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## **RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS AND THE SARASOTA SCHOOLS, 1960-1966.**

by Daniel R. Campbell

On Monday night, March 7, 1966, two hundred Sarasota residents attended a special meeting of the Sarasota County Council of the Parents Teachers Association (PTA) at the Sarasota Junior High School. They came to hear a report on whether or not there was a communist conspiracy in Sarasota to subvert the schools. An ad hoc committee had been investigating allegations all winter, and presentation of its long-awaited study attracted not only interested spectators but also the press, including NBC-TV News.

The ad hoc committee reported its investigation had turned up no evidence of “left wing influence whatsoever.” What it had discovered, it claimed, was “a very dangerous radical right element,” which was intimidating administrators, teachers and students. The committee concluded that the only conspiracy to subvert the local schools came from extremists on the political right, not the left.<sup>1</sup>

This led to howls of outrage by some in the audience. The findings were called “politically motivated” and one man charged they were “an insult to the intelligence of the people here.”<sup>2</sup> Others like Betty Davis, president of the Alta Vista PTA, came to the support of the committee, declaring, “Yes sir, the namby-pamby, tea-drinking, utterly boring, drag-your-husband-to-the-meeting PTA has been the only organization in town with the guts to stand up and investigate something that concerns the whole town. . . . And I must say that for once I’m proud to be in the PTA!”<sup>3</sup>

The behavior of the PTA and its adversaries was predictable. The political far right and educators in Sarasota had been at each others’ throats for six years. Their long-term conflict had gained national attention. The press could depend upon another in a long series of public bloodlettings, which explained why NBC-TV covered the event.

Conflict in Sarasota County had emerged between educators and ultraconservatives following the local 1960 elections when the Republican Party staged a political revolution at the polls. Sarasota went from being a one-party Democratic county to a one-party Republican county. The GOP swept all county offices, including the Board of Commissioners and the School Board.

The ascendant GOP included an ideological mix that ranged from moderate to the far right. Some of the extremists argued that non-teaching jobs in the schools should be considered political spoils, and they sought the opportunity to reward party loyalists with sinecures.<sup>4</sup>

Philip Hiss, the Republican chairman of the School Board, resisted the demand, arguing that the schools should be off-limits to both political parties. The victorious party began to divide. The right-wing rallied to the anti-Hiss cause. The conflict quickly ceased being one over policy and became one of ideology. Elements of the fundamentalist-Christian, anti-communist right, ac-

cused Hiss of being anti-Christian. Emphasizing that Hiss and several school administrators were Unitarian, the fundamentalist right alleged the existence of a “Unitarian conspiracy” to subvert the county schools.<sup>5</sup>

The political right also sought to tie Hiss to the radical left. His association with New College was cited since the Sarasota college was considered avant-garde and Hiss was a founder. His relationship with Alger Hiss was widely discussed. Alger Hiss had been accused of being a Communist-spy by Whittaker Chambers and Richard Nixon in the 1940s, and the Hisses were cousins. The radical right was soon accusing all those who came to Philip Hiss’s defense as being part of a general subversive conspiracy.<sup>6</sup>

The radical right had emerged as a force in Sarasota County and in the local GOP during 1960. This political shift reflected demographic changes of a radical nature within the community. The county’s population had nearly tripled in the decade between 1950 and 1960. Most of that increase was from the North. In 1950, Democrats had out-registered Republicans five-to-one. By 1960 the two parties were near parity. The GOP, however, staked out a clearly more conservative position in the elections and attracted many conservatives in the Democratic Party to its candidates. Thus, the local 1960 election spelled victory for conservative ideology.<sup>7</sup>

Despite its growing influence within the party, the far right clearly did not dominate the GOP. Moderates like Hiss could still challenge the right and get away with it. Partly as a result of frustration within the party, the radical right turned to political organizing outside the GOP. By 1961, a local chapter of the John Birch Society had been organized by Sarasota physician Dr. William Campbell Douglass. The chapter was financed by Lewis Van Wezel, Sarasota millionaire and partner in the S.L. Van Wezel Diamond Cutting Corporation. The local chapter had about twenty-five members.<sup>8</sup>

