
6-1-1997

From Annexation to Urban Renewal: Urban Development in Tampa during the 1950s and 1960s

Robert Kerstein
University of Tampa

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/tampabayhistory>

Recommended Citation

Kerstein, Robert (1997) "From Annexation to Urban Renewal: Urban Development in Tampa during the 1950s and 1960s," *Tampa Bay History*. Vol. 19 : Iss. 1 , Article 7.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/tampabayhistory/vol19/iss1/7>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Open Access Journals at Digital Commons @ University of South Florida. It has been accepted for inclusion in Tampa Bay History by an authorized editor of Digital Commons @ University of South Florida. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@usf.edu.

FROM ANNEXATION TO URBAN RENEWAL: URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN TAMPA DURING THE 1950s AND 1960s

by Robert Kerstein

Modern Tampa dates from World War II, which jump-started the city's ailing economy. The temporary boost provided by the significant presence of federal personnel and dollars sparked other changes. In 1945 the citizens of Tampa passed referenda which created a modified governmental structure for the city of just over 100,000 residents and also two new governing institutions with specialized concerns – the Hillsborough County Aviation Authority and the Hillsborough County Port Authority. These changes were designed to enable the community to pursue growth initiatives in the postwar economy. However, vestiges of old Tampa remained. In 1950 the Kefauver Committee hearings held in Tampa publicized what most residents already knew – the new governing structures coexisted with remnants of the crime and corruption that had plagued the community for decades. This corruption contributed to the continuation of the image of Tampa as a “hell hole,” an image which threatened to operate against stimulating growth of the city.¹

Soon, a somewhat reconstituted business community engaged in efforts with political office holders to reinvigorate growth initiatives. The earliest of these initiatives began in the late 1940s and ultimately led to the 1953 annexation which added dramatically to the geographical size of the city and doubled its population. Later efforts included the purchase of land owned by the Atlantic Coast Line (ACL) railroad on the east side of the Hillsborough River and the creation of three urban renewal projects in and near downtown Tampa, as well as other initiatives in the downtown area that were characterized as redeveloping land use to strengthen Tampa's role as the business hub of the west central region of Florida and as a destination for tourists.²

By the end of the war, it appeared clear that Tampa's economic base was no longer going to rely primarily on cigar manufacturing. A more diverse economic base was sought by the Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce and the Committee of 100, the business recruiting arm of the Chamber that was formed in 1954, under the leadership of Scott Christopher who had become the Chamber's chief executive in 1951. Business services and tourism were seen as crucial to Tampa's economic development, and renewal in the downtown area and Ybor City fit well with this strategy. Some of the projects brought unequivocal gains, such as the purchase of the ACL land which replaced railroad loading and other business activity along the river. The urban renewal projects, however, resulted in significant displacement of lower and moderate income citizens, primarily African Americans and Latins, and had more limited positive results. Those who were displaced by urban renewal generally had no influential representatives to voice their interests, and they had to pay the cost of programs that were ostensibly to enhance community well-being in “the long run.”

Enlarging the city's boundaries became the first step in postwar development. The Chamber of Commerce voted to support annexation to expand the city limits of Tampa as early as 1944, but charter reform to change the structure of Tampa's government became a higher priority. Annexation moved near the top of the Chamber's agenda by 1947. It also won the support of the

Junior Chamber of Commerce, an active organization of younger professionals and business people who took the lead in reform efforts in Tampa, and annexation was endorsed by the two major newspapers, the *Tampa Daily Times* and the *Tampa Morning Tribune*. An examination of newspaper articles and minutes of the Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce preceding an unsuccessful annexation referendum on August 5, 1947, provides a good indication of the rationale for expanding the city limits.³

Advocates of annexation contended that the city limits of Tampa had to expand in order to accommodate prospective growth. For example, the *Tampa Daily Times* emphasized that Jacksonville and Miami each had three times the twenty-four square miles of Tampa. In addition, Miami and Jacksonville each had a larger population than Tampa, and St. Petersburg and Orlando could surpass Tampa's population if no annexation occurred. On the other hand, the secretary-manager of the Chamber asserted that Tampa would become the forty-seventh or forty-eighth largest city in the nation, rather than its current eighty-fourth rank, if the proposed annexation were accomplished. A related argument was that industries were more likely to locate in the area after annexation, providing employment opportunities for citizens. Joseph R. Mickler, a publicist for the Chamber, noted that because cities such as Miami and Jacksonville were growing more rapidly than Tampa, many industries chose to establish branch plants in Tampa while their major factories went to faster-growing cities.⁴

The proponents of annexation also contended that suburbanites would benefit, in spite of what many suburban residents argued. As one advocate put it, "[W]e suburban residents cannot separate our lives or futures from the future of Tampa.... If Tampa prospers, then we will prosper in our jobs and in our business. If Tampa stagnates from a slow process of strangulation, then we will suffer as individuals in a like manner." In addition to economic considerations, it was argued that suburbanites incorporated into Tampa would benefit politically. According to W.J. Barritt, Jr., the chair of the Civic Affairs Committee of the Chamber and also head of the Greater Tampa Annexation Committee that was formed to coalesce support for the effort, suburbanites had an interest in Tampa's growth and prosperity, but were unable to vote or have a voice in government. After annexation, political participation would be expanded.⁵

Most suburban residents, however, rejected these arguments. Although about 28,500 residents of Tampa were eligible to vote in the annexation referendum compared to only 10,000 from the unincorporated area, the state legislative delegation insisted that the measure had to be approved separately by voters in both the city and unincorporated county. The combined vote was 8,443 in support of annexation and 6,476 against it, with city residents voting four to one in favor of it. Suburbanites, however, turned it down by a margin of about three to one. A majority of voters in only one suburban precinct supported annexation.⁶

Explanations for the 1947 defeat varied. Many pointed to corruption in a variety of places. Prior to the vote, an activist in the Junior Chamber of Commerce contended that financial backing for the anti-annexation efforts in one area included jook joint operators, garbage collectors and others who wanted to incorporate as a separate city so that they could control it. Even Barritt, in supporting annexation, admitted that Tampa was similar to some Snowbelt cities in that economic dry rot and political corruption drove people to the suburbs. If shared by many suburban voters, this motive would have likely encouraged a desire to remain separate from the



Tampa's skyline in 1960, showing the Platt Street Bridge and WDAE's radio tower, had changed little since the 1920s.

Photograph courtesy of the Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System.

city's jurisdiction. Further, the *Tampa Daily Times* pointed to the fact that many suburban voters probably turned against annexation because they perceived favoritism in the way that the proposed boundaries were drawn. The exclusive residential areas where many of Tampa's elite resided, including those surrounding the Tampa Yacht Club and the Palma Ceia Golf Club, were to remain outside the city limits. In addition, major businesses in the eastern and northwestern suburban areas were also excluded due to "legislative favoritism."⁷

