
Philip and Morris Dzialynski: Jewish Contributions to the Rebuilding of the South

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"What can we not say of Morris Dzialynski?" asked Rabbi Pizer Jacobs of Congregation Ahavath Chesed in Jacksonville, Florida, as he began his eulogy. As the rabbi spoke, on May 8, 1907, a "steady down pour of rain" fell, and, according to report, "those who could not find room in the Temple took refuge in the piazzas of the neighboring houses." Inside the synagogue "the whole people of the city were represented." Proclaimed the town's principal newspaper, "Never before has there been such general expression of sorrow and regret over the death of any person."¹

As had proved to be the case with other members of his family—particularly his elder brother, Philip—Morris Dzialynski, over a lifetime of service, had earned the respect of his fellow citizens while endeavoring against difficult odds to build a life of security and comfort for his loved ones. "He came a boy to this country," recalled Rabbi Jacobs of Jacksonville's late mayor and municipal judge, "and though starting from a very humble beginning, he ascended, step by step, from the healthy work of nature's fields to the lofty position of city magistrate." He continued: "Like many noble men his character was a gradual progression through bitter experience. He showed he had the making of a noble character."²

The story of Morris and Philip Dzialynski, and of their family, is a fascinating study of lives founded in an honorable pursuit of the American Dream. It reflects, as well, the history of hundreds, if not thousands, of Jewish immigrants to the United States in the aftermath of the European revolutions of 1848.³ Perhaps more importantly, the Dzialynskis are significant for typifying those individuals of initiative and character who helped revive the economic, cultural, political, and religious life of the South in the aftermath of the Civil War. The study of the role of Jewish men and women during the Reconstruction is

still in its infancy. One aspect of this question which deserves special attention is the part played by Jewish businessmen in the development of Southern communities.⁴ The importance of the point lies not only in an interest in Jewish history, but also in a broader interest in understanding how the South was able, economically and socially, to struggle to its feet as well as it did, even when the reality of its recovery was such as to place it at a distinct disadvantage to the rest of the country.

A principal element in the dynamics of the post-Civil War Southern economy was the creation and growth of numerous small towns and villages. The large-scale plantation economy was in ruins, as was the factorage system by which the plantations had been supplied with goods and supplies. Instead, wholesale merchants operating out of larger commercial centers came to service general stores located, eventually, "at almost every crossroad in the South."⁵ Many individuals at both ends of this new system of mercantile organization, including Philip and Morris Dzialynski, were Jews. Thus, an understanding of the lives and experiences of the Dzialynski brothers may provide a broader insight into this important facet of Southern history.

The Brothers Settle in Florida

Philip and Morris Dzialynski were born in Prussian Poland, the sons of Abraham Samuel and Rachin Dzialynski. Philip's birth was on June 15, 1833, at Posen. Morris's followed on July 14, 1841.⁶ The family included three other brothers, John, Jacob, and Henry, and four sisters, Dora, Hannah, Helena, and Augusta.⁷ Little is known of their early years in Prussia, save for a single sentence of reminiscence by Philip's eldest son. "Philip D.," George I. P. Dzialynski wrote, "fought in the Polish Rev. in '48 with Jacobi and Schultz."⁸ After the revolt, perhaps because he had participated on the losing side, fifteen-year-old Philip emigrated from Prussia and settled in New York. In 1853 he sent for the remainder of the family.⁹

George Dzialynski recalled that the family's crossing of the Atlantic took fifty-seven days.¹⁰ Rachin died within three months of landing in New York, perhaps from the rigors of the crossing. Almost immediately thereafter Abraham moved the family to Jacksonville,

Florida.¹¹ It may be that Philip had visited the area previously "as a peddler."¹²

Jacksonville in 1853 was not far removed from being a frontier town. Its population was around 1,500, a figure which was diminished somewhat that year by an outbreak of smallpox. Still, the community was one of the state's larger towns, and optimism about its future was in the air. The recent erection of several steam-powered sawmills had spurred the growth of the lumber industry, and efforts were in hand to develop the town's potential as a port through railroad construction.¹³

In Jacksonville the younger Dzialynski children, including Morris, attended the town's common schools, while Philip and his father supported the family, likely by peddling.¹⁴ On August 11, 1856, Philip married fellow Prussian emigre Ida Ehrlick at nearby Suwannee Shoals, a trading center on the Suwannee River, and in their Jacksonville home on June 8 of the following year a son, George, was born.¹⁵ A daughter, Regina or "Jennie," followed within two years.¹⁶ Sisters Hannah, Helena, and Dora also married during the family's early years in Jacksonville, if not earlier.¹⁷ Tragedy struck, however, in the fall of 1857, when an outbreak of yellow fever took the lives of father Abraham and brothers Jacob and Henry. Theirs were among the first burials in Jacksonville's Old Jewish Cemetery, believed to be the first Jewish cemetery in Florida.¹⁸

Philip in Madison

In 1860 Jacksonville's long-awaited rail connection with the interior of the state became a reality. This opened up the opportunity for Philip Dzialynski, whose fortunes had begun to rebound, to establish himself as a businessman.¹⁹ He moved the family to Madison, which was part of Middle Florida's plantation belt. By the time the first train arrived there on July 4, 1860, Philip had opened a general merchandise store.²⁰

Dzialynski had little time to establish himself in Madison, for within a few months the presidential election of 1860 had taken place, and in its aftermath secessionist sentiments raged in the South. In few places were they more intensely felt than in plantation-dominated

Madison County. When news of Florida's secession reached the town in January 1861, the reaction was one of joy. One local woman explained: "This place was settled by natives of South Carolina, and no doubt we imbibed our fire eating propensities from that State. We believed in the doctrines of John C. Calhoun."²¹

The people of Madison quickly set about organizing Confederate volunteer companies. One was Company G of the Third Florida Infantry, known as the Madison Gray Eagles. Among the first to enlist in its ranks was twenty-year-old Morris Dzialynski.²² By the summer of 1862 the unit had been ordered north to join the Army of Tennessee.²³

Philip remained in Madison to support the family and tend to his mercantile business. Wartime life was not without its opportunities. As one local historian put it, "Madison County's job was to provide supplies for the fighting men, and to be a refugee center for those who fled areas taken over by the Union Army, such as Fernandina, Jacksonville and St. Augustine."²⁴ The town became a Confederate commissary center, and Dzialynski did not fail to capitalize on the commercial possibilities thus afforded.²⁵

Madison escaped direct armed conflict during the war. It served, however, as a staging point for Confederate efforts to eliminate bands of deserters and Union sympathizers in nearby Taylor and Levy counties. The greatest threat to the town came from the ill-fated Union initiative in February 1864 which culminated in the Battle of Olustee. Even then the Union forces were repelled at a point over 70 miles to the east.²⁶

Though Madison escaped military threat, Philip found himself assailed by personal tragedy. On January 16 his wife, Ida, died while giving birth to a son, Rudolph.²⁷ Shortly thereafter he relocated the family, including his own three children and siblings John and Augusta, to Savannah.²⁸ From all indications, the five or so years he spent there were at once the most painful and the most fulfilling of his life.

