

Zlín and Ybor City: A Comparison of Two Company Towns

Tereza Bartasová

Bachelor Thesis
2014



Tomas Bata University in Zlín
Faculty of Humanities

Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně

Fakulta humanitních studií

Ústav moderních jazyků a literatur

akademický rok: 2013/2014

ZADÁNÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE

(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení: Tereza Bartasová
Osobní číslo: H11289
Studijní program: B7310 Filologie
Studijní obor: Anglický jazyk pro manažerskou praxi
Forma studia: prezenční

Téma práce: Zlín a Ybor City: Srovnání dvou podnikových měst

Zásady pro vypracování:

Studium historiografie

Sběr výzkumného materiálu o Zlíně, Ybor City a o jiných podnikových městech

Srovnání dvou podnikových měst

Identifikace podobností a rozdílů mezi Zlínem a Ybor City

Diskuze výsledků a závěr

Rozsah bakalářské práce:

Rozsah příloh:

Forma zpracování bakalářské práce: **tištěná/elektronická**

Seznam odborné literatury:

Greenbaum, Susan D. Afro-Cubans in Ybor City: A Centennial History. Tampa: University of South Florida, 1986.

Harper, Paula. Cuba Connections: Key West. Tampa. Miami, 1870 to 1945. The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts 22 (1996): 278-291.

Long, Durward. The Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modern Tampa. Florida Historical Quarterly 45, no. 1 (July 1966): 31-44.

Mormino, Gary, and George E. Pozzeta. The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Pokluda, Zdeněk. Bařův Zlín: Budování Průmyslového a Zahradního Města (1906-1943), Zlín: Esprint Zlín, 2011.

Vedoucí bakalářské práce:

M. A. Gregory Jason Bell, M.B.A.

Ústav moderních jazyků a literatur

Datum zadání bakalářské práce:

29. listopadu 2013

Termín odevzdání bakalářské práce:

2. května 2014

Ve Zlíně dne 31. ledna 2014



doc. Ing. Aneřka Lengálová, Ph.D.

děkanka



PhDr. Katarína Nemčoková, Ph.D.

ředitelka ústavu

PROHLÁŠENÍ AUTORA BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE

Beru na vědomí, že

- odevzdáním bakalářské práce souhlasím se zveřejněním své práce podle zákona č. 111/1998 Sb. o vysokých školách a o změně a doplnění dalších zákonů (zákon o vysokých školách), ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, bez ohledu na výsledek obhajoby ¹⁾;
- beru na vědomí, že bakalářská práce bude uložena v elektronické podobě v univerzitním informačním systému dostupná k nahlédnutí;
- na moji bakalářskou práci se plně vztahuje zákon č. 121/2000 Sb. o právu autorském, o právech souvisejících s právem autorským a o změně některých zákonů (autorský zákon) ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, zejm. § 35 odst. 3 ²⁾;
- podle § 60 ³⁾ odst. 1 autorského zákona má UTB ve Zlíně právo na uzavření licenční smlouvy o užití školního díla v rozsahu § 12 odst. 4 autorského zákona;
- podle § 60 ³⁾ odst. 2 a 3 mohu užit své dílo – bakalářskou práci - nebo poskytnout licenci k jejímu využití jen s předchozím písemným souhlasem Univerzity Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně, která je oprávněna v takovém případě ode mne požadovat přiměřený příspěvek na úhradu nákladů, které byly Univerzitou Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně na vytvoření díla vynaloženy (až do jejich skutečné výše);
- pokud bylo k vypracování bakalářské práce využito softwaru poskytnutého Univerzitou Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně nebo jinými subjekty pouze ke studijním a výzkumným účelům (tj. k nekomerčnímu využití), nelze výsledky bakalářské práce využít ke komerčním účelům.

Prohlašuji, že

- elektronická a tištěná verze bakalářské práce jsou totožné;
- na bakalářské práci jsem pracoval samostatně a použitou literaturu jsem citoval. V případě publikace výsledků budu uveden jako spoluautor.

Ve Zlíně 27.4.2014

Tomáš Bartuška

1) zákon č. 111/1998 Sb. o vysokých školách a o změně a doplnění dalších zákonů (zákon o vysokých školách), ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, § 47b Zveřejňování závěrečných prací:

(1) Vysoká škola nevydělečně zveřejňuje disertační, diplomové, bakalářské a rigorózní práce, u kterých proběhla obhajoba, včetně posudků oponentů a výsledku obhajoby prostřednictvím databáze kvalifikačních prací, kterou spravuje. Způsob zveřejnění stanoví vnitřní předpis vysoké školy.

(2) Disertační, diplomové, bakalářské a rigorózní práce odevzdané uchazečem k obhajobě musí být též nejméně pět pracovních dnů před konáním obhajoby zveřejněny k nahlížení veřejnosti v místě určeném vnitřním předpisem vysoké školy nebo není-li tak určeno, v místě pracoviště vysoké školy, kde se má konat obhajoba práce. Každý si může ze zveřejněné práce pořizovat na své náklady výpisy, opisy nebo rozmnoženiny.

(3) Platí, že odevzdáním práce autor souhlasí se zveřejněním své práce podle tohoto zákona, bez ohledu na výsledek obhajoby.

2) zákon č. 121/2000 Sb. o právu autorském, o právech souvisejících s právem autorským a o změně některých zákonů (autorský zákon) ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, § 35 odst. 3:

(3) Do práva autorského také nezasahuje škola nebo školské či vzdělávací zařízení, užije-li nikoli za účelem přímého nebo nepřímého hospodářského nebo obchodního prospěchu k výuce nebo k vlastní potřebě dílo vytvořené žákem nebo studentem ke splnění školních nebo studijních povinností vyplývajících z jeho právního vztahu ke škole nebo školskému či vzdělávacímu zařízení (školní dílo).

3) zákon č. 121/2000 Sb. o právu autorském, o právech souvisejících s právem autorským a o změně některých zákonů (autorský zákon) ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, § 60 Školní dílo:

(1) Škola nebo školské či vzdělávací zařízení mají za obvyklých podmínek právo na uzavření licenční smlouvy o užití školního díla (§ 35 odst.

3). Odpírá-li autor takového díla udělit svolení bez vážného důvodu, mohou se tyto osoby domáhat nahrazení chybějícího projevu jeho vůle u soudu. Ustanovení § 35 odst. 3 zůstává nedotčeno.

(2) Není-li sjednáno jinak, může autor školního díla své dílo užít či poskytnout jinému licenci, není-li to v rozporu s oprávněnými zájmy školy nebo školského či vzdělávacího zařízení.

(3) Škola nebo školské či vzdělávací zařízení jsou oprávněny požadovat, aby jim autor školního díla z výdělku jím dosaženého v souvislosti s užitím díla či poskytnutím licence podle odstavce 2 přiměřeně přispěl na úhradu nákladů, které na vytvoření díla vynaložily, a to podle okolností až do jejich skutečné výše; přitom se přihlédne k výši výdělku dosaženého školou nebo školským či vzdělávacím zařízením z užití školního díla podle odstavce 1.

ABSTRAKT

Tato práce se zabývá výrazem podnikové město. V první kapitole je popsán jejich původ, typické znaky a odlišné koncepty, které postupem času vznikaly. Zabývá se také prvním americkým podnikovým městem, the City of Lowell. Další 2 kapitoly se zaměřují na konkrétní podniková města, která vznikla na konci 19. století – na Zlín a Ybor City. Do detailů rozebírají důvody a podmínky jejich založení, a stejně tak i jejich vzestup a úpadek. Na rozdíly a podobnosti mezi nimi poukazuje poslední kapitola.

Klíčová slova: Podnikové město, paternalistický, City of Lowell, Francis Cabot Lowell, Ybor City, Vincente Martinez Ybor, doutník, Zlín, Tomáš Baťa, boty

ABSTRACT

This work explains the term company town. The first chapter describes their origins, characteristics and different concepts which came into existence in the course of time. It also deals with the first American company town, the City of Lowell. The next 2 chapters concentrate on concrete company towns which were established at the end of nineteenth century – Zlín and Ybor City. The reasons for establishing, the conditions of establishing, the rises and declines of towns are analyzed in detail. The similarities and differences between these 2 towns are pointed out in the last chapter.

Keywords: Company town, paternalistic, City of Lowell, Francis Cabot Lowell, Ybor City, Vincente Martinez Ybor, cigar, Zlín, Tomáš Baťa, shoes

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I would like to thank my thesis advisor Gregory Jason Bell for his professional guidance and Jana Šopíková for her help with proofreading. Then I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family, especially to my grandparents Eva and Vlastimil, for their continuous support, love and faith in me during my studies. And finally I am sincerely thankful to my friends who did not let me go crazy and made me laugh at tense times during the writing process.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	9
1 COMPANY TOWNS	10
1.1 Origins of company towns.....	10
1.1.1 Company town characteristics.....	10
1.1.2 Company town concepts	12
1.2 Company towns in America	14
1.2.1 First American company town	19
2 YBOR CITY.....	26
2.1 The birth of Ybor City.....	26
2.2 Mutual-aid societies	32
2.3 The decline of Ybor City.....	35
3 ZLÍN	
3.1 The beginnings of Tomáš Baťa	38
3.2 The World War I	39
3.3 The inter-war years	40
3.4 The World War II.....	42
3.5 The Baťa system.....	43
4 THE COMPARISON OF TWO COMPANY TOWNS.....	47
CONCLUSION.....	51
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	52

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the nineteenth century entrepreneurs started establishing company towns, the places which offered housing and wages in exchange for labor. During the century, they became a common and popular phenomenon. Their establishment was closely related to the Industrial Revolution. They spread from the United Kingdom worldwide. Despite differences stemming from location, culture, and product they tended to share certain features.

Early company towns were typical for their exploitative character which began changing especially due to Francis Cabot Lowell who took an entirely paternalistic approach to his employees. In exchange for a job well done and a degree of control over their lives, he offered above standard living conditions and generally high wages. After his death, his associates established the first American company town, named the City of Lowell in his honor. Although some exploitative towns still remained, many entrepreneurs, especially Americans, followed the Lowell's pattern. The paternalistic approach was copied and adjusted to the specific demands of the entrepreneurs.

The Ybor City, Florida and Zlín, Moravia company towns were both established at the end of the nineteenth century. Although they were created on different continents and their founders were inspired by various people, they had much in common. This thesis documents the similarities and differences between Zlín and Ybor City and between their founders. Specifically, it compares the reasons and conditions for establishing. Then it deals with town structures, working and living conditions such wages, housing and gender inequality.

1 COMPANY TOWNS

1.1 Origins of company towns

Company towns have been variously defined. In general, they were towns established by companies where everything, including all buildings, businesses, and land, were owned and operated by a single entrepreneur or landlord. The first company towns were established in Europe and North America during the Industrial Revolution. Their main purpose was to acquire wealth that was at the time still hidden in isolated areas. To achieve economic success, entrepreneurs were founding new cities. According to historian J. D. Porteous, company towns were “temporary pioneering devices”¹ that were suitable for countries experiencing “rapid economic development.”² These devices were used to exploit idle territories.³ With the expansion of industrialization and capital investment, company towns came into being not only in North America and Europe but also in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Australia and Asia. Towns sprung up, variously referred to as single enterprise communities, mill towns, factory villages, enclaves, etc.⁴

1.1.1 Company town characteristics

The first company towns were usually located far from other cities yet close to natural resources. Later, they could also be found in the suburbs of big cities.⁵ Characteristics of company towns, notes Tanya Mohn “varied according to dominant economic activity, the location of the industry, the presence of private or state capital, the reliance on local or migrant labor, and the relative autonomy of company towns from local and national authorities.”⁶ The town itself was usually owned by a few investors and managed by one superintendent. The workforce was composed of managers, technicians, specialized and unskilled workers. For employees, entrepreneurs generally ensured housing, a cookhouse, a

¹ D. Porteous, “The Nature of the Company Town,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 51 (November 1970):127, accessed December 29, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/621766>.

