

Georgia

The so-called civil rights proposals, particularly the FEPC measures, directed against Southern people, are the spawn of an alien ideology which is foreign to the principles of our American system.

...

Despite what the Supreme Court says about segregation, the campaign of the Federal government to destroy the public school system of the South is cut from the same unconstitutional cloth. It is part of the program to regiment all phases of life, to regiment the citizen and his children, to regiment the business man and his business and even to fix the social pattern.

You and Segregation, by Herman Talmadge, Georgia Governor and Senator

Georgia was the last founded of the original 13 colonies and the fourth state to ratify the U.S. Constitution. When it was founded as a penal colony in 1735, slavery was banned. This ban was repealed 16 years later. South Carolina planters moved their slaves into northern Georgia in order to create rice plantations similar to the ones they had in their own colony. This was very profitable. Within a couple decades their wealth allowed them to dominate the government. By the time the American War for Independence began, there were 18,000 slaves in Georgia.

With an economy dependent on slave labor, Georgia was one of the first states to secede, on January 19, 1861 and the last to rejoin the union, on July 15, 1870. That year Negroes were 46 percent of the state's population of 1,184,109. Substantial emigration began in the 1920s, especially from the blackbelt counties in the northeast of the state. (Tolnay and Jackson, 1995, 216) Between that census and the one in 1950 there was a decrease in the absolute number of Negroes while the number of whites rose. Those that didn't leave the state moved to the cities. In 1960, blacks were 28.6 percent of a Georgia population of 3,943,116. When the VRA was passed in 1965, 34 of the state's 159 counties had a majority black population; in 21 counties blacks were a majority of the voting age population. By then over 55 percent of Georgia's population lived in urban areas, defined as having at least 2,500 people. Georgia had one major city and a lot of smaller ones. The rural counties dominated the government, but the urban ones dominated the culture.

Black men first voted in Georgia in 1867, when they elected 37 of their own to a constitutional convention. As in other Southern states, Georgia elites spent the next 40 years trying to suppress the black vote and keep Negroes out of politics. By the time a comprehensive disfranchising law was passed in 1901, there were few black voters and only one state representative left in the assembly. (McDonald, 2003, Chapter 2)

Removed from electoral politics, Negroes looked for other ways to promote their interests. The first NAACP branch was founded in Atlanta in 1917; within three years there were 16. Their members were mostly well-educated professionals, whose lives and work were frequently hampered by the segregation ordinances. Their fate was similar to those in other Southern states. White retaliation and black emigration caused membership to decline in the

1920s, often reaching its nadir by 1940. Branches revived during WWII, especially in Atlanta and Savannah, and spread afterwards, reaching a peak of 55. When a federal court abolished the white primary in 1945 many counties formed voters leagues so that black Democrats and Republicans could work together to register voters. They quickly grew to 60 affiliated clubs. (Tuck, 2001, 20, 44, 50-54, 65, 71-5)

After *Brown* attempts were made to drive the NAACP out of Georgia as well as the other Southern states. Success was limited. When the Alabama Attorney General threatened to confiscate NAACP records from its southeast regional office in Birmingham, regional director Ruby Hurley closed that office and moved to Atlanta. The state revenue commissioner claimed the Atlanta branch hadn't paid its taxes, or filed for tax exempt status. The Georgia State Board of Education declared that any teacher who "supports, encourages or condones or agrees to teach mixed classes" would have his or her license permanently revoked. Heavy protest by white elites, afraid of losing the bulk of teachers in the Negro schools, caused it to withdraw this demand. Only eight Georgia branches responded to the call of the national NAACP to petition their school boards to integrate the schools. All but one were in cities where the threat of violence was not as great as in the rural counties. Although the NAACP was wounded by these attacks, which halved the number of branches, it didn't spend eight years fighting to be reinstated as it did in Alabama. (Murphy, 1959, 385; Tuck, 2001, 99-100)

In the Spring of 1960, sit-ins spread throughout Georgia's cities. The NAACP chapters created Youth Councils in order to provide direction to the youthful impulse to desegregate everything. By 1963, many lunch counters, libraries and parks were desegregated, but there was still a lot to do. No sooner had the 1964 Civil Rights Act been signed on July 2, than local activists started testing the public accommodations section of the law. White business response varied widely from reluctant compliance to fierce resistance. Those places with active movements before the law made discrimination illegal were the quickest to stop afterwards. Businesses in towns which hadn't seen much protest often did nothing except take down the "white" and "colored" signs, if that. This often prompted direct actions where there had been none before. SNCC, SCLC, and the NAACP mobilized local activists to demonstrate in different measure. Occasionally whites "integrated" black hang-outs. Title III of the Civil Rights Act also required that public facilities be open to all. Some, such as libraries were opened; others, such as swimming pools, were completely closed and never reopened. In most towns an informal understanding developed of where Negroes could safely go. There were some places that were still off limits, but those limits were not maintained by law enforcement. (Tuck, 2001, 111, 134, 137, 197-199)