Before examining the Dzialynski family's life in Savannah, one additional point should be considered about their wartime experiences in Madison. No specific evidence is available as to why Philip moved the family. The reason may have been a better business oppor-

tunity or a desire to provide for his children through an early remarriage. It may, however, have been the result of anti-Semitism.

As Bertram Wallace Korn has described, the Civil War unleashed intense prejudice in certain areas of the South, some Southerners finding in Jews the perfect scapegoats for Southern reverses on the battlefield. One such incident occurred at Thomasville, Georgia, which lies some 40 miles northwest of Madison. There, on August 30, 1862, local citizens denounced the "unpatriotic conduct" of "German Jews" and banished them from the town. It also was reported that "denunciations of Jewish merchants were frequent in the area, and that the habit had spread from town to town throughout the state."²⁹ Unfortunately, since most Florida newspapers of the era have not survived, there is no solid evidence that the anti-Semitic spirit spread to Madison. It may be significant, though, that the principal objections raised against the Thomasville action were voiced at a public meeting held in Savannah.³⁰

Philip in Savannah

Philip entered into a business partnership in Savannah with a young Prussian emigre, Julius Slager. Their dry goods store was located at 70 St. Julian Street, and when the partnership was dissolved in February 1866, Philip continued to operate from "the old stand."³¹ In the early postwar era Savannah enjoyed a commercial revival, and Philip was able to benefit from it.³² Within two years he was operating as a "commission merchant" for all of southern Georgia and northern Florida and had established branch offices in Madison and in Quitman, Georgia.³³

In Savannah Philip also established a new family. On May 28, 1865, he married Prussian-born Mary Cohen.³⁴ Their first child, a daughter they named Esther, was born in April 1866. Sadly, the infant passed away in December of the following year, compounding the March 1865 loss of Philip's infant son, Rudolph.³⁵

The anguish experienced by Philip over the children's deaths must have blunted the happiness he felt at the same time for other events in his life. George Dzialynski remembered his father as a "Hebrew scholar," and during the Savannah years Philip, for the only time in

his adult life, was able fully to pursue his interest in and love for Jewish culture and religion.³⁶ He assumed, for example, a leadership role in the affairs of Savannah's B'nai Berith Jacob Congregation.³⁷ In May 1866 he participated in the solicitation of bids for the design and construction of the congregation's synagogue.³⁸ When it was consecrated he served as a "special marshal" for the ceremonies.³⁹ He also acted as the congregation's representative in the organization of the Savannah Hebrew Collegiate Institute, and when it was opened in November 1867 he served on its first permanent council.⁴⁰ This love for his Jewish heritage and for education was to reassert itself later in Philip's life—and under far less refined circumstances.

Morris at War and in Jacksonville

Philip's pride in his Jewishness was shared by his brother Morris, although some time passed before Morris could act upon it. In his first battle as a Confederate soldier, at Perryville, Kentucky, Morris was wounded severely. After a period of convalescence he fought at Murphreesboro, "but his wound unfitted him to remain in the field, and he was detailed in the blockade running service between Indian River [Florida] and Nassau."⁴¹ Florida's Confederate cavalry hero, J. J. Dickson, claimed that Morris made "five [blockade running] trips successfully before the end of the war."⁴² However, a separate account written about the same time noted, "The particular attempts at blockade running in which he was engaged, were . . . not successful, but through no fault of the brave men who made the attempt."⁴³

As brother Philip established himself at Savannah, Morris returned to a war-devastated Jacksonville. Shortly he married Rosa Slager, the eighteen-year-old German-born daughter of a well-to-do Jacksonville merchant, Charles Slager.⁴⁴ Within a year their only child, Rosalie, was born, and the family settled into an increasingly prosperous life in what quickly became Florida's most dynamic and important city.⁴⁵

Great similarities are evident in the lives of Philip and Morris Dzialynski in the years following their new beginnings in the aftermath of the Civil War. Both were active in the commercial, social, and political lives of their communities. Both applied habits of industry and tenac-

ity, combined with a sense of humor and humility. And both remained close to their Jewish heritage.

Despite these many similarities, there were also significant differences. First and foremost, Morris was content to accept his good fortune in the fast-growing city of Jacksonville, while Philip was forced by circumstances to leave Savannah and pursue his on the Florida frontier. Morris in ways proved the lucky one. So far as is known, his life moved in a gentle progression, slowly but uniformly upward—at least until the incapacitation and later death of his wife in 1905.⁴⁶ Philip's, on the other hand, was a roller-coaster ride that combined elements of boom and bust, violence, satisfaction, and despair. It was a life that typified the frontier.

The South Florida Frontier

The specific reasons for Philip's departure from Savannah can only be guessed at. Crop failures in 1866 and 1867 undermined Savannah's prosperity in the years that followed.⁴⁷ The development of rail transportation and the accompanying growth of cotton farming in upland regions brought, in Eric Foner's words, "a wholesale shift in regional economic power."⁴⁸ Port cities like Savannah steadily lost economic ground to inland hubs like Atlanta.⁴⁹ In the process many Savannah "commission," or wholesale, merchants were forced into bankruptcy.⁵⁰ Philip Dzialynski likely was one of them.⁵¹

Whatever the reason, in the early months of 1870 Philip's family moved to Palatka, Florida.⁵² They lived there with Philip's brother-in-law, Jacob R. Cohen, who also had just relocated from Savannah. Both men were merchants, and through his brother-in-law Philip came by his next opportunity.⁵³ Cohen had entered into a partnership with a cattleman from south Florida, Julius Rockner, to open a series of general stores along the south Florida frontier.⁵⁴ In the post-Civil War era this region ran roughly down the Peace River; in modern terms, from just south of today's Lakeland to Punta Gorda. There were no towns, as such, in the area. The 1850s military post at Fort Meade was the closest thing the vicinity offered to a village. The seat of Polk County was 10 miles to the north at Bartow, and cattlemen had begun settling and trading 60 miles south of there at what was then called

Fort Ogden. These were the locations at which Cohen and Rockner planned to operate their stores.⁵⁵

The opportunity afforded by entering into the mercantile business on the Peace River frontier was greater than might at first meet the eye. Although the area was an isolated, underpopulated expanse of cattle range, plans were in motion to open it up for settlement and exploitation. In June 1869 Republican Governor Harrison Reed had publicly committed his administration in support of a railroad to Charlotte Harbor, Peace River's outlet to the Gulf of Mexico.⁵⁶ At its next regular session, in February 1870, the Florida legislature also sanctioned the creation of a corporation to clear the river for light-draft steamboat navigation from Charlotte Harbor to as far north as Fort Meade.⁵⁷ Finally, the south Florida cattle industry had begun to prosper when the demand for cattle in Spanish Cuba exploded as the effects of an insurrection began to be felt in the island's cattle-producing regions.⁵⁸ Optimism definitely was rife in the area.