² *Ibid.*, 127.

³ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁴ Marcelo J. Borges and Susana B. Torres, *Company Towns: Labor, Space, and Power Relations across Time and Continents* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1-2.

⁵ Tanya Mohn, “The Evolution of Company Towns: From Hershey’s to Facebook,” *Forbes*, January 17, 2013, accessed January 24, 2014, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/tanyamohn/2013/01/17/the-evolution-of-company-towns-from-hersheys-to-facebook/>.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

company store, a church and employment.⁷ For security, they sometimes hired policemen. They might also have provided schools, libraries, parks, theaters, community centers, swimming pools, dance halls, bowling alleys, and public transportation.⁸ The choice of provisions often depended on the type of town the entrepreneur wanted to build and on the labor he wanted to lure. Some company towns wanted to attract young, single men so they offered them card rooms, reading rooms, and cinemas.⁹

Towns were divided into two interconnected parts. Mines, oil fields, factories or textile workshops were places of production, whereas other buildings housed and served workers. The places of production were near the company towns so the employees did not have to worry about commuting.¹⁰ A lack of infrastructure generally necessitated living in the town, which was, in some cases, obligatory. The isolation of company towns tended to prevent workers from leaving their jobs.¹¹

Company towns were typical for their “dominance by physical expressions of economic enterprise,”¹² including docks, railroad yards, factories, and quite a lot of noise. The common feature of most company towns was the fact that they “were created all at once.”¹³ In general, there was no prescribed layout but some common features can be recognized. A large hotel provided shelter for new employees and at the same time served as a place for meetings. Near the hotel stood the large house of the town owner or superintendent. And finally the company store provided employees with anything from groceries to clothing. These three main buildings were surrounded by other public buildings and houses for employees. Especially before World War II, the houses were characterized by a uniformity of style and were made of easily accessible materials, e.g. in England the houses were often built of local brickwork. Some companies required the same color of façade for all of them. For instance, in Weed, California, all of the houses had to be painted red. The construction and design was easy. In America, the houses usually had a

⁷ Julie D. Clark, “Company Towns in America 1880 to 1930,” master’s thesis, Humboldt State University, 2006, 6, accessed January 15, 2014, <http://www.nohum.k12.ca.us/tah/maprojects/Clark.pdf>.

⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., 2.

¹¹ Stephen J. Lyons, “An American Way of Life,” *Star Tribune*, September 4, 2010, accessed January 18, 2014, <http://www.startribune.com/entertainment/books/102110549.html>.

¹² Porteous, “The Nature of Company Town,” 133.

¹³ Ibid., 134.

typical floor plan, containing a kitchen, living room, two bedrooms and a bathroom. No differences in density concerning the center and the suburbs were visible. In small towns, houses were usually organized in rows along the main street. Sometimes they were replaced by group of shacks surrounding the place of production. In larger towns “a variation of the standard grid pattern”¹⁴ was used.

Building such a company town was expensive and needed to be well planned. Even so, some towns felled victim to poor or short-sighted planning. Some parts of mining town had to be demolished to extend the extraction site.¹⁵

1.1.2 Company town concepts

According to historian John Garner, the concept of the company town was developed in the late nineteenth century, in mining camps, in the Appalachian region of the United States. These towns had antecedents, though.¹⁶

Mill villages were built in the early nineteenth century along rivers. They consisted of tens of cottages casually constructed around a mill, which was often built in close proximity to an energy source, such as running water. These early mill villages often produced textiles. Some of them remained small communities that were based mainly on family work. Others, especially the ones built near urban areas, formed into big company towns which provided occupations both to men, who worked in machine shops, and women, who ran the looms. The owners profited from the emergence of new technologies and a sufficiency of cheap, often immigrant, labor. Lowell, Massachusetts was a typical mill town.

Work camps differentiated from mill villages by direct access to mining and extractive sites and by employing only male workers who were accommodated in barracks. These camps were located in secluded regions. The life expectancy of these camps depended on the amount of available sources. In lumbering camps, all the timber was usually processed in one or two years while a camp mining coal could survive for decades. The camps with longer lifetimes offered workers higher level of accommodation and better services than camps with shot lifetime. Many work camps developed into company towns such as the lumber town in Texas. Work camps are quite common also nowadays with a few big

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

differences. Living and working conditions are much better, e.g. the town accommodates the whole family.¹⁷

Another concept is represented by industrial communitarian settlements. They were very similar to mill towns in terms of size, population and period of formation. On the other hand the structure was more complex and highly influenced by Charles Fourier's and Robert Owen's ideas of utopian socialism. These settlements acted as a response to economic crises and were considered as "a realistic and immediate cure for social ills."¹⁸ They were formed as associations. Industrial workers and merchants were the most demanded professions there. For example in New Harmony's settlement workers produced soap, glue, shoes, textiles, candles, alcohol, or agriculture products. In return they received healthcare, education and a share of the profits at the end of the year. But the initial enthusiasm was soon replaced by disappointment and frustration caused by low living standards. Multiple families living in one domicile was a common occurrence. Then problems with education and social life appeared and lastly there was little discipline and work coordination. Most workers ultimately returned back to their previous homes, so not many settlements grew into company towns.¹⁹

Some features of company towns can be found in company estates and enclave economies. J. D. Porteous notes that company estates as well as company towns are based on "factory-type organization of labor, reliance on outside workers, social isolation, and a degree of paternalism in labor-capital relations."²⁰ Company estates concentrated on agriculture and seasonal labor whereas company towns usually focused on industries and stable workforce. Workers of company estates had the advantage of not being controlled by the employer throughout the year. Residential areas were less developed in comparison to administrative, industrial and recreation buildings. Placement of houses had a hierarchical order with the owner's residence in the front. Sharecropping and tenancy were supposed complementary activities. It denotes that all production may not be operated by the company.

¹⁶ Borges and Torres, *Company Towns*: 4.

¹⁷ Borges and Torres, *Company Towns*: 4-6.

¹⁸ Yaacov Oved, *Two Hundred Years of American Communes* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993), 10.

¹⁹ Hardy Green, *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills that Shaped the American Economy* (New York: Basic Books, 2012), 6.

²⁰ Porteous, "The Nature of the Company Town," 128.

The enclave concept originates with Latin American scholars and describes “a model of production for export created and managed by foreign capital.”²¹ Enclaves were oriented on mining, extractive industries and tropical agriculture. They were located in Latin America countries and established by American companies. Common features of company towns and estates are the company’s ensuring and control of work and housing, access to resources and the need for stable labor. Labor was composed predominantly of internal migrants, but there were also some foreigners. The greatest difference between company towns and enclaves was that the enclaves tended to have more autonomy, the result of their locations and sources of capital, which denied government control. The autonomy was also influenced by the fact that management and main markets were in America. The Kennecott and Anaconda copper mines in Chile were typical enclaves.

The concept of a single-enterprise or monofunctional community “lacks the specificity of company town.”²² The company assures work but does not care about the running of the community. Agriculture towns, fishing villages, or military barracks belong to this group. “The presence of a particular employer in the local economy” is a typical feature of contemporary single-enterprise communities that can be found in big cities. Such communities are for example Turin, Italy or Toyota City, Japan.

Nowadays the term company town often refers to single industry towns that are created on corporate campuses and controlled by more companies. Instead of housing, many amenities such as food, daycares, fitness centers, or nap rooms are provided. Examples are the corporate headquarters of Facebook, Google, or Microsoft.²³

1.2 Company towns in America

In America there is a strong tradition of social experimentation. Pilgrims came there to create an ideal City on a Hill, so entrepreneurs asked themselves why they could not do this as well.²⁴ The first American company towns were established during the nineteenth century. Their greatest expansion lasted from 1880s until the 1930s, especially in the fields of mining, lumber, and manufacturing, all of which required huge amounts of labor.²⁵

²¹ Borges and Torres, *Company Towns*, 8.

²² *Ibid.*, 6.

²³ Mohn, “The Evolution of Company Towns.”

²⁴ Green, *The Company Town*, 3.

²⁵ Clark, “Company Towns in America 1880 to 1930,” 7.

America had a unique and better opportunity for establishing such towns than other countries. A large amount of vacant land and the government's laissez-faire attitude toward business supported their establishment. There were between 2,500 and 3,000 company towns.²⁶ American company towns were seen by some scholars as un-American, but over time they became the real essence of America. They started to spread simultaneously with the arrival of new technologies and the rise of an industry. Soon they played the role of a "major factor in industry, economics and westward development."²⁷ Their success was dependent on the rate of extraction of sources that was performed by workers "with the modern technological methods available to them."²⁸ Company towns "appeared in many different forms, locations, and situations."²⁹

Historian Hardy Green divided American company towns into two basic categories.³⁰ The first type is exploitative. Owners of these companies focused mainly on profit. They believed that "society as a whole benefits most when enterprises are cost-effective, productive and profitable." Employees of such company towns were generally treated roughly. Their wages were low, and their working conditions often terrible. Families lived in shacks and sometimes were compelled to shop only in company stores, which often had a monopolistic trade advantage. According to one estimate, prices in company stores "were generally 2.1 to 10.4 percent higher than in neighbouring establishments."³¹ As for payments, the use of scrip instead of cash was common. Companies were often willing to provide credit, which in combination with high prices, frequently led employees into debt. Examples of this model are Appalachian mining company towns.³²

Paternalistic, sometimes called utopian, is the second type of company town. Entrepreneurs wanted to better the life of their employees. They wanted to see them satisfied so they took care not only for their professional life but also for their personal development. Entrepreneurs practiced a method of social pioneering device. They tried to mold and uplift the workers "through the socio-religious ideas of the philanthropic

²⁶ Joseph Schumpeter, "Company towns: The Universal Provider," *Economist*, January 19, 2011, accessed January 5, 2014, http://www.economist.com/blogs/schumpeter/2011/01/company_towns.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁰ Lyons, "An American Way of Life."

³¹ Porteous, "The Nature of the Company Town," 132

³² Green, *The Company Town*, 4-5.

industrialist.” As a consequence, they built modern public buildings that could be used in leisure time. According to historian Oliver J. Dinius, “the early company town was like a large family.” The entrepreneur acted there as a father who looked after his employees and their families. He protected his children from upheavals and was supposed to know what was best for them.³³

The structure of most American company towns was similar, but some structures were predetermined by the layout of the town. Many lumber towns were built on bad terrain, in canyons where the mill was situated, and other buildings were spread around the hill. However, the majority of towns followed initial the plan of Pullman’s City, which can be considered a model. Before the housing part was built, workers sometimes lived in tents or boarding houses, especially in mining towns. In a completed city, “bunkhouses often were separated from family houses, and manager’s homes often were built atop hills or on larger lots.”³⁴ The provision of other services and buildings depended on the owner’s degree of paternalism, his wealth, the town’s location, and labor requirements. Generally, the towns which were closer to other urban areas provided better services. One company town in California offered non-standard amenities such as a “drug store, general department store, hardware store, supermarket, dentist office, dry cleaning establishment, bank, and movie theater.”³⁵ A church was almost in every town, sometimes with mandatory attendance, while the saloon was not so frequent thanks to occasional bans on alcohol consumption, which were difficult to enforce in urban settings. This often resulted in domestic manufacturing of alcohol. Some towns were open, so the living there was not compulsory and workers could commute. This was typical for towns which were located near other towns. Some entrepreneurs were focused on the esthetics of their towns, which could cause employees to not consider their rented houses as real homes. This beautiful but exaggerated physical appearance often attracted many artists who wanted to experience the atmosphere in the town.

A large number of immigrants and blacks were typical for American company towns. Immigrants started coming at the end of the nineteenth century. They were generally from Eastern and Southern Europe, mainly from Italy. Their arrival was significant because it

³³ Mohn, “The Evolution of Company Towns: From Hershey’s to Facebook.”

