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MARY LOU BAKER

BY LOIS RICCIARDI

n April 22, 1943, a *Tampa Morning Tribune* headline announced, “Bill for Women to Serve on Juries Dies in House.” This defeat marked the beginning of a determined battle by Representative Mary Lou Baker to establish equal rights for women under Florida law. Elected just a year earlier, Mary Lou Baker was the only woman serving in the Florida legislature at that time, the second woman to ever serve, and the first from Pinellas County. In a male-dominated world replete with spittoons and cigar smoke, Baker knew that in the self-appointed task ahead of her—to establish equal rights for women including the right to serve on juries, manage their own property, make contracts, sue and be sued, and to have power of attorney—she would face many challenges and setbacks. “I may go down in defeat,” she said, “but my cause is destined to win for women will not long tolerate the unjust discrimination against their sex.”¹

Defeat, however, did not deter the remarkable woman legislator from Pinellas who crusaded for women’s rights during World War II, a war that helped redefine the role of women at home and in the workplace. Thrust into new roles as workers in industry, defense, and business and administrative fields previously dominated by men, American women found themselves serving as head of household while their husbands, fathers, and brothers fought overseas. To them fell the responsibility of managing the day-to-day affairs of the family business, often without the legal backing reserved for men.

The reform of antiquated Florida laws pertaining to married women became Baker’s primary focus after she was elected.² By today’s standards, the right of a wife to enter into contracts, manage property, sue and be sued, all without the consent of her husband, may seem routine. For wives in World

¹ “Bill for Women to Serve on Juries Dies in House,” *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 22, 1943.

² Ellen J. Babb, “Women and War: St. Petersburg Women during World War II,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73 (1994): 52.

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Courtesy of the Florida State Archives

This portrait of Mary Lou Baker was taken in 1943, the same year that her landmark legislation passed the Florida Legislature.

War II Florida, however, the passage of the Married Women's Rights Act granting these privileges was, as described by the *Florida Law Journal* in July 1943, "the most historic change in the basic law of the State of Florida in the past generation."³

The May 1943 victory did not come easily. Baker's bill met repeated opposition from members of both political bodies and finally passed, by a vote of 46 to 38, on the fourth consideration of the House. Representative Archie Clement, Baker's Pinellas colleague, called it "a dangerous bill." Representative E. Clay Lewis, rules chairman, said: "This thing has more lives than my cat. . . . We've killed it three times already." Lewis went on to warn that the bill would open up to lawyers "the greatest field day they've ever had." Representatives Dave Thomas of Pensacola and Mabry Carlton of Jacksonville, however, briefly urged the House to ratify a victory already won. Through all this and with victory

finally in hand, Baker simply said, "Isn't it grand?" The legislation liberated married women from the legal disabilities previously imposed by Florida law and elevated their property rights to those of men. As the war waged on overseas, with more and more husbands departing for the battlefield, wives could now fully manage family interests on the home front.⁴

Although best known for the Married Women's Rights Act, Baker also advocated strongly for legislation allowing women to serve on juries. In spite of the rapidly changing roles of women during the 1940s, resistance to women on juries was deeply ingrained in Florida politics. Representative Warren Sanchez of Live Oak sounded the concerns of many of the male legislators with statements that "he was sure the members did not want their wives and sisters exposed to the embarrassment of hearing filthy evidence." Women, too, he said, would be worrying about the children back home and not keep their minds on the case. He cited also the added restrooms and attendants called for by the bill as "too costly." Undaunted, Baker responded, "One can hardly overestimate the ignorance of the average juror in our juries composed solely of males." A proponent of the

³ *Florida Law Journal* (July 1943).

⁴ Al Barker, "Women's Emancipation Bill Is Passed by Legislature," *St. Petersburg Times*, May 27, 1943.

legislation, Representative Walter Walker of Daytona Beach and a former public prosecutor asserted that “on juries in Florida we have the poorest class of men.” He went on to add that “women would not duck service as . . . men of equally responsible status commonly do.”⁵