The optimism of 1870 did not draw Philip to the frontier, however, but rather the disappointment of 1871. In the spring of that year the partnership of Jacob Cohen and Julius Rockner dissolved. As a result, Rockner took complete control of the Fort Meade and Fort Ogden stores, while Cohen retained the one at Bartow. To run the establishment he turned to his brother-in-law, Philip.⁵⁹

Philip in Bartow

Dzialynski arrived in Bartow almost immediately after the breakup of the partnership. The community owed its existence, in great part, to the patronage of a cattleman, Jacob Summerlin, who three years earlier had moved away.⁶⁰ While it boasted a few amenities, the village barely deserved the name. It was the county seat, however, and its fortunes waxed and waned in tandem with the county's economy. A barometer of its situation in 1870 can be judged from the report of a local man four years later. "The business of the county," he wrote, "is meager, so much so that the county cannot afford business for two lawyers (not a single case, either civil or criminal, on the docket); one has to *cow-drive* and the other is an *accountant* in a mercantile house to make a genteel livelihood."⁶¹

Despite the modest nature of his new home, Philip quickly plunged into the town's affairs.⁶² Within only a few months after his arrival, for example, he had helped to organize a Bartow chapter of Royal Arch Masonry. His acceptance by the townspeople was recognized by his selection as an officer of the chapter.⁶³ His growing popularity in the community and his interest in civic matters was attested to the following year when Republican Governor Reed appointed Dzialynski, a Democrat, as a Polk County commissioner.⁶⁴

Dzialynski's social and civic life might have been on the rise, but his business prospects had taken a tumble by the time of his appointment to the county commission. Late in 1871 a disgruntled investor in prewar Florida railroad bonds, Francis Vose, obtained a federal court injunction against the state which essentially forbade it from granting away public lands for internal improvements until its obligations to him were satisfied. Since the state was in no financial condition to extinguish the debt to Vose, projects like the railroad to Charlotte Harbor and the clearing of Peace River, both of which depended for their financing upon land grants, abruptly came to a halt.⁶⁵

Philip in Orlando and Fort Meade

The rapid expansion of his business forestalled, Philip Dzialynski urgently attempted to collect old accounts in order to satisfy his own obligations.⁶⁶ By the spring of 1874 he was forced to retrench by relocating to the less-isolated, though tiny, town of Orlando, situated near the navigable St. Johns River.⁶⁷ His brother-in-law, Jacob Cohen, had invested in the area, and Mary Cohen Dzialynski purchased a store there for Philip to operate.⁶⁸

From all accounts Philip's thoughts never left the possibilities of the Peace River frontier. Although the Vose injunction had halted development projects, it had not damaged the flourishing cattle trade with Cuba.⁶⁹ By 1876 Spanish gold doubloons received from cattle sales comprised the circulating currency in the area and, at least according to report, were so plentiful that "in many of our country log houses may be found an iron 'gopher'—a Hall Warmer, or Butler—in which the wily farmer or rancher secretes the frolicsome doubloon."⁷⁰

The capital of Florida's cattle kingdom in the mid-1870s was Fort Meade.⁷¹ In 1874 almost \$400,000 worth of cattle was bought and sold there, while local merchants did a very considerable business of about \$100,000 per year. At the time the village was described as a "flourishing, busy, and bustling little town, on a beautiful bluff on the left bank of Peace creek." "The health and water is fine," the report continued, "and society refined and orderly."⁷² How refined society could have been on that violent frontier is open to question; but to the extent that there was any society in the area, it was to be found at Fort Meade. In 1877 a local man recorded: "Some five or six stores are established here, and it is a place of considerable business. Most of the trading is with the stock men and the stock raisers, who handle more money, as a general thing, than any other class in South Florida."⁷³

The lure of Fort Meade's prosperity proved irresistible to Philip. In the spring of 1876 he and Mary bought out Julius Rockner's general store and established a home they were to maintain, with one interlude, for the next thirteen years.⁷⁴ Although slowly at first, they began to rebuild their finances. While plagued by earlier debts, Philip achieved a breakthrough late in the decade when he entered into a partnership with the area's physician and druggist, Dr. Charles L. Mitchell. Dzialynski, Mitchell, & Co. became one of the leading commercial establishments on Fort Meade's Wire Street and grew with the affluence of the cattle trade.⁷⁵

In the immediate postwar years Savannah had offered Philip an opportunity to satisfy his cultural and religious needs. In the late 1870s and through the 1880s Fort Meade offered him a forum for utilizing his talents as an entrepreneur, businessman, and civic leader. The list of projects in which Dzialynski was involved from 1876 to 1889 is lengthy, and it may fairly be said that he was an influence behind most early efforts of significance to open up southwest Florida to immigration and development. By way of example he was an organizer of the Tampa, Peace Creek and St. Johns Railroad (eventually the South Florida Railroad), the planned but never-built Fort Meade, Keystone and Walk-in-the-Water Railroad, the Tampa and Fort Meade Hack Line, and the Tampa and Fort Meade Telegraph Company.⁷⁶

Philip was one of the first individuals to subdivide and sell lots at Fort Meade, and he became one of south Florida's first real estate agents.⁷⁷ With Mary he opened a hotel, the Dzialynski House, and augmented it with a livery stable.⁷⁸ He invested in citrus groves, helping to pioneer their development in the area.⁷⁹ He exported exotic bird plumes and alligator skins, served as a county commissioner, and when Fort Meade was incorporated in 1885 was elected chairman of its first board of aldermen.⁸⁰ The same year, he and two other men built the town's first substantial school building.⁸¹ Earlier he had served on the building committee of the Methodist church.⁸² In short, he was involved in nearly every aspect of the town's life.

