SAVING CITY X: PLANNERS, CITIZENS AND THE CULTURE OF CIVIL DEFENSE IN BALTIMORE, 1950-1964

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the local civil defense program in Baltimore, MD from 1950-1964. By looking at civil defense in one American city, it is possible to identify three key processes: how federal policy was implemented at the urban level, how civil defense public relations efforts reached urban populations and how those within civil defense bureaucracies acquiesced to, protested and to some degree shaped civil defense. This dissertation deals with all three processes. It also further explicates the relationship between Cold War civil defense and urban history.

Between 1950 and 1964, as a result of changing nuclear capabilities and suburbanization and deindustrialization, civil defense went from a pro-urban policy dedicated to the preservation of cities to an anti-urban policy focused on the abandonment of the city. Civil defense volunteers and some among Baltimore's paid civil defense staff, who had bought the federal message that they could protect themselves and their communities in the event of nuclear attack, revolted against an increasingly militarized program, one that by 1961 emphasized police control in the wake of a nuclear attack and deemphasized the imperative to preserve urban neighborhoods.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I began the research for this dissertation, I had no idea how transformative and traumatic the process would be. The chief lesson that I learned is that without the help, support and encouragement of my family, friends and colleagues, there is no way I could have finished. I am fortunate to have two incredibly supporting, encouraging and motivating parents, Sharon and Jeffrey Singer, who always pushed me to do my best, to follow through and to respect others in the process. They taught me how to empathize with others, and it was empathy that allowed me to better relate to the subjects of this study. My parents also taught me how to put things into perspective, to take a deep breath and to live life. I will always be forever grateful to them for all they have given me, and for all they continue to give. Mom and Dad, this dissertation would be nothing without you. I love you both.

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Singer, thank you for always providing comic relief and for being there when I needed someone to talk to. You two are the best brothers in the world. Abraham and Estelle Singer, though you are no longer with us, your legacy lives on in this dissertation. You taught me how to love life, how to put things into perspective, how to listen and how to feel. Nona, you always stressed the importance of family and community and Papa, you were an incredible role model. Whenever I encounter difficulty, I ask myself how you would respond and I always try my best to emulate your example. I miss you tremendously, but your optimism lives on in this work.

In 1995, on my first day as a freshman at American University, I met Dr. Peter Kuznick, an extremely talented historian who has become one of the most influential people in my life. Peter, you taught me that history is not just a set of dates and names, but rather that it is a living, breathing organism. Your incredible patience and your sense of humor have helped me down from the proverbial ledge many times throughout this grueling process, and you have always had my back no matter what. I am so proud to have you as my advisor, my mentor and most importantly, my friend. Congratulations on all of your recent achievements and thank you for bringing me along for the ride! I am a better teacher, scholar and human being because of you. Robert Griffith, though you left us while I wrote, your scholarship and your guidance left an indelible stamp on this dissertation. That is to say my work is so much better because of you. Thank you for always being there for your students, for your enthusiastic encouragement of our work and for your zealous support of our aspirations. We miss you profoundly. Dr. Max Paul Friedman, thank you for listening, for critiquing and for constantly challenging me to become a better scholar. The patience you exhibit with all of your students is rare—it inspires me to be more patient with my students as they develop intellectually and personally. You are truly a gem, and again, this dissertation would not be what it is without your influence.

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incredible sense of humor motivate and inspire me every single day. When I am down or when I am stressed, all I need to do is think about your smiling face and I begin to smile. When you entered the world, you injected vigor into my life, a new purpose. I learn from you every day, and you and your mother are the lights of my life. I love you, and I am grateful for you both, every day.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1

Paul Boyer ended the first chapter of *By the Bomb's Early Light* (1985) by proclaiming that

> the weeks and months following August 6, 1945 were a time of cultural crisis when the American people confronted a new and threatening reality of almost unfathomable proportions. Equally clearly, the dominant immediate response was confusion and disorientation. But interwoven with all the talk of uncertainty and fear was another, more bracing theme: Americans must not surrender to fear or allow themselves to be paralyzed by anxiety; they must rally their political and cultural energies and rise to the challenge of the atomic bomb.[1]

The specter of annihilation produced a wide variety of social, cultural and political responses. The nuclear age compelled some politicians in the 1950s to tout the benefits of nuclear energy in order to calm public nerves and to rationalize the creation of weapons capable of wreaking unspeakable death and destruction. It compelled other Americans to advocate world governance in order to limit further nuclear proliferation and others to join nascent civil defense efforts. The great uncertainty of the dawning nuclear age produced an extremely wide range of responses. Civil defense was one of them. According to Peter Kuznick, the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki "cut an indelible swath across the continuum of human history and consciousness and, perhaps, of life on this planet." Kuznick went on to argue that even in the wake of the annihilation of two entire cities, most Americans "paid little attention as they went about their daily routines," while some government officials "adopted policies that, in the 'national interest,' threatened to end life on the planet."[2]

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[1] Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (Durham: UNC Press, 1994), 25-26.

[2] Peter J. Kuznick, "Prophets of Doom or Voices of Sanity? The Evolving Discourse of Annihilation in the First Decade and a Half of the Nuclear Age," *Journal of Genocide Research* 9 no. 3 (2007): 411.

Questions about civil defense prompted Kenneth Rose to explore the fallout shelter and its cultural significance in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Elaine Tyler May to explain how the prospect of nuclear war shaped and solidified gender roles in the 1950s, and, more recently, Dee Garrison to posit reasons why civil defense foundered on the shoals of public apathy and dissent. These studies all look at civil defense and the wider culture of the Cold War on the federal level. They help us to understand how hope and fear resulted in the creation of federal civil defense policy and contributed to, in some cases, public outcry against it. However, most of these studies do not explore how federal civil defense policy interacted with local political, cultural and economic realities. This dissertation adds depth to the nascent historiography on civil defense by focusing on one city, Baltimore—a city that by 1950 possessed the sixth largest population and was the fifth most densely populated urban area in the United States. Its proximity to the nation's capital, along with its large port and adjacent military-industrial facilities, prompted the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) to label it "City X" in late 1951, a designation that resulted in Baltimore being used in mock atomic bomb drills at the FCDA staff college in Olney, MD. In that same year, Baltimore's civil defense planners launched a series of drills, pageants and public relations campaigns to arouse citizens to the dangers of nuclear war and the imperative of attack preparedness. Methodically, planners set out toward their goal of educating the public about civil defense. They hoped to demonstrate that nuclear attack was survivable and that if citizens banded together to help their families, friends and neighbors, the city would survive intact.

Much recent scholarship has emphasized the absurdity and the silliness of air raid drills, evacuation procedures and mock atomic bombings in order to spotlight the malicious and wasteful nature of civil defense planning. On its face, civil defense planning *was* absurd—most

people recognize that school children would not save themselves from an atomic blast by ducking under their desks. This dissertation illuminates the absurdity of civil defense, but predominantly focuses on how federal, state and local civil defense plans filtered down to Baltimore's citizens, and how citizens interpreted them.

Even though most historians agree that the majority of civil defense drills and strategies would have utterly failed in the case of an actual attack, it is instructive to analyze the messages civil defense activities and policies sent and how an urban population used, rejected or otherwise interpreted them. To that end, this dissertation does not write off civil defense as a political exercise that most people ultimately rejected. Rather, it identifies the ways federal civil defense policy influenced politics, culture and society in Baltimore from 1950 to 1964. The language produced and imperatives established by the FCDA compelled Baltimore officials to establish local civil defense plans with a very limited budget and almost non-existent federal oversight. The resulting plans reflected and refracted Baltimore's politics, society, history, culture and geography. They also reflected the assumptions, superstitions, politics and prejudices of local planners, many of whom were political appointees and retired military officers.

In 2000, Laura McEnaney argued that civil defense was intricately connected with U.S. foreign policy—that it was a paramilitary program that resulted in "the graduate encroachment of military ideas, values and structures into the civilian domain."[3] This is an important argument because it highlights the ways that many citizens, implicitly or explicitly, involved themselves with the language of civil defense, even as they may have been questioning the program's efficacy or its motives. McEnaney illuminated the "trade-offs" of community involvement in

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[3] Laura McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 6.

civil defense activities. Even though marginalized groups, including African-Americans and members of the white working class, used civil defense to enhance their social status, "labor and the NAACP," she argued, ultimately "capitulated to domestic anticommunism, encouraging a conservative political environment that would stymie much of their postwar liberal vision."[4] This dissertation builds upon McEnaney's argument and provides more evidence of how military imperatives influenced American urban life during the Cold War.

The dominant post-9/11 narrative on civil defense is that the program was flawed from the start, suffered from a lack of realistic policy-making, was viewed as unrealistic by the majority of Americans and ultimately failed. That narrative is important because it indicts government propaganda for being wasteful, ill-conceived and deceitful. In his 2007 article "Defending Philadelphia: A Historical Case Study of Civil Defense in the Early Cold War," Scott Knowles argued that "the overwhelming consensus among policy makers, journalists, and scholars who study civil defense is that it failed, unequivocally, to provide anything approaching realistic protection from nuclear war for the average U.S. citizen and his or her property."[5] In 2006, David Krugler argued similarly that civil defense in Washington, D.C. "met with failure" and characterized defensive dispersal, volunteer recruitment and federal atomic drills as flawed exercises designed "to show that the survival of the local population was just as important as the continuity of government."[6] In *One Nation Underground* (2001), Kenneth Rose acknowledged the seriousness of nuclear war but credited ordinary Americans with rejecting the federal

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[4] Ibid., 155.

[5] Scott G. Knowles, "Defending Philadelphia, A Historical Case Study of Civil Defense in the Early Cold War," *Public Works Management and Policy* 11, no. 3 (2007): 219.

[6] David Krugler, *This is Only a Test: How Washington D.C. Prepared for Nuclear War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 5-8.

government's civil defense programs, particularly its plan to construct massive fallout shelters during the 1960s. Ultimately, Rose concluded that the federal fallout shelter program failed because people recognized the futility of civil defense plans. He left his readers with the impression that, since that *particular* civil defense plan failed, civil defense itself was a failure.[7] Dee Garrison titled her 2006 book on the subject *Bracing for Armageddon: Why Civil Defense* ***Never Worked*** [emphasis added]. The book's jacket explains that even if "a generation of Americans [was] indoctrinated to the catchy tune of 'duck and cover,' the civil defense program was a complete failure."[8] Garrison explored the reasons why federal and state civil defense policy generally failed and the methods utilized by opponents of civil defense. Drawing from myriad sources, including obscure government documents, personal memoirs, scientific studies and popular culture, she concluded that the anti-nuclear movement, and thus a major element of 1960s mass protest, began as early as the mid-1950s as an anti-civil defense movement. Garrison insisted that civil defense never worked because Americans, including presidents, journalists and even block captains, responded to civil defense propaganda with contempt. She also concluded that it was predominantly concerned women, especially mothers, who banded together to establish activist anti-civil defense coalitions. By 1960, groups like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) mounted mass protests against civil defense programs including "Operation Alert," a nationwide air-raid and evacuation drill that officials insisted could only work with citizens' full cooperation. According to Garrison, during

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[7] Kenneth D. Rose, *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

[8] Dee Garrison, *Bracing for Armageddon: Why Civil Defense Never Worked* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), book jacket.

the early 1960s, "mothers, Parent-Teacher Associations, and national peace groups" mobilized to remove civil defense drills from public schools, which prompted cities by 1963 to significantly cut their civil defense budgets.[9] Such protests certainly did occur. However, at least in Baltimore's case, they were not the central causes behind the city's ultimate rejection of civil defense.

Though extremely important, the downside of the post-9/11 civil defense narrative is that it focuses too much on the program's failures at the expense of its successes. By emphasizing the absurdity of civil defense, it unintentionally marginalizes the serious impact of civil defense propaganda and leaves the impression that the program was not adequately thought out or implemented by policy-makers at any level of government. It infers that Americans saw through the propaganda and, if Garrison is correct, also infers they successfully campaigned against it. Focusing too much on the failures trivializes the intricate planning and grave consequences of civil defense, implicitly pits citizens against a bureaucratic, inept, anti-intellectual and largely faceless national civil defense machine, and portrays those within the bureaucracy as stick figures. In this narrative, citizens end up winning most of the time—decoding misleading or fallacious propaganda to triumph over policy elites, salarymen and retired military personnel who were out of touch with reality.

This dissertation takes the emphasis off the question of whether or not civil defense failed. Instead, it examines the unintended consequences of federal civil defense policy for American society, culture and politics by focusing on how those policies were interpreted, disseminated, manipulated, rejected and challenged at the city and neighborhood levels.

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[9] Ibid., 129.

By looking at civil defense in one American city, it is possible to identify three key processes: how federal policy was implemented at the urban level, how civil defense public relations efforts reached urban populations and how those within civil defense bureaucracies acquiesced to, protested and to some degree shaped civil defense. This dissertation deals with all three processes. It also further explicates the relationship between Cold War civil defense and urban history.

By their nature, studies of federal civil defense don't often move beyond anecdotal discussions of the ways civil defense policy was implemented. FCDA records housed mainly at the National Archives provide a significant amount of insight into public relations campaigns, federal training programs, correspondence between officials and the general public and relationships between the FCDA and research institutes. Those records, when viewed holistically, represent a massive project that involved professionals including educators, scientists, social science researchers, military personnel, advertisers and public relations agents. It is tempting to conclude that since such a massive project went through so many organizational changes in such a short time, since its priorities shifted so markedly over the course of the twelve years from 1950 to 1962 and since the FCDA suffered from a chronic lack of funding, the entire program was a failure. Indeed, if one looks at individual FCDA initiatives, particularly its shelter and evacuation plans, it is easy to argue that they were unsuccessful because they were never implemented. Given the scope of the program, it is understandable why so many have called it a boondoggle. However, by looking more closely at the civil defense policies that *were* implemented, the picture becomes more complex.

Civil defense was a largely unfunded federal mandate. President Truman requested $1.5 billion for the program between 1951 and 1953, but Congress only allocated $153 million.[10] Between 1954 and 1958, Congress only approved $296 million of Eisenhower's request for $564 million. From 1951 to 1958, the FCDA operating budget for the entire period was $450 million. The FCDA used half of that sum to purchase emergency food rations and emergency medical supplies, $120 million to help municipalities buy rescue equipment and training guides and the remainder to pay personnel, develop national training programs and develop public relations materials.[11] Beyond funds for rescue equipment and training literature, the federal government made little investment in policy implementation. The federal government provided the theoretical framework but mandated that states and localities establish local civil defense organizations at their own cost. Since states and cities did not have to justify expenditures to the federal government in many cases, they took advantage of considerable autonomy, particularly when it came to appointing civil defense personnel.

Local implementers interpreted civil defense initiatives and propaganda through their own ideological prisms, which were influenced by unique local social, cultural and political customs. They therefore implemented refracted forms of federal civil defense policy that may or may not have been in line with federal objectives. Jeffrey L. Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky explained this phenomenon in their book *Implementation*. They wrote, "As programs are altered by their environments and organizations are affected by their programs, mutual adaptation changes both the context and the content of what is implemented." Since they had so much

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[10] Laura McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 25.

[11] Ibid., 26.

autonomy, and since federal policy objectives were constantly in flux as the FCDA grappled with rapidly changing nuclear capabilities, local implementers paid less and less attention to and became more and more critical of federal directives (insomuch as they existed) as the 1950s went on. As a result, they gave more weight to early 1950s FCDA messaging, which crystallized the significance and importance of self-help, urban survivability and civilian control to civil defense. Even as the hydrogen bomb rendered those messages largely useless by 1953, they still resonated throughout Baltimore well into the early 1960s. Pressman and Wildavsky observed that when it comes to implementation, policy evolution often overwhelms the policy itself.[12] Such was the case with civil defense.

Laura McEnaney argued that the message of "self help" was a cornerstone of FCDA policy in the early 1950s. To achieve the two goals of limiting civil defense expenditures and to safeguard against military overreach, the FCDA essentially individualized civil defense. McEnaney explained that self-help civil defense required "citizen consumers" to buy items necessary to save their own lives in the event of an attack, as opposed to relying on "atomic welfare."[13] Consequently, the FCDA tried to convince Americans through public relations efforts that effective civil defense was not a question of national security as much as it was a question of personal responsibility. According to McEnaney, "the government's call for self-help popularized preparedness, but it also enabled various citizen groups to interpret and enact its

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[12] Jeffrey L. Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, *Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington are Dashed in Oakland; Or, Why It's Amazing that Federal Programs Work at All, This Being a Saga of the Economic Development Administration as Told by Two Sympathetic Observers Who Seek to Build Morals on a Foundation of Ruined Hopes,* 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1984), xvii.

[13] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 7.

precepts in ways that departed from official FCDA scripts."[14] This was certainly the case in Baltimore. Self-help in Baltimore translated into *community help*, as civil defense volunteers who bought those messages worked with Baltimore's civil defense director between 1952 and 1959 to ensure the survivability of their neighborhoods. Though the FCDA changed its objectives many times between 1950 and 1958, its early public relations efforts made a significant and lasting impact upon Baltimore's civil defense planners and volunteers. Aided by the Advertising Council and executives of the ad firm BBD&O, the FCDA spent millions of dollars on propaganda designed to convince people that they, their neighborhoods and their cities would survive a nuclear attack.

The community help message came down through Baltimore's school system. This was by design. As Andrew Grossman has pointed out, civil defense public relations staff deliberately targeted schools because they saw children as messengers. Students brought pamphlets and other materials home and the FCDA hoped they would discuss their contents with parents around the dinner table. Local civil defense officials, armed with FCDA films and pamphlets, distributed the famous *Duck and Cover* booklet to 30,000 children in grades 3-6 in 1952. They arranged assemblies for students at all grade levels and showed *Survival Under Atomic Attack* and *Our Cities Must Fight*. *Duck and Cover*, *Survival Under Atomic Attack* and *Our Cities Must Fight* all emphasized the importance of helping the community, and of the importance of urban preservation.

In 1955, high school students who attended the misleadingly named Baltimore City College were still working with teachers and administrators on civil defense initiatives based

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[14] Ibid., 7-8.

upon community help and urban preservation. There was no talk of evacuation, for to evacuate would be to abandon one of Baltimore's most important institutions, in essence, capitulating to the enemy. Even as late as 1961, community help endured in the civil defense curriculum. Students learned how to handle small fire equipment, face danger with assurance rather than fear, protect personal and community health, and administer first aid. The curriculum made no mention of evacuation or mass shelter, possibly because educators didn't want to scare kids, but also perhaps because the Operation Alert and other civil defense evacuation exercises failed so miserably. Most, including the FCDA, recognized by 1956 that evacuation would be pointless. The messages of community help still resonated because they projected hope that cities would survive and that the nuclear threat could be neutralized with action. Community help, in other words, was a tangible action. Evacuation was unthinkable. That's why civil defense endured in Baltimore throughout the 1950s.

Community help prompted civil defense volunteers in Baltimore to recruit and train other volunteers, develop plans for their individual communities and boost morale. Some even mapped out detailed block plans, which made reference to the location of vulnerable citizens who might have difficulty trying to escape. From 1952 to 1959, Baltimore civil defense director Colonel Frank Milani, who served under Democratic Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro Jr., supported community help in lieu of a more coherent national plan. Significantly, Milani and D'Alesandro also rejected the notion that civil defense needed to be administered by people with military experience. While federal officials rapidly shifted from plan to plan throughout the 1950s, Milani stayed the course with community help. He supported the volunteers and applauded their efforts, even mentioning some of the most helpful ones in his 1956 testimony to Congressman Chet Holifield's committee on civil defense.

Community help and civilian control messaging were so successful amongst volunteers that they ironically contributed to the demise of Baltimore's Civil Defense Organization (BCDO). As Andrew Grossman pointed out, "problematic administration of local civil defense programs… was often a problem of *successful* marketing and overeager consumers, *not* the disbelief and apathy that developed within the general population in the late 1950s and early 1960s."[15] By 1959, volunteers had become profoundly invested in civil defense leadership. They had, in many cases, established robust neighborhood civil defense plans, attended and organized civil defense training courses and defended civil defense policies against critics. The only thing that would cause them to reject civil defense at that point would be official abandonment of community help and civilian control in favor of a more autocratic command structure.

Throughout the 1950s, volunteers generally shrugged at sweeping federal civil defense policy shifts reacting to changes in nuclear capabilities. They did not, however, shrug when federal policy recommended that police and the military play a more active role in civil defense. To volunteers, the greater threat to Baltimore was not a Soviet hydrogen bomb but the disintegration of their neighborhoods. When they found out in the early 1960s that their leadership roles were about to be marginalized by a secret plan to place civil defense under police control, they revolted. Their efforts to expose the BCDO's contempt for Baltimore's citizens should be seen as a major contributing factor to the early 1960s anti-civil defense environment.

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[15] Andrew D. Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red: Civil Defense and American Political Development During the Early Cold War* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 71.

CHAPTER 2 – SURVEY OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

This dissertation showcases how long-term American cultural currents intersected with new realities and imperatives brought on by the nuclear age. In Baltimore, traditional American cultural emphasis on community, volunteerism, democracy, social control, surveillance and militarism interacted with the four new elements outlined by Peter Kuznick and James Gilbert in their 2001 book *Rethinking Cold War Culture:* the threat of nuclear annihilation, the emphasis on surrogate and covert warfare, opposition to a specific socialist enemy and socialist Third World revolutions, and the rise of a military-industrial complex.[16] Kuznick and Gilbert along with the contributors to their volume challenge the evolving metanarrative that attributes a clean cultural break from prior eras to the onset of the Cold War. Ten years after the end of the Cold War, historians recognized that it was impossible to simply describe its history as a struggle between communism and capitalism, or between freedom and oppression. This dissertation follows in that tradition.

Civil defense in Baltimore drew the connection between those four new elements and more traditional cultural imperatives. Examples: 1) civil defense volunteerism posited that selfless, unpaid workers could, in the face of potential nuclear annihilation, save lives and preserve cities; 2) to some local civil defense planners, anti-communism was an important qualification to become a volunteer; 3) the rise of the military-industrial complex exacerbated a shift in production facilities from cities to suburbs, which by 1960 resulted in anti-urban civil defense policies, and 4) those schooled in covert warfare techniques advised civil defense

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[16] Peter J. Kuznick and James Gilbert, *Rethinking Cold War Culture* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books: 2001), 2.

planners to reconfigure police and military control for civilian populations. Those forces together eventually worked to destroy the Baltimore Civil Defense Organization (BCDO), as characteristic #1 came in conflict with characteristics 3 and 4. Urban volunteers came to resent the actions of anti-urban planners as federal policy dictated more concentrated police control over civil defense by 1961.

In the mid-eighties, historians began grappling with the complexity of how other similar Cold War interactions shaped American culture. This dissertation would not be possible without their scholarship. In his introduction to *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of the Cold War*, Lary May lamented that historians "still [did not] understand how" the Cold War "might have altered American culture and political ideology as a whole."[17] May was frustrated that the consensus view of the Cold War brushed past an entire generation's conflicts and anxieties. He regretted that consensus historians, including Daniel Bell and Richard Hofstadter, depicted the post-war period as a time of unprecedented economic growth and American technological superiority.[18] Challenging their theses, May believed it was necessary to examine cultural forms in order to expose the anxieties and other emotions people encountered during the Cold War.

The study of discourse, language and cultural forms—all elements of what became known as the "cultural turn" —allowed historians to transcend consensus and Marxist dogma to analyze how people of all socioeconomic, racial, ethnic and gendered categories *interacted* with their societies. The cultural turn, which occurred just prior to the time May wrote *Recasting*

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[17] Lary May, ed. *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 4.

[18] Ibid., 4-5.

America, prompted scholars to scrutinize items that earlier generations of intellectual, political and social historians neglected. May argued that cultural history would further shatter the myth of a post-war consensus. There, he referenced Anthony Wallace's definition of culture: a "'structure of conflict' in which separate parts are maintained, developed and changed by different groups and in many aspects experienced in slightly different ways by every individual."[19] A cultural history of the Cold War, in other words, could illuminate different ways that Americans interacted with the unpredictability of the nuclear age. The end of Paul Boyer's "era of the big sleep" coincided perfectly with this new wave of cultural scholarship.

One of the first historians to seriously critique the consensus view of the fifties through a cultural lens was Warren Susman. Susman argued in the mid-1980s, shortly before his untimely death, that a realized American "culture of abundance," which allowed middle-class citizens to purchase automobiles and suburban homes after World War Two, coincided with those same citizens' increasingly self-conscious feelings of anxiety and loss of control.[20] To prove his thesis, Susman analyzed various cultural forms, including novels and films. He contended that films like *Rebel Without a Cause* and *Double Indemnity* reflected an optimistic society (on the surface) that was nevertheless aware of the dangerous and potentially evil consequences of power and abundance.[21] In the mid-1980s, other historians, including Paul Boyer, presumably reacting to another period of perceived social homogeneity and cultural consensus, attempted to identify other feelings and emotions that Americans experienced during the Cold War. This dissertation contributes to their line of inquiry by asking whether or not local civil defense drills,

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[19] Ibid., 10.

[20] Warren Susman in Lary May, ed., 22-23.

[21] Ibid., 30-31.

evacuation plans, mock-bombings, ground-observer operations, public relations campaigns and other civil defense policies contributed to Cold War political consensus. In much the same way Susman looked at 1950s films and literature, this work looks at local civil defense activities and policies to glean insight into the hopes, fears and anxieties of Baltimoreans. This dissertation does not confine itself merely to a discussion of civil defense policy, nor is it solely an analysis of civil defense language. It instead provides insight into how planners and citizens viewed the society in which they lived and how they envisioned what that society would be like after an attack.

One very important model for this dissertation is Boyer's *By the Bomb's Early Light* (1985). Boyer argued that "if a scholar a thousand years from now had no evidence about what had happened in the United States between 1945 and 1985 except the books produced by the cultural and intellectual historians of that era, he or she would hardly guess that such a thing as nuclear weapons had existed."[22] He conceived his project in 1981, a year that signaled the end of what he terms "the era of the big sleep," or a period of "profound public apathy" and resulting cultural dormancy surrounding the existence of atomic weapons.[23] While Boyer researched and wrote *By the Bomb's Early Light*, President Reagan turned up the heat on the Soviet Union, which he described as an "evil empire" on more than one occasion and announced preliminary plans for a Strategic Defense Initiative. Reagan's actions and rhetoric reignited the nuclear debate, which raged throughout the 1980s, sparking numerous studies of how Americans responded to the existential threat of nuclear annihilation. Boyer's was the first of many

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22 Paul S. Boyer, *By The Bomb's Early Light,* xv.

23 Ibid.

attempts to make sense of an era that witnessed the most profound technological changes in the history of mankind.

Boyer limited his study to the five years immediately following August 6, 1945—the day the United States dropped its first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima.[24] He argued that "all the major elements of our contemporary engagement with the nuclear reality took shape literally within days of Hiroshima."[25] He examined magazines, newspapers, academic journals and polling data in order to identify the emotional impact that the bomb had upon people living at the nuclear age's dawn. Boyer found that Americans possessed two basic emotions: deep anxiety about the bomb's apocalyptic potential and profound hope that nuclear technology would become a productive force in the post-war world. By looking at one city in particular and by extending analysis through 1964, this dissertation expands upon Boyer's discussion. Is it possible that Americans experienced more than two primary emotions? National magazines, newspapers and academic journals are certainly important sources, but when coupled with local letters to the editor, letters between civil defense planners and citizens and various forms of public outcry, it becomes possible to paint a more nuanced portrait and complicated picture of urban America during the Cold War. To be sure, I have found ample evidence to support Boyer's chief thesis. This study is therefore designed to add a local dimension to his argument.

The tension between the hope and fear that Boyer identified cultivated a new culture of denial according to Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell. Their book *Hiroshima in America: A Half Century of Denial* came out in 1995 at the height of the controversy over the Smithsonian

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[24] By "first atomic bomb," I refer to the first one used at Hiroshima. Manhattan Project personnel successfully detonated the first atomic bomb on July 16, 1945 near Alamogordo, New Mexico.

[25] Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light,* xix.

Enola Gay exhibit, which the authors called "the most divisive ever attempted at any of the Smithsonian Institution's national museums."[26] Curators planned the original exhibit to display the *Enola Gay* along with artifacts from Hiroshima, including a child's lunchbox containing carbonized peas and carrots and photographs of bomb damage victims. After loud protests on the part of various veterans' groups that the exhibit was "pro-Japanese" and "dishonored U.S. servicemen," the Smithsonian decided to eliminate virtually all evidence of bomb damage, instead presenting an exhibit that endorsed the official government narrative about Hiroshima—that the bomb was necessary to end World War Two and that it saved hundreds of thousands of American lives.[27] To Lifton, Mitchell and many other scholars, this was a whitewash of history. Just as Japanese textbooks and museum exhibits minimized the atrocities committed by Japan's militarist government during the 15 year Pacific War, a dark page in American history was about to become further obscured. The Smithsonian, an institution widely respected for its willingness to explore unpleasant aspects of the nation's past, was about to reinforce the triumphant narrative first constructed by Henry Stimson in 1947 and parroted by generations of Americans since.

Lifton and Mitchell argued that, with the exception of a brief period between August 1946 and February 1947, Americans generally accepted what the authors term the official government narrative. That acceptance, together with a fear-induced "psychic numbing" and the irrational hope that a nuclear attack might be survivable, produced the sweeping cultural denial of nuclear weapons' devastating capabilities that persists to this day.[28] By looking at civil

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[26] Robert J. Lifton and Greg Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America: A Half Century of Denial* (New York: Putnam, 1995), xii.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid. For a further explanation of "psychic numbing," see pp. 337-340.

defense policy and discourse in Baltimore, I ask whether or not local civil defense activities contributed to a culture of denial with respect to the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and, by extension, to greater public legitimization of nuclear technologies.

Two years after Lifton and Mitchell published their book, Margot Henriksen critiqued their work for implicitly ignoring many profound changes and alterations to traditional American culture that occurred in America during the nuclear age. In her book *Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age*, Henriksen argued that to "those social critics who see 'universal numbing' and apathy as characteristic of atomic age America, the standard for nuclear response and awareness is perhaps unnecessarily high: the existence of organized antinuclear movements and groups whose goals include the immediate abolition or international control of all nuclear weapons and the creation of some form of world government."[29] To Henriksen, the absence of significant activity on the part of antinuclear groups from 1945-1980 was not necessarily an indication that Americans were not responding to the threat of nuclear annihilation. She argued that an "atomic consensus," perhaps best exemplified by Secretary of State Henry Stimson's official narrative, was challenged throughout the Cold War period by a new "culture of dissent," a culture that resulted from Americans' "qualms and doubts" about the value of nuclear weapons.[30] Significantly, she also challenged Boyer's inference that the "entire basis [of American society was] fundamentally altered" on August 6, 1945, and that "things would never be the same again."[31] To Henriksen, the "traditional moral qualms and doubts that had long accompanied America's political and cultural development" merely became

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[29] Ibid., xx.

[30] Ibid., xxi.

[31] Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light,* 3-4.

"refocus(ed)" toward the reality of the bomb's destructive capability.[32] Likewise, the forces that created the "atomic consensus" evolved throughout American history, with the nuclear age only slightly altering those forms of order.

Historians including Henriksen, Kuznick, Gilbert, Joanne Meyerowitz, Alan Brinkley and Peter Filene implicitly challenged the evolving historiographical narrative of "containment," which had evolved in sharp reaction to the perception that the Cold War was an entirely repressive era in American history. The repressive hypothesis cannot be completely discounted by any means because certain characteristics and events of the Cold War era involved pronounced repression—most notably, McCarthyism. According to Elaine Tyler May in *Homeward Bound*, McCarthy's rhetoric led many citizens to believe that 1950s America was decaying from the inside out, causing them to turn increasingly to the "psychological fortress" of the home to protect them against the unpredictability of an uncontrollable world.[33] May argued in her 1988 book that "potentially dangerous social forces" of the nuclear age were muted within the home, a phenomenon that resulted in the suppression of dissent and the neutering of radical political activism.[34]

To May, children during the 1950s represented an "impregnable bulwark" against Cold War unpredictability, and parenthood an outlet for energies, both political and sexual, otherwise muffled by the boredom of life in Levittown. She argued that women, who were supposed to

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[32] Margot Henriksen, *Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), xxi.

[33] Elaine Tyler May. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 11.

[34] Ibid., 14.

achieve the ultimate fulfillment in motherhood, increasingly found themselves unfulfilled in just about every other respect.[35] In other words, the government's pledge to contain communism abroad resulted in the containment of political activity and female assertion at home.

May provided scholars with a very important perspective on the culture of the Cold War—one that highlights the repressiveness of McCarthyism and the narrative of good vs. evil, which culture industries, including mainstream media and government bureaucracies (like the BCDO) produced and disseminated throughout the nuclear age. These characteristics undoubtedly shaped Cold War American society and must be acknowledged in any serious study of the period. However, without examining the ways that Americans interacted with the containment narrative, the story is incomplete. This dissertation uncovers some of those interactions. In the process, it shows how citizens themselves experienced civil defense on the ground in Baltimore and how citizens ultimately resisted planners' designs.

In 2000, British scholars Nathan Abrams and Julie Hughes argued that there was no "monolithic" culture of the 1950s. They saw 1950s culture as having been filled with "paradoxes, inconsistencies and contradictions."[36] Far from being a time of lockstep conformity, Abrams and Hughes argued, the 1950s "were an era of activity" not of passivity, as May seemed to suggest. In refusing to conform or remain passive, many Americans expressed their individuality and dissent through varied hairstyles, unique diets and pulp fiction – cultural forms that undermined, at least to a small degree, containment ideology.

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[35] Ibid., 149.

[36] Nathan Abrams and Julie Hughes, eds., *Containing America: Cultural Production and Consumption in 50s America* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2000), 3.

Abrams's and Hughes's purpose was not to discount containment ideology as much as to show how people accepted, rejected or modified it. They emphasized the influence of ethnicity, nationalism, sexuality and dissent. While recognizing "every sector of society (was) scrutinized for its contribution to the American effort" by policymakers, media and clergy during the Cold War, the authors nonetheless asserted, "there is no reason why this framework could not be applied to any period of US history."[37] Containment was an important characteristic of Cold War culture, but it was only one part of a more complicated set of narratives, many of which originated long before Hiroshima.

By extension, historians recognized that looking only at the containment narrative might tempt scholars to ignore the origins and evolution of the anti-nuclear movement. In *Life Under a Cloud*, Allan Winkler argued that the anti-nuclear movement, though having achieved some success, as evidenced by the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the SALT treaties, ultimately failed in its objective to eliminate nuclear weapons.[38] Significantly, however, the mere presence of anti-nuclear activities at various stages throughout the Cold War is evidence that a legitimate political force existed in opposition to the pro-nuclear consensus. Cold War anxieties, therefore, weren't always contained within the home, school or bedroom. According to Henriksen, "*Life Under a Cloud* provided a necessary corrective to the historical image of a quiescent America before the 1980s, but it tended nevertheless to stress the episodic and limited nature of antinuclear activism."[39] Henriksen cited Winkler as the only historian until 1997 to challenge

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[37] Ibid., 189.

[38] Allan M. Winkler. *Life Under a Cloud: American Anxiety About the Atom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 4.

Paul Boyer's assumption that between 1963 and the 1980s Americans found themselves in a "big sleep" when it came to anti-nuclear activism.[40] Additionally, works like Winkler's challenge Lisle Rose's argument in *The Cold War Comes to Main Street* that the "American people in the decades since mid-century have been stricken by a profound, embittered malaise."[41]

Lisle Rose argued that, contrary to the late forties, which were "a great period for our country," 1950 ushered in a dark era in American history that hasn't yet ended.[42] After the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb, he contends, Americans found themselves under the quickly darkening clouds of the Korean War and McCarthyism that eclipsed "the mood of breezy, can-do confidence that was a legacy of World War II"[43] and foreshadowed the end of Rooseveltian optimism. To Rose, civil defense drills, McCarthyism and the mere presence of nuclear weapons "instilled a quiet panic, especially among the young, who would come to maturity in the sixties and early seventies."[44]

In her book *Cold War Civil Rights*, Mary Dudziak challenged Rose's thesis, explaining that even though the Cold War did "frame and… limit the nation's civil rights commitment," certain civil rights reforms resulted from Cold War rhetoric.[45] According to Dudziak, after

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39 Henriksen, *Dr. Strangelove's America,* xviii.

40 Ibid., xvii.

41 Lisle A. Rose, *The Cold War Comes to Main Street: America in 1950* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999), 1.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., 2.

44 Ibid., 311.

World War II, America's anti-Communist rhetoric and its commitment to freedom from oppression directly clashed with America's actions at home, most notably concerning race. Stories of lynchings, beatings and overt segregation appeared on the front pages of world newspapers, prompting foreigners to question United States commitment to freedom and equality. Perhaps recognizing their hypocrisy, some American policy-makers realized that their mission to promote democracy across the globe rang hollow with the very people they were trying to win over. Consequently, Dudziak argues, "efforts to promote civil rights within the United States were consistent with and important to the more central U.S. mission of fighting world communism."[46]

This dissertation evidences how many African-Americans in Baltimore were very much involved in civil defense activities. In contrast to Detroit where, according to Andrew Grossman, few African-Americans participated in civil defense training, many African-Americans in Baltimore were dedicated to and involved with civil defense efforts.[47] Each week, the *Afro-American* published information about civil defense courses, recognized civil defense volunteers for their efforts, and published the names of civil defense training course graduates. The *Afro's* comprehensive coverage of civil defense issues underscores the extent to which the city's African-Americans were concerned about their community's vulnerability to nuclear attack. African-Americans in Baltimore may have been more concerned about the dangers of nuclear war than their white counterparts. Perhaps this is because many African-Americans

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[45] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 12.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red,* 19.

residing in the inner city recognized that they might be the first to feel the effects of a nuclear attack on Baltimore's urban core. No matter how irrational nuclear preparation may have been, there were many African-Americans in Baltimore who believed that a strong civil defense program might eventually save lives if a bomb exploded 2000 feet over Camden Station.

Tracy Davis argued in 2007 that civil defense itself produced a culture that prompted people to act out dummy scenarios in real life and, by extension, further isolated urban residents from reality. Her book *Stages of Emergency* spotlighted the theatrical components of Cold War civil defense planning in Canada, Great Britain and the United States. Davis contended that constructing a simile that compares civil defense to theater is not adequate because civil defense exercises are "*inherently* and *crucially* theatrical."[48] She noted that the usage of theatrical, dramatic and narrative language by civil defense planners and scholars is no coincidence and, throughout the course of her book, explicated a wide variety of civil defense "rehearsals" in all three countries to prove her point.

Significantly, Davis argued that nuclear civil defense did not embody all aspects of the theater. In fact, the actual performance—nuclear attack—has never occurred in any of the countries under examination. Davis therefore depicted civil defense planners as inexperienced directors and citizens as inexperienced actors, *rehearsing* a constantly changing script over time and space in preparation for the unknown.[49] Davis contends that civil defense plans actually contained elements of both realism *and* romanticism—enough realism so that citizen actors would believe the exercises were credible and enough romanticism so that they could, in the face

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[48] Tracy C. Davis. *Stages of Emergency: Cold War Nuclear Civil Defense* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 2.

[49] Ibid., 78.

of an incomprehensible threat, go on living their lives. I have found many examples in Baltimore that prove Davis's realism/romanticism thesis.

In perhaps the most interesting part of her book, Davis exhibited how city streets in Canada, Great Britain and the United States became the sites for "street theater" during civil defense drills.[50] In this section, she showcased the importance of various contingencies that sometimes worked to the advantage, but more often to the detriment, of civil defense plans. She explained how factors including weather, time of day, race and class, influenced people's willingness to participate in evacuation rehearsals. My description of various civil defense "stages" adds to Davis's already vibrant depiction and paints a portrait of what civil defense street theater looked like in Baltimore.

Literature on Urban History

One of the key objectives of this dissertation is to write civil defense policy and culture into the larger evolving narrative of urban history. In recent years, urban scholars have defined and analyzed the structural forces that shaped the lives, conflicts and migrations of urban residents. By looking at forces such as deindustrialization, white flight and the drug trade, historians Robert O. Self and Thomas Sugrue have spotlighted the impact of federal housing, transportation and New Deal policies on the trajectory of urban history. This dissertation adds a new dimension to those arguments by expanding the list of structural forces influencing urban change to include civil defense and militarism. Additionally, it explores the ways that Baltimoreans reacted to and ultimately resisted those changes.

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[50] Ibid., 159.

The emphasis on structural forces and *de facto* forms of oppression over *de jure* factors like Jim Crow laws, segregation ordinances and black codes has called into question the successes of the civil rights movement and, by spotlighting urban resistance, has paid more attention to the grassroots activists and unsung heroes of various resistance efforts throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. In 2003, Robert O. Self argued that during that time, Oakland had become an "urban plantation," a city designed to economically exploit working-class African-Americans and to ensure enduring residential segregation. He argued that in order to understand the development of the "urban plantation," historians must consider the impact of suburbanization and deindustrialization on ghetto formation and urban isolation.[51] Analyzing those factors in isolation would not be adequate, because to do so would minimize the importance of the relationships between city and suburb, and between rich and poor. By tracing the origins of the black power movement, Self exposed the inherent weaknesses of certain New Deal and Great Society reforms and detailed the increasing influence of white, suburban power politics upon the region's physical and psychological landscape. He also implied that just at the moment when the American civil rights movement made its most notable gains in terms of racial equality, Oakland seemed to be going in the opposite direction. As whites left for the suburbs, they pushed for and eventually passed powerful anti-tax measures.

Self's characterization of Oakland as an "urban plantation" represents the latest in a string of local studies dedicated to race and the American city. Recognizing that the African-American urban experience has been shaped as much by government policy as it has by migration and employment, Self painted a multi-dimensional portrait of Oakland in the late

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[51] Robert O. Self. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003, 1.

1960s as a place governed and controlled from without. His critique of twentieth-century liberalism is one in a series of critiques that stem primarily from contemporary scholars' realization that neither conservative "contempt" nor liberal "pity," in the words of Daryl Michael Scott, did much for the American city or its residents. Other historians have applied the arguments of Self and Scott to other groups of urban residents including Catholics, Jews and ethnic minorities.

By 2003, it was possible to achieve a much more nuanced perspective on the American city after generations of work by historians, anthropologists and sociologists produced a kaleidoscope of different arguments about what factors influenced the racial and ethnic makeup of cities. Self, along with other urban historians, drew upon the work of Jane Jacobs, Oscar Handlin and Gilbert Osofsky to produce a history that addressed how physical and infrastructural barriers (products of both liberal and conservative policies), ethnic disputes and alliances, migration, employment and community organizations worked in tandem to affect the lives of each and every urban resident, and how even the most progressive policies produced unintended consequences. Significantly, those nuanced arguments have been applied to many different groups of urban residents.

In the meantime, civil rights-era historians picked up the torch from progressive historians and began to slog through various eras in American history, some determined to unearth African-American agency, some determined to expose the ways in which blacks were oppressed by whites, and some determined to write a purely African-American history, devoid of white oppressors and other actors altogether. Historians like Osofsky, for example, grappled with spiny questions about how to characterize the black experience, particularly within cities. To these historians, it was clear that the southern plantation experience was, contrary to the

fantasies of William Dunning and Ulrich Phillips, a burden not on plantation owners, but instead on the slaves who toiled day in and day out under the sometimes brutal, always patronizing watch of their masters. That conclusion was an easy one to come to. Harder questions emerged when historians turned their attention to southern and northern cities, particularly after the Reconstruction period. Since the black experience in America had always involved movement, it became clear that in order to integrate that narrative into the emerging American urban historiography, it was necessary to analyze the motives behind black migration. The question emerged, particularly to Osofsky: Should historians lump together the experience of black migration with the experience of other migrant groups – specifically European immigrants? After all, Irish, Italians, Jews, Scotch, English, Russians and Germans among others were the groups that supposedly comprised the American melting pot. By attempting to integrate the story of black migration and settlement into this model, wouldn't history then recognize blacks as just one more ethnic group?

Osofsky answered that question in the negative in 1966 when he wrote *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto*.[52] His focus on the emergence of a black ghetto in Harlem from 1890-1930 was criticized so much for not addressing the experiences of other ethnic groups that he was forced to defend himself in the preface to his 1971 edition. Osofsky that blacks had a separate experience from other ethnic migrant groups because they faced "institutional racism," "denial of suffrage" and the "psychological implications of generations of color restrictions on the labor market." Osofsky's book was groundbreaking because he refused to accept the dominant liberal perspective of his time, exhibited by scholars including Oscar Handlin and Daniel Patrick

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[52] Gilbert Osofsky. *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto: Negro New York, 1890-1930.* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), xiii.

Moynihan – that the urban black experience should be written into a larger pluralistic narrative. Not that the latter perspective wasn't important. The liberal ideology behind this sort of inclusion was the same ideology that resulted in the passage of the Voting Rights Act and the Civil Rights Act, monumental achievements that no one would deny represented a swift departure from racial politics of the past. However, Osofsky recognized early on in the civil rights movement, consciously or unconsciously, that liberalism would not solve the problem of African-American inequality in the United States. Indeed, more recent scholars including Self, Thomas Sugrue, Randal Jelks and others view liberalism as the *cause* of exacerbated residential segregation and other forms of de facto racism that exist today in America's cities. Osofsky provided a model for historians to analyze the migrations of other groups based upon unique circumstances and motivations.

Around the same time Osofsky challenged pluralistic historiography in *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (1963), a new critique of urban planning emerged. By 1960, American cities, particularly those in the Midwest and Northeast, were already plagued with declining tax bases, deindustrialization and suburban out-migration. Dwight D. Eisenhower's National Interstate and Defense Highways Act, passed by congress and signed into law in 1956, in conjunction with federal housing policy that made it easier for some Americans to buy houses in the suburbs with very little money down, left buildings, factories and, in some cases, whole neighborhoods abandoned in cities across the country. Urban policy-makers at the federal, state and local levels devised "urban renewal" programs to deal with what they termed "blighted areas."[53] In *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (1996), Thomas Sugrue argued that Detroit cleared

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[53] Thomas J. Sugrue. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 48.

many inner city neighborhoods to make room for new, middle-class housing and modern high-rise housing projects. As a result, a large percentage of primarily poor, black residents who lived in Detroit's Lower East Side and Paradise Valley were forced to move, sometimes multiple times, to accommodations that in some cases were just as bad, if not worse, than their demolished homes.[54] Sugrue pointed out that amongst residents of the cleared or soon-to-be cleared areas, a common understanding emerged: "slum removal equals Negro removal."[55]

The first comprehensive critique of urban renewal and freeway construction came from Jane Jacobs, an urban activist whose 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* attacked policy-makers, both liberal and conservative, for turning their backs on the very elements that made cities secure, vibrant and productive.[56] According to Jacobs, urban renewal efforts produced low-income housing projects that became hubs of "delinquency, vandalism and general social hopelessness" and that ultimately became worse than the original housing they were intended to replace. Middle-income projects, she explained, "[were] truly marvels of dullness of regimentation, sealed against any buoyancy or vitality of city life.[57]

Based partly upon her own experience growing up in a dense Scranton neighborhood, and partly upon her spatial analysis of many global cities, Jacobs recognized that in order for a city to be safe and economically viable, it must provide the ability for its residents to walk safely or take a short public transit ride to work. Additionally, a safe and vibrant city possesses crowded

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[54] Ibid., 47-48.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Jane Jacobs. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* (New York: Random House, 1961), 3-4.

[57] Ibid., 4.

sidewalks, buildings with windows, small blocks and bustling commerce, a formula that Jacobs classified as "mixed primary uses."[58] To Jacobs, mid-twentieth century urban renewal and public housing plans turned their back on the street and the neighborhood and, as a result, safety and economic vitality. Recognizing the racially-polarizing effect of federal policy, Jacobs explained in the wake of urban renewal demolition that whites who had "more choice[s]" than blacks, bought up whatever properties remained and rented them to blacks at exorbitantly high prices.[59] She also identified the blockbusting technique employed by white real estate agents "who make a racket of buying houses cheaply from panicked white people and [sell] them at exorbitant prices to the chronically housing-starved and pushed-around colored population."[60] Six years before urban rioting in Detroit and Newark, Jacobs identified some of the most important causes of the discontent. Hers was the first book to comprehensively meld together a critique of modern American city building with a discussion of its ramifications for poor, black residents. Jacobs's critique of the liberal policies that resulted in the formation and solidification of urban ghettos paved the way for historians, including Robert O. Self, to view Oakland and other cities across America through a post-liberal lens.

As a result, scholars including Self, Thomas Sugrue, Randal Jelks and Matthew Countryman, questioned the gains of the civil rights movement and challenged the exclusive importance of legendary figures like Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks and Malcolm X. If urban renewal resulted in "negro removal," and if widespread real estate tactics resulted in

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[58] Ibid., 152.

[59] Ibid., 174.

[60] Ibid.

further residential segregation as Jacobs implied, then maybe the civil rights movement didn't accomplish as much as many believed. Picking up on the arguments of Osofsky and Jacobs, these new urban scholars have successfully employed some of the techniques used by W.E.B. DuBois, E.P. Thompson, Leon Litwack and Robin Kelley to detail the persistence of *de facto* segregation in the North, a phenomenon that historians often de-emphasized in the shadow of civil rights movement folklore along with discussions of *de jure* segregation in the South, and to highlight the accomplishments of ordinary African-Americans living in northern cities.

Calling further into question the successes of the civil rights movement, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton argued in *American Apartheid* (1998) that American cities at the end of the twentieth century were more segregated than they were at other points in American history, including the Civil War era.[61] They concluded that the civil rights movement, though generally positive, did not accomplish its ultimate goal of equality. Paradoxically, the movement's eventual militancy, in combination with increased suburbanization, white flight and federal urban neglect, exacerbated segregation. The urban unrest in the late sixties reminded whites, many of whom fled cities for federally subsidized suburban homes after World War II, of the reasons why they left the city to begin with. The perception of the city as a violent place full of degenerate criminals with a hardened anti-work ethic crystallized during the 1970s and 1980s as the expanding interstate highway network further separated city from suburb.[62] As Jacobs pointed out, after World War II, suburbanites could realize the benefits of the city without having to actually live there. As a result, the urban tax base suffered and, by 1970, many urban

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[61] Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

[62] Robin D.G. Kelley. *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class.* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 4.

residents experienced a downward spiral as neighborhood businesses closed and funding for urban services and institutions disappeared.

In *American Babylon*, Self argues that New Deal liberalism failed at the hands of white corporate and homeowner interests that controlled an urban ghetto from the periphery. He also explained that by 1969, racial segregation in northern cities like Oakland was as pronounced, if not more so, than in southern cities. Sugrue, Countryman and Jelks come to the same conclusion. All of those historians motivated other scholars to explore the forces behind *de facto* segregation and other structural forms of urban oppression. Additionally, they answered Robin Kelley's call for an analysis of black *infrapolitics*, methods of resistance that receive much less attention than lunch counter sit-ins, freedom rides and massive protests. In forty-five years of scholarship, employing post-liberal urban critiques that emerged in the early 1960s along with sociological and anthropological tools, scholars challenged the triumphant narrative of the civil rights movement. Additionally, scholars have applied the same post-liberal arguments to other urban residents and showed how various structural forces impacted the white working class, immigrant groups, Catholics and Jews. Their conclusions highlight not only the ways in which urban residents were marginalized and oppressed in both northern and southern cities, but also the methods that they employed to resist that oppression.

In both northern and southern industrial cities, blacks and whites competed for blue-collar jobs, especially during and in the wake of World Wars I and II. In his 1993 article titled "Organized Labor and the Struggle for Black Equality in Mobile during World War II," Bruce Nelson explored the complex relationships between Mobile's organized labor camps and the

city's burgeoning African American labor force during World War II.[63] He detailed how African American skilled workers did make gains, but only within the city's staunchly segregated working environment. Nelson left his reader to discern whether it was better for African Americans to work skilled jobs on black-only docks, or on integrated docks as unskilled workers. Ultimately, Nelson concluded that even though organized labor didn't achieve many of its established goals in Mobile because of racial divisions, African American laborers themselves made nominal, but nonetheless politically and economically significant, gains in the city as a result of the vibrant World War II labor market. In this case, wartime military-industrial capitalism did benefit Mobile's African-American laborers.

In *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, Thomas Sugrue suggested that Detroit's deindustrialization was exacerbated by the rise of the military-industrial complex.[64] Late twentieth and early twenty-first century urbanists have pointed to the rapid deterioration of urban industry, white flight and increased poverty as reasons for the decline of the inner city. This picture, at first glance, is incomplete. With the rise of the defense industry, *regional* economies were strengthened by the opening of large aircraft and munitions plants. Regional economic development occurred at the expense of the city that was once the region's hub. As Jane Jacobs pointed out, the failure of state and local governments to protect the city eventually caused its decline, while military-industrial development occurred at the city's expense.

In the case of Detroit, as Sugrue pointed out, the decentralization of industrial jobs did not cause employment exodus to southern and western states. To the contrary, Sugrue argued,

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[63] Bruce Nelson, "Organized Labor and the Struggle for Black Equality in Mobile during World War II," *Journal of American History* 80:3 (1993).

[64] Sugrue, 6.

prior to the Korean War, "92.5 percent of the funding went to 'outlying parts of the [Detroit] region.'"[65] Even taking into account the dramatic political and economic redistribution that benefited southern and western states during the Cold War, *greater metropolitan areas* reaped the economic benefits of military spending. Similar regional defense-related economic development occurred around Boston, Baltimore, Seattle and Princeton. Outside of Baltimore, the planned community of Columbia sprouted in close proximity to the headquarters of Martin Marietta, a key weapons producer. Residents could easily commute to jobs at the National Security Agency, NASA, Northrop Grumman and Fort Meade. As the military-industrial complex expanded, former residents of Baltimore who moved to Columbia and other suburban communities took their tax money with them.

This dissertation identifies civil defense and militarism as other structural factors that influenced the lives of urban residents in the middle part of the twentieth century. It also analyzes the role that an increasing nuclear weapons arsenal played in shaping urban civil defense policy and, by extension, the political, social and cultural landscape of American cities. As federal civil defense policy became militarized, urban residents moved to preserve their neighborhoods as structural forces reshaped the city around them.

Literature on Baltimore's History

A few key works help to situate local civil defense activities in the context of the history of Baltimore more generally. While only one specifically addresses civil defense, others provide background on who lived in Baltimore, how their communities developed, the types of conflicts

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[65] Sugrue, 140.

they had and how the city evolved politically, socially and culturally. The most comprehensive of these is *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History* edited by Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes and Linda Zeidman.[66] Their book can best be characterized as a history of Baltimore's working people from the Civil War through the late twentieth century. Beginning with the Camden Yards railroad strike of 1877, the various authors detail what Bernard Bailyn might term the "peopling" of Baltimore—the protests those people initiated and the forces they fought against. They also describe the social evolution of Baltimore's various neighborhoods, including Fells Point, Old West Baltimore, East Baltimore, Sparrows Point, Highlandtown, Hampden and Federal Hill.

More than anything else, this book provides an excellent base from which to develop a working racial, ethnic and religious map of Baltimore. Maps inside the book from various periods detail the changing ethnic and racial demographics of the city during the first and second Great Migrations and the post-World War II period of urban decline and crisis. W. Edward Orser's chapter "Flight to the Suburbs: Suburbanization and Racial Change on Baltimore's West Side" provides an excellent local corollary to Thomas Sugrue's seminal book *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*.[67] The maps in his chapter help to determine the racial makeup of various civil defense districts referenced in the Civil Defense Organization's Operational Survival Plan. Maps in Linda Zeidman's and Eric Hallengren's chapter "Radicalism on the Waterfront: Seamen in the 1930s" also help determine the ethnic makeup of East Baltimore as it entered the nuclear age. David Harvey's reflection at the end of the book entitled "A View from Federal Hill"

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[66] Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes and Linda Zeidman, eds., *The Baltimore Book: New Visions of Local History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

[67] Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

details Baltimore's power brokers, elite business groups and public-private partnerships that influenced the city's evolution during the Cold War.

From Mobtown to Charm City: New Perspectives on Baltimore's Past is another book that helps place civil defense policy in context with Baltimore's history.[68] This book also details the struggles working people faced throughout Baltimore's history, from the city's founding in 1729 through the late twentieth century. Though most essays in this book deal with the city's earlier history, they help to conceptualize the physical and social barriers between races, classes, and ethnic groups that formed and solidified as the city grew. Specifically, Jessica Elfenbein's chapter entitled "A Place of Resort and Help for Their Young Men': Baltimore's Black YMCA, 1885-1925" paints a vivid picture of how a group of African-Americans in Baltimore's Druid Hill neighborhood came together to benefit their community in the face of white hostility and contempt. From my research on civil defense in Baltimore's Western District, I see many parallels between how Elfenbein describes the establishment of the YMCA and the creation of an almost autonomous black civil defense district in the face of white neglect.