The controversy over allowing women to serve on juries highlighted the juxtaposition of roles for the women of the day. On the one hand, women were expected to step up and perform the patriotic duty of assuming roles vacated by men fighting overseas. On the other hand, at the end of a workday, they were expected to return home to the children and not intrude upon the predominantly male world of legal and political matters. Male legislators argued that women belonged in the domestic sphere and that keeping them there was not only in the best interests of society but in the best interests of the women as well.⁶ While some legislators supported Baker’s fight, the legislation would not be passed until 1949. Even then change was slow to follow, ultimately resulting in the 1961 landmark Supreme Court decision, *Hoyt v. Tampa*.⁷

Baker’s activism for women’s rights caused many to label her a feminist. Although happily married to Seale H. Matthews, a captain in the United States Army, she insisted, in a move considered radical for the times, that she be known professionally by her maiden name. When challenged on this, she replied, “The purpose of a name is to designate an individual, and to distinguish that individual from others.”⁸ In a political arena entrenched with male chauvinism, and with an American public not quite ready for a feminist movement, Baker demonstrated her inherent political skill by subtly conveying her message of a woman’s right to individualism without sending a strong message of feminism.

Baker further defended her use of her maiden name by explaining: “I received my law degree and my certificate to practice as Mary Lou Baker. . . . It might even be considered unsportsmanlike for me to use the name of my husband upon the ballot and thereby borrow from the good will established by the name of Captain Seale H. Matthews. . . . Those who are acquainted with political trends and the pulse of the electorate believe that if Captain Matthews were a candidate for political office in Pinellas County, he would draw a marvellously [*sic*] large vote. On the other hand, the church membership of my husband and myself, and my own membership in the Eastern Star and other ladies’ organizations, which memberships are predicated upon Seale’s membership in the parent organizations are in a different category. There I am intensely proud to be known as Mrs. Seale H. Matthews. I hope St. Peter has the names so recorded in his big book.”⁹

⁵ “Rep. Baker Loses Great Fight for Women Jurors,” *St. Petersburg Times*, April 22, 1943.

⁶ Babb, “**Women and War**,” 53.

⁷ Gary R. Mormino, “Mary Lou Baker,” *Punta Pinal Newsletter* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2000).

⁸ “Mary Lou Baker Defends Use of Maiden Name,” *St. Petersburg Times*, February 12, 1944.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Baker's delineation of the use of her maiden name for autonomous professional activities and the more traditional use of her married name for joint activities with her husband suggests that she was not so much a feminist seeking to change the traditional roles of women in World War II as she was an ordinary woman of the day, married to a military serviceman, who recognized that current legislation did not serve women fairly. She sought to empower women within their traditional roles through the granting of legal and civil rights usually reserved exclusively for the male head of household. Still, her activities were not always admired. "Rep. Mary Lou Baker," charged the *Lakeland Ledger*, "has not given the impression of being a feminist in any sense of the word, but figures that since she is the lone woman member of the legislature, it's up to her to be the spokesman for the women of Florida. If that's not feminism, what is it—misogyny?"¹⁰ Such statements represented the viewpoint of many that, whether or not Baker was a feminist, her bill enacting equal laws for women would do more harm to women than good.

Other lawmakers felt the legislation set a dangerous precedent and ran the risk of subjecting women to a loss of rights and victimization by unscrupulous salesmen and canvassers. Typical of the times, many men felt that women could not manage property and affairs independently of their husbands' oversight and experience. Representative Archie Clement expressed arguments that the legislation was "the most unkind thing you could do to married women of this state." Clement, arguing that validation of contracts by married women might result in judgments wiping out family property, and that such legislation ran the risk of relieving men of the obligation to support their wives, closed with the statement, "Let's not get sentimental because there's a good looking lady here sponsoring the bill." It was a condescending closing statement that devalued the inherent possibilities of the proposed legislation and implied that any support for it was nothing more than a response to a pretty face.¹¹

With disregard for the paternalistic attitude of male legislators, Baker forged on working not only for women's rights but also for education reform, public health, lower taxes, veterans' benefits, and utility regulations. As a result of Baker's emancipation victory, House Speaker Evans Crary created a committee on women's rights and made Baker its first chairman.¹² By the time she ran for a second term in 1945, Baker had garnered the grudging respect of many of her male colleagues. Even those such as Archie Clement, who had opposed the emancipation legislation, insisted that "Credit should be given where it is due. . . . It was mainly through the work of Miss Baker that this legislation succeeded."¹³

¹⁰ Lee Morris, "Free Speeches," *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, April 22, 1943.