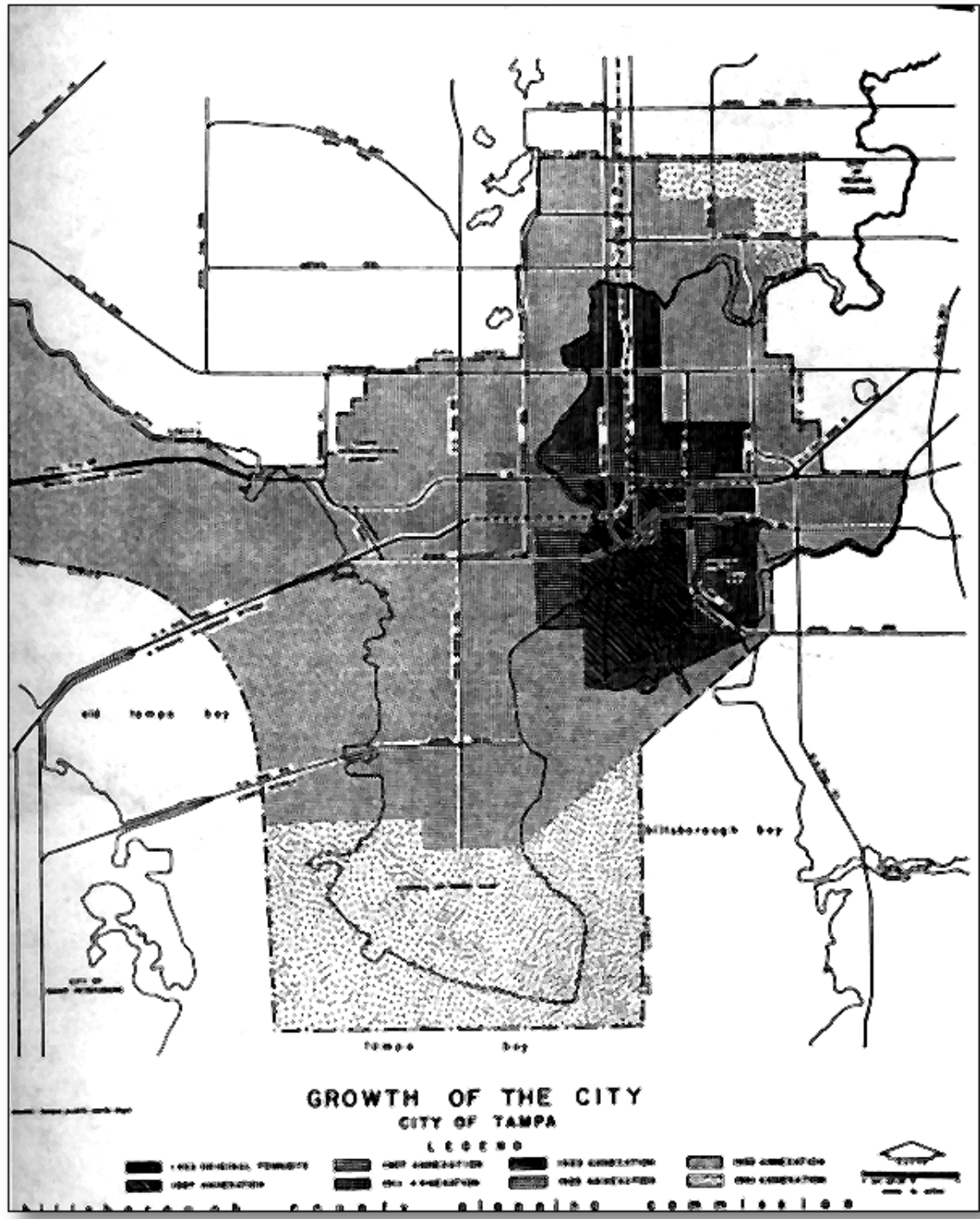
Soon after the defeat, the Chamber, local newspapers, and other groups immediately began plans for another annexation effort. Although legislation passed the 1949 legislature allowing an area contiguous to the city to be annexed after submission of a petition with more than fifty one percent of the eligible voters, it was clear that piecemeal annexation would not meet the objective of a significantly larger Tampa. Annexation supporters emphasized that the legislature would have to authorize a process that would not permit suburbanites to have an independent vote on their incorporation into Tampa. The pro-annexation forces, however, had no immediate success with Hillsborough County's legislative delegation. As a result, an annexation referendum was defeated by suburbanites in an election in November 1951.⁸

The proponents of annexation continued to publicize the merits of expanding Tampa. For example, the *Tribune* ran a series of articles in late 1952 which included several references to the desirability of annexation. It noted some opposition from suburbanites, because Tampa had tolerated “an arrogant, politically-minded underworld obnoxious to good citizens on the outside.” However, the *Tribune* stressed that the existing structure allowed Tampa’s residents to be exploited, by helping to finance improvements in the county. Citizens residing in the city were paying tax dollars to support the expenditures of an “outdated political ward system” for services in the county, such as paving streets, building sidewalks and “hauling dirt for the lawns of voters.” This inequitable burden was, in turn, a barrier to attracting new business and industry to the community, according to the *Tribune*.⁹

A significant turn of events occurred after the legislative elections in November 1952. Representative Tom Johnson, who won reelection, and Sam Gibbons, a Tampa attorney, who was elected to the Florida House for the first time, both had run on pro-annexation platforms. Johnson and Gibbons, as well as Senator John Branch, emphasized at a meeting with the Board of Governors of the Chamber of Commerce that they would prepare an annexation bill for the next session of the state legislature that would not require a citizen referendum. Gibbons took the lead, and the Chamber agreed to finance an attorney to help prepare the statute. Tampa’s Mayor, Curtis Hixon, remained relatively neutral in this effort, but he did provide Gibbons with some legal and engineering assistance in formulating the legislation and establishing the boundaries.¹⁰ The 1953 annexation bill passed the state legislature and resulted in a significant increase in Tampa’s land area and population, which more than doubled from 124,645 in 1950 to 274,970 in 1960.

After this major success, Tampa’s growth interests focused on-the area in and near the city’s downtown. Local political leaders, the Chamber and planning consultants all shared a consensus that the downtown would have to prosper for Tampa to develop as a center of West Florida’s growing business community and for Tampa to take advantage of the increase in Florida’s tourism. In setting forth this image, activists knew they would have to overcome the inertia and self-interest that had contributed to making annexation difficult to secure, barriers which were recognized by many in the community. For example, one analysis noted that there was little progress in the downtown area, where “buildings were owned by one set of old families and leased by another set. Nobody seemed to get together on anything.”¹¹ Another observer noted that “we’d talk to people in industry and business about moving down here, and we’d have good plots of land lined up for them to see, but then the land owners would catch wind of it and jack their prices up out of sight.... So many people were afraid of ‘New York interests’ coming in here.” Similarly, William MacInnes, who moved to Tampa in 1954 to replace Frank Gannon as president of Tampa Electric Company (TECO), was not initially impressed with the level of initiative in the business community. He noted that “Tampa had about as much charisma as the U.S. Postal Service where everyone works strictly from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., does the job and goes home.”¹²

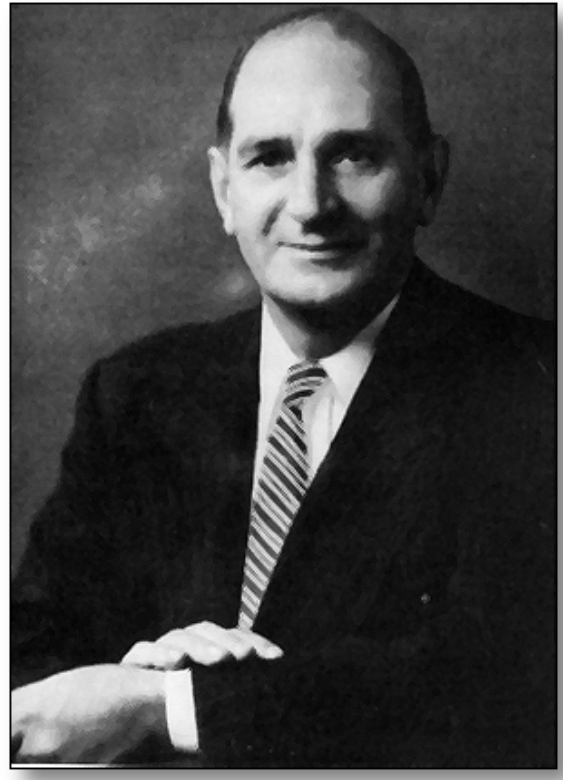
During the 1950s and 1960s, the leading advocates of downtown development included Scott Christopher, major business figures active in the Chamber of Commerce, professional planning consultants and Tampa’s mayors – Nick Nuccio (1956-59 and 1963-67), Julian Lane (1959-63) and Dick Greco (1967-74). All saw growth as important for changing the image of Tampa and



A map showing the growth of Tampa's city limits as a result of annexation from 1887 to 1961. The largest area (in small dots) was added in 1953, and the section (in large dots) to the south was annexed in 1961.

providing jobs for an expanding population. In addition, economic development would presumably provide more tax revenue for city government and profit opportunities for land owners, developers, builders and other private interests.

Mayors Nuccio and Lane differed in style during their respective administrations, but both agreed on the desirability for growth and development. For example, during Nuccio's first primary and runoff election for mayor in 1956, he focused on the need for a library and auditorium downtown and on the importance of more industries locating in Tampa. During the runoff, he accused his opponent; J. L. Young, who was serving as interim mayor after the death of Curtis Hixon, of attempting to obstruct the growth of Tampa when he sought to incorporate Sulphur Springs as a separate municipality to prevent the city from annexing it. During Lane's successful 1959 race, when he defeated Nuccio in a runoff election, he pledged to work closely with the Committee of 100 to attract new industries to Tampa. He also promised "to exert every reasonable effort to revitalize the downtown business area of the city, which bears such a heavy burden of taxation."¹³ During Lane's unsuccessful reelection effort in 1963, he primarily ran on a platform to "keep Tampa growing," and he claimed to have kept his 1959 campaign pledge to "get the city moving at a much faster pace and to really make downtown revitalization a reality and not just so much talk."¹⁴ Dick Greco also stressed the desirability of growth and development during his 1967 campaign against Nuccio and several other candidates, although he noted the need for better planning for the growth.



