tory over longtime college powerhouse Kansas for the national men's basketball championship. Looking back on his experience as a 13-year-old boy hearing Tar Heel Joe Quigg hit two free throws to defeat the Wilt Chamberlain–led Jayhawks in triple overtime to win North Carolina's first national championship, Hobson writes that "as all time stopped for an earlier generation of southern boys just before two o'clock on that July afternoon in 1863 when Pickett began his charge at Gettysburg," so did time stop, "or at least subsequently cease to have the same meaning," for him on that Saturday night in March 1957.

TOM RANKIN
Duke University

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## **Beaches**

Warmed by the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf Stream, flanked by barrier islands from Virginia to Texas, southern beaches represent more than sand dunes and salt spray. In fact, southern history begins on the beach. Since the late 15th or early 16th century, when a Spanish soldier or sailor stepped ashore on an unidentified beach on the Florida peninsula or Gulf Coast, each generation of southerners has defined and redefined the beach as a place to escape, invest, define and display social class, and even break barriers.

Once seen as unhealthy and dangerous, the beach later became identified with health and relaxation. In the decades before and after the American Revolution, wealthy South Carolina planters wishing to escape the sickly summer months began to frequent the beach communities of Edisto and Pawley's Island. Families of planters and merchants wishing to escape the summer heat

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along the Upper Gulf Coast sought the comforts of Mobile, Bay St. Louis, and Biloxi. North Carolinians also began to visit Ocracoke and Portsmouth Island on the Outer Banks in the 1760s. The first hotel at Nags Head appeared in 1838, and by 1858 a three-story hotel appeared at Morehead City on Bogue Sound. In 1870 the elegant Cumberland Hotel opened.

Following the Civil War, the New South ushered in an era of beach resorts. The expansion of a dynamic middle class also created the modern American vacation, and the construction of modern railroads and the availability of steamboat travel allowed travelers to reach once-remote beach communities. Grand hotels and wooden beach cottages came to define the South's Gilded Age, and in no southern state did the emergence of the beach resort help transform the image and economy more than Florida. The future of Florida's resorts pointed toward the Gulf and Atlantic beaches. Keenly aware of this, Henry Flagler extended his rail line, erecting stunning hotels in Ormond Beach, Palm Beach, and Miami. The Breakers, Royal Poinciana, and Royal Palm hotels redefined southern luxury and helped create Florida's Gold Coast. Palm Beach advertised itself as the "Queen of Winter Resorts," while the writer Henry James depicted Palm Beach in February as "Vanity Fair in full blast." Across the peninsula, the masthead of the Fort Myers News-Press proclaimed the region as "the Italy of America."

In an era of conspicuous consumption, the upper classes flocked to Cumberland Island and Palm Beach as much to be seen as to restore their nerves. But the South's middle and working classes also enjoyed the sensuous pleasures of salt-air breezes and oyster roasts. In 1886 the *Halifax Journal* described the summer's rage, "surf bathing, a perfectly safe gigantic bathing trough provided by nature." In 1887 the *Pensacolian* predicted "that the day is not far distant when this part of Santa Rosa Island will become the Coney Island of the South." In 1901 the *Florida Times-Union* estimated that perhaps a quarter of Jacksonville's population celebrated the Fourth of July on a local beach. On the barrier islands east of Wilmington, N.C., Wrightsville Beach boasted the famous Lumina pavilion, illuminated at night by thousands of electric lights.

Not all tycoons simply luxuriated in chaise lounges and billiard parlors, though. Southern beaches and bays challenged "the best men" to pursue the strenuous life. Florida's Charlotte Harbor hotels attracted large numbers of sportsmen in the 1880s, determined to pursue America's most glamorous new sporting trophy: leaping tarpon. Shooting waterfowl along the Outer Banks during the autumnal migrations became a popular pastime, and on Georgia's Sea Islands industrialists purchased large tracts of land to be used as hunting

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preserves. The Canaveral Club, an exclusive fraternity limited to Harvard's graduating class of 1890, purchased 18,000 acres of property adjacent to the Cape Canaveral lighthouse, including several miles of pristine Atlantic beach.