Deborah Weiner argued in her chapter on public housing from 1939-1968 that both liberal and conservative policymaking detrimentally affected the lives of African-Americans. Many African-Americans and poor whites were forced to relocate because their public housing was condemned or freeways were built through their neighborhoods. For those who weren't physically uprooted, the emotional scars of having one's community destroyed in the name of "progress" have not healed three or four generations later. This dissertation adds civil defense to

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[68] Jessica Elfenbein, John R. Breihan and Thomas L. Hollowak, eds., *From Mobtown to Charm City: New Perspectives on Baltimore's Past* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2002), 244.

Weiner's list of federal programs that caused consternation among local residents on the ground in Baltimore.

Kenneth Durr's "The Not-So-Silent Majority: White Working-Class Community" discussed the establishment of community organizations from the 1880s onward. A very good microcosm of his book *Behind the Backlash: White Working-Class Politics in Baltimore, 1940-1980*, this chapter detailed how white community associations banded together to protest freeway construction, school desegregation and busing in Southeast Baltimore. Not only does his work help identify who lived in which East Baltimore neighborhoods, it helps to understand the various issues that ignited public outcry during the Cold War. Significantly, Durr argued that a rise in "ethnic power" and ethnic populism countered both modernist elites—freeway planners and business groups including the Greater Baltimore Committee—and city officials in Baltimore.

In *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790-1860*, Christopher Phillips argued that the city's African-American population transformed "from a transient aggregate of migrant freedpeople, most of whom were fresh from slavery, to a strong overwhelmingly free community, less racked by class and intraracial divisions than in other comparable cities, such as Philadelphia, Charleston and New Orleans, and inclusive of free Negroes as well as slaves."[69] Consequently, the deep poverty that African Americans experienced in Baltimore helped them "forge a community within which they not only avoided the deep fissures common to other black urban communities but also weathered the racial tempests of the antebellum years."[70] Even though Phillips wrote of a much earlier period,

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[69] Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port: The African-American Community of Baltimore, 1790-1860* (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 2-3.

[70] Ibid.

perhaps his argument still holds weight when applied to Baltimore's black population decades later.

The only other work specifically devoted to civil defense in Baltimore is Maria Mazzenga's doctoral dissertation *Inclusion, Exclusion, and the National Experience: European- and African-American Youth in World War Two Baltimore.*[71] Mazzenga argued that young Europeans and African-Americans in Baltimore began to see themselves as Americans by participating in World War II home front activities, including civil defense—a process she terms "inclusive Americanism."[72] She explained that civil defense officials capitalized on "inclusive Americanism" to draw European and African-American youth to civil defense and war-related home front activities, but also employed their own "exclusive Americanism" to maintain the racial hierarchy of a southern and still segregated city.[73] This dissertation, building upon these arguments and others, writes civil defense into Baltimore's history. Because there has not been much written on Baltimore during the Cold War period, the discussions and analysis that I present will hopefully motivate others to illuminate further linkages between the Cold War and Baltimore's history.

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[71] Maria Mazzenga, "Inclusion, Exclusion and the National Experience: European and African-American Youth in World War Two Baltimore" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1999), abstract in *ProQuest Digital Dissertations.*

[72] Ibid., 84.

[73] Ibid., 95.

CHAPTER 3 – "CITY X": BALTIMORE AS PROTOTYPICAL ATOMIC CITY

At 4:00 in the afternoon on June 2, 1952, the sky over Baltimore exploded with what the *Evening Sun* described as an "appalling noise and a shattering blast."[74] Baltimoreans, who were working in their offices, shopping on Howard Street or eating at Lexington Market minutes earlier, ran toward the harbor. Some people were ablaze with fire; others scratched at their burnt skin as they ran causing it to peel away. The harbor became a macabre swimming pool as fire leapt from the roof of the Bromo Seltzer tower. Amidst the rubble lay 60,000 blackened corpses and thousands of writhing, wounded casualties. The ensuing conflagration spread out twelve miles from the Inner Harbor in every direction, engulfing downtown infrastructure and destroying most major medical facilities. Beyond the scorched twelve-mile radius panic ensued, resulting in nightmarish traffic jams and gun battles over access to the few residential fallout shelters. According to the *Evening Sun*, "A hysterical man with a pistol [was] heard to say: 'I'm going to go out to that road and I'll shoot anyone who tries to stop me!'"

Prior to the air burst, ground observers and radar spotted 150 bombers crossing the U.S. – Canadian border. While U.S. planes that had been sent to intercept the unidentified planes were engaged in fierce combat, a calm voice could be heard through the chaos: "All right now, Mr. Brinkman. You are in control. What will you do?" A man from a midwestern state replied, "I would first try to get a report on my communications and check my stations."[75]

The above scenario actually occurred--on the grounds of the Federal Civil Defense Administration's (FCDA) staff college in Olney, Maryland. In early 1951, Baltimore made its

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[74] "What Happens If War Bombs Fall Here,*"Evening Sun*, December 10, 1951.

[75] Ibid.

debut as City X. The FCDA considered it to be the "typical American city" and chose it to become a "live model for gauging the aftermath of atomic bomb blasts." At the administration's staff college, a former prep school turned civil defense proving ground, federal officials designed and crafted a 20-by-24 foot, meticulously detailed rubber model of the city. According to the *Sun*, "students from all over the country and from Canada" descended upon Olney to study evacuation and post-attack scenarios that might occur if, in this case, an atomic bomb exploded 2,000 feet over Camden Station.[76]

On April 13, 1951, five and a half years after Hiroshima, Baltimore became the FCDA's prototypical atomic city. State and local civil defense directors, municipal leaders and politicians from as far away as Guam watched intently as instructors walked across the gymnasium-sized model with slippers, identifying downtown Baltimore's industrial facilities, commercial structures and residential units with a wooden pointer.[77] At the staff college, federal officials ran mock evacuation and tactical drills on the City X model. The purpose of the program was to educate top local and state civil defense directors and officials about ways to grapple with an atomic bombing's logistical and spatial challenges. Because the majority of civil defense training was to be carried out at the local level, it was important that local officials understood those challenges, which in 1951, were seen as predominantly urban. According to the *Evening Sun*, for six months between June and December 1951, "civil defense leaders from all over the nation ha[d] been studying (Baltimore), blowing it up, jamming its streets and trying to get it back on its feet – in the event of an atom-bombing."[78]

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[76] "Baltimore: Target For Everyday," *Baltimore Sun*, December 9, 1951.

[77] Ibid.

The City X courses reflected two characteristics of early 1950s civil defense. The first was the centrality of the city to civil defense planning. The Olney staff college and the City X program underscored military planner Bernard Brodie's observation in 1946 that cities were "made-to-order target[s], and the degree of urbanization of a country furnishes a rough index of its relative vulnerability to the atomic bomb."[79] Cold War books and movies echoed that idea. As Matthew Farish pointed out, standard post-apocalyptic settlements in Cold War science fiction works were small towns or colleges and monasteries.[80] Cities would be attacked, and those with the means might barely make it to the city limits. Therefore, mechanisms needed to be established to ensure the survivability of cities, because in 1950, cities were still considered vital to the survival of the American economy. Contrary to Andrew Grossman's argument that "civil defense was aimed at postwar suburbia," an analysis of City X shows that at least in the early 1950s, civil defense was concerned with the survivability of urban areas.[81] Civil defense *became* more and more anti-urban between 1950 and 1960, as urban populations became less white and major industries departed cities for suburban and rural areas.

FCDA leadership training division director John R. Nichols based the City X course upon a model utilized at England's World War II civil defense staff college at Southampton. His five-week experience in Southampton convinced him that in the interest of training continuity, one city should be chosen as a prototype. He and others in the division chose Baltimore because the

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78 "What Happens If War Bombs Fall Here," *Evening Sun*, December 10, 1951.

79 Matthew Farish, *The Contours of America's Cold War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 227.

80 Ibid., 228.

81 Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red,* 77.

city was the same size as the national average critical target area, because it possessed diverse topography and because its industrial facilities, including Bethlehem Steel and the Glenn L. Martin aircraft manufacturing plant in Middle River, would be seen by the enemy as highly valuable targets. Officials fixated on Baltimore's inner harbor because they were eager to game an underwater atomic bomb blast in a highly populated urban center.[82] The compact, rectangular inner harbor that was surrounded on all sides by diverse industrial and commercial facilities probably helped convince Nichols to choose Baltimore over Seattle. This provided planners with an opportunity to study the effects of blast, heat and radiation upon a wide variety of facilities, many of which would have been equidistant from a hypothetical explosion.

In March 1951, FCDA staff college director Milton C. Towner disclosed to Maryland civil defense officials and observers that Baltimore would serve as City X. In addition to the reasons outlined above, Towner and Nichols also chose Baltimore because the city's political establishment was willing to share the city's operational data with other civil defense personnel from across North America. In order for staff college simulations to be more realistic, the FCDA requested various municipal departments to supply specific inventories of their personnel, equipment and infrastructure. This information was ultimately incorporated into the simulations to game potential disruptions to city services, communications and the built environment. It was also incorporated to show how federal resources might work to supplement local resources in an

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[82] John W. Sundstrom to John R. Nichols, January 3, 1951, "City X"; Records of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization [OCDM], Record Group 304, Entry 31: A, "Records Relating to Civil Defense, 1949-1953," Stack Area 650, Row 39, Compartment 11, Shelf 5, Box 12, Folder E4-27 "Interim CD Plans General"; National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), College Park, MD.; "Oral History Interview With Philleo Nash," by Jerry N. Hess, June 5, 1967, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/nash13.htm.

emergency.[83] At a meeting on March 24, Towner and other FCDA personnel met with Maryland civil defense director David G. McIntosh and Baltimore's civil defense staff to survey and inventory the city's civil defense facilities, transportation networks and infrastructure, health facilities, utilities, port security, warden system, fire fighting capabilities, evacuation routes, rendezvous points and perceived vulnerabilities.[84] After the meeting, Baltimore municipal offices responded with assessments of their manpower and addresses of their human and physical assets.[85] FCDA personnel then used that data to implement the City X course.

In planning City X, Nichols and Towner were concerned with adding color to blandly-written FCDA urban analyses, and particularly to certain generic urban maps that depicted bomb effect ranges but no actual topography and no representation of population density or the built environment. In 1953, Towner presented a paper to the NRC Committee on Disaster Studies titled "Civil Defense Urban Analysis," in which he employed an isarithmic map to estimate casualties after a daytime attack with warning.[86] The map may have been decipherable by social science researchers, but for the purpose of City X, maps needed to be brought to life in order to

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[83] Lloyd Eno to Paul McDonald, October 24, 1952, General Records of the Department of Treasury, Record Group 56, Entry 193, "Central Files, 1933-1956," Stack Area 450, Row 57, Compartment 13, Shelf 5, Box 28, Folder "Civil Defense Planning Programs"; NARA, College Park, MD.

[84] Memorandum, Wade McCoy to John DeChant, March 24, 1951, Records of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization [OCDM], Record Group 304, UD-UP/Entry 1A-Accession 624267, File: Cooperation 4 – Valley Forge Foundation, FRC Box 27, Stack Area 650, Row 40, Compartment 2, Shelf 1, Folder "Maryland"; NARA, College Park, MD.

[85] "Treasury Offices Located in Baltimore, Maryland," General Records of the Department of Treasury, Record Group 56, Entry 193, "Central Files, 1933-1956," Stack Area 450, Row 57, Compartment 13, Shelf 5, Box 28, Folder "Civil Defense Planning Programs"; NARA, College Park, MD.

[86] Farish, *The Contours of America's Cold War,* 220-221.

demonstrate to laymen exactly what might be destroyed and what might be salvageable. FCDA public relations officials worked with Towner and other social science researchers to bring theoretical isarithmic maps and other written scenarios to life on the staff college gymnasium's floor.

In consultation with those officials, staff college planners determined that the best way to run scenarios for students of civil defense would be to craft a large rubber floor model of City X.[87] Kendall K. Hoyt who had worked in public relations for twenty years suggested that visual aids supplant written materials, especially "since TV has done so much to change habits." He stressed that people were becoming "eye minded" and that a straight lecture would almost certainly lose the audience. Blackboards, according to his assessment, worked for very small groups, but "time is lost while writing or charting is being done and the chalk lines do not create sharp mental images to be remembered."[88]

On April 15, 1951, the staff college unveiled its seventeen-inch = one mile map of Baltimore City. The walkable map was constructed of foam rubber and rubber waste products on a two-ply canvas base. It was then laminated and sections of it glued together with a strong adhesive. The remarkably accurate map measured twenty-five by twenty feet and weighed

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[87] On "indoctrination sessions," see Memorandum, Kendall K. Hoyt to Col. William S. Lawrence, July 26, 1951, RG 304, UD-UP/Entry 1A – Accession 62A267, File: Info 3 – Exhibits, FRC Box 16, Stack Area 650, Row 40, Compartment 1, Shelf 5, Folder "Education and Training"; NARA, College Park, MD. For floor mat reference, see Memorandum, John W. Sundstrom to William Rowland, February 7, 1951, RG 304, UD-UP/Entry 1A-Accession 62A267, File: Public Relations 19-1 (Exhibits), FRC Box 4, Stack Area 650, Row 40, Compartment 1, Shelf 1, Folder "Public Relations 7 – Graphics"; NARA, College Park, MD.

[88] Kendall K. Hoyt to Col. William S. Lawrence, July 26, 1951, "Briefing Session Techniques," RG 304, UD-UP/Entry 1A-Accession 62A267, File: Info 3 (Exhibits), FRC Box 16, Stack Area 650, Row 40, Compartment 1, Shelf 5, Folder "Education and Training"; NARA, College Park, MD.

approximately 200 pounds. Commercial and residential buildings were scaled down to between two and three percent of their actual size. Railroads, parks, cemeteries and bodies of water were also accurately scaled down.

The display eventually became the largest transportable visual aid at the staff college and the focal point of the City X training courses.[89] Officials and civil defense volunteers from all over the world attended the courses, which were usually one week in duration. After a brief orientation, Monday's schedule included courses on the importance of practicability, media-relations and public affairs, recruitment and vulnerability analysis. After lunch, map exercise one taught officials how to use protractors to estimate the radii of bomb damage and casualties from a hypothetical ground zero. To determine ground zero, instructors asked students to place transparencies with concentric circles over maps of industrial facilities and population density. Students would then move the transparencies over different points on the maps to select different potential targets and thus produce corresponding bomb damage estimates.[90] On Tuesday morning, instructors and students developed damage control plans for City X that established effective command and control. Wednesday morning courses addressed what supplies and medical equipment should be stockpiled and how they should be obtained, stored and distributed; efficient use of human resources and effective recruitment of civil defense volunteers. In the afternoon, attendees planned and executed evacuation drills on City X with the help of federal emergency welfare, health, warden, police and transportation services personnel, who also fielded audience questions.

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[89] Print No. 3, File Code No. 6-S-3, "Federal Civil Defense Administration Photograph," Records of the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency [DCPA], Record Group 397 MA, Box 18; NARA, College Park, MD.

[90] Farish, *The Contours of America's Cold War,* 219.

Thursday saw courses on the importance of fire control, difficulties recruiting trained auxiliary firemen and procuring emergency fire equipment. The afternoon map demonstration addressed the necessity for mutual aid zones to be established across jurisdictional lines. Courses after lunch were devoted to establishing effective attack warning and communication systems. Officials "attacked" City X all day Friday with various scenarios and fielded questions from students on all aspects of civil defense.[91] During map simulations, instructors used long pointers to depict the locations of first responders, communications facilities and equipment, reconnaissance teams, district wardens, physical barriers, topographic features and evacuation routes.[92]

City X reflected the early-1950s FCDA contention that cities could survive a nuclear attack and, therefore, that cities should be the main focus of civil defense. After all, there was no walkable map beyond the hard boundaries of City X, no larger metropolitan scheme. FCDA staff had considered such a map and rejected it. Staff College official Harry F. Weber warned as early as July 1951 that "the present map of

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[91] "Schedule for One-Week Staff College Course No. 14," Sept. 24-29, 1951, RG 304, UD-UP/Entry 1A-Accession 62A267, File: Info 3 – (Exhibits), FRC Box 9, Stack Area 650, Row 40, Compartment 1, Shelf 2, Folder "Education and Training – 4, Special Training Program Aug-Nov 1951"; NARA, College Park, MD.

[92] Print No. 3, File Code No. 6-S-3, "Federal Civil Defense Administration Photograph," Records of the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency [DCPA], Record Group 397 MA, Box 18; NARA, College Park, MD.

Illustration 1

City ‘X’ [was] not adequate for presenting the idea of Mutual Aid” and recommended that a two-dimensional mutual aid map covering a thirty-five mile radius around City X be constructed

immediately.[93] Though such products had been contemplated, metropolitanism never became a central aspect of civil defense planning.[94] The emphasis on communication systems, equipment storage, air-raid warden systems, public relations and volunteer recruitment indicated that the FCDA was initially focused on city and town survivability. Urban survivability would be predicated upon a local volunteer-centered civil defense effort, which assumed that police and fire departments might be slow to respond.

As more local, state and provincial civil defense officers from across the continent attended the City X courses, Baltimore gained national and international recognition as a typical American city. The *Sun* boasted that with City X, Baltimore had "achieved a new and unique fame in the world."[95] Civil defense experts from as far away as Pakistan witnessed Baltimore's destruction in Olney.[96] On May 4, 1951, Wing Commander Sir John Hodsoll, England's Director General of Civil Defence and Major General T. S. Lethbridge, England's Civil Defence Staff College Commandant attended the course.[97] In some ways Baltimore was indeed typical. In other ways, it was not. In 1950, the Baltimore metropolitan population was 1,337,373, making it the twelfth most populous urban area in the U.S. The city's manufacturing value

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[93] Memorandum, Harry F. Weber to John R. Nichols, "Staff College Equipment", July 17, 1951, RG 304, UD-UP/Enry 1A-Accession 62A267, File: Public Relations 19-1 (Exhibits), Stack Area 650, Row 40, Compartment 1, Shelf 1, Folder "Supply and Equipment – Staff College"; NARA, College Park, MD.

[94] House Subcommittee on Government Operations, *Civil Defense for National Survival*, *Part 5,* 84th Cong., 2nd sess., May 4, 7, 14, June 22, 25 and 27, 1956, 1515.

[95] "Baltimore: Target For Everyday," *Sun*, December 9, 1951.

[96] "School Bombs Map of City," *Sun,* August 12, 1951.

[97] "Civil Defense Ends Course on Atomic Attack Problems," *Washington Post,* May 5, 1951.

added was $8,999,534,000, making it the thirteenth most productive manufacturing center and placing it roughly at the national mean for urban area manufacturing output. That it was only thirty-six air miles from Washington made Baltimore a prime, almost certain target according to economic researchers from University of Maryland's Bureau of Business and Economic Research. In 1955, the bureau argued in their report titled *Baltimore and the H-Bomb* that Baltimore was actually a much richer target than its size and population let on.[98] Its port, which processed massive amounts of bulk freight, made it a center of world shipping. The city's industrial plants, including the second largest steel mill in the world at Sparrows Point and its aircraft and shipbuilding facilities also contributed to its heightened vulnerability.[99]

Baltimore and the H-Bomb was the last in a series of studies that analyzed vital economic indicators statewide from 1947 to 1955. Other studies addressed the economic health of Allegany County, MD, cost of living increases, home mortgage and construction financing, Baltimore's international trade potential, state unemployment compensation, tobacco's role in Southern Maryland's economy and the rise of Asian trade and its impact on Maryland's economy.[100] The inclusion of such a report in the series underscores two items: the centrality of Baltimore to Maryland's economy and the threat that economic researchers believed atomic weapons posed to the survival of American cities, and by extension, the American economy. To those researchers in 1955, City X was still worth saving.

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98 *Baltimore and the H-Bomb,* Vol. 9, Issue 2, *Studies in Business and Economics* (College Park: University of Maryland Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1955), 3.

99 Ibid., 3.

100 Ibid., 16.

The study reported that a five-megaton hydrogen explosion over the intersection of Exeter and Lexington Streets would result in an area of absolute destruction to extend three blocks beyond Eastern High School to the north, south to the Patapsco River, west to Franklintown Road and east to Baltimore City Hospitals.[101] Within those boundaries, ninety percent of the population would be killed immediately assuming no warning. All standard construction buildings within Baltimore's city limits beyond the area of absolute destruction would be destroyed, and fifty percent of Baltimore's remaining population would be killed. Beyond city limits and extending north to Loch Raven Reservoir, south to Marley, west to Ellicott City and east to Martin State Airport, fifteen percent of the population would be killed and all buildings would have had to be vacated.[102]

Industrial and economic losses would have been astonishing. Sixty percent of Maryland's food productivity would have been lost, eighty-five percent of chemical production, ninety percent of automobile production, sixty percent of textiles, sixty-eight percent of apparel, ninety-seven of petroleum and coal, ninety-nine percent of nonferrous materials, eighty-four percent of fabricated metals and eighty percent of water transport. In short, it would have been an unimaginable nightmare for any survivors of such an attack and the eventual failure to procure basic, non-radiated food and supplies would have resulted in many more deaths.[103]

With no warning of such an attack, 753,763 people in the Baltimore metropolitan area would be killed, comprising sixty-three percent of the area's total population. Given an early warning, 567,115 would likely be killed, though it is unclear exactly how much warning time

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[101] Ibid., 4.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid., 12-13.

would have produced those results. The detonation of a single five-megaton hydrogen bomb over downtown Baltimore would kill or injure one million people, one half of Maryland's population.[104] These figures do not account for deaths and injuries from radiation. With normal prevailing winds, fallout from a Baltimore attack would extend northeastward from the city to affect residents of Aberdeen, Wilmington, DE, Chester, PA, Lakehurst and Atlantic City, NJ. Fallout would extend southeastward to affect residents of Annapolis, Chestertown, Dover, DE, Lewes, DE and Cape May, NJ.

The centrality of the city, both to economic researchers and FCDA staff college officials, reflected the vitality and importance of American urban areas in 1950, even as residents and employers had begun to abandon the city during and after World War II. The Cold War accelerated that process. Between 1950 and 1970, at least 300,000 white Baltimoreans moved across Baltimore's city limits into Baltimore County. "The county," as it is referred to locally, was a jurisdiction with a tax rate half of Baltimore City's. In 1950, just 6.6 percent of the county's population was African-American. By 1970, that percentage fell to 3.2.[105] At the same time, Baltimore City's African-American population was exploding. In 1950, buoyed by the World War II industrial boom, the city's overall population peaked at 948,754, twenty-four percent (225,099) of whom were non-white.[106] The 1960 census recorded the first population

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[104] Ibid., 6.

[105] Antero Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood: How Bigotry Shaped a Great American City* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2010), 211.

[106] W. Edward Orser, "Flight to the Suburbs: Suburbanization and Racial Change on Baltimore's West Side," in *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History*, ed. Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes and Linda Zeidman (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 204.

decline in Baltimore's history, dropping to 939,024.[107] However, African-Americans in 1960 totaled roughly 507,073, or fifty-four percent of the overall population.[108]

During and after World War II, Baltimore City witnessed its first wave of deindustrialization. Military production slowed within the city limits even as it exploded in the county. After the war, local war department offices closed and thousands lost their jobs. 1954 saw the closing of O'Neill's department store located at the corner of Charles and Lexington streets. The Social Security administration relocated its offices, which had been in downtown Baltimore, to a huge new facility just to the west of Baltimore's city limit in Woodlawn. Plans for an east-west expressway that would ultimately destroy 200 urban blocks and displace 19,000 residents demoralized business owners and deterred investors.[109] Baltimore City surrendered sixty-five industries to the county between 1955 and 1965. As the county's population increased, white hospitals, schools, churches and businesses moved outside the city limits, while African-Americans and their institutions, by and large, stayed behind. In his book *Not in My Neighborhood: How Bigotry Shaped a Great American City* (2010), journalist Anthony Pietila likened Baltimore County in 1965 to a "latter-day Klondike."[110]

Federal funding of defense industries prior to and during World War II was an important culprit behind the out-migration of jobs from city to county. During that period, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation disbursed $70 million to build defense plants in Maryland.

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107 "University of Virginia Library: Historical Census Browser," University of Virginia, accessed December 13, 2012, http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/php/county.php.

108 Orser, "Flight to the Suburbs" in *The Baltimore Book,* 204.

109 Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood,* 219.

110 Ibid., 217-221.

New investments included a sixty-acre parcel in Lansdowne for Westinghouse, new production facilities for Bethlehem Steel, a new tax-free shipyard at Fairfield and a $2 million grant to Davison Chemical for the production of synthetic rubber products including silica gel. Nearly all wartime homebuilding was located around defense plants in the county or on the city's periphery. A new housing development called Aero Acres was built near the Glenn L. Martin aircraft plant in Middle River. Street names in Aero Acres included Right Wing, Fuselage and Dihedral.[111] According to Sherry Olson, much of the federal money went to defense facilities along the creeks and rivers that join the Chesapeake Bay, including Bear Creek, Back River, Middle River and Curtis Bay. The larger military compounds at Fort Meade and Edgewood created employment further from the city, and engineers designed modern highways to connect those areas with downtown Baltimore. By the middle of World War II, only forty percent of the 850,000 people who used streetcars each day disembarked in downtown Baltimore. The rest funneled through downtown to the burgeoning defense facilities along the tidewater. During the war, the Glenn L. Martin Company built the largest aircraft construction facility in the world in Baltimore County. It measured 350 by 450 feet. Shipbuilders at Fairfield employed modern automobile assembly line technology to build more than 500 Liberty and Victory ships and launched two per week by 1942.[112]

After a brief but anxiety-ridden period of layoffs and restructuring after World War II, Baltimore's suburban job market roared to life again during the early years of the Cold War. Families with newborns drove the imperative for new home construction, which created demand

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[111] Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 348.

[112] Ibid., 348-349.

for telephones, household paints, porcelain bathtubs, pipes, fencing and steel.[113] Bethlehem Steel converted a shipbuilding facility at Sparrows Point to a "ship-breaking" facility, which produced steel scrap for domestic use. At Lansdowne, Westinghouse expanded its x-ray development facility and, together with Glenn L. Martin, began work on television and radio transmitters. Western Electric began producing coaxial cable in 1951 at Point Breeze and Davison Chemical expanded its production of silica gel at Curtis Bay.

Money for weapons systems and aerospace poured into the region throughout the 1950s. Westinghouse's Aerospace Division developed radar and automatic pilot technology, which were both used in night fighter planes over Korea. A subsidiary of the Aerospace Division, the Molecular Electronics Division constructed a new plant at Friendship Airport to produce integrated circuits. Westinghouse's Ordnance Division engineered torpedoes with no visible wake and other submarine weapons at a new facility in Annapolis near the Bay Bridge. By 1972, aerospace development contributed $1 billion annually to Maryland's economy.[114] Much of that economic expansion occurred outside the limits of City X. As federal dollars financed the development of the suburbs, lack of federal funding and flight of manufacturing jobs from the city facilitated an anti-urban shift amongst civil defense policy makers by 1960. However, early-1950s civil defense messaging that contributed to City X, guided staff college curricula, influenced the content of civil defense pamphlets, films and other public relations materials through the late 1950s still emphasized the centrality of the city, the survival of its population and the importance of civilian control. State and local civil defense officials who attended the

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113 Ibid., 350.

114 Ibid.

City X course took those messages literally and used them to craft Baltimore's civil defense policy. Those messages resonated well into the early 1960s.

The City X course reflected the desires of scientists, educators and urban planners to awaken the public to the perils of the atomic bomb, and their desire to provide for people's safety. Some of those planners were also concerned about government secrecy regarding what can only be described as the most terrifying force humanity has ever witnessed. From the post-Cold War vantage point, it is tempting to view such a program as an attempt to indoctrinate state and local civil defense planners with the idea that an attack would be survivable and that panic could be controlled. That was not the chief objective of City X, though it certainly was a result. City X was instead a public education initiative designed to educate Americans about the atomic bomb's potential. Some of those involved in its pedagogical development had spent their careers within government or military bureaucracies and had become critical of an increasing culture of institutional secrecy and misinformation. According to Garry Wills, the atomic bomb gave the president of the United States "sole and unconstrained authority" to maintain secrecy about "preparations, protections and auxiliary requirements for the Bomb's use."[115] When the FCDA hired personnel to establish the Olney staff college and to implement City X, or when they depended upon the advice of scientific consultants, they unknowingly opened a door to translucency regarding the bomb's capabilities. Though key planners and consultants like physicist Ralph E. Lapp and educators John R. Nichols and Milton C. Towner emphasized the idea that nuclear attack was survivable, they were doing so because they wished to inform Americans about a technology that they themselves were just beginning to understand.

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[115] Garry Wills, *Bomb Power: The Modern Presidency and the National Security State* (New York: Penguin, 2010), 3.

Perhaps, given the infancy of atomic weaponry, the fluidity of the technology, the secrecy of its beginnings and the censorship of photographs and news reports from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, certain planners and even Manhattan Project scientists initially underestimated its potency. That underestimation may have resulted in the message that nuclear weapons were similar to conventional weapons and that an attack could be survived. Others feared that the atomic age would result in an uncontrollable nuclear arms race or that radiation was much more harmful than most people believed and wanted to broadcast those messages through the narrow channels available to them during the McCarthy Era. By looking at those individuals who implemented City X and who planned civil defense activities, we can see that some of them, too, were uncertain of what the nuclear age had wrought, and that they yearned to provide the public with more, not less, truth about the effects of blast, heat and radiation. It is tempting to view such planners from the post-Cold War vantage point as indoctrinators. However, viewed through the prism of mid-twentieth century conservatism, some of these planners were attempting to spread what passed for accurate information against the backdrop of unprecedented military and national security secrecy. Humanity has now had more than sixty-five years to grapple with and understand the horrors of the atomic era. These actors had no such perspective.

There is a tendency among recent historians and other analysts of civil defense to portray the program as one designed specifically and methodically to channel the public's nuclear terror into what political scientists Guy Oakes and Andrew Grossman term "a more benign and pliable nuclear fear." That fear, according to their argument, could then be channeled into domestic

support for containment.[116] There is also a tendency to portray civil defense "planners" or "officers" or "officials" or "strategists" as stick figures who acted uniformly and in tandem with the military and the nascent Department of Defense to convince Americans that nuclear weapons were no different than conventional weapons and that a nuclear attack was survivable. Many of the individual actors remain anonymous in much of the literature, shadowy figures within a military-industrial-academic complex that itself valued and depended upon both anonymity and secrecy. Much recent scholarship, relying heavily upon government reports and research institute studies, has unintentionally mimicked the vague and evasive language that is characteristic of such documents.

The tendency to portray civil defense personnel as nameless and faceless could also be attributed to the wide body of post-Cold War scholarship emphasizing what Andrew Grossman terms the "interpenetration" of foreign and domestic policy-making.[117] Those arguments, while sound, have a tendency to draw straight lines between the military-industrial establishment and the rest of the population without taking into account activism and dissent from *within* Cold War bureaucracies. After all, as Laura McEnaney points out, civil defense was different from other early Cold War security bureaus in that it "solicit[ed] mass citizen participation in its planning and implementation."[118] Given that reality, civil defense provides a unique opportunity for the historian to analyze individuals within the civil defense establishment, and, perhaps more importantly, provides a window into the shadowy world of the Cold War national security state.

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[116] Guy Oakes and Andrew Grossman, "Managing Nuclear Terror: The Genesis of American Civil Defense Strategy," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 5, No. 3 (1992): 362.

[117] Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red,* x.

[118] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 5.

FCDA leadership training division director John R. Nichols, while certainly not a bleeding heart liberal, was not a Cold War hawk either. He was an educator whose youthful idealism ran into bureaucratic roadblocks. Nichols began his career in California's public school system, eventually becoming principal of Fremont Union High School by 1930.[119] During World War II, he served as an educational advisor to the U.S. military government in Japan and, upon his return, served as president of New Mexico State University from 1947-1949.[120] During his presidency, New Mexico Senator Clinton Anderson sponsored Nichols, who had been a member of the Hoover Commission's Task Force on Indian Affairs, to become the commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). In 1948, newly elected president Harry Truman appointed him to the position, which Nichols occupied for less than two years. That amount of time was enough to school Nichols in the stuffiness and conservatism of federal bureaucracy. After a brief amount of time as commissioner, Nichols reluctantly came to realize that "sweeping reforms were apparently out of the question when one faced the morass of legal, political, social and economic obstacles to the achievement of desired goals."[121]

Nichols became commissioner at a time when the definition of liberalism was rapidly changing. World War II and its aftermath had extinguished plans for an "Indian New Deal," championed by FDR's progressive Interior Secretary Harold Ickes and former Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. The BIA, under Collier's leadership, worked to preserve traditional

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[119] California Quarterly of Secondary Education 5, California Association of Secondary School Administrators, 1930.

[120] "Presidents of NMSU – John R. Nichols," New Mexico State University, accessed August 14, 2012, http://www.nmsu.edu/General/Past_presidents/nichols.html.

[121] John R. Nichols. Review of *America's Concentration Camps,* by Carlos B. Embry. *Stanford Law Review* 90:1 (Dec., 1956), 232.

native cultures and communities.[122] By 1950, the Truman administration had effectively abandoned that philosophy as the meaning of liberalism changed from support of organic, local communities to, as Clayton Koppes argues, "finding community in the nation."[123] Between 1946 and 1949, conservatives in Congress attacked the BIA as a welfare program that encouraged laziness. They argued that states should take over the federal responsibility for Native American affairs and that the BIA's budget should be substantially cut.[124] Nevada's Republican Senator George "Molly" Malone declared, "While we are spending billions of dollars fighting Communism… we are at the same time… perpetuating the systems of Indian reservations and tribal governments, which are the natural Socialist environments."[125] Truman's lack of understanding of and interest in Native American affairs and history allowed conservatives in congress to set government policy.

Liberals placated their conservative counterparts by embracing "assimilation" of Native Americans. That is, contrary to the vision of New Deal liberals like Ickes and Collier that indigenous cultures should be embraced and cultivated, post-World War II liberals fell in line behind Truman's Fair Deal, which emphasized national conformity above individuality and community. They sought to integrate all minority groups, and, according to Donald R. McCoy and Richard T. Tuetten, increasingly "believed that an expanding capitalist economy would provide enough job opportunities so that each individual would attain prosperity through his own

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122 Clayton R. Koppes, "From New Deal to Termination: Liberalism and Indian Policy, 1933-1953," *Pacific History Review* 46:4 (Nov. 1977): 544.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid., 555-557.

125 Ibid.

competitive efforts; government-mandated income redistribution would be unnecessary."[126] Some "liberals," like Nichols's very destructive successor Dillon S. Myer, wanted to quickly and swiftly assimilate Native Americans into the greater society. President Truman applauded the "complete merger of all Indian groups into the general body of [the] population."[127] Others, like Nichols, advocated a gradual approach, as they perhaps recognized with heavy hearts that their strategy was becoming more destructive to native communities than they could have ever imagined. Nichols may have been a moderate liberal, but he was not an ardent cold warrior. He brought that perspective with him when he became director of the FCDA's leadership training division in 1951.[128] His first job was to plan courses for state and local civil defense leaders at the staff college.

The conceptual framework for City X was articulated in a February 1948 *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* article written by Office of Naval Research and former Manhattan Project physicist Ralph E. Lapp. In order to "simplify" his discussion of how an atomic bomb could affect a city, Lapp employed the term "City X" to identify "a typical American metropolis having a population of about 1 million people," a city that was also a key target for atomic attack. In his hypothetical model, City X had two sectors--an aircraft manufacturing sector and a large steel production sector south of downtown. Between those two sectors lay a densely populated area housing smaller industrial plants that supplied the larger aircraft and steel operations. To Lapp, it made sense that the enemy would choose to deploy a lone 50,000-ton

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126 Quoted in Koppes, "From New Deal to Termination," 558.

127 Ibid., 559-560.

128 "Its 'Greatest' Job Set For Red Cross," *New York Times*, January 21, 1951, 32.

bomb over the city center in order to destroy large industrial plants, their feeder industries and a large percentage of the workforce.[129]

After his involvement in both Met Lab and the Manhattan Project, Lapp became the Executive Director of the Committee on Atomic Energy of the defense department's Joint Research and Development Board, which linked the Army with governmental agencies that would develop and control atomic energy.[130] He subsequently became an advisor to the fledgling Office of Civil Defense Planning, which was the FCDA's immediate precursor.

According to Major General H.S. Aurand, the Joint Research and Development Board signaled that the War Department "mean[t] business" when it came to development of guided missiles, radar and biological weapons.[131] In a policy memorandum, General Dwight D. Eisenhower justified the department's decision based upon lessons he had learned in World War II: "The armed forces could not have won the war alone, scientists and businessmen contributed techniques and weapons which enabled us to outwit and overwhelm the enemy… This pattern of integration must be translated into a peacetime counterpart which will not merely familiarize the Army with the progress made in science and industry, but draw into our planning for national security all the civilian resources which can contribute to the defense of the country."[132]

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[129] Ralph E. Lapp, "Atomic Bomb Explosions – Effects on an American City," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (February 1948): 49-50.

[130] Ralph E. Lapp, "Eight Years Later," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (September 1953): 234.

[131] H.S. Aurand, "The Army's Research Program," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (November 1, 1946): 10.

[132] Ibid.

Ralph Lapp's expertise in nuclear fission and his experience with Enrico Fermi at Met Lab made him an ideal candidate to head the Joint Research and Development Board, and his ability to simply and directly articulate the hard realities of atomic warfare garnered attention in policy-making circles. Shortly thereafter, the term City X and Lapp's concentric circle models began showing up in civil defense literature and, eventually, on the gym floor at the Olney staff college.

Lapp is one of the most misunderstood civil defense planners. The most common misperception is that Lapp deliberately minimized the effects of radiation in articles and books he wrote about the atomic bomb and civil defense in order to convince people that nuclear weapons were no different than conventional ones. Paul Boyer used the following passages from Lapp's 1949 book *Must We Hide* to justify such a claim: "The effects of an atomic bomb were indeed terrible… but 'a complete description of the injuries inflicted by almost any modern weapon would be equally gruesome... Like taxes, radioactivity has long been with us and in increasing amounts; it is not to be hated and feared, but… treated with respect, avoided when practicable, and accepted when inevitable.'"[133] Catherine Caufield echoed Boyer's argument in her book *Multiple Exposures: Chronicles of the Radiation Age*, also citing *Must We Hide.*[134] Guy Oakes and Andrew Grossman argued that because of Lapp's book, "troubled readers, nervous about their fate in a nuclear war, were reassured that the effects of radiation sickness had been widely exaggerated… [and that radiation injuries were] no more terrible than the injuries

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[133] Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light,* 314.

[134] Catherine Caufield, *Multiple Exposures: Chronicles of the Radiation Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 103.

inflicted by many other modern weapons."[135] Boyer also criticized Lapp for dismissing the postwar atomic scientists movement with "patronizing condescension."[136]

Those sentiments and pronouncements do appear in chapter two of Lapp's book. However, Lapp's objective in writing *Must We Hide* was not to spread misinformation, but precisely the opposite: to provide the public with what he deemed to be accurate and essential facts regarding the effects of the atomic bomb in the face of unprecedented military secrecy. In fact, Lapp's assertion that atomic bomb burns were "no worse than those resulting from other forms of modern weapons" was prefaced with his observation that "many [Hiroshima and Nagasaki victims'] burns, either from the initial flash or from secondary fires, were horribly disfiguring, and the formation of the heavy keloids emphasized the grotesque appearances."[137] As for radiation, Lapp explained, "some persons who received massive doses of radiation, as at one-half mile from ground zero, appeared to be uninjured but collapsed and died within a few hours. Some of those deaths may have been due to internal injuries produced by the blast but an *atomic blast does not have the extreme shocking power of an ordinary high explosive and most of these early deaths must be ascribed to radiation* [emphasis added]."[138] He went on to explain the next phase of radiation sickness, as experienced by Hiroshima survivors: "The first sign of this phase is the severe loss of hair which usually starts abruptly about two weeks after the injury and may continue to complete baldness that may be temporary or permanent. Bloody diarrhea,

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135 Oakes and Grossman, "Managing Nuclear Terror," 379.

136 Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light,* 97.

137 Ralph E. Lapp, *Must We Hide?* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1949), 14.

138 Ibid., 15.

high fever, and prostration usually return during this period. At about one month signs of injury to the blood and the blood-forming organs become evident. Bleeding gums and the appearance of many small hemorrhagic spots under the skin are the outward signs. Laboratory examinations will reveal a severe destruction of the blood cells and the bone marrow that produces them."[139] His conclusion that "there will be no large number of genetic abnormalities resulting from even large-scale atomic attacks" might be questioned today, but Lapp wrote those words in 1949, before the scientific community had grappled with the long-term effects of bomb radiation.[140] Given what little experts knew about the effects of radiation at the time, Lapp appears to have provided a sober, if not optimistic analysis of radiation's effects on atomic bomb survivors. He clearly distinguished between an atomic weapon and a conventional one by discussing deaths resulting from radiation. If anything, Lapp may have minimized the *blast* effects of an atomic bomb in *Must We Hide*, but he certainly provided an ample discussion (at least by 1949 standards) of the uniqueness of radiation injuries.

Lapp provided a detailed explanation of the book's real aim in chapter fourteen. Arguing that deterrence would *not* be an effective defense against attack, Lapp launched a vigorous critique of the national security establishment and the development of new atomic bombs. He assailed the atomic bomb program for costing almost $1 billion while citizens "are told nothing about the numbers of atomic bombs produced. This is done in the name of security. The average citizen does not know whether we have 10, 100, 1,000, or 10,000 bombs. While the exact figure is TOP SECRET and we would not advocate disclosure at this time, it seems to us that the people of this country need to know *something more than nothing.* We believe that this

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139 Ibid., 15-16

140 Ibid., 21.

information is necessary if the average American is to make wise decisions in the future. He must have facts to make decisions." He then went on to poke holes in Truman's demand for Japanese unconditional surrender prior to dropping bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Lapp explained, "In the last war the principal of *unconditional surrender* was established. In the light of our past experience, this policy, as extended to Japan, seems inadequate and short-sighted. It did not win the peace and it probably lengthened the war. We must not again make similar mistakes."[141] He concluded by reflecting upon the new costs of war, both in blood and treasure: "More than the things we lose through war, we must count the things *we do not gain.* For the fiscal year 1950, President Truman asked for a total budget of 42 billion dollars. Out of this, 31 billions [sic] were for wars, past and future… Just think of the public works program we could enjoy, the schools we could build, and the model communities that could be developed if we could spend these billions constructively!"[142]

Lapp may have criticized some post-World War II scientists for starkly declaring that the world must become "one" or "none," but his criticism was not a condescending dismissal as Paul Boyer infers. It was more a plea for scientists to take a deep breath and assess the real impact of a nascent atomic era and a horrifying new weapon before jumping to conclusions. Lapp mistakenly prophesized that since it would take ten years before an enemy would be able to amass a formidable stockpile of atomic weapons, there would be an "interim period… during which we must continue to explore every possible approach to the problem of world peace."[143] Eight years later, in a *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* editorial, Lapp clearly acknowledged that

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141 Ibid., 172-173.

142 Ibid., 177.

143 Ibid., 10.

those scientists he had questioned in 1949 had been absolutely correct that other countries would have the bomb in short order and in enough quantity to represent a significant threat to the human race: "What scientists have dreaded since 1945 has come to pass. Eight years after Hiroshima the world finds itself in the death grips of an atomic arms race… We find ourselves paired off with an aggressor nation that possesses some hundreds of atomic weapons."[144] Lapp realized as he spent more time researching radiation and geopolitics that some of his arguments and assumptions in *Must We Hide* were wrong.

It is clear that by 1954 Lapp had come to an understanding that citizens desperately needed to become educated about radiation's horrible effects on the human body. In 1954, he was stirred to action by the saga of Japanese tuna trawler Daigo Fukuryu Maru, a Japanese fishing vessel that was contaminated by radioactive fallout from the United States hydrogen bomb test Castle Bravo. Lapp traveled to Japan and interviewed crewmembers, their families and their doctors. He also met with Japanese atomic researchers and representatives of Hiroshima's peace memorial.[145] He sympathetically and passionately recounted the experiences of those aboard the vessel in his 1957 book *The Voyage of the Lucky Dragon*. His conclusion to that book is particularly telling:

> We… know that what happened to those aboard the ship was a very small sample of the radioactive peril which would be unleashed in a nuclear war. Had it not been for the multiple accident [sic] on March 1, 1954, the world might still be in the dark about the real nature of the superbomb. Three years after the explosion, officials of the U.S. Government still refused to acknowledge the type of bomb detonated at Bikini. Instead, they promoted the virtues of a 'humanitarian' bomb—a label they soon regretted and for which they submitted the adjective 'clean.' The semantic nonsense about the 'clean' bomb continues. *Perhaps it is more dangerous*

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144 Ralph E. Lapp, "Eight Years Later," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (Sept. 1953): 234.

145 Ralph E. Lapp, *The Voyage of the Lucky Dragon* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), 199-200.

> *than mere nonsense, for it implies a kind of aseptic war, seeming in some way to remove an element of terror and hence deterrence from the use of nuclear weapons.*[146]

In his conclusion, Lapp reinforced his disdain for government secrecy in the nuclear age and, most significantly, expressed concern that the government's misinformation campaign about the hydrogen bomb as a "clean" weapon might condition humanity to accept the bomb, and therefore its use. Ironically, many of Lapp's critics have accused him of engaging in the same sort of propaganda-peddling without placing some of his statements in proper context.

In 1995, Lapp wrote his last book *My Life with Radiation: The Truth About Hiroshima*. Reflecting upon his life and the nuclear age, Lapp denounced nuclear secrecy, lamenting the fact that the 1946 Atomic Energy Act placed control of nuclear policymaking into the hands of a very few. He articulated his concern that the Atomic Energy Commission, "under the cloak of secrecy… could sabotage the innermost workings of the democratic process."[147] He then recounted how Truman's attorney general issued a warrant for his arrest in 1952 after he planned to publish a *Saturday Evening Post* article on the hydrogen bomb. Even though Lapp had cleared the content with the Atomic Energy Commission and received a letter of clearance, the CIA contacted the *Post's* editor and demanded the recall of every issue.[148]

Lapp dedicated his entire life to educating others about the dangers of nuclear weapons in the face of unprecedented and undemocratic national secrecy. As time went on and as nuclear weapons became more and more powerful, he became more and more alarmed about the bomb's effect on humanity. He was at once scientist, teacher and policymaker. Ralph Lapp insisted

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146 Ibid., 197.

147 Ralph E. Lapp, *My Life With Radiation: The Truth About Hiroshima* (Madison: Cogito, 1995), 22.

148 Ibid., 27-28.

upon the need for civil defense, not to convince Americans that they could survive an atomic attack, but rather to give them the knowledge necessary to *potentially* help themselves, their families and their neighbors in the event of attack. The military establishment and political elite were certainly not leveling with citizens, so citizens needed to educate themselves. As a credible nuclear physicist and civil defense consultant, Lapp was able to work within acceptable channels in a very conservative era to disseminate what he considered the best available information on the bomb's effects.

With regard to cities, Lapp explained, "the whole program should not be regarded as an hysterical atomic defense project but rather as a modern adaptation of city growth to social conditions. An important part of this program would seem to be intensive social studies to understand the sociological 'make-up' of cities and to determine how natural trends in decentralization may be stimulated. One can argue that once the bomb explodes, there is little defense against it. If, however, a well worked out preparedness plan can be implemented immediately after the detonation many thousands of lives may be saved. In effect, then, this minimization program serves as a passive defense measure."[149] That message eventually ended up in civil defense policy manuals and on the gym floor at Olney.

In January 1948, the Pentagon's Office of Civil Defense Planning, to which Lapp was an advisor, recommended that the Pentagon's Research and Development Board (RDB) initiate studies to deal with the problem of control—more specifically, pertaining to "civilian morale" and "the prevention of panic," evacuation procedures, defensive dispersal, ways to mitigate fire

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[149] Ralph E. Lapp, "Atomic Bomb Explosions – Effects on an American City," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (February 1948): 54.

damage and bodily injury and "the adaptation of city planning to defense requirements."[150] Here, the recommendations of advisors like Lapp began to shape civil defense policy for years to come. On January 12, 1951, President Truman ultimately chose to establish a civilian organization, which he called the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA), and which became the official successor of the OCDP. This executive action, however, did not prevent the Department of Defense (DoD) from contributing to civil defense policy. Together with the National Security Resources Board (NSRB), which was established in 1946 to govern civilian programs pertaining to national security, the FCDA contacted Secretary of Defense George Marshall and stated that the two departments wanted to work with DoD to study "the defense of the continental United States against foreign attack by atomic, biological and chemical weapons." The RDB pledged $50,000 for the project, while the FCDA contributed $170,000 and the NSRB $65,000.[151] The result was the study that eventually became known as "Project East River."

Curiously, even though the civilian agencies contributed the largest amounts of funding, it was the Army Signal Corps that issued an outside contract to Associated Universities, Inc., (AUI) an organization that matched large government science priorities with universities that could accomplish them.[152]

Project East River, which Andrew Grossman points out was "the most comprehensive analysis of national civilian defense of its time," was shaped by scientists including Lloyd

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150 Allan A. Needell, *Science, Cold War and the American State: Lloyd V. Berkner and the Balance of Professional Ideals* (Washington D.C.: Harwood, 2000), 209.

151 Ibid., 210-211.

152 On Army Signal Corps funding, Ibid., 211. On Associated Universities, Inc., Ibid., 4.

Berkner, J. Robert Oppenheimer, I.I. Rabi and Jerrold Zacharias.[153] It concluded that large-scale panic could be averted by "managing fear through ritualized training behavior, self-surveillance, and emotion management." It argued that civil defense was as vital to national security as the armed forces, citing the poor quality of the military's warning and aircraft interception capabilities.[154] The researchers agreed that civil defense should be a purely civilian effort, with the military to assist only until June 1953.[155] According to Berkner, AUI's president, the military's first priority regarding civil defense should have been to establish mechanisms that could alert citizens to an attack well beforehand. This deeply troubled Marshall's successor, Secretary of Defense Robert Lovett, who in 1952 dismissed early warning as "unrealistic."[156] Interestingly, it was the military leaders who admitted the futility of defense against atomic attack, while scientists and other civilians involved with East River argued for scientific and technological solutions.[157]

Tensions between East River scientists and the military, particularly Air Force leadership, came to a head in early 1952. Berkner felt as if the Air Force dismissed East River's civil defense recommendations in order to protect its status as a "first strike" force. He, along with Rabi and Oppenheimer, detected that Air Force commanders were so dedicated to the newly established Strategic Air Command that they were neglecting other crucial aspects of national

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153 Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red,* 62; Needell, *Science, Cold War and the American State,* 212.

154 Needell, *Science, Cold War and the American State,* 213.

155 Ibid.

156 Ibid.

157 Ibid., 213-214.

security.[158] Berkner spoke out against the military's opposition to civil defense in April 1952. Like Lapp, he decried military secrecy for keeping knowledge out of the hands of the people and lamented the military's increasing influence upon scientific and technological research: "Since the military now sponsor a very substantial proportion of American research and development effort… they are in a position to limit the application of new ideas for obvious military applications..."

Recognizing the potential for the military to co-opt scientific advances in the name of national security, he explained that the problem was attributable to "a form of oligarchy [that emerged since World War II] in which policy is determined by a few who have, or think they have, the facts and means to interpret or synthesize them into policy." Concerned that the military was neglecting citizens and endangering lives by placing more weight on an offensive strike as a means to prevent nuclear attack while neglecting civil defense and foreign diplomacy, Berkner summed up his comments: "There is no one means within the oligarchy… for full consideration of possible international political or social implications or consequences of major advances in technology, or of scientific progress [in a time when security] may well depend on more intelligent understanding and application of… political and social implications."[159] Berkner subsequently became a strong advocate for other national security initiatives, among them civil defense. Though some of the conclusions of Project East River and other civil defense programs like City X look suspiciously like well-calibrated, unified social control campaigns to convince Americans that they could survive a nuclear attack, there were people like Berkner, Towner and Lapp who saw them as the first real, government-endorsed public

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158 Ibid.

159 Ibid., 217-219.

education programs dealing with the effects of the bomb. It was, to them, better to give the public some information and hope than none at all.

Though City X did send a clearly false message that cities would survive a nuclear attack, some of its planners did not devise it as a deliberate propaganda device. They saw it as a public education initiative and based it upon World War II civil defense efforts. As such, they did not take seriously the differences between nuclear and conventional weapons. In the early 1950s, planners were also deeply concerned with the survival of American cities, which they considered to be the backbone of the economy. Between 1950 and 1955, City X still needed to be saved.

CHAPTER 4 – PR WAR: ENGINEERING NUCLEAR CONSENT

On Independence Day, 1951 a tremendous flash of light cut across the sky over Baltimore. Panic ensued, as citizens clear across central Maryland reacted in terror to a horrific roar and loud "bang" that could be heard more than 75 miles away. In Hagerstown, church services at the Point Salem Mission Church ended abruptly that evening when a terrified woman burst in screaming, "Baltimore is being bombed and the planes are on their way to Hagerstown now."[160] At ground zero, children who had been playing baseball just seconds before the blinding flash ran around in dazed confusion, while their fathers who had been mowing lawns and chatting with neighbors rushed away from their burning homes. Flames shot up from broken gas mains and water gushed from mangled pipes.

Through a thick haze of smoke, scores of volunteer stretcher-bearers arrived on the scene along with teams of rescue-workers from the Red Cross.[161] Radiological and reconnaissance teams, highway clearance teams, park rangers and police squads eventually descended upon the rubble, frantically trying to pull burned and maimed victims from the conflagration that now consumed the uptown Baltimore neighborhoods of Waverly and Charles Village.[162] As a band played patriotic songs, local civil defense authorities, police and firefighters swiftly executed evacuation procedures that they had developed only one year earlier. Their efforts paid off as the fires were extinguished, the smoke cleared and the crowd breathed a collective sigh.

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160 "32,000 Watch 'A-Bomb Attack' During Celebration At Stadium," *Sun*, July 5, 1951.

161 Ibid.

162 "Mock Attack Will Simulate Baltimore A-Bombing Result," *Sun*, June 28, 1951.

The flash of light, a pyrotechnic display engineered by a New Jersey chemical company, was one component of the Baltimore Civil Defense Organization's (BCDO) and the Greater Northeast Community Association's (GNCA) "mock" atomic bombing that took place on July 4, 1951 at Memorial Stadium in front of 32,000 onlookers. Immediately following the attack, the crowd was treated to a massive fireworks display followed by an equally massive traffic jam. The *Evening Sun's* July 5 editorial explained that after the "terrifyingly realistic and action-packed" demonstration and festival, "an estimated 32,000 persons left the Stadium en-masse, many of them taking to their cars and jamming side streets to such an extent that fire engines, ambulances and other emergency vehicles could not possibly have gotten through."[163] As the article noted, many of the spectators caught in gridlock must have pondered what traffic would be like in the wake of an actual atomic attack.

The roar of mock enemy aircraft and "bang" of the explosion were broadcast over the radio, and according to the *Baltimore Sun* on July 5, "In spite of advance assurance that Baltimore was to be subjected to nothing more deadly than a 'firecracker' bombing last night, scores of homes were thrown into panic when the civil defense test demonstration went on the air."[164] Switchboards at local radio stations and newspapers were flooded with calls from frantic listeners who believed that Baltimore was under enemy attack. One caller to a local radio station exclaimed, "I was scared to death. To tell you the truth, I thought the Reds were here."[165] Another caller declared, "It's as bad as that Orson Welles show. We were scared to death."[166]

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[163] Editorial, *Evening Sun*, July 5, 1951. "An Impressive Display of Civil Defense Planning."

[164] "Mock Bombing Causes Alarm: Radio Listeners Call Stations After Reports of 'Raid,'" *Sun*, July 5, 1951.

Despite what the *Sun* termed a "terrifyingly realistic" atomic bombing, only about 100 injuries were actually reported.[167] A few of the boys who acted as stretcher-bearers and 100 other volunteers who otherwise participated in the demonstration experienced sore throats and other respiratory ailments from smoke inhalation.[168] According to Arthur Hungerford, executive secretary of City College (the high school that the boys who took part in the demonstration attended) Alumni Association, "Some idiot put boys in those smoking cottages [while] firemen were wearing gas masks."[169] Robert Lee, one of the boys injured in the attack, experienced swollen eyes, sore throat and extreme difficulty breathing.[170] Afterwards, he explained that the "smoke was so thick in the cottage that [he] couldn't see the boy on the other end of the stretcher."[171] To avoid being overcome, he crawled out of one of the makeshift structures said to look like typical Baltimore homes and put his face as close to the ground as he could.

This event reflected civil defense policymakers' hopes in the early 1950s that citizens, supported by existing networks of first responders and local civil defense authorities, could protect their homes and communities from the ravages of the atomic bomb. Streets would remain intact; homes would suffer nothing more than smoke damage and, presumably, as many lives as possible would be saved as volunteers whisked the wounded out of their homes and

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165 Ibid.

