## Flamboyant Floranada:

## BROWARD'S UNIQUE BOOM-ERA DEVELOPMENT

by PAUL S. GEORGE

The great land boom that swept across Florida in the mid-1920s reached its zenith on the state's "Gold Coast," a seventy-mile stretch of subtropical coastline lying between Palm Beach and Miami. In the region's population centers, this speculative period carried real estate development and tourism to new and dizzying heights. Even tiny, rural Oakland Park, nestled along the Dixie Highway and the Florida East Coast Railway between Fort Lauderdale and Pompano, felt reverberations from the boom. Even in the boom's nascent stages, the Barkdull Investment Company of Miami sold lots in its residential subdivision, the Southeast Packing Company enlarged its busy slaughterhouse and packing plant, and Screen Talent Studios announced plans to develop a movie studio and "Greenwich type" village for "motion picture people" in the vicinity. These activities, however, were only a prelude to Oakland Park's greatest boomtime phenomenon, the fabulous City of Floranada.1

The boom was the result of several factors. In the 1920s, the nation experienced widespread prosperity, witnessed significant transportation and technological developments, embraced consumerism, pursued leisure activities with great zest, and indulged in an orgy of financial speculation. Amid an atmosphere of

optimism over the nation's future, many Americans became convinced that a modicum of money invested in the right commodity would bring wealth to its investor.

For a variety of reasons, Florida real estate was among the most alluring investments, especially land in the sundrenched southeastern sector of the state. The automobile, a common mode of transportation by the 1920s, brought Florida closer to the populous northeastern and midwestern United States. To facilitate the passage of cars through the state, Florida accelerated a road building program instituted in the previous decade.2 The state also abolished inheritance and income taxes in this era. Communities in south Florida and elsewhere engaged in lavish-and effective-promotional campaigns. Accounts of persons who had become wealthy overnight in Florida real estate ventures circulated throughout the country. Their stories of "instant wealth" made it appear that "profit waited for the taking, and Florida in a very real sense was a modern, latter day gold rush."3

As reports spread of phenomenal profits in Florida real estate, large numbers of speculators poured into south Florida. By the mid-1920s, the price of land had spiraled to unheard-of heights. M.A. Hortt, a prominent Fort Lauderdale realtor, recalled that two lots that sold for \$6,000 at the beginning of 1925 commanded a price of \$150,000 by the summer of the same year. An estimated 6,000 licensed real estate operators stalked the streets of Fort Lauderdale and the surrounding area in 1925, while other, untold thousands worked without the benefit of licenses. Hundreds of new subdivisions, ranging from tiny developments encompassing just a few blocks to large, incorporated communities like Coral Gables and Hollywood, rose quickly in the piney woods and subtropical wilderness.

Although the boom had ended by 1926, for reasons that will be explained later in this article, it left behind a rich legacy. During that era, many of the new communities exhibited the striking Spanish Eclectic or Mediterranean Revival architectural motif. Elements of this style included arched entry ways, quaint courtyards, loggias, balconies, and barrel tile roofs. The area's permanent population increased significantly. Growing cities like Miami quickly became metropolitan centers, while smaller communities were also transformed in a variety of ways. Nowhere was this last point more evident than in the experience of Oakland Park, which metamorphosed from a small farming community into a component of Floranada, one of the boom's most flamintoxicating drinks, and provisions for the disposal of "human excrement within city limits." A segment of this last ordinance declared "open privies a nuisance." Another ordinance addressed itself to "providing for and preserving peace, preventing conflict and ill feeling between white and colored races and promoting general welfare of the city by providing for the use of separate blocks by white and colored people for residences and for other purposes." The community contained a small black farming element, and segregation or the color line was the order of the day throughout the South. 12

A hybrid term referring presumably to Florida and Canada, Floranada was the creation, in the words of one observer, of a "group of blue blooded socialites from the cream of New York and Philadelphia society along with members of nobility