In 1961, a Sarasota chapter of the Florida Project Alert was formed with an initial membership of about a hundred. Part of a state-wide organization, Project Alert mixed fundamentalist Christianity with militant anti-communism. Another early ally was the Americanism Committee of Bay Post 30, of which Van Wezel was chairman. The Americanism Committee became a clearing house and coordinating committee for right-wing efforts throughout the community. The committee established a reading room on Main Street in Sarasota. It purchased right-wing literature in large quantities which it distributed to other organizations at cost. It also supported other groups financially.<sup>9</sup>

In 1962, the Americanism Committee donated \$186 to Dr. Douglass to help him establish a national right-wing information network called Let Freedom Ring. Dr. Douglass distributed weekly far-right messages to subscribers throughout the country who were expected to set up telephone dial-a-message services in their local communities and use the Douglass commentaries.<sup>10</sup>

The Americanism Committee, like the John Birch Society, was financially supported by Van Wezel. The Lewis and Eugenia Van Wezel Foundation donated \$2,090 to the committee in 1963. The Sarasota chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars also supported right-wing causes at

various times. All of these organizations allied themselves on the right against the Sarasota schools between 1960 and 1966.<sup>11</sup>

In 1961, representatives of Project Alert met with Sarasota Superintendent of Schools Dr. Russell F. Wiley. They came to protest the use of the textbook, *The Meaning of Communism*, in the high school course, "Americanism versus Communism." The group claimed the book was "soft" on communism. The representatives from Project Alert recommended use of approved reading lists distributed by the Church League of America and the Florida Coalition of Patriotic Societies. They also gave Dr. Wiley samples of film clips and movies they recommended for classroom use. The superintendent said he declined, "because some of the material was misleading and inaccurate." He reported that on the day following the meeting, one of the representatives from Project Alert "wrote school board members saying they ought to hire a Christian as the school superintendent." Dr. Wiley was also Unitarian.<sup>12</sup>

"The problem over books in 1961 became vicious and vitriolic," according to Herbert Field, who was vice-chairman of the School Board at that time. The right quickly identified Dr. Wiley as a partisan of Hiss and claimed he was a participant in the Unitarian conspiracy. Attacks were soon directed at other administrators and teachers, as well. Partly because of this, Hiss resigned as chairman of the School Board in 1962. Hiss "believed that his resignation would relieve tensions and remove the schools from the political arena." Field replaced Hiss as chairman.<sup>13</sup>

The political right, however, was not satisfied with the Hiss resignation. Turning its attention to Superintendent Wiley, the right "went after Wiley's scalp in 1962 through 1964."<sup>14</sup> Ultra-conservatives directed their fury at Dr. Wiley and others in the schools at School Board meetings. According to Chairman Field, extremists "were convinced that some of our teachers were heavily involved in the Communist Party and brought up charges in School Board meetings, insinuating that many were also homosexuals. Project Alert developed a "hit list of teachers they thought shouldn't be there."<sup>15</sup> The Veterans of Foreign Wars joined in criticism of textbooks. These groups "made a hell of a lot of noise and created a lot of problems," recalls a local journalist.<sup>16</sup>

Tensions increased within the schools themselves. On one occasion, "one character went into the boys' room and locked himself in a stall so he could eavesdrop and try to collect evidence. He had his wife go into the girls' room and do the same. They were out to get Dr. Wiley." A student editor of the high school newspaper who criticized various activities of the right in the schools found himself strongly criticized by ultra-conservatives.<sup>17</sup>

The right issued a wide range of complaints against Dr. Wiley. He was accused of being an "innovator," the "person more responsible than anyone else" for recent changes in the school system. The system was expanding, relaxing student behavior codes and modernizing the curriculum. Moreover, Dr. Wiley had complied with federal orders to desegregate the local schools, and in the process ignored local demands that he resist federal mandates. He was one of the new breed of professional administrators, not one of the old, familiar political appointees. He surrounded himself with a professional bureaucracy, less responsive to local control. The right also criticized his private life. Dr. Wiley played the jazz trumpet, and the right insisted that was in itself "leftist."<sup>18</sup>

Dr. Wiley and the School Board which supported him found themselves caught between opposing forces. On the one side, there was a local community growing increasingly conservative and militant. On the other, there were state demands for expansion and modernization and federal demands to integrate.