White response to black protest varied enormously in Georgia. Atlanta became known as the "city too busy to hate." Savannah also resisted desegregation non-violently and achieved more desegregation sooner than Atlanta. That wasn't true in the blackbelt, a swath of counties which swept through the middle of the state from the northeast to the southwest. In the rural black belt counties, violence was endemic. In the lynching era (1882-1930) 458 persons – 95 percent black – were lynched in Georgia, second only to Mississippi's 538. (Tolnay and Jackson, 1995, 260, 273) Some blackbelt counties were notorious, acquiring names such as "Bad Baker" and "Terrible Terrell." In 1958 the *Washington Post* published a front page story about Dawson,

county seat of Terrell, entitled “Death and Violence Terrorize Negroes in a Southern Town.” It described several brutal beatings and murders that took place in only a few weeks. “There’s nothing like fear to keep niggers in line,” commented Zeke Matthews, Sheriff of Terrell Co. (*WP* 6-8-58, A1; see also USCCR, *Justice*, 1961, 9-12 for this incident and others)

School desegregation started in September of 1961, while the other four Deep South states were still clinging to “never.” When the federal district court ordered Atlanta schools to desegregate, the state legislature threatened to close, or even sell, the public schools. In December 1958 a group of white mothers in Atlanta formed HOPE – Help Our Public Education – to fight that possibility. HOPE persuaded newspapers, churches, civic associations and businesses that the schools should not be closed. In response, the legislature created a commission to study the issue. It recommended that the schools stay open, but that other options be available to white parents who did not want their children going to school with Negroes. In January the legislature replaced the laws requiring absolute segregation with ones designed to minimize desegregation. The included “freedom of choice” and a tuition grant plan for parents who wanted to send their children to private schools. (*WP* 11-20-58, A17; 1-29-61, A9; 9-3-61, F10; *NYT* 11-22-58, 43; 8-27-61. 63)

Georgia has frequently rewritten its constitution. The one in force during the civil rights era was ratified in 1945. Section II spelled out who could vote, using many of the same devices found in other Southern constitutions and laws. A potential voter had to meet one of two standards in addition to residency requirements and not having committed a disqualifying crime. 1) Be “of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship...” or 2) correctly read and write a paragraph from the Georgia or US Constitutions. (GA Const. 1945, Art. II, §§ 1,2)

Over the decades many laws affecting elections had been added to the state code in response to political conditions and court decisions. The poll tax was adopted in the Constitution of 1877. The white primary became official in 1898. Disfranchising laws passed in the 1890s were brought together in a comprehensive law in 1908. The voting age was lowered from 21 to 18 in 1943, increasing the size of the voting age population. The poll tax was abolished in 1945, right before a federal court found Georgia’s white primary to be unconstitutional. These developments, stimulated by a very racist 1946 gubernatorial campaign, exploded Negro registration. When registration closed before the July 17, 1946 primary the press reported that 134,351 Negroes were registered out of a total of 1,017,036 voters, making them over 13 percent of those who could vote. Registrars in 30 counties immediately began purging the lists, reducing the Negro registration to 118,387 statewide. The DoJ filed suits in several counties, and federal judge Frank Scarlett ordered a halt to the purge. (Bacote, 1957, 307-8; McDonald, 2003, 38-41, 49-55; *King v. Chapman*, 1945; *ADW* 7-7-45, 1; *Sun*, 7-14-46, 11)

The registration burst did not continue. The Southern Regional Council reported in 1959 that increases in Negro registration paralleled increases in white registration, both of which rose with population. Figures supplied by the Georgia Secretary of State for 1958 said that Negroes were only 12.5 percent of the total registration. That had crept up to 13 percent by the end of 1962. Since nonwhites were only a little over a quarter of the voting age population, that meant

that 27.4 percent of NVAP and 62.6 percent of WVAP were registered to vote. VEP money became available in 1962. It financed registration drives and citizenship clinics that added another 46,000 registered Negroes to the voter lists by the end of 1963. This brought nonwhites to 15.2 percent of all voters. At 36.2 percent of NVAP, that put Georgia right in the middle of the Confederate states, but better than the other four Deep South states. It was enough to prompt several Negroes in blackbelt counties to run for office in 1964. (SRC, 1959, 69; House Judiciary Com., *Hearings* 1965, 176 citing *AJC* 4-29-63; stats at SCLC IV139:3-980; *ADW* 5-16-64, 1)

Two federal court decisions in the Spring of 1962 pushed the legislature to make changes in the selection of public officials. In *Toombs v. Fortson*, the court said that the legislature had to reapportion at least one legislative body on the basis of population. It chose the Senate. It also changed the requirement to win nomination for a Senate seat from a plurality to a majority in order to keep Negroes from winning an election if too many white candidates split the white vote. A run-off would allow the white majority to coalesce behind the most popular white candidate. A subsequent court decision compelled reapportionment of the house, leading to a special election in the new districts in June 1965. (McDonald, 2003, 84, 91-94)

Sanders v. Gray challenged the way the Democratic Party chose its statewide nominees in the primary. Since 1917 it had been using a rather unique system which enhanced the power of rural counties. Each of Georgia's 159 counties were assigned "units," which were twice the number of representatives it had in the house. Eight counties got 6 unit votes each, 30 counties got 4 votes and the remaining 121 counties each got two unit votes. Under this "county unit" system the winner of each county's Democratic primary got all of its "units." This gave the rural counties a disproportionate influence when the 410 "units" chose the nominee. Since the Democrat inevitably won in November, it sometimes happened that candidates for statewide office who had won a bare plurality of the state primary vote would win the office. It was even possible to win a majority of the popular vote in the primary and still lose the nomination if that vote was from the urban counties. A federal district court invalidated the existing county unit system on April 28, 1962 and the Supreme Court concurred a year later. (*Sanders v. Gray*, 1962; *Gray v. Sanders* 1963)