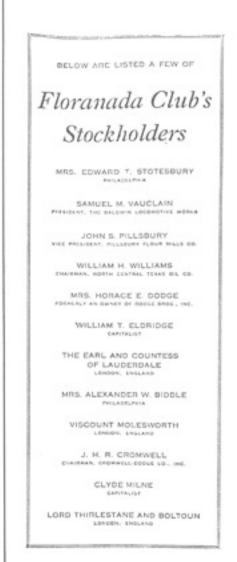
and even royalty." Many of these socialites spent their winters in Palm Beach. In 1925, they organized the American-British Improvement Corporation to develop the Floranada Club, an exclusive development on a vast expanse of land bordering the Atlantic Ocean between Fort Lauderdale and Pompano. Directors of the American-British Improvement Corporation included the Earl and Countess of Lauderdale, who resided in London, Scotland and Palm Beach; Mrs. Horace E. Dodge, formerly an owner of Dodge Brothers, Inc., Detroit; Mrs. Edward T. Stotesbury, a Philadelphia socialite whose wealth emanated from her stake in the Drexel Investment Company and other interests; Lord Thirlestane of London; George II, the deposed King of Greece; Samuel M. Vauclain, president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works; Mrs. Alexan-

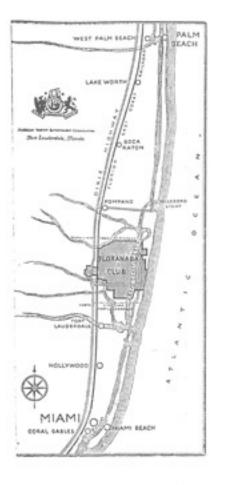


Gwendolyn Maitland, Countess of Lauderdale (courtesy of Fort Lauderdale Historical Society).

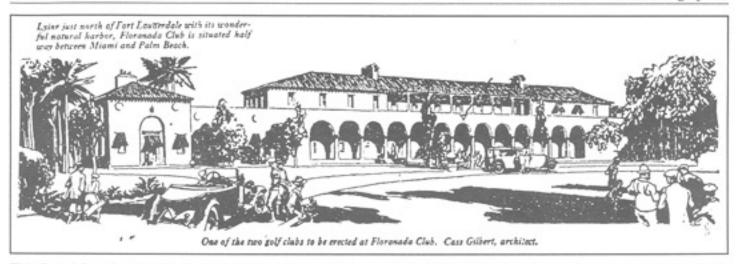
der W. Biddle, a member of one of Philadelphia's most prominent families; John S. Pillsbury, vice president of the Pillsbury Flour Mills Company; William H. Williams, chairman of the North Central Texas Oil Company; the Viscount Molesworth of London; and J.H.R. Cromwell, chairman of the Cromwell-Dodge Company. The corporation maintained offices in downtown Fort Lauderdale and on Park Avenue in New York City. 13

For the Countess Gwendolyn of Lauderdale, the Floranada Club was the culmination of a decades-old dream. She had discovered the area where the development would lie while on a yachting outing in the early 1900s. Upon hearing that the settlement of Fort Lauderdale bore her family name, she thought that her informants "must be joking. Perhaps my original enthusiasm was heightened when I discovered that it was a great, great uncle of my husband who, building a little fort to fight off the Indians had named it for his grandfather, the Seventh Earl of Lauderdale."14 The Countess's claim is unsupported by historical fact. Nevertheless, she held that "that bit of Florida has remained the most wonderful place I know.\*15 From such impressions, the American-British Improvement Corporation and the Floranada Club were born. For the Countess and the other directors of the company, the Floranada





List of stockholders and location map from a Floranada Club sales brochure (courtesy of Oakland Park Historical Society).



This Spanish-style golf club building, designed by noted New York architect Cass Gilbert, was one of several

projected Floranada structures which were never built (courtesy of Oakland Park Historical Society).

Club represented a new resort community which would also be extremely profitable—since everyone seemed to be realizing fortunes in Florida's overheated real estate market.

If Fort Lauderdale of an earlier era was the muse for the Floranada Club, the financial largesse of Mmes. Dodge and Stotesbury, and the aggressive personality of James H.R. Cromwell were the elements that made it a reality. Cromwell was the step-son of E.T. Stotesbury of Drexel Investment Company and the sonin-law of Mrs. Horace Dodge. In 1923, Mrs. Dodge had sold the Dodge Motor Company for \$146,000,000 in cash. Cromwell became the president of the Floranada Club and the facilitator for its development. 18