¹¹ Al Barker, "Baker, Clement in Hot Debate on Emancipation," *St. Petersburg Times*, May 4, 1943.

¹² Paul Davis, "Mary Lou Baker," *St. Petersburg Independent*, May 10, 1965.

¹³ "Clement Credits Mary Lou Baker for Women's Bill," *St. Petersburg Times*, June 4, 1943.



Mary Lou Baker

(1914 - 1965)
Date of Admission: 1938

Mary Lou Baker studied pre-law at Florida Southern College, graduated from Stetson University College of Law in 1938, and was admitted to practice law in Florida under the diploma privilege on September 30, 1938. Her studies also included a course in journalism with Harris G. Sims, who was the editor of the Lakeland Ledger.

Mary Lou Baker practiced law in St. Petersburg and later in Clearwater with her father, Lee L. Baker, in the firm of Baker and Baker. Ms. Baker also held government and political offices. In 1935 she served as an attache at the Florida State Legislature, and in 1941 she was chief of indexers of the Florida Statutes.

87

Reprinted from 150: Celebrating Florida's First 150 Women Lawyers

Admitted to the Florida Bar in 1938, Baker was not the only lawyer in her family. Her father and her brother were both attorneys and municipal judges in Pinellas County.

While representatives worried that the male-dominated citadel of the legislature would not function as effectively with a woman on board, Baker showed that she had the intellect, poise, and equanimity her elected office required. Representative Alex Williams of Indian River County paid her this compliment: "Lady, I am sincere when I say you did a swell job. Never did you ask any special favor or any extra consideration, during debate or any other time, because you are a woman."¹⁴ By 1944, the press was acknowledging Baker's accomplishments with reports such as these:

There will be more than one member of the house who will take a back seat if he matches his knowledge of law, politics and the community welfare with the woman lawyer from St. Petersburg.

Pinellas County's Mary Lou Baker, the state's only woman representative . . . is creating a favorable impression over the state because of her enterprise and ability.

Mary Lou Baker of Pinellas led a floor fight on the jury bill with such poise and ability as to prove that women can make first rate legislators. We offer her as exhibit A.¹⁵

Baker was also an advocate for education and became the first woman in Florida history to wield a gavel in the state House or Senate. In 1945, she presided

¹⁴ Davis, "Mary Lou Baker."

¹⁵ "Know the Candidates for State Representative," *St. Petersburg Times*, April 14, 1944. The *St. Petersburg Times* reprinted these statements from the *Tampa Tribune*, *Clearwater News*, and *Tallahassee Democrat* respectively. The article noted that these were just a few of hundreds of laudatory statements from various Florida publications.

over a heated debate on a school bill that proposed raising the salaries of school superintendants. In spite of opposition from smaller counties, the bill passed.¹⁶ In 1944 and again in 1946, education reform was a part of Baker's platform. During a WTSP radio talk in 1944, she stated, "The schools must have as much money as may be required to train and discipline our youth for the work that lies ahead."¹⁷ The *St. Petersburg Times* endorsed her as well, writing that Florida's education system needed overhauling and that her aggressive leadership could be useful to Pinellas County and the whole state.¹⁸ While serving in the 1945 session, she sponsored or cosponsored bills "providing an emergency appropriation to county school fund, increasing teachers' retirement pension under 1931 act, and increasing the salaries of county superintendents of public instruction."¹⁹ In 1943, Baker was named vice chairman of the Educational Committee and chairman of a subcommittee to consider a school-lunch bill.²⁰ She actively supported co-ed college education, laying the groundwork for transitioning Florida State College for Women to the present-day Florida State University.²¹

Baker's fight to provide and protect civil liberties for women, children, veterans, the elderly, and the poor belies her own background. Growing up in 1930s Pinellas County, Baker lived a comfortable life as the daughter of Judge and Mrs. Lee L. Baker. She was born in 1915 in British Columbia, Canada. The family moved to Provo, Utah, and then to Pinellas County in 1925. As one of five children (two boys and three girls), Baker attended Pinellas County schools and graduated from Clearwater High School. She went on to study pre-law at Florida Southern College and graduated from Stetson University College of Law in 1938. Her studies also included a course in journalism with Harris G. Sims, the editor of the *Lakeland Ledger*. Baker was admitted to practice law in Florida under the diploma privilege on September 30, 1938.²² No longer in use today, the diploma privilege allowed graduates of Florida law schools to practice law in Florida without taking the bar examination.