166 Ibid.

167 Ibid.

168 "Mock A-Blitz Begets Real Casualties: Sore Throats," *Evening Sun*, July 5, 1951.

169 Ibid.

170 Ibid.

171 Ibid.

deposited them into waiting ambulances. Baltimore itself would also survive, and the city would emerge stronger and more productive.

While the U.S. government attempted to reassure its citizens that they could survive a nuclear attack, it was simultaneously making plans to potentially kill large numbers of people in Asia. The Baltimore "mock bombing" occurred while President Truman was making contingency plans for the potential use of atomic weapons in Korea. In March 1951, servicemen at Kadena Air Base on Okinawa actively began assembling bombs. In April, the Joint Chiefs of Staff declared that the U.S. would use atomic bombs against Manchuria if faced with an influx of troops or bombing raids.[172] Those events were mere appetizers for what Mark Selden and Alvin Y. So termed "the most daunting and terrible nuclear project that the United States ran in Korea"— Operation Hudson Harbor. Operation Hudson Harbor's goal was to determine the feasibility of using atomic weapons on battlefields. In September and October, B-29s flew over North Korea on mock bombing sorties, deploying "dummy" atomic bombs and, according to Selden and So, evaluating "all activities which would be involved in an atomic strike, including weapons assembly and testing, leading, [and] ground control of bomb aiming."[173]

The mock atomic bombing of Memorial Stadium was actually one of a series of mock atomic bombings taking place at the time. The goal of the Korean mock bombing campaign was to maximize destruction on the ground based upon known results from Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The goal of the Baltimore bombing was to demonstrate to citizens that they and the physical and

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[172] Bruce Cumings, "Why Did Truman Really Fire MacArthur?... The Obscure History of Nuclear Weapons and the Korean War Provides the Answer," History News Network, accessed August 12, 2012, http://hnn.us/articles/9245.html.

[173] Mark Selden and Alvin Y. So, *War and State Terrorism: The United States, Japan & the Asia-Pacific in the Long Twentieth Century* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 73.

social infrastructure they depended upon could survive such destruction if they prepared themselves and their communities.

Laura McEnaney argued that people's suspicion of government power and rejection of big government, along with the conservative goal of shrinking the post war welfare state, combined to produce the notion of "self-help" in civil defense. By utilizing the language of self-help, the federal government could justify the lack of funding for civil defense while appeasing critics of big government across the political spectrum.[174] If people believed that they could survive and help themselves in the wake of a nuclear attack, they might be more inclined to accept the inevitability of nuclear war, and deterrence as a means of protection from it.[175]

In order to sell self-help civil defense to the public efficiently and affordably, the FCDA turned to the Advertising Council (Ad Council) in March 1951. The War Advertising Council, as it was originally called, was established during World War II to advise the government on messaging.[176] It had been formed to counter Depression-era public distrust of the advertising industry and big business in general. Advertisers were particularly alarmed by the 1938 Wheeler-Lea Amendment, which gave the Federal Trade Commission the power to regulate false or misleading advertising. Advertisers were also concerned that war production might do damage to domestic consumer markets resulting in the reduction of advertising budgets.[177] They

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174 McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 7.

175 Guy Oakes, *The Imaginary War: Civil Defense and American Cold War Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 7.

176 McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 35.

177 Robert Griffith, "The Selling of America: The Advertising Council and American Politics, 1942-1960," *The Business History Review* 53:3 (1983): 389-390.

pondered the implications of government regulation, which they considered unacceptable interference with the free market system. According to one CBS representative, this perceived war on advertising was only part of "the vast, world-wide struggle between two philosophies, the totalitarian idea, with people as the vassals of the state against the American philosophy of free enterprise and free competition and free opportunity for the individual to realize his own destiny under free institutions."[178]

In order for advertisers to win the war against government regulation, they decided to offer their biggest asset, their mastery of what they described as "the greatest aggregate means of mass education and persuasion the world has ever seen" to the United States war effort. By doing so, they effectively sold the concept of advertising as a benevolent democratic service to the federal government. They established the War Advertising Council and marketed themselves to the government as a patriotic business association concerned with winning the war and restoring economic stability to the world. They worked with the federal government's Office of War Information (O.W.I.) to develop ad campaigns for war bonds and other domestic war-related programs including victory gardens and salvage campaigns. According to Robert Griffith, by the end of World War II, the Ad Council had created over "100 public service campaigns at an estimated cost, in time and space contributed, of more than a billion dollars."[179]

The venerable advertising firm Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborne (BBD&O) ran the FCDA's public relations effort for the Council.[180] The Ad Council directed the FCDA to sell

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178 Ibid., 390.

179 Ibid., 391.

180 Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red,* 49; McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 35.

civil defense by employing imagery depicting valiant civil defense volunteers saving people's lives in the foreground while fires raged and buildings collapsed in the background. It was modeled after the concept of war advertising, which originated during World War II. According to Andrew Grossman, war advertising was based upon three themes—public service, the emotional involvement of the individual and the positive impact that fearless individuals could have on the war effort. With the Ad Council pulling the strings, the FCDA hammered home the flip side of self-help, the idea that people's dependency upon the government to save them was a character flaw. According to Laura McEnaney,

> If a family was caught by surprise and unable to cope, it was a reflection of their moral laxity or their inability (weakness) to confront unpleasantness. One could still depend upon neighbors and other members of a community because, according to the FCDA, this was merely a variation on family self-help; neighbors were fictive kin who could share burdens and pool resources so that the business of recovery remained a matter of local responsibility, not government largesse.[181]

The Ad Council advised the FCDA to portray the civil defense volunteer as an "equal partner with the military in defense of the nation,"[182] a concept that would later haunt Baltimore officials as they tried to contain emboldened volunteers who took that concept quite literally.

The goal of the postwar advertising industry was to conflate democratic ideals with the merits of free enterprise in order to convince Americans that benevolent big business was the epitome of Americanism.[183] After World War II, the Council dropped War from its name and concerned itself with combating the proliferation of socialism abroad and the revival of what

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181 McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 37.

182 Ibid., 35

183 Stuart Ewen, *PR: A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 306.

Griffith described as "old hatreds and new-born discords" at home.[184] Advertisers were afraid that without the unifying effect of war, the country would revisit the same class conflicts that it had grappled with during the depression years. Since the Council had provided such a valuable service to the government and had become so involved in the activities of the executive branch, members of many government agencies routinely provided it with information.

In an effort to ensure unity and stability while combating what Ad Council director Thomas D'Arcy Brophy termed "insidious and powerful" forces, the Council launched a campaign to blunt "the impact of foreign ideologies" and indoctrinate the "American family" with democratic ideals. The campaign, dreamed up by executives from ten advertising firms and managed by Eastman Kodak's W.B. Potter, showcased a traveling exhibit called "Freedom Train," which moved across the country showing off the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Truman Doctrine. To accompany the exhibit, the Ad Council produced 1.5 million copies of a pamphlet outlining the "duties and privileges of citizenship" and ultimately sponsored the Rose Bowl.[185] In democratic societies, so the narrative went, "the people are the masters… but they must either *exercise* that mastery or become, as others have become, pawns of the master state."[186]

The concept of individual uplift and action, which the modern advertising industry seized upon, spruced up and disseminated in order to combat the insidious forces of big government and socialism, became the cornerstone of civil defense's public relations strategy. The Ad Council, with BBD&O in the driver's seat, firmly embedded its founder Bruce Barton's pro-business, pro-

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184 Griffith, "The Selling of America," 391.

185 Ibid., 398-399.

186 Ibid.

individual ideology within the framework of Cold War civil defense. It was ultimately responsible for convincing many of Baltimore's civil defense volunteers that they were the most important links in the civil defense chain.

On January 25, 1952, the FCDA's ten-truck "Alert America" convoy rolled into Baltimore, one of eighty-two cities that planners deemed critical target areas. Incapable of facilitating the exhibit without outside resources, the FCDA asked Freedoms Foundation, a non-profit dedicated to "maintain[ing] the American Way [and passing it] on intact to each generation,"[187] to create an exhibit designed to sell civil defense imperatives.[188] Members of the foundation's board of directors included Wall Street businessmen, advertising executives, union representatives, educators and clergy.[189] The goal of the free exhibit was to raise awareness of the imperative of civil defense and to urge citizens to get involved with local efforts.[190] The FCDA solicited the help of the Ad Council to publicize Alert America.[191] As a result of Ad Council press kits, many of Baltimore's media outlets covered the event in the weeks preceding it, including WFBR radio, WMAR-TV and the *Baltimore Sun*.[192] "Alert America" Baltimore opened with a downtown parade followed by a WMAR television preview.[193]

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187 Display Ad, "It Can Happen Here," *Life*, September 1, 1961, 20.

188 Richard M. Fried, *The Russians Are Coming! The Russians Are Coming!: Pageantry and Patriotism in Cold-War America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 46; David F. Krugler, *This is Only a Test: How Washington D.C. Prepared for Nuclear War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 79.

189 Krugler, *This is Only a Test,* 79.

190 Fried, *The Russians Are Coming! The Russians Are Coming!,* 46.

191 Ibid., 46.

The exhibit, housed at the Fifth Regiment Armory, was divided into two sections. The first used three-dimensional models to showcase how nuclear, biological and chemical attacks might affect unprotected communities. The second section instructed citizens about "peaceful" uses of atomic energy and how to protect their neighborhoods prior to and after an attack.[194] The exhibit's front wall displayed a large map of the United States superimposed upon the image of a church. The title above the image read, "Alert America: The Time is Now." As people funneled into the exhibit, they passed through a hallway lined with images of atomic detonations juxtaposed with promising images related to the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The hallway emptied into a large room called City X.

Ralph Lapp's City X had run through civil defense bureaucracy since 1948 and now appeared in a form designed to vividly appeal to citizens' senses and emotions. Still representative of the "typical" American city, the "Alert America" version abandoned Lapp's sober and scientific analysis in favor of the misleading message that even the most horrible attack would be survivable, if only people played their parts. In a memo to Freedoms Foundation staff, FCDA public affairs official Edward B. Lyman outlined his vision for the traveling exhibit. He specified that FCDA was "in business to sell Civil Defense" as a "permanent phase of American life." Doing so would require Americans to choose a "road to peace" or a "road to destruction," hence the exhibit's two sections. The first part of the exhibit,

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192 *Sun* Display Ads, Jan. 20, 1952, "WMAR-TV," F12; "Television Today," January 28, 1952; "On the Air Today," Jan. 20, 1952, F10; "On the Air Today," Feb. 3, 1952 F16; "On the Air Today," Feb. 17, 1952, 80; "On the Air Today," Jan 13, 1952 F12; "On the Air Today," Feb. 10, 1952 MO16.

193 *Sun* photo titled "Bombed Out," January 25, 1952, 32.

194 "A Road Show is Coming to Town," *Sun,* Jan. 23, 1952, 14.

the "road to destruction," culminated at City X, a "typical city in the United States" that could suffer the same fate as Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[195] FCDA planners initially suggested to Freedoms Foundation staffers that a floor map of Baltimore, similar to the ones in use at the Olney staff college, be employed somehow in the exhibit. They eventually replaced the map with the urban skyline visual. [196]

Immediately upon entering City X, visitors saw a large cardboard outline of a typical urban skyline. Then the room got dark and a voice declared, "condition red," as sirens began to wail. Babies cried as loud bombers approached the city. On the screen behind the cardboard skyscrapers, rapid flashes of anti-aircraft fire were quickly followed by a piercing wail and a mushroom cloud. The loud voice then boomed, "This could be *your* city,"[197] as those same words flashed above.[198] After the demonstration, visitors filed out of City X into another hallway that housed displays on self-help and the importance of civil defense training. In the final room, they filled out checklists inquiring what steps they planned to take to avert such a crisis. The checklist included calls to volunteer for civil defense service, prepare plans to deal with fire and first-aid and donate blood.[199]

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[195] Memorandum, Edward B. Lyman to William Frances and W. Beverly Carter, "Notes on 'Civil Defense Mobile Demonstration Unit," RG 304, UD-UP/Entry 1A – Accession 62A267, File: Cooperation 4 – Valley Forge, FRC Box 27, Stack Area 650, Row 40, Compartment 2, Shelf 1; National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Michael Scheiback, *Atomic Narratives and American Youth: Coming of Age With the Atom, 1945-1955* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2003), 47.

[198] Krugler, *This is Only a Test,* 79.

[199] "Alert America Exhibit Ranges From Axis Sally To A-Bomb," *Sun,* Jan. 26, 1952.

The FCDA's messages of self-help civil defense and urban survivability reached a good number of Baltimoreans through Alert America. With the help of Freedoms Foundation and the Ad Council, 13,470 Baltimoreans visited the traveling exhibit, 1.4 percent of the city's population.[200] 815 signed up to become local civil defense volunteers. In comparison, six-tenths of one percent of New York City's population attended that city's exhibit, 3.6 percent of Kansas City's, and 1.6 percent of San Francisco's.[201]

Outsourcing of civil defense initiatives to non-profits and advertisers also characterized local public relations efforts. The BCDO partnered with the GNCA, a neighborhood improvement consortium comprised of fourteen neighborhood associations and civic organizations, along with prominent local advertising agents to produce the 1951 Memorial Stadium mock atomic bombing.[202]

Since 1934, the GNCA had sponsored firework displays at the stadium, each year increasing in intensity and visual appeal, and reflecting social and economic changes. Prior to the fireworks display at the 1935 event, various athletic events were held on the east side of the stadium.[203] In 1940, forty-eight female Social Security employees represented the various states

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200 Report, John A. DeChant to Millard Caldwell, "Alert America Convoys: Attendance and Volunteer Report No. 16," RG 304, Stack Area 650, Row 40, Compartment 1, Shelf 5, Box 16, Folder "Cooperation – State Files (AK-WI) – Info (Pubs of Outside Organizations," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD *compared to* "Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places: 1950," United States Bureau of the Census, Internet Release Date: June 15, 1998, accessed August 15, 2012, http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/tab18.txt.

201 Ibid.

202 On Northeast Community Assn., see "Independence Day Plans Are Completed," *Sun,* June 27, 1937.

203 "July 4 Plans Are Drafted, But Rain May Mar Holiday," *Sun,* July 3, 1935, 11.

in a pageant, paying implicit tribute to one of the most successful and enduring New Deal programs and sending the message that Social Security was tightly tethered to patriotism. The 1945 display, on the heels of V-E Day and twelve days before the Trinity Test, featured a Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW)-led parade with marching bands and drum corps participants waving the flags of the Allied nations.[204] The 1946 event attracted a record-shattering crowd of 47,090 people. Prior to the fireworks that year, a 300-pound American flag was stretched over the baseball diamond while a serviceman sang the national anthem, reflecting the optimism of a generation that had just prevailed over fascism and militarism.[205]

If the GNCA organized the 1951 Independence Day celebration, it was Maryland's Civil Defense Agency (MCDA) that orchestrated the thirty-minute mock bombing. Production of the event was the responsibility of Leon S. Golnick, prominent Baltimore advertising executive and MCDA deputy for public information.[206] In 1951, newly elected Maryland Governor Theodore McKeldin was under considerable pressure to disseminate information about Maryland's civil defense preparations to the public. The FCDA had just been established one month earlier with the mission of raising what civil defense planner John Bradley anxiously termed "bomb consciousness."[207] Bradley and other FCDA policy-makers were concerned that Americans didn't grasp the dangers of atomic warfare. Their fears became magnified when the Soviets exploded their first atomic bomb in August 1949.[208] McKeldin, likely advised by state civil

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204 "Community Celebrations Mark Holiday in Baltimore," *Sun,* July 5, 1945, 22.

205 "Crowds Break All Records at Fourth Celebrations Here," *Sun,* July 5, 1946, 28.

206 "Johnson Named to Defense Post," *Sun*, Feb 6, 1953, 9.

207 McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 11.

defense director Col. David G. McIntosh that public relations was imperative to Maryland's effort, appointed Golnick deputy for public information on February 3, 1951. At the time, Golnick chaired Maryland's Publicity and Advertising Committee of the Treasury Department's United States Savings Bond Commission and participated in a number of other local philanthropic activities in addition to his work at his own firm.[209] After his appointment, he set out to sell civil defense preparedness to Maryland's supposedly apathetic public.

Golnick was one of Baltimore's "Mad Men," to borrow the phrase of the widely-acclaimed television series. He was the creative mind behind the "More Parks Sausages, Mom, Please!" slogan that aired frequently on radio and television from 1954 through the early 1970s.[210] The slogan vaulted black-owned and -operated Parks Sausage from a company whose only assets in 1952 were an old sausage recipe, some used equipment and a small sum of money to a $6 million per year corporation by 1966.[211] A Baltimore City College graduate, Golnick became a television pioneer who produced some of the medium's first documentaries and dramas. He also lectured on public relations at his alma mater.[212] In his ad campaigns, Golnick sometimes used military metaphors to describe his attempts to make inroads into new markets. His Parks strategy was to establish what advertising executive Otto Kleppner termed a

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208 Ibid., 15.

209 "Golnick Given Defense Post," *Sun,* Feb. 4, 1951, 18.

210 "Parks Sausage Ad Rankled – But Sold," *Sun,* January 19, 1975, K7; "Leon Shaffer Golnick, 84, Created Parks Sausages Ad," *Sun,* January 28, 1999, online copy accessed August 15, 2012, http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1999-01-28/news/9901280198_1_golnick-fort-lauderdale-baltimore.

211 Otto Kleppner, *Advertising Procedure* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 273.

212 "Golnick Given Defense Post," *Sun,* Feb. 4, 1951, 18.

"beachhead" of radio advertising in small markets, and to entice local stores with personal attention.[213]

Golnick began his advertising career in 1941 and set up his own firm by the end of the next year.[214] By December 1944, the fledgling agency had already outgrown its initial office space.[215] Over the next few years, the agency procured numerous national clients including Dream Hosiery, A. Krome & Company, Morecorder Manufacturing, General Products Manufacturing, Metronome Magazine, Harryson Hat Company, Novel Toy, M.G. Tompkins, Vacuum Candy Machinery and Sealy Mattress.[216] By 1947, the *New York Times* began referring to Golnick's firm as "Leon S. Golnick" instead of its full name "Leon S. Golnick and Associates" in its "Advertising News and Notes" column, evidence of the agency's growing national prominence.[217]

Viewing civil defense as a product that needed to be sold, Golnick's first objective was to redefine the role of the volunteer civil defense officer. He advised Baltimore's civil defense administration to abandon the term "air raid warden" in favor of a new title: "civil defense

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213 Kleppner, *Advertising Procedure,* 273.

214 "Leon Shaffer Golnick, 84, Created Parks Sausages Ad," *Sun,* January 28, 1999; Display Ad, *Sun*, "Ever Listen to – "Your WORLD Tonight," Nov. 7, 1942, 3.

215 Classified Ad, "We've Outgrown Our Suite," *Sun*, Dec. 16, 1944, 14.

216 "News and Notes in the Advertising Field," *New York Times,* Dec. 5, 1945, 37; "Advertising News and Notes," *New York Times,* Dec. 2, 1946, 44; "Advertising News and Notes," *New York Times,* Dec. 21, 1946, 29; "Advertising News and Notes," *New York Times,* Dec. 27, 1946, 31; "Advertising News and Notes," *New York Times,* Jan. 9, 1947, 39; "Advertising News and Notes," *New York Times,* Jan. 23, 1947; "Advertising News and Notes, *New York Times,* Jan. 31, 1947, 28.

217 Ibid.

officer."[218] Believing that potential volunteers would rather be called officers than wardens, Golnick and others redefined the job as one that would be "extremely diversified and very exacting. For example, [a volunteer] would have to have some knowledge of fire fighting, first aid and rescue operations. He will not have to know as much about fire fighting as a fireman or as much about first aid as a nurse, but he must have an *overall understanding* of these duties so he can direct the specialists under his command."[219] Nowhere was the role of the warden better depicted than in the 1942 song "Obey Your Air Raid Warden" recorded by Tony Pastor and His Orchestra. The song was actually a U.S. government public service announcement written by Les Burness and John Morris, and designed to convince Americans to participate in World War II-era civil defense activities. The lyrics of the song are as follows:

> One, be calm.
>
> Two, get under shelter.
>
> Three, don't run.
>
> Obey your air-raid warden.
>
> Four, stay home.
>
> Five, keep off the highway.
>
> Six, don't phone.
>
> Obey your air-raid warden.
>
> There are rules that you should know,
>
> What to do and where to go,
>
> When you hear the sirens blow,
>
> Stop, look, and listen.
>
> Seven, don't smoke.

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218 "Air Raid Warden In Next War Will Be Sort Of 'Top Sergeant," *Sun,* April 1, 1951, 24.

219 Ibid.

Eight, help all the kiddies.

Most of all, obey your air-raid warden.

Stop, look, and listen.

Dim the lights,

Wait for information,

Most of all, obey your air-raid warden.

Stop the panic,

Don't get in a huff,

Our aim today is to call their bluff.

Follow these rules and that is enough.[220]

Listeners to the song might have believed that air raid wardens were autocratic neighborhood security czars whose job it was to police daily activities and bark commands in the case of an air raid. Attuned to potential volunteers' reluctance to assume such a stark role in their communities, Golnick recast the volunteer role as one that was softer, more comprehensive, more community-oriented and less paternal, even going to the extent of spotlighting the volunteer's nursing responsibilities. Golnick and other state and local civil defense officers set out to convince citizens that the atomic bomb was not just an abstract threat—that it could and would affect them.

At Memorial Stadium on July 4, 1951, 32,000 people heard the announcer bellow, "You can now hear the approach of enemy aircraft over Baltimore City. The dreaded atom bomb, most mighty destructive force known to man, nears our city. It's *your* city! *your* neighborhood!

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220 "Obey Your Air Raid Warden,': Big Band as Public Service Announcement," History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web, Center for History and New Media Research, George Mason University, accessed August 15, 2012, http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5148/.

your home that will bear the brunt of the gigantic forces unleashed by the atom bomb!"[221] FCDA emphasis on the importance of self-help rang out across the stadium and through the radio waves. It was now Baltimoreans' responsibility to prepare their city, their neighborhoods and their homes for disaster.

Baltimore's McCarthy: William J. Muth and the Unintended Consequences of the PR Structure in Civil Defense

In the face of media reports claiming public ignorance, apathy and distrust, Baltimore civil defense planners under the leadership of Col. Frank Milani launched a series of drills, pageants and public relations campaigns designed to arouse citizens to the roles they could play to save themselves and their communities if an attack should come. On his first day as BCDO director in June 1952, Milani jumped right into the tumultuous fray of Baltimore's civil defense apparatus by "taking an oath" to fight apathy.[222] Methodically, Milani set out towards his goal of educating the public on civil defense issues, explaining to other officials and district civil defense coordinators that he would move gradually to build upon the organization's existing foundation.[223]

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221 "Mock Attack Will Simulate Baltimore A-Bombing Result," *Sun,* Jun. 28, 1951, 25.

222 "Milani Takes Oath; To Fight Apathy," no publication recorded, June 30, 1952.

223 "Solid Foundation Civil Defense Aim," *Sun,* July 1, 1952.

Frustrated with the lack of organization in the wake of departmental turmoil, Milani toured Baltimore, offering advice and criticism at neighborhood association meetings and on personal visits to residents. After visiting all of the city's seven civil defense districts, Milani singled out the city's African-American community for its failure to participate in civil defense activities. He told a Baltimore *Afro-American* reporter on August 26, 1952, "During the tour I met about 280 civil defense volunteers. Less than 10 of this number were colored. Recruitment of volunteers is going on all of the time and since nearly a third of the city's population is colored I had expected that a third of the civil defense volunteers would be colored."[224] He went on to qualify his statement, "I want to make it perfectly clear that when civil defense meetings are called or announced, all citizens, regardless of race, color or creed, are invited, welcome and expected to take part. Whatever facilities are provided are available to all citizens on the same basis."[225] Milani explained that all neighborhoods, black and white, needed better civil defense organization all the way down to the individual block.

In order to accomplish his goal of combating perceived public apathy, Milani asked Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro Jr. to establish a civil defense public relations position. Armed with pamphlets, booklets, films and radio scripts designed by the FCDA to push the concept of self-help, Milani needed a charismatic person to disseminate them while he worked to coordinate other aspects of the program. The FCDA extolled the virtues of public relations but, beyond advocating a public relations representative at the local level, fell short when it came to advising local officials how to employ that representative. In Baltimore, that meant that the representative

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[224] "Citizens Get Scolded For Lack of Interest in Civil Defense," *Baltimore Afro American*, August 26, 1952.

[225] Ibid.

could develop and implement public relations strategies independent of state or federal oversight.

Mayor D'Alesandro appointed William J. Muth, a fellow Democrat but former political opponent, director of public relations on August 21, 1952.[226] The position commanded $5,500 a year. Muth's appointment was to be the last in his Napoleonic political career that began just five and a half years earlier. His career was so ephemeral because, as he injected himself into some of Baltimore's key populist issues, he quickly made enemies with those who viewed him as a blowhard and a mean-spirited, cutthroat politician. He was, however, extremely skilled at the art of persuasion and was generally able to convince people to do what he wanted them to do. Overzealous, chauvinistic, paranoid and ultimately crooked, Muth infused the FCDA's self-help message with anti-communism in Baltimore. In the process, he sent messages to Baltimoreans about civil defense that federal, state and local officials didn't necessarily endorse.

Muth's career began modestly. Born in 1910, he attended St. Gregory's Parochial School and, eventually, Calvert Hall High School. After graduation, he attended the University of Maryland's Pharmacy School and entered his father's pharmaceutical manufacturing business, a job that eventually bored him for eight or nine years.[227] Deciding that he was more suited for public affairs, Muth left his father's firm to run for city council in 1939 when he was twenty-nine years old. He lost by 2,000 votes.

On the night of September 23, shortly after the election, Muth sped east down Gwynn Oak Avenue, an east-west parkway that connects the western suburb of Woodlawn with the Northwest Baltimore neighborhood of Gwynn Oak. Just after traversing the Gwynns Falls Valley, Muth skirted the southern end of Woodlawn Cemetery and officially entered the city of

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226 "Muth Given Post in Civil Defense," *Sun,* August 22, 1952, 32.

227 "City Council's Stormy Petrel," *Sun,* May 30, 1948, SF1.

Baltimore. He flew by block after block of wooded homes. As he passed Ferndale Avenue, he saw an object in the distance and slammed on the brakes. He skidded 147 feet before crashing at high speed into the car of Mathew J. Hubin, who was driving north on Milford Avenue. Muth's car ricoched off of Hubin's, slammed into a curbside pole, overturned completely and came to a rest on the sidewalk. Patrolman Jerome F. Carroll, awed by what he classified as a "phenomenal skid," charged Muth with reckless driving, driving at speeds greater than reasonable and proper and failing to stop at an intersection. Muth was rushed to West Baltimore General Hospital where doctors treated him for deep lacerations of his head.[228]

After his recovery, he left politics and entered the Army as a private. Promoted to second lieutenant in 1944,[229] Muth deployed to both Europe and the Pacific, where according to *the Sun,* he "hand[led] 1,250 Japanese prisoners of war in 1945" and was awarded an Army Commendation Ribbon for his accomplishments. After the war, he was assigned to the Army's Chemical Corps and became Edgewood Arsenal's public relations officer, a job for which his performance was eventually commended as "outstanding" by corps chief Maj. Gen. Alden H. Waitt. At Edgewood, Muth earned the reputation for being an adept public affairs liaison. When residents of the area expressed fears that poison gas was leaking from containers in a ship docked at the facility, Muth attempted to convince the public that there was no reason to be afraid. He summoned reporters and local residents to the Chesapeake shoreline and, as they watched, he boarded the ship and disembarked holding a cat. Muth asked the audience rhetorically how the animal could have possibly survived the journey from Mobile, Alabama if there was poison gas onboard. Some time later, he admitted that he had smuggled the cat onboard one hour before the

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228 "Auto in Accident Skids for 147 Feet," *Sun,* September 24, 1939.

229 "Lieut. William J. Muth Gets Oak-Leaf Cluster," *Sun*, Feb. 15, 1947, 5.

public event. "We weren't going to get that ship unloaded with everyone afraid of it," he admitted, "so I had to do something."[230] For his work at Edgewood, Muth was awarded an oak leaf cluster to attach under his commendation ribbon.[231]

After the war, Muth returned to service overseas and was subsequently discharged. He came home to his wife and bought a house on Maine Avenue in the northwestern neighborhood of Forest Park. In early 1947, Muth decided to run for city council again as a Democrat from Baltimore's northwestern fifth district.[232] He centered his campaign upon six key populist issues: street paving, city-financed downtown parking, increased playgrounds and recreational areas, construction of a new sports stadium and indoor arena and a crackdown on gambling at city sporting events.[233]

Endorsed by mayoral candidate John O. Rutherford and supported by the Effective Citizens Organization, the conservative Democrat won the 1947 Democratic primary. Along with Jerome Sloman, H. Warren Buckler Jr. and John H. Reed, Muth prevailed over twenty-seven other candidates.[234] During the general election campaign, the increasingly outspoken and belligerent candidate relentlessly attacked his Republican opponents. He lashed out at Republican mayoral candidate Deeley K. Nice for raising home property tax assessments forty-one percent during his tenure as Chief Judge of Baltimore's Appeals Tax Court while letting

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230 "The City Council's Stormy Petrel," *Sun,* May 30, 1948, SF1.

231 "Lieut. William J. Muth Gets Oak-Leaf Cluster," *Sun*, Feb. 15, 1947, 5.

232 "Council Posts Sought by 85," *Sun,* February 18, 1947.

233 "Muth Gives Stand on Six City Issues," *Sun,* February 24, 1947.

234 "Official Ballots For Machine Voting Mayoralty Primary Election, April 1, 1947," *The Sun,* March 24, 1947, p. 14; "D'Alesandro Nominated by 14, 873 Votes; Kelly, McCardell Win; GOP Picks Nice," *Sun*, April 2, 1947, 1.

owners of downtown office buildings off the hook. After hearing Muth's accusation in a speech, Nice's jaw dropped: "I was amazed at this absolutely false statement. This gentleman is either deliberately falsifying or is so ignorant of our city government that he ought not to ask to be elected. The Appeal Tax Court under the present City Charter has no authority over the reassessment of property and has nothing to do with reassessments."[235] Ignorant or not, Muth won election to city council from his heavily Democratic district. Shortly thereafter, the freshman was unanimously elected city council vice president and appointed chairman of the committee on health.[236]

Muth immediately turned his attention to the very sort of populist issue that would ultimately endear him to thousands of Baltimore war veterans—housing policy. By 1947, veterans who purchased homes in the city's Hanlon Park neighborhood complained that the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) delivered homes that were not up to promised standards. Residents complained that some of their houses were vastly smaller than expected and that builders failed to provide window screens and screen doors, toilets, showers, stoves, railings, proper roofing and drain spouts. The Veterans Administration (VA) advised disgruntled veterans to contact the FHA. The FHA, however, referred them back to the VA. Muth angrily declared in an "indignation" meeting with the veterans that it was "not the first time [they] had been given the run-around… The thing we have to do is to find out who is responsible and who is to protect you people." He wrote a letter to William L. Limburg, regional manager of the Maryland VA, in which he accused the VA of approving GI home loans without ensuring that the FHA provided veterans with accurate plans. He declared, "it appears to me… that no one has

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235 "D'Alesandro 'Title' Backed," *Sun,* May 3, 1947, 11.

236 "New Council Elects Muth Vice President," *Sun,* May 23, 1947, 34.

been looking after the veterans in Baltimore. I have been haring [sic] numerous murmurs about the shoddy deals certain builders have been putting over in recent months." At the end of the letter, Muth threatened Limburg, "We await an answer from the Veterans Administration or the FHA housing expediter… if we don't get what we want, we'll have to go to Washington and demand a full-scale investigation."[237]

The following day, VA officials issued a statement that the builders would "satisfactorily adjust the justifiable deficiencies complained of." This did not satisfy Muth, who warned, "if the Veterans Administration and the Real Estate Board fail to protect veterans… in their purchases of homes, then it will be necessary to pass a city ordinance to control the building and sale of houses."[238] The builder, Hanlon Homes Development Company, agreed the following week to compensate owners with $135 for amenities they did not originally install. Veterans refused, and Muth called a meeting of officials from all levels of government to investigate why homes in Hanlon Park had not been constructed to FHA specifications.[239] The *Sun* observed on August 24 that Muth was quickly gaining the reputation around the city as the point man for veterans' grievances. Veterans from other parts of the city began to voice frustrations with the ways their homes had been built, and, after two weeks of intense pressure on the VA, the FBI launched an investigation. At the same time, the VA stopped issuing loans for homes built by Hanlon and demanded that Hanlon issue $342 rebates to homeowners, a settlement that was apparently acceptable to most. If Hanlon did not comply, it would face federal charges.[240]

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237 "Veterans' Unit Blamed in GI Home 'Failure," *Sun,* August 13, 1947, 28.

238 "Home Plan is Promised," *Sun,* August 14, 1947, 7.

239 "Ex-GI's Reject Fixture Offer," *Sun,* August 20, 1947, 11.

Muth did not stop there. He sent a letter to Paul H. Griffith, national commander of the American Legion, demanding action on the issue nationwide as eight other builders who had been singled out for cutting corners in the previous three weeks backed down without a fight and paid veterans $50,000. Muth requested that Griffin introduce a resolution "calling on the Federal housing expediter to immediately press all claims against builders who filed for priorities and failed to live up to specifications, and to seek immediate redress through criminal action if necessary."[241] On August 29, he requested the U.S. Attorney probe building loans after a Riviera Beach veteran, Kenneth T. Williams, complained about his home. Even though Williams resided in Anne Arundel County, far outside Muth's northwest Baltimore council district, Muth met with Williams, took an itemized inventory of his complaints and promised immediate action.[242]

On September 8, Muth spoke at a local gathering of American Legion members at Service Woman's Post 201. At the meeting, Robert A. Bready, president of Baltimore's Home Builders Association, declared that the local building industry welcomed an investigation into its practices "provided it is not turned into a witch hunt." Muth looked Bready in the eye and shot back, "If the good builders of Baltimore, and the honest ones are in the majority, do not act themselves, they will find in September an ordinance has been passed which will require every builder to specify all features of a home before he can sell it, and then to sell that house as he represents it." He called the ordinance's passage a "1,000-to-1 shot." Bready, shaken, responded by reiterating his original point that the association did not object to an investigation

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240 "FBI Reported Probing Home Constructors," *Sun,* August 24, 1947, 28.

241 "Muth Asks Aid of Legion in Home Claims," *Sun,* August 29, 1947, 26.

242 "Probe of GI Loans, Housing is Requested," *Sun,* August 30, 1947, 20.

unless it turned into a witch-hunt designed to "smear the whole industry."[243] In a meeting three weeks later with federal investigators, Muth would not relent until investigators assured him that "if a builder has defrauded a veteran we'll get him, whether he dissolves or goes to China."[244]

While Muth continued to give speeches and demand investigations on every front imaginable, he began to look at other aspects of the construction industry in Baltimore. On November 17, he revealed to Mayor D'Alesandro that various local contractors owed the city hundreds of thousands of dollars in back fees for license renewals. Muth based his revelation on a little known and seldom enforced state law written in 1916 that required any contractor to pay $15 per year if his business yielded $5000 or more. The law also stipulated that a ten percent per month late fee would be assessed. The pleased mayor remarked that the resulting windfall from back and future assessments would help to balance Baltimore's budget.[245] Unfortunately for Muth and D'Alesandro, even though another law stipulated that any fees collected from contractors doing most of their business in Baltimore would be turned over to the city, Maryland's Attorney General Hall Hammond ruled that the state would keep the funds.[246] In an effort to keep Muth at bay, Hammond advised Muth informally that the 1916 statute did not only apply to developers but to nightclubs and theaters as well. Shortly thereafter Muth began, in the words of a *Sun* reporter, a "one man investigation" to determine just how much money was owed

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243 "Urges Owners to Go to Court," *Sun*, September 9, 1947, 13.

244 "U.S. Probers, Muth Confer," *Sun,* September 24, 1947.

245 "Muth Says Hundreds of Thousands of Dollars Are Due City or State," *Sun,* November 19, 1947.

246 "City May Lose $25,000 Paid for Licenses," *Sun,* November 21, 1947.

to the city.[247] On November 25, just one week after Muth's discovery, fourteen city contractors paid the city $1,250.50 in fees. As they were paying their bills, Muth introduced a bill in council to deny building permits to contractors who could not produce current state licenses. The same night, Muth visited a series of nightclubs and determined that they had not procured licenses for years.[248] On November 27, seventeen more contractors paid back fees and obtained licenses, netting the state $4500 in just over a week. Muth's unrelenting pressure also forced Maryland's comptroller James J. Lacy to order a probe into all aspects of the state's licensing scheme, which quickly resulted in the deployment of a state task force to enforce payment of the back fees.[249] Breathless contractors flocked in droves to municipal payment offices in the face of the crackdown.

Muth went after pinball operators and ice cream vendors next. Estimating that "between $60,000 and $100,000 [was] being lost annually… through the failure of vendors of ice cream and other foods from motor vehicles to obtain… licenses," he brought the matter to M. Joseph Wallace, Baltimore's chief police inspector.[250] He also appealed the matter to J. Neil McCardell, Baltimore's comptroller. Within two days of Muth's inquiry, sixty-eight street vendors applied for licenses and paid fees through the end of 1947. These payments did not satisfy Muth. He wanted back fees collected from the prior four years and threatened to bring the matter before the state comptroller if McCardell did not act. He then proceeded to provide McCardell the names

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247 "Night Clubs Said to Owe for Licenses," *Sun,* November 23. 1947, 28.

248 "Contractors Pay $1,250.50 for Licenses," *Sun,* November 25, 1947.

249 "35 Inspectors to be Assigned License Work," *Sun,* November 30, 1947, 28.

250 "Muth Finds More Funds?" *Sun*, April 8, 1948, 34.

of eleven ice cream vendors who had not paid their fees.[251] Less than one week later, vendor Peter J. DeRossa was brought before a grand jury and accused of selling ice cream without a $5 operating license.[252] The grand jury eventually dismissed the case as a "wast[e] of time and effort," but the *Sun*, which was quickly becoming Muth's biggest cheerleader, slammed the grand jury's decision for "official[ly] disregard[ing]" the provision of law. "No law enforcing agency of the Government has the right to sit in judgment on laws and decide which it shall enforce and which it shall ignore."[253] Muth complained that the ruling would deprive the city of $100,000 in fees, and one week later the grand jury pressed charges against another vendor. On August 1, 1948, ice cream vendors lined up in front of the Court of Common Pleas to pay $31,592.50 in license fees. Most of them wrote "paid in protest" on their checks.[254] One pinball machine operator, incensed by Muth's crusade for license fee increases, warned Muth to "watch [his] step [or he'd] be found some morning lying alongside the railroad tracks."[255]

It was in the midst of his crusade against ice cream vendors and pinball machine operators that Muth launched his anti-communist campaign. On May 23, 1948, the headline on page sixteen of the *Sun* read: "Muth Says Teacher is Wife of High Communist Official." In an open letter to the Board of School Commissioners, Muth alleged that Regina Frankfeld was the wife of Philip Frankfeld, the head of Maryland's Communist Party. When asked what bearing

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251 "Action Asked on Delinquent License Fees," *Sun,* April 11, 1948, 30.

252 "Ice Cream Vending Issue Sent to Grand Jury by Magistrate," *Sun,* April 16, 1948.

253 "Loss of $100,000 to City Foreseen," *Sun,* April 24, 1948; "Street Peddlers and Property Owners," *The Sun,* April 25, 1948, 12.

254 "Licenses Paid by Peddlers of Ice Cream," *Sun,* August 1, 1948, 24.

255 "Phoned Death Threat Revealed by Muth," *Washington Post,* Nov. 21, 1947, 14.

his accusation had upon her position as a kindergarten teacher of children with cerebral palsy, Muth responded, "What difference does it make… if she is doing a good job with the children? I would prefer to let her think it through for herself before answering. You know what the answer means, economic crucifixion. I'll let her answer the question herself." Muth also accused Harry Spector, a teacher at Patterson Park High School, of being a communist and cited his discharge from Aberdeen Proving Ground as evidence: "What I say is this. If the Federal Government, which such fact-finding bodies as the FBI and army intelligence to advise it, thought Spector and the others were too dangerous to have around, then the Baltimore public school system could at least make an effort to determine if Spector and others have subversive tendencies." He then directed the following accusatory questions to the Board of Commissioners:

> Did you know at the time Harry Spector was hired as a teacher in the Baltimore public school system that he and four other men had been discharged by the War Department from key positions at Aberdeen as 'in the best interests of national security' during July 1946?
>
> Was any effort made to check up on Spector's background, such as the elementary precaution of asking his former employers for a recommendation or statement about the applicant?
>
> Are such elementary precautions taken by the school officials in the hiring of all teachres [sic] and, if so, why was it not done in the case of Spector and Mrs. Reginia [sic] Frankfeld, whose husband, Philip Frankfeld, is the head of the Communist party in Maryland and the District of Columbia?
>
> Did you know at the time of hiring Mrs. Frankfeld as a teacher in the kindergarten class of Public School No. 301, or do you now know, that Mrs. Frankfeld's husband is a high Communist official..?"
>
> What, if anything, does the school board intend to do concerning Spector and Mrs. Frankfeld?"[256]

The *Sun,* which had supported Muth's populism since the beginning of his political career, accused him of using his position of power to make "arbitrary and capricious" accusations against an individual who had not been charged with a crime. The newspaper admonished the city council not to make itself into an echo chamber for attacks on people's loyalty and argued that the issue "rais[ed] needless apprehensions, promot[ed] public hysteria,

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[256] "Muth Says Teacher is Wife of High Communist Official," *Sun,* May 23, 1948, 16.

and offer[ed] an unwarranted reflection on the ability of the school administration to handle its own affairs."[257] Muth replied to a councilman who echoed the *Sun's* concerns that "the only way to deal with Communists is to hit them between the eyes." Despite vigorous opposition from local newspapers and fellow city council members, the Ways and Means committee held a hearing to investigate Muth's allegations. In the meeting, attendees who supported the cause of the accused rushed the committee, stole the microphone and demanded their voices be heard. The environment became so heated that the police were called. One protester threatened to punch Muth. Muth dared him to try.[258]

In the face of those who insisted he apologize or step down, Muth did neither. The city council refused to impeach him as some had demanded. In his short time as councilman, the body had tried repeatedly to strip him of his vice presidency and found itself stymied by support from American Legion members and other adoring veterans. Baltimore school board members eventually acted on Muth's accusations and announced that they would invoke a fresh policy to ban Communists and those with sympathetic views from working in Baltimore's schools. Despite Frankfeld's vigorous opposition to the ruling and his statement that the board was engaging in "Red-baiting, mob hysteria and economic crucifixion," the Maryland Committee on Civil Liberties applauded the board for initiating a "safe and democratic procedure" with which to deal with matters of subversion.[259] Regina Frankfeld's contract was not renewed for the following school year.

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[257] Editorial, "Councilman Muth Offers a Silly Resolution," *Sun,* May 22, 1948, 8.

[258] "The City Council's Stormy Petrel," *Sun,* May 30, 1948, SF1.

[259] Vernon L. Pedersen, *The Communist Party in Maryland, 1919-57* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 159.

Muth assailed what he felt was the school system's concerted effort to indoctrinate students with progressive ideology. The school board had initiated a pilot grading program replacing traditional letter grades with an "S" for satisfactory and a "U" for unsatisfactory. After being assured by Dr. William H. Lemmel, school superintendent, that the program was only being tested in one or two schools, Muth visited a number of schools and demanded to know if they were using the new system. When Progressive Party presidential candidate Henry Wallace visited Baltimore on September 12, 1948, Republican and Democratic spokesmen urged Baltimoreans to be courteous in light of the "egg and tomato bombardment which greeted him in several Southern cities."[260] Former Republican mayor Theodore McKeldin asked citizens to welcome Wallace "in the finest Maryland tradition." Muth wholeheartedly agreed, saying, "Regardless of the feeling of good Baltimoreans toward Wallace and what he stands for, I'm sure they won't lower themselves into his class by engaging in any rabble rousing. We will leave that to the Russians in Berlin. Most of us just feel sorry for the people taken in by Henry."[261]

Muth was not as good-natured when City College students and staff asked Owen Lattimore, the head of Johns Hopkins University's School of International Relations, to speak to the student body in March 1951. He, along with members of Maryland's American Legion Americanism Committee, introduced a resolution to bar Lattimore from speaking at any of Baltimore's public schools on the grounds that his speech would be made to a captive audience. Even though students were not required to attend the talk, Muth and twelve other council members thought that students would be enticed to attend by coercive music and other scheduled events. Despite the insistence of J. Carey Taylor, assistant school superintendent, that City's

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260 "2 Parties Ask Courtesy at Wallace Talk," *Sun,* September 12, 1948.

261 Ibid.

principal was qualified enough to determine the appropriateness of speakers and, after a nasty round of mudslinging, the council voted in favor of the resolution with six dissenters.

H.C. Lancaster, a professor of literature at Johns Hopkins University, defended Lattimore as someone who was further right than "some members of the City Council." Fourth district councilmen Leon Abramson, Jacob Edelman and Maxwell Alpert echoed Lancaster's sentiments. Abramson, whose son attended City College, said that he was unafraid to allow his son to attend Lattimore's talk. When asked why, he replied, "I hate communism as much as I hate Nazism. But I love Americanism." Edelman also defended Lattimore by arguing that despite "McCarthy practices," nobody had ever been able to validate Lattimore's involvement with "communistic activities." Alpert said that he would feel like "a traitor to the American Constitution if he voted to deny Mr. Lattimore the right to speak." H. Warren Buckler Jr. of the fifth district said, "the attempt of a government to dominate the thinking of its system – to legislate what they are to hear – is the very antithesis of democracy." Anthony F. DiDomenico of the second district asked his fellow councilmen, "Who are we to sit in judgment on Mr. Lattimore?" He went on to declare that the resolution was "an insult to every schoolchild and schoolteacher."[262]

In 1951, an overly confident Muth ran for city council president on a fierce anti-Communist platform. He was officially allied with the William Curran Democratic machine, but given the lack of a Curran-backed mayoral candidate and Curran's faltering health, the alliance did not mean nearly as much as it had in prior elections. Political insiders pushed Muth to endorse Mayor D'Alesandro in the Democratic primary, but he refused because of his hatred for Baltimore Democratic political boss Jack Pollack. He likened Pollack to an agent of the Kremlin

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[262] "City Council Requests School Board Cancel Address by Lattimore," *Sun,* March 6, 1951, 30.

and his supporters to Soviets.[263] In addition to supporting D'Alesandro, Pollack threw his weight behind council president candidate Arthur B. Price, who eventually buried Muth and tore the remainder of Curran's machine to pieces. D'Alesandro easily won his second term. The election highlighted the increasing importance of independent candidates in Baltimore's theretofore tightly controlled Democratic political machinery. Muth came in fourth of six candidates for council president. The second runner up was H. Warren Buckler who ran with no machine support.

Out of a job, Muth cozied up to D'Alesandro, who was understandably ambivalent. On June 6, 1951, Muth approached the mayor at a reception and asked when they could meet to discuss a potential role for Muth in the new administration. The mayor walked right by him and remarked over his shoulder, "tomorrow."[264] After being rebuffed by D'Alesandro for nearly a year, Muth approached him again on March 25, 1952. Knowing that D'Alesandro was about to make a decision about who to appoint as civil defense director in the wake of Philander Briscoe's resignation, Muth ambushed the mayor on the street in front of city hall. D'Alesandro assured Muth that he had already made the decision to appoint Elmer Bernhardt, and then asked jokingly, "D'you wanta work on me now?"[265] Characteristically undeterred, Muth visited the mayor in his office the very next day and, while D'Alesandro sorted through mail, Muth pressed him further on the appointment. D'Alesandro remarked, "You're the only man who wants the job."[266]

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263 "Muth Promises Pollack Surprise," *Sun,* March 12, 1951.

264 "Job Seekers Stand in Line to Welcome Mayor – No Jobs," *Sun,* June 7, 1951.

265 "Bernhardt in Line for Defense Post," *Sun,* March 26, 1952, 16.

266 "Civil-Defense Post Awaited," *Sun,* March 27, 1952.

After Muth was passed over for the civil defense directorship in favor of Bernhardt, Muth's former colleagues at Edgewood Arsenal and other notable veterans including Brigadier General Charles E. Loucks, deputy chief of the Army Chemical Corps, Brigadier General William C. Purnell and Arthur L. Shreve, commander of Maryland's Military District, eventually persuaded the mayor to include Muth on a short list of potential candidates for the civil defense public relations directorship. Muth also received the recommendation of Reverend Thomas Whelen, chaplain of the local VFW chapter and the Catholic War Veterans of Maryland.[267] After reviewing the mayor's short list, BCDO director Frank Milani appointed Muth public relations director on August 21, 1952.

One of Muth's first jobs as director was to publicize the ground observer corps program. At the request of the United States Air Force, Maryland initiated the program and asked each county and the city of Baltimore to participate. The program's stated goal was to employ 500,000 volunteers nationwide to scan the skies for enemy aircraft twenty-four hours a day. At the same time, the Ad Council launched a campaign called "Wake Up, Sign Up, Look Up," which employed unmistakable anti-Soviet messages. As part of the campaign, it broadcast a program titled "Bomb Target, U.S.A." narrated by Arthur Godfrey, one of the most trusted radio personalities in the U.S.[268]

Despite assurances from state civil defense director Colonel David G. McIntosh that "its going to take a little time to get the thing [ground observer corps] up to the point where it is practical," the reality was that only 42 of 148 volunteer observation posts were manned by the

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[267] "Civil Defense Post to Muth," *Sun,* August 22, 1952.

[268] Robert Jackall and Janice M. Hirota, *Image Makers: Advertising, Public Relations and the Ethos of Advocacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 50.

time of Muth's appointment.[269] The volunteers who did man ground observer posts reported regular citings, but most of them turned out to be commercial airliners.[270] Even though thirty-five new posts were manned by the end of the program's first week, a survey conducted in the summer of that year revealed that only "ten percent of the public had any substantial idea of what civil defense is about."[271] Based upon the results of that survey, Muth initiated a public relations campaign trumpeting the ideas of self-help and volunteerism. He set out to define for Baltimoreans the following:

1. The reason for civil defense
2. An explanation of the program.
3. The attack warning system
4. The place of the volunteer in the program.
5. Methods of recruiting volunteers.
6. Home preparations against atomic attack.
7. Demonstrations of emergency work by rescue squads, first-aid units and other groups.

Periodic reports on the progress of the civil-defense program.[272]

Muth waited only two weeks to inject anti-communism into Baltimore's civil defense messaging. He declared that Communists and subversive individuals would not be permitted to work in civil defense as long as he was public relations director. He explained to a reporter, "As you know… they've gotten into the schools and the welfare, and they're going to try to get into civil defense." Muth's goal was to involve veterans groups along with churchgoers, whose organizations had already "weeded out" subversives, and whose "training and discipline" were most needed at civil defense's most important level—the block.[273]

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269 "State Starts 24 Hour Vigil For Bombers," *Sun*, July 15, 1952.

270 Jackall and Hirota, *Image Makers,* 50.

271 Ibid.

272 Ibid.

273 "Muth to Bar Reds in Civil Defense," *Sun,* September 8, 1952, 26.

Without any apparent directive from Milani, Maryland's civil defense organization or the FCDA, Muth established an organization called Volunteer Assistants for Public Relations in Civil Defense shortly after his appointment. The group was comprised of twenty high school juniors and seniors who signed a loyalty oath in order to join. Their parents consented in writing to their taking the oath. Once they took the oath, they became bona fide junior members of the BCDO. Their job was to observe their schools and communities and to report back to Muth.[274] Muth saw the group as essential for winning over the hearts and minds of Baltimoreans. He believed that by involving teenagers in civil defense, their parents would sign on to the concept as well. This was directly in line with FCDA goals. Andrew Grossman explains that the FCDA consciously recognized civil defense propaganda was most effectively communicated to adults indirectly "using children as interlocutors."[275]

In an effort to increase the visibility of civil defense drills and to arouse citizens to the dangers of nuclear war and what they could do to prepare themselves, Muth hired attractive women, including high school girls, as his public relations assistants. Grossman argued that contrary to Elaine Tyler May's contention that the FCDA emphasized traditional domestic roles for women, precisely the opposite was true. According to Grossman, "[the FCDA] produced numerous training guides that envisioned women as firefighters, emergency medical technicians, and members of the transportation corps… In this FCDA view of human resource mobilization and gender, women were envisioned as "atomic Rosie the Riveters."[276] This was indeed the case in Baltimore. On August 6, 1953, eight years to the day after Hiroshima, what the *Aberdeen*

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274 "Students Take Loyalty Oath on Joining Civil Defense Unit," *Sun,* December 9, 1952, 36.

275 Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red,* 83.

276 Ibid., 103-104.

Democrat labeled "the largest Civil Defense First Aid Demonstration ever held in the State of Maryland" took place on the beach in Ocean City.[277] The Maryland Civil Defense Agency, the Baltimore Civil Defense Organization, the city of Ocean City, C&P Telephone Company, the U.S. Coast Guard and the Ocean City Beach Patrol sponsored the demonstration. C. Edwin Ashley, First Aid Training Supervisor of C&P Telephone, officially conducted the proceedings, which Muth planned.[278] The newspaper reported that the demonstration consisted of twelve bikini-clad "telephone company girls" who performed the "new back pressure arm lift method of artificial respiration" in front of thousands of observers who congregated around the display. It sent the message that if first-responders couldn't arrive in time, those nearby shouldn't wait—they should act immediately to save lives.

The next day, these women appeared in newspaper photographs across Maryland. According to the *Democrat*, "sixteen trained Telephone Company girls who had been hand picked, paired off and continued the demonstration as thousands lined the beach and boardwalk to observe. Then, all the people on the beach were invited to participate and instructors went around correcting novices."[279] Photographs of the demonstration depict pairs of women demonstrating artificial respiration techniques on each other. Women like Alice Keesee, who participated in the event, capitalized upon the sense of purpose civil defense activities provided them. That month Keesee, a former C&P "telephone girl," replaced attractive Jane Schneider as Muth's assistant.

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277 Untitled, *Aberdeen Democrat*, August 7, 1953.

278 Ibid.

279 Ibid.

Keesee was not the first attractive former C&P "telephone girl" Muth appointed as his assistant. It is possible that Muth employed as many as three female assistants at the same time, presumably to help him spread civil defense gospel. The first to be hired was DeSales Kelly on November 10, 1952.[280] Kelly, who left her prior public relations position in New York to work at C&P Telephone, was loaned to the BCDO specifically to serve directly under Muth.[281] According to the *News-Post,* her duties included modeling civil defense "special equipment," including a "chic patrolman cap and an identification armband."[282] The caption under a photograph of director Frank Milani affixing Kelly's armband read, "Col. Frank Milani, director of civil defense for the city, views the ensemble with approval."[283]

Four months after Kelly was appointed to her civil defense post, Muth appointed Jane Schneider, previously a C&P Telephone service supervisor, as a second public relations assistant. Schneider was also loaned to the BCDO by C&P Telephone.[284] On March 19, 1953, Schneider gave a speech in front of 1,100 students and clergy at the Catholic Seton High School. Muth also employed high school girls as public relations volunteers. The *Catholic Review* reported on March 20 that the Seton High meeting was "one of the largest CD meetings held in the state."[285] In the accompanying photograph, Schneider was sandwiched between the

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280 Untitled, *Baltimore News-Post,* November 11, 1952.

281 "Miss Kelly Joins Civil Defense Staff," *The Enterprise*, November 13, 1952.

282 Untitled photograph, *Baltimore News-Post*, January 1, 1953.

283 Ibid.

284 "Many Civil Defense Meetings Are Scheduled For This Week," *Sun*, February 15, 1953.

285 "Civil Defense Meetings Held At Seton High," *The Catholic Review*, March 20, 1953.

meeting's student coordinators, Annette C. Defina and Joanne M. Meyer, who had taken oaths in December 1952 to become members of Muth's Volunteer Assistants group.

Muth even groomed a beauty pageant contestant and entered her into the 1953 Miss Maryland contest. The talent competition began shortly after 8:30 p.m. on August 13, 1953. Master of Ceremonies Winfield H. Adam welcomed the spectators to Cumberland's Maryland Theater, and, shortly thereafter, the show began. Miss Silver Spring, twenty year-old Mary Lou Vernon, sang "My Hero" from the "Chocolate Soldier."[286] Miss Western Maryland, Cumberland's Carolyn Deck, belted out a rendition of Oscar Hammerstein's "One Kiss," and Virginia Elliott, Miss Baltimore County, sang a song from "Sampson and Delilah."[287] The eventual winner of the contest, Meta R. Justice from Crisfield, sang Franz Shubert's "Ave Maria," casting a decidedly religious glow over the spectators who applauded with enthusiasm as Justice concluded her number.