In June of 1964, the legislature revised the election code, both to conform to the federal court decisions and to bring all of the disparate election laws on the books into one title. A good deal of public and private debate took place on how to limit the black vote. It was called the "bloc vote" on the assumption that all Negroes would vote as a bloc for whomever their leaders designated. The requirement that candidates receive a majority of votes cast in a primary to win nomination was extended to all state offices, necessitating run-offs. At that time, the only primary was for Democratic nominees; the Republicans nominated their candidates at conventions. However, the Democrat always won in November, so the Democratic primary was the only relevant election. Voters did not have to declare a party affiliation, but could only vote in one party's primary, if there was more than one. Republicans who wanted to vote in the Democratic primary could do so. To become a voter, one still had to prove literacy or answer 20 questions on the duties of citizenship under a republican form of government. The number of questions was reduced to 20 from 30 and simplified, but the passing grade was raised from 67 to 75 percent. It was left up to the county registrar to decide on what days and where one could

register but they could hire clerks to do the work; the registrar did not have to personally be present. The law did not apply to municipal elections, which meant that one had to register to vote for municipal elections separately from registering to vote in the federal, state and county elections. (House, 1965; McDonald, 2003, Chapter 6, some of the questions can be found at *WP* 6-8-58, A12)

The DoJ's presence in Georgia was much lighter than in the other Deep South states. When John Doar wrote his July 22, 1965 memo identifying the priority counties for federal examiners, there were two Georgia counties on the immediate list and six on the list to get examiners within two weeks. Hancock County was certified for examiners the day before the November 1966 general election so that observers could be sent in, but no county got them before 1967.. The most likely reason for this delay was Richard Russell, Jr., Georgia's senior senator. Besides being a powerful committee chairman, he was President Lyndon B. Johnson's personal mentor in the Senate. While they differed on civil rights, it's highly likely that LBJ was sympathetic to Russell's need to be re-elected in 1966 and delayed the arrival of federal examiners until that was done.

Under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, federal funds could not be given to institutions which discriminated on the basis of race. This included hospitals, which, if they admitted Negroes at all, put them in separate wards. The NAACP filed 126 complaints in 1965 in seven Southern states, including two in Georgia. It then discovered that the HEW field staff would give advance notice to hospitals when they planned to do an inspection. This gave the hospitals time to move Negro patients into the white wards, take down the signs, and do other things to make it seem as though the hospitals weren't segregated. (*WP* 5-31-65, A8; *BAA* 9-18-65, 17) Schools were another institution affected by Title VI, since most school districts received some federal funds. It appeared that in 1965 most Southern schools made a commitment to desegregate by submitting a plan to HEW. However, it was later found that all they did was sign a compliance statement. In Georgia, 169 out of 196 school districts signed compliance statements and 16 sent in desegregation plans, but the only ones which qualified to receive federal funds were the five that were under court ordered desegregation plans. (*WP* 3-7-65, A9; *BAA* 9-4-65, 15)

Two judges from Georgia sat on the Fifth Circuit: Elbert Tuttle, one of the "Fifth Circuit Four" and Griffin Bell, a JFK appointee who was good on civil rights some of the time. Georgia's three judicial districts had six judges. Prior to 1961, the Northern District, which contained Atlanta, had two judges and the other two districts had one each. Two more judges were authorized in 1961, one to the Northern District and one to the Middle District. Their attitudes towards civil rights cases varied enormously. The two in the Middle District, which contained most of Georgia's blackbelt counties, were almost polar opposites. William Augustus Bootle had been appointed to the bench by President Eisenhower right after *Brown v. Board of Education* was decided. He was one of the judges picked by A.G. Brownell as likely to enforce *Brown* and he did. After he ordered the desegregation of the University of Georgia he backed it up with a restraining order when Governor Ernest Vandiver tried to close the University. (Bootle obit *NYT* 1-27-05) J. Robert Elliott was a "strident segregationist" appointed by JFK in 1962 as a concession to Georgia Senator Herman Talmadge. (Quote in Branch, 1988, 609) Elliott's many

racist statements should have disqualified him had not politics dictated otherwise. His 1952 comment that “I don't want these pinks, radicals and black voters to outvote those who are trying to preserve our segregation laws and other traditions” was only one of many. (*NYT* 7-19-63, 8). As a judge, he twisted facts and law to rule against Negroes. The one Southern District judge, Francis M. Scarlett, was a Truman appointee. He had traditional attitudes on race which evolved a little bit before he took senior status in 1968. The Northern District, which included Atlanta, had three judges. Although a lot of cases were filed in Atlanta, none of those judges acquired a reputation as being particularly for or against civil rights.

Local politics affected where SCOPE could work and what it could do. Active counties had a small group of civic leaders who had been working for years to increase voter registration and get services for the black community. Often this group headed an NAACP branch but some civic groups had no affiliation with a national civil rights organization. Many counties had voter leagues. Occasionally one person dominated. When multiple leaders headed different groups, they sometimes co-operated and sometimes competed. SNCC had a heavy presence in SW Georgia, but not elsewhere. CORE didn't have one at all. SCLC generally had good relationships with the NAACP chapters in Georgia. It was usually their leaders who asked SCLC to send SCOPE workers to their counties and the teenagers in the NAACP youth councils who worked with them. The voter leagues were often SCLC affiliates. SCOPE generally stayed out of SNCC counties, but there were exceptions to this too.