Mayor Nick Nuccio.

Photograph courtesy of USF Special Collections.

An example of a planning document that pointed to the need for growth in general and in the downtown in particular was the 1956-1957 comprehensive plan for Tampa formulated by Jacksonville planner George W. Simons, Jr. Pointing to the lack of development in the Central Business District (CBD) during the first half of the 1950s, Simons emphasized its importance to the tax base of the city because its land was generally assessed at a higher value than in other areas of the city. Although the assessed value of non-exempt property in the CBD had increased nearly 85 percent from 1945-50, it stayed roughly the same five years later. In addition, the assessments in the CBD had increased during the last half of the 1940s, but its share of total assessment in the city decreased from 37 to 30 percent during the same period, as the overall value of property in the city increased substantially.

A study completed by Hammer and Company Associates in 1961 also emphasized the importance of the downtown area. This report concluded that no component of the economy of Hillsborough County was more important than Tampa's CBD, which was critical for generating payrolls, profits and taxes. Moreover, it was "the administrative and decision-making center of the Hillsborough economy and the place where potentially the central-work of the entire Florida

West Coast region will be carried on.”¹⁵ However, according to the report, downtown Tampa had to improve significantly or it would decline and continue the process of losing new investments to outlying locations in the city and county. Among the projects proposed by this study were the purchase by the city of the Atlantic Coast Line (ACL) property in the downtown area and the inauguration of urban renewal projects in and near the center of the city.

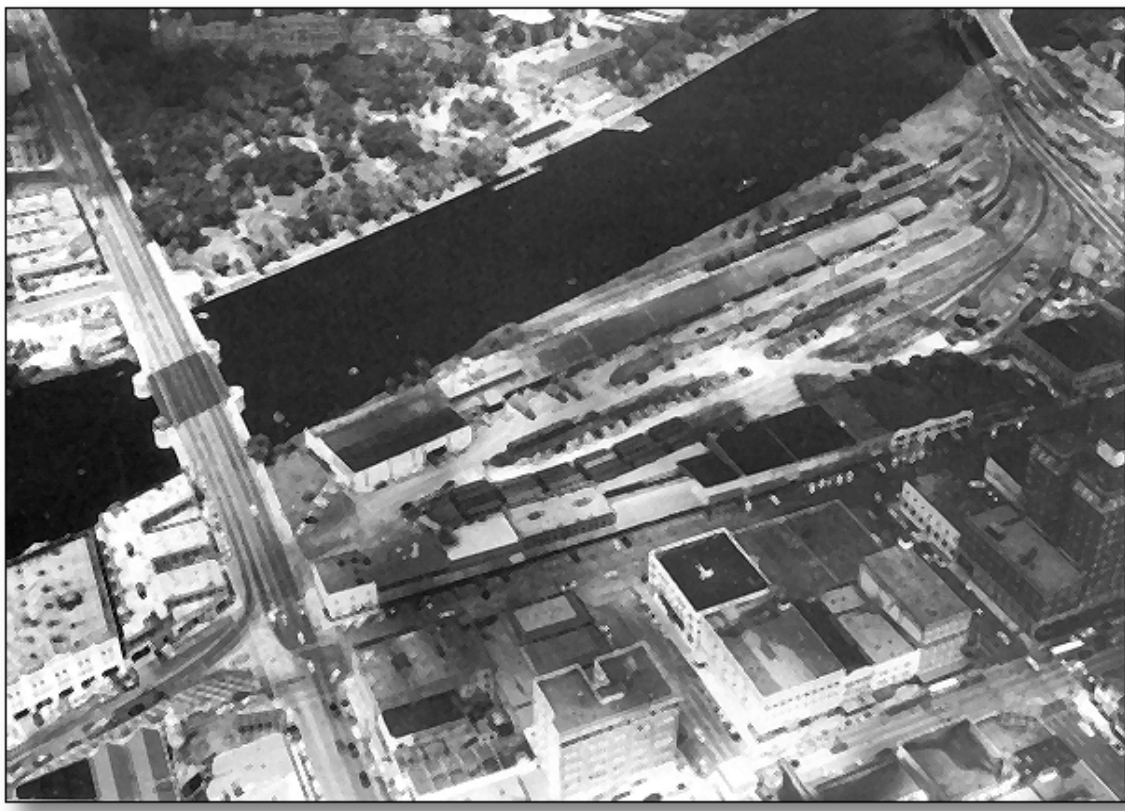
The Chamber of Commerce also began to focus on public efforts in downtown Tampa. A poll of the Chamber’s membership regarding their major concerns for 1961-62 indicated that the third most important goal, after broadening the ad valorem tax base and formulating plans for the reuse of MacDill Air Force Base, was to promote development of the Central Business District. In addition, a priorities committee of the Chamber issued a report in 1962 ranking the construction of a convention center on the waterfront as the number one priority. This project became possible because of the city’s purchase of land along the Hillsborough River from the ACL.¹⁶

The Atlantic Coast Line had owned the land on the east side of the Hillsborough River, opposite the University of Tampa, since early in the century. The site contained various offices, warehouses and tracks related to railroad operations, as well as a variety of other wholesale and industrial facilities. In addition to these businesses, numerous rats made the property their home. The Chamber of Commerce actually began to focus on the city buying this land during the Hixon administration. In June 1955, Ed Rood, an attorney who served as chair of the urban development committee of the Chamber, reported his committee’s resolution that the city purchase the ACL area between Lafayette Street (later Kennedy Boulevard) on the south, Cass Street on the north and Ashley Street on the east for public buildings, including a new city auditorium and parks. He further urged that the city condemn the land, an act that would require a change in state law, and purchase it if the ACL continued to refuse to sell it.¹⁷

A year later, George Simons reported to the Chamber of Commerce that the acquisition of the ACL property should be the number one goal for Tampa, because the Central Business District was stagnating. This opinion was shared by businessman Howard Hilton and by Jerome Waterman, the president of Maas Brothers, a long-established department store. Along with others, they emphasized that clearing the land would provide a location for a convention hall auditorium, more parking and improved access to streets in the CBD.¹⁸

The Chamber remained consistent in urging the city to procure the ACL land, an effort which the railroad had resisted. The ACL’s interests were supported by Hillsborough County state representative Tom Johnson and by W. Howard Frankland, a banker and Chamber activist, who served as an ACL board member. In April 1957, the Board of Governors of the Chamber called on Tampa officials to pursue either the purchase or the condemnation of the ACL property. The Chamber emphasized that this property was the key to redevelopment of the CBD, especially since the proposed interstate highway system through downtown was to have an exit near the property, making the site central to the continuation of Tampa as the hub of the west coast of Florida.

After W. Thomas Rice became the president of the ACL in mid-1957, he announced that he would discuss the possibility of selling the land to the city. The Chamber’s executive officer,



An aerial view in 1959 of the ACL property, located along the Hillsborough River between the Lafayette (now Kennedy) and Cass Street (upper right) bridges, with the University of Tampa to the west (upper left).

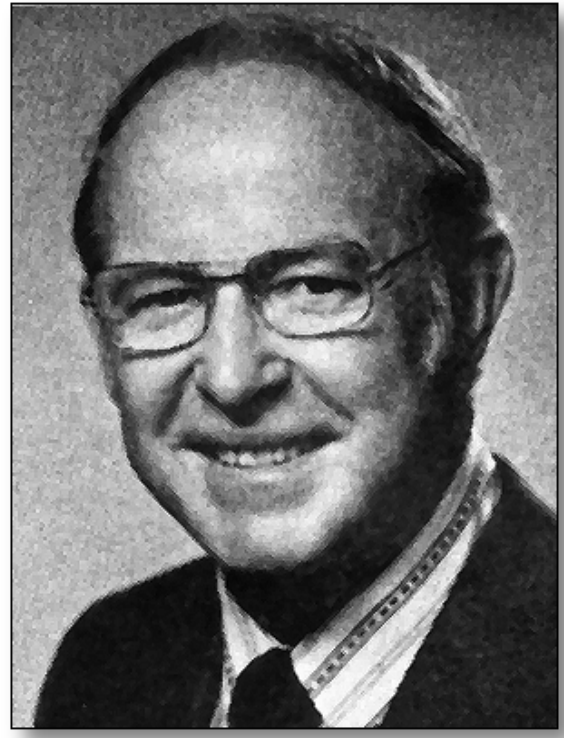
Photograph courtesy of the Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System.