³⁴ Linda Carlson, *Company Towns of the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 15.

“set up a class system.”³⁶ While Americans made up a higher class, Europeans created a middle class, and blacks and Hispanics were usually part of the lower class. There were big differences in housing and wages between them. For example in the West Virginia coal mines, blacks earned 6 cents less and Europeans 4 cents less than white Americans. Despite the fact that blacks were considered as “used to low wages,”³⁷ working in a company town often meant an increase in their wages, so when some white workers were dissatisfied, replacing them with black workers was a common practice. The influx of immigrants also caused the alienation of workers from the employer. “Language barrier and unfamiliar customs”³⁸ were identified as the main reasons. As a result, in some towns, people of the same nationality or culture lived in their own places and had, e.g., their own soccer clubs and law enforcement.

In many towns, segregation and racism were a visible side effect of immigration. In some cases, immigrants lived in isolated buildings. Blacks were usually segregated and lived in the worst houses with no water or electricity. Sometimes, notes David Corbin, they were “forced to pay excessively high rent, and suffered from an inequality of public services.”³⁹ Generally there were not many towns where the living and working conditions were the same for workers of any race. Coal towns in West Virginia provided at least the same “housing quality”⁴⁰ for all of them. Blacks appeared very useful at the time of strikes. Many owners hired them and used them as strikebreakers, for example in Colorado, in 1884. Uniting and watching out for others when working without any racial prejudice was exceptional, especially in mining towns, where a presence of a great danger was.

Working in any company town was recognized dangerous. In mining towns, there was a high danger of explosion. In some towns, workers could injure by falling into one of holes in the earth. Consequences varied from light or serious injuries even to death. Financial compensation for the death was very low, so the widowed women had to

³⁵ Clark, “Company Towns in America 1880 to 1930,” 6.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁷ As quoted in David Corbin, *Life, Work and Rebellion in the Coal Fields* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 63.

³⁸ Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman’s Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (New York: Verso, 1995), 33.

³⁹ David Corbin, *Life, Work and Rebellion in the Coal Fields: The Southern West Virginia Miners, 1880-1922* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 66.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

immediately find a replacement for her deceased husband in order to survive. Otherwise the men needed a woman who will look after him and his children.

The presence of women in company towns was important but not as much as the presence of men. Women often worked in cookhouses and “had to do everything related to the household chores,” and most importantly they “kept miners settled.”⁴¹ Unfortunately, not all women had such significance. In some towns, they became a target of discrimination and together with blacks and immigrants; they created the lowest part of social ladder. Many of them, especially those from mining towns, earned a living as prostitutes, and even if they married and started going to the church, they usually would not become a respected part of community.

In the course of time, as the car use became more widespread and technologies progressed, company towns began to lose its importance. In addition, costs of maintaining the town properties were gradually increasing and entrepreneurs usually did not have enough money for it and for modernizing of technologies. Great Depression which had bad consequences for many fields of industry including mining and logging was the last straw. Those, who did not go bankrupt, started to close their company towns from 1920’s to the 1930’s. Closure of west company towns was often caused by poor sanitary conditions and the threat of contamination of water supplies while the coal towns became useless with the spread of electricity and hydrology, and with the use of new sources such as gas and oil. Replacement of workers by machines was another crucial factor that shortened working hours and reduced the demand for labor. According to historian Crandall Shifflett,” the mechanization in the mines, unionization, and World War II were the forces of change that reshaped the company towns and ultimately caused their closing.”⁴² After the closure, owners had to decide what to do with the empty towns. Many towns, especially those in the west, were demolished or “became ghost towns,”⁴³ whereas some of them were bought by huge corporation or prospectors who “made them into resorts.”⁴⁴ Not all company towns were closed in the early 20th century. Some of them adapted to changes and survived the Great Depression. But in the end, they were closed only few decades later. The most

⁴¹ Ibid., 12.

⁴² Crandall Shifflett, *Coal Towns: Life, Work, and Culture in Company Towns of Southern Appalachia, 1880-1960* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 199.

⁴³ Clark, “Company Towns in America 1880 to 1930,” 25.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 25.

persistent town was the town of Scotia, in California, which was wholly owned by Pacific Lumber Company in the past. This town gained independence in 2011.

1.2.1 First American company town

The idea to create self-sufficient community was firstly born in 1791. Members of The Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures wanted to build community near the Great Falls of the Passaic River, New Jersey, so they started a project. They hired an architect Pierre Charles L'Enfant, who covered textile mill, textile printing plant and housing for workers into his plans. Fulfilling Peter's plans was very demanding task. By 1796 the project was stopped and in 1840's the area developed into industrial mill town known as Paterson.⁴⁵

The real precursors of American company towns were most probably Rhode Island Mills operated by English industrialist Samuel Slater. When he was in England, he visited textile companies Arkwright and Strutt. This experience inspired him. In 1789 he arrived to America and started to work for mercantile company of Almy and Brown. For this company, he and his assistant constructed a water frame which was functional and similar to British one. Samuel became a partner of Almy and Brown and then he hired a building of former mill which was located at Pawtucket, near the Blackstone River. His first labor consisted mostly of children whose wage costs were low. At the very beginning, he started with seven boys and two girls aged from 7 to 12. In the course of time, he started to employ women. All families were provided with housing, church and Sunday school. The employees were paid with credit at company stores. During 1820's - 1830's, he established another mills, for example in Slatersville, Smithfield, Wilkinsonville etc. Nowadays, he is known mainly as the founder of American textile industry.

1.2.1.1 The City of Lowell

Francis Cabot Lowell was American businessman. In 1811 he visited Britain and found their "manufacturing towns very dirty."⁴⁶ As he wanted to differentiate, he along with members of Boston Associates, including Nathan Appleton, Patrick Tracy Jackson and Paul Moody built the first textile mill at Waltham, Massachusetts and formed Boston Manufacturing Company in 1813. Their mills were unique because they were not owned by

⁴⁵Green, *The Company Town*, 12.

individual but by Limited Liability Corporation. That mill was powered by Charles River and was the first mill who “converted raw cotton into cloth in one uninterrupted process.”⁴⁷ The capital, funded mainly by Jackson and Lowell, was 400,000 dollars. This money returned back in 7 years. Young women from farms created the majority of labor and they were accommodated in company boardinghouses. By 1814, Waltham’s mechanic Paul Moody constructed first power loom resembling the one in Manchester. Waltham produced cheap clothes that rivaled British textile companies and together with Rhode Island Mills imitated Manchester. This was stopped by the ban on export of manufacture technology from Britain. Lowell, who was supposed a soul of this corporation, died in 1817. There were 3 mills in 1820. The problem appeared when the third mill exhausted water power. Associates started looking for another place where they could continue in their business.

Area at Merrimack River, which was found by Moody, appeared suitable location in November 1821. In the past, this area was inhabited by many tribes of Native Americans, who lived from agriculture. In the seventeenth century Europeans came and established more permanent communities.

In 1821, the area was sparsely populated; however the infrastructure was quite developed. In addition, there were 2 canals, Pawtucket and Middlesex. The associates bought the land and canals from Proprietors of the Locks and Canals. Then they formed Merrimack Manufacturing c.o., whose shares were divided between Appleton, Jackson, Moody, John Boott and his brother Kirk. The capital was in the amount of 600,000 dollars. It took almost 2 years to build a new mill town which was named after the founder of Boston Manufacturing Company, the Lowell.

Kirk Boott acted there as the main architect and treasurer. He came up with the layout of streets. For construction of mills and boarding houses he used 30 Irish workers. The early boarding houses were made of wood, later they started to use bricks. Finally, Boott extended Pawtucket canal and built a new one. Soon, they constructed a church, offered a circulating library and used the first water wheel. The unused land and water power was sold back to Proprietors of the Locks and Canals in 1824, in order to allow purchase by other companies, e.g. Tremont, Lawrence Corporation etc. With this expansion, Lowell

⁴⁶ Green, *The Company* 8.

⁴⁷ Allan MacDonald, Lowell: “A Commercial Utopia” *The New England Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (March 1937): 38.

soon became “the nation’s largest manufacturing center,”⁴⁸ but the competition started growing. It caused price reduction, reduction in profits and deterioration of working and living condition. All these companies agreed on the same wages, working hours and regulations. Even the cut wages were reported at once. Till the middle of nineteenth century, there were about 40 mill buildings, often made of red bricks. The buildings usually had from 4 to 6 floors and each floor was used for different stages of production.⁴⁹

The management in Lowell was divided between 3 people. Boott served as a treasurer and agent at the same time. Then there was the superintendent who was in charge of running of production and hiring new employees. The last member was clerk-accounting. During 1850’s, population grew and Lowell soon became the second largest city in the state. Labor was represented by 2 groups. Each group was typical for the specific period of time. In the beginnings Lowell hold the paternalistic attitude toward young women, who created approximately three quarters of workforce. But in 1950’s, this attitude started to vanish and women were replaced with immigrants.

Women workers, often called Lowell Mill Girls, formed the core of Lowell. They were “unskilled”⁵⁰ and came mainly from New England. Their age varied. The youngest ones were 10 years old but the bigger part was about 20 years. They had to adhere to the company rules, which were written in the Handbook of Lowell. The attendance of church was compulsory for all of them and no immoral behavior such as drinking alcohol or attending dancing classes was accepted. For breaking these rules they could have been even dismissed and then they would not be able to find a work in this area anymore. Girls could miss the work only in the case of sickness. Taking anything from the mills was considered as the theft. Living in boarding houses was obligatory. In return for obeying these rules they got “a generally high wage”⁵¹ which was received monthly in cash. In 1830’s, they earned approximately 12-14 dollars per month. The fee for occupying boarding house was torn down from the wage and was about 1 dollar and quarters a week. Some girls send money to their families, some saved them in order to afford better education. Their contract

⁴⁸ Thomas Dublin, “Women, Work and Protest in the Early Lowell Mills: “The Oppressing Hand of Avarice Would Enslave Us,” *Labor History* 16, (1975): 99.

⁴⁹ Green, *The Company Town*, 13-14.

⁵⁰ Hardy Green, “The Continuity of U.S. Company Towns,” Hardy Green, November 27, 2012, accessed February 25, 2014, <http://hardygreen.com/the-continuity-of-u-s-company-towns/>.

⁵¹ “Lowell Mill Girls,” Lowell.com, accessed February 28, 2014, <http://www.lowell.com/lowell-mill-girls>

was for one year and if they wanted to quit, they had to announce it 2 weeks in advance. Girls usually stayed working in Lowell for 4 years. In the early Lowell, there was a small percentage of immigrants and men. Girls had almost no contact with men because they worked in different rooms. The only men they met were their supervisors and 2 assistants for each room helping them with work.

Living in boarding houses had both advantages and disadvantages. The boarding houses were considered as crowded places without any privacy at all. They usually accommodated about 25 girls in one house, 6 girls in one bedroom and sometimes 2 girls had to sleep in one bed. Every boarding house had own keeper represented by older woman, usually a widow, who supervised the girls. They had to follow the curfew at 10 p.m. and respect the ban on male visits. But on the other hand they could attend lectures, concerts or borrow books, papers or journals from the library. Later on, they also started to “form circles for evening study,”⁵² where they could “learn French, ancient languages, moral science, botany, literature, etc.”⁵³ In every boarding house, there was a piano which girls could play. The meals were hearty and tasty. They included meat twice a day and sometimes they got a kind of dessert.

Girl’s daily schedule was driven by the sound of the bells. They woke up at 4:30 a.m. and they had only a little time for breakfast because at 4:50 they had to be already at workplace. During the day they had a pause for lunch. Their working time ended at 7 p.m. They worked 14 hours a day, six days a week. After the work, girls spent most of their leisure time at boarding houses, reading or sewing. They had 3 annual holidays and free Sundays which usually spent by going for a walk. New employees came usually on the recommendation of someone, who had already worked in Lowell. In a few weeks, they had to gain practice under the supervision of experienced worker. Their wage depended on the amount of work done and was received daily.