The core of the development was 3,600 acres of prime oceanfront land that the American-British Improvement Company acquired in 1925 from Chicago attorney and Broward land baron Arthur T. Galt. Galt's father had practiced law with Hugh Taylor Birch, one of Fort Lauderdale's

pioneer citizens and a recluse among his hundreds of acres of tropical splendor on the beach just east of Fort Lauderdale. Galt had purchased the land, located northeast of Oakland Park and adjoining Birch's property, in the early 1900s. The tract included three-quarters of a mile of oceanfront land and three and one-half miles on the west side of the Intracoastal Waterway reaching from today's Commercial Boulevard to the north fork of the Middle River. The property stretched west to the railroad tracks and included a tiny portion of land, in the vicinity of today's Oakland Park Boulevard, which extended a few blocks west of the tracks. This exclusive area comprised the Floranada Club, described as a "city within a city." Galt sold the property to the American-British Improvement Company for eight million dollars, with a downpayment of one million dollars.17

The Countess of Lauderdale and other principals in the organization planned "the Biarritz of America" with a subtropical flair on this large scenic tract. The Floranada Club would consist of exclusive residences built on lots ranging in price from \$4,500 to \$7,500, which represented steep prices even by the inflated standards of the boom. The Floranada Club sought "those people who appreciate the value of owning a home safeguarded by proper restrictions." Owners of property in this section would command access to the Floranada Clubhouse and Resort, an eighteen-hole golf course, yacht club, and Roman baths.

Drawing on the considerable wealth of its principal investors, the Floranada Club had, by late 1925, begun platting lots and preparing the construction of several signal structures, including a large, elaborate administration building that would also serve as city hall. The Spanish-styled structure contained mahogany doors and imported marble floors under a cathedral-domed, two-story main roof.<sup>19</sup>

Developers also planned twenty miles of roadways, including the sixty-foot wide Floranada Road, which would feature a canal meandering through its center. The scenic road would sweep through the middle of the Floranada Club. Developers also planned a spectacular widening of the Dixie Highway to 144 feet in the vicinity of the Floranada Clubhouse and Resort. Additional broad streets and superior electric and water supply systems were also planned.<sup>20</sup>

Prime homesites would arise on both sides of the Florida East Coast Canal. These sites were covered by a thick, subtropical forest. To maintain the rustic ambiance of the proposed homesites, developers assured investors that "Every possible means is being devised to spare the trees."<sup>21</sup>

In December 1925, the American-



Floranada's huge, ornate hotel also never progressed beyond the planning stage (courtesy Oakland Park Historical Society).

British Improvement Corporation commenced a survey of the area comprising the Floranada Club. The developers denied rumors that only large tracts of land would be sold. Instead, lots of all sizes would be placed on the market. That same month, two ships chartered by the developer arrived on the New River with construction materials, as well as a large number of portable homes for company executives. The homes were destined to reside on the beach until they were replaced by a permanent building.<sup>22</sup>

Floranada was clearly a bifurcated community, a hybrid of two distinct elements. The older farming community of Oakland Park, which had been absorbed by the new city, contained a few hundred small farmers and their families living in modest quarters. By contrast, the Floranada Club, the city's other principal component, was designed as an upscale community for wealthy, high society residents, under the direction of society types. The contrast here could hardly have been greater. This division was reflected in the names of institutions, some of which were prefaced by "Oakland Park," others by "Floranada." The division further manifested itself in the composition of the new city's government, whose ranks were filled almost exclusively by principals of the American-British Improvement Corporation, which reportedly matched them with their offices before incorporation.23

Nevertheless, the City of Floranada's institutional development received a significant boost from the fact that many of its institutions had begun at an earlier time with the community of Oakland Park. By the beginning of 1926, Oakland Park Elementary School was operating from new quarters in a beautiful Spanish-styled building. The school had opened the previous September in a group of cottages on the property which subsequently hosted the new complex. The new school building contained six classrooms for grades one through six. Two hundred children enrolled in the new school in 1926. Parents of students created a Parents-Teachers Association, which grew quickly, containing eighty-five members by February 1926. Two months later, Oakland Park residents organized a Methodist Episcopal congregation. The edifice for the Oakland Park Methodist Episcopal Church consisted of a wood frame constructed at an estimated cost of \$2,000. A large number of volunteers, working long hours, built the church in just four days.24

While new institutions continued to appear, Floranada moved quickly to increase its size through the annexation of Lauderdale-by-the-Sea, another boom-era



Oakland Park Elementary School, constructed in 1926 and currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places (courtesy of Oakland Park Historical Society).

community lying just north of it, and tiny Pelham, a settlement that spread over a three block area between the Dixie Highway and the railroad tracks. By April 1926, Floranada possessed a new, improved water supply system through an arrangement with the developers of the Floranada Club. Improved lighting was another advance accompanying the creation of Floranada. By May 1926, twenty miles of roadways were under construction. Most spectacular of the road building projects was the aforementioned widening of the Dixie Highway through the Floranada Clubhouse and Resort. By this time, the county had also constructed a bridge across the Florida East Coast Canal at today's Oakland Park Boulevard.25