Scott Christopher, emphasized that this possibility “immediately pushed other Chamber projects into a secondary position.”¹⁹ Mayor Nuccio also welcomed the chance to acquire the land, and he formed a special task force including TECO president William MacInnes, W. Howard Frankland, J.C. Council - the president and publisher of the *Tampa Tribune* – and several other businessmen.²⁰ Finally, early in 1959, members of the committee reached an agreement with the ACL for the purchase of 4.4 acres of its riverfront land for \$2.5 million, with the railroad agreeing to move its facilities to a new location.²¹ Nuccio emphasized that the city lacked enough money to purchase all seventeen acres of the ACL property, but that the 4.4 acres were important, because they could serve as a site for a city auditorium.

Although Julian Lane claimed during his mayoral campaign against Nuccio in 1959 that the city had paid too much for the land, Lane’s policy for the area was similar to that supported by the Chamber and Nuccio, as well as by Simons and other planning consultants. The Chamber formed an auditorium committee to push efforts for a convention hall on the ACL site, and Frankland, representing the committee, met with Mayor Lane in November 1959. Lane asked the Chamber committee to continue its efforts and requested that its members work with the city comptroller, the chairman of the City Council and architect Norman Nix to formulate plans for the auditorium. Later, Lane formed another committee and purchased the additional thirteen

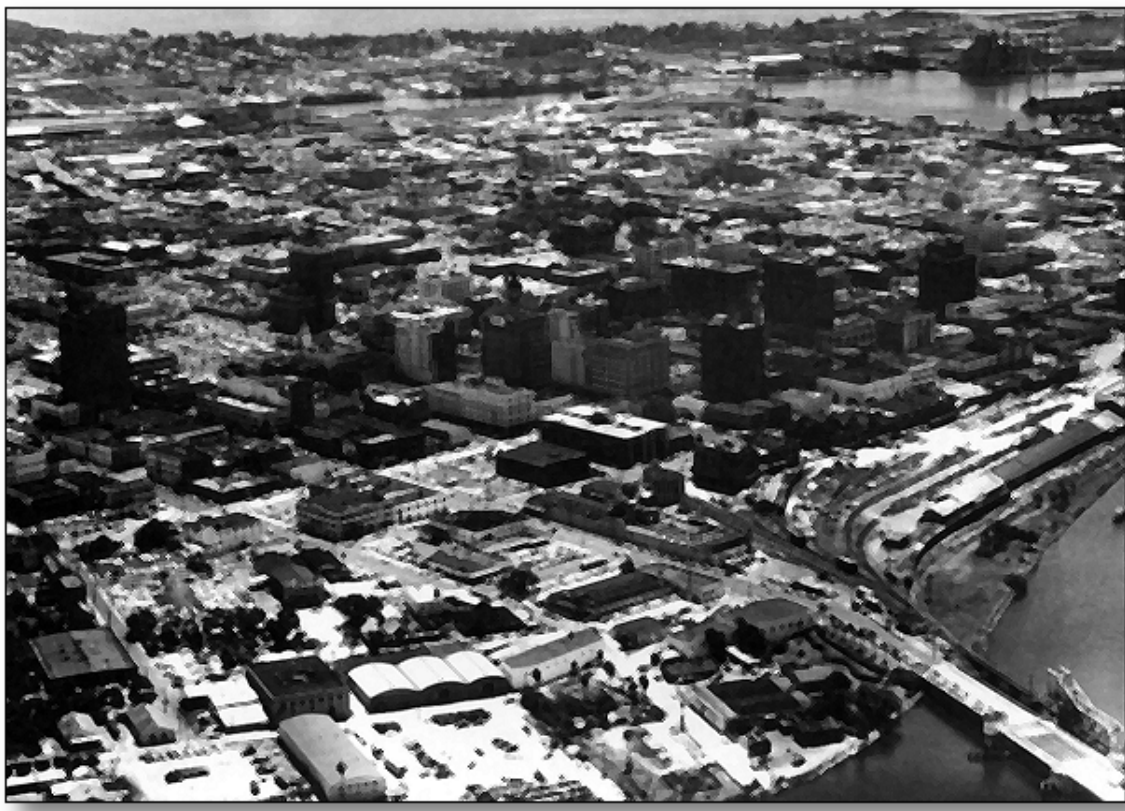
acres of ACL land in 1961.²² Several public projects were subsequently completed on the ACL land, including an auditorium-convention center named after Curtis Hixon (1965), the main facility of the Tampa Public Library (1967) and the Tampa Museum of Art (1976).

The Chamber, politicians, planners and a variety of business interests saw the ACL land purchase as just one step in downtown revitalization efforts. In June 1959, R.D. Saunders, the president of Sealtest Dairies and the chair of the Chamber's metropolitan planning committee, reported that the Chamber's membership poll for 1959 had given highest priority to a new city auditorium and convention center, a general program for downtown development and the promotion of slum clearance projects. Other business groups also focused on downtown revitalization. In March 1959, the Merchants Association asked the Chamber to take the lead in organizing a Downtown Development and Improvement Council, which would also include representatives of the Uptown Merchants Association – a group of businessmen who owned property on upper-Franklin Street in the northern section of the Central Business District. Members of this group had years earlier been involved in a campaign to clear a “skid row” area along the river that they contended had depressed their property values and the viability of their businesses. Their campaign included bumper stickers with the slogan “river front slums must go.” In fact, their campaign led Mayor Nuccio to choose part of this area, known as the “hole,” as the location for the construction of the new police station. In 1959 the Chamber agreed to form a downtown development committee with representatives from the Chamber, the Merchants Association and the Uptown Merchants Association. In addition, the Chamber organized its own Committee on the Central Business District, headed by TECO president William MacInnes.²³



Mayor Julian Lane.

By the late 1950s, many cities across the country had initiated urban renewal projects under the provisions of the 1949 federal Housing Act and later amendments to this law. The legislation provided subsidies to local projects involving clearance, rehabilitation and redevelopment of areas that were declared blighted by municipalities. None, however, had been initiated in Florida because of a decision by the Florida Supreme Court in 1952, ruling that Daytona Beach could not participate in the federal urban renewal. The Court held that a government could not use its authority of eminent domain to force the sale of private property and then sell it to another private enterprise that might realize a profit from redeveloping the land. Due to the 1952 case, the state legislature declined to approve general legislation authorizing Florida cities to participate in the federal program, but it did pass local bills allowing Tampa and Tallahassee to begin urban renewal programs. Tampa's authority to initiate a project was challenged in the



An aerial view of Tampa in 1961, looking southeast, with the Cass Street bridge and the former ACL site on the lower right.

Photograph courtesy of Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System.

courts, but the Florida Supreme Court ruled against the challenge in a 1959 case, thus paving the way for Tampa to begin the Maryland Avenue project, the first of its urban renewal projects.²⁴

Mayor Nick Nuccio made his initial appointments to the board of the newly created Urban Renewal Agency (URA) in May 1958. This agency retained the legal authority to implement urban renewal projects in Tampa until its dissolution in 1972. During the second half of 1958 it selected the first project site in conjunction with Milo M. Smith, a city planner under contract to the agency, and after consultation with Nuccio and representatives of the Chamber. A.R. Ragsdale, a suburban developer who headed the URA, spoke to the Chamber's Board of Governors in May 1959 and praised its metropolitan planning committee for supporting the project.²⁵ Indeed, one of Nuccio's initial appointees to the URA was H.L. "Dusty" Crowder, the president of the Greater Tampa Chamber in 1958-59 and one of the Chamber activists on urban development projects. Also Joe W. Dalton, another URA board member, was elected to the Board of Governors of the Chamber in 1960.²⁶

The Maryland Avenue area was located just beyond downtown Tampa. The site included a sixty-one acre tract in a lower-income African-American area which housed about 376 families, living in 140 dwelling units between Seventh Avenue in Ybor City and Nebraska Avenue.²⁷ Milo Smith emphasized that the urban renewal project would eliminate a slum area which provided

the city only about \$1,000 per acre in taxes in 1959. Further, he suggested that the project related to the wider concerns of improving the downtown area and Ybor City, emphasizing that the project would eliminate a slum district which divided the "two main business areas of downtown Tampa and Ybor City."²⁸ All the homes were to be razed and replaced primarily by alternative housing provided by the private sector, rather than by the Tampa Housing Authority, the public housing agency. However, demolition proceeded without a new developer being designated, so those who were displaced had to find housing elsewhere. A report released by Hammer and Company Associates in June 1959, under a contract by the URA, suggested that relocation posed no major problems.