The schools in Sarasota had become so politicized precisely because they confronted such a wide range of controversial issues in the 1960s. Schools were being integrated. Administrators were becoming professionalized. Teaching methods were changing. Youngsters all over the country were rebelling against norms in behavior and dress. Even Sarasota heard threats of a student strike in the early 1960s at the high school over the issue of student funds.<sup>19</sup>

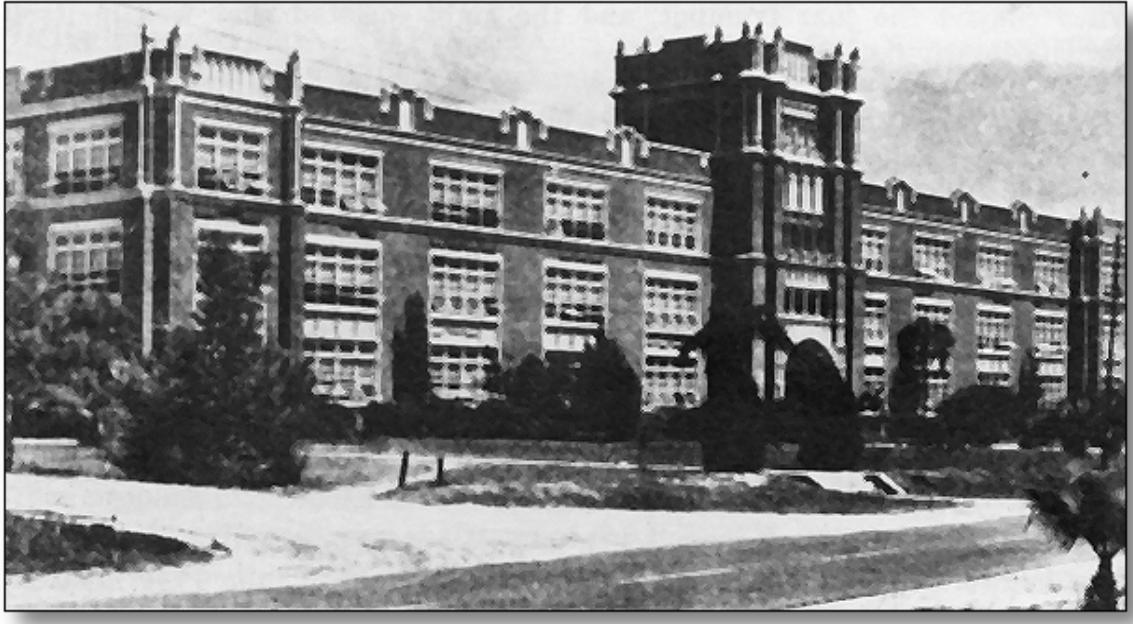
Many Northerners had come south in part out of political considerations. They had come to a romantic place called “Dixie.” They imagined Florida to be a place without strong government or professional bureaucracies, but in the schools of Sarasota County, they encountered both. They found professional administrators willing to serve as agents of federal and state authorities in the cause of social engineering. The schools were the one public institution in the community seemingly unresponsive to local political pressure and beyond local control. The right-wing community of Sarasota, like American Catholics of the nineteenth century and the Creationists of the 1970s, argued that a hostile government was using the schools to mold children and turn them against the ways of their parents.

The right used a number of devices to gain influence in the school system. Ultra-conservative students were organized within the schools. Dr. Wiley regularly cooperated with the Americanism Committee, allowing that group to sponsor essay contests in the schools on patriotic themes. The right frequently utilized such access to spread right-wing literature. On one occasion a number of three-by-five cards appeared in the high school bearing an expanded “Pledge of Allegiance.” The mock pledge read:

I pledge allegiance to the flag (not the President) of the United States of America (not the U.N.) and to the Republic (not democracy) for which it stands, one nation, under God (not the World Bank), with Liberty and Justice for all (not just for traitors).