Accompanying these accomplishments, however, were serious financial problems because the boom, at the time of Floranada's incorporation, was already beginning to dissipate, bringing a sharp decline in property values throughout south Florida and elsewhere in the state. In the meantime, lavish spending by the American-British Improvement Corporation caused its debt to spiral. Generous support from major investors enabled the corporation's president and chief executive officer, James Cromwell, to continue spending and building in the spring of 1926, when the boom was ebbing. According to one journalistic account, Cromwell, who also served as the first mayor of Floranada, received the nickname "Carryon" from south Florida developers because he "has proved his serene faith in Florida, and the particular development in which he is interested by adding to the working forces which are rushing operations at Floranada to completion."26

Cromwell even oversaw completion of the new administration building of the Floranada Club in March 1926. This milestone allowed Floranada government officials to move their offices from the Broward Hotel in downtown Fort Lauderdale to Floranada. At the same time, work on the eighteen hole golf course was nearing completion, and Floranada was awaiting the imminent opening of a post office. With the large, main cable already on the ground, telephone service was expected to commence shortly, too. However, few other projects, including several elaborate buildings, ever made it off of the drawing board.

By the middle of 1926, the great Florida land boom was over, the victim of several setbacks beginning in the previous year. In June 1925, Federal Bureau of Internal Revenue agents had begun examining the profits of south Florida real estate speculators. Later, the bureau ruled that the entire amount of the purchase price for real estate had to be reported as income. This ruling posed serious problems for speculators who could realize on paper huge profits from sales, but who were lucky to receive twenty or twenty-five percent of the sale price in cash. Accordingly, "many a paper millionaire began to squirm and cut back on free

wheeling ventures," causing a slowdown in real estate activity.<sup>28</sup>

Unable to handle the accumulating mass of building supplies earmarked for southeast Florida, the Florida East Coast Railway, on August 17, 1925, declared an embargo on the shipment of all freight arriving in carload lots. Later, the embargo was expanded to include smaller quantities of freight, and all commodities except foodstuffs. The embargo was not lifted until the spring of 1926.29

The embargo spelled trouble for building contractors and developers, who shared the sentiments of one Fort Lauderdale contractor who announced in late August that if the "embargo does not let up in a week, we shall be forced to stop our work. 500 To maintain an adequate supply of building materials, many developers, such as the American-British Improvement Corporation, turned increasingly toward water transportation. However, this avenue of supply, which utilized both New River Sound (a portion of today's Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway lying immediately south of the Las Olas Boulevard bridge) and the New River, was unable to provide enough materials to meet the demand. The shortage of building supplies crippled the boom because without the continued construction of new buildings, a collapse



James H.R. Cromwell of Palm Beach, Floranada Club president and mayor of Floranada (courtesy of Historical Society of Palm Beach County).

of boomtime speculative prices was assured.31

The dearth of housing, especially in low cost units, discouraged laborers, a precious commodity in the boom, from moving to Fort Lauderdale, thereby contributing to a labor shortage that became another factor in the construction slowdown. The housing shortage also led to rent profiteering, and a wave of bad publicity that dampened the desire of many investors to visit Floranada and other developments, and caused others to leave. Complaints over high prices extended to many commodities and services.<sup>32</sup>

State and institutional assaults also weakened the boom. The State of Ohio passed "blue sky" laws in 1925 that forbade certain firms from selling Florida real estate there.

Stung by the loss of large amounts of money from their deposits by Floridabound speculators, banks in the Buckeye State warned against Florida's risky real estate market. Because of numerous allegations of fraudulent land promotions in south Florida, the National Better Business Bureau, with help from its Florida chapters, commenced a comprehensive investigation. Some of the charges proved valid. The attendant publicity caused many prospective investors to hesitate. Others paused because of stock market declines in early 1926. By the spring of that year buyers were no longer plentiful. Many of the real estate offices along Andrews Avenue in Fort Lauderdale, Flagler Street in Miami, and elsewhere had closed or were nearly empty. Paper profits on real estate transactions were lost when people began to default on their payments. The spring and summer of 1926 witnessed a mass exodus of speculators. The boom was over.33