Despite his many interests Philip never lost touch with his heritage or religion, and at times he was able to bring a touch of Jewish culture to the frontier.⁸³ An early example was the 1877 marriage of his daughter, Jennie, to Louis Herzog of Baltimore. The wedding was celebrated as a community event, with a Christian justice of the peace performing part of the marriage ritual while Philip "performed the Jewish part of the ceremony."⁸⁴ As late as 1890 he was traveling to Tallahassee expressly to conduct services for Yom Kippur.⁸⁵ It can be no accident that Philip was visiting with his brother Morris in Jacksonville within days of the 1882 dedication of the town's Ahavath Chesed synagogue.⁸⁶

In addition to his commitment to his heritage Dzialynski was also devoted to the cause of temperance, and in this may be seen a resolve not wholly alien to the frontier world in which he lived. A lodge of the Good Templars was founded at Fort Meade in 1877, and Philip likely was one of the organizers.⁸⁷ Within a couple of years he had convinced most of the town's leading citizens to sign a pledge "that not a foot of ground should be leased, sold or given away whereon might be built a drinking saloon of any kind where intoxicating beverages are sold."⁸⁸ Shortly thereafter the community's only saloon was consumed by fire, an event which local citizens felt was "evidently the work of an incendiary."⁸⁹ When money was raised to rebuild it, the post office mysteriously was broken into and the money stolen. No culprit was ever apprehended.⁹⁰

The action taken to win Fort Meade to the temperance cause illustrates the violent nature of the south Florida frontier. Violence was no

stranger to Philip. He witnessed Julius Rockner being shot down from ambush just outside of town in 1877. During a short period in the early 1880s when he operated a store at Tampa, he again was looking on as one of the town's leading citizens gunned down another.⁹¹ In 1878 he personally was accosted by south Florida's most famous bandit, John W. "Hub" Williams, known as the "Robin Hood of South Florida."⁹² When Philip encountered the outlaw, however, it turned out to be Williams who had met his match. A Tampa newspaper reported the engagement:

Last Saturday afternoon a desperado named John Williams made an assault on Mr. Philip Dzialynski in his store with a drawn pistol and demanded \$200. Mr. Dzialynski of course refused to comply with his demand, when the man Williams made several efforts to shoot him, but fortunately the pistol failed to fire. Mr. Dzialynski, being alone, finally made his escape from the store and locked Williams up inside while he went for assistance. Williams being unable to get into the safe, broke out before Mr. Dzialynski returned.

After escaping from Dzialynski Williams was shot and wounded by another Fort Meade man, but the desperado still made his getaway.⁹³

Morris in Jacksonville

Contrasted with Philip's frontier life, Morris Dzialynski lived in relative peace and quiet. The only incident hinting of the same kind of excitement occurred in 1870 when, as a result of a business dispute, he was indicted in Chatham County, Georgia, for "obtaining goods under false pretenses." When an officer was sent to Jacksonville to return him to Savannah for trial, however, a kind of frontier justice intervened. As reported by the Jacksonville newspaper, "The arrest having been made, officer Phillips started for the depot for the purpose of proceeding to Savannah on the evening train, but found his way impeded in such a manner by Messrs. M. Rosenberg, H. Berlack and a number of other friends of Mr. Dzialynski, that he was unable to reach the train before its departure."⁹⁴ Morris never made the train, and in 1873 the Chatham County authorities dropped the whole matter.⁹⁵

The incident with Officer Phillips illustrates the personal popularity that still-young Morris enjoyed in Jacksonville. For the rest of his

life his popularity stood him in good stead, and, far more than his brother, Morris utilized it for political purposes. Before examining his political career, though, another mention of the similarities in the approaches Philip and Morris took to life and their communities might be useful.

Like most Jews in Florida and the South, the Dzialynski brothers relied upon merchandising for their livelihood. Philip operated general stores on the frontier. Morris specialized in the sale of carriages, buggies, and wagons in the state's largest city, where he was also a leading auctioneer. Morris, in fact, was the only early Jacksonville merchant so to specialize, and the innovation brought him a certain statewide renown. In 1885 one report remarked,

In the extent, variety, and character of his stock, the taste and judgment displayed in its make and finish, and the acknowledged style and durability of his vehicles, Mr. Dzialynski has won for himself a well-deserved reputation with the trade which entitles him to a front rank among dealers in this line of goods.⁹⁶

Over time, Morris's approach to merchandising was to prove far more economically reliable than was Philip's.

Both men gained entrees into their communities through active involvement in fraternal organizations. In Savannah Philip was a member and officer of the Joseph Lodge, Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, and was instrumental in the organization of lodges of the Royal Arch Masons and the Good Templars in south Florida.⁹⁷ Morris was a leader in the Masonic Order at Jacksonville. In late 1867 he was elected an officer of Solomon Lodge No. 20, F. & A. M., and the following spring he helped organize Duval Lodge U-D.⁹⁸ The relationships both men formed through these fraternal activities proved useful to their business and civic careers.

Finally, both men remained close to their Jewish roots. To some extent Morris enjoyed an advantage over Philip in that there was a small Jewish community in Jacksonville. In July 1867 its members met at the residence of Morris's father-in-law, Charles Slager, and "organized a society for the worship of God." Morris was selected the group's treasurer. Its modest goals were "to worship by reading of prayers and Canticles on the Sabbath and by holding Sunday schools

in both the Hebrew and English on every Sunday," the town not being large enough to support a synagogue.⁹⁹ Holiday services and activities were held in private houses and later in the Masonic Temple. In 1882 the town's leading Jews gathered under Morris's presidency to found Congregation Ahavath Chesed, the second oldest in the state. The members of the Dzialynski family were closely involved in the construction of its synagogue building on the corner of Laura and Union streets.¹⁰⁰

Morris as Politician

Building upon family connections and fraternal, religious, and business relationships, Morris early launched himself in the politics of Jacksonville and Duval County. Despite the Republican political hegemony there in the early years of Reconstruction, he was elected in 1868 as a Democrat (then known as Conservative) to the city's board of aldermen.¹⁰¹ He eventually served nine years on the city council, but his early attempts to rise further in the highly partisan politics of the town were frustrated.¹⁰² In 1875 he ran against black Republican Thomas Lancaster for the position of city assessor and was defeated by a lopsided vote.¹⁰³ The following year, however, in a campaign filled with charges of Republican corruption, the Democrats captured control of Jacksonville and Morris took the office denied him in 1875.¹⁰⁴