This created a strong reaction among parents and students of a moderate or liberal political persuasion. According to one observer, many parents reported they “were horrified at this open insult to our flag and country.”<sup>20</sup>

On another occasion moderates alleged an effort by the right “to learn the religious affiliation of every child in the Sarasota schools, for reasons unknown.” Moderates also claimed that the right had attacked one school principal by circulating in his school copies of a divorce complaint against him.<sup>21</sup>



Sarasota High School, from *The Story of Sarasota* by Karl Grismer.

In 1964 Harry W. Frazee, a Sarasota insurance man and member of the John Birch Society, won the Republican nomination to the School Board in a campaign directed at Dr. Wiley. Herbert Field, who had carried on the policies of Hiss as chairman of the School Board, found himself under personal attack in his bid for re-election. The campaign against Field turned anti-Semitic. Anti-Semitism in the city was condemned publicly in May by the Sarasota County League. Field was Jewish.<sup>22</sup>

Frazee won his bid for election, and Field won re-election. The right wing of the GOP was considered to hold two of the five seats on the School Board. Its vice-chairman, Ronald Brinton, was frequently sympathetic to the right. Frazee's election placed the right within one vote of controlling the Board.

The hostilities generated during that 1964 campaign convinced Dr. Wiley to resign. Like Hiss before him, the superintendent believed he had become the issue, and by resigning he would remove the schools from attack. He announced unofficially late in 1964 that he would be leaving at the end of the school year.

Dr. Wiley's departure had unanticipated results. Instead of calming tensions, it only increased them. Teachers, administrators and some parents felt that the right was winning its battle. It had toppled Hiss as chairman and Dr. Wiley as superintendent. As for those on the right, "Dr. Wiley's departure only made them feel their wild oats."<sup>23</sup> The right, flushed with victory, concentrated its attention on what it considered, the next most menacing target, the Sarasota County Council of the Parents Teachers Association.

By 1965, ultra-conservatives had attacked a wide range of groups and institutions in the community. They had been critical of unions, the Sarasota Chapter of the Florida Civil Liberties Union, the Young Democratic Clubs of Florida, New College and the *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, in addition to the School Board and PTA. The PTA supported expansion, modernization and integration, everything the far-right opposed. The PTA had also supported Hiss, Field and Dr. Wiley.

The assault by the right on the Sarasota alignment followed a national pattern. As early as September, 1960, Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, had told members that the way to take over schools was to take over the PTA. He urged members to “join your local PTA at the beginning of the school year, get your conservative friends to do likewise, and go to work to take it over.”<sup>24</sup>

The John Birch Society was headquartered in California. By 1961, teachers in that state were complaining of right-wing interference in the schools. The California Teachers Association condemned the activity, citing coercion over textbook selection and the slandering of teachers.<sup>25</sup> In 1964 the National Education Association (NEA) and the National Congress of PTAs joined in a warning to affiliates. Their report noted that the PTA had been challenged by the political right in thirty-five states. “Extreme opposition” to the PTA had appeared in sixteen states. Florida was one of those states. The report denounced the right as “irresponsible extremists” and an “emotionally unstable” political faction. It urged member chapters “to go on the offensive.”<sup>26</sup>

Trouble had existed in Florida outside Sarasota. On November 22, 1963, the *Lakeland Ledger* editorialized that Lakeland’s own local PTA was threatened:

In case anybody is inclined to laugh off the threat against the PTA, let it be known that the John Birchers did succeed in capturing the PTA in Eustis, only 75 miles northeast of Lakeland, and in some other places too. At Eustis, the PTA was destroyed, disbanded, and an entirely different organization substituted for it. Not surprisingly, the new one has far right political messages ready for any who venture forth to its meetings.<sup>27</sup>



**Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, at a 1966 appearance in Florida.**

Photograph courtesy of News and Sun Sentinel Company.