More significant than construction of public housing or private housing in terms of number of units added, is the increment of the Negro housing supply forthcoming from movement into formerly white areas. As mentioned previously, mixed neighborhood have been traditionally the pattern in certain areas of Tampa-particularly in the Ybor City area where Negro families from Cuba and other Caribbean counties were among the first in-migrants along with the sizable numbers of families of Latin origins.

Families have lived and worked side by side since the early days of Tampa's history and as a result the expansion of the Negro population into areas formerly inhabited by families of Latin descent takes place with virtually no friction or resistance. To this extent, the entire Ybor City housing supply can be considered potentially available for Negro occupancy limited only by the rate with which Latin American families are ready and willing to up-grade their housing accommodations and move out to new and better facilities to the suburbs. At the present time, residents of Ybor City and adjacent sections of Jackson-Belmont Heights are leaving the area at a rate of 450 families per year and in most cases the quarters which they formerly occupied are quickly given over to Negro occupancies.²⁹

This analysis is noteworthy for several reasons. First, the vast majority of Tampa's neighborhoods were segregated, not integrated, as a 1953 study had made clear. Second, the 1959 report ignored the red-lining and block-busting that were occurring at that time in the Ybor City area, institutional practices that belied the claim of a smooth transition based on cordial relationships between the races. In fact, a 1958 report of the metropolitan planning committee of the Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce had pointed out that it was difficult for African Americans in Tampa to obtain loans from mortgage and insurance companies. Third, the report sublimely accepted the movement of families to the suburbs, ignoring implications for neighborhood stability in the central city. Finally, it overlooked the already initiated planning for additional urban renewal projects that would displace hundreds of families and increase the need for lower-income housing. In fact, the 1958 metropolitan planning committee report had found that even before urban renewal displacement, public housing units were filled. Moreover, little private housing existed to match the quality or price of public housing.³⁰

At a public hearing on the Maryland Avenue project held at the City Council in May 1962, Mayor Lane noted that relocating families into decent housing was one of the major problems the URA faced. Although some public housing units probably did open up to those displaced from Maryland Avenue, it soon became clear that these people were having a difficult time finding replacement housing. In February 1963, Tom Fox, the executive director of the URA, noted the difficulties that the relocation staff encountered in finding private rentals for those displaced from Maryland Avenue.³¹ And he voiced concern that if this continued, the federal government might hold up approval of the Riverfront application, the area designated for the



A 1952 view of slum housing in “the Scrub” that was typical of the dilapidated housing occupied by African Americans living in the area between downtown Tampa and Ybor City.

Photograph courtesy of Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System.

second urban renewal effort. As it turned out, the federal authorities approved the funds for the Riverfront project in March, in spite of the fact that Fox’s latest report indicated that only 21 of 106 families looking for relocation had actually been housed, with eight of them moving to substandard housing, a record that Fox attributed to the lack of available rental units.³²

Only after significant displacement already had occurred did efforts commence to find a developer for replacement housing in the Maryland Avenue area. In October 1963, Fox received a letter from Perry Harvey, the African-American president of International Longshoremen’s Association local No. 1402, expressing interest in developing low-cost housing in the project area. However, the URA did not begin receiving bids for the Maryland Avenue site until late in 1965, and in February 1966, the URA voted to accept the joint proposal for low-income housing in the project area from Perry Harvey’s union and the Lily White Security Benefit Association, a group headed by C. Blythe Andrews, the African-American publisher of the *Florida Sentinel Bulletin*. The Benefit Association and Longshoremen’s Union formed Tampa Park Apartments, Inc., which developed about 370 subsidized rental units.³³ Well before this time, however, the URA, the mayors and the business community were focusing on two other urban renewal projects that were more directly related to plans to ensure Tampa’s place as a business hub for western Florida and to transform Ybor City into a tourist destination.

Modesty did not characterize the claims made for the Riverfront urban renewal project located north of the ACL site in the Central Business District on the west side of the river, just north of the University of Tampa. In February 1960, after the Tampa City Council had adopted a resolution authorizing the URA to submit an application to federal authorities for the Riverfront project, URA chair Ragsdale declared that the project “would have more impact on the development of the City of Tampa than any other single event in the last hundred years.” And after the site had been cleared, a URA brochure claimed that it was “some of the most desirable development land in the south.” This project was viewed as necessary to revitalize downtown Tampa, in conjunction with redevelopment of the ACL land and completion of the interstate expressway interchange that would serve to feed business people and consumers into the downtown area.³⁴

The Tampa City Council approved the urban renewal plan for the Riverfront project in January 1963. The area included about 160 acres, and almost all of it was proposed for clearance. Of the 737 buildings in the area, 599 were residential, and 78 percent of these were designated as substandard. A survey of the area in 1961 recorded that 10 white and 670 black families lived in the project area, with 97 of the families being owner-occupants. There were also 150 single African Americans in separate households, 176 businesses and six institutions.³⁵ The URA also estimated that several hundred black families in Tampa would be displaced by expressway construction during 1962 and 1963 and that almost 400 black families would be displaced by code enforcement, but local officials expressed confidence that new and existing private and public housing would be adequate for those displaced. A project report noted that “new housing is to be provided in the project area available to minority groups at prices and rents within the means of a substantial number of families in the locality,” specifying that about 500 subsidized dwelling units would be built after the land was cleared. Although realizing that this housing would not be ready for people displaced by the Riverfront project, the report stressed that the housing would be needed for future urban renewal projects. However, in September 1963, a study by the Planning Commission suggested that fewer than 200 units, not 500, were likely to be built in the Riverfront area.³⁶

The Urban Renewal Authority assured federal officials that it was cooperating with the African-American community regarding both the Riverfront and the Maryland Avenue projects. A Bi-Racial Urban Renewal Advisory Committee, which had been inactive, was replaced by a mayoral appointed committee known as the “Bi-Racial Advisory Committee, Riverfront Project.”³⁷ This committee included three whites and three African Americans, and it was designed to serve as the primary means of consultation with local African-American leadership. The three African Americans on the committee were Perry Harvey; James Hammond, an electrical contractor who was involved in desegregation efforts in the city; and Moses White, a restaurant owner who was prominent in the African-American community. Both Harvey and Hammond were also on the Board of Trustees of the Progress Village, a housing development in Hillsborough County that was viewed as a possible source of housing for African Americans who were displaced by urban renewal. According to the URA, the Bi-Racial Committee expressed no opposition to the Riverfront project, and the mayor intended to merge this committee into a citywide Citizens Advisory Committee for Community Improvements.

