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If It Takes All Summer: Martin Luther King, the KKK, and States' Rights in St. Augustine, 1964 by Dan R. Warren

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barriers. Those lines would only further harden during World War II, according to Cindy Hahamovitch, as the federal government assisted local growers in acquiring foreign, mostly Jamaican, farmworkers. Wartime “emergency measures,” however, became a permanent part of agricultural production in the 1950s as U.S. agricultural interests increasingly relied on temporary foreign workers, who were later replaced by undocumented illegal immigrants, as a solution to the perennial need for cheap labor. Finally, Melanie Shell-Weiss suggests the same pattern emerged as northern lingerie manufacturers migrated southward to Miami, and even farther to Puerto Rico. To lower the cost of doing business, corporations sought an almost exclusively female and Latin labor force. In many respects symbolizing the growing mobility of modern manufacturing, the industry, within a few short decades, moved farther offshore to become part of an international trend toward globalization.

Taken together, these essays offer not only an excellent overview of the current literature, but an introduction to new directions in the field of labor history. As the inaugural volume of the University Press of Florida’s series on working in the Americas, *Florida’s Working-Class Past* has established a high standard for future scholarship.

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If It Takes All Summer: Martin Luther King, the KKK, and States’ Rights in St. Augustine, 1964. By Dan R. Warren (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008. xii, 210 pp. Foreword by Morris Dees, Acknowledgments, introduction, B/W photographs, notes, index. \$29.95, cloth)

Memoirs of the civil rights movement have enticed readers since Martin Luther King Jr. published *Stride toward Freedom* in 1958. In recent years, interest in white southerners’ various perspectives has heightened with the publication of Timothy Tyson’s *Blood Done Sign My Name* and Bob Zellner’s *The Wrong Side of Murder Creek*, to name just two. *If It Takes All Summer* contributes to this conversation by detailing author Dan Warren’s activities related to and perspectives on the racial turmoil that preceded St. Augustine’s quadricentennial celebrations in 1964.

At age thirty-six, Warren was appointed state attorney for the Seventh Judicial Circuit (composed of Volusia, Flagler, Putnam, and St. Johns Counties), an office to which he was elected in his own right in 1962 and again in 1964. He filled another role in 1964, when Governor Farris Bryant designated Warren his “personal representative” in St. Augustine, a special position made possible by a legislative act in 1955 that gave the governor added powers “to deal with racial unrest” (82). In this situation, the exclusion of black people from the committee charged with planning

the city's quadricentennial festivities, not to mention the city's general recalcitrance about desegregating its schools and other public facilities, sparked the "unrest." Demonstrations began in earnest in the summer of 1963, led by local people such as Robert Hayling, a black dentist recently discharged from the U.S. Air Force, and numerous young blacks. Elected officials tried to curb this activism by arresting demonstrators for dubious causes, while white ruffians, often affiliated with the KKK or a nearby gun club, exacerbated tensions. Violence soon followed. In the fall of 1963 alone, Klansmen severely beat Hayling and three acquaintances, and a white man was shot and killed while riding with several Klansmen through a black neighborhood.

These conflicts remained unresolved in 1964 when Hayling invited Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to target St. Augustine. Groups such as the KKK and the National States' Rights Party concurrently descended on the city. As Congress debated what soon became the Civil Rights Act of 1964, local officials perpetuated a "culture of complicity" with white supremacists, thereby preventing thoughtful compromise and progressive reforms (43). Warren entered this cauldron of disparate personalities and activities when he became the governor's personal representative on June 8.

Warren admits that, primarily, he sought to end the demonstrations. Despite there being little or no legal precedent for such an action, he reimpaneled a grand jury and coerced it to create a biracial committee to address the community's racial crises. Next, he sought to establish communication with King to determine the SCLC's objectives in St. Augustine. King, who was arrested on June 11, appeared before the grand jury, but, much to Warren's dismay, he rejected the grand jury's proposal of a thirty-day cooling-off period before the meeting of the biracial committee. By the end of June, when passage of the Civil Rights Act was imminent, King called off demonstrations and left St. Augustine. Before leaving, he urged Warren to aid local black activists who faced criminal charges or unemployment due to their participation in the recent demonstrations, and he insisted that Warren pursue the KKK more actively. Warren concludes that the Civil Rights Act, the success of a federal court case that exposed how the KKK intimidated business owners that complied with the new law, and his prosecution of local Klansmen finally brought a measure of stability to St. Augustine, although he also confesses that racial violence did not cease immediately.

Students of the civil rights movement will find several familiar themes in this volume. Warren makes numerous references to his service in World War II and how that conflict influenced black and white racial attitudes. He repeatedly criticizes the general apathy of white churches and the failure of local officials to provide adequate leadership. Warren marveled at the discipline of activists, especially children, who practiced nonviolent civil disobedience, in stark contrast to the pervasive violence that otherwise seared his memory. In these ways, Warren reiterates what historians and other observers previously documented. The historian David Colburn chronicled many of the same events in *Racial Change and Community Crisis*. Warren frequently

refers to this work as well as to personal recollections, notes, and newspaper clippings. Nevertheless, readers interested in recent Florida history and the civil rights movement will be fascinated by Warren's account. His detailed assessment of legal tensions between local, state, and federal authorities extends well beyond mere recitation.

On a deeper level, this book instructs in subtle ways. Warren heaps praise upon King, but in 1964 Warren was "disappointed and puzzled" by his response to the grand jury's recommendations (119). Readers can sense that his assessment of King likely evolved over time. Although the author was certainly more progressive-minded than many other elected officials around St. Augustine, the self-proclaimed "most powerful political officeholder" in the judicial circuit presumably could have acted much earlier to prevent the crises of 1963-64 (62). Warren, like most white southerners, initially was more concerned with peacekeeping than civil equality, a significant perspective on the civil rights movement that warrants further exploration.

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St. Petersburg's Historic African American Neighborhoods. By Rosalie Peck and Jon Wilson. (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2008. 126 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, B/W photographs, epilogue, appendices, notes, about the authors. \$19.99, paper)

In July 2002, longtime *St. Petersburg Times* reporter Jon Wilson crafted an impressive journey along St. Petersburg's Twenty-second Street South. Known as "The Deuces," this road served as the historic heart of the African American business community during much of the twentieth century. Six years later, St. Petersburg native Rosalie Peck—a retired social worker and one of the first African American students to integrate St. Petersburg Junior College in 1961—joined Wilson in coauthoring this companion study that examines the "connectivity" within and between the original African American settlements of the Sunshine City.

Peck and Wilson did so much more than compile photographs and craft captions within a sepia-tone cover. Through excellent use of oral histories, photographic archives, newspaper sources, and city directories, they painstakingly reconstructed life in Pepper Town (named for its abundant crops), Methodist Town (later known as Jamestown), and the Gas Plant district (now largely occupied by Tropicana Field) during the years when laws and customs compelled racial segregation. This concise but informative volume offers an important contribution to Tampa Bay regional history that should serve as a springboard for other studies that examine the connectivity between African Americans in St. Petersburg and those who lived elsewhere.