer since there were no available workers. Returning to New York, Sanchez wrote Haya and Ybor in Key West and asked them to return to Tampa and begin negotiations for land to build factories and workers’ homes.

By September, 1885, Haya and Ybor were in Tampa for their second visit. After first examining the Bradenton area, Don Vicente selected forty acres northeast of Tampa which had a fresh water well. This tract of land, had been purchased a few months earlier by Captain John T. Lesley, who was a member of the Board of Trade. Other members, including William S. Henderson, Thomas Carruth, and Thomas Spencer, were willing to sell their land, but Ybor was only interested in the Lesley property. Nevertheless, he rejected Lesley’s asking price of $9,000
for the tract, knowing that Lesley had purchased it for $5,000 a few months earlier. Intimating that they might locate their operations in another community, Ybor and Haya left the meeting. Later, as they were walking down Washington Street on their way back to their hotel, they stopped at the store owned by Colonel William Henderson, who had become a friendly acquaintance. When Don Vicente told Henderson about their decision to leave Tampa, the colonel became very alarmed. Ybor’s scare tactic worked. Realizing the economic potential which the cigar industry had for the future of Hillsborough County, Henderson was determined to do everything he could to keep Haya and Ybor in Tampa. He pleaded with the visitors to remain in town a few more days so that the Board of Trade could arrange a way for them to get Lesley’s land at an agreeable price. 18

When the board reconvened in an emergency meeting on October 5, 1885, a compromise was worked out. Ybor would pay Lesley’s price of $9,000, but he would receive a subsidy of $4,000 from the board. The Board of Trade also apparently promised to assure labor peace. With the agreement sealed and everyone seemingly satisfied, plans were soon underway to construct Ybor’s cigar factory and town. 19

At first, Haya had remained in the background, but he soon purchased land adjacent to Ybor’s and started his own cigar factory. Although Haya was one of the original founders of the cigar industry in what was to be called Ybor City, the honor of naming the new business community went to Ybor.

Ybor did not immediately announce whether he intended to construct a complete company town or simply a pilot factory northeast of Tampa. Judging from the amount of land he purchased, it seems as though he intended to begin a small factory and if it succeeded to expand production. Ybor still maintained his “El Principe de Gales” operation in Key West while the first structure was being built on the outskirts of Tampa. He even considered expanding his Key West business by attempting to purchase an extension of land called “La Saline” in Monroe County, but he gave up that idea because the price was too high. 20 The disillusionment over not purchasing the Saline land was minimized by a more catastrophic event. On April 1, 1886, a devastating fire in Key West destroyed many buildings, including Ybor’s factory. 51 Had he been able to purchase the Saline land, perhaps he would have rebuilt in Key West. However, Don Vicente decided to leave the island community and transfer all of his operations to his Tampa site. He was sixty-eight years old when he began building a factory and laying out a town which was to make Tampa one of the leading cities of the South.

Although Ybor did not have an elaborate master plan for Ybor City in the beginning, he quickly developed one. He was influenced by the trend in some American industries for manufacturers to develop their own functional communities. These company towns, constructed to support the operations of a single company, included homes for workers and commercial buildings. 22 George Pullman had established such a town in Illinois, and it served as a model for other businessmen. Although Ybor’s planned community was not on the massive scale of Pullman’s settlement, it was developed with the hope of providing a good living and working environment so that cigarworkers would have fewer grievances against owners. Both Ybor and Haya had purposefully selected land outside the community of Tampa. Characteristic of other company towns, this isolation allowed Haya and Ybor to exercise greater control over the lives
of his workers—principally Cubans and Spaniards who were later joined by Italians. Both manufacturers had earlier mentioned that their only problem in moving to Tampa was finding a source of labor. Now they felt that the cost of living, lower than that in large cities and Key West, would induce workers to move to Ybor City.