News reports of the day suggest that the Great Depression did not have a significant impact on the Baker family. Baker's father was a municipal judge in Clearwater and a partner in the law firm of Baker and Ulmer.²³ Her mother, Mary Vesgar Baker, was a Democratic Party official and civic leader in Clearwater. Mrs. Baker served as president of the Democratic Woman's Club and was twice a

¹⁶ Davis, "Mary Lou Baker."

¹⁷ "Miss Baker Says Women Belong in Politics," *St. Petersburg Times*, April 15, 1944.

¹⁸ "Here's Our Choice and Why in State Senate and House," *St. Petersburg Times*, April 9, 1944. *St. Petersburg Times*, June 8, 1945.

²⁰ Paul A. Davis, "At Tally," *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, April 16, 1943.

²¹ Mormino, "Mary Lou Baker."

²² Wendy S. Loquasto, ed. *150: Celebrating Florida's First 150 Women Lawyers* (Charlottesville: Lexis, 2000).

²³ "Baker Announces Judge Candidacy," *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, April 28, 1936.

delegate to the national Democratic Party convention.²⁴ Both parents were active in political and community affairs and were often mentioned in society columns. While financially stable, however, the Bakers' early years were marked by the tragic loss of one of their daughters. Nancy Lee Baker, a young child, died in 1928 in a drowning accident.²⁵ The remaining four children, Mary Lou, Robert Warren, Josef Lafayette, and Marjorie Belle all went on to distinguish themselves academically and professionally.

As a college student, Baker won two fifty-dollar prizes given by D. H. Redfearn of Miami for the best article written on a legal subject. The articles that presaged her future were "Legal Emancipation of Married Women," written in 1937, and "The Divorce Traffic: Its Cause and Cure," in 1938.²⁶ She also served as the law school secretary for three consecutive years.²⁷ During and after college, Baker began laying the groundwork for her career as a legislator. She gained experience working as the personal attaché of Judge Jack F. White in the 1935 session, as a worker for social and economic reforms including women's rights in the 1937 and 1939 sessions, and as chief of the indexers of the House and Senate Journals at the 1941 session.²⁸

On October 1, 1938, Baker married Sergeant Seale Harris Matthews. The *St. Petersburg Evening Independent* reported on the wedding, including great detail about the bride's gown of silver lace over white satin, the bridesmaids' dresses of silk net over taffeta, and the bride's traveling suit of English tea. The article went on to describe at length the details of the ceremony and reception.²⁹

The couple had one son, Lee Harris Matthews, who was born on August 18, 1944. Baker set yet another precedent for the women of her day by serving as a legislator and running for reelection while expecting her child. According to the National Women's History Museum, "Her husband had come home on leave, and she kept her pregnancy secret from him and everyone else until after her 1944 re-election."³⁰ She served her second term with her son in tow and was often tapped by the press for interviews on balancing work and motherhood.³¹ Baker's use of her maiden name for her legislative work and serving while pregnant and as a mother in the 1940s demonstrate her courage and her conviction that women could and should be equal to men in the eyes of the law.

Although happily married, Baker sought by her own actions to show the

²⁴ "Services Slated for Mrs. Baker," *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, September 10, 1963.

²⁵ "Nancy Lee Baker Funeral Sunday," *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, July 14, 1928.

²⁶ "Mary L. Baker in Race for Legislature," *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, February 27, 1940.

²⁷ "Baker, Mary Lou Clearwater, Fla. L.L.B.," *Stetson Hatter Yearbook*, 1938.

²⁸ "Know the Candidates for State Representative," *St. Petersburg Times*, April 14, 1944.

²⁹ "Miss Mary Baker to Be Bride of Seale Matthews," *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, October 1, 1938.

³⁰ "Women Wielding Power: Pioneer Female State Legislators," National Women's History Museum, www.nwhm.org/legislators/Florida.html.