With the Redemption of Florida by the Democrats in 1877 came more opportunities for Dzialynski. Within days of taking office, the newly inaugurated governor, George F. Drew, appointed Morris Duval County treasurer. He was to serve four two-year terms.¹⁰⁵ Soon he had also ascended to the presidency of the city council.¹⁰⁶

The Democrats were not expected to do well in the Jacksonville mayoralty election of 1881. Some reaction to Bourbon control of the state had set in, and the city's Republican organization had offered as its candidate the chairman of the party's state executive committee.¹⁰⁷ The Democrats turned to Morris Dzialynski. The campaign was short but intense, with the key issue becoming Morris's pledge to enforce Sunday closing laws.¹⁰⁸ When the votes were counted, he had narrowly triumphed. "As the result was unexpected," noted one observer,

"their [the Republicans'] surprise was as great as their mortification."¹⁰⁹

In 1882 Morris ran for reelection. He had been a law-and-order mayor who gave support to the interests of the business community, although he had broken an important campaign pledge by permitting certain saloons "to operate more or less openly on Sundays." The campaign soon centered upon the question of the open saloons, and Morris, feeling the political heat from the controversy, quickly ordered them all closed on Sunday.¹¹⁰ As added insurance, and as he had also done in 1881, he ran not on the Democratic but rather on the "People's" ticket. His decision was a good one, for on election day he won by a slim majority of eighty-seven votes.¹¹¹

From the little information available on the Jacksonville mayoralty election of 1882, it seems that William Ledwith, the Republican candidate, would probably have been able to beat just about any opponent other than Morris Dzialynski. Accounting for a good deal of Morris's political strength were the qualities of personality that made him so likable. As was also true of Philip, he did not seem to take himself too seriously. On certain moral issues both brothers held firm commitments, but Morris was the more equable and easygoing of the two. The brothers also shared a great sense of humor, which Morris displayed to his advantage during the 1882 campaign. As related by the *Florida Times*, one such incident occurred as follows:

A TIMES reporter emerged from a group of excited politicians near Rice's grain store, and walking a few steps away came upon the two opposing candidates for the Mayoralty in calm and friendly conversation.

"I was saying," said Mr. Dzialynski, grasping the reporter by the arm, "that this has been, so far, the pleasantest campaign ever had in this city, and I have just told General Ledwith that if by any chance he should beat me, which no one knows better than he that he can't do, I shall, when I swear him in, make the best, and the longest speech ever made by a retiring Mayor. I will put him through in first-class style."

"Yes, said the General, "I know you will do that, Morris, and it is one of the things that gives me the greatest pleasure in defeating you."

"Enjoy it," said Morris, "it is a pleasure that cannot last."¹¹²

Mayor Dzialynski declined to run for a third term in office.¹¹³ He remained active in state and local affairs nonetheless. In 1884 he was

selected as an alternate delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, where he supported the nomination of Grover Cleveland.¹¹⁴ In Jacksonville he joined the board of trade, organized the town's first baseball club, served as a port warden, volunteer fire captain, and fraternal leader, and involved himself in a myriad of other social and civic activities.¹¹⁵ In 1895 a group of conservative Democratic businessmen asked to him run for municipal judge on a "Citizens" ticket. He easily won election and remained in that office until his death.¹¹⁶

The Brothers' Last Years

As Morris was enjoying the fruits of his business and political careers at Jacksonville in the late 1880s, Philip's fortunes had taken a turn for the worse. The exact circumstances are unclear, but his financial security at Fort Meade apparently had been undermined by the area's perennial boom-and-bust cycle.¹¹⁷ By late in 1889 he had moved the family 10 miles north to Bartow, where he undertook, with Mary's help, to manage the Orange Grove Hotel.¹¹⁸ Reports surfaced that he was ailing. After one such incident the local newspaper related, "The many friends of Mr. Philip Dzialynski . . . are glad to see his genial face on the streets again after his severe illness."¹¹⁹

Despite an 1892 announcement by Philip that he was moving the family to South Carolina, he remained in Bartow until 1895.¹²⁰ In that year the move finally came about, but the destination was Jacksonville. Philip died there on January 16, 1896, in Morris's home. "Mr. Dzialynski was a kind and genial gentleman," said the *Florida Times-Union*, "and had a large circle of friends all over the state."¹²¹

Following Philip's death, Morris and Rosa Dzialynski remained in Jacksonville, where Morris continued to serve as the city's municipal judge. Rosa passed away suddenly on June 12, 1905, and her obituary proclaimed her to have been "a Lady Known and Beloved in Jacksonville."¹²² When Morris succumbed to a stroke on May 5, 1907, it was said that "the taking away of his life partner, to whom he was perfectly devoted, was a blow from which he never recovered."¹²³ His body lay in state in the council chamber of Jacksonville's city hall. Of his funeral services at the synagogue he had helped to build, a

reporter wrote: "The Temple was filled to its utmost capacity. Men and women from every walk of life were there. Jews and Gentiles were there to attend the ceremonies over the body of their beloved friend. Never before in Jacksonville has there been such a scene." He was buried not far from the body of the brother who had brought him to America.¹²⁴

The Dzialynski brothers came to this country out of revolutionary strife and built for themselves and their families successful lives which earned them the respect of almost all who had the honor to know them. From the ruins of the Civil War they helped rebuild their communities and their state. In the process they never lost sight of their faith or their Jewish heritage. In their lives can be seen the lives of other Jews who put down their roots in the South before and in the aftermath of the war. They played a key role in helping to feed, clothe, house, and comfort a defeated people, and they extended the hand of support which helped permit the region eventually to emerge from despair. As Philip Dzialynski's obituary read, theirs certainly were "long and useful" lives.¹²⁵

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Notes

This essay was written for Professor Samuel Proctor's 1990 graduate course in southern history at the University of Florida. The author wishes to express his sincere appreciation for Dr. Proctor's encouragement and assistance.

1. *Florida Times-Union* (Jacksonville), May 6, 1907.

2. *Ibid.*

3. For information on the Revolutions of 1848 and Jewish involvement in them, see Priscilla Robertson, *Revolutions of 1848: A Social History* (New York, 1952).

4. Thomas D. Clark, "The Post-Civil War Economy in the South," in *Jews in the South*, ed. Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Dale Palsson (Baton Rouge, 1973), p. 164.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-162; Thomas D. Clark, *Pills, Petticoats and Plows* (Indianapolis, 1944), p. 21.