Mill Girls attracted attention of many travelers. One of them was English writer Charles Dickens, who visited Lowell in 1842. His experiences later appeared in one chapter of the book of travels called *American Notes for General Circulation*. He described the city and girls in a very positive way. He saw them as “well dressed”⁵⁴ and “healthy in

⁵² MacDonald, Lowell: “A Commercial Utopia,” 47.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁵⁴ Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1842), 155.

appearance.”⁵⁵ Although the girls often complained about working conditions such as bad ventilation at workplace, Dickens says that “there was as much fresh air, cleanliness, and comfort, as the nature of occupation would possibly admit it.”⁵⁶ Another person who wrote about Lowell and girls was French journalist Michel Chevalier. He wrote 2 letters in 1834. He also described girls as good looking and well paid in comparison to Manchester. By the way of contrast, many intellectuals criticized Lowell because they recognized some features of slavery in factory labor.

As a tool for bettering conditions and spiritual development of girls, should have served magazine *The Lowell Offering*. It was the first American magazine that was “produced entirely by women.”⁵⁷ It collected stories, songs and poems which were written by mill girls. Some of them were serious, some tried to be amusing. They often wrote about the work in mills and their spare time. It started publishing in 1840 and lasted until 1845. The editor was pastor of the First Universalist Church, Abel Charles Thomas. The magazine became popular almost immediately. It came out monthly. Unfortunately, only about 70 girls contributed to the magazine. For few of them it became a springboard for their future career, for example Harriet Hanson became a poet or Harriet Curtis succeeded as a novelist.⁵⁸

During 1830’s and 1940’s, the problems started to appear. The prices for textiles began to fall due to the fierce competition. Lowell ran part time. Companies announced a wage cut and started to dismiss people. In 1834, the girls went on strike for the first time. They walked through the streets and miss the work for 8 hours. The strike was suppressed soon. As a result, some girls left the company. The problems continued also in 1836. This year, the demand for textiles raised and companies had a lack of labor. They wanted to cut piecework wage and as the opposite girls wanted to shorten working hours. Companies also wanted to increase the fee for living. This time girls were more successful because the fee remained the same. Many women left because “they did not like the lowering of standards.”⁵⁹ They went to universities, became teachers, nurses or find another job near their true homes. The pamphlet *Corporations and Operatives* was written by a citizen of

⁵⁵ Ibid., 156.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 156.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 48.

⁵⁸ MacDonald, Lowell: “A Commercial Utopia,” 56.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 61.

Lowell in 1841. It was a complaint about short breaks, regular wage cuts, no privacy and crowded boarding houses. Some employees even thought that companies makes the mill clocks go slower during the day and faster during the night. As a consequence, workers from Pawtucket collected 500 dollars to buy own clock. The girls unified in 1845 for the last time. They created the petition demanding for shortening working hours from 14 to 11 hours a day. They succeeded again but with the arrival of new technologies “labor became too difficult for women.”⁶⁰

In 1850’s the Lowell became a wholly different place. The girls were gradually replaced with immigrants. The first wave of immigrants came from Ireland as a result of potato-famine. These people were willing to work for lower wages than girls. New Dublin sometimes called the Acre was the poorest part where they lived in shacks. Some changes came hand in hand with the arrival of immigrants. Workers did not have to live in company housing and attend the church anymore. From 1840’s to 1860’s, many new factories were built, for example in Chicopee and Saco. Lawrence in Massachusetts started to develop as well. Quite a big number of new factories did not succeed because of the small demand for textile during the Civil War and had to be closed. After the Civil War, most of mills were reopened and began to use steam power. In 1867, mule spinners wanted to shorten their working hours to 10 hours a day but they did not succeeded. In 1875, the same group of workers protested against wage cuts and as a result, they were dismissed. In 1870’s, many immigrants such as French Canadians, Poles and Greeks came to work in the mills and completed the process of replacement. At the end of nineteenth century, more than 40 nationalities lived there. It caused segregation in terms of housing and other institutions. Companies intentionally chased the groups against each other and used new employees as strike breakers. This was visible in 1903, when skilled workers acquired raise in wage by 10%. The mills closed immediately and reopened after 2 months with completely new laborers mainly from Portugal, Poland and Greek. In 1912, there was a strike requiring 15% wages increase. It was supported by Industrial Workers of the World, the radical group who had already participated in strike in Lawrence. Finally, the companies accepted 10% wage rise and bettering the working conditions. In the times of World War I, some mills were closed and some were moved to Carolina and Maine. 1920’s and 1930’s were

⁶⁰ Ibid., 60.

very critical because of the decline in textile industry and the arrival of Great Depression. Almost two thirds of citizens were unemployed or worked part time. Any business from butchers to doctors did not prosper, except from charity. Momentary increase in demand came during the World War II, when Merimack, Boott and Lawrence mills were in operation. But soon like in many company towns, technology became outdated and many mills and boarding houses were destroyed during 1950's and 1960's. The population began to fall and on the contrary unemployment was growing. In 1990's the city was rebuilt and many building which remained were converted into flats and offices.⁶¹

⁶¹ Green, *The Company Town*, 21.

2 YBOR CITY

At the beginning of nineteenth century, Cuba was still remaining a part of Spanish Empire with considerable importance. Except from insignificant amount of mined metals Cubans lived mainly from agriculture. There was a booming sugar production which brought many African slaves who soon created majority of generally small population. In 1817 when “Cuba was opened to international trade,”⁶² it became well-known American and European importer of tobacco which was at the time of “Cuba’s second most important crop.”⁶³ Many new factories giving employment to a large number of people were opened. They prospered until the Ten Years War for independence came in 1868. The war was considered “a result of Creole rivalry with Spaniards for the governing of the island.”⁶⁴ It was led by sugar planter Carlos Manuel de Céspedes who wanted to join Cuba to America and abolish slavery. About 40 planters supported him with giving the freedom to slaves. The war ended in victory for the Spain. During and after this war “thousands of Cubans”⁶⁵ immigrated to the United States as a result of high unemployment and settled in the area of Key West. 90 % of them worked in the cigar industry and “were among the highest-paid skilled workers at the time.”⁶⁶ Some of them followed their predecessors who established cigar plants in Key West in 1831 for the first time and helped Key West to become the largest city in Florida.⁶⁷ One of them was Don Vicente Martínez Ybor.

2.1 The birth of Ybor City

Vicente Ybor was born in 1818, in Spain. At the age of 14, he left Spain probably in order to avoid compulsory military service. His own factory producing cigars was opened in 1856, in Havana. El Príncipe de Gales was the brand name of his cigars. At the beginning of the Ten Years War, he supported revolution and as the punishment, the arrest

⁶² Lee Bottari Sierra and Loy Glenn Westfall, “In Honor of the Fuentes’ One-Hundredth Anniversary: A History of the Charles the Great Factory and Its Owners,” *Tampa Bay History* 26 (2012): 84.

⁶³ Susan D. Greenbaum, *More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 50.

⁶⁴ “History of Cuba,” One World Nations Online, accessed January 15, 2014, <http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Cuba-history.htm>.

⁶⁵ Loy Glenn Westfall, „Latin Entrepreneurs and the Birth of Ybor City,” *A Centennial History of Ybor City* 7, no.2 (fall/winter 1985): 7.

⁶⁶ Susan D. Greenbaum, *Afro-Cubans in Ybor City: A Centennial History*, (Tampa: University of South Florida, 1986): 15.

⁶⁷ Joe Knetsch and Nick Wynne, *Florida in the Spanish-American War* (Charleston: The History Press, 2011): 23.

warrant for him was issued. In order to avoid jail, he was forced to move to Key West in 1869 where he built a new factory and continued with producing cigars.⁶⁸ Many Cuban entrepreneurs followed him. Their success was dependent on low tariff that was applied on import of tobacco leaves and on a big amount of immigrant labor, mainly from Cuba and Spain. In 1870's, there were more than 45 cigar factories employing hundreds of workers. The Key West became American cigar center soon.⁶⁹

Eduardo Manrara was Ybor's partner and spokesperson because he had better knowledge of English than Ybor which he obtained when living in New York. He was responsible for running the Key West factory and for controlling management. They operated the company successfully for 15 years. During that time, there was almost a tangible tension between Spanish and Cuban workers and a few more or less relevant strikes. In addition, due to the remote location that was connected with "isolation from supplies, raw materials, and markets,"⁷⁰ Key West stopped being a desirable place for business. Moreover there was a problem with a shortage of fresh water and bad infrastructure.

In 1883, Manrara and Ybor started looking for more suitable place. Ybor and another Key West cigar maker, Ignacio Haya, were told about Tampa, as one of such places, by Spanish broker Gavino Gutiérrez who has explored the area looking for guava trees that he wanted to use for guava jelly production.⁷¹ In the early 1890's, Tampa was a small village with "less than 1,000 residents."⁷² The infrastructure was not well developed but this should have changed with the construction of Henry Plant's South Florida Railway. Both, Ybor and Haya visited Tampa and found it appropriate due to warm weather and short distance to Cuba. Ybor also thought that the struggles between workers and power of unions could have been lessened in this remote area. On Ybor's second visit to Tampa in 1885, he started negotiating.⁷³

⁶⁸ Greenbaum, *More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa*, 59.

⁶⁹ Paula Harper, "Cuba Connections: Key West. Tampa. Miami, 1870 to 1945." *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 22 (1996): 279.

⁷⁰ Durward Long, "The Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modern Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45, no.1 (July, 1966):32.

⁷¹ Knetsch and Wynne, *Florida in the Spanish-American War*, 27.

⁷² Westfall, "Latin Entrepreneurs and the Birth of Ybor City," 5.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 9.

Tampa's officials were excited by the idea of new industry entering their city. In order to "promote the city in a more effective manner,"⁷⁴ they established the Tampa Board of Trade. Ybor was interested in buying of 40 acres of land located to the northeast from Tampa. The land was uncivilized, flat and muddy, with dense woods, sand and a large number of wild animals. It belonged to John Lesley, who was at the time the vice-president of the Tampa Board of Trade. The price he set was 9,000 dollars. Ybor knew that Lesley bought the land for 5,000 dollars not long ago, so he refused and started thinking about completely different place. In the store, he met William Henderson, who really wanted Ybor to stay and start the business. He convinced the Board of Trade to organize an extraordinary meeting on October 22, 1855, and finally on October 22, 1885 Ybor and the Tampa Board of Trade made a deal. Ybor paid 5,000 for the land and the rest was financed from the subsidy Ybor Fund Committee. In a short time, Ybor was followed by Haya who purchased the land next to his. Both of them competed to see who will construct the factory and start production first.

Since Ybor's factory in Key West was still running he was supposed to build only a small factory. But in 1886, Key West factory was burnt to the ground by a large fire. Then Ybor decided to center all his business in Tampa and to create his own community modeled after Pullman who "wanted his employees to feel as wealthy as he felt."⁷⁵ He soon bought more acres of land and began with the construction.

Gavino Gutiérrez was hired as a civil engineer. His task was to create the layout of the town. First, the land needed to be "cleared from the mud and scrub."⁷⁶ Only after that the construction could start. The streets running north and south were numbered however, those running east and west were given names according to states of union. The local architect C.F. Purcell was commissioned to build a temporary factory and houses. The factory wholly made of wood had 3 storeys. The capacity was 800 workers. Since there was no possibility to lighten it artificially, there were large windows on each floor and workers had to start working in the early morning and finished with the sunset. After finishing the wooden factory, Ybor started to build a new brick factory with 3 storeys on the corner of Ninth Avenue and Fourteenth Street. 50 houses for workers were "set on a foundation of

⁷⁴ Ibid., 33.

⁷⁵ Clark, "Company Towns in America 1880 to 1930," 6.