The end for the American-British Improvement Corporation came in May 1926, when it filed for bankruptcy in a federal court in Jacksonville, listing its assets at \$2.5 million, and its liabilities at nearly \$8.6 million. The American-British Improvement Corporation had incurred massive debt from its elaborate development activities, while selling few lots to relieve its financial burden. After examining its ledger and assessing Floranada's future prospects in the spring of 1926, the company's investors decided to suspend operations before incurring additional losses. For James Cromwell, the company's guiding spirit, the decision was especially painful. Cromwell believed strongly in the eventual success of Floranada, and he had maintained a frenzied spending and construction program up to the time that the company declared itself insolvent.34

In light of the bankruptcy news, J. Dewey Hawkins, Oakland Park farmer and the lone Floranada city commissioner who was not a member of the developers' group, declared that the company's demise would not hinder the operations of the city government. However, the city government would have to be reorganized, since several members of the city commission were also officials of the bankrupt company and were expected to resign their offices. The American-British Improvement Corporation had failed to pay Arthur Galt beyond the initial down-payment of one million dollars; accordingly, the improved property was returned to Galt. However, the company, in an unprecedented gesture toward its investors, instructed its attorneys to comb the area in an effort to locate every investor; each of those located was reimbursed for the total amount of his investment.35

As Commissioner Dewey Hawkins had predicted, Floranada's government was reorganized in the summer of 1926, following the resignations of its mayor, two commissioners, and treasurer. The new government included Hawkins, who now became mayor. A native of northern Florida, Hawkins had come to Oakland Park at age twenty-two in 1922 to farm. Possessor of unusual qualities of leadership, he served first as mayor of Floranada and then as the top elected official of Oakland Park for more than a quarter of a century.<sup>36</sup>

Hawkins and other members of the new city government declared bravely but naively—that Floranada would continue with its development plans despite the insolvency of the American-British Improvement Corporation. Efforts were soon underway to organize a refinancing scheme for Floranada. In the meantime, several more city officials resigned. The political upheaval even affected the tiny police force, where three men held the office of chief of police during 1926.<sup>37</sup>

Despite the community's financial problems, life seemingly changed little for the majority of residents, who continued to farm. New institutions appeared, including a Floranada Chamber of Commerce; the Miami Herald instituted home deliveries; the chief of police waged war on speeders along the Dixie Highway with assistance from the city commission, which ordered two large signs posted at the northern and southern limits of the city to warn travelers to stay within the speed limit of twenty-five miles per hour. 38

New residents continued to arrive. Eileen Hall came to Floranada from Michigan in July 1926. "Mosquitoes had in-



Dewey Hawkins, Floranada city commissioner and first mayor of the City of Oakland Park.

vaded our house during the weeks that it was vacant," she recalled. "The beds were draped with mosquito netting, but the little pests had found their way under that cover ... our parents fought mosquitoes all night." Mrs. Hall also remembered that "Kerosene lamps and stoves were accepted in a pioneering spirit by all of us who had been used to electricity and natural gas and roaring coal furnaces in the north." Eileen Hall's family was "captivated by the sunny skies, the whispering palms, the brilliant blossoms, the Atlantic-washed beaches...We had the breeze from the Gulf Stream," she remembered, "pines and palms...a tropical moon at night."39

In the aftermath of a mighty hurricane that brought devastation to Oakland Park and much of south Florida, including the destruction of Mrs. Hall's family's home, financial conditions worsened, and Florida fell into an economic depression three years before the rest of the nation. Floranada retrenched in light of worsening economic conditions. In April 1927, the municipality voted to replace its city charter, which was considered irrelevant since it was a creature of the boom era with its lofty expectations.

Despite the continuing economic downturn, some improvements occurred. The Oakland Park Elementary School received a splendid 500-seat auditorium in 1927. In the meantime, the city prepared to construct a new city hall, commissioning Francis Abreu, a prominent Fort Lauderdale architect, to design the structure. However, deteriorating economic condi-

tions prevented the construction of the building.41

In the spring of 1929, the citizenry initiated the process that would lead to the dissolution of Floranada by demanding, first, sweeping changes in the city charter, and, ultimately, its abolition. They argued that such actions were necessary because Floranada was now a small agricultural hamlet, and it was disadvantageous to its taxpayers to continue to support an infrastructure totally out of alignment with the settlement's actual size and focus. Residents complained that they were paying taxes for which they received no benefit aside from street light-

ing along the Dixie Highway. The state legislature responded to these entreaties by enacting a law for "the abolition of the municipal government of the city of Floranada." This legislation also provided for the creation of the municipality of Oakland Park with sharply reduced boundaries, if the electorate agreed to it. The core of the new municipality would stand near the F.E.C. railroad tracks and today's Northeast Thirty-fifth Street, which represented the center of the early farming community of Oakland Park. 43