The emphasis in the report on the acceptance of the project by African Americans was overstated. For example, in 1961 representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had contested what they saw as the exclusion of African Americans from decision-making positions regarding urban renewal. At a meeting attended by URA officials and the chair of Mayor Lane's Bi-Racial Committee, the NAACP's field secretary for Florida, Robert Saunders, emphasized that African Americans wanted more influence over a program which was scheduled to relocate a large number of families in both the Riverfront and Maryland Avenue projects. He pointed out that "the practice here has been to plan for rather than with local minority groups," and he stated the importance of "realizing that the program of urban renewal benefits the entire community, when administered fairly."³⁸ No African Americans were included initially on the URA board, although at least one was later appointed to it, and the Chamber of Commerce committee with some influence over urban renewal policy included no African Americans or citizens living in the Riverfront residential area. The Chamber formed a West Riverfront Committee that issued a report in May 1962 on appropriate reuse of the land north of the University of Tampa that was part of the urban renewal area. The committee expressed concern that the existing plan for the area north of the University of Tampa was to build low-cost housing there. The committee called this a serious mistake, claiming that it would be detrimental to the development of the Central Business District, and it recommended that the land should be sold to the University of Tampa. The committee listed a variety of interested parties whom it had consulted, but none represented the Bi Racial Advisory Committee or any citizens' group in the area.³⁹

Ultimately, the University of Tampa did purchase a twenty-five acre tract of the urban renewal land in November 1967. At a price of \$553,392, the large tract was bounded by Phillips Field on the south, North Boulevard on the west, the interstate highway on the north and the Hillsborough River on the east. The university said it would build dormitories, fraternity houses and athletic facilities on the site, but it later sold the land without completing any development on it.⁴⁰

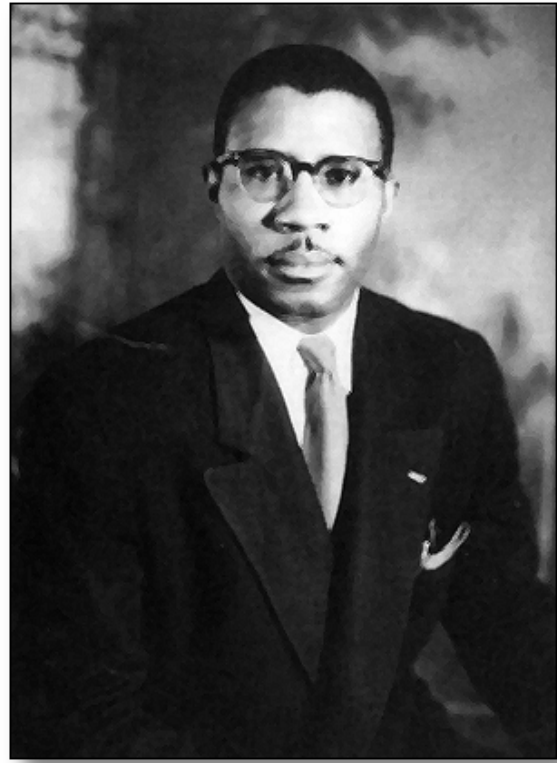
Some subsidized housing was eventually built in the Riverfront project area, well after the residents had been displaced. Presbyterian Village, including about 140 apartments, opened for occupancy in the early 1970s, and the LaMonte-Shimberg Corporation developed Oakhurst Square apartments during the same period. Additional low-income housing was constructed outside of the project area at the insistence of the federal government, which refused final approval of the Riverfront project until the URA made commitments for additional public housing and subsidized units. The Tampa Housing Authority completed 250 units in March 1966 and a 150-unit high rise in September 1966. Another small subsidized housing unit was constructed by the Paul Smith Construction Company.⁴¹

However, city officials and the business community focused more on the east side of the river. This downtown land north of the ACL site was supposed to spur the further economic growth of Tampa. A brochure advertising the land for sale and development boasted that it was just two blocks from Franklin Street, the "heart of Tampa's business-shopping district," and adjacent to the new convention center and city-owned parking facility. The brochure also emphasized that the downtown area included several new buildings, notably the Exchange National Bank completed in 1965. In addition, the public library was scheduled to open in 1967.

By the beginning of 1965, before the land went on sale, A.R. Ragsdale of the URA noted that he had been contacted by groups interested in a variety of projects, including a luxury hotel, a high-rise apartment building and a commercial office complex and retail center. However, at this point there was a growing perception by public officials and Chamber activists that downtown was not progressing as rapidly as they had hoped. For example, at an October 1965 meeting of the Chamber's executive committee, William MacInnes declared that he had received many calls during recent weeks about the apparent slow down in the development efforts in the CBD. He added that a number of retailers had indicated that they planned to relocate out of the downtown.⁴²

Unable to get the city to create a nonprofit organization to foster downtown development, MacInnes joined with other Tampa business leaders in forming the River Park City Center Corporation in 1967. This group purchased about sixteen acres of land in the Riverfront area north of the library, planning to spend about \$25 million to develop the area as part of "the rebirth of the downtown business district." Mayor Dick Greco, who had defeated Nuccio in the 1967 election, called the proposal a significant effort to continue downtown growth. The future land use was left open, but two years later Mayor Greco announced that the MacInnes group had finalized an agreement for a 350-unit, fourteen-story Holiday Inn to be erected just north of an office building that River Park was also developing. Chamber executive Scott Christopher lauded the development, boasting that it would place Tampa in competition with Jacksonville and Miami to attract major conventions.⁴³ At the same time that city leaders were focusing on the downtown, they also had turned their attention to Ybor City as another site which could be redeveloped to help transform Tampa's image and economic base.

Even before the URA was created, business leaders, Mayor Nuccio and planners had viewed the old Latin district as an area in decline and in need of revitalization. By 1960 Ybor City was a far different place than it had been before World War II. Many sons and daughters of cigar workers had moved out of the area of generally smaller houses to live elsewhere in Tampa and its growing suburbs. Large numbers migrated to West Tampa, the other historic cigar manufacturing area of Tampa, which had a larger supply of homes and land for new construction. During the 1950s, West Tampa's population increased from about 5,000 to 11,000, and its expansion continued in the early 1960s. As Latins departed from Ybor City, its African-American population increased. Clearly, Ybor City was undergoing rapid change, but



Robert W. Saunders, Field Secretary of the NAACP for Florida.

Photograph courtesy of USF Special Collections.

until it was officially approved as an urban renewal area in 1965, it was not clear what role public programs would play in influencing its future.⁴⁴

Planning for Ybor City's redevelopment evolved slowly. As early as 1951, one of George Simons' planning reports emphasized that much of Ybor's housing was substandard and that wholesale and industrial uses were becoming more common. Simons suggested that to turn around the decay, efforts should be initiated to develop the area as a "Latin American trade and cultural center, with special efforts to preserve historically significant structures." Simons also noted approvingly that Mayor Curtis Hixon had appointed a citizens' committee in 1951 to study the prospects of Ybor City's revitalization at the request of the Pan American Commission of Tampa.⁴⁵ Other groups involved in studying the possibilities for Ybor City were the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce and the Ybor City Rotary Club.

In November 1956, shortly after taking office, Mayor Nuccio announced that he was considering applying for slum clearance funds to raze some of the residential property in Ybor City. However, he noted that he was unable to do so because Florida's cities could not yet participate in the federal program. Meanwhile, Nuccio announced that he was responding to an appeal from Ybor City businessmen to conduct a study to formulate plans to demolish property in part of Ybor City, while commercial property would be remodeled to preserve a "Spanish atmosphere." Support for this idea came not only from Ybor City businessmen but also from Simons and from the *Tampa Tribune*, whose editor and publisher were by no means political supporters of Nuccio.⁴⁶

Even though the URA initially focused on the Maryland Avenue and Riverfront projects, Mayor Lane continued Nuccio's support for revitalization in Ybor City. In September 1960 the Tampa City Council approved the appraisal of Ybor City land for a possible redevelopment project that was being planned even in the absence of federal financial assistance. Less than two months later, the Board of Governors of the Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce called for the city to go ahead with plans to develop a Latin Plaza in Ybor, and the *Tampa Tribune* contended that a recreated Ybor City would not only become a tourist attraction, but also serve as a location for Central and South American programs that could be designed to improve cooperation among countries in the hemisphere. Further, the *Tribune* in 1962 explicitly related these efforts to those



A campaign poster showing Dick Greco in 1967, the year he was first elected mayor.

underway in the downtown area, suggesting that Ybor could become a major retail shopping center that would benefit from the office growth and convention business in the CBD.⁴⁷

In July 1962, Mayor Lane met with supporters of urban renewal in the former Latin district. These advocates included Dr. Henry Fernandez, the president of both the Ybor City Redevelopment Commission and the Barrio Latino Commission, a group that the Florida legislature authorized in 1959 to evaluate plans for proposed construction and demolition in the area; the president of the Ybor Chamber of Commerce; the director of the Pan American Commission and members of the City Council. Lane assured this group that he would endorse their request that Ybor City be the third urban renewal project in Tampa. By September, the mayor had written a letter to the URA asking it to initiate a study of Ybor City. Mayor Nuccio took up the cause after he returned to office. In February 1964, he wrote to the URA urging the completion of a survey and designation of Ybor City as a third urban renewal area. The URA complied with this recommendation, and by November 1964, the federal government had approved the application for a proposed Ybor City urban renewal project.⁴⁸