Roughly one-third of all SCOPERS were sent to 14 different counties in Georgia. They came from many different states, but the bulk of them came from UCLA and the University of Minnesota. These were sent to two adjacent counties in central Georgia (Bibb and Peach). The rest were scattered in a dozen different counties. Their experience varied widely. The two most important variables were the strength of local leadership and the degree of white resistance, which will be described in subsequent chapters.

There was a pervasive fear of violence. In different parts of Georgia some men became famous for their raptorial behavior. Howard Sims, 41, and Cecil Myers, 25, were well known for killing Lemuel Penn in 1964, not far from the South Carolina border; they were acquitted by a Clarke County jury a few months later. In 1967 they were convicted by a federal jury for conspiracy “to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate Negro citizens...” (*WP* 9-6-64, A1; 12-29-65, A2; *NYT* 12-30-64, 24; *Myers & Sims v. US*, 1967) A little bit further South, in Taliaferro County, the four Hubbard brothers were known for beating up Negroes. But they really got their kicks from beating up white civil rights workers, for which they got the approbation of their white peers. They had beaten up one white SCLC worker who had come to their county in May, and they would go after the SCOPERS who arrived in June. (*NYT* 5-28-65, 19)

SCOPE in Dublin, Laurens County, Georgia

Dublin was founded by Irish immigrants who named the town for the capitol of their home country. Officially incorporated in 1812, it was the county seat of Laurens County, a geographically large county almost in the middle of the state. Its location made it a center for rail lines and contributed to its growth. Like much of Georgia, it was originally populated by Creeks, who lost their land as whites moved in from the coastal settlements. Founded in 1807, Laurens was one of many counties named for a South Carolina revolutionary war hero. When the 1960 Census was taken, the county had a population of 32,313, of whom 37.2 percent were non-white. The Laurens County NVAP was 6,248, of whom 35.5 percent were registered to vote in December of 1962. The WVAP was 13,178, of whom 83.1 percent were registered. Dublin was a sizable town of 13,814, of which 38.5 percent were non-white. There were 3,043 Negroes over the age of 18. (USCCR 3-19-65 in House Judiciary Com., *Hearings* 1965, 168, citing *AJC*, 4-28-63)

Laurens County had an NAACP branch, headed by Reuben Gamble, and a voters league, headed by A.F. Cummings. Mr. Gamble was a research chemist and Mr. Cummings was a farmer and businessman. Both lived in Dublin. Laurens County had not yet been visited by outside civil rights workers or the DoJ, which may explain why the police were so agitated at the presence of three white SCOPERS living in Negro homes. When SCOPE met with the chairman of the Human Relations Council he insisted that it was too dangerous for them to live with Negroes. The county hospital had been inspected by HEW and passed. It was one of 20 hospitals which the NAACP Inc. Fund said were notified in advance of an inspection so that they could clean up their act. Segregated facilities were a violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Inc. Fund said that when the hospital received advance notice of the inspection, it "removed racial signs, moved two Negro patients to white wards and closed the Negro nursery and dining room." It reverted to normal segregation after the inspection. (Rice ltr of 7-20-65; *WP* 5-31-65, A8)

The SCOPE group consisted of Maxim Rice, a grad student from Oakland University in Rochester MI, Linda Donati from San Francisco, Carol Sue Johnson, originally from Iowa who was a student at Modesto J.C. in California, and Norman Hodges, a Negro engineer from Los Angeles using his 3-week vacation to work with SCOPE. Arriving on Saturday, June 19, in Max's car, they were welcomed by Reuben Gamble and Joyce Locke, a high school student from Cadwell GA who had a summer job as the SCOPE county co-ordinator. Mr. Gamble arranged for them to talk about their plans to the NAACP Youth Council at a church on Monday evening. The city police also welcomed them. When the mass meeting ended late that evening two officers followed the SCOPE workers' car before stopping them and ordering the three white SCOPERS to get out. No one asked the two Negroes, SCOPER Norman Hodges, or John Grey, a local worker, to exit the vehicle. One cop said he just wanted the white boy, but all three white SCOPE workers were ordered into the police car, which drove off.

As soon as Mr. Gamble heard what had happened he called the Mayor. The Mayor told him to call the City Manager. He eventually reached Police Chief Billy Josey who said that they

were with him but that no one had been arrested. Taking five people with him, Mr. Gamble went to pick up the white SCOPERS. At the police station the officer in charge appeared not to know where they were. In fact all three were being questioned in Chief Josey's office on what they were doing in his town. On hearing that they were there to do voter registration, he said that that wasn't necessary, and if they caused any trouble they'd be put in jail permanently. He told them that they shouldn't stay in Negro homes, but should find places to stay in the white section of town. After 30 minutes he let them leave with Mr. Gamble. The next day Mr. Gamble informed the FBI of what had happened. Two agents were sent from the Savannah office to investigate. After doing several interviews they sent copies of their reports to the FBI offices in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Detroit, requesting that background checks be done on the four out-of-state SCOPERS. Those offices later reported that they had no records for the named individuals. (Max Rice FBI file 44-29517; statements by Rice, Donati and Johnson to FBI agents on June 22, 1965, FBI File #44-1413)