⁷⁶ Harper, "Cuba Connections: Key West. Tampa. Miami, 1870 to 194," 283.

brick pillars,” that was supposed to raise them up above the bad terrain. The local workers were used for the construction. Soon, a problem that must have been solved appeared.⁷⁷

As the Tampa’s population was low in numbers, Ybor was short of workers. Due to warm climate, he thought that his factory could attract Latin workers. For that purpose, he built houses less expensive than the ones in Key West and provided other benefits. His early workers were predominantly Cubans and Spanish. Later on, they were completed with Italians. The influx of new companies also could lure more workers, so Ybor established Ybor City Land and Improvement Company which bought and sold real estates on October 10, 1886. Many entrepreneurs including mainly “cigar label and box makers”⁷⁸ enticed by “free ten-year leases”⁷⁹ on newly built factories and manager’s dwelling came to Ybor and set up the business. Most of them came from Key West especially after the strike in 1889 but some of them were from New York and Atlanta. The examples were Emilio Pons and Company, R. Monné Interests, etc. Sometimes, entrepreneurs required a subsidy and other incentives from the Tampa Board of Trade. The specified quantity and quality of manufactured cigars and the amount of workers were pre-defined. Ybor acted in Ybor City Land and Improvement Company as a president, Manrara was vice-president, Chamberlin got the position of secretary-treasurer and Knight was appointed attorney.⁸⁰ This company also donated money to firemen volunteers who grouped together into El Cuartel de Humanidad.⁸¹

Both Ybor’s and Haya’s factories started operating on March 26, 1886 but Haya’s Flor de Sanchez and Haya cigars were the first cigars produced. It was caused mainly by the delay of Ybor’s supplies of tobacco and unwillingness of Cuban workers to work under the direction of Spanish bookkeeper.⁸² Cigars were hand made of delicious and clear Vuelta Abajo tobacco which was brought from Cuba. The cigar consisted of 2 parts. The first part was a body, often called the bunch and the other was the outer covering created by the wrapper leaf. The tobacco used for manufacturing varied according to color, texture, aroma, and uniformity and blending properties. The way of manufacturing depended on the

⁷⁷ Westfall, “Latin Entrepreneurs and the Birth of Ybor City,” 11-15.

⁷⁸ Knetsch and Wynne, *Florida in the Spanish-American War*, 27.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 283.

⁸⁰ Long, “The Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modern Tampa,” 38.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 13.

cigar they needed to make, e.g., panatela, corona, perfecto, queen or sublime. The workers needed a wooden board and curved knife for their work while sitting at the long table. They were paid piece rates. At the end of nineteenth century, the production was becoming gradually mechanized. As a result, the quality was decreasing and many workers stayed unemployed.⁸³

The packaging of cigars was also important part of production. They should attract new customers and keep the old ones. Lithography shops made cigar boxes according to manufacturer's wishes. Generally, they were very colorful often with three dimensional effects. The pictures on boxes were old-fashioned with Spanish or Tampa themes and scenes. Many brands of cigar were produced in Ybor City and their names were "Spanish-sounding."⁸⁴

With the increasing population, Ybor had to build more houses for workers. In 1886, there were nearly 90 houses and 176 dwellings. The houses were made of wooden boards. They were small and framed. A typical house consisted of 2 storeys with 2 or 3 rooms. Outside, there were shared toilets. The house was surrounded by a white fence and its cost varied according to location and ranged from 750 to 900 dollars. They were financially affordable and, moreover, Ybor offered an interest-free installment plan. The houses were initially lightened with candles, later with kerosene lamps. Many public buildings such as hotels, grocery stores, meat markets, drug stores and restaurants were built till the end of 1886.⁸⁵ Ybor often served as godfather to worker's children. He also helped people in financial difficulties and sometimes he contributed money to worker's funeral expenses.⁸⁶ During the Christmas time, he gave to his employees suckling pig and pastries.⁸⁷ Due to that he was seen as very benevolent and paternalistic.

Vincente Ybor had to face many problems which occurred especially at the beginning. The lack of drinkable water was a big issue. Water from only one well was insufficient so people were often forced to carry water from distant places. Later, they collected rainwater

⁸³ Gloria Jahoda, *River of the Golden Ibis* (Austin: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973): 215-222.

⁸⁴ Loy Glenn Westfall, "Cigar Label Art: A Photo Essay," *Tampa Bay History* 7, no.2 (fall/winter, 1985): 106.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁸⁶ Louis A. Perez, "Cubans in Tampa: From Exiles to Immigrants, 1892-1901," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 57, no.2 (October, 1978): 132.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 223.

into barrels or used hand pumps but these ways also proved inefficient due to the insect, mud, sand and rocks that had to be selected from water.⁸⁸

Another problem was almost non-existent medical care. People suffered from various diseases, the most common were malaria, yellow fever and typhoid. Some of them were caused by insect, such as gnats and mosquitos, which was present mainly in water and survived in marshes. In early Ybor, men usually came there first and later the rest of their families joined them. The lack of women resulted in rise of prostitution and venereal diseases. Working conditions such as warmth and closed factory windows aided to the spread of diseases, especially tuberculosis.⁸⁹ Many Tampa's doctors were not willing to come to Ybor and treat local people. Sometimes they even closed on Sundays when workers had the only day off. Ybor tried to solve this situation and called a Spanish doctor Guillermo Machádo in 1887. He and other doctors, who came later formed organization La Igual that offered a medical care for workers in exchange for 50 cents a week.⁹⁰ In the same year, Tampa was struck by yellow fever epidemics that killed almost 80 people. In 1888, the group of entrepreneurs met in order to solve the problems of insufficient medical care and growing absence from work that were interconnected and finally they decided to sponsor El Porvenir association. They hired the doctor and offered a medical care to its members for 1.25 dollars a month.⁹¹ These 2 organizations competed to each other and early they were followed by La America and La Fe organizations.⁹²

The transportation was a big task problem to the sand. Before the sidewalks were made, people used oil to settle the dust down. Sidewalks were first made of wood but later at the beginning of 20th century, they were rebuilt with bricks.⁹³ Ybor City and Tampa were connected with a steam streetcar since April 1886. The frequency of running was every hour. Thanks to that, Tampan and Latin communities could visit each other easily. Latins went to Tampa to visit parks on Sundays, whereas Tampanns enjoyed eating in Little

⁸⁸ Ibid., 14-115.

⁸⁹ Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzeta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985*, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1987): 177.

⁹⁰ Greenbaum, *More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa*, 154.

⁹¹ Long, "The Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modern Tampa," 42-43.

⁹² Ibid., 154.

⁹³ Westfall, "Latin Entrepreneurs and the Birth of Ybor City," 11.

Havana restaurants. In spite of that, both communities stayed isolated and kept their own traditions and cultures.⁹⁴

Due to these visits and rapidly growing Latin community, Ybor had to resolve a problem with maintaining law and order. Together with other cigar makers he hired a group of guards that was too small. As Tampa wanted to keep its citizens safe during the visits the Tampa Board of Trade sent a request to the Florida legislature in order to broaden Tampa's frontiers and join Ybor City, North Tampa and Old Tampa in 1887. The reactions reflected in 3 petitions, one of them signed by Vincente Ybor. Ybor could not find any advantages resulting from this uniting because he has already assured many things such as sidewalks, lights, etc. The petitions turned up useless because on June 2, 1887, Ybor City became the fourth ward of Tampa. Ybor's son Cándidor was elected a member of city council who represented the fourth ward. This connection brought to Ybor City many changes. The construction of new sidewalks paved with wood started and the streets were lined with newly planted trees. Drainage ditches were built and a single-track railway powered by steam was opened.⁹⁵ Finally, Tampa policemen kept the order over Latins. Another Tampa's cigar center was established in 1892. It was called West Tampa and led by Scottish entrepreneur Hugh MacFarlane who offered "manufacturers free land for their factories in exchange for the prospect of selling houses to the workers."⁹⁶

2.2 Mutual-aid societies

This joining strengthened the importance of culture and traditions. Latins were separated into groups according to their nationality. Each group formed a specific community and often "built its own social club and mutual-aid society."⁹⁷

Mutual-aid societies created a soul of Ybor City. The concept spread from Europe and arrived to Ybor City together with immigrants clustering into voluntary organizations. These associations helped to assure medical care and cultural life to its members.

Ybor City was known for a big number of small saloons which offered alcohol and sometimes also "free lunches and pretty saloon girls"⁹⁸, so when the threat of prohibition

⁹⁴Ibid., 13.

⁹⁵Ibid., 39-41.

⁹⁶Greenbaum, *More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa*, 67.

⁹⁷Harper, "Cuba Connections: Key West. Tampa. Miami, 1870 to 1945," 284.

⁹⁸Frank Alduino, "Prohibition in Tampa," *Tampa Bay History* 9, no.1 (spring/summer 1987): 17.

appeared in 1887, Latins opposed it. Ybor was on the side of his people. He knew that Tampa benefited from Ybor City and he thought that if the law would have passed, Latins would leave the city. Finally, the prohibition was abandoned.

In 1890's, there was an increase in number of Spanish. Their opposite opinions concerning Cuban independence were followed by a tension and sometimes by violence. The city officials and group of guards ignored it. As a consequence, Spanish clustered into Centro Español which was supposed to protect them in 1891. It was led by Spanish manufacturers Ignacio Haya and Enrique Pendás.⁹⁹ The tension between Spanish and Cubans was still growing. Spanish wanted to resolve that. Therefore they applied Spanish vice-consul Pedro Solis "to submit a resolution to the City of Tampa to halt the rallies, inflammatory speeches, fundraising events and other activities being conducted by pro-Cuban independence residents."¹⁰⁰ The number of crimes kept increasing.

Members of Centro Español had to be Spanish by birth. It comprised both Galician and Asturian Spaniards.¹⁰¹ They had to pay "twenty-five cents a week in return for social privileges and death and injury benefits."¹⁰² The community constructed wooden clubhouse where theatre, dance hall, cantina and classrooms could have been found. Later, they built own parks and churches. At the beginning, many Spanish, especially young single men were interested in becoming members. As the society expanded, other nationalities, classes and ideologies became accepted and another 2 clubhouses were built.¹⁰³

The second society Centro Asturiano consisted of dissident Spanish and was much more radical. It was established in 1902 and its clubhouse was represented by wood-frame building with 2 rooms. Later, in 1909, more up-to-date clubhouse was constructed and burnt down during the fire in 1912. After that, the clubhouse was rebuilt and opened in 1914. The facilities clubhouse provided were the theatre, cantina, ballroom and library. In addition, members could deposit money to a club bank. In spite of the fact that supported culture was Asturian, other Latins were allowed to become members. This community was

⁹⁹ Ibid., 43.

¹⁰⁰ Knetsch and Wynne, *Florida in the Spanish-American War*, 28.

¹⁰¹ Greenbaum, *More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa*, 153.

¹⁰² Mormino and Pozzeta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985*, 178.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 37-39.

involved in the spread of theatre, especially in Spanish language. Spanish and Italian dramas soon became the most popular pieces.

El Club Nacional Cubano established in October 1899 grouped both, black and white Cubans who supported Cuban revolution. In 1902, it was renamed Circulo Cubano. The society had a two-story clubhouse which burned in 1916. Later, with the donation from Cuban president Mario Menocal, a new clubhouse was built in 1918. There was theatre, cantina, pharmacy, library and dancing floor. Young men were attracted mainly by a gymnasium and boxing arena and many others appreciated construction of school and cultural events related to it.¹⁰⁴

Unión Martí-Maceo was founded in 1900. It “formalized a division between black and white Cubans.”¹⁰⁵ The social club was built in 1909 and later, it was demolished in 1965 when the city was revitalized. Original club provided with theatre, dance hall school where members could learn Spanish language, Cuban history and leadership skills. The amenities provided were equal to those from other societies.¹⁰⁶ The members paid 60 cents a week and if they were ill they got 1.5 dollars a day.¹⁰⁷ The community lived in a separated settlement called Scrub.¹⁰⁸

In 1894, L'Unione Italiana was established to unify mainly Italians but small groups of Cubans and Spanish were also present. The society's leaders known as prominenti held regular meetings once a month. The Unione was developed according to the Centro Español. It constructed cemetery and later, in 1912, it built three-story clubhouse with athletic room and theatre. After the fire, Italians built a new clubhouse in renaissance style which was characterized by theatre, dance floor, library, cantina and bowling alley.¹⁰⁹ The Italians came mainly from Sicily. Many of them were in food business, for example Savarese and Nuccio.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Mormino and Pozzeta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985*, 184-185.