Officials soon made explicit that the effort would involve the razing of a significant number of homes. When a revised urban renewal plan was submitted to the City Council by the URA in April 1965, Ragsdale told the Council that his agency had originally hoped to rehabilitate many of the homes, but a survey had led to the conclusion that at least ninety percent were beyond repair. He also noted that the proposal expanded the boundaries in the original plan and that many new townhouses and apartments would replace dilapidated housing. In total, the area encompassed 158 acres with 901 buildings. The plan called for the demolition of 708 buildings, with most of the land then being sold for private development. The other 193 structures were expected to be rehabilitated, according to standards established by the Barrio Latino Commission. Most of the commercial buildings were to remain. In the place of the demolished structures, the proposal anticipated the construction of apartments, motels, sidewalk cafes and a needle tower from which one could view Tampa's waterfront.⁴⁹

Dr. Henry Fernandez told the members of the City Council that future residents of Tampa would call them "men of vision." He predicted that a revitalized Latin Quarter would draw to Tampa three million more tourists, equivalent to \$150 million in new industry. Both Mayor Nuccio and Ragsdale agreed that a redeveloped Ybor City would benefit "every citizen in Tampa and Hillsborough County." And Ragsdale emphasized that Ybor City would become a tourist center "second to none" in the nation.⁵⁰

The federal government approved the project by the end of June 1965. This brought the city a grant of \$6.5 million as the federal share of the over \$9 million dollar project. The URA estimated that the first buildings would be demolished by the spring of 1966 and that the projects would be completed in about five years.⁵¹

Many Ybor City businessmen reacted positively to the announcement of the federal grant. Cesar Gonzmart, the owner of the historic Columbia Restaurant, promised to complete a \$150,000 renovation and expansion of his restaurant. He also noted that the grant would lead to the further restoration of at least thirty buildings, at a cost of about \$500,000, in the primary business section of Ybor City. Furthermore, he anticipated that a six-story, \$3.5 million hotel

would be constructed across the street from his restaurant. There was also speculation that an insurance company would build a Latin American center that was envisioned by former Governor Doyle E. Carlton, who served as the president of the Pan American Commission.⁵² The *Tampa Times* enthusiastically praised the project. It asserted that “by 1970 – about the time man lands on the moon – Ybor City will have shed its shabby cocoon and emerged as the beautiful butterfly that it should be.” The paper also claimed that a “revitalized Ybor City will do far more than increase the importance of a single neighborhood – it will add spark and zest to the life and reputation of all Tampa in the Greater Tampa area.”⁵³

As it turned out, the *Times* was more adept at predicting the first flight to the moon than it was at forecasting the revitalization of Ybor City. While demolition proceeded, redevelopment lagged. The major effort to initiate a large-scale development in Ybor involved a group of businessmen, including Cesar Gonzmart, Henry Fernandez and Jim Walter, a close associate of Mayor Greco and head of one of Tampa’s major corporations. Gonzmart presented a plan to the URA in March 1967 for a “walled city” involving several blocks in Ybor City that would include stores catering primarily to tourists. He noted that his group was trying to interest the Spanish government in its development, and also hoped to persuade authorities to allow Portuguese (“bloodless”) bull fighting in the area. The legislature did agree to legalize the bullfighting, but unfortunately, an exhibition held in another city resulted in the bull going out of control and having to be shot by state police, leading to another ban on bullfighting. The proposed development also never came to fruition.⁵⁴

Other efforts met a similar fate. In a meeting with business and civic leaders in June 1967, Ragsdale emphasized that the URA would attempt to initiate development south of Interstate 4, the northern boundary of the urban renewal area. However, some time after this meeting, the assistant director of the URA realized that there they were “going to have some difficulty attracting developers and purchasers back into Ybor City.” Due to this lack of private development in the renewal area, officials began to negotiate by mid-1968 with Hillsborough Community College (HCC) to purchase urban renewal land for another campus for the college. In the early 1970s, fifty-one acres of urban renewal land was sold to HCC, making it the largest land holder in the urban renewal area. In addition, other public facilities were located there, including the County Sheriff’s Office Operations Center.⁵⁵

Despite limited redevelopment in Ybor City, dislocation of residents continued. Many people had been already displaced by Interstate 4, even before the area was approved for an urban renewal project. Then “urban removal,” as it was derisively called, forced more relocation for citizens and businesses in the neighborhood. As early as April 1966, civic leaders associated with a Latin group, the United Civic Organization, met with the URA board to emphasize the problems that elderly Latins were experiencing and to ask about the possibility of providing housing in the area for low-income families who wished to remain there. Citizens also reported to the URA about the problem of insurance companies canceling or not renewing fire protection policies in the project area. Further, small business owners complained that with the loss of residents in the area, their businesses were failing. Ultimately, several Latin professional and business people organized Haciendas de Ybor, Inc., cosponsored by the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce, St. Paul United Methodist Church and Tampa Methodist Settlements. It developed a

ninety-nine unit subsidized apartment complex during 1967-70. This was virtually the only replacement housing provided in the Ybor City renewal area.⁵⁶

Tampa in 1970 looked far different than in 1945, and public authority and expenditures played a crucial role in these changes. The city's boundaries were greatly expanded by the 1953 act of the legislature, and consequently, Tampa's population grew dramatically. The land on the ACL site on the east side of the Hillsborough River changed to uses that were clearly more public-serving than what had existed earlier due to the government's purchase of the land and its development of a convention center and other ventures. The completion of Interstate 4 and Interstate 275, although not the major focus of this article, also played an important role both in razing structures and in enhancing mobility of the population. Ironically, given the planning reports that spoke of the interstate system as potentially contributing to the stimulation of downtown, it clearly had the opposite effect of opening up more possibilities for suburban residential development, which later contributed to commercial development outside the downtown area. Similarly, Tampa's urban renewal projects led to significant displacement of largely lower- and moderate-income African Americans and Latins, as well as their businesses and established institutions.

The public sector did not make decisions independently of influential actors and institutions in the private sector. Much of the changing picture of Tampa during the 1960s reflected the influence of the local elite. Some leading citizens certainly advocated policies that reflected their ideas of the public interest, but decisions were made outside of widespread public debate. This process had clear losers, most significantly those who were deprived of their homes and businesses and who often faced difficulties in relocating. Moreover, the objectives of enhancing the vitality of downtown businesses and of reconstituting Tampa as a tourist center are still largely goals, not accomplishments, decades later.

The author thanks Liz Dunham, Paul W. Danahy and Adam Newmark for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this article. He also acknowledges the assistance of Curtis Welch of the City of Tampa Archives and Shirley Mims, the librarian at the Hillsborough County City-County Planning Commission.

¹ See V.M. Newton, Jr., *Crusade for Democracy* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1961); Gary R. Mormino, "Tampa: From Hell Hole to the Good Life," in *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth Since World War II*, ed. by Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 138-61.

² Several other projects were also initiated outside of the downtown during the 1950s and 1960s, including the University of South Florida and the industrial park in the same vicinity. This article only focuses on the near downtown projects that were associated with urban renewal in the late 1950s and 1960s. For a more general overview of Tampa's politics and policies during this period, as well as later decades, see Mormino, "From Hell Hole to Good Life"; Robert Kerstein, "Growth Politics in Tampa and Hillsborough County: Strains in the Privatistic Regimes," *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 13 (1991), 55-75; and Robert Kerstein, "Suburban Growth in Hillsborough County: Growth Management and Political Regimes," *Social Science Quarterly* (September 1993), 74, 614-30.

³ Minutes of Board of Governors meeting, June 13, 1947, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records, Tampa, Florida. The name of the Chamber of Commerce was changed to the Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce in July 1946. See W. Scott Christopher, *Tampa's People With A Purpose* (Tampa: Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce, 1993), 129.

⁴ *Tampa Daily Times*, July 14, 21, 24, 1947.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 26, August 13, 1947.

⁶ *Ibid.*, August 4, 6, 1947.

⁷ *Tampa Daily Times*, August 2, 6, 1947; Minutes of Board of Governors meeting, June 13, 1947, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records.

⁸ *Tampa Morning Tribune*, September 20, 1952; August 20, 1947, February 23, 1952; Minutes of Board of Governors meeting, October 5, 1951, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records.

⁹ *Tampa Morning Tribune*, September 27, 29, 1952.