While the three SCOPERS were with the Police Chief, he asked for their drivers licenses and copied down information from them before returning them. Linda's mother wrote her that someone had phoned from Dublin to convince her to talk Linda into leaving the project. That person was probably asked to do so by the Chief. (Rice ltr 7-22-65)

Laurens County had an All Citizens' Voters League which had organized the registration of two thousand black voters in 1956 – after a purge in 1948. That black vote could make a difference in which white candidate won, which gave the League leadership a little bit of clout with officials. (Tuck, 2001, 83, 106) Mr. Cummings and Joyce Locke introduced the SCOPE workers to the outlying churches. Over the course of the summer there were 15 mass meetings in these churches. As was true elsewhere, some ministers co-operated with the project and some didn't. The biggest help came from the high school students who canvassed and drove as needed. SCOPE spent a lot of time out in the rurals, only moving into Dublin toward the end of their ten week stay. The registrar was sometimes co-operative and sometimes not, resulting in about 600 Negroes registered. Local white folk engaged in subtle subterfuge. Workers were watched to see which homes and farms they visited; some occupants were later threatened. A few service stations refused to sell gas to known registration workers. When Max brought his car into a garage for a small repair, the mechanic dumped molasses into the crankcase, rendering it inoperable. One of the NAACP workers towed it 50 miles to Macon where it was repaired by a Negro mechanic. Threatening calls were made to the homes SCOPERS stayed in. One Negro-owned store was fire-bombed. There was some police harassment. Cars were followed, occasionally stopped for alleged problems (e.g. improper muffler) and searched. Drivers were jailed who could not pay the fine immediately when ticketed. (Laurens County SCOPE reports; Rice report *Lapeer County Press* 9-16-65, 2C; Rice e-mail of 6-15-15)

What became the biggest clash was initiated by the NAACP youth council. The kids had been picketing a local supermarket for weeks, asking for jobs, as well as trying to integrate local theaters and restaurants. They made several attempts to integrate the First Baptist Church, at both its morning and evening services. On July 25 Linda and Max joined a dozen of them attempting to go to the evening service after the kids had been turned away from the morning service. Church officials were at the entrance waiting for them in order to tell them that they could not

enter the church. Among them was Chief Josey, wearing civilian clothes. He grabbed Max and literally pushed him across the street where several uniformed police officers were standing. The Negro youth followed. They stayed on the lawn singing Freedom songs while a crowd of jeering whites gathered. Max left to find a pay phone to call Mr Gamble. When he returned, one man, later identified as a city fireman, walked over to the singing protestors and sprayed them with an irritating liquid. Some thought it was tear-gas, others mustard oil. Whatever it was, it burned their skin and eyes. One girl was sprayed directly in her eyes, temporarily blinding her, but the police wouldn't call an ambulance. While the police and an agent of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI) watched, a white civilian took a police blackjack and hit Max on his head half a dozen times. Max covered his head with his hands as he dropped to the ground, but the man just kept hitting him. The police did nothing. Finally the GBI agent and Chief Josey pulled the assailant off of Max. He was taken to jail and released on bond. (Rice SCOPE report of 7-29-65; Statements in Max Rice FBI file #44-30006)

Chief Josey knelt next to Max and whispered to him "They should have finished you off." At that point John Grey drove up with Joyce Locke, who took a photo of the two. The cops arrested John for obstructing traffic and took the camera from Joyce. Mr. Gamble arrived and stuffed the kids into his car. Finally an ambulance arrived for Max. The closest hospital wouldn't treat Max, so the ambulance took him to the county hospital where 22 stitches were sowed into three head wounds. Because of the delay, a car full of the protesting students arrived at the county hospital emergency room before Max did. When one of them saw all the blood on Max as he was brought in on a stretcher she started crying hysterically. The hospital called the police and Imogene Thomas was arrested for disturbing the peace. (Statements in Max Rice FBI file #44-30006; *Macon Weekly*, 7-31-65, 1)

Mr. Gamble phoned the FBI. It sent his complaint all the way up the DoJ ladder to John Doar, who ordered a thorough investigation. For the next three days Special Agents Charles F. Hastings and James H. Applegate interviewed Max, Linda, the Negro students, the police, members of the fire department and white observers. Those in the last three groups all suffered from collective amnesia. No one saw any spray or blackjack, except one who thought he might have seen a can of dog repellent. Chief Josey said it was just a fist fight, though he did admit that Max didn't strike the first blow. After reviewing three dozen FBI interviews, the Assistant US Attorney for the district concluded that there was no violation of federal law. A couple days later John Grey was tried and sentenced to pay \$22 or do 15 days in jail. Imogene Thomas forfeited \$22 bond. Preston Horton, the man who sent Max Rice to the hospital, also forfeited \$22 bond. No one went to jail. (Statements in Max Rice FBI file #44-30006; *Macon Weekly*, 7-31-65, 1; *Lapeer County Press* 8-5-65, 1)

The kids in the youth council were infuriated by Max's beating. They decided to go to the First Baptist Church again the following Sunday, but changed their minds in favor of a march on Wednesday, August 4 demanding that Chief Josey be fired. Dublin was one of those towns which had hired a Negro cop to police the Negro areas. He was particularly vigorous in pounding on the protestors, so they demanded that he be fired as well. Additional demands included the opening of city recreational facilities on a non-segregated basis and jobs in city agencies. Nothing happened. (*BAA* 8-28-65, 12)