Regardless of the pastime activities, everything about the beach evoked leisure and pleasure: the cooling breeze tempering the warm waters, the smells of fried flounder and smoked mullet, the open-air dance pavilions and wooden bathhouses. By the end of the 1920s, roads funneled motorists to South Carolina's Grand Strand. Horry County, once one of the state's poorest places, capitalized upon budget-minded tourists from the Carolinas headed for a beach vacation. Calabash, N.C., maximized its location as a crossroads for vacationers headed to and from Myrtle Beach. "Calabash-style seafood" became a trademark for fried flounder and shrimp platters. The 1920s also brought tourists across Bogue Sound to the bustling resort town of Atlantic Beach, N.C.

But for all the hoopla and boosterish rhetoric, southern beaches were not so much an escape from reality as a reflection of it. Southern beaches were "for whites only," and the history of the 20th-century southern beach mirrors the struggle for freedom as well as the quest for consumption. In the early years of the 20th century, Jacksonville, Fla., boasted a large black middle class, which expressed frustration over Jim Crow policies enforced at the local beaches. For example, Pablo Beach (later known as Jacksonville Beach) allowed African Americans admission on Mondays only. In 1907, however, nearby Manhattan Beach opened as "all-colored," and by the 1920s and 1930s black beaches had become more common throughout the South. Gulfside Summer Assembly, located along the Mississippi coast, dates from 1923 when light-skinned Robert E. Jones, a Methodist Episcopal bishop, purchased 300 acres to be used as a black religious resort. Similarly, in 1928, white businessman J. Elia Reid purchased property on Chowan Beach, N.C., and marketed the place as a family friendly resort for black professional families. The accommodations included a restaurant, Germanmade carousel, a dance hall, and cottages. In the 1940s, Dr. William Sharpe donated 4,000 acres of North Carolina shore to create Hammocks Beach, a black park on Bogue and Bear Inlets. The South's most famous black beach, American Beach on Amelia Island, Fla., was developed in the 1930s, when Abraham Lincoln Lewis, one of the owners of Jacksonville's Afro-American Life Insurance Company, purchased the beachfront. By design, American Beach offered blacks "recreation and relaxation without humiliation."

For all of the fascination with southern beaches, though, as late as the mid-20th century astonishingly little of the southern coastline had been developed, but the migration of Americans to the Sunbelt South, especially along the coasts, marked one of the great transitions in American history. Why and

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how Americans discovered some of the most obscure places on the continent is both simple and complicated. Southerners and northerners had always enjoyed a vacation along the shoreline, but access, time, and money had limited the pleasure. By the 1960s, interstate highways, new bridges, new frontier prosperity, new technologies, a youth culture, a building boom, and new attitudes were re-creating the modern beach. DDT had eliminated mosquitoes, and airconditioning allowed year-round living. Members of the Lower South's rising middle class took advantage of these changes, headed for the coast, and along the Alabama and Florida Panhandle created the famous (and sometimes infamous) Redneck Riviera.

While southern beaches until the 1960s had been primarily known for attracting families on vacation, by the late decades of the century the nowinfamous "spring break" had become a youthful rite of passage, attracting college-age youth from across the country to the South's warm, springtime coastline. What had begun in Fort Lauderdale in the 1930s had blossomed into popular culture, and movies and songs celebrated this coming-of-age ritual event. Early on in the history of spring break and summer beach parties, white and black South Carolinians perfected "the shag" in coastal juke joints and dance floors-most notably Charlie's Place in Myrtle Beach. Evolving from jazz and rhythm-and-blues traditions, the shag became South Carolina's official state dance in 1984. South Carolina's Pat Conroy has written about youthful rebellion and the Lowcountry in Prince of Tides (1986) and Beach Music (1995). By the 1980s and 1990s, America's youth was flooding into spring-break hotspots such as Daytona Beach, Panama City, Destin, Gulf Shores, and South Padre Island, making southern beaches places where the elite and the adventurous, young and old, continue to share—and often compete—for space.

Still today the beach continues to be a privileged place. Once some of the South's poorest places, Hilton Head, Amelia Island, Padre Island, and Gulf Shores have become some of the region's most affluent sanctuaries. For many new residents, their beachfront condominiums serve as second homes, and as a result of southern beaches' continuing to be considered privileged space, public access to various beaches across the region remains a contentious issue.

Growth along southern coastal counties, nicknamed "the boom along the edge," has been dramatically higher than the interior. Between 1950 and 2000, for instance, Florida's coastal counties gained 10 million new residents while the state's noncoastal counties added less than three million new inhabitants. When one adds seasonal residents and tourists, the disparity is even greater. Growth has been especially striking in historically undeveloped areas of Florida: Southwest Florida, the panhandle, and the east coast. But Florida rep-

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