One of the last to perform was Marilyn Jane Stern, a twenty-two year old employee of the C & P Telephone Company's Baltimore office. Stern, crowned "Miss Civil Defense" by the BCDO, exhibited a talent radically different from those of fellow competitors: She presented a three minute demonstration of first-aid techniques to be utilized in case of atomic attack.[288] According to the *Cumberland Evening Times*, Stern was chosen because she "had wide experience with first-aid demonstrations before large groups throughout the state."[289] Indeed,

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[286] Miss Meta R. Justice Wins Title of Miss Maryland," *Cumberland News,* August 14, 1953.

[287] Ibid.

[288] Untitled, *Cumberland Evening Times*, Aug 11, 1953.

[289] Ibid.

Stern did have experience… as a public relations symbol. Sandwiched between Colonel Milani and Mayor D'Alesandro in a *Baltimore American* photograph on September 6, 1953, Stern smiled at the camera while the two men signed a proclamation designating her as Miss Civil Defense. That proclamation officially kicked off Civil Defense Week in Baltimore, seven days of air raid drills culminating in statewide alert "Operation Checkup."

As officials from all over North America received tactical training on rubber maps of Baltimore in Olney, Baltimore's civil defense officers planned drills to test local first response capability, and to assure the public that there were plans in place to protect them in event of atomic attack. According to the *Sun,* on May 10, 1953 fire personnel from all over central Maryland descended upon Baltimore's inner harbor to "check a simulated holocaust," an imaginary firestorm that would have incinerated a large portion of the city's waterfront industrial zone. At 8:55 A.M., Frank Milani called the state civil defense headquarters in Pikesville to inform officials of a conflagration approaching the dock area. With that telephone call, "Operation Fireball" began. According to the *Sun*, 150 pieces of fire equipment were available at designated assembly points by 10:44, and, by 11:03, the first trucks arrived at Pratt Street's Pier 6, the scene of the "firestorm." The operation involved over 200 pieces of fire equipment including forty-nine trucks, some from as far away as Delta, Pennsylvania, and hundreds of fire fighters who awaited the signal from civil defense officials. The *Sun* reported that when the signal came, "sirens screamed, lights blinked and a solid screen of water spanned Jones Falls, pouring down on East Falls avenue and the buildings along it."[290] The only confusion was

[290] "Firemen 'Check' Big 'Fire Storm," *Sun*, May 11, 1953.

experienced by the Dundalk fire company's Dalmatian mascot, who mistakenly jumped onto the wrong fire truck during the melee.[291]

"Operation Fireball" set the stage for a series of more comprehensive air raid alerts, including "Operation Check-Up" on September 22, 1953. On September 11, Sherley Ewing, Maryland's civil defense director, announced plans for the statewide test. He explained that the date was chosen "because schools, industry and the public would best be able to cooperate."[292] Ewing declared in the *News-Post* that the public should cooperate in the test, and that "housewives and motorists (should) tune in on their local radio and television stations during the alert for instructions on what to do when they hear the RED warning."[293] He also requested that motorists across the state stop their vehicles at exactly 2:01 p.m. whether they heard air-raid sirens or not. Maryland Senator John Marshall Butler, citing concerns that "the people in our state, and in the nation, do not comprehend the catastrophic conditions which would result from any form of attack in our country…," urged citizens to "cooperate to the fullest extent with local civil defense officials" during "Operation Check-Up."[294]

Three days before the drill, newspapers across Baltimore relayed instructions from Ewing and Milani about what citizens should do when air-raid sirens sounded at 2:01 p.m. on September 22. The *Afro-American* reported that upon hearing the RED warning, people should do the following:

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[291] Ibid.

[292] "Operation Check-Up On September 22," *The Labor Herald*, September 11, 1953.

[293] "Air Raid Alert Set Sept. 22," *News-Post*, September 10, 1953.

[294] "Public co-operation asked in 'Operation Check-Up," *Afro-American*, September 5, 1953.

In Your Automobile

1. Pull over to the side of the road and stop.
2. Do not block intersections.
3. Turn off your motor.
4. Leave the key in the ignition.
5. Stay off of bridges
6. Crouch on the floor of your automobile.
7. Refer to instructions to motorists, issued by the Department of Motor Vehicles with 1954 license plates.

In Your Home

1. Pull down windows and blinds. In a real attack this would prevent danger from fire, flying glass and radioactivity.
2. You should do everything that you normally do in your home before retiring for the night except, turn your radio on loud and turn off the electrical switch that runs your oil burner.
3. If you have not selected a suitable shelter area in your home, do so and make certain the children know where it is. Go to this shelter until you hear the ALL CLEAR.

Pedestrians

1. Take cover.

Industry and Schools

1. Follow the usual Civil Defense drill procedures.

According to Ewing and Milani, only fire, police, ambulance and other emergency vehicles were authorized to move during the alert.[295] The *Afro* reported that besides emergency personnel, the only people allowed free movement during the alert were members of the press, who "display(ed) their police press cards in the bands of their hats" so that "accurate and adequate coverage may be given the public on the alert."[296]

At 1:55 p.m. on September 22, Marylanders stood ready for the beginning of "Operation Check-Up," the first air raid drill since World War II. It was held as the world was just beginning to come to grips with the Soviet Union's first successful hydrogen bomb test. At 2:02, air-raid sirens blared across the state as civil defense officials sprang into action. Muth told the

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[295] "Here's what you should do for air-raid alert, Sept. 22," *Afro American*, September 19, 1953.

[296] Ibid.

Sun that the city's siren system would be "sound-tight," with 8,000 policemen, firemen and city employees listening for the sirens across the entire city.[297] He emphasized the role of the individual, explaining to reporters that while World War II civil defense wardens were "trained to fight small incendiary bombs and explosion damage over a relatively small area," citizens in the nuclear age must switch from fighting fires to "plain self preservation."[298] Aerial photos of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge and other major bridges across the Potomac, Susquehanna, Severn and Patuxtent rivers showed traffic at a complete standstill across the state.[299] At the corner of Howard and Lexington in the heart of Baltimore's shopping district, streets were packed with pedestrians, automobiles, taxis and buses. At 2:02, just after the sounding of the alarm, the *Evening Sun* reported that vehicles at that intersection "were stopping but pedestrians ignored the sirens." At 2:05, all vehicular traffic "had come to a halt but pedestrians stayed outside to watch planes overhead."[300] An aerial photograph of the intersection of Saratoga and Cathedral Streets showed complete desolation, a scene very different from that of a typical weekday. At the intersection of Charles and Baltimore, bus, automobile and truck traffic stopped dead as well. The *News-Post* reported that "the crowd was obviously impressed with the drill," but also explained that most pedestrians "took the trial much less seriously [than automobile drivers]." Instead of seeking cover, as they had been asked to do, many lined the curbs, especially in the

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297 "State Prepared for Air Raid Drill," *Sun,* September 21, 1953.

298 Ibid.

299 "Air-Raid Test Success Or 'Flop'? Views Vary," *Sun*, September 23, 1953.

300 Photographs, *Evening Sun*, September 22, 1953. There is no title above the photographs, but the series of five depict the intersection of Howard and Lexington Streets before, during and after Operation Check Up.

downtown section, staring up at the planes observing the effect of the test from aloft. One pedestrian said: "You know, this thing could be real." However, seconds after the all-clear Charles and Baltimore streets were back to normal."[301]

Normal was precisely the point. As Guy Oakes explained, civil defense drills like Operation Check-Up played out as dramas, similar to Hollywood movies. They supposed a threat, produced a tense but ultimately manageable crisis and ultimately sold a resolution that depicted a slightly altered normalcy. According to Oakes, "the outcome of the exercise and the resolution of the dramatic ordeal were a foregone conclusion, preordained by the constraints of nuclear crisis mastery as well as the public-relations requirements of the FCDA."[302]

Despite directives from civil defense officials, proceedings at Baltimore's courthouse remained in session throughout "Operation Check Up." According to the *News-Post*, "Had Court House employees sought shelter, they would have had to take refuge under desks, for construction work in progress at the building had blocked access to the basement and officials said it would be dangerous to congregate there."[303] Newspaper reports that institutions like the courthouse functioned normally during the drill reinforced the notion that everything would remain more or less normal in the wake of an attack.

Sherley Ewing declared "Operation Check Up" a success, but warned that "as a demonstration of complete defense preparations it was for many areas, far short of that."[304] Both

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301 "City At Standstill In Air Raid Test," *News-Post*, September 22, 1953.

302 Oakes, *The Imaginary War,* 85.

303 "City At Standstill In Air Raid Test," *News-Post*, September 22, 1953.

304 "Need For More Sirens Seen After Raid Alert," *Evening Sun*, September 23, 1953.

Ewing and Milani agreed that the test revealed weaknesses in disaster preparedness, and that "Baltimore and communities throughout the state need more sirens and more training before they are ready to cope with an atom-bombing…"[305] An editorial in the *Sun* discussed another challenge that Ewing and Milani faced: "a number of people co-operated simply out of amusement: the alert seemed like an entertaining game. Civil Defense officials are still faced with the task of convincing the public that this is a serious business, that the Baltimore area has been officially designated a 'critical target' for an atomic bomb."[306] Public relations officials at all civil defense levels recognized that reality and initiated more innovative and conscious stunts designed to fight apathy and convince people that they could save themselves and their communities.

On March 6, 1953, Mrs. William F. Melville Sr. of Baltimore packed her bags for an all-expenses paid trip to Las Vegas. Looking forward to "the thrill of a lifetime,"[307] Melville, a 51 year-old grandmother, excitedly declared, "I don't see how anything could compare with such an opportunity!"[308] She was not talking about a stay at the newly constructed Sands Hotel and Casino, nor was she referring to a family vacation at the famed Hoover Dam. According to the *News-Post,* Melville was about to become the "first Baltimore housewife"[309] to witness an atomic bomb test firsthand. Maryland civil defense officials chose Melville, whom the *Sun*

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305 Ibid.

306 Editorial, *Sun*, September 23, 1953, "Its No Joke After All."

307 "Woman Here Picked To See Atom Bombing," *News-Post,* March 6, 1953,

308 Ibid

309 Ibid.

termed a "run-of-the-mill civil defense volunteer,"[310] over 100 other applicants to accompany them to Nevada to view the *Annie* test, a sixteen-kiloton Hiroshima-sized blast at Yucca Flats. The decision to choose a "John Q. Public"[311] was made by state officials in a quest to improve civil defense visibility amongst citizens, to fight apathy and to make the point that volunteer work pays off.

Melville's name was drawn after only four days of consideration, and in the words of Sherley Ewing, Maryland's civil defense director, "If I had taken months to do the job I couldn't have found anyone better."[312] When Melville heard her name called, she exclaimed, "I'm just flabbergasted… my only qualification was that I was run-of-the-mill… I certainly do appreciate this honor though."[313] As the *Sun* pointed out, Melville was far from a "run-of-the-mill" citizen. She was a communications worker in the civil defense office during World War II, a member of the League of Women Voters, past president of the Ladies Auxiliary of Champagne Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars, a member of the North Baltimore Civil Air Patrol's advisory board, State Americanism chairman for the V.F.W. auxiliary, a Minute Woman of Maryland, and a supervisor at the Air Force Filter Center.[314] In other words, she was a model non-apathetic citizen who officials believed would set an example for other grandmother volunteers across the region.

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310 Ibid.

311 "Baltimore Grandmother, 51, To See Atomic Bomb Test," *Sun*, March 6, 1953.

312 Ibid.

313 Ibid.

314 Ibid

The choice of a grandmother to observe the *Annie* test aligned with FCDA public relations strategies. As Dee Garrison explained, "the ultimate symbol of motherhood is that of grandmother. Thus, one of the most publicized civil defense propaganda coups was the FCDA advertisement highlighting 'Grandma's pantry,' a fully equipped collection of emergency foods, medicines, pet food and other supplies made ready for post-war endurance. Like Grandma, American women could provision their home bomb shelters in order to solve unexpected problems, even nuclear attack."[315] Civil defense officials employed women, especially mothers and grandmothers, in civil defense exercises to ensure all citizens that the human species would survive nuclear war. Gillian Brown argued, with respect to civil defense public relations efforts, "domesticity [was] repeatedly invoked as the stay against extinction."[316] In the case of Melville, these messages and images jumped off the pages of FCDA pamphlets onto the front pages of Baltimore's newspapers.

During the week leading up to the *Annie* test, Baltimore's news media were abuzz reporting this sensational story. An *Evening Sun* article titled "Grandma Rules Out Tea Togs For Seeing A-Bomb Blast" posed the question, "What does a lady wear to an atom bombing?"[317] Melville responded that she was absolutely not going to be dressed for a tea party. Instead, she was planning to wear a "good heavy jacket [one her daughter wore to football games], slacks, comfortable hiking shoes, a visored cap and a pair of sunglasses."[318] However, Melville did

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315 Garrison, *Bracing for Armageddon,* 37.

316 Ibid.

317 "Grandma Rules Out Tea Togs For Seeing A-Bomb Blast," *Evening Sun*, March 12, 1953.

318 Ibid.

mention that she would wear "just one little bright-colored scarf to distinguish [herself] from the scientists."[319] The writer of the article seemed almost amazed that Melville was "less concerned with what she will wear than with what she will learn."[320] Muth delighted in the media's attention to this publicity stunt, attention that he hoped would motivate other citizens to become more active in civil defense activities. The message was clear— if a grandmother can stand in the shadow of the mushroom cloud and live to tell the tale, so can you.

One month after Melville's visit to Yucca Flats, forty two year old Muth was run over by a hit-and-run driver as he attempted to enter a car parked on Valley Street near Biddle. The perpetrator was eventually arrested and charged with drunk driving and failure to identify himself. Muth was taken to Mercy Hospital where he was treated for a scalp wound, one similar to the wound he received thirteen years earlier in his own bout of reckless driving.[321] The same day, the *Sun* reported Mayor D'Alesandro's displeasure with Muth's civil defense witch hunting. Calling him "Mr. Mouth," the mayor argued that Muth had been "overzealous in asking his civil defense speakers' group to report the names of persons at defense meetings who questioned the need of a continuing defense program." Frank Milani distanced himself from Muth and explained to a reporter, "If we did have the names, nothing would happen to them. We couldn't do anything about it. We don't go hunting for Reds in civil defense." Muth replied that he "had no intention of curtailing freedom of speech, but if people do believe [that civil defense is useless], even if innocently, we don't want them in civil defense. The best tennis player in the

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319 Ibid.

320 Ibid.

321 "2 Killed in City Auto Accidents: Hit and Run Driver Knocks Down and Injures Muth," *Sun,* April 27, 1953.

world is no good on your team if he doesn't want to play tennis—you'd do better to get a baseball player instead… Some people don't like to hear this said, but I don't care a damn whether they like it or not."[322]

The last of Muth's female public relations assistants was Shirley Harrison. Like her predecessors, Harrison's position involved showcasing new civil defense equipment, modeling cutting-edge rescue service portable emergency trailers and looking pretty for the media. Muth appointed Harrison to her position on March 26, 1954.[323] Her full name was Shirley Virginia "Rosebud" Harrison, a participant in the artificial respiration demonstrations on the beach in Ocean City the previous summer. On her thirteenth day as public relations assistant, Frank Milani suspended Muth from his position without pay pending an audit of his accounts by the state's attorney. He was suspected of stealing money from the agency's $5,000 per year publicity budget.[324] On April 19, Muth went before a grand jury, which accused him of stealing $2,400.[325] On May 1, 1954, William J. Muth, the champion of veterans, taxpayers and patriots, the man who intimidated ice cream vendors, home builders, undertakers and nightclub owners for nominal fee payments, was sentenced to eighteen months in the House of Correction for stealing money from the city.

The *Sun* summed up best what happened next: "(Harrison), Miss Towson and Miss Maryland of 1952 (bust – 36 inches; waist – 23 inches; hips – 36 inches), who was hired by the

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322 "Mayor Criticizes Muth's Call to Report Civil Defense Foes," *Sun,* April 29, 1953.

323 "City's Acting Publicity Head Tells Why She's On The Job," *Sun*, April 16, 1954.

324 "W. J. Muth Suspended, Faces Probe," *Sun,* April 13, 1954, 34.

325 "Grand Jury Charges Muth With Stealing $2,400 From the City," *Sun,* April 20, 1954, 36.

city's civil-defense organization as assistant director of public relations on March 26 (salary - $4,045) and then on her thirteenth working day on the job, was elevated to the acting directorship, pending an investigation of William J. Muth, the director, who was suspended after an audit of his accounts."[326] Frank Milani defended his decision to a *Sun* reporter on the same day. Milani and acting Mayor Arthur B. Price explained, "[we] have been besieged with calls questioning Miss Harrison's qualifications, 'beyond being beautiful and able to climb trees.'"[327] Milani explained that Harrison's college experience at Syracuse University, television and public relations expertise and her dedication to the cause of civil defense were valid reasons for her promotion. After defending herself and her qualifications to a barrage of newspaper, television and radio reporters for an entire day, Harrison's patience wore thin. When a newspaper photographer hounded her for a smiling photograph, she quipped, "No cheesecake. I haven't forgotten those contortions you made me go through in that bathing suit."[328] On May 26, 1954, Harrison presented a civil defense commendation to Richard Hiner, the seventeen-year-old recipient of a Junior Association of Commerce award.[329] After years of being photographed as a sex object, fashion model and debutante, Harrison appeared in the *News-Post* wearing a white suit and a broad hat.

It is terribly difficult to assess the impact of civil defense public relations efforts on people's psyches. Robert Griffith said it best, "the universe of advertising and public relations

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326 "City's Acting Publicity Head Tells Why She's On The Job," *Sun*, April 16, 1954.

327 Ibid.

328 Ibid.

329 Untitled photograph, *News-Post*, May 26, 1954.

does not readily submit to such easy measurement."[330] With the advertising and public relations industries behind it, the FCDA produced a phenomenal amount of material that trumpeted the idea of self-help. However, it did not have the financial ability to oversee how those materials would be disseminated at the local level. Instead, it depended upon local officials to spread the gospel. Baltimore's civil defense paid staff disseminated the FCDA's themes of self-help, community help and volunteer activism through large-scale publicity stunts like the Memorial Stadium mock-bombing and others described above and through Baltimore's public school system, as will be discussed in chapter four. Moreover, William J. Muth injected his own anti-communism, chauvinism and bellicosity into those themes, which produced messages that departed somewhat from the intended FCDA script. Had D'Alesandro not wanted Muth off of his back, perhaps he would have appointed someone who was not as headstrong, not as confrontational and not as coercive to head civil defense's public relations arm. As chapter five will point out, the messages of community help and volunteerism resulted in local civil defense officials' frustration with the FCDA for not providing a more comprehensive plan to follow. Those messages also put citizens in the driver's seat and affirmed Andrew Grossman's argument that, at least in the case of Baltimore's 7,000 civil defense volunteers, administration of civil defense policy was hampered because of "*successful* marketing and overeager consumers, *not* the disbelief and apathy that developed within the general population."[331] Those volunteers attempted to deliver the language of individual self-reliance and community help straight into their neighbors' living rooms.

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330 Griffith, "The Selling of America," 411.

331 Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red,* 71.

CHAPTER 5 – UNINTELLIGENT DESIGN: CIVIL DEFENSE IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS

Students at General Vocation School #198 at the corner of North Avenue and Broadway stood silently on the morning of February 27, 1953 as Psalm 140 echoed throughout the school's auditorium:

> Deliver me, LORD, from the wicked; preserve me from the violent,
> From those who plan evil in their hearts, who stir up conflicts every day,
> Who sharpen their tongues like serpents, venom of asps upon their lips…

When the psalm concluded, everyone remained standing for the singing of the Lord's Prayer, a Baltimore City public school custom thrust into the national spotlight later in the decade when the Supreme Court ruled its mandatory recitation unconstitutional.[332] Then students saluted the flag and sang "America the Beautiful."

Principal William T. Hottes then introduced the assembly's speaker, Schuyler C. Blackburn. Blackburn, deputy director of the Baltimore Civil Defense Organization (BCDO), stepped to the podium to give a talk on procedures that students should take in case of a nuclear air raid. After his speech, students viewed two civil defense films – *Our Cities Must Fight* and *Duck and Cover*. Students watched as friendly Bert the Turtle went through the motions that

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[332] Findlaw for Legal Professionals – Case Law, Federal and State Resources, Forms and Code. *U.S. Supreme Court, Abington School District v. Schempp,* http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?court=us&vol=374&invol=203 - t*. Murray et al. v. Curlett et al. was argued before the United States Supreme Court on February 27, 1963. Professed atheist Madelyn Murray and her son William Murray sued the Baltimore City Public School system for mandating the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, a statute that had been in place since 1905. The Supreme Court ruled that mandatory recitation violated the first and fourteenth amendments of the Constitution.

they knew they should go through if an atom bomb threatened their city. The one-hour assembly concluded with the singing of "Holy, Holy, Holy" and "The Star-Spangled Banner."[333]

This event typified the many public school assemblies arranged by BCDO public relations staff between 1951 and 1955. Local officials including Blackburn, William Muth and Frank Milani used the assemblies to spread the FCDA's message that people could survive the atomic bomb if they remained calm, vigilant and proactive. This aligns with Andrew Grossman's argument that the FCDA "literally entered the home with its preparedness training programs… [tapping] community agents in its systematic recruitment… of primary and secondary school teachers for community public education." He argued that the militarization of everyday life was not "freelanced" at the local level; the central state managed the rules of the game…[about] how the American polity would be trained and educated for the Cold War."[334] In the case of school civil defense in Baltimore, the FCDA provided written materials including the famous pamphlet and film *Duck and Cover*.

In February 1952, the BCDO gave 20,000 copies of the *Duck and Cover* booklet to public school civil defense committee chairman Charles W. Sylvester. Sylvester's committee printed out another 30,000 copies and distributed them to all students in grades three through six across the city. Teachers discussed the booklets in class, then instructed students to take them home to share with their parents. Sylvester suggested to principals that teachers supplement their discussions of *Duck and Cover* pamphlets with the film version, which became available in

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[333] "General Vocational School #198 Assembly Program – Friday, February 27, 1953, 10-11 a.m.," Record Group 38, Box 6, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[334] Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red,* 10.

school libraries by March 1952.[335] As was the case in the General Vocation School #198 assembly described above, BCDO guest speakers often screened the film for wider student audiences.

Duck and Cover featured friendly cartoon character Bert the Turtle, who guided students through the steps necessary to protect themselves from the ravages of the atomic bomb. Both pamphlet and film versions sought to neuter the atomic bomb's more horrifying aspects by comparing them to other hazards children already faced in their everyday lives: "You have learned how to take care of yourself in many ways – to cross streets safely. And you know what to do in case of fire – but [the atomic bomb] explodes with a flash brighter than any you've ever seen. Things will be knocked down all over town and, as in a big wind, they are blown through the air." Bert then reassured students that local civil defense personnel, teachers and parents would be there to help. However, if a bomb detonated without any warning, students would have to help themselves by ducking and covering.[336]

Often shown together with *Duck and Cover* was the FCDA film *Our Cities Must Fight*. While *Duck and Cover* highlighted the idea that a nuclear attack was survivable if people knew how to protect themselves (self-help), *Our Cities Must Fight* (1951) emphasized the role of the volunteer and the importance of staying in the city to fight the enemy. The film begins with a newspaper editor pondering how to respond to the following letter he received from a concerned citizen: "Dear Editor, usually I agree with your editorials, but your call for civil defense

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335 Charles W. Sylvester, letter to Elmer F. Bernhardt, 1 May 1952, Record Group 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools Correspondence 1952," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD; "Circular No. 148, Series 1951-1952: Duck and Cover Booklets," 27 February 1952, Record Group 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools Correspondence 1952," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

336 Rose, *One Nation Underground,* 128-129.

volunteers was nonsense! If this city is attacked, my plans are made and they don't involve waiting around to get killed. I'm going to take my family to a place in the country where they'll be safe. I think I'm as patriotic as the next guy, but I'd be pretty dumb to remain in this city once those bombs start falling!" As the editor ponders how to respond, a colleague named Fred enters the room and dismisses the writer as "another member of the take to the hills fraternity… the worst of it is that most of them are intelligent people, good citizens if you like. But they made up their mind without thinking. They let fear push them!" Imploring viewers to stay in the cities and fight for their lives and the lives of their neighbors, the film explicitly rejected evacuation as a means of protection, arguing that mass panic and flight would stop first responders "dead in their tracks." The only way to defeat the Soviets was for valiant citizens to come off the ground fighting. Evacuation of the city, and hence evacuation of war production facilities meant abandonment of freedom in the early days of the Cold War.[337]

Baltimore's board of education established the School Civil Defense Committee (SCDC) in September 1950 to "serve as liaison between the BCDO and the Baltimore City Public School System in matters of CD and… to serve as resource to the BCPS in matters related to the protection of pupils in emergencies."[338] The committee, headed by assistant superintendent for vocational education Charles Sylvester, initiated telephone trees and disseminated information from federal, state and local civil defense officials to principals, staff and students system-wide. Between January 1950 and June 1952, while the BCDO struggled in the midst of political

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[337] "Our Cities Must Fight," Cinema History from the Cold War, accessed August 12, 2012, http://www.atomictheater.com/ourcitiesmustfight.htm.

[338] John H. Fischer, Superintendent of Public Instruction, letter to parents of boys and girls in the Baltimore Public Schools, 25 April, 1958, RG 38, Box 6, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

turmoil resulting from lack of leadership, Sylvester's SCDC was the civil defense organization for Baltimore's public schools.

On December 14, 1950 at the height of the Korean War, Baltimore School Superintendent W. H. Lemmel issued the first of many civil defense bulletins to all public school principals. The bulletin titled "Preliminary Instructions Concerning Civil Defense Measures for Public Schools During School Hours" advised principals about what they should do to prepare their schools for atomic attack. On the advice of the SCDC, Lemmel told administrators that

> the turn of events in the world situation makes it necessary for us who have a responsibility for the safety of children to turn our attention to the best known means of protecting them should a raid descend upon us. It is important that we take the necessary measures to make children feel as secure as possible under the circumstances. It is a difficult thing to do. The greatest assistance which we can give children is to indicate by example that we can be calm, prepared, and through cooperation and faith defeat the purpose of the enemy to a large degree.

Lemmel went on to explain that the SCDC would begin distributing the FCDA booklet *Survival Under Atomic Attack* (1950) to every city teacher.[339] The booklet was designed for adults, not children. This was pursuant to the public relations strategy of the BCDO. In 1951, local civil defense officials impressed upon teachers the special responsibility of ensuring the safety and well-being of their students in the event of an attack. In order to do so, the booklet stipulated that teachers were to thoroughly train students "in the primary requisites of self-protection. [Students would then] assist the public relations personnel in bringing to the adults of the community knowledge so important to the well-being of all of us as individuals and of the nation as a whole."[340]

In addition to the self-protection message, *Survival Under Atomic Attack* sought to dispel

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[339] Memorandum, "Preliminary Instructions Concerning Civil Defense Measures for Public Schools During School Hours," RG 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools, Correspondence 1951," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[340] Unspecified document, "Baltimore City Civil Defense Program," RG 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools-Correspondence 1951," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

the following myths: that atomic bombs would end life on the planet, that radioactivity was more dangerous than blast and heat, and that radiation sickness was always fatal. It emphasized the idea that people could survive an atomic bomb without "special training" if they properly protected their bodies and their homes. After an attack, the booklet recommended that people seek shelter in basements or subways, drop to the floor, bury their faces in their arms, stay indoors, eat canned or bottled foods and avoid spreading rumors. It also recommended stockpiling flashlights and a first aid kit, and disposing flammable waste paper in covered receptacles.[341] Though the booklet did concede that if an atomic bomb "exploded without warning in the air over your home… tonight,… there is practically no hope of living through it," it also reassured people that survivors between one-half and one mile away would have a fifty-fifty chance. After receiving *Survival Under Atomic Attack*, students at Clifton Park Junior High School made their own booklets based upon its content.[342]

By mid-1951, the SCDC's primary concerns were that city civil defense officials would not be able to communicate information to administrators, teachers and students about an impending attack.[343] Committee members were worried that schools would not be alerted after reading in local newspapers that the city still had not installed working air-raid sirens.[344] Charles Sylvester wrote to Paul Holland, acting director of the BCDO, complaining about the lack of coordination

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[341] U.S. National Security Resources Board, Civil Defense Office, *Survival Under Atomic Attack* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1950).

[342] Sondra Cohen, letter to Paul Holland, 30 April 1951, Record Group 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools-Correspondence 1951," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[343] Charles Sylvester, letter to Paul Holland, 8 February 1951, Record Group 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools Correspondence 1951," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[344] "Estimates Board Approves Purchase of 12 Raid Sirens," *Sun*, 17 May 1951.

between city officials and the SCDC, and about the general disarray of the city's civil defense.[345] In the absence of a coordinated shelter plan, city authorities had been telling citizens to go to the nearest school in the event of an attack without meeting with the SCDC to determine the logistics of such a plan.[346] There is no record of a reply from Holland, who was torn between many different responsibilities.

Paul Holland was Baltimore's closest thing to a full-time civil defense director in early 1951. The *Sun* reported that Holland had "so many jobs he [could] hardly name them." He was simultaneously the city's public works director, civil defense director, a Board of Estimates member, a City Planning Commission member, an Airport Board member, a Traffic Commission member, a Port of Baltimore Commission member, an Architectural Commission member, a Relocation Committee member and a member of the Board of Public Safety.[347] Holland remained acting director as Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro, who had been under pressure to appoint a full-time director for weeks, remained undecided about whom to choose.[348] The *Evening Sun* suggested that D'Alesandro deliberately delayed appointing a full-time city civil defense director for political reasons.[349] He was under pressure from the American Legion and other military organizations to appoint someone with military experience, something he was hesitant to do. Overburdened with the recent federal mandate that cities and states administer

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345 Charles Sylvester, letter to Paul Holland, 8 February 1951, Record Group 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools Correspondence 1951," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

346 Charles Sylvester, letter to Paul Holland, 8 February 1951, Record Group 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools Correspondence 1951," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

347 "Holland Has So Many Jobs He Can Hardly Name Them," *Sun*, 2 July 1951.

348 "Mayor To Decide On 'Green Bag' During Week," *Evening Sun,* 18 June 1951.

349 "Political Motive Seen in Delay on Defense," *Evening Sun*, 13 July 1951.

and pay for civil defense programs, D'Alesandro tasked Holland with the responsibility of civil defense on top of his $12,000 per year job as public works director.

Given all of Holland's responsibilities, his lack of additional pay and his skepticism toward civil defense from the very beginning, the BCDO had not developed plans to coordinate initiatives with the SCDC. By the start of the 1951-52 school year, absent further guidance from Baltimore's struggling civil defense organization, Sylvester and the SCDC along with vocal parents, teachers, alumni and students developed civil defense procedures independently. Armed with previously distributed FCDA public relations materials including *Duck and Cover, Our Cities Must Fight* and *Survival Under Atomic Attack,* they continued to spread federal civil defense messages for close to a year essentially without the help of the BCDO.

In addition to the SCDC, others outside the school system also pushed for enhanced school civil defense in early 1951. Arthur E. Hungerford, Baltimore City College's Alumni Association president, was one such advocate. Like other civil defense advocates including Ralph Lapp and Frank Milani, he did not believe that the government was supplying people with the information necessary to stand a chance in the event of a nuclear attack. He perceived that the BCDO, which had gotten bad press during the air raid siren controversy, was not serious about implementing FCDA policies. Hungerford's distrust of the organization reflected his more general distrust of Baltimore City's government. That distrust originated with his experience as Maryland's National Recovery Act (NRA) compliance director in 1934.

Naïvely, Hungerford expected that Baltimore's industrialists would adhere to NRA mandates without a fight and that local officials would assist his efforts to ensure compliance. Instead, he faced a wall of opposition from Baltimore's business elite. When he recognized that Baltimore's more conservative political establishment would provide little recourse, he

complained in vain to the national office that employers in Baltimore largely ignored NRA codes and that local government was complicit. According to Jo Ann Argersinger, Hungerford also criticized local officials for their "inability to fill CCC quotas and for their consistent failure to make full use of the program. He openly doubted the validity of their explanations and instead placed the blame squarely on their mishandling of the CCC program. He asserted that local relief officials had never fully appreciated the value of the CCC as a relief program."[350] In return for his outspokenness, local officials accused Hungerford of spying on them at the behest of the federal government.[351] Throughout the mid-1930s, Hungerford became increasingly frustrated with what he perceived to be a corrupt Baltimore political establishment. What little political capital he had evaporated in 1935 when the Supreme Court ruled portions of the NRA unconstitutional. His experience as NRA compliance director was a bitter lesson, one that ultimately convinced him that, in order for national mandates to be enforced locally, local officials would have to be challenged or circumvented. After an unsuccessful bid for U.S. Senate in 1938, Hungerford retired from his political career and devoted a large amount of time to City College's alumni committee, work that ultimately earned him a place in the school's Hall of Fame.[352]

By early 1951, Hungerford's frustration with Mayor D'Alesandro's civil defense lethargy along with his perception that Baltimore's school system itself didn't seem to be doing nearly enough prompted him to establish the Atomic Bomb Disaster Committee (ABDC) from the

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350 JoAnn E. Argersinger, *Toward a New Deal in Baltimore* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 89.

351 Ibid., 91.

352 "Hungerford Services Set," *Sun,* Aug. 6, 1966, A13

ranks of fellow City College alumni. On March 19, 1951, Hungerford met with members of the newly formed committee at a Chinese restaurant on North Charles Street. For two hours and fifteen minutes, Hungerford impressed upon the committee why it was necessary for City College alumni to take an active interest in civil defense.

Hungerford warned attendees, whom he had involuntarily drafted, that even though "good instruction [was] being given to school children relative to protective measures to be taken," the school might go hours without aid in the wake of an atomic strike and teachers, even if they worked heroically, might not be able to handle affairs on their own. Distrustful of all types of authority including city officials, administrators and teachers, Hungerford impressed upon the committee that City College's 3500 students would be more effective in managing a nuclear disaster, not just in their own school, not just in their own neighborhood, but across the entire city. Hungerford explained to the committee that City's student body, as the crème de la crème of Baltimore's youth, possessed the energy and intelligence to become integral civil defense volunteers. Properly trained, students would form a self-contained unit to protect, rescue and apply first aid to others, whether at school or at home.[353] Hungerford cited unnamed armed forces commanders who argued that by age seventeen, students were mature enough and possessed enough intelligence to "make superb fighting men and worthwhile women contributors in the services." He envisioned the ABDC as a model for committees at other schools across the city.[354] Hungerford ended the meeting by challenging city officials to support City's efforts: "The appointment of this Committee is not to be considered as criticism of the

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[353] Arthur Hungerford, "Dear Chosen Alumnus," RG 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools Correspondence 1951," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[354] Ibid.

school or Defense officials. The desire is to supplement their work with a group of men with knowledge, background and training. It may be assumed that such help will be gladly welcomed."[355]

Hungerford continued to critique what he termed the "passive defense" measures on the part of the SCDC into 1952. Circumventing Sylvester, he wrote a letter to Baltimore school board president Roszel Thomsen that criticized the school system for leaving the protection of school children to "haphazard methods." Hungerford pressed the school board to pay closer attention to the efforts of teachers and students at City, who had been working to implement a self-sufficient civil defense program for at least a year, and for the board to implement such a program system-wide. In the letter, Hungerford asked a series of questions, ones that he assumed the school board had not addressed:

> Are members of the school board taking all practical and possible care to protect our children from possible atomic bomb, and high explosive and incendiary bomb attack? Is provision being made in our new schools for bomb shelters in accordance with the principals [sic] laid down by the FCDA? Do you know that it is possible to secure Federal Funds towards constructing bomb shelters in school building [sic]? Has each present school been checked to learn its danger spots and the best possible shelters? If surveys have been made were they conducted by trained men or women or inexperienced teachers who did their best without knowledge? Is it possible that cafeterias, assembly halls and gymnasium [sic] with great glass windows are being used as shelters in some schools? Is there any one in the school system to give advice in such matters? Has the Civil Defense Committee appointed from the supervisor force two years ago ever held a meeting? Have members of [the SCDC] attend[ed] the Civil Defense College to learn the best methods of protecting our children? Will you send them? Has any member of [the SCDC] or any one else been given time from routine duties to learn methods, to make surveys, to decide with principals the best shelters and to confer with PTAs? Why not send members of the School Board to the Civil Defense College? Will the Board grant salary credits to teachers who take the CD College course? In short will members of the School Board keep in close touch with Civil Defense in our schools? Will they learn all about it and insist on the acquisition of knowledge, surveys and constant vigilance by those to whom the protection of our school children is given?[356]

Hungerford issued his series of pointed questions without knowledge that Sylvester and the

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[355] Ibid.

[356] Hungerford to Roszel Thompsen, RG 38 S2, Box 6, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

SCDC had indeed been working to implement civil defense procedures in the schools for two years and had themselves been frustrated with the lack of response and cooperation from city civil defense officials.

Hungerford sent a copy of his letter to the *News-Post*, which ran an article highlighting his criticism of the SCDC and the Baltimore Department of Education on April 29, 1952. The article angered BCDO director Elmer Bernhardt, who responded in a sharply worded letter on May 6. Bernhardt declared Hungerford's accusation that the Department of Education was not conscious of civil defense "not true and, therefore,…very embarrassing" to the BCDO. After praising Sylvester's progress in implementing civil defense procedures through the SCDC, Bernhardt asked Hungerford not to "expose (his) interest or enthusiasm in the School Civil Defense program unless (he) first either contact [Bernhardt] or Dr. Charles W. Sylvester, Chairman, School Civil Defense Committee."[357]

By the end of the 1951-52 school year, Sylvester found himself in the unenviable position of not having the tangible support of Baltimore's distressed and federally unfunded fledgling civil defense organization. The SCDC was also under pressure from frustrated activists like Hungerford who was concerned that not enough was being done to protect students from the atomic bomb.

Contrary to Hungerford's perception, the SCDC was actively engaged in educating teachers and, by extension, students about the imperative of civil defense, the importance of self and community help, and the centrality of the volunteer. In June 1951, Sylvester invited BCDO's deputy director Schuyler Blackburn to speak at a workshop for fifty teachers. The

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[357] Bernhardt to Hungerford, May 6, 1952, RG 38 S2, Box 6, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

SCDC asked teachers of the week-long workshop to craft a civil defense bulletin for all students in Baltimore's public schools. Blackburn stated that he wished to "fabricate" the "many parts of the [civil defense] mosaic into a complete picture," acknowledging that teachers may have only received piecemeal information about civil defense prior to the workshop. He explained, "The United States is at the present time, and apparently will be for many years, definitely threatened by attack from aggressor nations. For the first time in many years actual warfare threatens our home land… Our most likely potential enemy – Russia – has available the necessary facilities with which to deliver an all-out attack on the City of Baltimore and surrounding counties." Citing Air Force statistics, he predicted that the metropolitan area would "be struck by at least one atomic bomb as well as many of the other types." Blackburn smoothed over the disarray of the BCDO by explaining that Paul Holland had been pulled in multiple directions. Blackburn went on to discuss how Holland had been "temporarily released from duty with the Bureau of Water Supply to serve as the Deputy Director on a full-time basis."

Blackburn used his speech to accomplish two primary goals. One was to illustrate all of the ways civil defense would help save lives and restore order in the wake of a nuclear attack. The second was to stress how important it was to educate students on "the effects of atomic warfare and the methods of self-protection." He appealed to the teachers' sense of purpose, explaining that they would produce "an enlightened citizenry [which would become the] most effective defensive weapon we can have to minimize casualties and to reduce panic." He ended by defining the key objective of civil defense in public schools—that "all children be well-trained in the primary requisites of self-protection. They, in turn, will assist the public relations personnel in bringing to the adults of the community knowledge so important to the well-being

of all of us as individuals and of the nation as a whole."[358]

The five-day conference offered a curriculum similar to that of the Olney staff college. Topics included "Vulnerability Analysis," "Curriculum Techniques," "Civil Defense Committee Activities in the Schools," "Morale," "Fire Services," "Police Services," "Communication Warning System," "Water Services," "Transportation Services," "Highway Services," "Building Services," "Biological and Chemical Warfare," "Medical Aspects of the Bomb," "Detection of Radioactivity," "Rescue and Demolition," "Relief Rehabilitation Welfare," "Shelter Preparations" and "Public Relations."[359] The workshop's message was that an atomic attack would be survivable, some government systems and services would endure and schools and the city itself might remain intact.

In 1951, the SCDC also recommended that schools adopt methods to mold civil defense into "all experiences that occur under the auspices of the school."[360] A five-page circular explained how "civil defense must be an integral part of the curriculum, not superimposed on it. We must not lose sight of the long range educational plan nor the fact that civil defense and education are both concerned with the development of good citizenship."[361] The curriculum guide went on to advocate student involvement in city civil defense activities and initiatives both

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358 "Baltimore City Civil Defense Program," RG 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools Correspondence 1951," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

359 "Civil Defense Workshop schedule #J370," 11 June 1951, School Civil Defense Committee (SCDC), RG 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools Curriculum 1951," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

360 Baltimore City Public Schools, *Committee on Curriculum*, 2 November 1951. RG 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools Correspondence 1953-61," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD. This document contains committee recommendations for the implementation of civil defense into academic curriculum. It was presented to district administrators.

361 Ibid.

inside and outside of school. It encouraged development of "a consciousness of inter-dependence" and democratic leadership skills. Students would learn interdependence by "helping each other," developing relationships with first responders and local businesspeople, studying human and material resources, studying modern transportation and communication methods, learning how interdependence should "cut across racial, religious… political and national lines," experiencing outdoor education and other cultures. Students would become better citizens by serving on or leading school and community committees, volunteering for civil defense and serving on student council or working as hall monitors, safety patrollers or ushers at school assemblies.[362] In short, self-help became community help in Baltimore's public school classroom.

Viewing the schools as ideal places to inculcate "patriotic" values, the committee advised teachers "to develop an understanding [amongst students] of American Democracy in contrast to other ideologies or ways of life." Teachers were to "teach the facts about different ideologies and cultures," study the Pledge of Allegiance, the preamble to the Constitution and other historical documents and "teach how underprivileged or oppressed citizens or groups are susceptible to other ideologies."[363]

The themes of community help and patriotic duty continued to resonate throughout Baltimore's public school system even as the FCDA shifted its focus from local shelter to evacuation in 1953. Two factors influenced the shift from Truman-era community-focused civil defense to an early Eisenhower-era focus on defensive dispersal. One was Eisenhower's desire to pair "security with solvency." Determined to cut from the military budget unnecessary

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362 Ibid.

363 Ibid.

expenditures for conventional weapons, Eisenhower emphasized dependence on more economical nuclear weapons and delivery systems. The second was the testing of the hydrogen bomb.[364] On November 1, 1952, the United States detonated its first hydrogen bomb over Enewetak Atoll.[365] 500 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb, "Ivy Mike" as it was dubbed, completely obliterated the tiny island of Elugelab.[366] The Soviets answered on August 12, 1953 with their first proto-hydrogen bomb test. Given how powerful these new weapons were, FCDA director Val Peterson explained that people's best chance to survive the H-bomb was "not to be there" when it exploded.[367]

Beginning in summer 1953, FCDA and Ad Council representatives initiated a campaign to sell evacuation across the country.[368] Evacuation meant that when urban residents heard an air raid siren, they should immediately locate a car or other transit vehicle and drive out of the city toward a congregation area approximately twenty miles from the center of the city. Once there, they would not be allowed to retrace their steps if friends and family didn't make it.[369] In 1954, the Ad Council declared: "The public must be conditioned… to accept the need and discipline of… evacuation exercises…. It must practice evacuation until people became conditioned to doing the right thing automatically in an emergency even under the physical and emotional shock

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364 McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 48.

365 Stephen I. Schwartz, *Atomic Audit: The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Since 1940* (Washington D.C.: Brookings, 1998), 47.

366 McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 48.

367 Ibid., 48.

368 Ibid., 49.

369 Ibid.

of an enemy attack."[370]

The FCDA fervently promoted evacuation from 1954 to 1961. Val Peterson advocated digging trenches and laying pipe along major evacuation routes to provide evacuees shelter and water. He also suggested that people hide under bridges to protect themselves. Peterson knew that those ideas would prove ineffective—FCDA analyses confirmed that merely eight percent of urbanites and suburbanites would actually evacuate in a real attack.[371] An October 28, 1953 *Evening Sun* editorial confirmed that attitude. Written in response to Peterson's call for urban residents to walk out of their cities in the event of an air raid, the editor supposed the following scenario: "All right, so Mrs. John P. Evacuee slams the front door and sets off down the sidewalk. With her is a son, aged 3, who may be able to go a quarter of a mile before he tuckers out; and a daughter, aged 6 months, who has to be carried, so that our heroine's own pedestrian range is also limited. Behind in the house is her bedridden mother, who can't even walk downstairs. To feed and shelter her brood, our evacuating woman has a coat with a box of cookies in one pocket. And before she reaches the first street corner, a final question may occur to her, if not to Mr. Peterson: Where is she headed anyway?"[372]

Despite the FCDA's shift to evacuation, Baltimore City College students were still working with teachers and administrators on civil defense initiatives based upon community help and institutional preservation through 1955. Their plan did not mention evacuation, for to evacuate would be to abandon one of Baltimore's most important institutions, in essence,

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370 Ibid., 50.

371 Ibid., 52.

372 Editorial, *Evening Sun*, October 28, 1953. "Walk to the Exits?"

capitulating to the enemy. It was not until 1957 that Baltimore school officials began planning for school evacuation.

City College's 1955 plan outlined a set of procedures that students and teachers would follow in the event of attack. That plan focused on getting people into designated school shelters, making sure the medical suite was fully staffed and ensuring that all students were accounted for. Teachers became facility managers and air raid wardens, and the principal became the school's civil defense director. In an attack, Mr. Schwartz, coordinator of the school's Ground Observation Corps, would have sounded the alarm that bombers were on the way. From the school's bell tower that stands tall atop one of Baltimore's highest hills, Schwartz would have then transmitted an urgent message to Mr. Stevens, whose job it would have been to spread the word across campus that Baltimore was under attack. In the event a Soviet hydrogen bomb exploded over Baltimore in February 1955, students in the prestigious high school's swimming pool would have reported directly to the shower room. While a series of four short bells chimed in the background, their classmates in the gym would have walked purposefully to the dressing room and waited for further instructions. First aid kits, stretchers, gas masks, splints and dressings were centrally located on each floor in rooms 114, 218 and 315 as well as in the nurse's office and the athletic office. Fire extinguishers were housed in the boiler room, the powerhouse, rooms 315, 323, 317, 316, 315, 318 and backstage in the auditorium. Mr. Robinson's office (room 119) housed a portable radio, while Mrs. Perch, City's dietician, stocked emergency food and other rations in her suite.

Mr. Denaberg would have coordinated first aid operations and rescue squads from the school's medical suite. Mr. Arnold would have handled communications and Mr. Williamson would have quickly turned his attention to water supply and utility maintenance. On the first

floor, students in room 100 would have formed a line on the north wall of the north corridor from the west corridor to the corridor west of the auditorium. Students in rooms 102, 104, 106 and 107A would have formed a line against both walls of the west corridor. Students in room 119 would have lined up against the south wall of the north corridor from the east corridor to the corridor east of the auditorium. Students in room 140 would have reported directly to the auditorium, which they entered through the westernmost doors. Once inside, they would have occupied seats 1-12 in rows QQ, RR, SS and TT. Students on the second and third floor would have gone directly, "double rank if necessary," to the basement via their classroom chalkboard's designated stairwell while arm-banded wardens Mr. Elliot, Mr. Goldsmith and Mr. MacDonald would have confirmed that the floors were clear of all remaining personnel.[373] The chief objective of City's plan was to ensure that students, teachers and the institution itself would survive. To leave was not even contemplated.

Baltimore's school civil defense policy did not change much between 1955 and 1957. In February 1957, civil defense officials issued an organizational memo to each school, which still emphasized institutional survival and community help. Not much was different from City College's 1955 plan. In fact, it appears as if the new citywide plan may have been based upon City's.

The plan recommended that all schools establish a school health and medical service to administer first aid. As in City's plan, the health service was to be coordinated by the school nurse or another qualified teacher. The health service coordinator would have organized students into first aid teams at the high school level, or school staff members at the elementary school

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[373] Baltimore City College, "Baltimore City College and Baltimore Junior College Civil Defense Organization (plan)," Record Group 38 S2, Box 7, folder "Plans and Programs 1957-58," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

level. First aid teams would have been responsible for operating the first aid room, staffing another room for "emotional casualties" and sanitizing and decontaminating where necessary. They would have also removed casualties, presumably from the school building.

Teachers would become air raid wardens and, like volunteers on the neighborhood level, would have trained students in survival skills and reassured them that they could survive. Wardens would assist physically disabled students and staff, account for the missing and, if necessary and practical, walk young children home from school. They would also be responsible for protecting vital records and ensuring that all students made it to designated shelter areas, which in most schools were simply basements.

The plan also mandated that each school set up its own fire brigade, which prior to an attack would check for and remove fire hazards, ensure that stairs and hallways were free of obstacles, confirm that all available fire fighting equipment conformed to fire department codes and instruct other students and staff on how to effectively fight fires. After an attack, the brigade would report fire outbreaks and fight fires with whatever supplies were available. If schools developed adequate plans that conformed to the new guidelines, they would be awarded civil defense pennants.[374]

In June 1957, the SCDC defined civil defense as "collective action in any emergency" and remained focused on the immediate safety of children in the schools. The committee recommended that school civil defense plans emphasize self-protection, mutual aid and "civil defense preparation in the home" and that provisions be made to communicate those ideas with parents. Additionally, the report argued that public schools had the responsibility to disseminate

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[374] "Suggested Organization for Schools," 2/18/57, RG 38 S2, Box 7, Folder "Schools – Plans and Programs 1957-58," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

survival skills to adults, and to communicate with parents about the ways schools would take care of children if an attack should occur.[375]

It was not until the Soviet Union successfully orbited *Sputnik* that school civil defense officials finally broached the subject of evacuation. On October 15, 1957, Baltimore's Department of Education convened a meeting to discuss evacuation of students from the city's schools. The BCDO asked department of education officials to determine whether schools would be evacuated as units, or whether students would be sent home during an attack to take part in the city's larger mass evacuation. The BCDO also recommended that students be evacuated as units. The committee determined that major thoroughfares would be designated one way outbound after an attack, creating a "solid stream" that would hamper lateral movement. Thus, it would be exceedingly difficult for students to return home before evacuating. If the school system determined that it could evacuate schools as units, they would be assisting the city's overall evacuation effort.[376] The department's board of superintendents did not know the answer, but convened a meeting to discuss the issue on the following day.[377]

The superintendents eventually decided to let parents make the decision. On April 25, 1958, Baltimore school superintendent John H. Fisher issued a civil defense memorandum "to

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375 Memorandum, From SCDC to E.S.V.A. Committee, Subject: Civil Defense, 6/26/57, RG 38, S2, Box7, Folder "Schools – Plans and Programs 1957-58," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

376 Letter from Bennett F. Pollard to Dr. Houston R. Jackson, 1/16/58, RG 38 S2, Box 7, Folder "Schools – Plans and Programs 1957-58," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

377 Bennett F. Pollard, Memorandum "For the record," 10/17/57, Baltimore Civil Defense Organization, 10/17/57, RG 38 S2, Box 7, Folder "Schools – Plans and Programs 1957-58," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

the parents of boys and girls in the Baltimore Public Schools."[378] The memo, which Fisher also sent to most private schools,[379] described what the board of education considered to be cooperative efforts between school authorities and Baltimore's civil defense office to ensure students' protection in the event of an emergency. It reassured parents that civil defense drills were still taking place in the schools and described the drills as "not only valuable to the children while in school, but (as) good learning experiences of great value for the children in many other situations outside of school calling for good, quick judgment and a minimum of panic."[380] As usual, the document omitted any reference to the more ominous effects of nuclear attack and, as Kenneth Rose points out in his description of school civil defense education, was "presented in terms as mundane as possible, with only muted references to death, destruction and dismemberment."[381]

The primary purpose of the memorandum was to make parents aware of the fact that "at [that] time, there [was] no rule or law compelling individuals to leave the City."[382] It also communicated the board's desire to involve parents in the decision-making process for the future comprehensive school evacuation plan. Endorsed by the BCDO, the tentative plan called for evacuation of students by bus, truck, train, car and public transport to adjacent suburbs outside of

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378 Memorandum, "To The Parents of Boys and Girls in the Baltimore Public Schools, Subject: Emergency Evacuation of School Children," 25 April, 1958, Record Group 38, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

379 Ibid.

380 Ibid.

381 Kenneth D. Rose, *One Nation Underground,* 130.

382 Memorandum, "To The Parents of Boys and Girls in the Baltimore Public Schools, Subject: Emergency Evacuation of School Children," 25 April, 1958, Record Group 38, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

the city. The memo pointed out that it was "not an announcement of official plans," but only a "request to parents for guidance in the preparation of the overall plan for evacuation." The plan included only elementary and junior high school students "because [those] children [were] younger and less able to care for themselves in an emergency."[383]

Attached to the memorandum was a questionnaire designed to gauge parental support of the proposed school evacuation plan. Four evacuation scenarios were presented and parents were instructed to place a check next to the one they supported:

1. _____ I prefer that my child be evacuated immediately with his school using the Civil Defense plan.
2. _____ I prefer that my child be sent home.
3. _____ I prefer that my child remain at school until I pick him up.
4. _____ If you have not checked one of the above, please indicate your plan:[384]

It is not clear how many parents chose their own adventure by checking option number four.

The survey further instructed parents to indicate if they were willing to "accompany a class or group of children from school to an evacuation center outside the City limits in case an emergency evacuation of school is ordered."[385] Individual principals, after compilation of the results, sent "summary compilation form[s]" to the BCDO for tabulation.

On November 18, 1958, the *Sun* and the *Evening Sun* reported the results of the school survey, citing overwhelming parental support of the proposed evacuation policy.[386] Out of 200,000 surveys distributed to parents of public, private and parochial school students, 150,693

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383 Ibid.

384 Ibid.

385 Ibid.

386 "Evacuation Plan For Schools Set: Pupils To Be Removed To Counties If City Is Attacked," *Sun,* November 18, 1958; "Parents Back School-Group Evacuation," *Evening Sun,* November 18, 1958.

were returned. Of those returned, 89,099 asked the school system to evacuate their children by bus, truck or train to surrounding counties, 13,339 asked for their children to be sent home, 8,723 wanted their children to be kept at school until picked up by a parent or guardian, 7,707 wanted their children to stay at school throughout the catastrophe and 31,825 indicated no choice. All told, seventy-four per cent of parents surveyed wanted their children evacuated with their school units to locations in Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Harford, Howard and Carroll counties in the event of advanced air raid warning. The *Sun* article cited BCDO director Frank Milani's confident assertion that parents and school officials exhibited "excellent cooperation" with the proposed evacuation proposal. The results of the survey did not necessarily endorse evacuation. More likely, they reflected many parents' faith in the public schools to take care of their children, and by extension, their faith in civil defense messages coming home in their children's' backpacks.

Some citizens voiced strong opposition to civil defense school evacuation plans. In an October 30 letter to Colonel Milani, Friends School headmaster Bliss Forbush protested the proposed evacuation plan, agreeing with the school's Executive Council that "the execution of a planned evacuation cannot be carried out successfully."[387] Milani wrote back, explaining to Forbush that he was "somewhat puzzled" by that comment. He went on: "We would appreciate knowing just what the Executive Council recommend(s), and their comments." Forbush responded to Milani on November 4:

> You asked what our Executive Council thought concerning the planned evacuation. We felt that the proposal was most unfortunate, especially if the trial evacuation is carried out: it would be costly; it would promote fear, even war hysteria. We feel that to suggest that some schools be evacuated from Baltimore through areas such as Towson and Dundalk, out into the country, in areas far enough to be safe, it is impossible. It is said by out top generals that a modern bomb dropped between Washington and Baltimore would destroy both cities. This would mean that

[387] Bliss Forbush, headmaster of Friends School to Frank Milani, Director of BCDO, 30 October, 1958, Record Group 38, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

> children would have to be taken at least sixty miles away and remain overnight. We do not believe it practical to carry out such a plan; and a half evacuation means nothing.[388]

Quaker and anti-nuclear activist Helen Hollingsworth wrote a letter to the editor of the *Sun* blasting the evacuation questionnaire as "misleading" and "a waste of valuable time and money." She suggested that city officials take money and man-hours devoted to futile evacuation and devote it instead to fostering more positive humanistic messages for school children. She suggested that policy-makers implement more foreign exchange programs in order to facilitate understanding between nations and cultures.[389]

Louis L. Kaplan, Executive Director of Baltimore's Board of Jewish Education, was upset that Jewish religious schools did not receive copies of the surveys. Reform, Conservative and Orthodox synagogues in Baltimore's large Jewish community held religious school on Sunday mornings, some Saturday mornings and weekday afternoons. On Sunday mornings, more than 7000 students attended the schools, and Kaplan was concerned that parents would not have a say about how their children would be evacuated should an attack occur during religious school hours. BCDO administrative assistant for buildings and industry Bennett F. Pollard responded to Kaplan by telephone. Pollard explained that religious schools that held classes outside of traditional school hours could not be included in evacuation plans at that time.[390]

In January 1962, twelve years after the establishment of civil defense procedures in Baltimore public schools, the SCDC was frustrated that the BCDO had still not provided a more

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[388] Bliss Forbush , letter to Frank Milani, 4 November, 1958, Record Group 38, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[389] Helen E. P. Hollingsworth, letter to the editor, "Positive Defense," *Sun,* October 10, 1958.