6. Ruth Hope Leon, "The History of the Dzialynski Family" (January 1954), p. 1 (Jacksonville Historical Society Archives, Jacksonville University Library); Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida, Embracing a General History of the Province, Territory and State; and Special Chapters Devoted to Finances and Banking, the Bench and Bar, Medical Profession, Railways and Navigation, and Industrial Interests*, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), 1:520.

7. Leon, "History of the Dzialynski Family," p. 1.

8. A later biographical article on George I. P. Dzialynski, as well as family tradition, asserts that it was his grandfather, Abraham, who fought in the Polish revolt, and that his father, Philip, arrived in the United States as early as 1845. Biographical questionnaire of George I. P. Dzialynski in "Dzialynski Family File" (Haydon Burns Public Library, Jacksonville, n.d.); Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Duval County Florida* (St. Augustine, 1928), pp. 344-345; Bertha Zadek Dzialynski, "Within My Heart" (1944; original typescript in collection of Perry Coleman, Jacksonville; Xerographic copy in possession of the author), pp. 63-64.

9. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, 1:520.

10. Gold, *History of Duval County*, p. 345.

11. Before arriving in Jacksonville, the family may have stayed for a short time in the area of Suwannee Shoals, north of Lake City in Columbia County. Leon, "History of the Dzialynski Family," p. 1; Rerick, *Memoirs*, 1:520; *Florida Times-Union*, January 16, 1896.

12. No Dzialynski is recorded as paying a state or county tax in Duval County until 1857. Gold, *History of Duval County*, p. 345; Duval County Tax Books, 1854-1857 (microfilm, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee).

13. *Tri-Weekly Florida Sun* (Jacksonville), January 22, 1876; Thomas Frederick Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville, Florida* (Jacksonville, 1911), pp. 117-118.

14. Gold, *History of Duval County*, p. 345; Rerick, *Memoirs*, 1:520.

15. The Dzialynski home was located at the corner of Adams and Ocean streets. George I. P. Dzialynski is thought to have been the first Jewish baby born in Jacksonville. Gold, *History of Duval County*, p. 345; Natalie H. Glickstein, *That Ye May Remember: Congregation Ahavath Chesed 1882-1982*, 5642 (Jacksonville, 1982), p. 18.

16. Manuscript returns of Eighth U.S. Census, Madison County, Florida, schedule 1 (population).

17. Dora married Jacob Burkheim, a Gainesville businessman; Hannah, Harris Berlack; and Helena, Robert S. Williams. Leon, "History of the Dzialynski Family," p. 1; *Florida Times-Union*, January 16, 1896.

18. Abraham, at his death, was aged fifty-two years. Henry was nineteen, and Jacob was twelve. Leon, "History of the Dzialynski Family," p. 1; Rerick, *Memoirs*, 1:520; Dzialynski family tombstone inscriptions, Old City Cemetery, Jacksonville.

19. Paul E. Fenlon, "The Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 32 (October 1953): 80.

20. Jacksonville's railroad was the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central, whose president in 1860 was Jacksonville lawyer and businessman John P. Sanderson. Scraps of information suggest a business association between Dzialynski and Sanderson, but its nature remains unclear. James Esgate, *Jacksonville: The Metropolis of Florida* (Boston, 1885), p. 108; Elizabeth H. Sims, *A History of Madison County, Florida* (Madison, Fla., 1986), p. 56; manuscript returns, Eighth U.S. Census, Madison County, Florida, schedule 1 (population); petition of E. Houstoun, D. P. Hogue, Philip Dzialynski, and others to President Andrew Johnson, Tallahassee, July 1, 1865 (John P. Sanderson file, U.S. Adjutant General's Office, Case Files of Applications from Former Confederates for Presidential Pardons, 1865-1867, record group 94, microform publication M-1003, roll 15, National Archives); Fenlon, "Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad," p. 79; John E. Hartridge to E. M. L'Engle, February 12, 1878, and Order of the County Court of Duval County, Florida, March 9, 1878 (John P. Sanderson file, Duval County Probate Records, microcopy roll 87, Florida State Archives; hereinafter cited as Sanderson probate file); Philip Dzialynski to E. M. L'Engle, January 16, 1873 (folder 67, E. M. L'Engle Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill).

21. Sims, *History of Madison County*, p. 64.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 65; John J. Dickson, "Military History of Florida," in *Confederate Military History*, ed. Clement Anselm Evans, 12 vols. (Atlanta, 1898; reprint ed., New York, 1962), 11:257-258.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

24. Sims, *History of Madison County*, p. 69.

25. Sylvanus Masters Hankins, Sr., "My Recollections of the Confederate War," n.d. (collection of Leland M. Hawes, Jr., Tampa, Fla.); Philip Dzialynski file (Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, record group 109, microcopy M-346, roll 269, National Archives).

26. John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963; reprint ed., Macclenny, Fla., 1989), pp. 165-166, 190.

27. Biographical questionnaire of George I. P. Dzialynski; Leon, "History of the Dzialynski Family," p. 2.

28. Gold, *History of Duval County*, p. 345.

29. Bertram Wallace Korn, "American Judaeophobia: Confederate Version," in Dinnerstein and Palsson, *Jews in the South*, pp. 141, 150. See also Louis Schmier, "Notes and Documents on the 1862 Expulsion of Jews from Thomasville, Georgia," *American Jewish Archives* 32, no. 1 (April 1980): 9-22.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

31. By 1870 Julius Slager had removed to Jacksonville, where he was engaged in the insurance business. Purse's Directory of the City of Savannah, Together with a Mercantile and Business Directory (Savannah, 1866), p. 188; N. J. Darrell & Co., *Savannah City Directory for 1867* (Savannah, 1867), p. 83; *Savannah Daily Herald*, February 10, 1866; manuscript returns of Ninth U.S. Census, Duval County, Florida, schedule 1 (population).

32. Kenneth Coleman, ed., *A History of Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1977), p. 233.

33. *Savannah Daily Advertiser*, November 23, 1868.

34. Mary Cohen's relationship to the various Cohen families of Savannah is unclear, but in 1866 her brother, Jacob, was engaged in business there, and boarding with him was Philip's partner, Julius Slager. Chatham County records do not contain a record of Mary and Philip's marriage. *Savannah Daily News and Herald*, April 25, 1866; Leon, "History of the Dzialynski Family," p. 2; telephone interview with Rabbi Saul Jacob Rubin by author, Savannah, March 21, 1990;

Chatham County Marriage License Records, Office of the Clerk, Chatham County Courthouse, Savannah.