¹⁰⁵ Greenbaum, *More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa*, 17.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 193-194.

¹¹⁰ Jahoda, *River of the Golden Ibis*, 224.

These societies played a big role in everyday life of Ybor's citizens. They supported "the idea of the supreme Latin male," and that women "existed to serve"¹¹¹ them. Almost every man went to the clubhouse after the dinner to play card games and dominoes. Men also grouped into diverse athletic teams or entertained themselves in bowling alley and gymnasium. Societies and sometimes factories had own baseball teams sponsored by entrepreneurs. The matches were held on Sundays¹¹²

The societies were also crucial for the birth of cooperative medicine in Ybor. The first temporary hospital was formed in 1903 by Centro Asturiano. In 1905, they constructed a stable hospital. It was the first hospital in the United States which was built by immigrants. To its patients it offered "pharmacy, X-Ray, lab, a modern operating room, beds for sixty patients and pavilion." The fee was 1.5 dollars a month. Except from the medical care, the "membership included generous stipends to supplement wages lost to illness, burial insurance, travel costs for specialized medical treatment, and use of recreational facilities in the elaborate social halls."¹¹³ The societies soon became competing with offering medical services. In 1903 the entrepreneur Vicente Guerra constructed a hospital on Byshore Boulevard. He was followed by Centro Español which built well equipped three-story Sanatorio in 1906. Finally, the city constructed two-story Gordon Keller Hospital in 1910.¹¹⁴ Círculo Cubano, L'Unione Italiana and Unión Martí-Maceo had own medical plans excluding the construction of hospital. Many of them except from black Cubans got the care on the basis of contract with Centro Asturiano.¹¹⁵

2.3 The decline of Ybor City

At the end of nineteenth century, there was omnipresent movement for Cuba Libre led by José Martí. The goal was to free the Cubans from Spanish dominance and racism. Martí visited Key West and Tampa to make anti-Spanish speeches during 1892 and later, he formed the Cuban Revolutionary party. As a support of Cuban independence, Cuban workers collected funds and established patriotic clubs. There were 30 clubs in Ybor. Vicente Ybor and many other entrepreneurs supported independence too. After the

¹¹¹ Mormino and Pozzeta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985*, 183.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 191-193.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 200.

Spanish-American War, in 1898 many Cubans returned to Cuba. They found their mother country devastated both, economically and visually. The rest stayed in Ybor City and made it a real home. The end of war together with Ybor's death in 1899 brought many changes. The initial paternalism disappeared and the influx of technologies arrived. Above that, many cigar factories were bought by American corporations.¹¹⁶

New systems of production and corporate ownership were not welcomed, especially by employers who claimed they got a small amount of tobacco for their work as they were used to have small quantities for own consumption. It ended up with strike in 1899 that was successful for workers. This strike involved the formation of the organization called La Residencia which grouped cigar workers from Cuba and Tampa. It was based on mutual support and ideas. In 1901, the organization appealed manufacturers to open new branches outside of Tampa. The challenge was followed by strike of 5000 workers walking through the streets. Bad end waited for the strikers as they were arrested and had to choose between going to the jail or back to work.¹¹⁷ Other big strikes occurred in 1910, 1920 and 1931 as workers often complained about working hours, wages and boss's control over them. The strikes were supported by lectors who read news from press and novels to employees when working. Their aim was to illiterate and "mold the attitudes and thinking of the workers in the factories." Later, they were accused of misusing their position to spread anarchistic or communist ideas. As a result, the lectures who earned from 35 to 45 dollars a week were abandoned in 1931.¹¹⁸ Immigrants also published a lot of usually radical newspapers in Spanish, Italian and English, Some of them were for example El Internacional or La Voce Dello Schiavo. They should help maintain employee's control over the working conditions.¹¹⁹

By the 1900 Ybor City became known as Cigar Capital of the World but the growth stopped in 1930's. During the depression, cigar making industry began to fall. Cigars became replaced with cheap cigars produced by machines or with less expensive cigarettes

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 155-156.

¹¹⁶ Perez, "Cubans in Tampa: From Exiles to Immigrants," 1892-1901," 133-136.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 136-139.

¹¹⁸ Louis A. Perez, "Reminiscences of a Lector: Cuban Cigar Workers in Tampa," *A Centennial History of Ybor City* 7, no.2 (fall/winter, 1985): 135-139.

¹¹⁹ Robert P. Ignalls, "Strikes and Vigilante Violence in Tampa's Cigar Industry," *A Centennial History of Ybor City* 7, no.2 (fall/winter, 1985): 118-119.

which experienced large growth. As a consequence, manufacturers dismissed many workers and unemployment was growing and, thus, the citizens were looking for a job in other cities or went back to home lands. Some manufacturers terminated or relocated their business. In 1960's, the urban renewal was approved and many residences were bulldozed. As a result, most of immigrants left the city and the factories closed. In 1990, the Ybor City was called a National Historic Landmark District and became popular center of tourism.

3 ZLÍN

Zlín is an old town whose reference dates back to 1322. In that time people earned living mainly by agriculture and diverse crafts. In the late nineteenth century, Zlín was a rural town in Austria-Hungary. In those days, there was a strong tradition of shoemaking. Company A.Baťa was established on the 21st of September, 1894 by Tomáš, Antonín and Anna Baťa. As a capital, they used 800 zlotys in silver coins which were the inheritance after their deceased mother. Then they hired 4 shoemakers. Soon after that, they were followed by a shoe plant of A. Červinka and later in 1906 another 3 shoe companies were established in Zlín.¹²⁰

3.1 The beginnings of Tomáš Baťa

Tomáš Baťa was born on the 3rd of April, 1876 in Zlín. He started to make shoes as a 6 year old child in order to earn some pocket money. After finishing secondary school he gained apprenticeship in his father's company and with no time for reading books and newspapers which was supposed to be luxury, he "became well aware of the unequal distribution of wealth within society."¹²¹ His desire for equality might have been a driving power for establishing his business. He did not like the practices of his father and he wanted to avoid them. First, he produced slippers in Vienne, but he failed. The second try was more successful. He succeeded not only with his company, but also with developing Zlín into a modern city with functionalist architecture. All the time he was surrounded with best co-workers and architects. He started with a small room in building on the square in Zlín and with 50 workers from which 10 worked in the workshop and 40 worked in their homes. After one year, the company was in debt which probably caused redirecting from manufacturing of leather footwear to more successful and affordable textile shoes made of canvas with leather soles. Although he founded the company with his 2 siblings he was the head because of his great organizational and business skills. Antonín soon went to the army and Anna left to Vienna to work as a domestic servant. After the new railway station was finished in 1899, Baťa moved his plant closer to it. At that time he had 120 employees working on steam-driven machines. All the time Baťa was trying to improve the

¹²⁰ Zdeněk Pokluda, *Baťův Zlín: Budování Průmyslového a Zahradního Města (1906-1943)*, (Zlín: Esprint Zlín Ve Spolupráci S Nadací Tomáše Bati, 2011): 1.

technologies and machines. He was also involved in many public events such as founding of physical education organization Sokol whose member he was. During his life, he visited many factories which probably served as an inspiration.

In December 1904, he together with 3 employees visited the factories in the United States for 3 months. During their stay, they were working and gaining experience in Lynn, Massachusetts. This strengthened his leader skills. On their way back they stopped in shoe factories in Leeds and Leicester, England and in Pirmasens, Germany.¹²²

After the return, he started to build a new factory which was finished in 1906. It was made of red bricks and had 3 storeys. There were “wooden columns and ceilings, brick walls and vaulted windows.”¹²³ In autumn 1906, the factory was hit by a strike for a few months. It caused big loss and a shortage of skilled employees. Antonín Baťa died in 1908 and as a consequence Tomáš Baťa became the sole owner of the company. The company was renamed T. & A. Baťa v.o.s. In 1910, the company already possessed 6 shoe factories. The production of factory and population of city were increasing. In 1912, Baťa moved to his new villa which was designed by Jan Kotěra and later in 1913, he finished the construction of first 6 houses for his employees next to the factory. Due to his often visits of friend in Vienna, he found a wife there. Their honeymoon in the Mediterranean and Near East served as an inspiration for new products.¹²⁴

3.2 The World War I

In 1913 Baťa shoes began exporting shoes to Germany and later to other countries. He also realized his second trip to the United States where he visited Ford Motor Company, Milton Hershey’s Chocolate Company and the shoe company Endicott-Johnson. He was excited by the ways of organizing the work and by the relationships between employees and employer. During the World War I, Baťa got a big order from Austro-Hungarian army in order to make military footwear. He shared the production with other shoemakers in Zlín and the number of his employees increased from 400 to 4,000. As a labor he also used war prisoners. Many new buildings mainly temporary were built. To supply food, electric

¹²¹ Ondřej Ševeček and Martin Jemelka, *Company Towns of the Baťa Concern: History-Cases-Architecture*, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013): 89.

¹²² Katrin Klingan and Kerstin Gust, *A Utopia of Modernity in Zlín: Revisiting Baťa’s Functional City*, (Berlin: jovis Verlag GmbH, 2009): 18.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 43.

power and lumber Baťa bought a farm near Zlín, city power station and country estate near Valašské Meziříčí. New factories were opened in Pardubice and retail stores in Zlín, Liberec, Prague, Vienne etc. Baťa became the largest shoemaking company in Zlín. In March 1918 employees went on strike because of the unsatisfactory working, wage and medical conditions. The end of the war and the birth of the independent Czechoslovak Republic were celebrated with the day off. Baťa was honored for his achievements during the war and became known as self-made man.¹²⁵

3.3 The inter-war years

After the war, both, state economy and Baťa company were in decline. Many people in Zlín lost their job and the politics was becoming left-oriented. It was accompanied by a strike in March 1919. Despite that, many new shoe factories were established in Zlín during that time. Soon Baťa had to face a problem with a big amount of unsold goods in stock, a lack of raw materials and increasing debt. Retail stores were growing wider and in 1920's, there were about 70 of them in Czechoslovakia. In 1919, Baťa visited the United States for the third time. He bought a small factory in Lynn, Massachusetts, which was soon closed down. In order to increase sales, Baťa started establishing affiliated companies in Holland, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Poland and England. It was accompanied by lowering prices and costs and finally by intensification of work. As a consequence, many workers complained about long working hours and low safety and medical conditions. The proponents of radical opinions were dismissed and Baťa began to develop his own social policy.¹²⁶ To resolve the unpleasant situation, Baťa did a radical act on September 1, 1922. He cut employee's wages by 40 % and lowered the prices of shoes by half. He also lured customers by good looking price that was finished with number 9 instead of 0, for example 99 instead of 100. As a result, he sold the stock and earned enough money for investing into housing and other facilities. Thanks to that, the Baťa Relief Fund, health insurance office and other social institutions were established.