By then, the supermarkets had agreed to hire Negro cashiers. Over half of their customers were Negro and the pickets had cut into their business. The kids continued picketing the gas stations that refused to sell gas to civil rights workers and the business where Preston Horton worked. One night a mob of about 300 whites gathered to throw things at the picketers and curse them. The police arrested 50 of the Negro youths, including some as young as 8, charging them with disorderly conduct and failure to obey an officer. No whites were arrested. Eight Negro youths were sentenced to 15 days in jail. Over several days, 110 local Negroes were arrested, ranging from young children to Mr. Gamble. On August 10 he made another complaint to the FBI about the threats and intimidation. Nothing came of this. Since the intimidation and threats were not specifically aimed at people trying to register to vote, or helping those who were, no federal law was violated. NAACP attorneys asked the federal district court to take these cases away from the local court as the arrests were made in response to civil rights actions. After a hearing on August 25, Judge Francis Muir Scarlett, sole judge in the Southern District of Georgia, refused. He granted a request from Chief Josey for a restraining order against the picketers. The NAACP appealed to the 5th Circuit, which only vacated the injunction. That didn't happen until 1967, by when it was pretty much moot. (*NYT* 8-12-65, 15; *BAA* 8-21-65, 15; 8-28-65, 12; *NYAN* 8-28-65, 24; Rice report *Lapeer County Press* 9-16-65, 2C; *Gamble v. Dublin*, 1966, 1967)

SCOPE in Macon, Bibb County, Georgia

Macon, county seat of Bibb County, was either a very large town or a small city, depending on your view. One of six urban areas in Georgia, it had 69,764 people when the 1960 Census was taken. Adding in the surrounding suburbs created an urban population of 114,161. All of Bibb County had 141,249 people. Throughout the South, the fact that slaves were the agricultural labor force until the end of the War left a higher proportion of Negroes in the rural areas of a county than in the towns. However, the counties with *large* urban areas looked more like their cousins in the North, with higher percentages of Negroes in the cities than in the rural parts of the counties. Negroes who left the rurals didn't move to the small towns of their counties. They went to the large towns and cities in their state. When they moved again they went to larger cities or to cities in the North. Following this pattern, Macon proper was 44.3 percent non-white, Macon plus was 37 percent non-white, while Bibb County was only 23.8 percent non-white. Macon was like Southern cities in the existence of many scattered Negro neighborhoods rather than the few large ghettos typical of Northern cities. Negroes migrated to Southern cities before public transportation became common; people needed to be able to walk to work, especially women who worked in the homes of white folks. Negroes also found housing in the less desirable areas such as creek beds and flood plains that whites didn't want to occupy. While racial boundaries were often fluid with whites and Negroes living close-by, for the most part Negro neighborhoods were less likely to have paved streets, sewers, street lights and bus routes.

In Bibb Co. 5,042 non-whites were registered to vote as of December of 1962. They were 18.9 percent of NVAP. That compared to 26,827 whites who were 44.4 percent of WVAP. While Negroes were only 15.8 percent of the total registration, their votes were enough to make a difference in a close election between two white men. The state had ceased keeping official figures by race in 1958, but the newspapers could often get the numbers from the county official responsible for registration and elections. (USCCR 3-19-65 in House Judiciary Com., *Hearings* 1965, 161, citing *AJC*, 4-28-63; Manis, 2004, 143-47) Although Georgia was more willing than the other Deep South states to register Negroes, they were still segregated when they cast their votes. Votes were counted separately, so everyone knew which candidates had the support of the black vote – generally referred to as the “bloc vote.” In May of 1962 the DoJ took the Bibb County Democratic Executive Committee (DEC) to federal court, demanding an injunction to stop separate voting lines and separate counts. It was granted on February 5, 1963. (CRD 1964, 62 [1237])

Other federal action was taken by HEW. Macon City Hospital was one of 41 complaints filed with HEW by the NAACP. It charged that MCH maintained racial segregation in their wards, waiting rooms and other places. (*BAA* 3-13-65, 3)

In Macon, the main race man was Bill Randall. He aspired to be a political boss. Growing up in Macon, he became a building contractor, where he benefitted from the federal funds available for construction in the 1950s. That made him a very rich man until he got involved in the movement and lost most of his business. After he helped elect Ed Wilson, a Mercer

University law professor, as Mayor in 1959, a Superior Court judge asked the Bibb Co. Grand Jury to investigate “bloc voting.” The testimony of 50 witnesses did not lead to an indictment but Randall and Thomas Hooper, president of the Middle Georgia Democratic Club, were singled out for public denouncement for “using their influence for personal gain.” By the 1963 mayoral election annexation had expanded the number of white voters and they gave a resounding victory to B.F. Merritt, who had campaigned against the “bloc vote.” (Doss, 1963, 3-4; Manis, 2004, 198, quote on 204, 240-1)