35. *Savannah Daily News and Herald*, April 25, 1866, and December 5, 1867; *Savannah Daily Herald*, March 6, 1865.

36. Biographical questionnaire of George I. P. Dzialynski.

37. B'nai Berith Jacob asserts that it is the South's oldest congregation continually affiliated with Orthodox Judaism. Saul Jacob Rubin, *Third to None: The Saga of Savannah Jewry, 1733-1983* (Savannah, 1983), p. 146.

38. *Savannah Daily News and Herald*, May 8, 1866.

39. Rubin, *Third to None*, p. 148.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-59.

41. Dickison, "Military History of Florida," p. 258.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Rerick, *Memoirs*, 1:520.

44. *Florida Times-Union*, June 13, 1905.

45. Rosalie later married Solomon Iseman of Jacksonville.

Manuscript returns of Ninth U.S. Census, Duval County, Florida, schedule 1 (population); Rerick, *Memoirs*, 1:520; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town: An Illustrated History of Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, 1982), pp. 153-156.

46. Dzialynski, "Within My Heart," p. 79; *Florida Times-Union*, June 13, 1905.

47. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York, 1988), p. 141.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 395.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Savannah Morning News*, October 31, 1868.

51. See Philip Dzialynski to L'Engle, January 16, 1873 (folder 7, L'Engle Papers); Protest of the Cashier of the Merchants National Bank of Savannah, June 15, 1869 (Sanderson probate file).

52. Included in the Dzialynski family at Palatka were two new daughters, Fanny, born in Savannah in 1868, and Helena, born in the same city in February 1870. Not listed were brother John, by then twenty-three years of age, and sister Augusta, twenty-two. Either by 1870 or shortly thereafter both had married; John to Annie Jones, and Augusta to Sol. Hertz "of New York." After his marriage John lived in New York for a time, and his first child, Henry, was born there about 1875. Within two years he had returned to Jacksonville, where he made a living as a cigar maker. By the turn of the century John was engaged in business as a tobacco buyer with headquarters at Quincy, Florida. *Savannah Morning News*, October 25, 1871; manuscript returns of Ninth U.S. Census, Putnam County, Florida, schedule 1 (population), and Tenth U.S. Census, Duval County, Florida, schedule 1 (population); biographical questionnaire of George I. P. Dzialynski; Leon, "History of the Dzialynski Family," p. 1; *Florida Times-Union*, January 16, 1896; *Tobacco Leaf* (New York), July 21, 1897.

53. A Tampa newspaper ran an advertisement for Philip's Savannah business until March 23, 1870. As to Jacob R. Cohen, a history of Palatka does not include his name among the merchants present in that community in 1869, and a Savannah directory in 1870 lists a "Jacob Cohen." Manuscript returns of the Ninth U.S. Census, Putnam County, Florida, schedule 1 (population); *Florida Peninsular* (Tampa), March 23, 1870; Allan A. Swanson, "Pilo-taikita: A History of Palatka, Florida," 3 vols. (Jacksonville, 1967), 1:237 (typescript at P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville); J. H. Estill, *Directory of the City of Savannah for 1870* (Savannah, 1870), p. 37.

54. *Florida Peninsular*, June 7, 1871.
55. Canter Brown, Jr., "The International Ocean Telegraph," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989): 144–146, 149.
56. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863–1877* (Gainesville, 1974), p. 209.
57. Peace River was known to many settlers as "Peas Creek." *Laws of Florida* (1870), pp. 98–99.
58. *Sunland Tribune* (Tampa), July 21, 1877.
59. *Florida Peninsular*, June 7, 1871.
60. Louise Frisbie, *Peace River Pioneers* (Miami, 1974), pp. 31–34.
61. *Florida Peninsular*, September 30, 1871; Dennis Eagan, *Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lands and Immigration of the State of Florida for the Year Ending December 31, 1874* (Tallahassee, 1874), p. 190.
62. Mary Cohen Dzialynski returned to Savannah. Her infant daughter, Helena, died there in October 1871. *Savannah Morning News* October 25, 1871.
63. Among those present at Bartow on July 8, 1871, for the installation ceremonies of the R.A.M. lodge was Morris's father-in-law, Charles Slager, who was Deputy Grand High Priest of the Most Worshipful Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Florida. *Florida Peninsular*, July 15, 1871.
64. Record of Commissioned Officers, vol. 1871–1879 (record group 156, ser. 259, Florida State Archives).
65. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, p. 251.
66. Dzialynski to L'Engle, January 16, 1873 (folder 67, L'Engle Papers).
67. *Osceola Sun* (Kissimmee), September 18, 1975; H. L. Mitchell to E. M. L'Engle, April 28, 1874 (folder 75, L'Engle Papers).
68. Jacob R. Cohen participated as secretary of the meeting at which an incorporation election for Orlando was called on June 23, 1875. He was elected an alderman that year and reelected two years later. In 1877 he married Rachel Williams, daughter of Tallahassee merchant R. S. Williams, and moved to the latter town. He died there on November 5, 1901. Even Bacon, *Orlando: A Centennial History* (Chuluota, Fla., 1975), pp. 59, 61, 68–69; Orange County Deed Records, Book H-2, 309–12; *Florida Times-Union*, November 6, 1901.
69. Joe A. Akerman, Jr., *Florida Cowman: A History of Florida Cattle Raising* (Kissimmee, Fla., 1976), pp. 104–106.
70. *Florida Times-Union*, October 24, 1884.
71. James W. Covington, *The Story of Southwestern Florida*, 3 vols. (New York, 1957), 1:161.
72. Eagan, *Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lands and Immigration*, p. 189.
73. George W. Wells, *Facts for Immigrants: Comprising a Truthful Account of the Five Following Counties of South Florida; To-Wit: Hernando, Hillsboro, Polk, Manatee and Monroe* (Jacksonville, 1877), p. 23.
74. The one interlude began in November 1879, when Philip moved his family to Tampa, where he opened a store. His partnership with C. L. Mitchell continued, however, and by March 1881 he and the family had returned to Fort Meade. Polk County, Deed Records, Book B, 413–15; *Florida Times-Union*, November 3, 1889; *Sunland Tribune*, November 13, 1879, April 1, 1880, and March 26, 1881.
75. Wire Street, Fort Meade's principal commercial district, was so named because the International Ocean Telegraph Company's line ran down its length. Hartridge to L'Engle, February 12, 1878 (Sanderson probate file); *Sunland Tribune* April 20, 1878; Brown, "International Ocean Telegraph," pp. 149–150, 158–159.