In 1920's, Baťa started to build colonies of standardized houses. The first one was Letná quarter, then U lomu, Zálešná, Podvesná. Díly and Lesní district. Letná quarter was

¹²⁴ Zdeněk Pokluda, *Ze Zlína do světa – příběh Tomáše Bati*, (Zlín: Nadace Tomáše Bati, 2009): 10.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 10-14.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 15-17.

designed by architect Jan Kotěra who was later replaced by František Lydie Gahura in 1923. The employees who lived in the houses paid a symbolic rent to Baťa. Houses had gambled or flat roofs. It depended on the architect. Gahura was financially supported by Baťa even when he studied in Prague. He laid out the city center, residential areas and factories. The city center was located between the factory gate and residential area. In 1925 Gahura presented a project called “A Factory Among Gardens.”¹²⁷ Basically, it meant the construction of factory complex that is surrounded by trees and lawns in order to look more aesthetically. In 1927, the Market Hall and Masaryk Schools were constructed. In 1933, the Tomáš Baťa Memorial, which was later, renamed the House of Arts, the Grand Cinema and the Labour Square was designed. Buildings constructed after 1927 were unified. “Outer brick walls with no plaster, large articulated windows, and a load-bearing construction system,” were the typical features.¹²⁸ The third architect was Vladimír Karfík. He was in charge of the Community House, evangelical church, and houses for directors, sports grounds, film studios and company headquarters Building No 21.¹²⁹

In 1923, Baťa was elected a mayor of Zlín. That gave him a perfect opportunity for establishing appropriate conditions for building his dream garden city. At the beginnings, he had to face some opposite opinions which calmed down in the course of time. During his term of office he developed the city, business and industry. He “helped to establish low local rates,”¹³⁰ for example. As a consequence many entrepreneurs came to Zlín to establish their businesses. He gained a big popularity among Zlín citizens mainly due to the persuasive and comprehensible speeches which clearly expressed his intentions. He usually did it on Labour Day since 1924.¹³¹ The same year Baťa started to use assembly line in his factories which lowered the prices of shoes. He also bought his first plane in order to travel abroad and look for new markets. By 1927, the factory complex consisted of 30 buildings. After 1930’s, Baťa established numbers of satellite cities in Czechoslovakia, Europe, America, Africa and Asia. In 1931, Baťa company overruled almost 3 fourths of

¹²⁷ Ibid., 46.

¹²⁸ Klingan and Gust, *A Utopia of Modernity in Zlín: Revisiting Baťa’s Functional City*, 43.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 45.

¹³⁰ Pokluda, *Ze Zlína do světa – příběh Tomáše Bati*, 45.

¹³¹ Ibid., 45.

Czechoslovak shoe export. For the transport into distant countries, 2 ships were bought in 1932.¹³²

When Baťa flew away on a business trip in 1932, he did not know that it was the last one. On the 12th of July, 1932, he had an accident at Otrokovice airport which he did not survive. Jan Antonín Baťa, Tomáš stepbrother became in charge of the company. This catastrophe was followed by the influence of world-wide economic crisis. Consequently many people temporarily lost their jobs or went on strikes. In addition left-oriented politicians, especially radical communists began with harder assertion of their opinions including the criticism of capitalism and Baťa system. They were supported by many entrepreneurs, experts and some writers. On the other hand there was a group of writers who wrote articles in favor of Baťa and factory activities.¹³³

After the recovery from the crisis, many new industries and businesses were set up. The company built a film studio in Kudlov, the industrial areas of Zlín, Napajedla and Otrokovice were broadened and the 50 meters long navigation channel for shipping was constructed. Then the construction of railway line to Vizovice-Horní Lideč was started. In addition, company bought a few estates and castles, for example Napajedla, Vsetín, etc. The company production made up about 90 % of Czechoslovakian export. Baťa goods were sold in 82 countries. In 1938, Baťa company had about 65,000 employees from which 42,000 were Czechoslovaks and the rest were foreigners.¹³⁴

3.4 The World War II

The rise of the company was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II in September 1939. People and machinery began to move abroad. Jan Antonín Baťa went to USA where the construction of factory in Belcamp was in progress, Tomas Baťa Jr. followed him to build factory in Batawa, Canada. Many employees gained work in new factories in South America and in British African colonies. Zlín headquarters were under the leadership of Čipera, Vavrečka and Hlavnička. Almost all constructions in Zlín region were immediately stopped. Many European factories were isolated and under German occupancy. Jan Antonín Baťa was forced to settle in Brazil where he also died in 1965. Tomáš Baťa Jr.

¹³² Ibid., 37-38.

¹³³ Pokluda, *Ze Zlína do světa – příběh Tomáše Bati*, 52-53.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 53-56.

returned from Canada in spring 1945. When he found out that all company property in the territory of Czechoslovakia was nationalized, he went back to Canada, Toronto and made it a new company headquarters. After 1945, former Baťa company was renamed Svit and operated under the control of the state. After a long time, Tomáš Baťa Jr. came back to Zlín in 1989, where he was warmly welcomed. He re-established branch in Zlín and opened many retail stores in Czech and Slovak Republic.¹³⁵

3.5 The Baťa system

The main production of Baťa was created by shoes. The by product was the creation of Baťamen and Baťawomen. They were characterized by optimistic approach to life, openness to new experiences and focus on the future. Self-confidence, toughness and ability to manage many tasks were other features. The intentional competition at work and closeness of people in residential areas were the major factor in forming a strong community. The housing was tied to work, so the workers had to follow company's rules in order to not lose their homes.¹³⁶ The house usually had 4 separated units and entrances. It was called a quarter-houses. Each unit had own kitchen, 2 bedrooms and a bathroom which included a toilet and a bathtub. The houses had "the mechanized kitchen and the rationalized floor plans."¹³⁷ The same was done with factories. The floor plan allowed only 1 way of placement of furniture and the residents could not do any changes. This mechanization should save the time and energy. Every house was made of red bricks and had own little garden. The houses were close to each other. It enabled women to do the housework and let children play out. Children were supposed to attend one of many large schools which Baťa built. Teachers taught them according to modern experimental methods including learning foreign languages. Later the semi-houses with 2 units were built. Each unit had 2 floors and the staircase. The single-family houses were built only for employees who were in higher positions. In spite of the big number of company houses, many people from Zlín region commuted to work every day. It increased the amount of private bus companies. As more and more people owned cars, company started to build

¹³⁵ Ibid., 57-59.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 223-226.

¹³⁷ Ševeček and Jemelka, *Company Towns of the Baťa Concern: History-Cases-Architecture*, 229.

houses with garages. With the arrival of World War II, the style of houses changed to traditional.¹³⁸

The company determined social roles. Men were supposed to be the head of family who earns a living and women had to care about the household and children. Married women helped to new ones with getting used to new life on every Sunday. They had to keep their houses and gardens tidy because they could have been randomly checked up by Human Resources department. According to one former female resident the officials were not popular and people were afraid of them. They checked the appearance of children, cleanliness of clothes, homes and asked about their expenditures on food.¹³⁹ Unmarried women were allowed to work as seamstresses, shop assistants or in the offices but when they married they had to leave the job. Baťa established Bata school of Work according to Henry Ford's model, in 1925 for women and in 1929 for men. On weekdays, women worked in a factory doing quite hard job and after 3 years they were given less demanding positions. The school for Young Women taught them how to create a harmonious family life. Education took place in evening after the work. Women were also bearers of culture. They must have had the knowledge of literature, theatre, film, etc. Except from compulsory education they could attend many courses such as language or typing in their spare time. These women were supposed to become wives of men in high positions such as politicians, entrepreneurs, scientists and artists. Women had to pass psychological aptitude tests, tests in mathematics, Czech language and political overview in order to be accepted.¹⁴⁰ They were accommodated in large multi-storeyed hostels which were built in 1926, as well as Young Men. The education of men was different. The physical condition was essential for them. They did a lot of exercises and the participation in various competitions should have strengthened their sense for competitiveness. Except from that, they were prepared for their future job and they learned economic and industrial thinking. Their physical appearance was standardized, for example the length of hair or beard. The schools brought up young people from the age of 14 and released them after 3 or 4 years.¹⁴¹ The fee for attending school was a symbolic 1 CZK for every lesson. After graduating young people could go to

¹³⁸ Ibid., 231-234.

¹³⁹ Klingan and Gust, *A Utopia of Modernity in Zlín: Revisiting Baťa's Functional City*, 246.

¹⁴⁰ Gabriela Končítíková and Svatava Kašpárková, *Baťovský Zlín: Mladé ženy*, (Žilina: Georg, 2012): 35-37.

¹⁴¹ Ševeček and Jemelka, *Company Towns of the Baťa Concern: History-Cases-Architecture*, 54.

work for Baťa or improve their knowledge at other schools. They could choose between the Bata Technical College, the School for Managers and the Bata School of Art. All of them were opened in 1940's. During 1936 and 1937 two high schools were added – the Grammar School and the Business School.¹⁴²

Tomáš Baťa got a lot of job applications from people who wanted to work for him. Except from medical examination they had to pass psycho-analytical tests that inquired about education, language abilities, professional knowledge and skills and personal information. After the admission, all information about workers was recorded by the Personnel and Social Department. It included monitoring workers at work, in public and even in the households. The monitoring was compulsory under the condition of dismissal. The most important records were probably those which tracked employee's performance at work. If employee's performances were declining, they went for the interviews where they were both threatened and motivated.¹⁴³ The work in a factory was difficult but Baťa knew it and appreciated it by generally high wages which were paid out weekly.

As it has already been mentioned, competitiveness was crucial, even at work. To increase competitiveness between employees, "Bata introduced autonomy of the workshops and a reward system for employees in 1924."¹⁴⁴ In addition, he required labor discipline, efficient use of working time including overtimes and high operational tempo. In reverse, the employees were generously rewarded. In 1927, their daily wage was about a third higher than Czechoslovakian average gross wage.¹⁴⁵

Health care was assured in 1927 in newly built Bata Hospital. Other services such as social were provided by the Relief Fund since 1928. Baťa also supported handicapped people by creating job positions for them. *Sdělení*, later renamed *Zlín*, were company newspapers which informed general public about news and events in the factory. Various company newspapers came out in other Baťa concerns in the Czech Republic but also abroad.¹⁴⁶

Baťa became successful due to the production of cheap canvas shoes. However, later he started making high quality leather and rubber shoes later. Baťa production did not focus

¹⁴² Pokluda, *Ze Zlína do světa – příběh Tomáše Bati*, 53-55.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 53-54.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

only on shoes. He extended the range by bicycles and car tires, stockings, socks, rubber carpets, toys, shoe polishes, etc. He possessed engineering plant, tannery, electric power station and woodworking shop. Later he added a thermal power station and gas works to the electric power station. During 1930's, he constructed rubber factory, chemical and brick plants and paper mill. It was soon expanded by publishing work, food production and construction work.¹⁴⁷ Bat'a service centers gained a great success. They consisted of shoe shops and repairs, even the pedicure was offered.

In spite of the fact that almost the whole production of Bat'a was after the World War II moved abroad, Bat'a played a big role in establishing Zlín as a successful industrial city. The population of Zlín increased to 26,000 citizens till 1932 and his Zlín factories employed at the end of his life more than 29,000 people. Everything was his claim to fame. Now, he is known as the founder of shoemaking in the Czech Republic with the branches nearly all over the world.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 30-31.

4 THE COMPARISON OF TWO COMPANY TOWNS

With regard to the information given in chapters 2 and 3 many differences as well as similarities can be identified between Zlín and Ybor City. Both cities started flourishing at the end of nineteenth century thanks to particular entrepreneurs and industries. When Vincente Ybor came to Tampa, he did not intend to set up a company town initially. He built his first factory in 1885 and probably did not know that he laid the foundations of the city. Both entrepreneurs built their cities under different circumstances and for different reasons.

Zlín was a former village which continuously grew into a city however Ybor City served as a port for Cubans who wanted to escape from Ten Years War and its existence was important for Cuba Libre movement. The land which Ybor bought was muddy and uncivilized whereas, Tomáš Baťa set up a business in a city that has already been established and originated in 1322. With respect to these facts, Baťa had better opportunities because Ybor had to face many problems including the bad terrain, no infrastructure and a lack of drinkable water. Another issue came up with a big amount of wild and sometimes dangerous animals. Gnats and mosquitos poisoned the water and the streets of early Ybor were sometimes visited by crocodiles.