³¹ Davis, "Mary Lou Baker."

world that women could do more than stay at home raising children. In this, she was staunchly supported by her husband, who endorsed her candidacy in 1944 with the following statement: “My wife, Mary Lou Baker, is an excellent housewife, an able lawyer and legislator, a prudent business woman. She possesses great beauty, poise, charm and friendliness. All who know Mary Lou love and respect her. Re-elect her and you will again be proud of the superior and distinguished service you will receive from her.”³²

While Baker distinguished herself in the legislature, Captain Matthews served his country, including an assignment in Okinawa, Japan. Shortly before the dropping of the atomic bombs and Japan’s surrender, Captain Matthews offered his view on Japan’s situation: “There is no doubt that Japan’s most powerful weapons are pretty much smashed up. The only asset that remains to her is the belief of her people that it is a thousand times better to die for the emperor than to live—even if you die uselessly. That seems to be the core of her religion.”³³ This statement supported what many Americans believed—that Japan would not surrender without a bitter fight and that the dropping of the atomic bombs was the only way to finally end the war.

Captain Seale Matthews was not the only man in Baker’s life to serve his country. Her brother, Robert Warren Baker, served in the Army Air Corps, completing fifty combat missions over Europe. Robert’s military decorations included the Distinguished Flying Cross, Silver Campaign Star, and Air Medal. After the war, he “served at the White House (1946-47) as chief of secretariat, U.S. Reparations Commission, and until August 1949 was executive assistant secretary of the Army’s Pentagon office.”³⁴

Robert urged the public to reelect his sister by using his military service as an analogy to her service in the legislature: “no matter how excellent the raw material, genuine practical experience is required to make the best soldier. Mary Lou has this experience in the state legislature.”³⁵ Robert, too, was bitten by the legal bug and earned a law degree at the University of Florida. He later joined his father’s practice and served for a time as a Clearwater municipal judge. Robert died suddenly of a heart attack in 1965 at the age of forty-two, leaving behind a wife and son.³⁶

Baker’s two other siblings did not pursue law careers. Josef Baker became an assistant professor of music at the University of Tampa. Marjorie Belle Baker attended the University of Alabama (taking a year off to serve as Baker’s attaché) and later medical school in Heidelberg, Germany, returning stateside before World War II to enter Syracuse University’s medical school as the only female

³² “Mary Lou Baker’s Husband Endorses Her Candidacy,” *St. Petersburg Times*, April 22, 1944.

³³ “South Pacific Next Stop for Capt. Seale Matthews,” *St. Petersburg Times*, August 4, 1945.

³⁴ “Robert W. Baker, Lawyer, Found Dead,” *St. Petersburg Times*, December 12, 1965.

³⁵ “Lt. Baker Speaks for Mary Lou,” *St. Petersburg Times*, April 20, 1944.

³⁶ “Robert W. Baker, Lawyer, Found Dead.”

student to be accepted at that time. Like her sister, she set out to demonstrate that women could do more than the traditional roles of homemaker and mother assigned to them in the 1930s and 1940s. Marjorie, however, did not complete medical school, saying that she “earned her M.D. the easy way” by dropping out of school to marry Dr. M. Rowland Mesick. Marjorie, more so than Mary Lou, seems to have preferred the more traditional role of wife and mother, although she used that role to stay involved with civic activities and charitable causes throughout her lifetime. She died in 2004 at the age of eighty-seven, leaving behind a son, daughter, and five grandchildren.³⁷



Courtesy of Setson University

Given the support of her family and friends over the years, along with the respect she had earned from colleagues and the successes of her emancipation legislation, it was no surprise that in 1946, Baker chose to

Education was very important for the Baker Family. Mary Lou and her siblings all pursued advanced degrees – her sister attended medical school, one of her brothers was a university professor and the other a lawyer.

run for a third term in office. However, the times were changing. The war was over, and as the men returned home, it was assumed that women would step back into the traditional roles of wives and homemakers. Her bid for a third term did not meet with the same enthusiasm from the voting constituency. Compounding this was a shift in support by the press, who editorialized that she had broken her campaign promise to lower utility rates. The *St. Petersburg Times* accused her of being a “grave disappointment” for voting against the establishment of a county regulatory commission to control utility rates. The *Times* went on to say that she had initially won her seat by campaigning against a former power company employee with the promise to lower power rates and had failed to live up to that promise: “Voters have long memories. Regulation will continue to be an issue until the public has a board or commission . . . checking up on the fairness of public utility rates. Miss Baker broke the faith.”³⁸ At the same time, a young lawyer and veteran, Charles Schuh, announced his candidacy as well. The *St. Petersburg Times* was quick to support for this new candidate while continuing to make unflattering reports about Baker.