76. *Sunland Tribune*, July 21, November 24, and December 8, 1877; *Laws of Florida* (1883), p. 123.
77. Sherman Adams, *Homeland: Polk County, Florida* (Bartow, 1885), p. 70.
78. George W. Hendry, *Polk County, Florida: Its Lands & Products* (Jacksonville, 1883), p. 50.
79. *Sunland Tribune*, September 11, 1879.
80. *Bartow Informant*, August 25, 1881; *Sunland Tribune*, July 10, 1881; Record of Commissioned Officers, vol. 1871—1879 (record group 156, ser. 259, Florida State Archives); Polk County, Mortgage Records, Book A, 297-99.
81. *Florida Times-Union*, September 5, 1885.
82. *Sunland Tribune*, October 26, 1882.
83. Biographical questionnaire of George I. P. Dzialynski; Leon, "History of the Dzialynski Family," p. 2.
84. *Sunland Tribune*, November 24, 1877.
85. *Polk County News* (Bartow), October 10, 1890.
86. *Florida Daily Times*, September 21, 1882.
87. The Good Templars, founded in 1851, were dedicated to "temperance, peace, and brotherhood with emphasis on personal abstinence from intoxicating drink." *Sunland Tribune*, January 5, 1878.
88. *Sunland Tribune*, October 26, 1882.
89. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1881.
90. *Bartow Informant*, September 16, 1882.
91. *Sunland Tribune*, August 4, 1877, and June 10, 1880.
92. *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, October 28, 1951.
93. *Sunland Tribune*, October 19, 1878.
94. *Florida Union* (Jacksonville), December 20, 1870, quoted in *Savannah Daily Republican*, December 22, 1870.
95. *Savannah Morning News*, February 19, 1873.
96. Wanton S. Webb, *Webb's Historical, Industrial and Biographical Florida* (New York, 1885), pt. 1, p. 141.
97. *Savannah Morning News* December 24, 1868.
98. *Florida Union*, December 21, 1867; *East Floridian* (Jacksonville), March 5, 1868.
99. Pensacola had Florida's first Jewish congregation. Other officers of the Jewish society at Jacksonville in 1867 were: Charles Slager, president; F. Edrehi, vice-president; S. Felner, secretary; E. Robinson, P. Halle, I. Grunthall, trustees. *Florida Union*, July 13, 1867; Glickstein, *That Ye May Remember*, 19.
100. Glickstein, *That Ye May Remember*, pp. 20–21; T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity: 1513 to 1924* (Jacksonville, 1925; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1964), p. 410.
101. *Savannah Daily Republican*, February 12, 1869.
102. Rerick, *Memoirs*, 1:520.
103. Barbara Ann Richardson, "A History of Blacks in Jacksonville, Florida, 1860–1895: A Socio-Economic and Political Study" (Ph.D. diss., Carnegie-Mellon University, 1975), p. 192.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 195; Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, pp. 296–297.
105. Two weeks after Drew appointed Morris Dzialynski Duval County treasurer he also appointed Philip to the board of commissioners of Polk County. Since both were fervent Democrats, it may be assumed that they were active in Drew's campaign. Record of Commissioned Officers, vol. 1871–1879 (record group 156, ser. 259, Florida State Archives).
106. Rerick, *Memoirs*, 1:520.

107. Morris's Republican mayoralty opponent in 1881 was Horatio Jenkins, Jr. *Savannah Morning News*, March 23 and 30 and April 3, 1881.

108. Richard A. Martin, *The City Makers* (Jacksonville, 1972), p. 138.

109. The final vote in the mayoralty election of 1881 was 559 for Dzialynski and 529 for Jenkins. *Savannah Morning News*, April 8, 1881; Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, p. 297.

110. Following his reelection, Morris placed the issue of Sunday closings in the hands of the city council. Controversy flared, and for the remainder of his term, stalemate ensued. Martin, *City Makers*, p. 138; Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, p. 198.

111. Martin, *City Makers*, pp. 138-140; Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, p. 198; *Florida Times*, April 4, 1882.

112. *Florida Times*, April 2, 1882.

113. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, 1:520.

114. *Florida Times-Union*, June 27, 1884.

115. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1907.

116. *Ibid.*, May 31 and June 19, 1895, and May 6, 1907.

117. Philip's daughter-in-law, Bertha Zadek, attributed the decline of his prosperity to the effects of the freezes of December 1885 and January 1886 and to the yellow fever scare of 1887. Dzialynski, "Within My Heart," pp. 109-110.

118. *Florida Times-Union*, November 11, 1889.

119. *Polk County News*, September 19, 1890.

120. Philip's daughter Fannie had married Myer Greenfield of Beaufort, South Carolina, in May 1888, and he may have been planning to join them. After Fannie's birth in 1868 and Helena's in 1870, the Dzialynskis had either four or five additional children: Miriam or Minnie in 1871; Gertrude on October 17, 1874; Abraham Samuel in 1877; and Etta in 1878. An infant, "Little Eva," is buried near Philip and Mary, and may have been their daughter. She was born October 1, 1875, and died April 9, 1877. *Florida Times-Union*, February 9, 1892; *Bartow Advance Courier*, May 30, 1888; manuscript returns of the Tenth United States Census, Hillsborough County, Florida, schedule 1 (population); Leon, "History of the Dzialynski Family," p. 2; tombstone inscription, Little Eva Dzialynski, Old City Cemetery, Jacksonville.

121. After Philip's death, Mary moved first to Tallahassee and then to Gainesville. She served in the latter community as manager of the Commercial Hotel. Her daughter Etta married Louis E. Cohen of Tallahassee there on March 19, 1902. Not long thereafter Mary returned to Tallahassee and lived with the Cohens. She passed away in 1935 and was buried with Philip in the Old City Cemetery, Jacksonville. Near Mary in 1910 lived her son Abe and his wife, Ellain, who had married in 1899. Son George married Bertha Zadek in Gainesville on May 7, 1882. Gertrude, who later served on the faculty of Gainesville's East Florida Seminary as well as in numerous governmental positions, including personal secretary to Florida Governor Napoleon Broward and deputy collector of U.S. Internal Revenue for the District of Florida, married John Archibald Corbet. *Florida Times-Union*, January 16, 1896; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, March 21, 1902; manuscript returns of Thirteenth U.S. Census, Leon County, Florida, schedule 1 (population); tombstone inscription for Mary Cohen Dzialynski, Old City Cemetery, Jacksonville; Leon, "History of the Dzialynski Family."

122. *Florida Times-Union*, June 13, 1905.

123. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1907.

124. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1907.

125. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1896.