Ybor hired Gavino Gutiérrez as a civil engineer to survey the land and to oversee construction. Workers and supplies came first from Savannah. Ybor was so anxious to start that he initiated construction even before he received his $4,000 from the Board of Trade, and work began on October 8, 1885. Land was first cleared so that Gutiérrez and his surveyors could divide the property into plots for sale. Don Vicente quickly added to his original forty acres by purchasing more land from John Lesley, Stephen M. Sparkman, Thomas Spencer, and he also bought land from Gavino Gutiérrez who had secured it earlier. In addition, Ybor purchased an adjoining fifty acres which ran from Tampa Heights to the edge of the Hillsborough Bay. The first city plan gave numerical designations to streets running north and south; those running east and west were named after states of the union. Later, most streets and avenues were given numbers. Haya likewise purchased large tracts of land.
Considerable changes occurred in the original terrain during the development of Ybor City. The northern lands were high, palmetto covered sands, surrounded to the east and west by forests. To the south were swampy marshes which drained into Tampa Bay. Wildlife was abundant, and even after the town was constructed, alligators from the southern marshes sometimes crawled through the streets at night. The marshlands in the area between the bay and Sixth Avenue were one of the earliest problems that needed solving. Thousands of loads of sand and sawdust were brought in, but this landfill operation was only partially successful because of the size of the water-soaked area.

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

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

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

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

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

The building still stands a century later.

Ignacio Haya was also convinced that Ybor City would be a success when he had purchased ten acres of land adjacent to that owned by Ybor. Haya soon began construction of a cigar
factory and several workers’ homes. His plant was a two-story wooden frame building located between Sixth and Seventh Avenues on Fifteenth Street. Work started at approximately the same time as Ybor’s buildings, and a race began to see whose would be finished first. By the beginning of 1886 both wooden structures were ready, and plans were made to start production the same day. However, circumstances prevented Ybor from opening his factory as planned, and the first cigars in Ybor City were produced by Sanchez and Haya’s “Flor de Sanchez and Haya” factory. Ybor had ordered bales of unstripped tobacco from Key West which caused some delay; Sanchez and Haya used tobacco which already had the stems stripped from it.\(^{32}\) It was also claimed that Ybor was unable to begin production on March 26, 1886, as anticipated, because the Cuban workers employed in the new “El Principe de Gales” factory refused to work under the newly hired Spanish foreman. Cubans had brought their resentment of Spaniards with them from Key West and Cuba.\(^{33}\)

As Ybor City grew, its founders carefully planned its expansion so that they could realize profits not only from cigars but also from real estate. On October 15, 1885, Ybor and his associates had formed the Ybor City Land and Improvement Company. Shortly afterwards another land and real estate company was organized by Sanchez and Haya, but Ybor’s company was the larger of the two.\(^ {34}\) Its charter outlined its function as buying, selling and improving real estate.\(^ {35}\) After land companies were formed, construction expanded rapidly. In addition to

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*The brick cigar factory built by Vicente Martínez Ybor still stands today.*

Photograph (c. 1899) courtesy of the Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System.
building workers’ houses and factories, Ybor and Haya induced other manufacturers to move to Ybor City. By May, 1886, Ybor and his partners had constructed eighty-nine houses, including thirty-three two-story family dwellings. Ybor brought in his own materials, labor and supplies. By the end of the year, he had erected a total of 176 dwellings. These houses were small, built of upright boards and sold from $750 to $900, depending on the location. Each house had two to three rooms, and families shared outside privies. The white-painted picket fences which outlined the properties added a pleasant atmosphere to the streets. The houses were considered superior to worker dwellings in Key West or Havana, and they served as an added inducement to draw workers to Ybor City.

Several serious problems confronted Ybor and his contractors in the development of the city. Besides the marshlands, sewage ran directly into the lowland areas south of Seventh Avenue, polluting much of the potable water. There was only one deep well which supplied water for many people, and it was difficult to carry the water long distances over the sand-covered roads. The Key West population had always been faced with a shortage of water, and so they had resorted to draining rain water from roofs and collecting it in barrels. When workers arrived in Ybor City, they used the same means of collecting water, but they found that the process of straining out thousands of insects from the water barrels was a difficult task. Hand pumps later
provided some water, but mud, sand and pieces of rock had to be filtered out. The marshes were breeding grounds for gnats and mosquitos, and along with an inadequate sewage system, they created a danger to health. Malaria and yellow fever were commonplace, and Ybor brought in a doctor from Cuba to care for his workers. Other physicians soon arrived and organized a social welfare organization called La Iguala (The Equal). Workers paid a weekly fee of ten cents for medical care. This was the prelude to several Latin medical centers which immigrants later organized as the population of the community increased.\\(^{39}\) Although neighboring Tampa had physicians, most of them were unavailable to Ybor City residents. Some refused to treat Latins, or else they closed their offices on Sunday, the only day the cigarworkers had free.