In September, 1964, the R. B. Hunt School PTA in St. Augustine was reportedly “stampeded into voting to withdraw from the State and National PTA, not in a democratic, well-studied move ... but by a minority group which took advantage of a poorly attended meeting . . . to push through the withdrawal.”<sup>28</sup>

The Sarasota PTA went on the counter-offensive, utilizing an article in the September, 1965, issue of *Look* magazine as a weapon. The article spoke of a “vicious battle” being waged against the PTA nationally by “superpatriots.” Moderates used *Look* as an authority to back up their charges that the far right was malicious and dangerous. The article was discussed on radio talk shows and in local newspapers.

The PTA counter-offensive produced a strong reaction. Guy Paschal responded in a free-lance column in the *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, under the headline “Would You Rather Have Your PTA Run by John Birchers or Reds?” Paschal described the local conflict as one between two groups of extremists. He wrote, “Of the two I would vastly prefer control by [the John Birchers].” Paschal insisted that “infiltration of most of our important institutions is an accomplished fact.” He claimed America’s “self-pronounced enemy” was committing “communist subversion” locally. He concluded that “until communism decides to behave itself, I would prefer the influence of chauvinists in our schools than that of communists and anti-patriotic American socialists.”<sup>29</sup>

Paschal was not a member of any right-wing organization. He asserts today that he had a well-known reputation as “a devil’s advocate,” who “baited persons on both sides of an issue.” Paschal says he used such tactics to “stimulate interest” in subjects in his newspaper column and on his radio talk show on WSPB, called “Guy Paschal’s Talk Show.”<sup>30</sup>

Let Freedom Ring responded angrily to the PTA. In early September, Dr. Douglass distributed a message which declared, “The nation’s schools are open again and the left-wing extremists are publicly gnashing their teeth about an alleged take over of the PTA by the John Birch Society and other patriotic groups.” He charged, “the PTA is basically a political lobby for left-wing educators,” who were seeking to transform schools “in the Russian manner.” At the end of the message he instructed callers to send for additional information to “PTA Dictatorship, Box 1775, Sarasota.” He followed this with another, accusing the PTA of being a “pro-communist propaganda mill designed to brainwash American children.”<sup>31</sup>

In this climate the PTA appeared to step back from its offensive. It agreed to investigate itself. In fact it created an Extremism Committee in October, 1965, to investigate extremism of any type in the schools. The national council had also urged local chapters in 1964 to gather information on the right-wing and to make that information public. The ad hoc investigating committee included Elizabeth McCall (chairperson), Jean Glendinning, Mrs. Frank Ladd, John Strong, Dale Aschilman, Margaret Woodsmall, Dr. Preston Knapp, Jr., Ted Sperling and Rabbi Herbert Weis. The committee met nine times during the winter of 1965-1966.<sup>32</sup>

The ad hoc committee made its report on March 7, 1966, before local residents and the national press. McCall spoke for the committee, asserting, “I personally investigated each of the charges made against the PTA on behalf of the committee, and I have found no instance of left-wing



influences whatsoever.” She said her committee met with school administrators and teachers and investigated each complaint. She added that she resented “for myself and the more than 3,400 members in Sarasota being called a communist.”<sup>33</sup>

The committee went on to list a litany of charges against the right. Russell C. Jordon, a former state legislator, speaking on behalf of the committee, attacked Let Freedom Ring as the primary antagonist of the PTA and “the principal source of Sarasota’s new notoriety as a hate center.”<sup>34</sup> Robert G. Petree of Orlando, a Civil Liberties Union attorney and officer in the Young Democratic Clubs of Florida, described activities of ultra-conservatives around the state. The committee also quoted from reports put out by the national PTA and NEA.<sup>35</sup>

Jordon’s words were picked up the following morning by the local press. The *Sarasota Herald Tribune* ran the headline: “Sarasota Said City of Hate in Eyes of Many Floridians.”<sup>36</sup> The substance of the PTA report was all but forgotten. The issue quickly became whether or not the PTA had described Sarasota as a city of hate in front of network television.