[390] Letter from Louis L. Kaplan to Bennett F. Pollard, 10/23/1958, RG 38 S2 Box 7 Folder "Schools – Plans and Programs 1957-58," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

concrete set of guidelines. This confusion was caused by federal policy shifts from local shelter to evacuation to private shelter during the 1950s, and eventually toward mass shelter under Kennedy. By the time the latest federal policy filtered down to the local level, the news media, popular culture and global developments sent opposing messages that gave local civil defense officials and citizens second thoughts.

In January, SCDC president and assistant school superintendent Houston Jackson sent a letter to General Richard G. Prather, the newest director of the BCDO. The letter explained that SCDC was still "constantly receiving questions concerning Civil Defense policy from school principals and parents for which [it did] not yet have the answers."[391] This was a complaint that SCDC had had since 1951. Jackson went on to request immediate help from the city organization, a request that he had made before but went unheeded in the midst of the sickness and resignation of prior BCDO director Colonel Arthur Shreve. He was primarily concerned about what might happen if an atomic attack occurred when students were just arriving at school, just being dismissed or otherwise en route from one school facility to another.[392] Other concerns in the document exposed the lack of preparation on the part of the school district and, therefore, on the part of the BCDO. Jackson pressed Prather to develop procedures for dealing with fallout from an attack in another city, to coherently outline where children who live within the bomb blast area be sent and to advise what to do if adults from outside the school community attempted to enter school buildings for protection.

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[391] Houston Jackson, Assistant Superintendent and Chairman of SCDC to General Richard G. Prather, Director of Baltimore's Civil Defense Organization. 17 January, 1962. Baltimore City Archives, RG 38.

[392] Ibid.

The BCDO responded to Jackson's request for further clarification. In the event of fallout from an explosion that took place in another part of the country, students would be released to their homes if there would be "considerable elapsed time before the fallout would reach Baltimore." If not, students would stay at school and take cover in their pre-determined shelter areas, which were usually basements. If a blast occurred anywhere in Baltimore, students would immediately take shelter and wait for instructions from authorities. All further information would be disseminated via CONELRAD transmission. In the event that unauthorized individuals attempted to enter schools, principals were flatly advised to refuse their admission.

Refusing admission to fallout shelters had become a hotly debated topic by early 1962. In 1960, OCDM director Leo Hoegh explained that many citizens who had contacted him were greatly concerned about disclosing the existence of their home fallout shelters to neighbors to avoid "hav[ing] everyone in the neighborhood rush in and take over."[393] Some Americans were concerned that the shelters they had financed and constructed on private property might become overrun with neighbors in an attack—neighbors who might be contaminated with radiation, and who might consume valuable resources that the private owner stockpiled.[394] In August 1961, a resident of a Chicago suburb declared,

> When I get my shelter finished, I'm going to mount a machine gun at the hatch to keep the neighbors out if the bomb falls. I'm deadly serious about this. If the stupid American public will not do what they have to to save themselves, I'm not going to run the risk of not being able to use the shelter I've taken the trouble to provide to save my own family.[395]

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393 Rose, *One Nation Underground,* 93.

394 Ibid., 93.

395 Ibid., 94.

In Hartford, Connecticut, two neighbors clashed over whether or not one would allow the other to use a home shelter:

> "John," a woman said to her neighbor of ten years, "Do you mean to say that if this city was bombed and my baby and I were caught in the open, and we were hurt, and came to your shelter you would turn us away?"
>
> When John said yes, the woman continued:
> "But suppose we wouldn't turn away and begged to get in?
>
> "It would be too bad," said John. "You should have built a shelter of your own. I've got to look out for my own family."
>
> "But suppose we had built a shelter of our own, yet were caught by surprise, being out in the open at the time of an attack, and we discovered that the entrance to our shelter was covered with rubble and we had no place to turn except to you. Would you still turn us back?
>
> John answered that he would
>
> "But suppose I wouldn't go away and kept trying to get in. Would you shoot us?"
>
> John answered that he would.[396]

The fallout shelter morality question was also debated within religious circles and the national news media. Most often, the question concerned what to do if neighbors or outsiders breached *private* fallout shelters. Baltimore school shelters were, in essence, *public* shelters, paid for by taxpayer dollars. In 1951, the BCDO recommended that residents go to the nearest public school for shelter in the event of attack. Ten years later, the BCDO instructed principals to turn them away.

On July 21, 1962, the BCDO released a report to the media that revealed "an insufficient number of fallout shelter spaces" in Baltimore's public schools.[397] The document revealed, "out of 196 Public Schools, with a total enrollment of 180,300, there [were] only 31 schools with shelter facilities which meet current Federal standards. Further, of these 31 there were only

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[396] Ibid., 95.

[397] Jerrold B. Harris, Baltimore Civil Defense Organization, *Press Release*, 21 July, 1962, Record Group 38, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

9,686 adequate shelter spaces for a student enrollment of over fifty-one thousand."[398] By October 1962, as a result of rapidly shifting civil defense policies, lack of federal funding and conflicting civil defense philosophies amongst local civil defense officials, the public perceived that Baltimore's public school system was not nearly prepared for the possibility of a nuclear attack. After twelve years of inculcating students and parents with self-help messaging initially mandated by the federal government, local newspapers viewed the BCDO as a failure for not constructing adequate fallout shelters.

On October 24, 1962, in the midst of the Cuban Missile Crisis and in the shadow of impending nuclear war, Houston Jackson mailed General Prather a letter requesting that he "apprise [SCDC officials] of any new policies or procedures which we should follow in light of current world conditions."[399] The next day, Maryland Civil Defense authorities sent out a memorandum to the BCDO along with all other county civil defense organizations:

> PHONE CALLS AND INQUIRIES COMING INTO THIS HEADQUARTERS INDICATE CONCERN BY PARENTS REGARDING SCHOOL PLANS IN EVENT OF AN ENEMY ATTACK. REQUEST YOU CHECK YOUR SCHOOL PLAN WITH COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION AND DETERMINE IF IT IS ADEQUATE.
>
> IF, IN YOUR OPINION, THE PLAN IS NOT ADEQUATE, I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ADVISING THIS OFFICE—SINCE A NEW SCHOOL MANUAL IS IN PREPARATION AND YOUR IDEAS WILL ENHANCE ITS VALUE.[400]

Indeed, parents were concerned. Former deputy director of Baltimore civil defense Robert Williams recounted his memories of that day, "The phones were ringing off the hook. People were scared, they were looking to us to let them know what to do and we told them to

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398 Ibid.

399 Houston Jackson, letter to all principals and directors, 15 November 1962, Record Group 38, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

400 Maryland Civil Defense Organization, memorandum to all county civil defense organizations in Maryland, 25 October 1962, Record Group 38, Baltimore City Archives.

stay in close contact with their children's schools. We weren't all that concerned, Baltimore was out of the range of those missiles anyway."[401] In fact, the tactical nuclear weapons on the island of Cuba in November 1962 had the range to destroy American cities as far away as Portland, OR.[402]

What went through the minds of the students who sat in the auditorium of General Vocational School #198 on February 27, 1953? Kenneth Rose posits that the nuclear age represented "a corrosive and malignant influence"[403] on the lives of school children. Painting a picture of an anxiety-ridden generation pre-occupied with thoughts of despair, Rose may have deemphasized some of the more insidiously cohesive effects of the period upon America's youth. While Baltimore school civil defense programs were obviously inadequate, the SCDC along with curriculum writers, teachers, principals and other support staff implemented programs designed to foster self-help and community help. One of the expressed goals of Baltimore public school curriculum writers was to "prevent panic and fear" by giving children "opportunities to participate in the over-all civil defense program of the community."[404] Those messages went home to parents, many of whom trusted the school system with their children's' education and welfare. Community help, therefore, reverberated well beyond the walls of the classroom in Baltimore.

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401 Williams, Robert. Interview by author. Baltimore, MD, November 16, 2005.

402 https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol46no1/article06.html

403 Rose, *One Nation Underground,* 140.

404 Baltimore City Public Schools, *Committee on Curriculum*, 2 November 1951. RG 38 S2, Box 6, Folder "Schools Correspondence 1953-61," Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

CHAPTER 6: THE POLITICS OF CIVIL DEFENSE IN BALTIMORE

On August 25, 1951, emboldened Baltimore civil defense officials returned home from a federal civil defense convention in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The message that federal officials pounded into their minds at the meeting was one that local officials had been grappling with since the inception of the Baltimore Civil Defense Organization (BCDO) the previous year—that Americans were uninformed and apathetic toward civil defense and that they needed to be educated about what they could do to protect themselves.[405] Public apathy was seen as the tallest hurdle for local officials charged with implementing Baltimore's early Cold War civil defense planning. Local newspapers solidified that view. A letter to the editor written by Meir Wilensky, a civil defense volunteer, is one in a parade of letters to the editor, editorials and op-ed pieces that hammered home the apathy hypothesis: "The public is apathetic and even negligent in its attitude to civil defense. Some volunteer and finish their training – some don't finish. But not enough finish. Everyone is waiting for that first plane to come over and then we will have volunteers."[406] An article published in the *Home News* on September 13 best summed up the public's prevailing reaction to pleas of civil defense personnel: "If the man in the street were told that Civil Defense Week of Maryland proclaimed by Governor McKeldin began yesterday, he might say, "So what? The fact is that Civil Defense means little to him, and he prays that it will mean even less in the uncertain days to come. He might ask more questions, but he just doesn't want to be disturbed about it – not now anyway."[407]

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405 "Public Apathetic About Defense, Briton Says," *News-Post,* August 25, 1951.

406 Meir Wilensky, letter to the editor, *Evening Sun*, August 16, 1951.

Despite events in Korea, federal and local civil defense officials between 1951 and 1953 viewed citizens as apathetic toward the dangers of atomic weaponry. Officials frequently attributed this to ignorance. According to Mrs. John L. Whitehurst, Baltimore resident and special assistant to the FCDA, "Apathy – not on the part of the leaders of the country but the great masses of people – is retarding the entire civil-defense program."[408] Citing the "fatalistic attitude" of many in Baltimore, Whitehurst posed a rhetorical question that undoubtedly crossed the minds of many Americans at the time: "An atom bomb on our city – so what? If we're all going to be killed anyway, why bother (with civil defense)?"[409] An editorial in the *Sun* on October 2, 1951 titled "Many Plans But Few People" presumably written by a fire or civil defense official, highlights frustration with the lack of civilian volunteers for civil defense duty. The editorial stated:

> To put the matter crudely, civil defense planning has reached the stage where it must either be shelved or start hurting. As conscientious citizens remember all too well from the last war, air-raid drills, warden meetings and practice exercises can be a nuisance and a headache. They demand a lot of time from busy people, and they waste a lot of time… Some people are going to feel that the chances of Baltimore's being bombed in the near future are not sufficient to warrant attendance at weekly defense meetings. Others will take the attitude that if Baltimore really gets hit badly, all the plans and volunteers will be to no avail. Still others will take the casual view: If it comes, it comes; if it doesn't, it doesn't; so why worry?[410]

Baltimore Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro Jr. bought into the idea that citizens were apathetic because they were ill-informed. He, too, viewed civil defense as an educational effort. Frustrated with "the great body of citizens who never volunteer for anything" and the dominant "complacency, lethargy and fatalism… among Free Staters," he ordered an immediate speed up

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407 "Public Fails To Heed Requests For Greater Civil Defense Activity," *Home News*, Sept 13, 1951.

408 Virginia Tracy, "Apathy on Civil Defense Draws Warnings," *Evening Sun*, July 25, 1951.

409 Ibid.

410 "Many Plans But Few People," *Sun,* October 2, 1951.

of civil defense planning in Baltimore.[411] As the Battle of Bloody Ridge raged in Korea, D'Alesandro appointed his former campaign manager Philander B. Briscoe as the city's first full-time civil defense director on August 28, 1951 and appointed a civil defense advisory board that included representatives from the fire department, the police department, labor representatives, industrial representatives, public utility personnel and members of the armed forces. The directorship paid $10,000 per year.[412] Significantly, Briscoe was a local attorney—not a military officer.

Baltimore's Democratic political leadership from 1950 to 1959 ascribed to the idea that civil defense should remain a civilian enterprise. When D'Alesandro discussed civil defense, he repeatedly emphasized the need for all arms of Baltimore's municipal structure to play a role in making the program successful. His desire was to augment existing physical structures and political and social organizations to adhere to nascent nuclear-age imperatives. Recognizing early on the economic futility of constructing massive bomb shelters in downtown Baltimore, he focused instead on teaching homeowners how to reinforce their basements and advising local companies on how to prepare their structures for atomic attack.

D'Alesandro's appointment of civilians to head Baltimore's civil defense reflected the FCDA's commitment to both local and civilian control. According to Laura McEnaney, this commitment can be interpreted in two different ways. First, that policy-makers and the public were uneasy with military control over domestic affairs. McEnaney argues that FCDA policymakers were keenly aware that a civil defense organization under Defense Department

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411 Ibid.

412 "Briscoe Appointed Civil Defense Head," *Sun,* August 29, 1951.

control might result in "too great a concentration of power in one department."[413] Her second interpretation posited that by putting civilians in charge of managing nuclear war preparation, the public could be convinced that an atomic bombing was as survivable as "a natural disaster like a blizzard."[414] McEnaney gave more weight to the former interpretation and explained that Truman, Eisenhower and other key cold war policymakers dismissed military control over civil defense as "antidemocratic and antithetical to the 'American Way of Life."[415] Those sentiments, according to McEnaney, were largely bipartisan.

Under D'Alesandro, the BCDO worked closely with local charities, utilities and regulatory agencies to prepare for nuclear attack. Working closely with the BCDO, the local Red Cross chapter taught citizens how to administer first aid in an emergency. By January 1951, the Red Cross had already initiated 150 classes involving 5,000 city residents. D'Alesandro repeatedly emphasized the need for divisions of the city's public works department to prepare for an atomic attack. By early 1951, the Bureau of Highways had catalogued its inventory of road equipment and heavy machinery and had developed a phone tree for use in the wake of a disaster. A communications committee, administrated by C&P Telephone, was working to determine how to best use existing communications infrastructure. The administration had also established groups to deal with transportation, radiological detection and mitigation and port security.

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413 McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 16.

414 Ibid., 16.

415 Ibid.

D'Alesandro viewed police and military involvement in local civil defense with trepidation. Though the initial guidelines for Baltimore's civil defense mandated that volunteer district coordinators, area coordinators and civil defense officers report to their corresponding police districts, it was not the police department's job to determine who those volunteers would be. Instead, D'Alesandro left that up to his civil defense directors who tapped the Baltimore Association of Commerce to appoint district and area coordinators. D'Alesandro was more focused on involving people with experience leading the city's industries, administering apartment and office buildings and governing public works programs than he was appointing civil defense officers with prior military and police experience.[416] For that, he encountered significant badgering by those who believed civil defense could only be administered by ex-military personnel. That struggle shaped Baltimore's political debate on civil defense from January 1950 until June 1952.

D'Alesandro's first civil defense director Philander Briscoe resigned in frustration just six months after he took the job.[417] Four days before his departure in March 1952, he received a political black eye when the first comprehensive test of the city's air raid sirens failed. Dubbed "The Great Hush" by the *News-Post*, the test revealed that only three of the city's seventy-four sirens could be heard loudly; twenty could be heard faintly, and the remaining fifty-one couldn't be heard at all. The siren at Mercy Hospital, determined the most important siren in the city by civil defense officials, could barely be heard by patients and staff.[418]

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416 Speech titled "Civil Defense," 1/3/51, 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File Civil Defense (1) RG9 S23 Box 268, Baltimore City Archives

417 "Briscoe to Quit Post of C.D. Director," *Evening Sun*, March 19, 1952.

418 "Sirens 'Faint' In Air-Raid Test Here," *News-Post,* March 15, 1952.

The public voiced much louder protest the next day in letters to the editor, op-ed pieces and at least one political cartoon. Briscoe was criticized for his remark immediately following the test that "the sirens were not supposed to be heard indoors."[419] An editorial in the *Evening Sun* on March 18 posed these questions in response, "Is Baltimore's siren system designed to alert only persons who happen to be on the streets? If so, how are persons in homes in which radio or TV is turned off to be warned? Who then will be warned of impending air attack at, say, 3 A.M.?"[420] A political cartoon on March 19 depicted a father, his son and their cat sitting next to an open window listening intently through horns held to their ears. The caption read, "With Luck, Maybe We Can Hear Our New Air-Raid Sirens Indoors."[421] Attorney Lewis Ashman, president of the United Citizens League, charged that civil defense officials and planners were guilty of "gross negligence" in the wake of the failed test: "Speaking as one who was fairly active in World War II work in Baltimore, I think that the engineers and whoever else in the civil defense organization was responsible for the failure today is guilty of gross negligence. It was a most miserable situation. It showed that Baltimore is far behind other cities in its siren warnings."[422]

Public response to the failed test along with distrust of non-military civil defense staff contributed to Briscoe's resignation. Agreeing with the mayor that civil defense activities must be stepped up and better publicized, one of Briscoe's last official acts as director was to call for

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419 Editorial, *Evening Sun*, March 18, 1952. "An Inexplicable Explanation."

420 Ibid.

421 Political Cartoon, *Sun*, March 19, 1952. "With Luck, Maybe We Can Hear Our New Air-Raid Sirens Indoors."

422 "Negligence Is Charged In Test Of Sirens," *Sun*, March 16, 1952.

the establishment of a full-time public relations chief within the organization and "a negro deputy to handle defense matters with negro groups."[423]

D'Alesandro, under pressure to fill Briscoe's spot quickly, offered the civil defense directorship to Paul Holland, director of Baltimore's Office of Public Works, on March 19. In a desperate attempt to convince Holland to take the job, D'Alesandro offered him $5000 more than Briscoe and the power to appoint two deputies and a public relations officer.[424] After thinking it over for one day, Holland rejected the mayor's offer, citing his "serious limitations outside the field of engineering."[425] Holland explained further:

> Service as a 'holdover' in my present position has not been a particularly happy lot, but I have had the personal satisfaction of knowing that my work has been reasonably well done and has met with very general public approval.
>
> In the civil-defense post there would be no such satisfaction, since that job requires… an ability as a salesman and administrator of a high order.[426]

An editorial in the *Sun* speculated on what may have convinced Holland to turn down the offer:

> We have no way of reading Mr. Holland's mind and therefore cannot say what motivated his decision.
>
> However, these considerations will occur to almost everyone. In the first place, such is the general belief in the awfulness of the atomic bomb that few are convinced that the community… can arrange for any real defense against it. If Baltimore is to be protected against atomic attack, the responsibility must rest upon the military arm.
>
> In the second place, if a plane or a guided missile carrying an atomic bomb or several of them actually get through the defenses and unloose their evil burdens upon us, are there in fact any effective means we can use to handle the situation?[427]

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423 "C.D. Stepup Plan To Be Studied," *Evening Sun*, March 14, 1952.

424 "Holland Asked To Be C.D. Head," *Sun*, March 20, 1952.

425 "Civil Defense Post Declined By Holland," *Evening Sun*, March 21, 1952.

426 "Holland Turns Down New Job – Says He Lacks Qualifications to be Civil Defense Chief," *Sun*, March 22, 1952.

This editorial underscored one of the perceptions the FCDA, D'Alesandro and others were fighting hard to combat—that primary responsibility for civil defense should reside with the military. On March 25, James L. Dresser, volunteer deputy coordinator of civil defense for Area N-4B, wrote a letter to the *Sun's* editor in reaction to the editorial, calling it "defeatist," "intolerable," and "thoughtless." Dresser attacked the newspaper's editors in a column-long critique:

> You simply have not thought it through, or you would not allow yourself to come so close to the brink of playing directly into the enemy's hands. It is a serious matter when a newspaper of your influence thoughtlessly or deliberately sabotages the people's will to resist and undermines what little citizen morale has been built up thus far. How could you lose sight so completely of the accepted fact that modern war is fought as much against civilian populations and their productive capacity as against the defenses of a purely military nature?
>
> Why not print the truth as established by experts basing their conclusions not on opinion but upon incontrovertible scientific data showing that the casualties resulting from an atomic attack can be cut 50 percent by an effective civil defense organization?
>
> There are so many things a resolute citizenry can do, all in keeping with the traditional American approach to tough problems, that it is particularly intolerable to read between the lines of the editorial evidence of your hand-wringing attitude of futility which causes you to say that 'such is the general belief in the awfulness of the atomic bomb that few are convinced that the community, as such, can arrange for any real defense against it.' Even if this were the general attitude, you as a leader of thought, ought not contribute to it.[428]

April 4 yielded the next mayoral appointment to the position of civil defense director, this time to Elmer Bernhardt, head of the city's central payroll bureau and director of the division of disability compensation. Bernhardt walked into a desperate situation. After two years of weak leadership and scattershot civil defense planning, the organization was in shambles. Plagued with awful press and public indifference, Bernhardt, who Army gunnery officer and lawyer Thomas E. Bracken praised for his "long and solid experience in the practical and theoretical aspects of safety," faced the murky task of establishing order within the organization and

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427 Editorial, *Sun*, March 22, 1952. "A Civil Defense Director Must Make Tough Decisions."

428 James L. Dresser, Letter to the Editor, *Sun*, March 25, 1952.

facilitating confidence among Baltimore's citizenry that it would be adequately protected in the event of atomic attack.[429] On April 4, Richard K. Tucker of the *Evening Sun* cynically characterized the situation:

> Should enemy bombers come to Baltimore tomorrow, the situation would shape up roughly like this:
>
> Ten sirens would sound off, and a music outlet firm would play a warning record in a little more than 250 places. According to recent tests, this would warn only about 30 per cent of the city's population.
>
> Citizens hearing the warning would look around for shelter. Downtown they would find 40 buildings marked with "shelter" signs. But if they dashed inside them, the chances are ten to one they would find no organized plan of movement in the building, and probably panic taking charge. They would simply find a basement floor to huddle in, if they could fight their way inside.[430]

At its 1951 annual convention, the Maryland Reserve Officer's Association passed a resolution opposing D'Alesandro's appointment of Elmer Bernhardt because Bernhardt had not received military training. James Curran, President of the American Prison Association and D'Alesandro's political ally, criticized the Officer's Association in a letter supporting Bernhardt's appointment: "Having been an active member of the Civil Defense organization during World War II and also an active member in the present organization, and as advisor to the Federal Civil Defense Agency in Washington… I have observed nothing that would require the Director of the Civil Defense organization to have military training… I am a firm believer of having the administrative branches of our government headed by civilians."[431]

Like D'Alesandro, Curran viewed civil defense administration as less of a top-down military or police enterprise and more of a municipal public works program. In his job as

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429 Thomas E. Bracken, Letter to the Editor, *Evening Sun,* April 14, 1952.

430 "New Civilian Defense Director Faces Major Task, Survey Shows," *Evening Sun,* April 4, 1952.

431 James W. Curran to Thomas D'Alesandro, May 5, 1952. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File. Civil Defense (2) RG9 S23 Box 268 Baltimore City Archives.

president of the American Prison Association, Curran, along with other committee members tasked with determining how wardens should react to prison riots, rejected the facile view held by many that prisoners should be made to suffer for their misbehavior. Instead, the committee concluded: "The immediate causes given out for a prison riot are usually only symptoms of more basic causes. Bad food usually means inadequate budgets, reflected in insufficient supplies, poor equipment, poor personnel and often inept management. Mistreatment of prisoners, or lax discipline, usually has behind it untrained employees and unwise or inexperienced management."[432] Curran viewed prison riots as manifestations of larger, more complex structural breakdowns, which needed to be dealt with in order to pacify prison populations. In order to solve the problem of civil defense, it was clear to Curran as it was to D'Alesandro that simply imposing a military structure on a civilian population in order to achieve a wide variety of outcomes in the wake of an attack was just as facile as tightening the screws on inmates to keep order in a prison.

Baltimore Attorney I. Sewell Lamdin emphasized Bernhardt's lack of experience in a letter to D'Alesandro. Admitting that he knew "not[h]ing whatsoever of Mr. Bernhardt's capabilities or shortcomings, [his] only knowledge of [Bernhardt] extend[ed] to the fact that he has headed the central payroll bureau for a number of years." Still, Lamdin was "at al loss to express [his] feelings" when he found out that D'Alesandro had appointed a non-military man to head Baltimore's civil defense organization. Lamdin exhorted,

> We here in the United States… have always taken the attitude that it cannot happen here, that we are immune to an attack or a bombing. This is, in my mind, our greatest fallacy. It can happen here and the possibility is great, at this time, and in the near future, due to the world situation today, and the line-up against communism. I, therefore, most strongly urge that before you make your appointment of a new Civilian Defense Director, that you thoroughly scour the City of

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432 Editorial, *Sun,* July 8, 1953. "Prison Riots Often Have External Causes."

> Baltimore for a man who has been through the mill, so to speak, both as a military leader and organizer.[433]

On March 28, in the wake of D'Alesandro's offer to Paul Holland, William C. Haynes wrote a letter to the editor of the *Evening Sun*. Haynes suggested that D'Alesandro should have "pick[ed] a military man, or an ex-military man, for this most important job." He continued, "Such a director won't fool around for months, or even years, without taking hold and doing something practical – such as appointing and training auxiliary police, auxiliary firemen, first-aid staff and so on."[434] On July 14, D'Alesandro received a letter from an anonymous "Well-Wisher" urging him to pick a "better man" to head civil defense. The letter writer admonished the mayor that the United States was at war and that it was no time to play politics with people's lives. The letter concluded by declaring, "This community needs MEN at the helm.[435]

Bernhardt countered the storm over his appointment with action during his first week as director. He made it known that "regardless of any public apathy… apathy will be strictly out in the administration of his office."[436] He immediately set out to develop an emergency evacuation system utilizing the city's major automobile arteries. He attacked critics of the failed air raid test for being unappreciative and impatient. According to Bernhardt, "it was intended only to test the sirens for radius, and not as a demonstration of a perfected siren system." In the next couple of

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[433] I. Sewell Lamdin to Thomas D'Alesandro, March 25, 1952. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File Civil Defense (2) RG9 S23 Box 268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[434] William C. Haynes, Letter to the Editor, *Evening Sun*, March 28, 1952. "Civil Defense Suggestion."

[435] A Well-Wisher to Thomas D'Alesandro, July 14, 1951. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File Civil Defense (2) RG9 S23 Box 268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[436] Editorial, *Evening Sun,* April 10, 1952. "Necessary First Steps."

weeks, Bernhardt pushed forward with a new defense plan, which, he explained, "must be based on realism."[437] He then set October 1 as a target date for the beginning of an "all-out effort for civil defense."[438] Unfortunately for Bernhardt, his early exuberance and over-ambitious efforts cost him his job within a month.

On May 4, three days after Bernhardt articulated the October 1 plan, the tide of public opinion turned against him. On that day, the Maryland Reserve Officers formally censured Bernhardt because of his lack of military experience. The officers voted unanimously "to disapprove the appointment of anyone 'without adequate military training or experience… to a major command or staff position in a civil defense organization."[439] According to the group, Baltimore's civil defense, like any community's, "should be directed by a competent person with extensive knowledge of military organization, procedure and logistics (to) co-ordinate its activities with… the armed forces."[440] Three days later, on May 7, D'Alesandro asked for a complete review of civil defense expenditures after what the *News-Post* described as a "heated argument" with Bernhardt over his request for an immediate appropriation of $206, 650. Bernhardt wanted the appropriation to install an "elaborate attack warning system" by October 1, which would cost the city more than half of its annual budget for civil defense. In a Board of Estimates meeting, D'Alesandro stubbornly responded, "I am the Mayor and you are working for

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437 "New CD Head Plans Active Program Here," *Evening Sun*, May 1, 1952.

438 Ibid.

439 "Officers Hit Appointment of Bernhardt," *Sun*, May 4, 1952.

440 Ibid.

me. We can't spend money we don't have."[441] The following day, Bernhardt tendered his resignation.[442]

Reaction to Bernhardt's resignation was swift. Within two weeks, two of the city's seven volunteer district coordinators resigned in protest. Their reasons for resignation shed light upon how civil defense volunteers viewed their positions and roles within the organization. K.C. Robinson, who had been recommended to Bernhardt by the Baltimore Association of Commerce, had been the Northeast District coordinator. His letter of resignation underscored his frustration with the organization before Bernhardt's appointment and his hope that Bernhardt would be the man to turn the organization around. Disappointed that a civil defense plan for each district had not been devised for coordinators to follow and frustrated that each coordinator was allowed to organize his own area "according to his own conception of what was needed," Robinson nonetheless felt that Bernhardt represented the best hope for cohesive policy in the future. With Bernhardt's departure, Robinson determined that he could not play a role in an organization with such ambiguous structure.[443] John W. Frederick, coordinator for the Northeast District's area 5C, wrote a more passionate statement of resignation, explaining to D'Alesandro that he was initially "enthusiastic in [his] desire to help make the Civil Defense System of the sixth largest city in the United States one of which the citizens would be proud." He explained that since he became coordinator in early 1950, he had recruited other civic-minded people who were not

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441 "Mayor Asks Prove of CD Spending," *News-Post*, May 5, 1952.

442 See Thomas D'Alesandro's letter to the editor of the *Sun*, May 9, 1952. Baltimore City Archives, RG 9 S23 Box 268 Folder Civil Defense (1)

443 K.C. Robinson to Thomas D'Alesandro, May 13, 1952. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File Civil Defense (3), RG9 S23 Box268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

afraid of working hard to install a cohesive civil defense plan, but that their efforts were met with "good old fashioned buck passing on the part of [civil defense] officials." Robinson ultimately resigned because he did not want "the finger of guilt pointed in [his] direction because [he] failed to do a job." According to Robinson, "the failure to do a job rests with those at the top who are administering the program."[444] As with Frederick, Bernhardt was also Robinson's last hope for a functional organization.

Bernhardt's exuberance and his subsequent resignation, followed by those of Frederick and Robinson, highlights one of the major problems with American civil defense – that it was a largely unfunded federal mandate. From 1951 to 1953, despite President Truman's request for $1.5 billion for civil defense, Congress only allocated $153 million.[445] In 1954, the FCDA asked for $125 million, what it considered a more realistic sum, but Congress only approved $46 million.[446] Laura McEnaney pointed out that the Federal Civil Defense Act, from the beginning, assumed that state and local governments would conduct the lion's share of civil defense planning, with the federal government only stepping in when those jurisdictions became overwhelmed. She argued that federal civil defense planners embraced the language of self-help to prevent citizens from thinking that the government could save everyone in the wake of an attack. Paradoxically, federal planners recognized that if they convinced Americans that a strong federally administered program would save them, they would be less inclined to practice civil

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[444] John W. Frederick to Thomas D'Alesandro, May 20, 1952. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File Civil Defense (4), RG 9 S23 Box268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[445] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 25.

[446] "New Civil Defense Legislation," Subcommittee on the Committee of Government Operations House of Representatives, Eighty-Fifth Congress, First Session, February 5,6,8,13,14,18, March 5,6 and 7, 1957, GPO: WDC 1957, 311.

defense at home. So, according to McEnaney, federal planners employed self-help in order to release themselves from the responsibility to protect all citizens while fostering tangible civil defense roles so that citizens could easily assume them.[447]

Congress was reluctant to allocate large amounts of money to civil defense due to, in McEnaney's words, "mounting concerns that citizens would feel dependent on or, worse, entitled to government protection and postattack [sic] welfare assistance…"[448] The import of civil defense was tempered by reluctance on both sides of the aisle to embrace a large federal program whose initiatives were vague and whose potential for military control was great. So, a largely unfunded civil defense program was a compromise between politicians on both sides of the aisle who at once recognized the political imperative, particularly during the McCarthy era, to support civil defense, but who also recognized the perils of creating a new massive bureaucracy with the potential to militarize American society.[449]

Similar political discussions also occurred at the state and local level. Thus, Bernhardt's sudden pressure on the city to allocate more money for a city-wide attack warning system was understandably met with opposition from D'Alesandro, who, for both financial and political reasons, was more interested in utilizing existing infrastructure for civil defense. In a letter to the editor of the *Sun,* the frustrated mayor explained that civil defense was hamstrung by lack of funding. He also viewed the allocation of funds for a hypothetical emergency as a slippery

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447 McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home*, 24

448 Ibid., 23.

449 Ibid., 24-25.

slope, setting the stage for any city department to request and be granted funding anytime that department declared an emergency:

> No one is more anxious than I am to have an adequate Civil Defense Program in Baltimore. But the fact remains, neither the Mayor nor anyone else can authorize the expenditure of money which the City Government does not have.
>
> We cannot have deficit spending under our City Charter, nor can we float an emergency bond issue unless an emergency is real and present at the time the bonds are issued. The courts have already ruled on this.
>
> Simply stating that an emergency exists does not make the emergency immediate and present. Otherwise, there would be a tendency to declare an emergency anytime any city department or bureau wanted funds [that] had not been appropriated and budgeted.[450]

District coordinators' complaints about "good old fashioned buck passing" were symptoms of an unfunded imperative at all levels of government. While certain volunteer coordinators resigned due to the absence of civil defense plans, others ultimately established their own civil defense procedures and initiatives, many of which were more creative, comprehensive, organized and minutely detailed than federal, state and local officials could have implemented themselves. The message of self-help was getting through. Moreover, at the neighborhood level, it had been transformed into a message of community help. Not only were civil defense volunteers concerned about saving themselves and their families, they were also concerned about their neighbors and their neighborhood institutions.

During the early 1950s, Baltimore's Southern District civil defense volunteers crafted an intricate plan largely independent of BCDO staff and established their own community basic training course. Since there was little hands-on guidance, at least in the early 1950s, from local officials about what should be included in such planning, Southern District coordinator Ellsmore R. Cooper along with his volunteer appointees established a plan with the perceived needs of

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[450] Thomas D'Alesandro Jr. to the editor of the *Sun*, May 9, 1952. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File Civil Defense (1) RG9 S23 Box 268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

their community in mind. Calling itself the "Star Spangled Banner Command" because their district encompassed Fort McHenry, the Southern District's leadership included clergymen Reverend Father from the Otterbein neighborhood and Reverend Kemper from Brooklyn, two assistant district coordinators and Captain Frank A. Deems of the police department's southern district. They opened each civil defense meeting with the pledge of allegiance and the following prayer that highlighted the religious justification for being involved in civil defense:

> Almighty God, Father of all Nations, Bless us as we are assembled here this day. We are grateful for this opportunity of association and Friendship, guide us to cultivate a true Spirit of love and affection for one another and for our fellow Citizens, guide us to be helpful and charitable to carry out our duties as a Civil Defense Organization, to do justice and conduct ourselves so that we may have the good will of our People, Guide us to honestly and wisely dispatch our business in peace and harmony, with careful consideration of all. Amen.

In the plan, district coordinators charged their foot soldiers with the responsibility for their neighbors in the event of disaster, "The degree of care with which You carry out your given assignments, and the sense of responsibility which you feel toward your CIVIL DEFENSE OFFICERS [sic] DUTIES, May [sic] determine the fate of your neighbors in the event of enemy attack." Coordinators asked potential volunteers to think long and hard about whether they had what it takes to carry out civil defense duties "cheerfully and well," and warned them that "only men and women of action and courage are needed in this vital service for protection of our community in the time of need," and that they should not expect "glory or thanks for their efforts."

Volunteers had to purchase out of their own pockets flashlights, loose-leaf notebooks that were to become civil defense officers' log books and pocket-sized notebooks to take down information quickly. Coordinators then charged them with choosing two or more men or women on their blocks to act essentially as intra-block captains, with women to serve in the daytime

only. Roles were explicitly laid out according to gender. Women administered surveys and men constructed block maps. Women were asked to ascertain how many people occupied each building during the day and at night, whether or not each building had telephones installed, whether those buildings housed disabled, aged or young residents who might need special assistance, and whether or not the buildings housed retired doctors, policemen, firemen or nurses who might be able to assist in an emergency.

The plan emphasized the volunteer's first job, to "know [his or her] block." Coordinators charged volunteers with drawing intricate maps of their assigned posts that depicted the locations of all facilities that might be of potential use after an attack. Maps showed all streets and alleys leading to and away from the depicted block, all homes, fire stations, buildings suitable for shelter, industrial and commercial buildings, and vacant buildings that might become fire hazards. They also designated the locations of external water spigots, gas shut-off valves, police and fire boxes and public and private telephones. All of this information was also noted in the volunteer's loose leaf post log book, a book that the plan dubbed the "Civil Defense Officer's Second Bible."

The Southern District civil defense volunteer was also charged with taking a "family by family" census of his or her post. Volunteers visited each family in person per the plan's admonishment that "telephone calls [were] not enough." During the visits, volunteers recruited people who looked like they could be of assistance in emergencies, especially "able-bodied youngsters over 16, retired doctors, nurses, clergymen, firemen and policemen." To those new recruits, volunteers explained that modern warfare dictated that "each neighborhood must be a self-contained, self-supporting unit, and that it is only when the people work together as a team

that the neighborhood has a chance for survival."[451] Volunteers came to see themselves as servants and protectors of their neighborhoods in peacetime and essential to their neighbors' survival if bombs should fall.

[451] The Southern District Civil Defense Organization Basic Training Course and The Civil Defense Officer's Job. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. Files Civil Defense (7) RG9 S23 Box 268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD., 6.

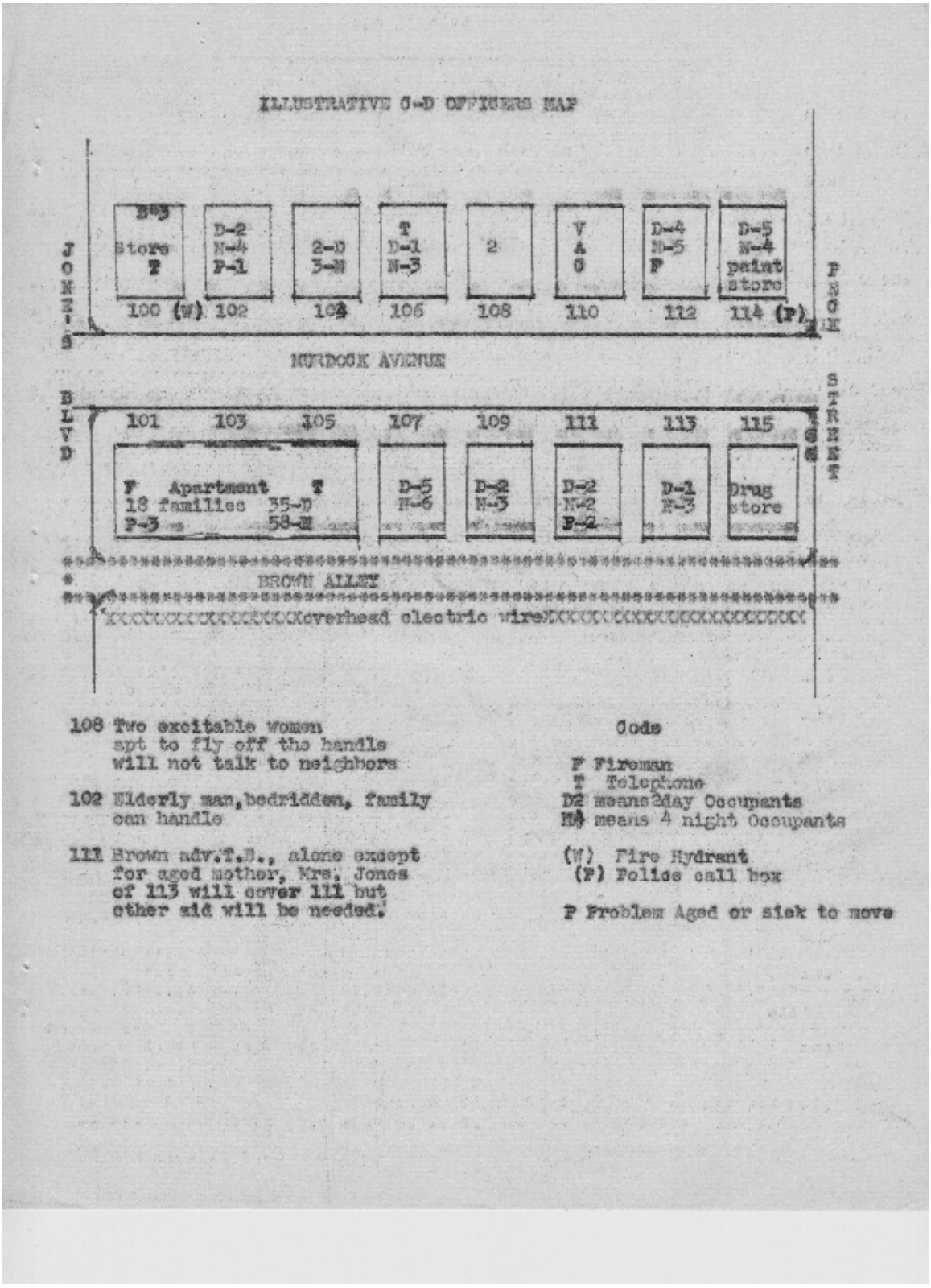

Illustration 2: Courtesy Baltimore City Archives

RECOMMENDED BLOCK SURVEY SHEET

The Civil Defense Officer or his assistants will visit each home on the block and secure the following information:

Name _____ Head of the house

Address _____

Name _____ Wife, Mother, Etc.

Name _____

NUMBER OCCUPYING BUILDING (by Ages) _____ NUMBER AT HOME DAY _____ NUMBER AT HOME NIGHT _____

LIST ALL CHILDREN

Name _____ Name _____

Name _____ Name _____

Name _____ Name _____

Name _____ Name _____

Name _____ Name _____

TELEPHONE _____

HANDICAPPED PERSONS (very young, Very old, sick, handicapped (blind, Pregnant women, young children needing special assistance)

SPECIAL ATTENTION REQUIRED _____

_____

_____

LOCATION OF MAIN ELECTRIC SWITCH _____

LOCATION OF WATER HOSE AND SPIGOT _____

IN CASE HOME IS DESTROYED, GIVE ADDRESS OF PERSONS HOME THAT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY COULD STAY FOR A FEW DAYS UNTIL AID COULD BE HAD

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

ASSETS (anyone over 16 years- retired doctors, nurses, clergymen, firemen, policeme, etc., anyone who will aid you)

Name _____ DUTY _____

NAME _____ DUTY _____

NAME _____ DUTY _____

_____

Illustration 3: Courtesy Baltimore City Archives

If bombs did fall, the Southern District plan placed the volunteer at the crux of vital operations. It assumed that police and fire officials would not be readily available, at least in the early stages after an attack, so it tasked volunteers with getting as quickly as possible to their area or district command posts where they would coordinate with other volunteers, the district coordinator included. Then, they were to hit the streets quickly to reassure the frightened or panicked and to connect with able-bodied persons on their individual blocks, who would themselves work to prevent panic, administer first-aid, put out fires, encourage those pinned by debris or otherwise trapped and extricate them if possible. After constructing a preliminary report, volunteers would return to their command posts where they would wait to debrief emergency crews.[452] In the wake of an attack, with communications knocked out, police and fire crews incapacitated, fires raging and panic spreading, volunteers saw themselves as the first line of defense.

One month after Bernhardt resigned, D'Alesandro appointed Colonel Frank Milani to head the BCDO. Milani, a veteran of both world wars, understood and appreciated the role of the volunteer in the success of Baltimore's civil defense. Milani's appointment could be construed to indicate the slow erosion of D'Alesandro's commitment to civil defense as a purely civilian-administrated entity. After all, D'Alesandro appointed Milani because he was a former military officer and logistician in both World Wars. He received the Legion of Merit award in 1942 for his "great tact and understanding of the many intricate and discouraging problems attendant to establishing a new [China-Burma-India] theater of operations."[453] However,

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[452] The Southern District Civil Defense Organization Basic Training Course and The Civil Defense Officer's Job. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. Files Civil Defense (7) RG9 S23 Box 268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

D'Alesandro's appointment of a military man paradoxically allowed Baltimore civil defense to remain a civilian-administrated enterprise until 1959.

Highly recommended by the commander of the Maryland Military District, Milani served as adjutant general of the China-Burma-India theater in World War II. In that capacity, he developed great experience at overseeing an ultimately futile enterprise. In India, Milani advised General George C. Marshall that if an overland route could be built from India to China, 65,000 tons of ammunition and supplies could be delivered to Chinese forces at Kunming.[454] That overland route became known as the Ledo Road and was one part of a two-prong strategy to supply Chinese forces with the hardware and logistical support to bomb Japan from the west. The other prong, known as "Operation Matterhorn," involved flying materials and fuel over the Himalayas from India to China in order to establish air bases. According to General Curtis LeMay, Matterhorn "was a grueling hell, climbing the big bombers over the rugged Himalayas – the roof of the world. It was 1,200 miles of the worst flying imaginable. The mountains were a veritable smorgasbord of meteorological treachery – violent downdrafts, high winds, and sudden snowstorms – all served up in temperatures 20 degrees below zero. As if they needed any reminding, the crews could frequently glimpse the 29,028 foot peak of Mt. Everest thrusting up through the clouds just 150 miles from their flight path."[455] Once the road was completed

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[453] William Pyne, "Veterans Affairs," *Sun,* August 17, 1952.

[454] Charles F. Romanus, *China-Burma-India Theater: Stilwell's Command Problems* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), 10.

[455] Warren Kozak, *LeMay: The Life and Wars of General Curtis LeMay* (Washington D.C.: Regnery, 2009), 181.

through northern Burma and Jiang Jieshi's soldiers armed, Milani and others believed that Jiang's soldiers could seize a Chinese port from which to launch air raids on Japan.[456]

As grueling an operation as Matterhorn was, Ledo Road was probably more of a logistical challenge. A phenomenally difficult feat of engineering, the road crossed ten rivers and 155 streams over 700 bridges, one of which was the longest in the world in 1945. It was finally completed on January 27, 1945 with a price tag of $148,910,000 and 1,133 American fatalities, over one fatality per mile of roadway. Ultimately, LeMay classified the operation, along with the entire theater, as a futile waste of money and resources--something that could only have been dreamed up in Washington. He declared bitingly, "It [the theater] didn't work and no one could have made it work. It was founded on an utterly absurd logistic basis. The scheme of operations had been dreamed up like something out of the *Wizard of Oz.*"[457] Eventually, LeMay convinced officials in Washington to abandon the entire campaign and shift B-29 bombing raids to the Mariana Islands, which proved to be much more efficient.

Though Ledo Road was ultimately a failure, Milani served as a charismatic and inspiring leader to the soldiers serving under him. Since his appointment as Adjutant General of the theater in late November 1942, Milani was a serious logistician who never took himself too seriously. After mistakenly walking into a restroom full of unabashed Indian women, Milani turned around, walked out, and shared the story with a reporter for the China-India-Burma newsletter, *The Roundup.* Milani, according to the newsletter, "beat a hasty retreat" and remarked, "It's just like Paris during the last war."[458] The newsletter published a photograph of a

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456 Romanus, *China-Burma-India Theater,* 10.

457 Kozak, *LeMay,* 183-184.

smiling Milani and characterized the adjutant general as a "genial" man who socialized with newly arrived personnel, regardless of rank. In India, Milani went hunting with fellow officers in his free time. One evening, while returning from a duck, jackal and small game hunt, the group came face to face with a tiger standing in the path of their Jeep. After successfully out-maneuvering the animal, they vowed to hunt what they classified as a man-eater with larger and more numerous guns.[459] In November 1943, Milani participated in a team of twenty called "The Cardinals." The team, which the *Roundup* explained was "dedicated to the spirit of good cheer and manly sport," perfected a drinking game, whereby a "chief cardinal" would establish a routine prior to drinking a glass of 50% diluted spirit. The person following the "chief" would then have to follow the routine exactly, or down the entire drink and do the whole thing over again. Occasionally, the team invited higher-ranking officers to join. When Major General George E. Stratemeyer played, he took eight tries before successfully replicating the routine. Milani succeeded in three.[460]

From his experience in Asia, Milani learned a couple of valuable lessons that would inform his perspective on civil defense. The first was that without enough hardware, logistical support and manpower, any theater of command would be compromised. Theaters of command, to Milani, could not be effective without robust support from the military apparatus above them and without a realistic plan. He recognized quickly that civil defense suffered from the same lack of overarching logistical planning as the China-Burma-India theater. In his 1955

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458 "Just Like Paris?" *China-India-Burma Roundup* 1:11 (1942), online version, accessed August 15, 2012, http://cbi-theater-1.home.comcast.net/~cbi-theater-1/roundup/roundup112642.html.

459 "Baltimorean In India Learns One Way Not to Hunt a Tiger," *Sun*, May 7, 1944, 24.

460 "Just Like Paris?" *China-India-Burma Roundup* 1:11.

congressional testimony before the Holifield Committee on civil defense, Milani explained that civil defense should operate just like a theater of command, fitting into a national effort. The federal government would provide logistical support, including paid training for volunteers, and would advise local officials on the proximity of federal stockpiles of civil defense equipment to individual cities. It would also provide for different strategies given different scenarios instead of blanket policies like shelter and evacuation. In turn, the civil defense director would act as theater commander, who would take the federal resources and multiple plans and decide how his volunteers (soldiers in his model) would implement them.[461] Just like in India, federal civil defense suffered from the lack of a realistic plan (or plans). The only difference was funding. The Ledo Road cost almost $150,000,000. Had similar funds been dedicated to an equally ill-conceived civil defense plan, one can only wonder what civil defense's Ledo Road might have looked like.

The second lesson that Milani learned was that in the face of a failed plan, positive morale was especially important. Milani viewed civil defense volunteers in the same way he viewed soldiers and sought at every turn to encourage them with positive reinforcement. His geniality and his no-nonsense personality, along with his experience in a failed theater of command, made him the perfect person to administer a troubled federal civil defense policy in Baltimore.

D'Alesandro's appointment of Milani, a decorated military officer, silenced criticism from the right wing that D'Alesandro was soft on civil defense. Immediately after Milani's appointment in June 1952, the mayor received accolades from state officials, veterans and local

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[461] "Civil Defense for National Survival," Subcommittee on the Committee of Government Operations House of Representatives, Eighty-Fourth Congress, Second Session, May 4,7,14, June 22, 25 and 27, 1956, GPO: WDC 1956, 1521.

members of the military. David G. McIntosh III, Maryland's Director of Civil Defense, praised Milani as an "excellent choice." "Colonel Milani's career and training," McIntosh proclaimed, "will be of inestimable value to the development of the Baltimore City Civil Defense Organization."[462] Colonel Arthur L. Shreve congratulated D'Alesandro on "a particularly able [choice]" and cited Milani's "long and distinguished career in the military establishment" as a key asset.[463] Isaac S. George, former executive director of the Maryland Council of Defense, told D'Alesandro that he could not think of anyone more qualified for the job.[464] Benjamin L. Wolfson, Department Commander of Baltimore's American Legion and self-proclaimed member of the "previous[ly] doubting public, congratulated the mayor on his "high quality judgment and leadership that makes for splendid executive ability."[465]

By employing mainly volunteers and allowing them to take the proverbial ball and run with it, Milani was able to silence right wing critics, make due with meager federal funding and facilitate a vibrant civilian apparatus that supported and respected him as its leader and reinforced the D'Alesandro administration's commitment to civilian control. As volunteers constructed detailed, autonomous plans for their districts, Milani, who became the director of the BCDO on June 30, 1952, focused on citywide public awareness of the imperative of civil defense. His first stated purpose, he announced, was to "inform the public fully about Civil

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[462] David G. McIntosh III to Thomas D'Alesandro, June 26, 1952. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File Civil Defense (3) RG9 S23 Box 268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[463] Arthur L. Shreve to Thomas D'Alesandro, June 27, 1952. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File Civil Defense (3) RG9S23 Box268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[464] Isaac S. George to Thomas D'Alesandro, July 1, 1952. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File Civil Defense (3) RG9 S23 Box268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[465] Benjamin L. Wolfson to Thomas D'Alesandro, July 1, 1952. 44. D'Alesandro Jr. Adm. File Civil Defense (3) RG9 S23 Box 268, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

Defense to dispel a feeling of apathy that now apparently exists."[466] A newspaper editorial on July 3 explained that the reason why public apathy existed was because up to that point, "the public (had) not been sufficiently instructed" about what to do in case of a nuclear attack.[467] Milani, conscious of the ways federal propaganda was lulling Americans into a false sense of security about nuclear weapons, pushed for greater federal transparency on their true destructive potential. Like Ralph Lapp, Lloyd Berkner, John R. Nichols and Milton C. Towner, Milani was a civil defense policy-maker critical of government secrecy. He explained that his role was to educate, not to spread propaganda:

> We recognize that America and its people have never been subjected to 'live frontiers,' that they have lived in a vacuum of isolationism for a century and a half. These frontiers have been defined for us. We must make our people understand about air oceans [that] do not present any impediment to an aggressor. In short, we must take the public into our confidence, spare nothing. We recognize the aspirations and hopes of the American people and react in accordance with those aspirations and hopes. The overriding desire for peace, and with it a tendency on the part of the people to play at a peace game as though it were a reality and here now, must be recognized. Pure propaganda to turn this trend around won't do it. Scare speeches and frightening totals of destruction in the event of hydrogen attack won't do it, for Americans don't scare easily."[468]

Milani believed that the federal government was keeping Americans in the dark about the dangers of the nuclear age. He saw the potential for civil defense to become a broad educational campaign. He saw himself as an educator, not an indoctrinator.

Perhaps Milani was particularly concerned with educating the public about the effects of nuclear weapons because he had witnessed multiple tests himself. On March 17, 1953, Milani attended an atomic bomb test at Yucca Flats in Nevada. Most likely, he was positioned seven

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466 "Milani Takes Oath; To Fight Apathy," no publication recorded, June 30, 1952.

467 "The New Defense Director Takes The Helm In Baltimore," no publication recorded, July 3, 1952.

468 "Civil Defense for National Survival," Subcommittee on the Committee of Government Operations House of Representatives, Eighty-Fourth Congress, Second Session, May 4,7,14, June 22, 25 and 27, 1956, GPO: WDC 1956, 1514-1515.

miles south of the blast, but it is possible that he was as close as two miles away. According to General John R. Hodge, Chief of the Army Field Forces, the Army had learned from prior tests that people could be safely positioned as close as two miles to an explosion. The blast, which took place at an altitude of 300 feet, blew horizontally across the desert. Given the horizontal spread, Hodge reassured reporters that the troops and observers would probably not be affected.[469]

Though Army officials played down the potential danger from radioactive fallout, particularly when speaking with reporters, the Atomic Energy Commission fully recognized radiation's harm by 1953 and engaged in a cover-up to keep the information secret. Lawrence Wittner explained that the 1953 tests produced such alarming radiation levels that the commission quietly initiated inquiries into the deaths of thousands of local animals. Those reports were kept secret. An AEC representative told safety monitors who detected unsettling radiation levels, "Let's cool it – quiet it down." The representative explained that if the monitors went public with the information, "there might be repercussions and they might curtail the program which, in the interest of national defense, we can't do." As a result of AEC manipulation, the monitors changed their reports to reflect lower readings. When local farmers sued the U.S. government for the deaths of their livestock, the AEC successful argued that the sheep had died of natural causes. Almost thirty years later, the judge reversed his decision based upon the release of the secret AEC animal studies. The judge declared that the government cover-up constituted "fraud upon [the] court" and argued that the AEC withheld information in

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469 "Nevada Desert Atom Blast Smashes Test House and Cars," *Sun*, March 18, 1953, 1.

order to "advanc[e] the perceived interests of the United States in the unimpeded testing of nuclear weapons."[470]

In 1980, the United States congress concluded that the AEC had "failed to give adequate warning to the residents living downwind from the test site regarding the dangers posed by the radioactive fallout," that "the radiation monitoring system established by the government… was deficient," and that the AEC "falsely interpreted and reported radiation exposure rates so as to give an inaccurate estimate of the hazards." Additionally, congress declared that the AEC "knowingly disregarded evidence which questioned the accuracy of the government's measurements of radioactivity emitted from the test site as well as the adequacy of the then-employed radiological safety standards," and that fallout "was, more likely than not, responsible for the serious adverse health effects suffered by downwind residents."[471]

According to his grandson James, Frank Milani beat cancer three times in his life and may have ultimately died from it.[472] It is unclear if Milani ever became aware of the federal cover-up of the dangers of nuclear fallout though, as an avid newspaper reader, he most likely read about the 1980 congressional findings. However, Milani was a staunch critic of government secrecy throughout his life, particularly when it came to existential threats.