¹⁰ *Tampa Daily Times*, October 18, 1952; Minutes of Board of Governors meeting, November 14, 1952, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records; Personal interview with Sam Gibbons, December 15, 1988.

¹¹ *Tampa Tribune*, July 6, 1961.

¹² *Ibid.*, January 5, 1975.

¹³ *Tampa Daily Times*, September 21, 1956; *Tampa Tribune*, September 3, 5, 1959.

¹⁴ *Tampa Tribune*, September 8, 17, 1963.

¹⁵ Hammer and Company Associates, "Hillsborough County Economic Base Report" (prepared for Hillsborough County Planning Commission, Tampa, Florida, December 1961), 243. This segment of the report is a summary of the September 1961 report on Tampa's CBD completed by Hammer and Company Associates.

¹⁶ Minutes of Executive Committee, October 20, 1961, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records; Christopher, *Tampa's People*, 202.

¹⁷ Minutes of Board of Governors, June 24, 1955, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, July 13, 1956.

¹⁹ Christopher, *Tampa's People*, 178.

²⁰ Also on the task force were Joseph Cornelius, G.R. Griffin and H.L. "Dusty" Crowder. Griffin was president of Exchange National Bank, and MacInnes was on its board of directors. Griffin was also on the board of General Telephone Company of Florida. Frankland was the chair of First National Bank. Crowder, who was in the insurance business, was president of the Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce in 1958-59, and MacInnes was the president for 1957-58.

²¹ Christopher, *Tampa's People*, 180; Ewald Associates, "Land Use and Development Atlantic Coast Line Riverfront Site: Final Report for the City of Tampa, Florida, June 1961."

²² Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, November 20, 1959, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records; *Tampa Tribune*, July 5, 1961. Bonds were sold to purchase the land, backed by revenue from the utility tax. See Leland Hawes, "Ex-mayor Recalls Stress, Crises," *Tampa Tribune*, April 5, 1992.

²³ Minutes of Board of Governors, June 12, 1959, and minutes of Executive Committee, March 6, 1959, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records; *Tampa Tribune* July 6, 1961; Christopher, *Tampa's People*, 202-03.

²⁴ *Tampa Tribune*, November 19, 1959; *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, December 30, 1956. This ruling was probably a major reason why the “Scrub” lower-income housing area in Tampa was cleared and replaced by public housing rather than commercial, industrial, or other housing in the early 1950s.

²⁵ Ragsdale owned the A.R. Ragsdale Construction Company in Brandon, an unincorporated eastern suburb of Tampa.

²⁶ Christopher, *Tampa's People*, 193.

²⁷ A survey completed by URA in October 1962 reported that there were 303 families, 70 single-person households and 132 unattached single persons, as well as 60 businesses, in the project area. Minutes of URA meeting, October 29, 1962, City of Tampa Archives.

²⁸ *Tampa Tribune*, May 1, 1959.

²⁹ Hammer and Company Associates, “Re-use and Marketability Study of the Maryland Avenue Urban Renewal Project,” June, 1960, included in Riverfront Urban Renewal, Final Project Report, Part 1, Riverfront Urban Renewal area project Fla R-2, Tampa, report on minority group consideration, code R 215.

³⁰ W.W. Banner, *Cultural and Economic Survey, Tampa, Florida* (New York: National Urban League, 1953); Minutes of Metropolitan Planning Committee, August 22, 1958, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records.

³¹ Maryland Avenue public hearing held at the City Council chambers, May 17, 1962, URA Minutes Book, City of Tampa Archives. The first executive director of URA, Arnold Hicks, announced his resignation in January 1962, effective no later than April 1, and was succeeded by Tom Fox, his assistant since 1960. Minutes of URA board meeting, August 8, 1960, January 29, 1962.

³² Minutes of URA meetings, February 18, March 18, 1963. Demolition of structures in the Maryland Avenue project area began in May 1963. Minutes of URA meeting, May 13, 1963.

³³ Minutes of URA meetings, October 14, 1963, February 8, 1966; Ybor City preliminary redevelopment plan, prepared by Hillsborough County City-County Planning Commission, adopted by City Council April 17, 1980, Ord. No. 74.14A.

³⁴ Minutes of URA meeting, April 1, 1960. The ACL land was initially viewed as part of the urban renewal site, but was later separated from it. Interstate 4 was completed in 1963 and I-275 was finished in 1968. It was estimated that about 2,544 homes were razed for Interstate 4 and about 700 homes were removed to clear the way for I-275. See Dave Nicholson, “Interstate roads helped, but were no magic carpet ride,” *Tampa Tribune*, September 25, 1994.

³⁵ Tampa Urban Renewal, Application for Temporary Loan and Capital Grant, Part II Local Project Approval Data, Riverfront Area Project No. Fla. R-2, URA binder no. 10; Tampa Urban Renewal, Application for Temporary Loan and Capital Grant, Part 1 Final Project Report, Riverfront Area Project No. Fla. R-2, URA, binder no. 9, Par-8, and Relocation Report, located in library of Hillsborough County City-County Planning Commission. Among the institutions demolished was Clara Frye Hospital, the segregated black hospital in Tampa.

³⁶ Tampa Urban Renewal Application for Temporary Loan and Capital Grant, Part 1 Final Project Report, Riverfront Area Project No. Fla. R-2, URA binder no. 9, Relocation Report (Code R 223, RR-7), and Report on Minority Groups Consideration (Code R MGC-1-MGC-6); Hillsborough County Planning Commission, West Riverfront study, 1963, located in the library of the Hillsborough County City-County Planning Commission.

³⁷ Tampa Urban Renewal, Application for Temporary Loan and Capital Grant, Part 1 Final Project Report, Riverfront Area Project No. Fla. R-2, URA, binder No. 9, Report on Minority Group Considerations, Code R 215.

³⁸ *Tampa Tribune*, July 7, 1961; Robert W. Saunders, “A Synopsis of the Civil Rights Struggle in Tampa and the Role of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,” *The Sunland Tribune*, 17 (1991), 51-61.

³⁹ Minutes of Board of Governors, May 11, 1962, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records.

⁴⁰ *Tampa Tribune*, November 8, 1967, January 11, 1969.

⁴¹ Telephone interview of Gloria McMillan, Presbyterian Village apartment manager, February 11, 1997; telephone interview of Paul Smith Jr., February 11, 1997. Paul Smith, Sr. was president of the Chamber of Commerce in 1959-60. Christopher, *Tampa's People*, 419.

⁴² *Tampa Times*, January 2, 1965; Minutes of Executive Committee, October 1, 1965, Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Records.

⁴³ *Tampa Tribune*, November 22, December 2, 1967; Minutes of URA board meeting November 21, 1967, September 2, 1969.

⁴⁴ "Tony Pizzo's Ybor City: An Interview with Tony Pizzo," *Tampa Bay History*, 16 (Spring/Summer 1994), 22-39; Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 297-316; *Tampa Tribune*, September 13, 1977. During the 1950s, Ybor City's black population increased by about 38 percent. *Tampa Tribune*, May 13, 1979.

⁴⁵ George W. Simons, Jr., Report on the City Plan of Tampa, Florida, 1951, located in library of the Hillsborough County City-County Planning Commission.

⁴⁶ *Tampa Tribune*, November 28, 1956.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, September 14, 1960, July 30, 1962.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, July 31 1962; minutes of URA board meetings, September 10, 1962, February 17, November 2, 1964.

⁴⁹ *Tampa Tribune*, June 2, 1965.

⁵⁰ *Tampa Times*, June 1, 1965; June 2, 1965.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, June 29, 1965.

⁵² *Tampa Tribune*, June 30, 1965.

⁵³ *Tampa Times*, February 10, 1966.

⁵⁴ Minutes of URA board meeting, March 15, 1968; Mormino, "From Hell Hole to the Good Life," 158-60.

⁵⁵ *Tampa Times*, June 28, 1967; *Tampa Tribune*, May 13, 1979 (quote); minutes of URA board meeting, July 16, 1968; Ybor City preliminary redevelopment plan, prepared by Hillsborough County City-County Planning Commission, adopted by Tampa City Council, April 17, 1980, Ord. No. 74-14A.

⁵⁶ Minutes of URA board meetings, April 19, September 27, 1966, August 20, 1968; Ybor City preliminary redevelopment plan, prepared by Hillsborough County City-County Planning Commission, adopted by Tampa City Council, April 17, 1980, Ord. No. 7414A.