The lunch counter sit-ins that started in North Carolina in 1960 didn’t reach Macon until June 2, 1961 when Negro teenagers took seats at five luncheonettes. Only two were arrested and their cases were dismissed. Talks among city officials, business leaders and Negro leaders led to desegregation in ten stores in three months. Some public facilities, such as the golf course and libraries, were also opened to Negroes. This did not include public transit, as the private bus company refused to change its policies. On February 25 of that year, twelve Negro youths, mostly Randall family members and their friends, were arrested when they took front seats on the bus and refused to move when told to do so by the driver. John Glover, 19, was convicted in July and became the test case. After the Georgia Court of Appeals affirmed his conviction on January 18, 1962, Negroes mounted a protest. On February 9, four ministers sat in the front seats of a bus and were arrested. Attorney Donald L. Hollowell asked the federal court for an injunction even as a bus boycott emptied the buses of Negroes. The transit company refused to budge until the federal court weighed in. On February 26, the US Supreme Court held in a Mississippi case that “We have settled beyond question that no State may require racial segregation of interstate or intrastate transportation facilities.” Federal District Judge Bootle followed suit on March 1, telling the bus company to let passengers sit where they wished. (Manis, 2004, 213-22; Doss, 1963, 7-8; Randall KZSU interview, 1965, and GGDC interview, 1989; *ADW* 2-14-62, 8; 2-20-62, 2; 3-31-63, 2; *CD* 2-27-62, 2; 3-26-62, 5; 4-4-63, 4; 4-6-63, 3; 4-11-63, 9; *NYT* 6-3-61, 47; 3-3-62, 22; 3-4-62, 73; quote in *Bailey v. Patterson*, 1962)

Macon was a tolerant town compared to the rest of the South. While the white power structure would have preferred to keep things as they had been, they did not engage in the massive resistance so common elsewhere. They didn’t desegregate voluntarily; they had to be pushed. But when pushed, they moved. For example, Macon hired black police officers in the early 1950s, before it became common to do so. This was partially due to a large black vote, which could decide the outcome between two white candidates and partially due to the presence of Mercer University and Wesleyan College. Like many white colleges in the South, they could be subtly subversive. Faculty members often spent time outside the South, making them more cosmopolitan than those Southerners who rarely left the region. In the small cities and college towns they socialized with the political and economic elites, often softening their attitudes on race. (Tuck, 2001, 83, 142)

Founded by Baptists in the 19th Century, Mercer admitted its first three Negro students in 1963, by vote of the trustees, without demonstrations or a court order. Its president, Rufus C. Harris, had been nudging the trustees to do this for some time. The Dean of Men was head of Macon’s Human Relations Council. Mercer had been “tiptoeing” into a more liberal outlook on race at least since WWII when “a small swarm of professorial gadflies arrived...” Some lost their

jobs when they continued to push the outer boundaries of social acceptability as race became a public issue. (Manis, 2004, 178-191, quotes on 182 and 188, 248, 203, 222-27; *NYT* 4-19-63, 12; 9-8-63, 59; 9-17-63, 26; Doss, 1963, 4-5)

Wesleyan was founded by Methodists in the 19th Century as a girls school. It did not desegregate until 1968, but was moving in that direction. Macon was also the home of William Augustus Bootle, the federal judge who had ordered the desegregation of the University of Georgia in 1961. A graduate of Mercer Law School, he lived in Macon all his life. The presence among the white elites of people willing to accept integration if not embrace it made city officials much more willing to talk to the local Negro leadership and do what they knew the law required. (*NYT* 1-10-61, 22; *WP* 1-15-61, A16)

Elected officials were also motivated by the large number of Negro voters. Georgia Negroes had long engaged in voter registration drives, which faced fewer hurdles than in neighboring states. Negroes were also running for local office, but more important, whites aspiring to local office wanted Negro votes. This made white officials more willing to accommodate Negro demands, especially when backed by court rulings. Randall was co-chairman of the statewide Georgia Voters League, which had been promoting voter registration drives since its founding in 1950. In 1962 the GVL became an SCLC affiliate; SCLC executive staff sat on its board. The GVL conducted major registration drives in 1963 and 1964 in anticipation of the Presidential election. Negroes in Macon could not yet elect one of their own to public office, but they could make a difference in which white man was elected. SNCC occasionally sent in some staff to help with demonstrations, but otherwise didn't have much of a presence; CORE had none at all. (*NYT* 8-14-64, 10; *ADW* 3-6-63, 8; *BAA* 1-16-60, 17; Randall KZSU interview, 1965, and GGDC interview, 1989)

In 1964 Negro organizations ran voter registration drives in about half of Georgia's counties, raising the total registered to 275,000. The new law made it possible to register at places other than the county courthouse at the discretion of the Registrar. The person holding that office could deputize staff members to do the actual registration, at hours compatible with the work schedules of ordinary people. Putting this power in the hands of county registrars made it easier to register Negroes in some counties and harder in others. Coupled with federal court decisions compelling the state to create districts that were roughly equal in population made "bloc voting" both a threat and an opportunity. (Kousser, 1999, 202, 211; McDonald, 2003, 92; House, 1965, 290; *AC* 5-15-64, 20) In November whites voted overwhelmingly for Barry Goldwater, especially in SW Georgia. He carried the state with 54 percent of the vote, the first Republican presidential candidate to do so. Bibb County gave him 59 percent of its vote.