One such existential threat in Milani's view was the unidentified flying object, or UFO. Milani blasted the Air Force for denying and covering up the existence of UFOs and sought a straightforward discussion of the issue. In 1952, the same year he took over as BCDO director,

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470 Lawrence S. Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 151.

471 Ibid., 152.

472 James Milani, in discussion with author, August 2011.

Milani spoke on a panel devoted to the subject of UFO sightings. Criticizing the Air Force for attempting to cover up the sightings, Milani said, "It is a calculated risk to assume that the so-called saucers do not constitute a threat to the welfare and security of our citizens. We are given to believe they are not hostile, but information on Unidentified Flying Objects is classified, unavailable even to the office of Baltimore's Director of Civil Defense." He went on to demand an end to Air Force secrecy on the matter, an objective that he continued to pursue throughout the year as other Baltimoreans reported seeing strange things in the sky.[473] On July 30, the *Sun* reported that Phillip A. Fox, his wife and child saw three "bluish-white balls of light" performing "erratic maneuvers" over Baltimore's southwestern sky. Fox, an airline pilot, insisted, "Nobody can tell me that these things don't exist because I saw them."[474] The same day, Temus Bright of Frederick offered a $5000 reward to anyone who could corroborate "the existence of flying saucers" after he and his wife spotted "mysterious beams zooming from the west to the southwest at a high altitude." Also the same day, a Baltimore woman, who refused to be identified, saw "big circles of light" traveling at a very high rate of speed while she was boating on the Chesapeake Bay.[475] Milani gave credence to these reports and wanted the federal government to level with the people about what, if any, threat existed from UFOs. His requests were consistently met with silence on the part of Air Force officials.

Milani's greater fear in the early 1950s was not of imminent nuclear attack but rather of the government's inability to protect Americans from perilous new threats, especially as it

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473 Donald E. Keyhoe, *The Flying Saucer Conspiracy* (New York: Holt, 1955), 157-158; "Air Force Expert Sees No Danger to Capital from 'Flying Saucers," *Sun*, Jul 30, 1952, 1.

474 "Air Force Expert Sees No Danger to Capital from 'Flying Saucers," *Sun*, Jul 30, 1952, 1.

475 "Strange Lights in Sky Reported," *Sun*, Jul 29, 1952, 26.

disseminated propaganda to the contrary. Many citizens including Milani believed in the imperative of civil defense and were growing increasingly frustrated with the perceived ineptitude and disingenuousness of federal policy. Even though most people were not as familiar with civil defense's funding scheme or its propaganda strategies, they began to sense from 1950-1953 that the government could not protect them from the fire it had created. That civil defense volunteers began to voice the loudest objections to the program in the early 1950s indicates that it was precisely those educated *the most* about the importance of community help to civil defense who threw up their hands in disgust. Frank Milani shared the volunteers' concerns about the lack of coherent federal, state and local plans. He recognized early on in his tenure as director that the FCDA could not possibly provide the funding, oversight or logistical support necessary to carry out an effective plan in the wake of a nuclear disaster. His organization would have to make up for it with the almost exclusive use of volunteers. Under Milani, they became the backbone of Baltimore's civil defense. With the support of Mayor D'Alesandro, Milani officially enlisted seven thousand volunteers and attempted to provide them with what they needed—a plan of attack.[476]

This plan of attack took the form of a fifty-page guide for civil defense volunteer officers titled "Civil Defense Officer Service Manual." Produced by the BCDO, it outlined in great detail the roles that civil defense officers would play in preparing for a nuclear attack and duties they would perform should the unthinkable unfold. The guide made clear the centrality and indispensability of the volunteer to Baltimore's civil defense effort. It ensured individual district coordinators' autonomy to appoint and train personnel and provided that district coordinators would have an influential role in molding citywide civil defense policy. Though

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[476] Editorial, "Our Civil Defense," *Sun*, Dec 13, 1956, 20.

initially envisioned as a temporary institution, the district control center model that the manual described endured from the beginning of Milani's tenure in 1952 until 1963, when it eventually dissolved along with the entire civil defense organization.

The manual tasked individual district coordinators to appoint, organize, train and equip subordinates including deputies for training and operations, intelligence, personnel and supply, public health, fire, police, emergency welfare, water supply, transportation and radio. Coordinators were also given the responsibility of vetting and appointing officers from public utility companies including C&P Telephone and Baltimore Gas and Electric Company.[477] Those staff members would then have the support of a robust team of center personnel working twenty-four hours a day, including multiple telephone operators, radio dispatchers and message-delivery chiefs who handled and logged incoming and outgoing messages.[478] The manual stated up front that "the main mission of the Civil Defense Officer Service is to provide protection for citizens in their neighborhoods," and that district coordinators would "provide leadership and coordination… with the aim of securing an adequate number of volunteers who, when carefully and thoroughly trained, will be able to minimize casualties and protect life and property in the neighborhoods where they live."[479]

Prior to an attack, in addition to appointing volunteer personnel, district coordinators were to compile statistics on existing facilities and population, take note of unique geographical features, train deputies and arrange for clerical aid. They were also tasked with understanding

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[477] Baltimore Civil Defense Organization, "Civil Defense Officer Service Manual," RG 38, S7, Box1, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD., 1-5.

[478] Ibid., 5-6.

[479] Ibid 8.

the capabilities and limitations of all existing communication systems in the district command center and citywide. Coordinators had to stay abreast of the latest civil defense techniques and challenges. The guide stipulated that volunteer coordinators must attend training courses and conferences in order to relate federal policy to area, sector and post coordinators. Coordinators had to then arrange training courses at the local level on first aid, explosive ordnance, fire-fighting and rescue. They had to plan for and initiate local civil defense drills designed to test existing systems and policies, then report strengths and weaknesses back to Baltimore's civil defense headquarters.

Under Milani, volunteer district coordinators also acted as neighborhood civil defense public relations officers, recruiting volunteers by writing letters to local schools, neighborhood groups and churches, and by going door to door. Once coordinators recruited enough people, they arranged meetings to show FCDA film-strips and movies that were provided by Muth and subsequent BCDO public relations directors. They also arranged neighborhood civil defense training courses, which were most often held in public schools.[480] According to Northern District coordinator Eli Berkenfeld, district coordinators were responsible for sharing with other neighborhood volunteers "all pertinent information received from Washington" and copies of civil defense press releases before they went public.[481] The district coordinator was the backbone of Baltimore's civil defense.

Reporting to the district coordinator was the area coordinator. The mission of the area coordinator, as laid out in the service manual, was to "organize the residents of his Area into

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[480] Baltimore City Council meeting minutes, January 22, 1963, 1963 City Council Meetings on Civil Defense, RG 38 S2, Box 2, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD., 4.

[481] Ibid., 3.

self-protection units. He [would] supervise the training within his Area, and make the necessary plans for saving life and property in the event of a Civil Defense disaster."[482] Areas usually, but not always, corresponded with neighborhood boundaries. Occasionally, areas would comprise two or even three neighborhoods. Area coordinators selected their own subordinates to help them carry out civil defense procedures on a very local level, appointed sector coordinators and established their own headquarters (usually in someone's basement or in an office) and equipped the office with maps and diagrams of the community that would be utilized in the event of attack. Reporting to the area coordinator was the sector coordinator, and reporting to the sector coordinator was the post coordinator.

The residential post coordinator, according to the manual, was the most critical link in the civil defense chain of command. Responsible for one single block's civil defense preparation, post coordinators "brought directly into the home the principle of protection against any disaster," acting as a "pipeline for information." The guide stressed that these volunteers should be "well-known, honored and respected in their neighborhood, place of employment or business." He or she would have to prepare to sacrifice free time and "personal considerations" for the good of his/her 250-300 charges and be repaid only with the "satisfaction of service." Since women were said to be "present in residential neighborhoods at all times," the guide underscored their importance for daytime civil defense preparations and advocated their recruitment in great numbers.[483] Post coordinators were to appoint at least one other volunteer trained in each of the following areas: "household fire fighting, police duties, light rescue, first

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[482] BCDO, "Civil Defense Officer Service Manual," RG 38, S7, Box1, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD., 1-5, 14.

[483] Ibid., 25.

aid, explosive ordnance reconnaissance and communications."[484] Significantly, only one volunteer in each post would be authorized for police duties. That volunteer was to be "deputized with police powers" but could only exercise those powers at his post. Post volunteers were to be the first civil defense representatives on the scene after an attack, substituting for professional civil defense and other authorities who would most likely not be available.

The guide also stipulated that as the civil defense "jack-of-all-trades," the post officer would oscillate between the roles of student, teacher, facilitator and reporter. Prior to an attack, the post coordinator would establish a block headquarters, initiate a recruitment program, develop a relationship with the sector coordinator, prepare maps, procure and distribute necessary equipment to subordinates, organize public meetings to familiarize residents with civil defense, take a neighborhood census, locate hospitals and available shelter facilities, stockpile shovels, picks, rope and ladders and keep records of all civil defense volunteers.[485] The officer was to visit every home in his/her district, identify him or herself as a civil defense officer, obtain information on how many people lived in each home, diagram the physical locations of telephones and assess the ability of each family member to aid in the event of a disaster. Officers would then instruct residents on self-protection methods, home protection, fire fighting and on procedures to follow in the event of ALERT or TAKE COVER signals.

In the event of attack, post coordinators were to report fires, casualties, trapped residents, gas leaks and blocked thoroughfares to their immediate supervisors. They would conduct a census of the living and attempt to rescue people who were "lightly trapped," put out fires, cordon off hazards, delegate responsibilities to other volunteers, direct residents whose homes

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484 Ibid., 27.

485 Ibid., 31-32

had burned to mass care facilities and establish temporary housing for those recently treated at those facilities. Coordinators would also take on the "moral role," reassuring frightened residents that "the job on hand is being done" while simultaneously briefing and directing emergency crews to trouble areas. Post coordinators, in short, were given almost exclusive authority to plan and execute civil defense operations in their own neighborhoods throughout the 1950s. They acted as psychologists, teachers, emergency medical technicians, utility workers, morticians, fire-fighters, chaplains, reporters and police officers. Baltimore's civil defense staff under Milani realized the futility of depending upon the police and fire departments, utility companies and emergency medical personnel and instead adhered to the FCDA's self help strategy. In fact, only one civil defense volunteer per post was trained in police duties. That individual could only exercise his authority during an exercise or an actual attack. Significantly, he reported directly to the volunteer post coordinator and not to the district police captain, which preserved community autonomy when it came to protecting life and property, arrest of looters, preserving peace and enforcing traffic regulations.[486]

Three years as director of the BCDO working to establish such an intricate network of civil defense volunteers made Frank Milani highly critical of an FCDA that, in his view, had "gone to the basement for bargains and come back with exactly what [it] had paid for." Milani recognized early on that lack of federal funding resulted in civil defense being administered in a "piece-meal" fashion. The result was local civil defense officials planning and implementing their own policies without adequate guidance from federal authorities. This was unnerving to Milani, as he recognized the potential for planners to abuse the civil defense mandate to push their political, religious or militarist agendas. Milani was committed to civilian control, but what

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[486] Ibid., 37-39.

about future civil defense directors? D'Alesandro was committed to civilian control, but what about future mayors?

By 1955, Milani had also become frustrated by the FCDA's tendency to plan based upon World War II-era realities and not the realities of the Cold War. Though Milani publicly decried "public apathy" as a root cause of American ambivalence toward civil defense, he privately argued that apathy was merely a symptom of the "lack of vigorous leadership in the entire Federal Civil Defense agency who [was] charged with producing a realistic Civil Defense program." He argued that the general public was not as much apathetic as they were distrustful with regard to federal authorities being able to administer such a critical program.

On December 14, 1955, three weeks after the Soviet Union tested its first two-stage, solid-fuel thermonuclear bomb,[487] Milani sent a nine-page report to Mayor D'Alesandro that encapsulated his anxieties about the state of civil defense and suggestions to improve the organization. D'Alesandro had requested a status update to a request from California congressman Chet Holifield (D), who was in the process of putting together a bipartisan effort to improve FCDA oversight and funding.[488] The report indicted civil defense but stood up for citizens whom the media blamed time and time again for their apathy and laziness. Milani argued, "we must recognize that the American people need and want education, not propaganda. We recognize that America and its people have never been subjected to 'live frontiers,' that they have lived in a vacuum of isolationism for a century and a half… In short, we must take the

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487 "Russian/Soviet Weapons Secrets Revealed," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 49:3 (1993), 48.

488 McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 56.

public into our confidence, spare nothing… Scare speeches and frightening totals of destruction in the event of hydrogen attack won't do it, for Americans don't scare easily."[489]

Milani argued that in order for civil defense to gain traction with citizens, it would have to occupy a "fourth arm" of the national security apparatus within the Pentagon and operate on an equal plateau with the Army, Navy and Air Force. It would have to be headed by a civilian director of civil defense who should be both a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and have a vote on the National Security Council. It would also have to administer a "National Master Disaster Plan" to eliminate once and for all the "numerous bulletins and circulars [that were being] fed like crumbs to starving pigeons." Without such a centralized structure and without adequate communication between federal and local authorities, Milani complained, local jurisdictions, particularly those within critical target areas, were being forced to fend for themselves. This produced a leadership vacuum and forced local officials and volunteers, all the way down to individual block captains, to craft and implement autonomous micro-civil defense policies.

On May 4, 1956 members of the House Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, chaired by Holifield, traveled to Baltimore to discuss Milani's report in greater detail. After the report was added to the official committee record, Holifield questioned Milani at length. Milani explained to Holifield that the lack of a national master civil defense plan had resulted in states, cities and communities initiating their own uncoordinated plans that adhered to jurisdictional boundaries. In an era of thermonuclear weapons that did not recognize those boundaries, Milani felt that groups of jurisdictions inside critical target areas needed to be

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[489] House Subcommittee on Government Operations, *Civil Defense for National Survival, Part 5,* 84th Cong., 2nd sess., May 4, 7, 14, June 22, 25 and 27, 1956, 1514-1515.

organized under "one plan and one direction." Holifield, unfamiliar with Baltimore's status as an independent city amidst five surrounding counties, inquired as to how much cooperation had taken place amongst jurisdictions. Milani responded that there had been very little coordination between jurisdictions, which each had its own independent civil defense organization. He suggested that the FCDA establish unique plans for critical target areas just as the military would do in a command theater and proposed that the federal government establish regional civil defense authorities. While he trumpeted the achievements of Baltimore's civil defense volunteers, Milani acknowledged that an all-volunteer system would not ultimately suffice in the thermonuclear era. Despite the hard work of local people, Milani admitted that there was not enough volunteer manpower to carry out civil defense after an attack. He proposed that the federal government train only 5,000 volunteers in a hypothetical city of one million residents. After an attack, those 5,000 federally trained volunteers would direct 45,000 other untrained reserve volunteers. Perhaps Milani's most notable suggestion was that Public Law 920 be amended to provide localities with funding for administrative costs and staff, including money for civil defense equipment, which was "far beyond the means of the average city government."

Holifield concluded from Milani's testimony that Baltimore was having a hard time recruiting volunteers because "the people are apathetic, they are indifferent, the don't seem to realize the terrible hazard of this type of warfare, if it should occur." Again objecting to the idea that citizens were apathetic, Milani responded,

> You say that the people are apathetic. I don't think they are. I think they have lacked the leadership, from the President on down, to give them a clear concept of the need for civil defense. I think you will find, sir, that the American people as a whole are willing to devote their time to worthwhile projects. We see it every day—the march for polio, and all that sort of thing, that is something that is impressed upon them as needed. But civil defense has not had that leadership.

Holifield replied, "We who are aware of the impact of these weapons and who know what could happen to the city of Baltimore and other coastal cities… it is sometimes hard for us to understand why there isn't more interest and more leadership." Milani responded, "We mustn't forget that this city is in the throes of the greatest prosperity it has ever had. People have the money to enjoy themselves. And they are not too prone to give up their free time to something intangible like civil defense, unless the people at the head of the whole thing, from top to bottom, impress upon them the need."

Milani accused federal authorities of sending mixed messages. He argued that the reason why Americans were so confused about civil defense was because in any given newspaper, one article would discuss how modern "pushbutton warfare" would make the U.S. untouchable while the next article would discuss how thirty planes might get through in an attack. He attributed such mixed messages to "negative leadership" on the part of federal authorities, and suggested that the committee look more intently at the attitudes of local people, rather than brush them off as apathetic and ignorant. He also suggested that because the country was not engaged in a hot war, federal authorities had to level with Americans about the true effects of nuclear warfare and not continue to patronize them with the message that they would all survive. When asked by R. Walter Riehlman (R-Florida) if the difficulty in attracting volunteers resulted from Americans being a "peace-loving people" who "didn't like to think about war and the preparation for war," Milani responded that he thanked God for that. Riehlman responded,

> That is the thing we must overcome. The chairman and every other member of the committee certainly understands this. I have felt keenly that civil defense should be one of our key arms of defense, and I wanted this program set up in the Department of Defense. I feel that would be the place where it would have some recognition. But I am sure that the Administration and the military people do not want it there, because they have this idea, that our country doesn't want to accept the kind of a program that might tend to militarize our Nation.

Riehlman's statement frightened Milani. He began to realize that the Holifield Committee might be leaning toward further bureaucratized or militarized civil defense to alter or replace civilian-run civil defense. Milani certainly advocated much more robust federal involvement, but these discussions went too far for him. He qualified his statements,

> I am heartily in favor of raising civil defense in stature, but I hope that we do not take the proposed reorganization… for a Cabinet status for civil defense, where they put civil defense under the heading of an emergency service, between administration and supply; that is not raising civil defense in stature whatsoever… I [also] do not subscribe to the point that by placing civil defense in the Department of Defense, on a coequal basis with Army, Air Force, and Navy, that the military will take over. I do not subscribe to that at all, because with a good Secretary of Defense, it will be 1 of 4 responsibilities with which he is charged, and I don't think he would subordinate one to any other of his equal responsibilities.

Riehlman remarked that the if an attack occurred under existing civil defense policy martial law would have to be invoked to "pick up the pieces." Milani responded, "I don't think so. Even now, even as ill prepared as we are now in our city, I think that… our civil defense, would be able to carry on. But, I hope to heaven that martial law will never have to be declared or never will be declared."[490]

In fact, Milani had always been an opponent of martial law in civil defense. On the second day of the 1955 federal air raid exercise "Operation Alert," Milani found out by reading in the newspaper that President Eisenhower had declared martial law. Upset by the secrecy of the declaration, Milani criticized the federal government for overstepping its boundaries and argued that localities should be responsible for making such declarations. Milani, caught by surprise, explained, "We haven't the slightest idea of how we should operate in the event that such a thing as martial law should be declared. It was the first we had heard of such a thing."[491]

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490 "Civil Defense for National Survival," Subcommittee on the Committee of Government Operations House of Representatives, Eighty-Fourth Congress, Second Session, May 4,7,14, June 22, 25 and 27, 1956, GPO: WDC 1956, 1513-1550.

491 "Milani Cites Martial Law," *Sun*, Jul 12, 1955, 18.

To Milani, the surprise martial law declaration was more evidence of confusion and disorganization at the federal level and indicated the need for a more robust national civil defense plan. His opposition to such a policy also reflected his dedication to civilian-based civil defense and his distaste for government secrecy.

In lieu of a national plan, local and neighborhood civil defense policies in Baltimore certainly reflected a familiarity with federal civil defense training materials and staff college coursework, but they also reflected the unique characteristics of the communities in which they were produced, the religious beliefs and values of the policy-makers and perhaps most importantly, their assumptions about what Baltimore might look like in the wake of a nuclear attack and how to deal with those new realities. To southern district volunteers, their neighborhood's most able citizens would band together and utilize detailed block maps to locate and aid the community's most vulnerable citizens. Their plan contained no mention of what to do if people from other neighborhoods ended up in their territory, or what would happen if outsiders began competing with residents for scarce resources. Former director Elmer Bernhardt was concerned that without an adequate warning system, Baltimoreans might be caught by surprise, resulting in mass casualties and panic. Frank Milani and volunteer district coordinators were concerned that without federally funded training courses for civilian volunteers and without a more robust volunteer reserve system, the city might devolve into mass chaos, with potentially hundreds of thousands dead. If that were to occur, Milani, along with many volunteers, feared the potential for law enforcement to fill the leadership vacuum. In February 1956, Milani wrote a letter to Sherley Ewing, director of Maryland's civil defense agency, in which he opposed the suggestion that civil defense officers be placed under the command of Baltimore's police department. Milani politely suggested that "the regular Police department has so much to do in

their every day duties, and limited personnel to do it with, that they would not willingly take on additional responsibilities."[492]

In early 1959, after J. Harold Grady unseated Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro in Baltimore's Democratic primary, Milani resigned his post as Baltimore's civil defense director. Southern District Coordinator Kenneth E. Lee pleaded with him to reconsider in a letter to the editor of the *News-Post*. The letter further emphasized how much respect volunteers had for Milani: "[Milani's] sincere conscientious and devoted efforts in [sic] behalf of civil defense has endeared him to the many loyal citizens and volunteers workers who are participating in civil defense. His outstanding efforts have been noted and are deeply appreciated by the many people who know that he has organized our city to the best of his ability… under his leadership, we have a strong civil defense."[493]

D'Alesandro, a mayor committed to ending the Cold War by encouraging scientific knowledge and promoting "the well being of all the peoples of the free-world," departed in early 1959.[494] Frank Milani followed. Just before his defeat, D'Alesandro declared, "I am heartily in favor of increasing cultural relations and exchanges with the Soviet Union, for I believe that one of the best safeguards against war is the promotion of better understanding and relations between peoples of different nationalities."[495] When asked if he felt that complete destruction at the hand of the hydrogen bomb would be an effective deterrent to all but local war, D'Alesandro

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492 Milani to Ewing, February 10, 1956, RG 38 S2, Box 1, 1951-71, Ann. Reports – Correspondence, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

493 Letter to the Editor, "Asks Col. Milani Not to Resign," *News-Post,* April 3, 1959.

494 Ibid.

495 "Long Urges Confab of Elder Statesmen," *The Johns Hopkins University News Letter*, March 14, 1958, 1.

responded, "Yes… [but] this type of deterrent is not preferable to realistic disarmament."[496] With his departure, Baltimore's commitment to civilian control of civil defense hung in the balance.

[496] "Mayor, Long Stress Military Flexibility," *News Letter*, March 21, 1958, 1.

CHAPTER 7 – POSSE COMITATUS: THE MILITARIZATION OF BALTIMORE'S CIVIL DEFENSE

With Mayor D'Alesandro's and Frank Milani's input, Representative Chet Holifield's Subcommittee on Military Operations recommended in late 1956 that the federal government take a much more active role in implementing and supervising civil defense policy. Contrary to the FCDA's prior structure that assigned primary responsibilities for civil defense to states and localities, Holifield sponsored legislation that would subject local and state-level civil defense to much stronger federal oversight. It also called for the construction of a national fallout shelter system.[497] Holifield launched his investigation as Americans realized that FCDA emphasis on evacuation was pointless in an era of increasingly powerful hydrogen bombs, ones that might be delivered by new ICBMs without warning and quickly engulf metropolitan areas in radioactive fallout.[498] In advocating the $20 billion proposal to construct such elaborate fallout shelters, Holifield acknowledged that some of his conservative colleagues would object to expanding the civil defense bureaucracy. He was therefore careful to say that even with a robust fallout shelter program, Americans should not forget about their own responsibilities for civil defense. Self-help, in other words, would remain a part of the American civil defense message even as authority for civil defense's implementation centralized within the executive branch.[499]

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[497] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 56.

[498] Paul G. Steinbicker, "Shelter or Evacuation," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 13:5 (1957).

[499] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 56-57.

The Holifield Committee, by exposing the FCDA's flawed policies, including the administration's dependence upon states and localities to administer civil defense activities and its primary emphasis upon evacuation, forced President Eisenhower and other Republicans to at least acknowledge that civil defense policy should adhere to new realities of the hydrogen bomb and missile delivery systems. Otherwise, they risked being branded as soft on domestic security.[500] Shortly after the Holifield Committee released its report in May 1956, the FCDA quickly reversed course and crafted a huge public fallout shelter program with a price tag of $32 billion. Shocked by the FCDA's abrupt policy reversal, Eisenhower commissioned another committee to study civil defense policy, the Gaither Committee.[501]

The Gaither Committee, originally known as the Security Resources Panel of the Science Advisory Committee, quickly broadened the focus of its inquiry to address national security issues more generally. The committee painted an ominous portrait of Soviet missile capabilities and recommended that the U.S. improve its Strategic Air Command (SAC) force, accelerate development of IRBMs and ICBMs, enhance tactical warning capabilities and increase the size of conventional arsenals. The committee also argued that all of those recommendations would be useless unless they were "coupled with measures to reduce the extreme vulnerability of our people and our cities," and proposed:

> a nationwide fallout shelter program to protect the civil population. This seems the only feasible protection for millions of people who will be increasingly exposed to the hazards of radiation. The panel has been unable to identify any other type of defense likely to save more lives for the same money in the event of a nuclear attack.[502]

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500 Ibid., 57.

501 Ibid.

The committee, constituted in spring 1957, addressed issues far beyond those civil defense questions Eisenhower commissioned it to analyze. Its report, titled *Deterrence & Survival in the Nuclear Age,* released in November 1957 after the Soviet launch of Sputnik, was ultimately used to justify the claim that a "missile gap" had widened between the United States and the Soviet Union.[503] To Eisenhower's chagrin, it echoed the recommendation of the Holifield Committee in November 1957 that a $25 billion shelter program immediately be authorized, which would indicate Americans' "*will to survive*, and [their] understanding of [their] responsibilities in a nuclear age."[504] The report argued that the "(GNP) of the USSR [was]… more than one-third that of the United States and [was] increasing half again as fast,"[505] and that the "extraordinary concentration of the Soviet economy on military power and heavy industry… [made] available economic resources sufficient to finance both the rapid expansion of their impressive military capability and their politico-economic offensive by which, through diplomacy, propaganda and subversion, they [sought] to extend the Soviet orbit."[506]

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502 B. Wayne Blanchard, Planning Specialist for Civil Defense Programs – FEMA,"American Civil Defense 1945-1984: The Evolution of Programs and Policies," accessed August 15, 2012, http://www.orau.org/ptp/pdf/cdhistory.pdf.

503 William Burr and Robert Wampler, "The Master of the Game' : Paul H. Nitze and U.S. Cold War Strategy from Truman to Reagan," National Security Archive, accessed August 15, 2012, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB139/index.htm.

504 McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins At Home,* 58.

505 Security Resources Panel of the Science Advisory Committee, "Deterrence & Survival in the Nuclear Age," November 7, 1957, accessed August 15, 2012, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB139/nitze02.pdf, 1.

506 Ibid 4.

These dramatic pronouncements did not convince Eisenhower to abandon the New Look imperative for financial discipline in favor of massive shelter expenditures. Secretary of State Dulles argued in one of the biggest National Security Council meetings ever convened that the conflict with the Soviet Union was as much an economic struggle as a military one.[507] Eisenhower ultimately decided to reject all fallout shelter proposals proposed by Holifield, the FCDA and the Gaither report. His decision was certainly economically motivated, but it also reflected his view that such a "dramatic action" would make Americans aware of the "human effects of nuclear weapons," potentially leading to mass panic.[508] To Eisenhower, a robust civil defense program equaled a robust public education campaign on the horrors of nuclear weapons. Ultimately, he decided not to educate Americans on the true potential of the hydrogen bomb. Politically, his decision was a brave one, particularly in the wake of the Soviet Union's successful launch of the world's first ICBM and subsequent deployment of the *Sputnik* satellite. Eisenhower knew that he would be attacked by both Democrats and various Republicans for being tone-deaf on issues of domestic Cold War preparedness and that he might make enemies in vital policy-making circles by repudiating the findings of the Rockefeller Fund and RAND, which had each contributed to the Gaither report.[509]

Though Eisenhower rejected proposals for a nationwide fallout shelter program, he could not ignore calls to implement greater federal oversight of civil defense. He mandated civil

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[507] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 58.

[508] Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb*, 149.

[509] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home,* 58; B. Wayne Blanchard, Planning Specialist for Civil Defense Programs – FEMA,"American Civil Defense 1945-1984: The Evolution of Programs and Policies," accessed August 15, 2012, http://www.orau.org/ptp/pdf/cdhistory.pdf., 6-7.

defense reorganization through Executive Order 10773, in which he authorized a plan called "Reorganization Plan No. 1." In a political move to placate critics, Eisenhower's reorganization plan abolished the FCDA in favor of a new organization that streamlined the FCDA and the Office of Defense Mobilization (ODM) into one entity.[510] The administration called the new organization the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization (OCDM) and grounded it firmly into the Executive Office of the President. The objective of OCDM was to provide a firm executive base in order to construct a consolidated nonmilitary defense program.[511] In October 1958, OCDM released the "National Plan for Civil Defense and Defense Mobilization." The National Plan split nonmilitary objectives into two classifications: protection of life and property, and "management of resources and production." Prior to 1958, the FCDA dictated that states and localities shoulder primary responsibility for civil defense. The National Plan now stipulated that the OCDM would assume responsibility for providing policy direction and greater funding "on the basis of approved plans."[512]

Significantly for Baltimore, one of the explicit priorities under the National Plan's "life and property" classification was maintenance of law and order. Though the plan assigned greater responsibilities for certain aspects of civil defense to the federal government, it stipulated that "local government [be] the basic entity responsible for the emergency maintenance of law

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510 Ibid., 7.

511 "Annual Report of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization for Fiscal Year 1959," Executive Office of the President, United States Government Printing Office (1960), accessed August 15, 2012, http://training.fema.gov/emiweb/edu/docs/HistoricalInterest/Office%20of%20Civil%20and%20Defense%20Mobilization%20-%201959%20-%20Annual%20Rep.pdf, 1.

512 Ibid., 3-4.

and order." The Secretary of Defense would only intervene with emergency aid at the explicit request of local authorities and only if those requests did not interfere with primary military operations. OCDM mandated that local civil defense agencies take advantage of existing police departments and personnel and use them to their full potential. It also mandated that local civil defense agencies "promote the training of sufficient auxiliary police, and… enhance nonmilitary defense by providing guidance, training, and equipment."[513] Auxiliary police would regulate traffic after a nuclear attack, monitor radiation and "enforce civil defense regulations to prevent subversive action, to maintain law and order, and to protect vital supplies and installations."[514]

The National Plan's explicit call to establish an auxiliary police force to augment civil defense activities came at a crucial time for Baltimore. Frank Milani resigned his post as Baltimore's civil defense director after J. Harold Grady's spectacular upset of Mayor D'Alesandro in 1959. Shortly after Grady was sworn in on May 19, 1959, work began in earnest to marginalize Milani's volunteer civil defense corps in order to adhere to OCDM's National Plan. Milani and his deputy director Schuyler S. Blackburn had worked for eight years to ensure that civil defense remained a civilian-controlled enterprise. With D'Alesandro's approval, the organization built a network of dedicated civilians who served as district, area, sector and post coordinators. Milani always shied away from any suggestion that civil defense be coordinated by the military or the police department. As a military man, he possessed the clout to keep opponents of civilian control at bay. With the election of a mayor who had previously worked as

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513 Ibid., 20.

514 Ibid., 23.

an FBI agent and later a Maryland state's attorney, the future of civilian control hung in the balance.

After D'Alesandro's departure in August 1959, Baltimore's police department redistricted the city. Prior to that date, the department had been divided into seven districts: Northern, Northwestern, Southwestern, Northeastern, Central, Southern, and Eastern.[515] By 1960, the processes of suburbanization and blockbusting were well underway. As middle and upper-middle class whites moved out of sections of Northwest, Southwest and Northeast Baltimore, blacks of all socioeconomic levels followed. Those with the means were able to purchase homes in Edmondson Village, Park Heights, Ashburton and Windsor Hills, but they did so at a very high price compared to the price previous white owners sold for.[516] In response to rapidly shifting demographics, the police department, under James M. Hepbron's leadership, added two new districts, Western and Southeastern. The *Sun* hailed the decision to realign the districts, one that the newspaper argued was long overdue: "The city's population has long since pushed outward to the city line and left the old police stations far behind."[517] The newly established Western District ended up encompassing a population that was 99% African-American. The realignment had a profound impact upon Baltimore's civil defense setup, and may have been indirectly responsible for the demise of the organization.

Shortly after his election, Mayor Grady recommended to Maryland's governor Millard J. Tawes that Colonel Arthur L. Shreve be appointed as Baltimore's civil defense director. Shreve

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515 "Police Zone Changes Due," *Sun,* August 9, 1959.

516 Kenneth Durr, *Beyond the Backlash: White Working-Class Politics in Baltimore, 1940-1980* (Durham: UNC Press, 2003), 98-103.

517 Editorial, "Long Overdue," *Sun,* August 4, 1959.

took office on August 24, 1959. His first goal was to "re-organize" the BCDO's police service program, which Frank Milani had largely deemphasized in favor of the civilian-controlled volunteer warden network. Shreve envisioned a civil defense organization that would be fully integrated into the city's police organization, which, he argued, would "simplify command and control problems in both Organizations."[518] In passive voice, he explained that sometime during the month he took over as director, "it was realized" that the police service program within the BCDO had not been functional for many years. He advocated a "highly-trained, tightly knit Special Patrolman Service as an operating adjunct to Civil Defense and the regular Police Department, together with the necessity for far wider and deeper participation in Civil Defense of the regular Police Department, both in area of responsibility and scope of authority."[519]

In September, Shreve formed a committee within the office of civil defense to explore the possibility of establishing a "Special Patrolman" program to augment the current system of civilian-controlled districts, sectors, areas and posts. The commission advocated the appointment of high-caliber patrolmen. Its goal was to establish a "stable and efficient Special Patrolman Service which would augment at all times, whether in a war-caused emergency or natural disaster situation, the functions of the Baltimore City Police Department."[520] Members of the committee included Shreve, Baltimore's police commissioner James M. Hepbron, police chief inspector Oscar L. Lusby, and police captain Walter U. Messner. Not one member of Frank Milani's volunteer leadership was invited to attend.

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[518] "Emergency Police Reserve Re-Organization," January 18, 1960, 1960 Auxiliary Police RG38 S2 Box 1, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[519] Ibid.

[520] Ibid.

Called by African-American state delegate Jerome Robinson "an SS officer in a Chesterfield coat who is impatient with the Bill of Rights and intolerant of the constitutional liberties and prerogatives of the people,"[521] police commissioner James M. Hepbron was a cutthroat commander who routinely employed illegal methods of policing to apprehend suspects. Under his leadership, which began in 1955, white police officers broke the law with impunity. They pummeled defendants for being "mouthy" after questionable arrests, demanded salutes from African-American officers and targeted African-American officers for dismissal from the force.[522] With routine graft, kickbacks, coercion and illegal wiretaps, Hepbron presided over what could be considered one of the most corrupt and odiously brutal police departments in Baltimore's history.

On October 25, 1957, the N.A.A.C.P. called for an investigation into why nineteen year-old African-American John W. Smith was arrested for disorderly conduct and beaten into critical condition. One patrolman had knocked the unarmed Smith to the ground and, with the help of three other officers, loaded him into a car and took him to the Northwestern Police Station. That he was taken to the station first and not to the hospital indicated that his injuries, including a fractured skull, were incurred either in the police car or at the station.[523] The N.A.A.C.P. telegrammed Hepbron, objecting to what it termed "incredible and unwarranted brutality" and declaring, "something is terribly wrong when an unarmed citizen, in the custody of four

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521 "Robinson Urges Hepbron to Quit," *Sun,* March 12, 1957, 40.

522 For beating, see "Probe is Set in Reported Beating Case," *Sun,* June 25, 1957, 38; "19 Witnesses to Appear in Police-Beating Case," July 6, 1957, 26; for saluting and firing of black officer, see "Race Question Enters Hearing," *Sun,* June 27, 1957, 38.

523 "N.A.A.C.P. Seeks Probe in Arrest," *Sun,* October 26, 1957, 18.

policemen, is so brutally treated that there is serious question as to whether he will live."[524] Another notable instance involved a fifteen year-old African-American boy who suffered a fractured skull after an officer pistol-whipped him at the end of a high-speed chase.[525] Officers were vindicated in most of these instances by either the court system or by police hearings over which Hepbron presided. In response to mounting incidents of police brutality in 1957, former police magistrate Bernard B. Felkin published a report recommending that city police officers be required to attend "refresher courses in the basic law," specifically as it pertained to "the rights of the individual."[526]

Under Hepbron's command, officers used girls as young as nine years old as human bait in efforts to apprehend child molesters. In August 1958, two young girls came forward and accused Alford G. Martin, a Reisterstown Road pet shop owner, of what the *Sun* termed a "morals offense." The next day, officers sent the same girls back into the store unaccompanied. During the next half hour, Martin assaulted the girls while officers observed from across the street. Shortly thereafter, police arrested Martin for sexual assault, but the incident set off a storm of protest, most notably from Jerome Robinson who had been fiercely critical of Hepbron's tactics for years. Robinson angrily declared that the human bait episode was "the natural and logical end… of police-state thinking actually applied to enforcement problems. We have here proof positive—if we ever needed it—that pure water does not flow from a tainted well. Baltimore will not be free from this kind of grisly and shocking reading unless and until

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524 Ibid.

525 "Hepbron Breaks Silence on Case," *Sun,* January 30, 1959, 38.

526 "Refresher Study Backed by Hepbron," *Sun,* July 1, 1957.

there is a new police commissioner in Baltimore who brings to his post a fresh, decent and responsible approach to enforcement problems which recognizes the basic rights of our citizens."[527]

On January 22, 1959, Baltimore delegates to Maryland's General Assembly voted to launch an investigation of Hepbron in the wake of a major police corruption scandal and the employment of illegal wiretaps in defiance of Maryland law.[528] Less than one week after the vote to investigate Hepbron, Jerome Robinson received a threat to drop his demands for an investigation. According to Robinson, "someone who professes to be very close to the commissioner" threatened him to drop the inquiry or risk being framed for an unreferenced crime.[529] Shaken but undeterred, Robinson provided proof that Hepbron's department had planted evidence, passed off deliberate shootings of suspects as accidental and illegally detained innocent citizens without cause.[530] According to the testimony of retired chief inspector Fred L. Ford and Edgar G. Kirby, who was fired from the force after an internal investigation found him guilty of planting evidence, Hepbron also had very close ties with organized crime. Kirby testified that he saw Hepbron emerging from an elevator in the Emerson Hotel with notorious

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527 "Use of Girls as 'Bait' Hit by Robinson," *Sun,* August 22, 1958, 38.

528 "City Delegates Vote Inquiry to Decide if Hepbron is Competent," *Sun,* January 22, 1959, 32.

529 "Threat Tied to Call for Hepbron Quiz," *Sun,* January 27, 1959, 32.

530 "Robinson States Case on Hepbron; Hearings to Begin February 19," *Sun,* February 11, 1959, 38.

mobster Frankie Carbo and two prostitutes, and that some of Hepbron's illegal actions were done at the behest of mobsters.[531]

After hearing all of the evidence, Baltimore's house delegation voted to register a formal complaint with Governor Tawes and to ask him to launch a formal hearing. Tawes agreed. The hearings took place in May and June 1959. After days of testimony, Tawes dismissed all charges of incompetency and misconduct and therefore declined to fire Hepbron. He did, however, rebuke Hepbron for "commit[ting] certain indiscretions and [for exercising] poor judgment." Tawes declared, "I am not unmindful of the fact that the ability of Mr. Hepbron to serve in the delicate and sensitive post of police commissioner of Baltimore city may have been impaired."[532] Local media turned their attention away from Hepbron after the verdict, and, shortly thereafter, he secretly became involved in Col. Arthur Shreve's plan to establish a robust civil defense police reserve.

Shreve had been a prisoner of war in a Japanese camp during World War II. According to the *Evening Sun*, "he, with 7,000 other Americans, suffered the agony of the 'Death March of the Philippines' to the stifling barbed-wire enclosures in the jungles."[533] Shreve explained that he remembered hearing a dying man next to him ask, "Why didn't we have enough to hold them off?"[534] After the trauma of his experiences in World War II, Shreve completed his thirty-five years in the army in 1952 and retired to his 65-acre Howard County farm, which he named "Our

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531 "Hepbron Friendly With Figures in Underworld and Influenced by Them, Probe Hearing is Told," *Sun,* March 15, 1959, 1.

532 "Tawes Drops Misconduct Case Against Hepbron As Not Proved, But Refers to 'Poor Judgment'; Police Commissioner Says He Will Not Resign," *Sun,* June 17, 1959, 1.

533 "New Baltimore CD Director War Prisoner For 4 Years," *Evening Sun,* Sept. 17,1959.

534 Ibid.

Decision."[535] The paper reported that in the basement of Shreve's farmhouse, he kept three huge freezers "stocked with the chickens and turkeys he raises with fish he (caught) off the surf at Hatteras and the vegetables he takes from his fields."[536]

The *Evening Sun* reporter followed Shreve around his property, describing how he "roam[ed] the undeveloped farmland, gun in hand, following his favorite cocker spaniel, Lucky."[537] Apparently, the "candid colonel," as the reporter called him, "shrug[ged] off his experiences, his accomplishments and his ability. He is not impressed with himself [and] insists that his aides deserve credit for that which gets done."[538] The "quiet, modest soldier [was] enthusiastic on the subject of civil defense." Pointing to his prominently displayed painting of Anna Maria Tilghman, spouse of Teach Tilghman who was an advisor to George Washington during the Revolutionary War, Shreve declared, "We, in Maryland, are going to have to realize that we must take precautions with our lives and the lives of our families. Our forebears wouldn't think of leaving the house without their flintlocks. We have an ever-present danger of attack and we must be prepared."[539] Shreve went on, "in time of attack or emergency there will be no military control over the people. They will have to take care of themselves and they must be trained to know civil government will keep them."[540]

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535 Ibid.

536 Ibid.

537 Ibid.

538 Ibid.

539 Ibid.

540 Ibid.

After visiting with officials in Delaware and Virginia and soliciting advice from police officials in New Orleans and Baltimore County, Shreve's committee secretly recommended that the Baltimore police department should and must take a much more active role in civil defense. Despite his contention that "the people" must learn to "take care of themselves," he set in motion a plan that would take control of civil defense out of their hands. District police commanders, under the new plan, would give specific duties to patrolmen to follow leading up to and in the wake of nuclear attack. This policy would circumvent the control of civilian volunteer district coordinators before an attack and render their control moot in the wake of an attack. After an attack, patrolmen would be extended the power of *posse comitatus* as "conservators of the peace," police district commanders would direct their actions and the civil defense director along with the police commissioner would oversee it all from police headquarters. The powers of *posse comitatus* would expire at the end of the assignment.[541] Basically, that meant that the police commissioner and the civil defense director would deploy hand- picked patrolmen to maintain order after an attack, and decide when their special powers would begin and end.

Under Shreve's plan, police district commanders would select patrolmen based upon their moral character and employ a more rigorous screening process to include fingerprinting and light psychological profiling. Though not armed with guns and, according to Shreve's committee, "never [to be] employed in any situation involving labor or racial disturbances," the police department would assign patrolmen who passed the screening process batons, shields, whistles, a garrison belt, a unique cap piece and a shoulder patch. In addition to their usage after an attack,

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[541] Report, "Emergency Police Reserve Reorganization," Baltimore City Police Department, Office of the Commissioner, Grady-Goodman Adm. File Civil Defence Advisory Committee, RG 9 S24 Box 324.

Shreve's plan indicated that the patrolmen would also be used by the police department "at public assemblies such as inaugurations, conventions, sports events, [and for] traffic control at religious meetings."[542] In order to execute this plan, Shreve immediately increased the number of civil defense districts from seven to nine to conform directly to changes in the police organization. According to Shreve, "such consolidation of resources and manpower should overcome to a great degree existing public apathy and add a large measure of prestige to both Civil Defense and the Police Department in Baltimore City, both of which are most desirable toward effectuating an alert, vigorous Civil Defense program."[543]

In March 1960, Shreve instructed his civil defense advisory committee to establish a sub-committee to investigate ways to institute a functional police reserve system.[544] President of Baltimore Gas and Electric Company and chairman of the advisory committee J. Theodore Wolfe asked retired Army Brigadier General Thomas B. Catron to chair the sub-committee.[545] By 1945, Catron had already spent forty years in the Army. He graduated from West Point in 1909 where he became a trailblazer in the field of army intelligence. He presided over the first intelligence academy in France during World War I and worked between the wars to further establish counterintelligence methods and practices.[546] In 1953, Catron became director of a

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542 Ibid.

543 Ibid.

544 Brigadier General Thomas B. Catron to Mr. John Edwards, March 24, 1960, 1960 Auxiliary Police RG38 S2 Box1, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

545 J. Theodore Wolfe to General Thomas B. Catron, March 18, 1960, 1960 Auxiliary Police RG38 S2 Box1, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

546 "Army Names 2 Marylanders," *Sun,* January 26, 1945, 8.

private intelligence firm called International Services of Information Foundation.[547] Among other jobs, the foundation provided information to Joseph McCarthy on liberal activities within the CIA after Allen Dulles threatened his agents with dismissal if they disclosed any information to the senator. The foundation also plotted, with the help of a conservative benefactor, to abduct Stalin's son from the Russian capital. Additionally, it aided the defection of a Polish pilot in a Russian jet in an operation underwritten by Fairchild Aircraft.[548]

Throughout April, May and June 1960, Catron's sub-committee drafted more detailed plans for the militarization of Baltimore's civil defense apparatus. Shreve was integrally involved in those discussions. He explained to the sub-committee that in a civil defense emergency, he would become the "principal agent of the Mayor, charged with the best utilization of all of the operating resources of the City to meet the situation." In an emergency, Shreve envisioned himself as the dictator of the city's entire command structure, essentially circumventing the mayor's authority in order to carry out post-attack command and control.[549] The sub-committee backed Shreve's vision and declared that in the wake of a nuclear attack, the "Director of Civil Defense becomes, in effect, the Chief Executive Officer or the Chief of Staff for the Mayor, as Commander of *everything* [emphasis added], and the appropriate City Departments become the field forces, that is to say, the Police, Fire, Welfare, and Public Health Departments. The other Departments are not vitally concerned or are not affected." In June, the

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547 "2 Named Directors of Amoss Agency," *Sun*, June 29, 1953, 7.

548 Richard H. Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency* (Guilford: First Lyons Press, 2005), 339-340.

549 "Notes of a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Mayor's Civil Defense Advisory Committee," April 5, 1960, RG38 S2 Box1, 1960 Auxiliary Police, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

committee compared its vision of civil defense in an emergency to "martial law." Members made sure to repeatedly reiterate the fact that martial law was completely legal. After an attack, the police would be the first force to act, while the "other people have to wait and can wait until conditions are better or there is less danger." According to the committee, the police force would first address the "preliminaries"— looting and rioting. In order to do so, the police department would have to be equipped to expand, which could be done effectively only by implementing a strong emergency police reserve system.[550] The committee specifically referenced Eisenhower's Reorganization Plan #1 to justify marginalizing existing civil defense volunteers in favor of a robust police reserve unit.[551]

In a swipe at existing civil defense volunteers, the sub-committee wrote, "without pointing a finger at anything that may have been done before, we are talking now of the future. There should be selectivity in finding these people. They should be citizens with proper qualifications, such as good physical conditions. They should have the necessary mental qualifications and be proven to be people who would come out and do what they should do. Finally, there should be some consideration given to the geographical distribution from where the people come as related to where they are going to be used." Catron suggested that those healthy young patrolmen be recruited from the Y.M.C.A., Y.M.H.A., labor organizations and various other schools and organizations. In order to entice people to join, the civil defense organization should provide incentives including "the requirement to be on duty at football

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550 "Notes of a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Mayor's Civil Defense Advisory Committee," June 9, 1960, RG 38 S2 Box 1, 1960 Auxiliary Police, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

551 "Emergency Police Reserve Re-Organization," BCDO, January 18, 1960, 1960 Auxiliary Police, RG 38, S2, Box1, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD., 5.

games. This could be used as assigning half a credit toward graduation in doing this work. Give them a uniform they can put on while on duty and a lot of people like this."[552]

In constructing its report to Mayor Grady, Catron's committee relied, in part, upon the advice of New Orleans officials who had already established an auxiliary police unit. New Orleans' unit was comprised of many former members of the armed forces. Before applicants could be accepted for auxiliary service, they underwent background checks and interviews conducted by a Board of Auxiliary Officers. After screening, applicants were placed on a list of potential candidates. They attended courses on police work, civil defense and first aid at the New Orleans police academy and, if successful, were sworn in by the police superintendent. In New Orleans, auxiliary police patrolled neighborhoods in teams of two. Each auxiliary officer was armed and wore a patch that read "Auxiliary" on his left arm. Officers were given night sticks, but were asked to purchase billy clubs, handcuffs, flashlights and whistles.[553]

On October 19, 1960, after studying the sub-committee's recommendations, J. Theodore Wolfe presented the advisory committee's report to Mayor Grady and asked for his immediate approval. In order to sell the auxiliary force to Grady, Wolfe explained that in addition to civil defense duties, reservists would "also be given non-emergency assignments at sporting and other public events, partly for training purposes and partly as an incentive." Anticipating questions about budgeting, Wolfe explained to the Mayor, "the out-of-pocket cost to the City of organizing and maintaining the Emergency Police Reserve will be minimal, since the major item of cost is

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552 "Notes of a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Mayor's Civil Defense Advisory Committee," June 9, 1960, RG 38 S2 Box 1, 1960 Auxiliary Police, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

553 Chester A. Peyronnin to Captain Walter U. Messner, March 23, 1960, 1960 Auxiliary Police, 38 S2 Box1, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

for uniforms, and this will be borne by the reservists themselves."[554] Grady's civil defense advisory committee, which unanimously approved Catron's auxiliary police plan, was comprised of Baltimore's political, economic and media elite. Advisors included Charles M. Connor, Vice President of the freight company John S. Connor, Inc; Lindsay D. Dryden, President of Dryden Oil Company; John Edwards Jr., former general manager of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; Francis S. Filbey, President of the Baltimore Council of AFL-CIO unions; Donald F. Hagner, Vice President of the Federal Reserve Bank; Ewell K. Jett, Vice President of WMAR-TV; Edgar R. Koogle, former comptroller of C&P Telephone; Sidney Lansburgh Jr., Vice President of Sinai Hospital; Levin Gale Shreve of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith; and Parlett L. Moore, President of Coppin State Teacher's College.[555]

Grady pondered the committee's recommendation for a few days. He wrote a letter to Arthur Shreve inquiring about the authority to implement such sweeping changes to Baltimore's civil defense structure. Shreve responded that the "requirement" to set up a police reserve unit was dictated by President Eisenhower's civil defense reorganization, "set forth in Annex 8, Preparation for Continuity of Government, and Annex 16, Maintenance of Law and Order, The National Plan for Civil and Defense Mobilization, which definitely fixes the responsibility for these problems at the local level." He explained that support for the implementation of police reserve forces could be found in "FBI Law Enforcement Bulletins of August, 1958 and May, 1960; the International Association of Police Chiefs, November, 1959 and the Municipal Police

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554 J. Theodore Wolfe to Hon. J. Harold Grady, October 19, 1960, Grady Goodman Adm. File Civil Defense Advisory Committee, RG 9 S24 Box 324, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

555 "Members of Mayor's Civil Defense Advisory Committee," 1960 Auxiliary Police, RG 38 S2 Box 1, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

Administration Manual published by the International City Managers' Association." Shreve insisted that civil defense control centers must be relocated into existing district police headquarters, and that one of those districts be established as a pilot for the rest of the city.[556] On October 28, Grady advised Police Commissioner Hepbron and Wolfe that he approved the advisory committee's proposal. While President Eisenhower warned Americans about the dangers of the military-industrial complex, Arthur Shreve was hard at work establishing a police reserve unit to supplant Baltimore's existing civil defense volunteer system. With Colonel Shreve implementing a militarist reserve unit proposed by Army counterintelligence expert Brigadier General Catron and approved by Baltimore's industrial and academic elite, an ideological military-industrial complex was not only influencing the flow of money from the federal government to defense contractors; it was also working covertly to wrest control of civil defense from civilians. Unknowingly, Eisenhower's Reorganization Plan #1 opened the door for Baltimore's military and industrial elite to quickly militarize the city's civil defense.

Under President Kennedy, civil defense underwent yet another crucial administrative change. Abandoning the notion that civil defense was still based upon self-help and backyard fallout shelters, Kennedy endorsed the idea of national fallout shelter construction, a bridge his fiscally conservative predecessor simply would not cross. He relocated civil defense from the Executive Office of the President to the Department of Defense and named the new division simply the Office of Civil Defense (OCD). On May 25, 1961 in a speech titled "Special Message to Congress on Urgent National Needs," Kennedy declared that the U.S. had never truly faced up to the imperative of civil defense, partly because it had been implemented on the cheap.

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556 Memorandum, Colonel Arthur L. Shreve to Hon. J. Harold Grady, October 25, 1960, Grady Goodman Adm. File Civil Defence Advisory Committee, RG9 S24 Box 324, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

He explained that deterrence theory rested upon "rational calculations by rational men," but that "the history of this planet is sufficient to remind us of the possibilities of an irrational attack… which cannot be either foreseen or deterred… It is on this basis that civil defense can readily be justified – as insurance for the civilian population in the event of such a miscalculation. It is insurance which we could never forgive ourselves for foregoing in the event of a catastrophe."[557] Kennedy submitted to Congress a request for a civil defense expenditure of $207.6 million, and, for the first time since World War II, Congress approved the whole sum.[558]

In the wake of Kennedy's address, city council vice president William Donald Schaefer sent a letter to Grady demanding that the city remove obstacles to citizens' ability to construct fallout shelters. He cited recent newspaper articles that reported how some Baltimoreans faced zoning and building code restrictions, and therefore could not construct adequate shelters. Schaefer requested that Grady immediately meet with zoning board representatives, building engineers, city council officials and the city solicitor to draft legislation to address the issue. Schaefer also explained to the mayor that there were two resolutions before city council. The first would fine citizens who failed to take active part in air raid drills and alerts. The second would incentivize citizens to construct fallout shelters in their homes. Schaefer believed that the city, in light of Kennedy's address, was not doing nearly enough to implement civil defense policies and programs. Citing the "short sightedness of some governmental officials," Schaefer

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557 B. Wayne Blanchard, Planning Specialist for Civil Defense Programs – FEMA,"American Civil Defense 1945-1984: The Evolution of Programs and Policies," accessed August 15, 2012, http://www.orau.org/ptp/pdf/cdhistory.pdf, 8.

558 Ibid.

declared that the city must act immediately to improve its civil defense program.[559] His closer scrutiny of the BCDO in the wake of Kennedy's speech exposed a much larger problem than zoning and code restrictions.

As the Berlin Crisis escalated and as Americans became increasingly critical of civil defense, Baltimoreans became aware of Shreve's plan to place civil defense under the control of the police department. On August 23, 1961, ten days after the erection of the Berlin Wall, an article appeared in the *Sun* titled "Emergency Police Force to be Set Up." The article described the impending implementation of Shreve's pilot program to outfit one civil defense district with between twenty-five and fifty reserve officers and relocate that district's civil defense headquarters into the basement of the northeast district police station.

The *Sun* article made public a vital piece of information—Shreve's plan was illegal. In May 1961, Maryland's attorney general had ruled that under Maryland law, the police commissioner had no authority to implement a police reserve system. Nevertheless, Shreve, along with outgoing police commissioner James Hepbron and incoming police commissioner Bernard J. Schmidt, decided that Maryland's ruling should not deter the training of reserve officers. Citing Kennedy's recent reorganization of civil defense under the defense department, Shreve argued, "this is an important step forward in making our city prepared for attack. We've got to have these men trained and ready if the time comes. It will be too late to train them when the missiles are on the way. In addition to its value for civil defense, police officials feel the

[559] William D. Schaefer to J. Harold Grady, July 31, 1961, Grady Goodman Adm. File, Civil Defence (1), RG 9 S24 Box 322, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore, MD.

reserve will provide a deterrent against crime in certain 'trouble spots' around the city."[560] The article went on to detail certain aspects of the advisory committee's plan for the reserve unit.