Paschal responded to the meeting with a column in the *Tribune*. He called the ad hoc committee members “mongers of gossip” and a “hand full of hypertensives.” He wrote, “There was a big to-do this week. The PTAs or some kind of association of them, got into the act. They invited an outsider to come in and address a public meeting in one of the public schools on the theme that Sarasota’s anti-communist extremists are making Sarasota a city of hate.” Paschal closed with an ominous warning: “It is reasonable to assume the USSR is making an effort here. So we should be alert and report to the FBI in the Old Post Office Building any evidence of this effort being directed at the people or institutions in our area.”<sup>37</sup> Dr. Douglass responded through Let Freedom Ring, calling Petree “an admitted spokesman of the communist-accommodating Civil Liberties Union.”<sup>38</sup>

The PTA received criticism from other quarters. Within two days Frazee had filed a complaint with the Sarasota County Commission. Frazee reminded the commissioners of the network cameras and of the film footage which had not yet been used. County Commissioner Leslie Miller responded, stating he had been at the meeting and had become incensed when he heard Sarasota described as the “hate capitol of the United States.”<sup>39</sup>

On March 22, County Commissioner William Montgomery submitted a resolution on the PTA meeting. It stated “the Commission deplores the recent expressions and inferences . . . labelling this community as one intolerant of the rights of individuals and organizations.” The resolution urged a letter to NBC protesting any planned use of the Sarasota footage. It passed the Commission unanimously over protests by representatives of the PTA.<sup>40</sup>

In April, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers Associations entered the Sarasota conflict directly. Jennelle Moorhead, national president, wrote the Sarasota County Board of Commissioners, asserting that Sarasota deserved the reputation it was earning because of “the vicious and unfounded attacks made on the PTA.”<sup>41</sup> The controversy continued to smolder through the spring. On June 12, 1966, NBC-News used its film in a special entitled, “Politics: The Outer Fringe.” Following the program the Board of Commissioners expressed its official disapproval.

It would be unfair to develop the impression that the Sarasota press and business community were interested only in the image of the city and not with the city's problems. The conflict between the right-wing and the schools was by 1966 an old story. The fact that the city had been caught airing its dirty linen in front of network television was novel and newsworthy.

By June, summer vacation had begun. Following the NBC program the conflict between the right-wing and the schools disappeared from newspapers and radio talk shows. With the opening of schools in the fall, it failed to reappear. A conflict which had raged for six years faded from public consciousness.

Several different explanations have been recently offered for the demise of the conflict. Waldo Proffitt, who was managing editor of the *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, in the 1960s, speculates that the far right "ended up suffering from its own success." It had expended great energy toppling first Hiss and then Dr. Wiley, only to find them replaced by moderates. Proffitt describes the schools as a political "tar-baby" for the right. The more it struggled to change the schools, the more they remained the same.<sup>42</sup>

Paschal, former free-lance columnist, describes the decline of the right differently. The Republican Party had waged a revolution in Sarasota in 1960. The far right had served as the Jacobins of that revolution, exerting influence far out of proportion to their actual numbers. "At the most there were only about twenty-five really dedicated extremists who raised most of the commotion," Paschal notes. This Jacobin element had won political victories, but it had failed to produce change.<sup>43</sup>

Elizabeth McCall, former chairperson of the Sarasota PTA, gives much of the credit to the PTA and the groups in the community which supported it. "We were the first group that stood up to them," she comments. "Nobody else in town would, but we did, and they left us and the schools alone after that." She also believes that the experiences of 1965 and 1966 "frightened" most Sarasotans and led them to reappraise the far right.<sup>44</sup>

All of these views are probably correct. In addition, by late 1966 the war in Vietnam had become a national issue, blocking out most others. In the early 1960s the far right had played the role of political outsider, strongly critical of government at all levels. By the latter part of the decade right-wing organizations had come out strongly in favor of the war effort. Groups which had castigated Johnson in 1964 were supporting him in 1966. Locally, the energies and attention of ultra-conservatives were directed out of Sarasota toward Washington and Vietnam.