Although Baťa's town did not start as typical company towns which were established at remote locations, it has their many features. Baťa as well as Ybor had previous experience with business. Based on the evidence Ybor's experience was bigger and more successful. In the past he had already built factories in Havana and Key West. On the contrary Baťa's attempt to make and sell slippers in Vienne was the only experience and finally resulted in a failure. In addition, Tampa a the place untouched by a cigar industry before the arrival of Ybor but Zlín's tradition of shoemaking dates back long before Tomáš Baťa set up a company in 1894.

The ability to surround themselves by educated people was visible both at Ybor and Baťa, they were very successful all the time in the selection of architects for example. Moreover, when doing business Ybor was accompanied by his son Edward Ybor and friend Eduardo Manrara and Baťa, at least in the early days, was assisted by siblings Anna and Antonín.

When constructing the city, entrepreneurs took inspiration from others. Ybor was influenced by George Pullman who built a model company town in Chicago. Pullman with his railroad company built and hired houses and many other facilities for his employees.

Bat'a, on the other hand, was affected by his visits in the United States, England and Germany, and by garden city movement. The biggest impact probably left the visit in Ford Motor Company in 1913.

Both entrepreneurs shoot to fame with different types of products. Ybor produced high quality handmade cigars which had already been well known and supposed to be luxurious however, Bat'a made cheap canvas shoes affordable for almost everyone. Moreover Bat'a's production was soon extended as he started producing many other things such as tires, stockings, socks, etc. The working conditions were different as well and they were often the reasons for complaints and strikes. As it has already been mentioned, Ybor's factories were crowded, hot with bad air conditioning and helped to spread the diseases. On the contrary Bat'a's factories underwent modernization after the World War II. The extractor of dust and dirt was built and the emphasis was placed on order and cleanliness. In hot days the rooms were cooled with cold air. In addition, ban on smoking and drinking alcohol in the workplace was applied.¹⁴⁸

The work for Bat'a was physically demanding and increasing employee turnover whereas Ybor's employees had to be very skilful. The wages were generally high in both companies and in most cases they served as the biggest incentive. They were in the form of piece rates and they were paid out weekly. On top of that, Bat'a gave various remunerations and bonuses for those who think up a new way how to save material.

In accordance with all the data that were collected, it implies that both, Bat'a and Ybor were highly paternalistic due to the amenities they provided. Apart from housing and other buildings which they built they offered many bonuses. For example, Bat'a provided employees with free preschool, week paid vacation, subsidized meals and Ybor helped people in need, contributed employees to funerals and gave them Christmas gifts.

The housing provided by entrepreneurs was essential and relatively cheap. Bat'a was more progressive because even his early houses were made of brick however; Ybor's first houses were made of wood. The floor plans were similar. Houses usually had 2 storeys with 2 or 3 rooms. The only difference was that Bat'a offered 3 types of houses to his employees– the quarter, semi and single houses according to the position the employee held. Another difference comes up with the form of the ownership of houses. In Ybor City,

employees could buy houses for less than 1000 dollars but, in Zlín they had to pay the rent. The amount of rate was low. It did not exceed 4 – 8 % of worker's wage and 10% of official's wage.¹⁴⁹

The positions of men and women in the society of both cultures were very similar. Men were determined to be the head of family who earns the living. In Ybor City only men could go to social clubs. In both towns, women were supposed to take care of children and husband but there was a slight difference. After marriage, women in Zlín had to stay home with children while, in Ybor City women could come back to work after some time. The citizens of Ybor City were immigrants while the population of Zlín was created mainly by Czech people. In addition, houses of people in Ybor City were segregated according to race and the cases of discrimination were common. In Zlín, there was nothing like that.

As more buildings were constructed the towns were expanding. In Zlín most facilities were assured and built by Tomáš Baťa. In Ybor City, these facilities were provided mainly by mutual aid societies. Nice example is the health care. In Zlín, there was the Bata Hospital constructed in 1927 however, in Ybor City some mutual aid societies and private entrepreneurs built own hospitals. The same process took its course in schools. The common feature of Baťa's and Ybor's conduction was the support for other organizations. For example, Ybor aided the organization of firemen volunteers and Baťa supported Sokol.

Ybor and Baťa had to face many strikes and political opinions. The strikes in Ybor City were more frequent than in Zlín and they occurred mostly after Vincente Ybor's death however, strikes in Zlín were common mainly in early days. Almost all the time Baťa had to deal with left oriented, especially communist beliefs. The same thing but in a larger scale happened in Ybor City. There was a mixture of political views including communist and anarchistic propaganda.

The biggest boom of Ybor City was in 1900's and in Zlín it came during and after the World War I. Later, the mechanization of production had different consequences. It had a good effect on Baťa's production though, the opposite one in Ybor's case. The decline of both towns was highly influenced by the Great Depression in 1930's. For Ybor City it meant the replacement of cigars with cigarettes. The last straw for Zlín was the outbreak of

¹⁴⁸ Jana Hofmanová, "Aplikace Baťovy soustavy řízení do moderní firmy" (master's thesis, Tomas Bata University in Zlín, 2012), 40.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 39.

World War II which forced the company to relocate abroad. The arrival of 1960's brought the definitive end to cigar industry and in the city became a tourist place. For the comparison, Baťa company was re-established in Zlín in 1989 and is still operating till nowadays.

CONCLUSION

American company towns with paternalistic approaches might be the best known, although they were short-lived. They all were established during specific periods of time and usually for an interconnected group of reasons, which included extracting raw materials in distant places. Ybor City was unique, as it was established as an enclave for Cuban workers who were trying to escape the Ten Years War. In Ybor City they found not only shelter but also work and above standard living conditions. Together with Spaniards and Italians, they created segregated groups, which preserved their own cultures and made Ybor City the biggest cigar center in the world. After the Great Depression, the town was in decline and by 1960's cigar industry disappeared. Another world center developed by Tomáš Baťa began emerging in the late nineteenth century in Austria-Hungary. Despite the frequently changing political situation, Baťa and his shoes took the world by storm with a large number of satellite cities modelled after Zlín. The Baťa company was also struck by the Great Depression, and the outbreak of World War II caused the relocation of the company headquarters to Canada, where the company operates till nowadays.

Both towns were led in a paternalistic way which was customized by their founders. Despite different circumstances, they assured their citizens work, housing and other amenities, and they created strong and loyal communities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “History of Cuba,” One World Nations Online, accessed January 15, 2014,
<http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/Cuba-history.htm>.
- “Lowell Mill Girls,” Lowell.com, accessed February 28, 2014,
<http://www.lowell.com/lowell-mill-girls>.
- Alduino, Frank. “Prohibition in Tampa.” *Tampa Bay History* 9, no.1 (spring/summer 1987): 17-28.
- Borges, Marcelo J. and Susana B. Torres. *Company Towns: Labor, Space, and Power Relations across Time and Continents*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Carlson Linda. *Company Towns of the Pacific Northwest*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.
- Clark, Julie D. “Company Towns in America 1880 to 1930,” master’s thesis, Humboldt State University, 2006, 6, accessed January 15, 2014,
<http://www.nohum.k12.ca.us/tah/maprojects/Clark.pdf>.
- Corbin, David. *Life, Work and Rebellion in the Coal Fields: The Southern West Virginia Miners 1880-1922*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981.
- Crawford, Margaret. *Building the Workingman’s Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*. New York: Verso, 1995.
- Dickens, Charles. *American Notes for General Circulation*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1842.
- Dublin, Thomas. “Women, Work and Protest in the Early Lowell Mills: “The Oppressing Hand of Avarice Would Enslave Us.” *Labor History* 16 (1975): 99-116.
- Durward, Long. “The Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modern Tampa.” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45, 1 (July, 1966): 31-44.
- Green, Hardy. “The Continuity of U.S. Company Towns.” Hardy Green, November 27, 2012, accessed February 25, 2014, <http://hardygreen.com/the-continuity-of-u-s-company-towns/>.
- Green, Hardy. *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped The American Economy*. New York: Basic Books, 2012.
- Greenbaum, Susan D. *Afro-Cubans in Ybor City: A Centennial History*. Tampa: University of South Florida, 1986.
- Greenbaum, Susan D. *More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002.

- Harper, Paula. "Cuba Connections: Key West. Tampa. Miami, 1870 to 1945." *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 22, (1996): 279-291.
- Hofmanová, Jana. "Aplikace Baťovy soustavy řízení do moderní firmy." Master's thesis, Tomas Bata University in Zlín, 2012.
- Ignalls, Robert P. "Strikes and Viligante Violence in Tampa's Cigar Industry." A *Centennial History of Ybor City* 7, no.2 (fall/winter, 1985): 117-133.
- Jahoda, Gloria. *River of the Golden Ibis*. Austin: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.
- Klingan Katrin and Kerstin Gust. *A Utopia of Modernity in Zlín: Revisiting Baťa's Functional City*. Berlin: jovis Verlag GmbH, 2009.
- Knetsch, Joe and Nick Wynne. *Florida in the Spanish-American War*. Charleston: The History Press, 2011.
- Končítíková, Gabriela and Kašpárková, Svatava. *Baťovský Zlín: Mladé ženy*. Žilina: Georg, 2012.
- Lyons, J. Stephen. "An American Way of Life," *Star Tribune*, September 4, 2010, accessed January 18, 2014, <http://www.startribune.com/entertainment/books/102110549.html>.
- MacDonald, Allan. Lowell: "A Commercial Utopia." *The New England Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (March 1937): 37-62.
- Mohn, Tanya. "The Evolution of Company Towns: From Hershey's to Facebook," *Forbes*, January 17, 2013, accessed January 24, 2014, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/tanyamohn/2013/01/17/the-evolution-of-company-towns-from-hersheys-to-facebook/>.
- Mormino, Gary R and Pozzeta, George E. *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Oved, Yaacov. *Two Hundred Years of American Communes*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993.
- Perez, Louis A. "Cubans in Tampa: From Exiles to Immigrants, 1892-1901." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 57, no.2 (October, 1978): 22-33.
- Perez, Louis A. "Reminiscences of a Lector: Cuban Cigar Workers in Tampa." A *Centennial History of Ybor City* 7, no.2 (fall/winter, 1985): 135-141.
- Pokluda, Zdeněk. *Ze Zlína do světa – příběh Tomáše Bati*. Zlín: Nadace Tomáše Bati, 2009.

- Pokluda, Zdeněk. *Batův Zlín: Budování Průmyslového a Zahradního Města (1906-1943)*. Zlín: Esprint Zlín Ve Spolupráci S Nadací Tomáše Bati, 2011.
- Porteous J. D. "The Nature of the Company Town." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 51 (November 1970):127-142.
- Schumpeter, Joseph. "Company towns: The universal provider," *Economist*, January 19, 2011, accessed January 5, 2014, http://www.economist.com/blogs/schumpeter/2011/01/company_towns.
- Ševeček, Ondřej and Jemelka, Martin. *Company Towns of the Baťa Concern: History-Cases-Architecture*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013.
- Shifflett, Crandall. *Coal Towns: Life, Work, and Culture in Company Towns of Southern Appalachia, 1880-1960*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991.
- Sierra, Lee Bottari and Westfall, Loy Glenn. "In Honor of the Fuentes' One-Hundredth Anniversary: A History of the Charles the Great Factory and Its Owners," *Tampa Bay History* 26 (2012): 83-100.
- Westfall, Loy Glenn. "Cigar Label Art: A Photo Essay." *Tampa Bay History* 7, no.2 (fall/winter, 1985): 106-119.
- Westfall, Loy Glenn. "Latin Entrepreneurs and the Birth of Ybor City." *A Centennial History of Ybor City* 7, no.2 (fall/winter 1985): 5-22.