Although the *St. Petersburg Times* focused primarily on the utility regulatory issue, they were quick to play the female card at a time when public opinion was

³⁷ “Mesick,” *Post-Standard*, August 24, 2004.

³⁸ “Only Issue in the State Legislature Races,” *St. Petersburg Times*, May 1, 1946.

shifting toward the belief that women needed to give up their positions in the workforce so those positions would be available for the returning veterans. In addition to reporting on Baker's "failure" to control utility rates by voting against a county regulatory agency, one editorial commented that "it has been no advantage to the best interests of Pinellas for Miss Baker to have been the only female member of the legislature . . . nor would it be any advantage in the near future. Rather, it would probably constitute a legislative liability." This was followed in the next paragraph by an endorsement of Charles Schuh: "[He] is new to public life. He is a competent lawyer with an excellent war record. His integrity, his family background, his sincerity, are all above question and beyond reproach."³⁹ Clearly, the *St. Petersburg Times* now favored Schuh over Baker, using his status as both a man and a returning war veteran to help substantiate their position that he should be elected in place of Baker.

Regardless of whether or not Baker received support from the Florida Power Corporation, the news reporting and allegations of broken campaign promises seriously impacted her popularity with the Pinellas voters. She sought to defend herself at a public rally: "Since this issue has come up, I think I will explain my stand. I have explained it once in a radio talk tonight but since I doubt that the newspapers will print it I will explain it again." She then said she voted against it because the commission's salaries, attorney fees, and other expenses would have come out of the taxpayers' pockets. In an earlier radio talk, she said she had voted against it because Florida Power Corporation had voluntarily reduced its rates and because she thought the regulation of power rates should be a city function rather than a county function. Her opponent, Schuh, was quick to jump on the bandwagon. At the same rally, he argued that the financial statement of Florida Power called for \$725,000 "other" and \$28,000 "miscellaneous." The commission's job, he went on to say, would be to put some of that money back in the taxpayer's pocket. "I think you'll agree with me that \$725,000 is a lot of 'other.'"⁴⁰

Baker did not win reelection to a third term. She accepted defeat gracefully, offering her congratulations to the winners. "The jury has rendered its verdict; the voters have the last word, some of the electors liked me, some like[d] me less, and some like[d] me not at all. I have gratitude in my heart and a thank-you on my lips for everyone who cast a ballot, no matter how that ballot may have been marked. Throughout the campaign I have been patient and kind and have known no envy or jealousy. I have not brooded over wrongs done me, nor become angry with anyone. There were many ardent and zealous supporters and if inadvertently any injustice to anyone was committed, I am very sorry. I like Pinellas people,

³⁹ "The Pinellas Delegation: Part I," *St. Petersburg Independent*, May 3, 1946.

⁴⁰ "McClure Charges Harris Backers 'Throwing Money Around' to Win Election," *St. Petersburg Times*, May 4, 1946.

trust them, believe in them, and am eternally grateful to them, for the favors they have shown me.”⁴¹

Baker retired from politics and joined her husband overseas in Okinawa, Japan. While in Japan, she sent back articles that appeared weekly in the *Tampa Tribune*, offering “analysis of the political alignments in force at that time and descriptions of the Japanese people that displayed a sympathetic understanding and sound discernment.”⁴² By 1948, Baker had returned to Pinellas and resumed working as an attorney in her father’s law firm.⁴³

Mary Lou Baker died in 1965. She was fifty years old. Although she never returned to politics, she achieved her original mission to change Florida laws allowing married women the same property and legal rights as men. In the words of her Pinellas colleague Representative S. Henry Harris, she “accomplished the biggest piece of women’s legislation since [Women’s] Suffrage.”⁴⁴

⁴¹ “Pinellas Gets Two New House Members as Harris, Baker Lose,” *Evening Independent*, May 5, 1946.

⁴² Loquasto, *150: Celebrating Florida’s First 150 Women Lawyers*.

⁴³ *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, November 23, 1948.

⁴⁴ “Park Program Pays Tribute to Mary Lou Baker,” *St. Petersburg Times*, June 18, 1943.