Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1970 by Peter D. Klingman

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BOOK REVIEWS


Compiling information for a history of the Republican party in Florida is almost as difficult as compiling the history of a Caribbean bank which has shielded the assets of depositors from scrutiny. The discovery must have been painful to Peter Klingman as he pursued the record of an elusive political organization. Except during the eight years of Reconstruction and the two most recent decades, data on Republican activities are in short supply. Even in these periods of maximum visibility, reliance must be placed largely on newspapers, minutes of conventions, an occasional public document, and a handful of biographies.

Between the two bursts of activity is a century in which relevant material is still scantier and for good reason. The party was confined to a coterie of mutually suspicious insiders who wanted to control federal patronage in the state when a Republican President occupied the White House. Perceiving that a broadly based party would be difficult to dominate, these wily manipulators discouraged potential recruits. Instead they came out of hibernation and attracted public attention only in election years—holding a convention to ascertain which faction would monopolize power until the next contest. Such self-seeking political operators were not the type who reveal their motives in speeches or letters. Far from wanting publicity, they preferred to avoid the scrutiny of the press. Lacking an interest in public affairs, they rarely took a stand on issues that concerned the voters.

Accordingly, Klingman has been obliged to squander much energy on inconsequential political vendettas. Not surprisingly he devotes a third of the book to the eight years of Republican ascendancy after the Civil War. In this section, he has found some noteworthy developments to analyze, but the impact of the narrative is weakened by an overabundance of switchbacks. Although the frequent references to earlier events yield some useful insights, the reader may not learn as much as he should because he will be busy extricating himself from chronological detours.

What stands out is the determination of the author to drive an additional nail in the coffin containing members of the Dunning school. His specific concern is to demonstrate that the Republican Reconstruction governments in Florida were neither as incompetent nor corrupt as pictured by the Dunningites. Klingman provides persuasive evidence that the so called Carpetbag administrations not only revived a moribund economy and expanded educational facilities, but saw to it that blacks shared in the benefits. In the process, he mobilizes statistics behind the comparative judgment that Florida fared somewhat better than most of her sister states during Reconstruction. He ascribes the superior progress partly to moral scruples which he thinks minimized, if they did not altogether eliminate, the appetite for corruption. Since he also cites several instances of financial irregularities for which Florida Republicans were responsible, his verdict is not altogether convincing.
In examining the reasons for the sudden demise of the state party in 1877, the author places considerable stress on a surfeit of factional disputes. He also feels that the authority of Florida Republicans was undermined by the carelessness of Washington in dispensing patronage. Nobody can dispute either point. Intraparty feuding was endemic, and President Grant cared little about which pigeons fitted which holes in the back end of his dovecote. Preoccupied with high level apathy and the suicidal impulses of Florida Republicans, Klingman pays less attention to the machinations of the Democrats than they deserve.

After 1876 the Florida G.O.P. is such a shadowy organization until the 1960s that there is little to tell. The author is visibly tired when he reaches the modern era and does a perfunctory job, but he can build on his existing foundation and expand his treatment as more material becomes available.

George H. Mayer


John Henry Klutho (1873-1964) came to Jacksonville after the great fire of 1901 in order to use the opportunity to build an architectural practice. He not only succeeded in doing so, but was Jacksonville’s foremost architect in the early decades of this century. His best years came between 1907 and 1917, when he graced the city with many buildings in a style derived from Louis H. Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright. He was thereby the first to bring modern architecture to the South. Robert Broward has written an excellent book about Klutho’s work and its context, abundantly illustrated and documented, and beautifully brought out by the University of North Florida Press. As its subtitle indicates, the book focuses on the buildings which show the influence of Sullivan and particularly Wright, but it follows chronologically the whole Klutho’s often eclectic practice.

The author is well-suited for the task. A native of Jacksonville and practicing architect there since the 1950s, he served an apprenticeship under Frank Lloyd Wright and enjoyed Klutho’s friendship during the fifteen years prior to the latter’s death. The book is a pleasure to read. Broward writes with a clarity that makes it accessible to the non-specialist. His research and thorough knowledge of the buildings provide the architectural historian with a valuable record of Klutho’s work and the Prairie School’s manifestation in Jacksonville. The social and cultural context in which he places Klutho’s career gives the reader an idea of the forces that went into the making of the material city. From an early time, Klutho was aware of the necessity of city planning, but the same cannot be said of the leaders in business and politics. His plans for a Civic Center (1913) and the Northside Waterfront Development (1944) were rejected, but his Hogan’s Creek Development (1929) was put in place, only to be left to deteriorate in later years. In the 1910s several film studios settled in Jacksonville, and for a while the city had the opportunity to become America’s motion picture capital. Klutho worked tirelessly toward that goal. He designed and invested in a studio and twice drew up plans for a “Fine Arts City.” In the ’20s the