Shortly after the publication of the *Sun* article, four volunteer district coordinators sent a letter to William Donald Schaefer and Mayor Grady. The coordinators, John J. Hirsch of the Northeastern District, Eli Berkenfeld of the Northern District, Charles Perry of the Western District and Samuel Steinberg of the Northwestern District expressed their frustration with Arthur Shreve and his leadership of the BCDO. According to the coordinators, when they approached Shreve about the organization's failure to provide them with proper plans and advice in a July 19 meeting, Shreve responded, "If anyone doesn't like this organization or the way it is run, there is ample paper and pencils for their resignations, and I will take them right now." Charles Perry explained to Schaefer in another letter that "civil defense in Baltimore is in very bad shape and I am in hopes maybe you can help us out if it becomes necessary." He went on to say that the July 19 meeting was only one of many issues that the coordinators wished to discuss with city council.[561]

In addition to Schaefer's perception that Shreve's organization was not doing enough to encourage shelter construction, he was now aware of significant discord between the organization's paid leadership and its volunteer workforce. On September 29, the same four district coordinators requested that the city council launch hearings into the affairs of the civil defense organization. That same day two more volunteers, Ruth Oppenheimer of the Northwestern District and Robert Rever of the Eastern District, offered to testify. In response, Councilman Peter G. Angelos announced that he would introduce a resolution calling for a

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560 "Emergency Police Force to be Set Up," *Sun,* Aug. 23, 1961.

561 "Volunteers in Dispute With Shreve," *Sun,* Aug. 31, 1961.

comprehensive inquiry. He explained that the resolution was necessary because "these volunteers… feel strongly that the Colonel [Shreve] is virtually ignoring the volunteer program and despite lip service to it has not given them the support they need."[562] In addition to Shreve's disrespect for civil defense volunteers, he was also unable to account for $10,000 worth of civil defense equipment. This sparked a furor in the city council and prompted Schaefer and Angelos to initiate the investigation.

On October 12, an increasingly frustrated Schaefer threatened, "Unless the shocking lack of coordination between the director and his civilian volunteers is remedied immediately, a top-level shakeup is in order."[563] Always fiercely protective of Baltimore, Schaefer went on to ask angrily, "How can he [Shreve] be in the city if there is an emergency when he lives one heck of a long way away [in Howard County]?" Shreve replied: "it's all a matter of a difference of opinion in ideology."[564]

Newspaper articles in October 1961 made Baltimoreans aware of the civil defense organization's dysfunction. On October 21, the *Afro-American* reported that Charles Perry, the organization's Western District coordinator, had become fed up with Shreve's neglect for his district in particular. The Western District, carved out from the Northwestern and Southwestern Districts in 1959 to conform to the new police district plan, contained one of the most densely populated African-American communities in the country. The district was bounded by Druid Hill Avenue to the east, North Avenue to the

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562 Civil Defense Volunteers Ask Hearing," *Sun,* Sept. 29, 1961.

563 "Schaefer Asks Probe of CD Rift," *News Post,* October 12, 1961.

564 Ibid.

north, Gwynns Falls Park to the west and Baltimore Street to the south.[565] In 1959, approximately 100,000 African-Americans lived within those borders (3 miles by 2 miles in area).[566] Overall, 99 percent of the district's residents were black.

According to Charles Perry and other high-ranking Western District volunteers, the district's command center in the basement of Enoch Pratt Free Library's North Avenue branch contained only two working telephones, "which in event of an attack would be knocked out."[567] During the 1961 Berlin Crisis, Perry voiced his concern that his district was being deprived supplies and communications equipment. He disclosed to an *Afro-American* reporter:

> We have begged, we have pleaded, to no avail. We are second to none in the city as to training. We have more activity going on. Our a [sic] people are interested… Yet, we don't have anything. They [the other districts] certainly have more than the Western District, radios, walkie-talkies, typewriters. We don't have anything. We must have the same facilities as the other districts.[568]

On November 25, the *Afro-American* opined:

> The Baltimore Area Civil Defense Organization has needed the rumblings from its Western District, which it has been treating like a stepchild, and appears ready at last to give it similar communications equipment as all the other eight districts have.
>
> Civil Defense has enough shortcomings at its present stage of development without inviting new problems of its slight to the Western District.
>
> Various excuses have been put forth. Col. Arthur Shreve, CD director, offers the excuse that money shortages caused the slight. But when eight other districts are so much better off than a ninth, this explanation falls flat on its face.[569]

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565 Please see 1960 Baltimore civil defense district map on following page.

566 "Schaefer Asks Probe of CD Rift," *News Post*, October 12, 1961.

567 No title, *Afro-American*, October 21, 1961.

568 Ibid.

569 "No Time For Such Matters," *Afro-American*, November 25, 1961.

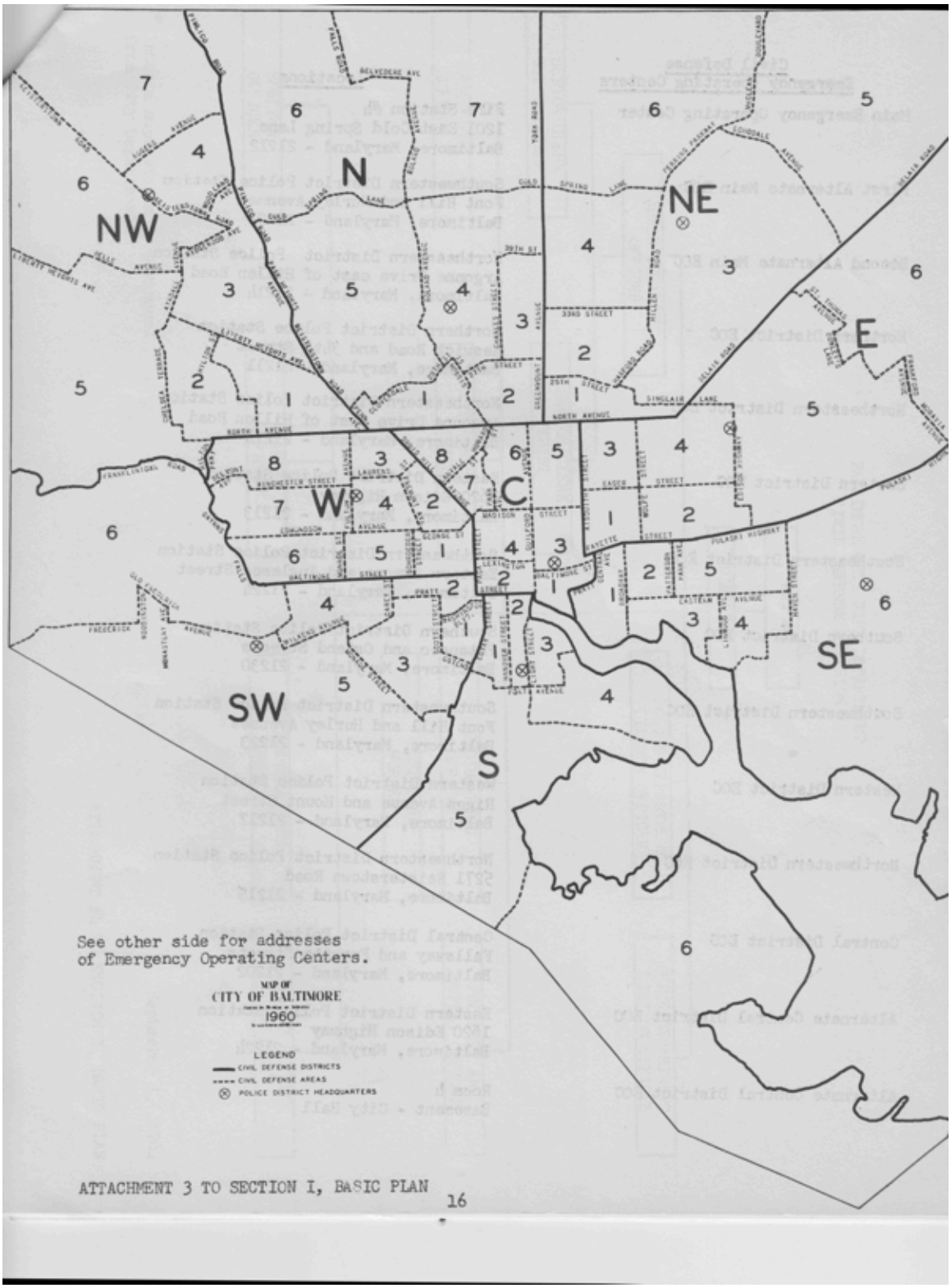

Illustration 4: Courtesy Baltimore City Archives

By discussing the "shortcomings" of the BCDO, the *Afro* attempted to spotlight the organizational controversy that had plagued the organization since early 1961. It also implicitly argued that the Western District did not receive adequate supplies because it represented a largely non-white population.

Western District quickly became one of the most engaged volunteer districts in Baltimore after its founding in 1959. The only district with high-ranking non-white officials, Western benefited from the operational and training expertise of U.S. Marshal William A. Harris, the intelligence advice of Floyd Owens and the dedication of Richard E. Perkins and Albert B. Holley.[570] As Perry noted, Western was also "the only district in Baltimore City that [had] every one of [its] sub-districts actively manned."[571]

Although Andrew Grossman found little African-American involvement in civil defense efforts in Detroit, the opposite was true in Baltimore.[572] Each week, the *Afro-American* published information about civil defense courses, recognized civil defense volunteers for their efforts, and published the names of civil defense training course graduates.[573] The *Afro's* coverage of Perry's crisis in the Western District underscores the extent to which the city's African-Americans were concerned about their community's vulnerability to nuclear attack. African-Americans in Baltimore may have been more attuned to the dangers of nuclear war than their white counterparts. Perhaps this is because many African-Americans, particularly ones who lived in the Western

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570 no title, *Afro-American*, October 21, 1961.

571 Ibid.

572 Grossman, *Neither Dead Nor Red,* 19.

573 Civil Defense Scrapbooks, Baltimore Emergency Management Agency.

District, recognized that they might be the first to feel the effects of a nuclear attack on Baltimore's urban core. Western District volunteers, therefore, were to many residents the only people who cared enough to prepare their community for an attack, or for its aftermath. No matter how irrational nuclear preparation may have been, many African-Americans in Baltimore believed that a strong civil defense program might eventually save lives if a bomb exploded 2000 feet over Camden Station.

In her dissertation titled "Inclusion, Exclusion and the National Experience: European and African-American Youth in World War Two Baltimore," Maria Mazzenga argues that "inclusive Americanism" compelled many African-Americans in Baltimore to become involved in wartime civil defense efforts.[574] Mazzenga asserts that civil defense officials attempted to engineer a uniform urgent form of wartime Americanism throughout the city's white and Afro-American communities. As Mazzenga explains, these efforts "always seemed to leave black Americans on the fringes,"[575] but signified a break from earlier contemptuous treatment of African-Americans by city government. When the Baltimore Council of Defense (later Baltimore Civil Defense Organization) began to recruit young African-Americans for civil defense work during World War II, many black residents experienced a poignant hope that prior race boundaries would be cast aside in the postwar era.

Mazzenga gave the example of Gwendolyn Carter, a student at Frederick Douglass High School during World War II. Carter, an idealistic young black American,

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[574] Maria Mazzenga, "Inclusion, Exclusion and the National Experience: European and African-American Youth in World War Two Baltimore" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1999), abstract in *ProQuest Digital Dissertations,* 85.

[575] Ibid.

proudly exclaimed, "We must do our part toward the defense of our democracy by choosing our vocation in keeping with the national program… The one and only direction now is toward defense and defense alone."[576] The hope that "inclusive Americanism" might pave the way for African-Americans' entry into mainstream American society motivated Carter and 1000 other students to join Douglass' Victory Corps chapter. In September 1942, the *Sun* reported that black children were actively engaged in scrap collecting.[577] Clearly, some African-Americans in Baltimore proudly participated in civil defense programs, believing that their participation would result in a brighter future for American race relations.

In contrast to that optimistic view, Mazzenga asserted that city civil defense officials during World War II constructed material and ration drives, evacuation planning and other wartime efforts purely on the basis of race. While Jews, Italians, Poles and people of other ethnicities were considered "W" for white on civilian defense literature, black residents were considered "N" for Negro. It is clear that even though officials endeavored to include blacks in civil defense efforts, they desired to maintain Jim Crow-era hierarchies in the process.[578] Nevertheless, many African-Americans who grew up in World War II Baltimore glimpsed a hope for the future and took active part in civil defense activities as the city entered the nuclear age. Many in this generation of black Baltimoreans remained active in the military and in civil defense through the 1950s, and,

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576 Mazzenga, 106.

577 Ibid 110.

578 Ibid 114.

by 1960, had established a presence in the BCDO. The most notable example of this progression was the Western District.

In addition to disclosing the loss of $10,000 under Shreve's watch, the *News-Post* and other newspapers reported throughout 1961 and 1962 that four of the BCDO paid staff members failed merit system tests in their respective areas of expertise.[579] The *News-Post* also revealed that the organization had printed "a [civil defense] evacuation map which had overlaid escape routes *backwards* [emphasis added], so that escaping traffic would have come into instead of out of the city."[580] After a year of controversy surrounding the BCDO, and in the midst of huge biracial weekend demonstrations protesting segregation in the city's restaurants, Arthur Shreve, director for just over two years, resigned in early December 1961.[581] Sherley Ewing, the Director of Maryland's Civil Defense Organization, was also forced to resign when he was convicted of tax evasion one month later.[582] On January 1, 1962, in the midst of growing critique and cynicism toward civil defense efforts both in Baltimore and nationwide, General Richard Prather took the helm of the BCDO. Later that month, Schaefer and Angelos tabled their inquiry into the BCDO, conceding that the newly appointed Prather should "be given a chance to solve problems himself."[583]

Prather became head of the BCDO four months after he retired as commanding general of army intelligence, headquartered at Fort Holabird. A graduate of West Point

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579 "Council Drops CD Inquiry," *News Post*, January 25, 1962.

580 Ibid.

581 "Baltimore in '61: A Look Back," *Sun,* January 1, 1962.

582 Ibid.

583 no title, *News-Post*, 1/25/62.

in 1924, Prather had served in the Army for forty-one years. At a retirement dinner hosted by the Baltimore Chapter of the Association of the United States Army, General Milton A. Reckord praised Prather for fostering the "finest cooperation… we have ever experienced in this city" between a regular army general and local army reserve forces.[584] Again rejecting the notion of the D'Alesandro era that civil defense remain a civilian endeavor, Mayor Grady characterized Prather as "a man [with] demonstrated ability, leadership and wide experience" and noted that Prather's army career would come in handy after President Kennedy's placement of federal civil defense under the Pentagon.[585]

Prather's counterintelligence expertise would also come in handy should the need arise to quell domestic disturbances or to collect information on groups deemed subversive. His appointment reflected a growing tendency for the military to become involved in civilian affairs as the 1950s became the 1960s. Under Prather's direction, the Army Counterintelligence Corps (CIC) at Fort Holabird maintained a consolidated records room where agents assembled and stored information on domestic and international inquiries. The CIC also stored copies of FBI reports on 125,000 individuals. Shortly before Prather became director of Fort Holabird in 1956, the Department of the Army issued a directive reinforcing the Army's peacetime responsibility to monitor and collect information on subversive groups. The Army also began using intelligence officers to monitor civil disturbances until the president deployed troops. Under Prather, the CIC intervened at Little Rock in 1957 when mobs blocked the entry of nine black

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584 "Gen. Prather Paid Tribute," *Sun,* July 7, 1961, 10.

585 "Gen. Prather to Head City Civil Defense," *Sun*, Dec. 10, 1961, 40.

students into Central High School. CIC officers placed the school under surveillance and catalogued and reported local media coverage. They also monitored the nine students, local Ku Klux Klan members and other potential agitators.[586] With his counterintelligence experience, Prather felt comfortable with his predecessor's plan to place civil defense under the control of the police department and to establish an emergency police reserve to take the place of civilian volunteers.

Six months after Prather's appointment as director, Western District volunteers continued to protest their treatment by paid BCDO staff and denounced Prather's general attitude toward them. After eight months of complaining publicly about the district's lack of supplies, the *Afro-American* reported that Charles Perry would cease civil defense operations [in the Western District] until "something is done."[587] Perry went on to say, "We've reached the point where there is nothing else we can do. I've been in civil defense activities since 1942 and the existing situation is the worse (sic) I've ever seen."[588] At a district meeting on June 19, Perry and other Western District volunteers requested that the city council restart its investigation of the citywide organization.[589] Prather replied that "he was doing his best to see that they [Western District] are properly

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586 Joan M. Jensen, *Army Surveillance in America, 1775-1980* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 238.

587 "Civil Defense Volunteers Balk at Lack of Suppport," *Afro-American*, June 23, 1962.

588 Ibid.

589 Ibid.

outfitted,"[590] but remarked that he was also waiting on federal funding for community shelters, which most likely wouldn't be in place until 1968.[591]

Prather's comment provoked a strong response from district volunteers. Perry responded, "It's all right to strive for a goal five years from now, but what about today – what about right now?"[592] Perry proceeded to turn up the heat on Prather, further emphasizing that other districts across the city were equipped with sufficient communications equipment, while western operated with only two telephones. Perry complained that BCDO staff had promised him the equipment for two-and-a-half years and warned prior to the Cuban Missile Crisis, "If a nuclear attack came tomorrow, we wouldn't have a chance."[593] The *Afro-American* cast the western district's problem as the city's problem and echoed Perry's sentiment—"If America were the target of a nuclear attack tomorrow Baltimore would be in a bad way."[594]

In July 1962, Charles Perry and Eli Berkenfeld suspended civil defense training in their respective districts until "something [was] done to re-evaluate the entire Civil Defense Program."[595] In the wake of their decision, Perry sent a letter to Schaefer requesting that the city council act upon this pressing issue facing his district. Eli

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590 Ibid.

591 Ibid.

592 "Two large areas without protection," *Afro-American*, July 7, 1962.

593 "Civil Defense Volunteers Balk at Lack of Support," *Afro-American*, June 23, 1962.

594 "Two large areas without protection," *Afro-American,* July 7, 1962.

595 Ibid.

Berkenfeld raised another key issue. He complained about the BCDO's "lack of policy and procedure" for volunteers and rhetorically asked an *Afro* reporter: "So we train the people – then what are we going to do with them? I have asked again and again that we be given directions on what to do – how to operate – in case of an attack, and I get no answer. All I'm asking for is a plan of procedure."[596] Berkenfeld had no idea at that point that he and other volunteers were being muscled out by the emergency reserve plan.

In response to the complaints of Perry and Berkenfeld, Richard Prather hinted for the first time that the role of the BCDO volunteer was about to undergo a radical transformation. For over ten years since the founding of the BCDO, the volunteer had been central to organizational operation and integrity. Now, in response to President Kennedy's placement of civil defense under the Pentagon, volunteers were about to be replaced by police commanders and reservists. Volunteers were aware of the ramifications of that action and had become increasingly worried that civilian control over neighborhood civil defense might somehow be subverted by the military. Their suspicions turned out to be correct—local civil defense officials under the leadership of Arthur Shreve and Richard Prather had been actively planning to marginalize the role of the civil defense volunteer since Milani's departure in 1959. If they got their way, an organization that was seen by many as "for the volunteers, by the volunteers" would fall entirely under the domain of Baltimore's police department, and under the control of district police commanders.

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[596] Ibid.

CHAPTER 8 – SAVING CITY X: BALTIMORE'S CIVIL DEFENSE REVOLT

While Catron's subcommittee met in secret throughout the spring of 1960, Americans outside civil defense bureaucracies became increasingly critical of the program. As early as 1955, modest groups of anti-war activists refused to take cover during New York City's civil defense exercises. It became an annual occurrence. In 1960, two mothers, Mary Sharmat and Janice Smith, established the Civil Defense Protest Committee (CDPC) to publicize their opposition to air-raid drills. On May 3 of that year, two thousand New Yorkers across the city refused to take cover as the sirens wailed. One thousand protesters, many of them young mothers with small children, amassed at City Hall Park and stood their ground when the police asked them to obey civil defense directives. When the all-clear siren rang, they sang "America the Beautiful." The War Resisters League declared the protest "the largest civil disobedience peace action in modern American history." The CDPC viewed civil defense as a pro-war policy that lulled citizens into a false sense of security. To Sharmat and Smith, "the only defense [was] peace."[597]

Sharmat and Smith were reacting to a national narrative, propagated by President Kennedy's robust national fallout shelter program and fueled by the mass media, that nuclear war could be survivable. Even though publications including the *New Yorker, Consumer Reports* and *Playboy* reported on radioactive contamination, publications like *Time* and *Life* largely accepted the word of the government without substantial independent inquiry.[598] Nineteen-sixty saw the publication of RAND analyst Herman Kahn's eventual bestseller *On*

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[597] Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb*, 250.

[598] Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb*, 260.

Thermonuclear War, which argued that since nuclear war was probably unavoidable, the United States needed to accept its inevitability, wage it and prevail. Kahn rejected the notion of mutually assured destruction, positing that nuclear war did not necessarily have to mean total annihilation. The United States could gain the upper hand in the Cold War by showing the Soviet Union that the U.S. would have no qualms about retaliating to a nuclear attack. In order to effectively convince the Soviet Union of such a notion, Kahn advocated a policy that officially planned for the deaths of a few million Americans in a limited nuclear exchange. Though a few million Americans would be sacrificed, survivors would eventually regroup and rebuild. Theories such as Kahn's were given more credence after the election of President Kennedy and his appointment of Robert McNamara as secretary of defense.[599]

By November 1961, opponents of U.S. atmospheric testing outnumbered supporters forty-five to forty-four percent.[600] That same month, the newly formed anti-nuclear group Women Strike for Peace (WSP) organized a nationwide protest in 60 cities including Baltimore. The organizers spread word about the protest through syndicated newspaper articles, at PTA meetings and church and synagogue gatherings and by word of mouth. As a result, an estimated 50,000 people across the country turned out to protest nuclear proliferation.[601] WSP organizers asked Baltimore's women to suspend their "regular routine of home, family or job" on November 1 and instead "visit their elected representatives" to "appeal for the future of mankind." Katherine Stewart, a staffer at the Baltimore Museum of Art, took a day of vacation

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599 Garrison, *Bracing for Armageddon,* 109-110.

600 Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb*, 261.

601 Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb*, 250-51, Heather McDonald, "Women's Strike For Peace – A Man's Idea," *Sun*, October 29, 1961, E1.

to join other women on a trip to Washington. Once in Washington, the women met in mid-morning at the Washington Monument, then walked to the White House to deliver a letter to Jackie Kennedy. The letter, along with telegrams from all across the country, pleaded with Jackie to "bring influence to bear [on her husband] in the interests of peace," and to join their crusade against, among other things, President Kennedy's nationwide fallout shelter program, which they deemed a "disastrous… preparation for war."[602] Though protests did occur across the country, there is scant evidence in Baltimore's print media that any substantial gathering occurred on either May 3, 1960 or November 1, 1961. There is also scant evidence that protests mirroring the size and scope of those in New York were ever replicated in Baltimore, though there certainly was a dialogue about nuclear disarmament on college campuses.

On Easter Sunday 1961, a newly established student anti-nuclear coalition called "Concern" organized a silent "peace walk" up Charles Street from Mt. Vernon to the Homewood campus of Johns Hopkins University to demand a ban on nuclear testing. According to twenty-two year-old organizer Ray A. Williamson, the walk was to remain completely silent, with "no singing, no shouting, no chanting." Anyone who violated that stipulation was asked to leave. Marchers, two-by-two, filed up the sidewalk and distributed "statement[s] of purpose" to bystanders. At Hopkins, they convened at Levering Hall where Reverend Harold Hodgson, minister of Howard Park Methodist Church, and William L. Neumann, history professor at Goucher College, spoke in support of Concern. Though the group of twenty Goucher and Hopkins students had a "loose tie" with the national Student Peace Union (SPU), Williamson was quick to explain that Concern was requesting a ban on nuclear testing and the establishment

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[602] Heather McDonald, "Women's Strike For Peace – A Man's Idea," *Sun*, October 29, 1961, E1.

of a national peace agency but not "unilateral disarmament."[603] Concern's objectives accurately reflected national public opinion amongst college students. In 1962, a study concluded that seventy-two percent of college students still believed that the U.S. should "run any risk of war… to prevent the spread of Communism," that forty-four percent believed that peace demonstrations harmed the greater population and that a mere six percent advocated unilateral disarmament.[604] At the time, fifty-nine percent of Americans were either "fairly worried" or "worried" about the possibility of atomic war, and eighty-three percent believed they would have less than a "fifty-fifty" chance of surviving such an event.[605] Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Joint Peace Committee, Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sponsored the march.[606]

The establishment of Concern at Hopkins came as women at all-female Goucher College developed greater awareness about the issue of nuclear disarmament, particularly after Kennedy's election in November 1960. On November 1, socialist Norman Thomas delivered a speech titled "The Ways to Peace," in which he advocated the abolition of almost all nuclear weapons and the relief of poverty and misery throughout the world. According to the Johns Hopkins *News-Letter,* Thomas told the audience that "[they] must face the facts that the next war might result in total destruction of the world" and that a "substitute for war must be found."[607]

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603 "Peace Walk to Oppose Atomic Tests, Due Easter," *Sun*, Mar 22, 1961, 26.

604 Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb,* 255.

605 Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb,* 261.

606 *News-Letter*, Johns Hopkins University, March 17, 1961, 2.

607 *News-Letter*, November 4, 1960, 6.

The following month, Neumann and Goucher history department chair Kenneth O. Walker co-signed a letter to the President-elect urging him to make progress on arms control and implement programs to ban nuclear testing. Full text of the letter, which was signed by thirty other historians, appeared above the fold on the front page of *Goucher Weekly,* the college's student newspaper.[608] On January 30, Goucher economics professor and assistant dean Alice J. Reynolds delivered a lecture to students titled "The Economic Reverberations of Nuclear Disarmament," in which she argued that with "wit and wisdom collectively," the amount of money being spent on nuclear weaponry could effectively be channeled into social welfare programs." Reynolds's lecture was part of a seven part series called "How Atomic Energy and Radiation Affects You," initiated by student members of the college's history, biological sciences, socio-economic and political science clubs.[609] On February 6, 1961, Robert W. Tucker, assistant professor of political science at Hopkins, spoke to Goucher students about the "thermonuclear dilemma."[610] He explained that new ICBMs could carry five to ten megaton warheads to targets in as little as fifteen minutes, and that there would be "no upper limit" to casualties.[611] The series kicked off what was to become a spring semester filled with discussions, debates and decisions devoted to nuclear disarmament. Male students at Johns Hopkins did not display nearly as much engagement or enthusiasm.

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608 *Goucher Weekly,* January 20, 1961, 1.

609 "Reynolds to Discuss Effect of Atomic Energy, Radiation," *Goucher Weekly*, January 27, 1961, 1.

610 "Hopkins Professor to Deliver Lecture On Atoms Dilemma," *Goucher Weekly,* February 3, 1961, 1.

611 "Tucker Muses on Classic State of Instability in Arms Race with Unprecedented Weapons," *Goucher Weekly,* February 10, 1961, 1.

In early February, Sidney Anne Pratt, a Goucher senior studying international relations, wrote a two-page letter to *Goucher Weekly's* editor urging students to help her establish a "six-point program which would not only spread interest in thinking about disarmament…, but which would also bring this interest to the attention of alumnae, parents, the government, and other students." Pratt asked fellow students to help record and transcribe the energy and radiation lecture series, write a letter to Kennedy advising him of the lecture series and of Goucher's interest in disarmament and radiation, write another letter to parents asking them to support student efforts, devote the summer issue of *Alumnae Quarterly,* usually dedicated to informing alumni about commencement, to disarmament instead, send tapes of the lecture series to various alumni groups and send a letter to other colleges telling them about those efforts.[612]

One week after the publication of Pratt's letter, students Pat Weiss, Abby Harrison and Claudia Robins expressed their support for her recommendations in *Goucher Weekly*. Weiss explained that there was a divide on campus between "those who want only very gradual disarmament and those who feel that only rapid and extensive disarmament can be effective." She proposed that the student body articulate a single position to be outlined in the letter to Kennedy. Harrison and Robins explained that they were "interested in co-ordinating the many… isolated groups and individuals who [were] actively concerned" with disarmament and that a group of Hopkins and Goucher students was trying to establish a chapter of the SPU. They also suggested that the SPU cooperate with citywide efforts to establish a local chapter of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). On February 10, Neumann hosted a meeting for anyone interested in SANE. Two days later, the newly established Goucher-

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612 "Pratt Proposes Program for Presidential Plea," *Goucher Weekly,* February 3, 1961, 2.

Hopkins SPU chapter met with Ken Calkins, executive secretary of the organization, to discuss goals and strategies.[613]

While issues surrounding disarmament had routinely appeared on the front page of *Goucher Weekly* since the beginning of the semester, the Hopkins *News-Letter* first published a small article on the establishment of Goucher-Hopkins SPU on page six of its February 17 issue next to an advertisement for typewriter paper. Though Hopkins students were involved in the fledgling SPU chapter and though the *News-Letter* covered both Goucher's lecture series and the Concern peace walk in two small articles on page six of one issue and page two of another, neither disarmament nor civil defense appear to have provoked nearly as much student passion and debate as at Goucher from early 1961 through mid-1963.[614] Instead, the *News-Letter* focused predominantly on faculty achievements, desegregation, internal campus politics involving student government and fraternities, and sports. The most prominent article on page one of the March 17, 1961 *News-Letter* discussed the fraternity Phi Sigma Delta's legal victory in its desire to maintain its Canterbury Road house.[615]

The April 7 issue revealed on page one that a Hopkins chapter of the ultra-conservative John Birch Society had been under FBI surveillance throughout the spring semester. According to the paper, Hopkins Birchers accused university president Milton Eisenhower, Dwight Eisenhower's brother, of "being the brains behind Dwight Eisenhower" and providing "the

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613 "Plea for Joint Effort," *Goucher Weekly,* Feb. 10, 1961, 4.

614 "G-H Peace Group Holds Organizational Meet" and "Goucher Offers Three Lectures About Radiation," *News-Letter,* February 17, 1961, 6.; "Concern' to Hold Walk for Peace Easter Sunday," *News-Letter*, March 17, 1961, 2.

615 "Phi Sig Wins Battle for House In Precedent-Setting Court Case," *News-Letter* LXV:19, 1.

power behind the throne of the red-leaning Eisenhower administration."[616] J. Edgar Hoover warned students "that by joining [the John Birch Society], they may be playing with fire. It is conceivable that this group is Communist inspired or has been infiltrated by the Communists who are all around us. We can never be too careful. The Communists are quite clever and are always dangerous."[617]

While Hopkins Young Republicans sought to spread Hoover's message that the John Birch Society was a Communist conspiracy, Goucher students were putting finishing touches on their letters to their parents and President Kennedy.[618] After three months of development, drafts of student letters to both President Kennedy and to Goucher parents appeared on the front page of *Goucher Weekly*. The publication, in an editorial, urged students to sign the letter to Kennedy.[619] The letter read:

> We who are students at Goucher College wish to express our serious alarm at elements of apathy, ignorance, misinformation, and irrationalism which appear throughout the American public's consideration of the threat of nuclear war. Such elements are always a matter of concern. In an era when nuclear war seems imminent, they can be as lethal as the weapons themselves and become, therefore, a matter of the most grave and crucial nature.
>
> With the above beliefs strongly in our minds, we have this year endeavored to learn about and rationally consider this most central problem facing man in our times. Through special reading, a series of lectures, and discussion groups, we have studied the economic, biological, political, and social aspects of this problem. We have, in addition, embarked upon a program by which we hope to stimulate alumnae, parents of students, and other colleges to become concerned and informed. Some details of our activities are provided on a separate enclosure.
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> It is our intent in this letter not only to inform you of our beliefs and activities, but also to urge you as President to use your deeply felt personal influence and thereby encourage the American public

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616 "Black 'n' Blue 'n' Red All Over," *News-Letter,* LXV: 20, 1.

617 Ibid.

618 On Young Republicans, see "Eisenhower 'Shocked, Agog' at Disclosure of Birch Cell," "Black 'n' Blue 'n' Red All Over," *News-Letter,* LXV:20, 1.

619 "The Pratt Letters," *Goucher Weekly,* May 5, 1961, 2.

> to become not only concerned but also informed about the problems of the nuclear dilemma. We think a positive program should be undertaken to help the public to acquire balanced material about these problems. The use of your own direct channels of communication with the American people could be devoted to these ends. Our purpose is not to advocate any specific policy. We trust that you can show in this matter the same strong and imaginative leadership which has thus far characterized your administration.[620]

Ultimately, 288 of Goucher's 750 students signed the letter, which was, per Sidney Pratt's recommendation, published in the summer issue of Goucher's alumni magazine.[621] The issue focused primarily on disarmament. It contained articles written by Neumann, political science professor Brownlee Sands Corrin, and graduating seniors Carol McKenna and Barbara Sundberg. McKenna and Sundberg pleaded for the "disarmament of fear, suspicion, secrecy, chauvinism, and ignorance," and expressed their hopes that such disarmament would "end the threat of war itself."[622] Goucher students hoped that the new president would level with Americans about the true threat that nuclear weapons posed to humanity, and trusted that he would use his "imaginative" leadership to push for disarmament.

Instead, Kennedy declared on May 25, 1961 that "[the United States would] deter an enemy from making a nuclear attack only if our retaliatory power is so strong and so invulnerable that he knows he would be destroyed by our response." Once the United States was fully able to deter an enemy with a credible threat of full retaliation, Kennedy believed that civil defense might no longer be necessary. However, he cited a flaw with deterrence to justify advocating unprecedented funding for civil defense in the meantime: "[Deterrence] assumes

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620 "Org. To Hear Final Draft of Disarmament Letters; Students May Approve, Sign At Dorm Meetings," *Goucher Weekly,* May 5, 1961, 1.

621 *Goucher Alumnae Quarterly* XXXIX: 4 (1961), 12.

622 Ibid., 13-17

rational calculations by rational men. And the history of this planet is sufficient to remind us of the possibilities of an irrational attack, a miscalculation, or an accidental war which cannot be either foreseen or deterred. The nature of modern warfare heightens these possibilities. It is on this basis that civil defense can readily be justified – as insurance for the civilian population in the event of such a miscalculation. It is insurance which we could never forgive ourselves for foregoing in the event of catastrophe."[623] By the time Goucher students and professors returned from summer break, Congress had appropriated $207.6 million for civil defense, which allowed the Office of Civil Defense (OCD) to survey and stock existing fallout shelters nationwide.[624]

Disarmament voices on Goucher's campus immediately turned their attention to civil defense and fallout shelters. They saw the push for more and better-stocked shelters as a ludicrous waste of resources. In the 1961-62 academic year's first issue of *Goucher Weekly,* the editors reprinted mathematician James R. Newman's September 25, 1961 letter to the editor of the *Washington Post*, which referred to Kennedy's shelter program as an "Incubus" and made clear the idiocy of fallout shelters:

> No sensible person, even among scientists, believes in the efficacy of shelters. Down one goes to the well-stocked, cozy hole. Then what? There is the gentle patter of fallout on the roof; one is shielded from the blast; the light of a thousand suns (or is it now a million suns?) does not penetrate. The Lares and Penates are there. The family is snug. Father is pedaling the air-pump. Mother is preparing a tuna-fish casserole. The radio is on. Splendid. But when does one come up and what is there to come up to? Anarchy? Cannibalism? The living dead? Bloated corpses? Troublesome questions. And even more troublesome is the effect of fire and heat, a subject which none of the experts and no one in the Establishment has seen fit to discuss. I lay this omission, of course, to delicate feelings. It would, I believe, undermine morale to be reminded of the fire storms over Tokyo, Hamburg, Dresden, where a mere few thousands of tons of high explosive produced atmospheric convulsions.

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623 B. Wayne Blanchard, Planning Specialist for Civil Defense Programs – FEMA,"American Civil Defense 1945-1984: The Evolution of Programs and Policies," accessed August 15, 2012, http://www.orau.org/ptp/pdf/cdhistory.pdf, 8.

624 Ibid.

> Now with weapons, each of which may yield the equivalent of ten, or fifty, or 100 million tons of high explosives, the fire storm produced by a single bomb will, I am reliably informed by an article in Scientific American, vaporize the structures and burn off the vegetation on an area of at least 15,000 square miles. Even in a deep shelter the occupants will be quickly barbecued. What a dreadful thing to contemplate. It is enough to make cowards of us all. The necrophiles, the bitter ones, the incandescent patriots, those among the aged and ailing who take comfort in the thought that their demise will coincide with that of mankind: these endorse the view that shelters will give shelter. But secretly they laugh at our innocence. We must not encourage them. If we are to die for the Cause, let us not cheapen and betray the sacrifice: Away with the shelters, and all will become clear.[625]

On October 27, *Goucher Weekly* published the first article in a series of three pertaining to bomb shelters and civil defense. The series, written by student staff writer Kathie O'Hara, ridiculed shelters and made plain how much money those industries related to their construction stood to make, pointed out inconsistencies between Christianity and the construction of shelters, and depicted shelters as monuments to war. In her first article titled "Bomb Shelters: What Protection," O'Hara acknowledged that shelters might protect those who could afford to build them but asked rhetorically what might happen to those who could not. She admonished those who advocated the construction and financing of fallout shelters not to forget elephants, giraffes and kangaroos, who could not afford the $2000 apiece to construct their own: "Regardless of our love, the wee besties (sic), if we emerge to an animalless world, a couple of carnivores I know are going to missing their steaks."[626]

In her November 17, 1961 article titled "The Image of a Bomb Shelter," O'Hara argued that by constructing bomb shelters, "we are building [monuments] to war. As we lay brick on brick in a frenzy of self-preservation, we are piling the bodies of our fellow men. In contracting to erect these shelters, we are laying the foundation of the world's tomb." She then turned to

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625 "Spare Our Children From Hot War… Cremate Ourselves in Solace," *Goucher Weekly,* October 6, 1961, 2.

626 "Bomb Shelters: What Protection," *Goucher Weekly,* October 27, 1961, 2.

what civil defense was doing to America's image abroad. "To an African," she asked, "does it look as though we are preparing for peace or war?... When the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) movement got to Washington, D.C., on November 1, they were welcomed and given an audience at the Soviet Embassy – *Mrs. Kennedy was too busy to see them…* What does this add up to in the minds of the people of underdeveloped nations?"[627] She concluded, "It seems obvious that false security (fallout shelters, 'clean' bombs, etc.) is no security. Obvious that fear and hysteria are products of the arms race and only by maintaining a tight grip on ourselves can we preserve our nation, democracy and the world. Obvious that only by unilateral courage in denying our government the right to participate in such a race can we hope to achieve a lasting peace."[628]

In response to O'Hara's series, newly appointed assistant professor of English Allan Brick reinforced the absurdity of civil defense and compelled proponents of disarmament to oppose fallout shelters. "Why must our leaders pump out the Big Lie of 'civil defense?,' he wondered. "Given their politically-enforced military definition of reality, there is method in their madness. For them the answer lies in so-called 'nuclear credibility."[629] Brick gave the lie to the government's contention that a strong civil defense program would give the enemy pause: "If an 'enemy' looks into our relatively open society and sees no one worrying about nuclear war, no one particularly believing that it could happen this minute, no one talking about 'shelters' or in the Food Fair buying survival stocks, he will believe that we want too much to live and thus would not go to nuclear war for any of their foreign commitments. But if he sees a frenzied and

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627 "The Image of A Bomb Shelter," *Goucher Weekly,* November 17, 1961, 2.

628 Ibid., 3.

629 "Brick Views Civil Defense, Disarmament Stands," *Goucher Weekly* 47:7 (1961), 3.

hysterical 'civil defense' effort, sees people believing in the desperation of needing shelters even thought not many people are building them, he might conclude that these people would go to nuclear war for almost anything."[630]

On January 12, 1962, *Goucher Weekly* published another article by Newman, which originally appeared in the *Washington Post* on December 30, 1961. The article ridiculed the Department of Defense's forty-six page pamphlet titled "Fallout Protection: What to Know and Do About Nuclear Attack." According to Newman,

> Nothing… more markedly exposes the irresponsibility, the indifference, and the duplicity of the Government's civil defense program than this pamphlet. There is no effective shelter program; there will be none. No one is willing to spend the money needed to put even a half-effective program into effect. It is doubtful, even if the will to do so were there, that we have the resources for the job. And it is certain that if we had the resources and the will, our society as a structure would not survive wholesale and long-term incarceration in underground prisons. But this publication, let it be emphasized, has nothing to do with anything so ambitious, so honest, so tragic and so insane. It is a contemptible public relations hoax. It is designed to make you think you have a chance when, in fact, you have none. It treats human beings as things. It is indifferent to their needs, their self-respect, their dignity. It puts the entire emphasis on a kind of brute survival infinitely worse than that which any tyranny might impose.[631]

Explaining that there were "millions of people who do not even have the bare necessities of life," Goucher's chapter of The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) initiated a program called "Shelters for the Shelterless" in January 1962. The FOR advertised the project and its corresponding essay contest as a "constructive protest against the… emphasis on fallout shelters," which it considered a selfish program.[632] The same week, *Goucher Weekly* reported that forty-nine Goucher faculty members, Brick

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630 Ibid., 3.

631 "Lawyer Questions Utility of Bomb Shelters," *Goucher Weekly,* January 12, 1962, 3.

632 "Group Diverts Shelter Funds to Peacetime Uses Abroad," *Goucher Weekly,* Vol. 47, January 19, 1962.

and Neumann included, comprising two-thirds of the school's teaching faculty, signed an open letter to President Kennedy protesting civil defense. Overall, 223 members of Baltimore's academic community endorsed the letter, which was originally published in the *New York Times* on November 10, 1961. The letter read:

> Dear Mr. President:
>
> We are deeply disturbed by current developments in the field of civil defense. It appears to us that the prodigious energy of our people is being channeled into wrong directions for wrong reasons; and that continuation of this trend may be extremely dangerous to the nation and to civilization itself…
>
> We are aware that our government is trying to deal realistically with the problem of war or peace. Unfortunately, however, government encouragement of shelter construction, as interpreted by the popular press, some local CD officials, and would-be shelter manufacturers, has led to a cruel deception of the people with respect to the protection which would be afforded, especially by individual fallout shelters. These shelters might be adequate in a 'minor' atomic war, as could have started in 1950. Such a conservative program has little relevance to the type of large-scale attack which might be anticipated in 1962.

The letter went on to challenge the notion that civil defense was an effective deterrent and to spotlight the disingenuity of the government's claim that shelters would save lives. It also raised troubling questions about the availability of shelters for low-income citizens and apartment-dwellers and the effect that such a program might have on the democracy. The letter ended on an ominous note, warning that a robust fallout shelter program "would substantially increase the likelihood of war – a war which would be permanently fatal to our democratic society, even if not to all of us."[633]

In March 1962, after Kennedy announced that the U.S. would once again resume atmospheric testing, protesters mobilized across the country. In New York City, the protest turned unruly when the crowd of 2000 pushed through barricades into a space that had been cordoned off by the police. The police, shoulder to shoulder, nabbed the

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633 "Faculty Joins in Educators' Address to Kennedy," *Goucher Weekly,* January 19, 1962, 5.

loudest demonstrators, including a woman holding a small, wailing child and pushed them onto the sidewalk. While the crowd chanted "Shame, Shame, Shame," police forcibly arrested forty-five people. Despite the arrests, protesters successfully shut down one of the busiest streets on the planet, creating gridlock in Midtown.[634] Similar unruly protests did not occur in Baltimore, though organizations on college campuses and SANE continued to be active in the city.

It was not until Kennedy's decision to resume atmospheric testing that local non-bureaucratic anti-civil defense voices spilled beyond college campuses and the *Sun's* editorial pages. On April 27, 1962, an article on page forty-two covered a Women Strike for Peace (WSP) protest of Baltimore's school board. WSP opposed the school system's encouragement of students to build mock fallout shelters in vocational classes. WSP activists deemed mock shelter construction an "inappropriate use of school time" and civil defense itself "an exercise in futility, with no relationship to reality." After WSP members made their case, Dr. Clifford Noll, a biochemist at Goucher and signer of the letter to President Kennedy protesting the national shelter program, supported the WSP position. He asserted that there was no effective defense against a nuclear explosion and cited defense department statistics that 140,000,000 people would die in such an attack, most of them in cities. Dr. William McElroy, a member of the school board and the chair of Johns Hopkins University's biology department, completely agreed with Noll: "The drills are a waste of the students' time. It's ridiculous to think they would be protected." McElroy also objected to school officials providing students with civil defense

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634 "A-Test Foes Stage Melee," *Sun*, Mar 4, 1962, 1.

pamphlets. There did not appear to be any major objections to the testimony of either WSP activists or Noll and McElroy, though superintendent George B. Brain defended civil defense in the schools by maintaining that there were only two drills a year, totaling sixteen minutes.[635]

Though anti-civil defense voices did get louder in response to Kennedy's national shelter proposal and policy shift on atmospheric testing, pro-civil defense sentiment still existed in Baltimore. In response to the mothers' school board protest, Dolores C. Harvey blasted the women for not having the "guts" to ensure the safety of "all our children." Harvey explained that if they had taken the time to gather proper information from their local libraries on the effects of nuclear weapons, they would of course know that there would be time for children to "be escorted to a shelter or sent home before fallout be[came] harmful." She dismissed Noll's assertion that there was no adequate defense against modern nuclear weapons, explaining that only a qualified nuclear physicist could come to such a conclusion.[636]

The same week as the mothers' protest, 300 activists rallied for disarmament in Baltimore's War Memorial Plaza after a ten mile walk from Maryland's civil defense headquarters in Pikesville that spanned the entire radius of absolute destruction assuming a ten-megaton blast at the corner of North Avenue and Charles Street. Chaired by Hopkins history professor Charles A. Barker and organized by Baltimore's teachers' union, the Baltimore chapter of WILPF, the Johns Hopkins chapter of SPU, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Women Work for Peace, this was the first substantial

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635 "Mother's Group Disputes Defense Drills in School," *Sun*, April 27, 1962, 42.

636 Dolores C. Harvey, letter to the editor, "Civil Defense," *Sun*, May 8, 1962.

protest that, while also focused on disarmament, explicitly opposed civil defense. Stay-at-home mothers and their children, businessmen, college students, teens and university professors participated in the event. They carried placards and banners that read, "All Men Cremated Equal," "No Tests East or West" and "Billions for Armament--Pennies For Peace."

When asked why he was marching, thirteen year-old Richard J. Green, who had read about the walk in the Hopkins *Newsletter*, answered, "I am a little self-centered—I want to grow up." Adelaide Noyes of Bel Air explained that she was marching for her grandchildren. Pushing their young son in a stroller, Albert Kinsey and his wife explained that a public demonstration was necessary to "remind people that something should be done." At War Memorial Plaza, protesters listened to Army Brigadier General Hugh B. Hester, who spoke on disarmament, and Arthur I. Waskow of the Peace Research Institute, who discussed the fallout shelter's psychological repercussions. After marchers passed him by, Daniel Miller, an office worker on Charles Street, remarked that he had "never seen anything like [this] in Baltimore."[637]

Perhaps anti-civil defense forces mobilized faster in New York in response to Governor Nelson Rockefeller's plan for a billion dollar shelter program, one that would have required every building in the state to have a fallout shelter. Even though the state legislature voted down his proposal, Rockefeller built a shelter inside the governor's mansion and another in his Fifth Avenue apartment building.[638] While certainly a proponent of civil defense, Maryland Governor Millard J. Tawes was nowhere near as

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637 "300 Hold Rally for Peace At End of 10-Mile March," *Sun*, April 22, 1962, 14.

638 Garrison, *Bracing for Armageddon,* 108.

outspoken about the need to construct fallout shelters. In fact, while New York's governor was ready to break the bank for civil defense in 1960, the state of Maryland had entirely ceased funding Baltimore's civil defense in 1956. The state had not reinstated the funds as of October 1961.[639]

By the time anti-nuclear anti-civil defense sentiment trickled into Baltimore's streets in April 1962, civil defense volunteers had been voicing their objections to the program for almost a year. The city council, at the behest of Schaefer and Angelos, had already initiated an investigation into the Baltimore Civil Defense Organization (BCDO) and the *Sun* had already revealed Shreve's plan to place civil defense under police control. Dee Garrison argued that Baltimore officials eventually cut the city's civil defense budget "partly in response to organized mothers demanding an end to preparation for war."[640] Though anti-nuclear anti-civil defense voices certainly played a part in Baltimore's civil defense revolt, it was actually civil defense volunteers who ultimately convinced the city council to investigate the BCDO. Their protest from within a very conservative establishment spotlights the centrality of non-nuclear issues to Baltimore's civil defense revolt.

Volunteers had been central to Baltimore's Cold War civil defense planning since 1950. The BCDO emphasized their importance when it crafted the city's official civil defense policy in 1952. On September 15 of that year, the BCDO released the "Baltimore Plan," a document that outlined, among other things, the critical role

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639 "Defense Meeting," *Sun*, Oct. 1, 1961, A28.

640 Garrison, *Bracing for Armageddon,* 129.

volunteers would play in Baltimore's civil defense planning.[641] Because limited federal and, after 1956, non-existent state funding impeded the BCDO's ability to pay district personnel, volunteers became integral to the success of the Baltimore Plan. The sheer number of districts, areas, sectors and posts dictated that unpaid citizens become the backbone of Baltimore's civil defense program. To further bolster the importance of the civil defense volunteer, the Baltimore Plan spelled out that civil defense officers for each district be volunteers who "command the respect of their neighbors and of the community within which they reside."[642] It explained that "volunteers [would] be thoroughly trained in the methods and procedures for minimizing casualties; for protection of property and for training their neighbors and organizing them into self protection units.[643]

The Baltimore Plan mandated the volunteers' primary role and advocated the formation of a citywide police advisory team. It also mandated that the team members, including all seven volunteer district coordinators, would "submit copies of their plans to the police commissioner, showing the breakdown of their organizations, as well as the location of, and the names and addresses of the Civil Defense Officers assigned to, the different subdivisions of their Areas."[644] The strategy of tasking volunteer coordinators with formulating local civil defense plans reflected the organization's recognition of the importance of local control. Volunteer coordinators shared a dedication to the cause of

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641 "Civil Defense Organization's Baltimore Plan," Enoch Pratt Free Library Maryland Room, vertical file "Civilian Defense – Baltimore" EPFL Part 2, Section 1 "Advance Planning."

642 Ibid Part 4, Section 3, 14.

643 Ibid.

644 Ibid

civil defense. They knew well the needs of their own communities, and, as a result, many coordinators formed trusting relationships with their volunteer subordinates and other members of their respective communities throughout the 1950s.

The Baltimore Plan also clearly evidenced the organization's recognition that in the case of an actual nuclear attack, police and fire assets might be slow to respond or might not survive the attack themselves. This is one reason why Charles Perry and others so vehemently objected to civil defense being placed under the control of the fire department. They understood the futility of large-scale responses that involved transportation of large vehicles from one part of the city to another in the aftermath of a hydrogen bomb. To them, the only effective response would be a local one, and it would come from members of the community who were familiar with their neighbors, their structures and their facilities. In an attack, a volunteer coordinator would oversee "a group of self-contained units capable of taking care of the citizens within his jurisdiction until such time as the professional and technical forces can come to their aid," and would continue to operate after their arrival.[645] This conception of the role of the civil defense volunteer differed from Prather's notion that "the role of the volunteer is to assist, support, augment and complement the regular City-operated departments, the Fire Department, the Health Department, and public services, such as the Water, Sanitation, Transportation, etc… in a subordinate rather than a supervisory capacity."[646] By early 1962, Prather was proposing to jettison sections of the Baltimore Plan he viewed as obstructions to police reorganization. Citizen volunteers would not accept that.

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645 Ibid.

646 RG 38 Box 2 Folder "City Council Minutes on Civil Defense"

On October 24, 1962, in response to the quarantine of Cuba, telephone calls to Baltimore's civil defense headquarters came one right after another. Officials at Maryland's civil defense headquarters in Pikesville received over 300 calls throughout the day. People inquired about the locations of fallout shelters, what type of rations and supplies would be available once they arrived and what they should do if a Cuban missile made its way to the Chesapeake Bay region.[647] Other questions included "Where can I buy sandbags?" "What is the best sort of food to buy and stock?" and "Will you send out an expert to show me the best place for a shelter in my basement?"[648] Prather addressed the crescendo of public alarm in Baltimore by conceding to Mayor Grady that "the stocking of public shelters with emergency equipment has been lagging" but that he was doing everything in his power to "expedite matters."[649] Additionally, Prather admitted that there was a shortage of sanitation and medical supplies, which he blamed on the ineptitude of the FCDA. At the height of the Cuban Missile Crisis, Prather was forced to admit to Baltimore's population that there were only twenty-seven shelters available for immediate occupancy, enough to house only 40,000 of Baltimore's 1,000,000 residents.[650]

As cohesion between the volunteers and the BCDO paid staff disintegrated, Prather was forced to defend the organization himself. Volunteers had been warning

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647 "Shelter Calls Reported Heavy," *Sun,* October 25, 1962.

648 "Questions on Shelter are Raised," *Sun,* October 24, 1962.

649 Ibid.

650 Ibid.

about the city's lack of preparedness for two years. The crisis allowed them to do so in an amplified media environment.

Volunteers used that amplification to air more of their grievances. Those most dedicated to the idea of self-help civil defense turned against the BCDO as it attempted to align its policies with new federal guidelines. Meanwhile, BCDO officials, steeped in military dogma, backed by the mayor's office and allied with the police department, implemented federal policy in the way occupiers might implement law and order after an invasion. They defined volunteers not as integral partners but as obstacles to a more surveillance-based urban civil defense policy. Volunteers were now on the other side of the proverbial fence.[651]

As the chaos of the Cuban Missile Crisis roiled the BCDO on October 25, 1962, Charles Perry initiated a funds drive to compensate a fellow volunteer who was injured in a civil defense exercise three months earlier. Charles Reechel fell off a roof and fractured his pelvis during a July 15 rehearsed rescue. Perry, incensed that the city solicitor would not pay for Reechel's medical bills or compensate him for lost work time, explained to the *Evening Sun*, "Mr. Reechel's hospital bill was $538. He was unable to work for twelve weeks and compensation, at only $60 a week, is $1,258. Volunteers gave needed blood and bought a needed special brace out of their own pockets."[652] The city solicitor responded by explaining that Reechel "technically was not a city employee but only a

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652 "Funds Sought to Aid Injured CD Aide," *Evening Sun,* October 25, 1962.

volunteer in a city-indorsed (sic) function and, therefore, was not eligible for compensation."[653]

Four days after he began his campaign to seek compensation for Reechel, and in the midst of a deluge of hundreds of urgent calls from residents in his district, Perry and other high-ranking Western District volunteers held a meeting at the North Avenue branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library at 8 p.m. on October 29 to discuss the locations of fallout shelters, dangers of radioactive fallout, first aid procedures and home survival.[654] Western District volunteers, heavily burdened with the stress of the Cuban Missile Crisis, were deeply concerned about the well being of the residents in their district, especially given Prather's admissions that Baltimore was nowhere near prepared. During the crisis, Baltimore's residents who hadn't realized it already began to understand that if bombs did fall, the civil defense apparatus at local, state and federal levels would not protect them. In newspaper articles, volunteers reinforced that view as they cast light upon simmering internal civil defense conflicts.

Charles Perry defended civil defense volunteers in a letter to the editor the following week:

> *To the editor:*
>
> George Dixon, in his article of the 29th October said, "Don't call civil defense for help, you'll only receive a pamphlet.
>
> On behalf of the volunteer Civil Defense personnel of the Western District, and the Rescue Service, both of which I command, I would like the pleasure of correcting Mr. Dixon's article to your readers.

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653 Ibid.

654 "Civil defense invites public to meeting," *Afro-American,* October 27, 1962.

> Civil Defense is not a defending or protection organization. We have the strongest, most powerful armed forces in the world to protect this great country in which we live.
>
> Civil Defense is a survival corps, built for (a) pre-attack training the public in survival techniques, (b) warning the public of impending attack, (c) notifying the citizens of the danger from initial and radioactive fallout, (d) informing the public when a safe time exists for their departure from shelters, (e) guiding the survived populous back to civilization, and coordination of the continuity of government.
>
> It is true, Civil Defense has many pamphlets. But if we should sustain an attack, or if other disasters should strike, people will be saved by knowing a few simple steps as outlined in the booklets which take only a few moments to read.
>
> If the disastrous day should ever take place, volunteer civil defense personnel will be there when Mr. Dixon and other citizens need help and guidance for survival.[655]

On November 23, in the wake of Prather's admissions that civil defense preparations were far from adequate prior to the Cuban Missile Crisis, and in the midst of Perry's public criticisms, Northern District coordinator Eli Berkenfeld and scores of other disgruntled civil defense volunteers pressed the city council for another hearing into the affairs of the BCDO. At the meeting, Perry said that he "would go before the City Council on Tuesday, Taxpayers' Day, to request an investigation of the organization."[656] Perry blamed Prather for knowing of the "debased" condition of the organization when he took over as director nearly a year prior and not doing anything to improve it. Perry requested that before the city council voted on Prather's 1963 budget request for $297,000 ($179,300 from city funds), it consider his suggestions that the organization produce a printed civil defense guide and that paid civil defense staff be forbidden from harassing volunteers and engaging in "military rule."[657] He also requested that paid staff recognize that "volunteers are civic-minded citizens interested in national defense; proper

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655 "Civil Defense is for Survival," *News-Post,* November 6, 1962.