Producing sufficient food was still another problem. The workers were not accustomed to growing their own crops for consumption, and in the first few months residents had to rely upon outside distributions. A Cuban originally imported commodities which were distributed to the settlers.\\(^{40}\) By the middle of 1886, several grocery stores were in operation, and there were meat markets, ice cream and cold drink emporiums, drug stores and restaurants.\\(^{41}\)

Transportation within Ybor City was virtually nonexistent at first. Most people traveled by foot since the thick sand made other modes of transportation difficult. According to one early resident, in order to walk from one end of the village to the other, a person had to prepare himself as though he were making a journey across a desert.\\(^{42}\) Sand was a problem for building contractors since wheels easily bogged down, making it frustrating to transport materials. An attempt to solve this problem was made by paving the main street, Seventh Avenue, with wooden blocks. Sidewalks were also made of wood blocks, but when they were wet they would swell, only to fall back into place when they had dried out. Sawdust, and later oil, was placed on the streets to keep the dust down, but it was not until nearly the beginning of the twentieth century that streets were paved with bricks.\\(^{43}\)
To light the houses, Ybor first distributed candles. When kerosene lamps became available, he personally distributed them to the workers’ homes. Lighting the cigar factories by artificial light was an impossibility, so large windows were placed on each floor. Laborers started to work early in the morning and remained until sunset to take advantage of the available natural light. On extremely cloudy or rainy days, the workers who sorted tobacco leaves into various qualities according to color were often sent home since they did not have sufficient light to do their jobs.44

Coffee houses, clubs and theatres were important to the Latin culture, and once Ybor’s brick factory was completed, he turned over his original wooden building for use as a theatre. Later it became known as Liceo Cubano and was used as a club for the workers.45 Given the initial absence of many women in Ybor City, the predominantly male workforce frequented the “Scrub” area of Ybor City, where groups of prostitutes resided. Long lines gathered, particularly on weekends, and the women profited from the influx of immigrant men.46

In the first few months of its history, Ybor City developed slowly because of the natural problems encountered in forming a new community, and Haya decided to put up his entire
property for sale. This, in turn, discouraged Ybor, and each man was fearful that the other would leave. According to a later report in the trade journal *Tobacco*, Gutiérrez, an employee of Ybor’s, devised a scheme which worked.

He went to Mr. Haya, and very seriously told him that he had a buyer for all his property. “Who is it?” says Mr. Haya. Mr. Gutiérrez told him that it was Mr. Ybor. “You don't tell me!” said Mr. Haya; “why if he stays, I’ll stay too.” When Mr. Gutiérrez told Mr. Ybor that afternoon, Mr. Ybor said: “No, no, I don’t want to”; but when it was explained to him he chuckled, and told Mr. Gutiérrez to go with him to Mr. Haya. When Mr. Ybor made the same proposition, Mr. Haya replied that if Mr. Ybor was going to stay he did not want to sell anything but would also stay. They both acknowledged their fear of the other’s leaving. They shook hands, and that night a champagne supper decided the question of their staying. Such was the casting straw which settled the question for Tampa’s prosperity.\(^{47}\)

A streetcar, running on narrow-gauge rails and pulled by little steam engines, soon connected Ybor City and Tampa. When Tampa backers of the original project had questioned its probable success, Ybor and Manrara, who felt the railroad was a necessity, bought controlling interest on November 14, 1885. The following April, it was in full operation.\(^{48}\) At first there was no regular schedule, but soon it was running hourly between the communities. The engines were named after prominent ladies of Ybor City: “Fannie,” after Mrs. Ignacio Haya, and “Jennie,” “Mirta” and “Eloise” for Ybor’s daughters.\(^{49}\)