The turmoil in Sarasota between 1960 and 1966 was unique only for its shrillness. Communities around the country experienced attacks by the political right on their schools and eventually on their PTAs. The turmoil was greater in Sarasota for several reasons. A large number of political organizations developed on the right in the county, and these groups were able to cooperate on key objectives. The revolution of 1960 had also been as much a victory for conservative ideology as for the Republican Party. Conservatives in Sarasota County were often transplanted northerners with romantic ideas about government, or the lack of it, in the South. For four years the School Board placed itself as a shield between the schools and local political

factions. In 1964 that shield was broken when the far right was able to force a resignation within the school system. Dr. Wiley's departure frightened moderates and liberals in the community and caused them finally to unite. In 1966 for the first time a mass of local residents, and not merely a small elected board, arrayed itself against the far right, and the Jacobin wave began to recede.

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth McCall, "Report on the PTA and Extremism," March 7, 1966, Sarasota County Historical Archives, Sarasota, Florida. Special gratitude is expressed to the Sarasota County Historical Archives for assistance and cooperation (hereafter designated as SCHA).

<sup>2</sup> *Sarasota Journal*, March 8, 1966. Some newspaper citations are taken from scrapbooks, containing no page numbers for the articles mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Betty Davis, "Statement Made at Alta Vista PTA," March 16, 1966, SCHA.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Herbert Field, Longboat Key, Florida, July 29, 1981.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*; Interview with Waldo Proffitt, Editorial Director, *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, Sarasota, June 26, 1981; Interview with Guy Paschal, Bradenton, Florida, July 26, 1981.

<sup>7</sup> *Reports of the Secretary of State of Florida, 1950-1960*. 1950 figures show Democratic registration at 9,955 and Republican at 2,026. April 3, 1960 figures were 12,941 and 11,933 respectively. October 8, 1960 figures were 16,315 and 16,230. During this six month period from April through October, voter registration increased in Sarasota County by thirty percent, indicating the intensity of local partisan campaigns.

<sup>8</sup> *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, March 16, 1964, p. 2; Paschal interview.

<sup>9</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, August 11, 1964.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*; *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, February 2, 1966.

<sup>11</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, August 11, 1964.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Field interview.

<sup>14</sup> Paschal interview.

<sup>15</sup> Field interview; Interviews with Elizabeth McCall, Sarasota, Florida, March 6, 1981 and April 24, 1981.

<sup>16</sup> Paschal interview.

<sup>17</sup> Field interview; McCall interview, April 1981.

<sup>18</sup> Proffitt interview.

<sup>19</sup> Field interview.

<sup>20</sup> Russell C. Jordon, "Is Sarasota Becoming One of the Hate Capitals of America?" March 7, 1966, SCHA.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*; McCall interview, April 1981.

<sup>22</sup> *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, May 19, 1966.

<sup>23</sup> Paschal interview.

<sup>24</sup> *American Opinion*, September, 1960.

<sup>25</sup> California Teachers' Association, "The Pattern of Attack on Public Education in California," March 27, 1961, SCHA.

<sup>26</sup> W. R. Fulton, "Coping with the Extremists and Critics of the PTA," July 2, 1964, SCHA. Fulton, a professor of education at the University of Oklahoma, delivered this address to the National Education Association convention in Seattle on that date.

<sup>27</sup> *Lakeland Ledger*, November 22, 1963.

<sup>28</sup> McCall, "PTA and Extremism."

<sup>29</sup> *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, August 28, 1965.

<sup>30</sup> Paschal interview.

<sup>31</sup> "Let Freedom Ring," September 22, 1965 and September 29, 1965, SCHA.

<sup>32</sup> "Notes of the Committee on Extremism," October 7, 1965 through March 7, 1966, SCHA.

<sup>33</sup> McCall, "PTA and Extremism."

<sup>34</sup> Jordon, "Is Sarasota Becoming ... ?"

<sup>35</sup> McCall interview, April 1981.

<sup>36</sup> *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, March 8, 1966.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, March 12, 1966.

<sup>38</sup> "Let Freedom Ring," April 4, 1966, SCHA.

<sup>39</sup> *Tampa Tribune*, March 9, 1966.

<sup>40</sup> *Sarasota Journal*, March 9, 1966, p. 16.

<sup>41</sup> Jennelle Moorhead to the Sarasota County Board of Commissioners, April 4, 1966, SCHA.

<sup>42</sup> Proffitt interview.

<sup>43</sup> Paschal interview.

<sup>44</sup> McCall interview, May 1981.