In May 1929, Mayor Dewey Hawkins called a citizens meeting to be held at Oakland Park Elementary School to dis-



This 1947 aerial photo shows the intersection of Floranada Road and Federal Highway at upper right, with Floranada's abandoned streets radiating outward. At bottom right is the Floranada golf course, later the site of Coral Ridge Country Club, and at bottom left is Oakland Park.

cuss the recent developments affecting the municipality. Participants scheduled a vote for June 18 at the school to decide if they wished to abolish the City of Floranada. If a majority favored this course, another election would be held on the following day to determine if Oakland Park should be incorporated as a municipality to replace Floranada. However, if the electorate decided to retain Floranada, the incumbent city officials would remain in office until the next regularly scheduled elections, and the city would cancel the vote on the following day. 44

On June 18, 1929, the electorate, voting at the elementary school, abolished Floranada. The following day, they adopted a new charter creating the City of Oakland Park, and elected new government officials. The new municipality also assumed Floranada's debts. While Floranada's debts.

nada had consisted of twelve square miles, newly-incorporated Oakland Park contained just three-quarters of one square mile.

Less than two weeks later, on July 1, 1929, the City of Floranada officially passed out of existence. Soon after, the old and new city councils met to clear up all outstanding business related to the change of administration. At the meeting, the outgoing city council turned over to the incoming lawmakers the defunct municipality's records, property, and monies, along with its seal.<sup>45</sup>

Thus the City of Floranada disappeared from the map of Broward County. In succeeding years, its broad avenues, bereft of traffic and overgrown with weeds and brush, and its large, deteriorating administration building stood in silent testimony to one of the most colorful and bizarre chapters in the county's history. Although even these reminders were obliterated by the explosion of development which followed World War II, Floranada's name lives on in a road, a school, and several businesses in Oakland Park. In reincorporating their community as the City of Oakland Park, citizens of the area returned to their agricultural roots-roots which most had never left, since their rural community had continued to flourish alongside the American-British Improvement Corporation's abortive dream of a luxurious playground for captains of industry, socialites, and European nobility. At the same time, they lay the groundwork for a less flamboyant, but more enduring, municipality, one which has experienced over sixty years of existence, and looks confidently toward the twentyfirst century.

## **Endnotes**

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Oakland Park scene from the late 1920s.

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## Announcement of Awards Presented by the Florida Historical Society

The Florida Historical Society annually awards three literary prizes for original work done in Florida history. The awards for 1992 were announced at the annual meeting held in St. Augustine on May 7-9, 1992.

The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History was awarded to Dr. James M. Denham of Florida Southern College for his article, "Some Prefer the Seminoles: Violence and Disorder Among Soldiers and Settlers in the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," which appeared in the April 1992 issue of the Florida Historical Quarterly.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award went to Canter Brown, Jr., Gainesville, Florida, for his book Florida's Peace River Frontier, published by University Presses of Florida.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was presented to Dr. Maurice O'Sullivan and Dr. Jack C. Lane (Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida) for their book, *The Florida Reader:* Visions of Paradise from 1530 to the Present. Their book was published by Pineapple Press, Inc. The Florida Historical Society also recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by graduate and undergraduate students. The LeRoy Collins Prize went to James Schnur, a graduate student at the University of South Florida, for his paper, "Persevering on the Home Front: Blacks in Florida During World War II." The winner of the Caroline Mays Brevard Prize was Elinore Kimmel, an undergraduate student at University of South Florida, St. Petersburg Campus, for her paper, "Hillsborough County School Desegregation: Busing and Black High Schools in Tampa, Florida, April-September 1971."

The Society awarded nine Golden Quill Awards, which are given for outstanding media participation relating to Florida history. The recipients are: Hampton Dunn and Jim Hooper, WTVT-13; David Beaty, WINK-TV; Karen Lee, WUFT-TV; Adrienne Moore, Indian River Community College; Shoshana Edelberg, WUSF Radio; James C. Clark, Orlando Sentinel; Patrick Manteiga, La Gaceta; Bob Knotts and Michael Young, Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel; Leland Hawes, Tampa Tribune.