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

During the first few years, Ybor City faced the growing pains typical of new settlements. A serious problem was the lack of police which was one of several reasons the leaders of Tampa soon expressed interest in annexing the immigrant community. A small force of guards hired by Ybor and other manufacturers tried to assure order, but the detachment was too small to maintain law and order in a fast-growing community.\(^{50}\) As the new town expanded, the Tampa Board of Trade urged state legislation to extend Tampa’s boundaries to include Ybor City. Ybor strongly opposed annexation, arguing that the municipal laws and taxes of Tampa would hinder his operations. Indeed, he foresaw very few benefits for the Latin community through annexation, especially since his company had already improved the streets, provided lighting and laid the sidewalks.\(^{51}\) In spite of his protestations, Ybor City was incorporated into the City of Tampa, becoming its fourth ward on June 2, 1887. Although Tampa obviously benefited economically from annexation, the *Tampa Tribune* noted that one of the major results was the appearance of Tampa policemen which calmed down the wild frontier town, making it a more respectable place to visit on Sundays.\(^{52}\)
Even after annexation, Ybor City retained its ethnic identity and traditions; it was a city within a city. Tampans began to share in the wealth created by immigrant capital and labor as Ybor and his associates continued to expand their economic interests. The obvious success of the community attracted additional cigar manufacturers who either relocated their operations or opened branch factories. Cuban, Spanish and later Italian immigrants poured into the booming community. By 1890, Tampa and its fourth ward of Ybor City had a total population of almost 6,000, which represented an increase of 760 percent since 1880. The once sleepy coastal village was fast becoming a major urban center as a result of the growth of Ybor City and its cigar industry.53

Steam engine “Hattie,” part of the streetcar line which ran between Ybor City and Tampa, as it appeared in 1886.

Photograph courtesy of Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System.

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Cigar manufacturers playing cards in the Cherokee Club, as the El Pasaje was called in 1895. Standing from left to right: Candido M. Ybor (son of Vicente); Auturo and Oscar Manrara (sons of Eduardo); M. Guonod. Seated from left to right: William Kline; Emilio Pons; F.A. Solomonson; and an accountant holding a child.

Photograph courtesy of Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System.
1 For a more detailed account of the Key West cigar industry, see L. Glenn Westfall, *Key West, Cigar City, U.S.A.* (Key West, FL: Key West Preservation Board, 1984).


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

4 Pizzo, “Gutiérrez,” 5; Gavino Gutiérrez is listed in Trow’s *New York Directory* as owner of a liquor distributorship (1875) and as a merchant (1876, 1887 and 1888).


8 Ibid., 17. An August 16, 1893, article in the *Tampa Morning Tribune* is devoted to the tractions of Peru, Florida. It mentions the steamer, “Antique City,” and local sources claimed that this was the same steamer which took Gutiérrez and Gargol to Peru.


10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., 13.

12 *Tobacco Leaf*, July 12, 1895.

13 Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, July 15, 1885, Tampa Chamber of Commerce, Tampa.

14 *Tampa Tribune*, July 16, 1885.

15 *Tobacco Leaf*, July 12, 1895.


19 Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, October 5, 1885. Although a $4,000 inducement was promised to Ybor, he had a difficult time collecting the money from the Board of Trade, a point of much irritation for the manufacturer. By December 15, 1886, the Board still had a small amount to collect; by the end of the year, lands valued at $3,300 and $700 in cash were paid to the V.M. Ybor and Company. Minutes of the Board of Trade, December 15, 1886.

Tobacco Leaf, April 3, 1886.


Emilio del Rio, Yo Fui uno de los Fundadores de Ybor City (Tampa, n.d.), 8.

“Map of Ybor City,” March, 1886, Plat Book 1, Hillsborough County Clerk of the Circuit Court, Tampa, 11.


Tampa Guardian, May 5, 1886.

Ibid., June 9, 1886.

Long, “the Historical Beginnings of Ybor City,” 35.

Rivero Muñiz, Los Cubanos en Tampa, 16.

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

Articles of Incorporation, the Ybor City Land and Improvement Company, October 10, 1885.


Lemos, “Early Days in Ybor City,” 19.

Tampa Guardian, June 9, 1886.


“A History of Ybor City,” 5.


Del Rio, Yo Fui uno de Los Fundadores de Ybor City, 11.

Tobacco Leaf, July 12, 1895.

Grismer, Tampa, 191.

WPA, “Ybor City, General Description, Latin Populations,” 165.

Tampa Guardian, October 27, 1836.

Florida Senate Journal (Tallahassee, 1887), 273, 275.

Tampa Tribune, October 13, 1887.