656 "Protests Rise on City Civil Defense Setup," *News-Post,* November 24, 1962.

657 Ibid.

maintenance of equipment and (that they) establish an advisory board to work out differences between the paid staff and volunteers."[658]

Perry criticized Prather for belittling Western District volunteers in a five- page speech on Taxpayers' Day, a day traditionally set aside for Baltimoreans to comment on the city budget. In his speech, he followed up on his official request that city council investigate the organization. William Donald Schaefer, silent on his critique for a year, followed Perry's lead. Schaefer observed, "Something is wrong with the whole civil defense setup. There was something wrong before you [Prather] came and there still seems to be."[659] Councilman Solomon Liss, Howard Murphy of Baltimore's SANE chapter, and attorneys Hyman Pressman and Peter Angelos echoed Schaefer's renewed call for a full investigation of the BCDO, based primarily upon Perry's five-page testimony.

In the testimony, Perry blamed Prather for further constricting the role of the civil defense volunteer, especially in the Western District, where a ninety-nine percent African-American population would be forced to give up local control of its civil defense to an often-hostile white police commander who lived outside of West Baltimore. Perry demanded that the organization recognize "that volunteers are civic-minded citizens interested in national defense."[660] He also demanded that the proposed "military rule"

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658 Ibid.

659 Ibid.

660 "Inquiry is Asked on Civil Defense," *Sun,* November 24, 1962.

policy be abandoned and that harassment of volunteers by paid organization staff be punished.[661]

The Taxpayers' Day hearing tore off the veil that had shrouded the BCDO since the beginning of Arthur Shreve's tenure in 1959. Reaction was swift; Howard H. Murphy from the city's chapter of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) lashed out at the organization for wasting tax dollars on a useless and "futile" enterprise.[662] He also expressed outrage over the $500,000 worth of cots, communications equipment, medical supplies and cooking equipment that the organization purchased and subsequently warehoused near Prettyboy and Liberty Reservoirs.[663]

Murphy, an African-American, advocated for Maryland's poor throughout his life. As the first black representative to the state Board of Public Welfare, he railed against the segregation of homes for juvenile delinquents after Brown v. Board of Education. He protested state workers' midnight enforcement visits to welfare recipients and demanded that the state allow unmarried recipients access to Planned Parenthood. In addition to his participation in SANE, Murphy sat on the national boards of Americans for Democratic Action and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America's World Population Emergency Campaign. The American Civil Liberties Union recognized

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661 Ibid.

662 "Taxpayers criticize city's CD program," *Afro-American,* December 1, 1962.

663 Ibid.

Murphy for his notable contributions to the preservation and advancement of civil liberties.[664]

In 1960, Murphy responded to a global wave of anti-Semitism by imploring Baltimoreans to "fearless[ly] expose bigotry in all forms as soon as it sprouts." He connected anti-Semitism to race prejudice, explaining that "once you have learned how to hate Jews, it becomes easier to hate Negroes, Catholics, Puerto Ricans, etc."[665] By 1963, Murphy became a vocal critic of the military-industrial complex. Protesting the TFX plane project, he explained in a letter to the editor that "greater numbers of more sophisticated weapons result in a net decrease in national security" and that "it [was] high time people… be[came] aware of what has developed."[666]

Hyman Pressman, a prominent Jewish attorney and friend of City Councilman Solomon Liss, criticized the entire city council for encouraging graft and corruption in general, a charge that echoed throughout council chambers. Caroline Ramsay, the unsuccessful 7th District Republican congressional candidate and peace activist, called the entire program a "hoax" and pleaded that the council understand the effects that misguided civil defense plans had upon children. "We've [been] raising a generation that has the concept of a garrison state. Let's stand above ground in the sunshine and fight for what we believe."[667]

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664 "Howard H. Murphy, of Afro, dies," *Sun*, August 12, 1979, A10.

665 Letter to the editor, "Anti-Semitic Outburst," *Sun,* Jan 22, 1960, 10.

666 Letter to the editor, "TFX," *Sun*, April 27, 1963, 12.

667 "Taxpayers criticize city's CD program," *Afro-American,* December 1, 1962.

Throughout December 1962, the media spotlight on civil defense intensified. No longer were the complaints of Charles Perry and Eli Berkenfeld in vain – city taxpayers, council-members and activists read daily about the ineptitude, the disorganization, the graft and, perhaps most importantly, the disrespect that BCDO staff had for their volunteers. On December 23, the *Sunday American* published a feature article on the issues plaguing Baltimore's civil defense. Relegated only to coverage in the *Afro-American* just two months prior, the volunteer crisis became the subject of the *American's* "Round Table" discussion. Titled "Civil Defense on the Defensive," the round table brought together Jerry Adler, the *Sunday American's* City Hall correspondent, Caroline Ramsay, pro-civil defense state senator Paul Dorf and Prather. In response to Prather's assertion that civil defense volunteers should merely be assistants of paid staff and aides (presumably, police and fire commanders), Senator Dorf replied that he was greatly concerned about the effect Prather's conception of civil defense had upon the city's volunteers: "I am more alarmed than the General. I feel there is definite unrest in Baltimore City. Not only Mr. Perry, but other volunteer leaders, have objections. The main complaint is that they have not been able to talk to anyone. They have been shoved around and are complaining about it. They work hard at their task. A joint meeting of City Council and Legislative committees is going to become a reality."[668] Turning to the "lady panelist," moderator Adler asked Caroline Ramsay to comment. Ramsay complained, "I think the whole thing [civil defense] is misrepresented to us. We

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[668] "Civil Defense on the Defensive," *Sunday American,* December 23, 1962.

can't do anything to protect ourselves. If you have 30 million casualties there would be no food to eat and no water to drink."[669]

With city council members, senators and anti-nuclear activists now in the fray, Baltimore's civil defense volunteer crisis became the lynchpin for Baltimore's greater civil defense revolt, spurred by questions about the effectiveness of civil defense and the need for nuclear weapons. An unlikely alliance materialized between volunteers, who were incensed at the organization's contempt for their hard work and dedication, and Baltimore's most prominent anti-civil defense and anti-nuclear activists.

By early 1963, Prather found himself under intense fire from the city's media, anti-nuclear and volunteer camps. In the face of that scrutiny, Prather elaborated on his intentions to place district control of civil defense under the jurisdiction of the police department. His memorandum to the entire organization read as follows:

> Memorandum (January 10, 1963)
> Civil Defense Organization
>
> Subject: Utilization of Volunteer Personnel in Civil Defense
>
> 1. The policy of this Organization for the utilization of volunteer (unpaid) personnel in civil defense duties is as set forth below:
> 2. The Civil Defense Volunteer Service, composed of responsible and Reliable [sic] citizens who are willing to sacrifice leisure time and personal considerations in order to be trained for and serve in various civil defense assignments that must be performed in an emergency threatening the survival of the community, is an essential element of and of vital importance to the over-all civil defense organization of the City of Baltimore. The general role of the volunteer in Civil Defense is, first, to augment, assist and support the personnel of the regular Civil Defense agency, the operating departments of the City Government, and other agencies which have civil defense functions in an emergency and, second, to perform certain functions that are peculiar to civil defense and have no counterpart in the regular operating departments and agencies.
>
> 3.b. Staff positions at District, Area and lower control centers. In every Civil Defense District, the District Police Commander will be the

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669 Ibid.

> District Director of Civil Defense; the Alternate Director of Civil Defense will be a Police lieutenant selected by the District Director of Civil Defense. The positions of Executive Officer and Operations Officer in each District Control Center will normally be filled by members of the Officers' Reserve Corps, to the extent they are available for such assignments.[670]

Prather's reorganization set off another storm of protest and prompted the City Council's Committee on Civil Defense to hold an emergency meeting on January 22 at 8 p.m. Present at the meeting were Chairman Frank Gallagher, Councilmen Herbert J. Herman and William Donald Schaefer, and State Senators Paul Dorf and J. Albert Roney Jr. Representing the volunteers were district coordinators Charles Perry (Western District), Eli Berkenfeld (Northern District) and Samuel Steinberg (Northwestern District). The entire paid staff of the BCDO was also present, including Prather.[671]

Proceedings began with Gallagher's statement that the purpose of the meeting was to "iron out certain differences which existed between the Staff of the Baltimore City CDO and the volunteers."[672] Gallagher then called upon Berkenfeld to present his "disagreements, arguments and contentions" with the paid staff. Berkenfeld explained that volunteers, after the departure of Arthur Shreve in late 1961, hoped that the situation between them and civil defense staff would improve. Touting his eleven year tenure in civil defense and his attendance of multiple civil defense training courses, Berkenfeld went on to explain that "he had trained more [civil defense] officers than anyone… in

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670 "Memorandum, January 10, 1963, "Subject: Utilization of Volunteer Personnel in Civil Defense," Budget-Civil, RG 38 S2 Box 2, Folder 1962-63
"City Council Civil Defense Committee," BCA.

671 "City Council Minutes on Civil Defense," RG 38 Box 2, BCA.

672 Ibid.

Baltimore City and… he had received national recognition as doing one of the outstanding jobs in the country."[673] His testimony included references to the various members of his advisory staff, which was comprised of representatives from Baltimore's fire and health departments, Baltimore Gas and Electric and C & P Telephone. According to Berkenfeld, the police department never responded to his repeated requests for a police liaison to attend meetings of the advisory board. He explained that in his eleven years as civil defense district coordinator, the police department sent representatives only three times.

Berkenfeld, in an effort to highlight the extraordinary accomplishments of volunteers in his district, proudly reported that his "[Northern] District was the only District which had completely organized 23 Posts and Baltimore was the only City in the whole country which had accomplished this. Without the cooperation of the past director – Colonel Milani – this would not have been possible."[674] Berkenfeld reiterated Milani's belief that civil defense volunteers were the "backbone" of the organization, and that the organization could not survive without them. Indeed, feelings were mutual between Berkenfeld and the former director. In his 1956 testimony before the Holifield Committee, Milani went out of his way to highlight Berkenfeld's achievements. Though other districts struggled with staffing their civil defense posts, Milani explained to Holifield, Berkenfeld was able, despite the absence of any unified civil defense plan, to effectively organize and staff twenty-two blocks in his district by 1956. He wondered out loud how Berkenfeld could achieve such a feat and still earn a living at the same time, to

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673 Ibid.

674 Ibid.

which Holifield replied, "Not knowing Mr. Berkenfeld personally, I would say that any man that would volunteer his time as you have described and achieve that result for the committee should be commended. And, I am glad to have his name on the record here today."[675]

Despite Chet Holifield's commendation, Milani's successor Arthur Shreve ignored Berkenfeld's accomplishments when he took office in September 1959. Berkenfeld testified that almost immediately after Shreve's appointment, "the seven volunteer districts were changed to conform to the new nine Police Districts, which meant that all boundary lines were altered. During 1959-61, he [Shreve] held only two meetings with the district coordinators. There were no command post exercises, radio drills were discontinued, no press releases were issued. No interest was shown by the Director in the volunteers."[676] Berkenfeld explained that "the Northern District probably has only 200 – maybe only 100, active CD volunteers" as a result of Shreve's and later Prather's policy shift. He argued, "the policy in the past two years appeared to be to tear down and destroy the volunteers who have been insulted by the Director and by members of his staff, and this is still going on under the present director."[677] At that point in the meeting, Councilman Schaefer remarked, "one would think paid men would try to be at least civil to volunteers."

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675 House Subcommittee on Government Operations, *Civil Defense for National Survival, Part 5,* 84th Cong., 2nd sess., May 4, 7, 14, June 22, 25 and 27, 1956, 1526.

676 "City Council Minutes on Civil Defense," RG 38 Box 2, BCA.

677 Ibid.

Samuel Steinberg, Northwestern District coordinator, testified next that he supported Berkenfeld unequivocally.[678] Steinberg, echoing the words of both Perry and Berkenfeld, remarked that "they [civil defense staff] did not have enough specialized training for the jobs they were in." Steinberg detailed his own civil defense qualifications, including his attendance of staff college courses at Battle Creek and his attendance of staffing and organizational training courses at Manhattan Beach. Steinberg, Berkenfeld and Perry all explained that they were much more qualified to be in charge of civil defense organization than Shreve, Prather or any of the other paid staff. Steinberg declared at the end of the meeting that "the adaptation of the Police plan of General Prather will result in a complete fiasco." He concluded, "You cannot impose a military type of structure on a civilian volunteer organization."

This particular meeting highlighted a significant aspect of the civil defense volunteer uprising -- a general distrust of Baltimore's police department and a militarized civil defense organization to provide adequate protection and coordination in the event of a nuclear attack. As discussed in earlier chapters, police brutality was part of Baltimore's genetic code. Incidents of brutality increased frighteningly as more and more African-Americans moved to Baltimore during the inter-war years. In 1920, African-Americans comprised 14.8 percent of Baltimore's population. By 1930, that number had risen to almost twenty percent. By 1940, the African-American population rose by 16.7 percent in a decade while Baltimore's white population increased by only 4.6 percent. As incidents of police brutality multiplied in the years leading up to World War II, many in Baltimore's African-American community became more and more convinced that the

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678 Ibid.

city's police department was operating more as a gang of homicidal thugs than as a legitimate law enforcement agency.

Between 1930 and 1944, Baltimore police officers killed fourteen African-Americans, nine coming after Police Commissioner Robert Stanton took office in 1939.[679] Not one police officer was punished. Tensions, which had been simmering for years, exploded on February 1, 1942 when a white police officer, Edward Bender, shot and killed Thomas Broadus, an African-American solider as Broadus and some friends departed a performance by Louis Armstrong on Pennsylvania Avenue, the heart of Baltimore's black music scene. After Broadus hailed an unlicensed taxicab outside the theater, Bender approached the group and warned them to take a licensed one. Broadus and Bender exchanged words. Bender began to beat Broadus with his nightstick. Broadus wrenched the club away from Bender and began beating him with it. Then, Broadus ran. Bender drew his pistol and shot Bender in the back. As he lay bleeding, Broadus's friends tried to pick him up in an effort to transport him to a hospital, but Bender stood over Broadus and would not allow his friends to help. By the time a squad car arrived to transport him to the only hospital in Baltimore willing to admit African-Americans, Broadus was dead.[680] Broadus was the second African-American Bender had killed. On February 25, Bender was charged with murder. Shortly thereafter, the grand jury met again and mysteriously dropped the charge.[681]

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679 Edward S. Lewis, "Profiles: Baltimore," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 17:5 (1944), 288-295.

680 Baum, *Brown in Baltimore*, 39.

681 Ibid.

Baltimore's African-American community was outraged by the murder and the grand jury's decision to drop Bender's murder charge. The recently convened Citizens Committee for Justice immediately organized a large meeting to protest Baltimore's law enforcement establishment. Twelve hundred people attended the meeting, which was keynoted by Harlem's Adam Clayton Powell. The next day, two thousand people descended upon Annapolis to demand a meeting with Governor Herbert O'Conor. Activists including Lillie May Jackson, Edward Lewis, Juanita Jackson and W.A.C Hughes implored O'Conor to investigate police activities in African-American neighborhoods, to press for the hiring of black policemen and women, and to consider appointing more African-Americans to state organizations. The group also presented O'Conor with a petition signed by four thousand people to remove Police Commissioner Robert Stanton. O'Conor paid the group lip service and appointed a largely white committee, the Interracial Commission to Study Problems Affecting the Colored Population, to address the activists' concerns, but he did not commit to deeper solutions. Members of the Citizens Committee for Justice accused O'Conor of establishing the commission to "whitewash" police behavior.[682]

Twenty years after O'Conor established the interracial commission, police racism and brutality continued to ravage Baltimore. Perceptions on the part of the African-American community that the police force was out of control were further validated on August 25, 1962 when a white mob attacked twenty-six black children as they attempted

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[682] Ibid., 40-41.

to leave a public swimming pool in South Baltimore's Riverside Park.[683] Police officers did intervene to break up the melee but only after the students had exited the park itself. On September 12, a group of integrationists requested that Governor J. Millard Tawes investigate Baltimore Police Commissioner Bernard J. Schmidt because his officers "permitted acts of violence and intimidation" at the pool and that "sterner police action would have resulted in the arrest of ringleaders and dispersal of crowds without any violence."[684] According to the *Washington Post* on September 4, 1964, "a major concern among (Baltimore's) Negroes today is alleged police brutality. Two slayings of Negroes by white policemen this summer and several other incidents that have given rise to brutality charges have brought about a great deal of resentment of the police department."[685] General Assembly Delegate Clarence Mitchell, an African-American, explained that "because of this issue, we are very definitely sitting on a tinder box in Baltimore. We don't want to see trouble here. But it could break out spontaneously because of the Police Department."[686] Bernard Schmidt was one of the key advocates for the implementation of the civil defense police reserve program.[687] Charles Perry and the other volunteer officers of the ninety-nine percent African-American Western District

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683 "Child Injured as Baltimore Mob Attacks Negro Boys Leaving Pool," *Washington Post,* 25 August, 1962.

684 "Police Role at Scene of Race Incidents Hit," *Washington Post,* 13 September, 1962.

685 "Baltimore Racial Progress Cited To Counter Talk of Any Disorder," *Washington Post,* 4 September, 1964.

686 Ibid.

687 "Emergency Police Force to be Set Up," *Sun,* Aug. 23, 1961.

were not willing to relinquish control to a largely indifferent, hostile and, in many cases brutal Baltimore police department.

The "police annex" to Baltimore's 1959 Operational Survival Plan specifically laid out what would be the role of the civil defense "police service" in the event of a nuclear attack. The main functions of the police service were to protect "life and property," to prevent crime, to preserve the peace, to enforce "plans relating to movement, regulation and control of people and vehicles" and to establish and train "an Emergency Police Reserve Corps to supplement and expand existing law enforcement personnel."[688] Civil defense volunteers had in some cases devoted more than ten years to preparing their communities for an attack. Many of them had already arranged to protect lives and property and to regulate foot and vehicular movement as best they could. Prather's plan to replace volunteer district coordinators with district police commanders placed a set of rigid police service guidelines originally designed in consultation with the police department and in the hands of officers to implement them. In effect, life after a nuclear attack in Baltimore would have been governed by strict martial law, as mainly white police officers under the most extreme stress imaginable were to control the movements and actions of an increasingly non-white urban population.

The plan mandated that if given sufficient warning to evacuate, citizens ("the bulk of whom [would] move by private automobiles"), would fan outward to an evacuation right-of-way. Cross traffic and inbound traffic would be stopped and re-routed.[689] According to the plan, "once the city has been evacuated no evacuees will be permitted to

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688 Operation Survival Plan, Page 2, Annex L, Volume V

689 Operational Survival Plan, Volume 1, p. 21

return to the City until directed to do so by Civil Defense authorities."[690] The plan outlined guidelines for when evacuees could return to the city. It mandated that the only people who could return were people "for whom facilities exist."[691] It would be white police officers under the command of white civil defense district commanders who would ultimately decided what facilities did still exist and who would be able to return to them.

On the afternoon of January 29, 1963, Richard Prather fired Charles Perry in a telephone message:

> As of this date you may no longer consider yourself as the Rescue Liaison Officer between the volunteer workers and the Civil Defense Organization. You have made it clear to me that you are unwilling to carry out my instructions as Director of Civil Defense. You may no longer speak for me or for the Civil Defense Organization on any rescue matters. Now you understand what I am saying – as of this date you are no longer the Liaison Officer and you may no longer speak for me on any rescue matters. You may no longer speak for this organization.[692]

Prather's heated declaration, a product of two-and-a-half years of frustration with Perry, stoked fire in the hearts of eighty-seven other civil defense volunteers who, through the 1950s, devoted themselves to making sure that Baltimore would survive a nuclear attack. The fact that Prather tossed Perry, a veteran civil defense worker, aside so quickly indicated to other volunteers that the organization viewed them as expendable and unnecessary.

At a city council meeting later that evening with volunteers, politicians and civil defense paid staff present, Eugene Rieth, a volunteer from the Western District, took issue with Prather's decision to fire Perry. Speaking on behalf of the large group of civil defense volunteers who attended the meeting, Rieth declared,

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690 Ibid., 22.

691 Ibid., 22-23.

692 RG38 Box 2 "Budget-Civil" Folder 1962-63 "City Council Civil Defense Committee" "Telephone message of General Prather to Mr. Charles N. Perry"

> We have been told Mr. Perry has been relieved of his duties because he took the privilege of every American citizen – the freedom of expressing his ideas. We have in Mr. Perry a man who has given his free time exclusively to civil defense. He told me and I believe he told every man and woman in this room. We know what he has been doing in the past and what he will do in the future. He has taken all his time to protect each and every human life in the City of Baltimore. If the volunteers do not have the freedom to express their opinions, what good is Civil Defense? We suggest Mr. Perry be reinstated as Rescue Liaison Officer. If not, we will all resign from the volunteer Rescue Service.[693]

Prather explained that his decision resulted from Perry's insubordination and rejection of organizational mandate for over two years:

> Mr. Perry has consistently refused to accept the organization… I will say in my opinion he has refused to accept Rescue volunteer workers serving under the supervision of the Fire Department. Several days ago he sent in a letter requesting Rescue training after he had been requested to deal directly with the Fire Department on these matters. On January 21 he wrote a letter to the Training Officer proposing to set up in-service training for the Rescue volunteer organization for the coming year. I asked Mr. Swatko [another Civil Defense Organization employee] to forward this request to the Fire Department which is the proper agency to carry out this training. I wrote Mr. Perry a letter, I think a very polite letter stating I had asked Mr. Swatko to forward his letter direct to the Fire Department for its consideration and decision. In view of the fact that the Fire Department had now assumed responsibility for the supervision and operation of the volunteer Rescue Service, I requested that in the future, such communications be forwarded direct to that Department, attention of Lt. James. I received a letter back from Mr. Perry today in which he stated to me in no uncertain terms that he would disregard what I said, that he and his group did not accept the agreement made with the Fire Department and he would continue to address such communications to me. This whole thing is the culmination of a number of certain events that have taken place with reference to the demands of Mr. Perry…[694]

Rieth responded, "Mr. Perry was only exercising the right of every American citizen. Now he is told his services are no longer needed. I ask that Mr. Perry be reinstated."[695] Prather responded immediately: "I have no intention of reinstating Mr. Perry as long as he has the attitude he has of total disregard for my instructions. He would not comply with my request and deal with the Fire Department."[696]

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693 Ibid.

694 RG 38, S2 Box 2, Folder "City Council Minutes on Civil Defense"

695 Ibid.

696 Ibid.

At that moment, the eighty-six civil defense volunteers who attended the meeting in defense of Charles Perry threw their service certificates into the air and left the room. As the meeting disintegrated further, it became clear to its participants, including Frank Gallagher, Herbert J. Herman, William Donald Schaefer and Leon Rubenstein who represented the City Council Civil Defense Committee, that the rift between Baltimore's civil defense volunteers and the organization was widening before their eyes.

The next day, Perry pleaded with the volunteers not to abandon the organization. In an open letter, Perry explained to them, "As rescue personnel, you are dedicated volunteers and through your endless hours of training and service in rescue, have earned your Civil Defense identification cards. If this mass resignation takes place, it will be the downfall of Civil Defense in Baltimore, and that is saving life in the event of disaster or nuclear attack."[697] Prather responded to the volunteers' resignation:

> Volunteer rescue workers should be an auxiliary to the Fire Department which operates a fine professional rescue service. The situation is the same as the police auxiliary or the fire auxiliary.
>
> These men who have threatened to resign don't want any supervision. They answer multiple fire alarms, rushing across fire lines, getting in the way of fire fighters, bursting into burning buildings.
>
> They consider themselves on par with the Police Department and the Fire Department. I simply took steps to get them back in the right channels.
>
> When I came here, Mr. Perry had adopted the title of chief of Volunteer Rescue Service, which was never authorized.
>
> He has made it pretty clear he is not willing to work under the Fire Department… He wrote me a letter telling me that. I told him he no longer is rescue liaison officer or speaks for me or the organization in rescue matters.[698]

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697 "Perry Appeals to CD Workers: 'Do Not Resign,'" *News-Post*, January 31, 1963.

698 "Civil Defense Agency Head Scores Volunteers who Don't Want to Work," *News-Post,* January 31, 1963.

On February 4, Samuel Steinberg asked acting Mayor Philip H. Goodman to demand an apology from Prather and other civil defense officials for "questioning the courage of volunteers."[699] Prather refused to apologize but quietly made provisions for volunteers to obtain city-financed health insurance in an attempt to staunch poor publicity. This strategy was fruitless, as the city council prepared to investigate the BCDO once again.

Immediately following the city council hearing, Schaefer re-launched an investigation into the entire civil defense apparatus, a revival of the plans that he had shelved a year earlier. According to the *Sun*, Schaefer declared "that if he [was] returned to his Council seat he would look into the situation to determine 'how the volunteers are being treated by the paid civil defense staff.' If there ha[d] been no improvement, he said, 'I will certainly act to cut the appropriation for a highly paid staff, or to reorganize the entire civil defense operation.'"[700] Schaefer explained that the volunteers were more qualified and "[had] more civil defense training than members of the staff."

On May 21, Councilman Frank Gallagher, chairman of the city council committee on civil defense, filed a report highly critical of the BCDO. According to the *Sun,* his committee ultimately recommended "that the staff… take more courses to improve their professional abilities; that the staff should realize in dealing with volunteers that it is supervisory and is not a superior group; that the civil defense public information service should be improved; [and] that an advisory staff should be established to study policy

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699 "Civil Defense Volunteers Ask Apology," *Sun,* February 5, 1963.

700 "Civil Defense Faces Study," *Sun,* January 30, 1963.

changes and courses to be taught."[701] On June 3, Charles Perry and other civil defense volunteers met with Earle Poorbaugh, representative to newly elected Mayor Theodore McKeldin (R). In the meeting, Perry demanded that Prather be fired for his continued harassment of civil defense volunteers. On July 15, fifteen days after volunteers ceded control of their districts to police commanders, Perry wrote a letter to the editor of the *News-Post* titled "City's Civil Defense Program Disgusting:"

> In regard to Civil Defense articles appearing in this column from time to time, I feel certain persons writing are members of subversive groups, others are apathetic towards Civil Defense, while others are just plain disgusted in the organization of Civil Defense in Baltimore. The latter mentioned is my description (of) the group I fall under.
>
> First, what has Baltimore City accomplished in a civil program in the past four years, when the world has been at a critical turmoil in cold war situations. In this period, over one million dollars of the taxpayers money has been spent on a do-nothing program.
>
> The shelter program is good protection against fallout, but after all the federal government has spent its own money and has handled over 98 percent of the work and planning on that project.
>
> The medical self-help program is good, but again the federal government's Department of Health, Welfare, Education has gained the credit. You can readily see Baltimore is slightly prepared in survival but what has the director and paid staff of this city done?
>
> Baltimore has no program, plan or policy to abide by or work from. This city of one million persons has 24 Auxiliary Police, a dismobilized Rescue Service, fired volunteers, no district volunteer organizations, and the city is paying city employees top wages for taking Civil Defense training, because the director can not get volunteer citizens to take interest.[702]

On July 23, 1963, African-American Councilman Henry Parks proposed deletion of all civil defense funding from the 1964 budget.[703] Parks suggested that "the $280,000 spent to operate the Baltimore civil defense organization could more fruitfully be spent to

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701 "Civil Defense," *Sun,* May 21, 1963.

702 Letter to the Editor, "City's Civil Defense Program Disgusting," *News-Post,* July 15, 1963.

703 "Cutoff of CD Funds Urged By Parks," *Evening Sun,* July 24, 1963.

meet some of the city's social and economic needs."[704] Lewis M. Latane, head of Baltimore Polytechnic Institute's modern languages department, State Department delegate to UNESCO and a former Army teacher at Fort Holabird, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Evening Sun* in support of Parks's proposal:

> Councilman Henry G. Parks's suggestion that the $200,000 wasted on the Civil Defense Office in Baltimore be applied to the city's urgent social and economic needs shows good judgment and a sense of civic responsibility all too rare in the City Council.
>
> The public is apathetic because locally and nationally civil defense has been and is bungling and incompetent. A realistic consideration of the whole set-up of shelters, canned water, drills and all the rest of the hoop-la will surely convince an intelligent person that efforts along the present lines are both futile and dangerous. The program is futile because it is fragmentary, haphazard and totally inadequate in the protection it affords. It is dangerous because it tempts the public to trust in an illusion and greatly increases the chances of panic in case of an attack or what is presumed to be an attack.
>
> The training of the public necessary to make a shelter program of any value would require such complete regimentation and control by the military as to destroy all of the way of life we are trying to defend…
>
> The sound development of our economic, industrial and human resources offers us the surest line of defense. Councilman Parks does well to oppose this item in the budget.[705]

On July 28, reacting to the volunteer crisis and the City Council hearings, the *Sun* formally came out against the 1964 budget appropriation for civil defense. Dismissing the program as a "palliative," the editorial argued that the money spent on civil defense "has not bought any sure protection for [Baltimore's] population in the event of an atomic attack, nor could it. Most Baltimoreans do not know what they would do in such a case and are not especially interested in finding out. They are not, in general, against civil defense but they would just as soon not bother about it."[706]

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704 Ibid.

705 Letter to the Editor, "Civil Defense Effort Futile and Wasteful," *Evening Sun,* July 27, 1963; on Latane, "Services Today for Latane," *Sun*, Aug 22, 1976, A12.

One month later, Hyman A. Pressman, Baltimore's city comptroller, also called for the complete elimination of the civil defense organization.[707] Calling the entire organization a "boondoggle," the comptroller added his voice to a chorus of city officials who desired a total eradication of Baltimore's civil defense apparatus in the 1964 budget. Charles Perry responded in a letter to the editor of the *News-Post*: "I wholeheartedly agree with Comptroller Pressman, also Councilman Henry G. Parks Jr. and William D. Schaefer, that elimination of local civil defense program is the only successful means of accomplishing a sound program under state and federal authority."[708] Helen Hollingsworth, a member of Women Strike for Peace, agreed with both Parks and Pressman: "I should like to publicly commend Mr. Parks and Mr. Pressman for their stand on civil defense appropriations. In our present age of thermonuclear weapons I feel that a civil defense program mocks the intelligence of the American public. Our only defense, our only hope, is peace."[709]

In response to the *Sun* editorial and the public criticism from Parks, Pressman, Schaefer and others, Baltimoreans sent a flood of letters to newly elected Mayor Theodore McKeldin (R) urging the abolition of civil defense on both moral and fiscal grounds. Explaining that they had read the *Sun* editorial, Mr. and Mrs. Julius Schatsky asked the mayor to cut funding for the program in order to divert funds to other

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706 Editorial "Civil Defense," *Sun*, July 28, 1963

707 "Pressman Calls for CD End," *Sun,* August 30, 1963.

708 Letter to the Editor, "Urges Abolition of Local CD Unit," *News-Post,* September 5, 1963.

709 Letter to the Editor, "Civil Defense 'Hoax,'" *Sun,* September 7, 1963.

"catastrophic situations concerning social and economic problems."[710] Catharine M. Taylor explained that she would like to see "Baltimore, along with Portland and Los Angeles, [become] one of the first cities to abolish civil defense – for moral reasons and practical reasons."[711] Henry B. Waskow, co-chairman of Baltimore's Americans for Democratic Action chapter, called civil defense expenditures "completely illusory and useless," explaining that the funds would be "better spent to build a more constructive future for the people."[712] Other letters echoed that sentiment. Mrs. Samuel L. Slovin of Liberty Heights Avenue told the mayor that civil defense would be useless if an attack actually occurred and asked the mayor to invest the money back into the community.[713] Edward Lee Crenshaw, after hearing Pressman speak against civil defense on television, asked McKeldin to cut the budget, as "taxes [had] risen to (sic) high already."[714]

Dolores Brenner objected to civil defense on the grounds that it fostered a "false sense of security," because, in the event of an attack, "those fortunate enough to get into shelters would come out to a place where the water is contaminated, the air is polluted and survival is highly questionable." She explained that if people thought they would be safe in their shelters, they would not be "vitally interested in working toward a peaceful

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710 Mr. & Mrs. Julius Schatsky to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, August 23, 1963, RG 9 S25 Box 374, "Civil Defence (2) 1963," BCA.

711 Catherine M. Taylor to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 17, 1963, Ibid.

712 Henry B. Waskow to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 18, 1963, Ibid.

713 Mrs. S. L. Slovin to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 16, 1963, Ibid.

714 Edward Lee Crenshaw to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 18, 1963, Ibid.

solution to international conflicts."[715] Robert D. Katzoff of Rosecrest Avenue objected to civil defense as "absurd, dangerous, and immoral." He told the mayor,

> the [civil defense] program is the height of deception. When there is still so much deprivation even in our affluent society, it is criminal to waste a substantial sum of public funds that could do some real good… Faced with the possibility of a universal nuclear holocaust, a moral society should bend its efforts to prevent that eventuality; its purpose should be to save all of humanity – not, in effect, to put all its eggs in the basket of survival for a 'pure' remnant on what would truly be these miserable shores. In the perspective of the mood of Rosh Hashana which the Jewish community is about to celebrate, let this holyday, which is observed partly as the birthday of the world, inspire us to see such apparently local issues as civil defense in the light of their implications for the world. The unique thing about our times is that only by doing so will we have a decent future for ourselves and our children.[716]

One Baltimorean explained that civil defense was wasteful "because it <u>could never do the job in case of atomic warfare</u> [and that it would create] a war and fear psychosis that we may never be able to disentangle ourselves out of."[717] George N. Webb of Alhambra Avenue advocated the program's de-funding because, to his knowledge, "there [had] been no evidence… either in the popular or technical press, that had shown that [civil defense could] defend the civil population from the effects of nuclear attack." He explained to the mayor, "the continuation of civil defense promotes the general acceptance of the idea that it is right, proper, and perfectly alright for the United States to engage in nuclear war. This is folly and it is high time that we get around to the business of finding ways to eliminate the possibility of having a nuclear war."[718] Benjamin Stoler

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715 Dolores Bremner to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 17, 1963, Ibid.

716 Robert D. Katzoff to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 16, 1963, Ibid.

717 indecipherable to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, undated, Ibid.

718 George N. Webb to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, undated, Ibid.

opposed civil defense because "money spent on it has been a complete waste and will continue to be so no matter what is done." He was also against the program because he felt "it [would] not do the job in a heavy industrial area so close to Philadelphia and Washington which certainly [would] be devastated in a nuclear attack."[719]

Many of Baltimore's clergy expressed their opposition. Reverend Don Frank Fenn urged the mayor to "join some other major cities in this land, who have closed out the Civil Defense Program because it is futile and it tends to lull people into a sense of security when such security does not exist." He was convinced "that the only way to prevent the dissolution of mankind, at least in those nations that have atomic weapons, is by gradual disarmament with the beginning of enforceable World Law.[720] Rabbi Uri Miller of Beth Jacob Congregation also cited the "false sense of security," explaining that civil defense "detracts from our efforts to seek peaceful solutions to all our conflicts."[721] Lloyd D. Haag, pastor of The Friendship Church of the Brethren, encouraged McKeldin to "join Mr. Parks, Mr. Pressman and others in a campaign to abolish the farcical civil defense program in the city."[722]

After seeing Hyman Pressman's interview on television, Mr. Eddie Tarver of Fairview Avenue wrote McKeldin to ask that civil defense, a "wasteful, inefficient program," be cut from the 1964 budget.[723] Fred H. Ohrenschall, who had also seen the

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719 Mr. Benjamin Stoler to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, October 4, 1963, Ibid.

720 Reverend Don Frank Fenn to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 14, 1963, Ibid.

721 Rabbi Uri Miller to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 13, 1963, Ibid.

722 Pastor Lloyd D. Haag to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 13, 1963, Ibid.

program, explained that after viewing it with an "open mind," there was now "NO question in [his] mind that Civil Defense in a nuclear age [was] a monstrous hoax and a politician's dream for creating a number of unnecessary jobs." He asked the mayor to "take that $279,500 and spend it for something to make our city more beautiful and livable."[724] Dr. Louis Lasagna was compelled to write the mayor after viewing the program. He told the mayor, "if there is to be a nuclear war, it will be an all out war, with fantastic devastation, and there is no possibility that our country and civilization can exist as such. A percentage of our population will survive, but the United States of America will perish." Insisting that civil defense would not save lives in the event of an attack, Lasagna invoked the words of "Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, Generals MacArthur and LeMay, and many others to the effect that no one can win a nuclear war, and therefore it cannot be allowed to happen. It seems obvious that such statements assume less credibility in the minds of many if they are encouraged to believe that we can fight a nuclear war and then crawl up out of the ground to a 'business as usual world.'"[725] Robert W. Lee and his wife also agreed with Pressman that civil defense was impractical, and "urge[d] [the mayor] to persuad[e] the City Council to turn down [the] wasteful program."[726]

Fannie E. Blank of University Parkway felt that shelters were "no protection against a nuclear war [and that their only purpose was to] give some of the people a false

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723 Mr. Eddie Tarver to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 17, 1963, Ibid.

724 Fred H. Ohrenschall to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 15, 1963, Ibid.

725 Louis Lasagna, M.D. to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 16, 1963, Ibid.

726 Mr. and Mrs. Robert W. Lee to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 19, 1963, Ibid.

sense of security, increase their apathy and thus hinder the struggle for peace and total disarmament." She concluded her letter to McKeldin, "We, the people, want to live in bright, sunny, clean homes and not be buried alive in cold, damp and dark deep caves."[727] Sidney Hollander Jr. and his wife told the mayor that "the only defense against nuclear attack is to find some way toward honorable peace in the Cold War, and the sooner we face up to it the better."[728] Margaret D. Armstrong of the Fulton Heights Neighborhood Club explained that her organization had passed a resolution "supporting the action of Councilman Parks and Comptroller Pressman in working to abolish the Civil Defense program" in order to "cut… unnecessary waste."[729]

Robert Z. Alpern, a World War II veteran, characterized civil defense as a "phantom program" and asserted that civil defense was useless because "there is no protection to the Nuclear menace that overhangs our world today and it would be abusive to use much needed municipal assets to perpetuate that which is manifestly obsolete.[730] Arthur L. Stinchcombe explained to the mayor his opposition to civil defense, "massive retaliation by the Soviet Union, or any attack by them designed to cripple our striking capacity, would be so severe that the shelters would be ridiculous." He advocated using the funds "to give teachers more reasonable salaries or to keep some of our experienced patrolmen on the police force with decent wages."[731] Mrs. G. A. Brodie also urged the

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727 Fannie E. Blank to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 14, 1963, Ibid.

728 Sidney Hollander Jr. to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 22, 1963, Ibid.

729 Margaret D. Armstrong to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 22, 1963, Ibid.

730 Robert Z. Alpern to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, October 9, 1963, Ibid.

mayor to drop civil defense in favor of funding "other vital programs" throughout the city.[732]

Many Baltimoreans saw McKeldin as the one person who could smother civil defense. Leon Shapiro of Colonial Road told McKeldin, "if you take a poll of a cross section of our citizens you will find that the great majority are not interested in buying a false sense of security. Our city needs the kind of real leadership that only YOU can provide." Shapiro suggested that the shelters would become "crematoriums" in the event of an attack, which would ultimately be "responsible for a larger number of deaths of our citizens due to firestorms, etc…"[733] Lloyd D. Haag argued that "it is time to face the reality of what nuclear warfare would mean and to abandon these World War I concepts of protection."[734] Anne W. Niles told the mayor, "we cannot defend our 'way of life' by plans for survival after a nuclear war. We must make that way intelligible and attractive to the world, even to our fellow citizens in Baltimore and you are the man to lead us in it."[735] Denny R. Colbert of Green Meadow Parkway charged the mayor, "Now when the moment of decision [about whether or not to defund civil defense) is about here, it would be to your everlasting credit to exert your positive leadership in ridding Baltimore of this

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731 Arthur L. Stinchcombe to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 19, 1963, Ibid.

732 Mrs. G. A. Brodie to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, undated, Ibid.

733 Leon Shapiro to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 26, 1963, Ibid.

734 Lloyd D. Haag to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, October 9, 1963, Ibid.

735 Anne W. Niles to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 24, 1963, Ibid.

pox once and for all. I would be very proud to say that Baltimore was the first East Coast city to do so."[736]

Indeed, Baltimore did become the first east coast city to defund civil defense. Influenced by the barrage of letters, and amidst sustained protest from anti-nuclear groups, city councilmen, letters to the editor from Charles Perry, Samuel Steinberg, Eli Berkenfeld, Henry Parks and Hyman Pressman, Mayor McKeldin announced on October 26 that the 1964 civil defense budget would be cut by 60 percent.[737] According to McKeldin, if it was his decision alone, he would have completely abolished the organization because "citizen sentiment (was) 'overwhelmingly' for eliminating 'one of the nation's greatest boondoggles.'"[738] He proposed that responsibility for civil defense be divided between the city's fire department, health department, traffic department and public works division. With the stroke of a pen on October 26, 1963, McKeldin effectively eliminated the BCDO. On November 5, Baltimore's Board of Estimates adopted its budget for 1964, authorizing only $60,000 for civil defense activities.[739] It was only a matter of time before Richard Prather and other civil defense paid staff lost their jobs.

Pursuant to McKeldin's new plan to divide up civil defense responsibilities and to place the central command of civil defense under the wing of Baltimore's Fire

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736 Denny R. Colbert to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, October 15, 1963, Ibid.

737 "McKeldin to Cut Civil Defense by 60 Per Cent in '64," *Sunday American,* October 27, 1963.

738 Ibid.

739 "City Abolishes CD And Saves $102,000," *Evening Sun,* November 6, 1963.

Department, Prather resigned his position effective December 31, 1963.[740] Fourteen other organization staff members also lost their jobs.[741]

The abolition of the BCDO, though clearly an attempt on the part of the McKeldin administration to clean house and trim the city's budget in order to satisfy campaign promises, also reflected McKeldin's respect for the will of his constituents and his willingness to challenge the national security state in the interests of his city. On September 5, 1963, Assistant Secretary of Defense Steuart L. Pittman, having read about Pressman's proposal to eliminate Baltimore's civil defense budget, warned McKeldin that "although… this is a matter for officials of the City of Baltimore to determine, a negative decision on carrying out the local part in a national civil defense effort by any city or county has some bearing on our national security. In saying this I reflect the view of the President, the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs, and more recently the House Armed Services Committee."[742] McKeldin's decision to abolish the BCDO in the face of such pressure should be viewed as an entire city's reaction to the encroachment of a more powerful national security state in the early 1960s. The same voices of discontent that brought down the BCDO continued protesting throughout that year, but their goal had largely been achieved. Along with the rest of the nation, Baltimoreans entered what Paul Boyer termed the "Big Sleep," as arms limitation treaties, test ban agreements, renewed hope for the future of atomic energy and opposition to the Vietnam War muted large

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740 "Stanley Scherr May Become CD Chief," *Evening Sun,* December 2, 1963.

741 "Mayor to Pick Director for Civil Defense," *News-Post,* December 13, 1963.

742 Assistant Secretary of Defense Steuart L. Pittman to Mayor Theodore McKeldin, September 18, 1963, RG 9 S25 Box 374, "Civil Defence (2) 1963," BCA.

scale opposition to nuclear weapons for almost two decades.[743] However, anti-civil defense voices continued to ring out across Baltimore throughout the remainder of 1964.

[743] Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light,* 356-358.

CONCLUSION

On March 15, 1964, a group of Goucher College students formed an organization called Peace Union and initiated a push to do away with campus fallout shelters. The group, which met regularly, declared the shelters "absolutely ludicrous" and argued that there was no evidence to prove that shelters would protect Goucher's population in the event of attack. Further, they asserted in a petition circulated throughout the dormitories that fallout shelters induced a "false sense of security which promotes a war psychology [preventing us] from seriously confronting the real issue at hand – that of securing peace."[744] The day after he read about the Goucher protest, Baltimore County civil defense deputy director Edward Murray told a *Sun* reporter that "the girls are obviously well-meaning but they are being misguided." In the same article, Walter D. Hyle, Baltimore County's civil defense director, said, "we don't know what to do with these children."[745] Hyle went on to explain his perception that the "children" did not realize how they were being brainwashed by the Communist Party. He added, "They may be doing this just for kicks. But unbeknownst to them they are attacking a vital program. What will they be after next—missiles?"[746]

The Goucher protest received national media attention when the Associated Press picked up the story on March 18. The *Washington Post* ran an article titled "CD Official Blames Reds in Goucher Shelter Fight," pitting Baltimore County's civil defense director against the students. On March 22, the issue clearly struck a nerve with *Post* editors, who ran an editorial titled

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744 "Goucher Shelters Called Useless," *Sun*, March 15, 1964, 30.

745 "Anti-Shelters Group Criticized," *Sun*, March 17, 1964.

746 Ibid.

"Uncivil Defense." The *Post* demanded Hyle's removal from office, arguing that "the Civil Defense structure [was] acquiring a particularly nasty reputation for abusive and defamatory invective. If Mr. Hyle applies his charge of subliminal subversion to college girls who petition against the current shelter construction bill, then he is also talking about the newspapers, including this one, that think poorly of the bill, and the Senate Armed Services subcommittee that earlier this month firmly pigeonholed it by a four-to-one vote." The *Post* tied the Goucher action to a "deep[er] conviction among most Americans that this generation cannot find security this way."[747]

Between March 20 and 23, the *Sun* carried seven letters to the editor about the affair, six of which blasted Hyle's comments. Susan Shapiro, President of Goucher Peace Union, explained that the group circulated the petition to "stimulate discussion" amongst the Goucher community. Dieter M. Gump denounced Hyle for "mak[ing] these Goucher students look like paid agents of the Kremlin" and went on to ridicule him for patronizing the "college women." Goucher assistant professor of fine arts Donald Risley wrote, "Previous to reading the utterances of these two gentlemen, one may have had some frightening thoughts about the whole concept of civil defense, but now, considering the basic orientation of the minds charged with administration of the program in Baltimore county, one may be excused for being merely terrified."[748] Louis C. Goldberg, a proponent of fallout shelters, nonetheless defended the Goucher students: "There is a substantial body of scientific and technical literature on the potential effectiveness of shelters during a nuclear disaster. Perhaps, if Mr. Hyle and Mr. Murray were to read this literature as avidly as they seem to read Communist propaganda sheets

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747 Editorial, "Uncivil Defense," *Washington Post*, March 22, 1964, E6.

748 Letter to the Editor, "Goucher Controversy," *Sun*, Mar 20, 1964, 14.

they would have a better answer to the fears of the Goucher girls than they apparently have at the present."[749] Mrs. A.E. Moore wrote, "Hyle… has disgraced both himself and his agency by resorting to Joseph McCarthy's repulsive red-baiting tactics… By attempting to smear the college students at Goucher for their opposition to a shelter program he is also smearing the great majority of American citizens, including numerous Goucher faculty members, who are similarly opposed." Linda Herbst pointed out, "almost half of the Goucher students will be voting in the next Presidential election" and the "fallout shelter program is diverting American resources—both human and financial—from the crucial problem, which is to create a peaceful world."[750]

As students protested fallout shelters on campus, former BCDO volunteers directed their critique of civil defense at the federal government. Believing that the same pattern of military/police control over civil defense existed at the federal level, Charles Perry wrote the following letter to President Lyndon Johnson on April 6, 1964:

> Dear Mr. President:
>
> I wish to take this opportunity to express my opinion and objection to the recent announcement by that of Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, in issuing a directive that the "Responsibilities of Civil Defense be placed under the command of the army."
>
> I feel civil defense is being used as a rest haven for retired Army Officers in its present state and this action in addition to policy must cease immediately. Civil Defense is a civil organization and should remain under the leadership, guidance and direction of civil government at the Federal, State and Local levels.
>
> I defer with Secretary McNamara and his misleading statement given to the general public in his announcement: (Quote) The functions of civil defense are now "essentially operational" and therefore should be directed by a military department in the overall defense establishment. (End Quote) Since civil defense has been housed in the Pentagon, it is a known fact that much disorder and confusion has integrated the organization, and public apathy has arisen to almost complete despair.
>
> Therefore, it is requested that immediate action be taken to correct the problem and a

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749 Letter to the Editor, "Ill-Advised," *Sun*, Mar 23, 1964, 18.

750 Letter to the Editor, "Absurd," *Sun*, Mar 23, 1964, 18.

> void made of the directive of Secretary McNamara, so as the control and responsibility of Civil Defense may be returned to civilian leadership in our federal government.
>
> I further feel, if the Army is going to control Civil Defense, than there is no alternative but that the Army pay the full amount from its fiscal annual expenditures for the guidance and protection of the civilian population. I believe in and wholeheartedly support civil defense, but with the military harassment bestowed upon the volunteer organization in Baltimore City during the past few years, I can only see complete distruction (sic) of the over-all national program within a very short range.
>
> Your support in this matter is of the utmost importance to the security and strength of our nation. I sincerely appreciate any action that you may take to bring this affair to a successful and efficient conclusion on behalf of the volunteers and myself.
>
> Thanking you kindly in the interest of the national defense.
>
> Warmest regards,
> Respectfully yours,
> Charles N. Perry Esq.

In her book *Bracing for Armageddon: Why Civil Defense Never Worked* (2006), Dee Garrison explained that it was predominantly concerned women, especially mothers, who banded together to protest civil defense initiatives. By 1960, groups like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Women Strike for Peace (WSP) mounted mass protests against civil defense programs including "Operation Alert," a nationwide air-raid and evacuation drill that officials insisted could only work with citizens' full cooperation. According to Garrison, during the early 1960s, "mothers, Parent-Teacher Associations, and national peace groups" successfully demonstrated to remove civil defense drills from public schools.[751]

What Garrison and other recent civil defense scholars do not discuss is the role that active civil defense volunteers played in civil defense revolts across the country. Volunteers in Baltimore, who found in early FCDA self-help messaging a call to aid their communities and help their neighbors in the event of nuclear attack, became disillusioned

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[751] Garrison, *Bracing for Armageddon,* 129.

with the program once they realized that it was being militarized. They rejected the notion that the program should be governed by a cadre of officials who resided outside of their neighborhoods. By 1964, civil defense in Baltimore had abandoned community help in favor of police control. Volunteers, in turn, abandoned civil defense. The centrality of the city to civil defense at the beginning of the 1950s gave way to policies that were hostile to urban areas and that were fixated on maintaining law and order in the wake of a nuclear attack at the expense of citizens' survival and well being. Baltimore's civil defense militarization directly contradicted FCDA self-preservation messages, which had earlier reached local officials at the Olney staff college, students in Baltimore's schools, vacationers at the beach in Ocean City and observers of the Memorial Stadium Independence Day celebration throughout the 1950s.

In a March 23, 1964 House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services hearing to debate extension of the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, Mary Temple Holmgren, president of Baltimore's chapter of SANE, credited Baltimore's volunteers with undermining civil defense in the city: "Some civil defense officials have credited SANE with being at the bottom of this 'dire plot' to undermine their program. I wish we could take the credit." Holmgren explained to the committee that it was actually the Taxpayers' Day civil defense protest that immediately resulted in Mayor McKeldin's two-thirds cut in civil defense funding.

Charles Perry's five-page speech on Taxpayer Day ultimately helped persuade McKeldin and other city officials that civil defense was, as McKeldin put it, "one of the

Nation's greatest boondoggles."[752] The unlikely alliance between civil defense volunteers, anti-nuclear activists, politicians and the news media in Baltimore highlighted the unwillingness of Baltimore citizens to trust the police and the military to save them in case of nuclear attack, precipitating the collapse of the city's original Cold War civil defense organization. Many were also reacting against greater public policy trends in the late 1950s and early 1960s that were destroying Baltimore's neighborhoods.

Emily Lieb recently argued that many Baltimoreans viewed mid-twentieth century federal highway policy as hostile to their neighborhoods, their families and their lives. According to Lieb, "to the people who lived in the neighborhoods slated for [expressway] clearance, the… proposals made it clear that their homes and schools and luncheonettes and grocery stores were less important than an exit ramp."[753] Federal urban renewal projects like expressways, slum clearance and high-rise public housing projects reflected a commonly held belief that poor and working class neighborhoods needed to be leveled in order to save the city from further decline. Debunking the idea that Baltimore's 1968 riot was caused exclusively by the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., Lieb explained that the riots were instead a symptom of "poisonous urban-renewal and transportation policies that undermined the city they were supposed to be saving."[754] By 1960, militarized civil defense in Baltimore became another such poisonous policy,

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752 "Subcommittee No. 3 Consideration of H.R. 10314, To Further Amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, As Amended, To Extend The Expiration Date Of Certain Authorities Thereunder, And For Other Purposes," Committee on Armed Services, Subcommittee No. 3, March 23, 1964, GPO: WDC 1964, 9116-9117.

753 Jessica Elfenbein, Elizabeth Nix and Thomas Hollowak, *Baltimore '68: Riots and Rebirth* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 52.

754 Ibid.

and therefore should be considered another cause of the spasm of violence that rocked the city in early April 1968.

Even those who believed that civil defense efforts would save lives in the event of attack ultimately turned against the program because they were critical of useless bureaucracy, wasteful spending and the prospect of unlimited police control. To them, turning against militarized civil defense as the Cold War heated up was the only way to save their neighborhoods and City X. Charles Perry, Eli Berkenfeld, Samuel Steinberg and at least eighty-seven other volunteers recognized that when it came to civil defense, they would have to burn down the proverbial house in order to save it.

The resilience of community help, urban survivability and civilian control messaging is evidence of how profound policy shifts at the federal level throughout the 1950s had little effect in Baltimore. Though the FCDA shifted focus from individual shelter to mass evacuation after the Soviet Union appeared to have successfully tested its first hydrogen bomb in 1953, evacuation never became a major aspect of Baltimore's active civil defense planning. Drills like FCDA's Operation Alert and similar local exercises did assume that the city would evacuate after a hydrogen bomb attack, but the results of those drills further confirmed the fact that evacuation was implausible. Though the BCDO had established citywide evacuation plans, school civil defense officials did not seriously contemplate evacuation of Baltimore's schools until late 1957. By that time, the federal government had long abandoned evacuation in favor of mass shelter, a plan that itself was never realized.

The lag time between federal conceptualization of civil defense policy and its discussion at the local level was particularly problematic given the rapidly-changing dynamics of the nuclear age. Curiously, those changing dynamics resulted in continuity of local civil defense

policy in Baltimore from 1952 to 1959. Local officials, some increasingly critical of federal civil defense policy, continued to implement civil defense with whatever tangible materials the FCDA had provided them in the early 1950s. Those materials emphasized the preservation, not the abandonment, of the community and the city.

Since federal funding never increased, dependence upon volunteer officers became another example of the continuity of Baltimore's civil defense policy. While the FCDA dealt with changes in presidential administration, developing understandings of the effects of radioactive fallout and the presence of larger and larger bombs and upgraded delivery systems, civil defense volunteers in Baltimore continued to learn and teach the same ideas about self protection, community protection and urban survival throughout the 1950s and into the early 1960s.

Baltimore's 7,000 volunteers were generally working-class and middle-class citizens, both black and white, who cared deeply about their neighborhoods and their families. They bought the FCDA messages of self-protection and urban survival and recruited others who shared their belief that Baltimore could be saved. Their conviction became more and more intense as the 1950s went on, as their neighborhoods came under more and more pressure from the forces of deindustrialization, suburbanization and urban "renewal." So, paradoxically, as federal civil defense policy shifted *away* from self and community preservation toward evacuation and abandonment of the city, local civil defense concentrated the importance of self and community preservation.

Baltimore's civil defense paid staff and volunteers generally realized early on that neither evacuation nor shelter would be entirely adequate in the nuclear age. Instead, they believed that their close-knit urban communities would band together to confront whatever disaster befell

them. The true potential of the atomic bomb and the utter horror of the hydrogen bomb were intangible to many volunteers, especially those who had never witnessed aerial bombing. Community, however, was very tangible. Those actors embraced civil defense as a way to protect themselves, their neighbors and Baltimore from the uncertainty of the nuclear age. That uncertainty extended beyond the potential impact of bombs to the potential impact of anti-urban forces exacerbated by the nuclear age and the military-industrial complex.

The volunteers' story and their ultimate success in dismantling Baltimore's civil defense organization should be written into the greater narrative of the early 1960s anti-civil defense movement. In Baltimore, their influence over the city council was greater than that of anti-nuclear activists. Most significantly, theirs was not a subversive culture or a subversive protest against nuclear weapons. It was a protest against bureaucratic ineptitude, wasteful spending and another form of warfare indirectly emboldened by the nuclear age—enhanced police surveillance of urban populations.

Between 1950 and 1964, civil defense shifted from a pro-urban policy concerned with the survival of communities and cities to an anti-urban policy that more or less wrote cities off. This shift reflected the general decline of the American city, which resulted from deindustrialization and population exodus to the suburbs. It also reflected the changing characteristics of nuclear weapons and an increasing familiarity with the dangers of nuclear fallout. In the face of those threats and as the city rapidly changed around them, civil defense volunteers in Baltimore dedicated themselves to defending their communities and their neighborhoods against destruction, atomic or otherwise.

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