Randell estimated that about 14,000 Negroes were registered to vote by the time SCOPE arrived in Bibb County, leaving about ten to thirteen thousand to go. He was concerned that the turn-out for the June 16, 1965 special election was about half what it should have been, with the result that three Republicans were elected to represent Bibb County in the Georgia House. They weren't traditional Republicans from the Party of Lincoln, but defecting Dixiecrats. Randall wanted to create a political organization to turn registered voters into real voters with regular neighborhood meetings, citizenship classes and mailings. One reason for bringing in all those

SCOPErs was to emphasize to the Negro community that voting was so important that white Northerners would spend their summer helping everyone get registered. It also energized the local teenagers, who thought it was cool to spend time working with the white college students. Randall hoped that sense of importance would extend past the summer work. (Randall KZSU interview, 1965; *NYT* 6-17-65, 20)

Only 49, Randall had become a leader in the Negro community by hiring a lot of workers in his construction business and running a lot of organizations as a classic “race man.” He started the *Macon Weekly* in 1964 to be the voice of the civil rights movement in central Georgia. He pushed his agenda by whatever worked, whether it be demonstrations, boycotts, elections, court cases or political deals. He had encouraged at least a dozen demonstrations or marches in the previous five years. He got a lot of Negroes registered to vote and then told them how to vote. He spoke regularly with the Mayor and the Police Chief, who took his calls because he could influence the Negro vote. He could get Negro kids bonded out of jail with a phone call and white men arrested for crimes against Negroes. He was regularly harassed by the Klan. He retaliated by paying two white men he knew from his construction business to join the Klan and the White Citizens’ Council and keep him informed. (Randall KZSU interview, 1965, and GGDC interview, 1989)

The main SCOPE group arrived on June 19. Others trickled in and out over the summer. Overall there were about two dozen young white students plus one 30-year-old Negro engineer. The majority were from UCLA, but four were from Maryknoll Seminary in Illinois, and a few from other colleges. They brought several cars with them from L. A. Shelby Jacobs, the Negro engineer, was only in Macon for a couple weeks because he and his friend Norman Hodges had to return to their job with their aerospace employer. He was housed with three of the white students, one of whom had a car, so they did things together. They discovered that what they did and said became the subject of gossip throughout the Negro community. There was no such thing as a private conversation.

The first arrivals met Randall in his office downtown and then went to the homes he had arranged for them to stay in, usually four to a house. Often they occupied what had been the children’s bedroom(s) while the kids slept in the living room. The SCOPErs paid their families for room and board; some of this money came with them from LA and some from donations made at the many mass meetings. Although most of the UCLA SCOPErs were Jewish, they all went to church with their host families on Sunday. On Monday Randall introduced them to the community at one of the weekly mass meetings he rotated among the local churches. Every night that week he took them to a different church in a different neighborhood and introduced them to a different preacher and a different congregation. When they started going door-to-door in the neighborhoods people knew where those white faces came from. On Wednesday they moved into an office at 541 Cotton Ave., conveniently close to the courthouse where registration took place. The SCOPE women were given the job of cleaning the new office, left filthy by past tenants. (Randall KZSU interview, 1965; Zvonkin diary, 1965, 5; *Bruin* 7-7-65, 3)

Canvassing was frustrating, as they had been warned it would be during orientation. People weren’t home; those that were home said they were already registered; those that weren’t

registered made appointments to be picked up to go to the courthouse but weren't there when the cars came for them; it was hard to find cars and drivers to do pick-ups during the day. After a couple weeks of this the SCOPers realized that the most productive time to canvass was late afternoon and evening, when people were more likely to be home from work. But they still had to get them to the courthouse. That meant persuading some low-paid, hard-working soul to give up half a day's work, make an appointment to be picked up and be there waiting and ready when the car arrived. It was not an easy task. Sometimes they met people who thought everything was just fine and there was no need to register to vote. They said they didn't believe in integration, of schools or anything else. Jewish SCOPers make the analogy between this attitude and that of "Jewish antisemitism" in their own history. They ran into even more Negroes who just said "Yes, ma-am" or "Yessir" to anything they asked. They could soon predict that those would not be ready when a car came to pick them up; they probably wouldn't even be home. (KZSU 1965 interviews with Randall, Schnaar, Levantahl; Zvonkin diary, 1965, 5-7, 11, 16)

After a couple weeks of neighborhood canvassing, they realized that they were running through a lot of gas money going for no-shows and that the quickest way to get lots of Negroes registered was literally to pull them off the streets in the downtown area, which didn't require cars or pick-up appointments. Broadway was a main shopping street just six blocks from the courthouse; Negroes could be found there in abundance. Working their way through the bars on Broadway produced more registrations with less work than walking the neighborhoods, though it also resulted in more harassment from whites. In its first month, SCOPE registered over a thousand Negroes, with more coming each week. The real question was whether these "easy" registrations would turn out to vote. That was up to Mr. Randall. SCOPE wouldn't be around to see who voted. (*Bruin* 7-9-65, 1; 7-20-65, 1; 8-5-65, 3; 12-2-65; KZSU 1965 interviews with Schnaar, Levantahl; Zvonkin diary, 1965, 12-13)

Because their only point of comparison was their home state of California where it was easy to register to vote, the SCOPE group complained about the difficulty of registering in Macon, where one had to go to the courthouse to register for state and federal elections then to City Hall to register separately for municipal elections. They didn't know how much easier it was to register in Georgia than in neighboring states. In Macon one could register during normal business hours Monday through Friday and until noon on Saturday. The registrar had a staff of ten to give the requisite tests and do the paperwork during the week but only one or two on Saturday, which did limit the number who could register on a non-work day. The literacy test required applicants to copy a section of the US or Georgia Constitution in cursive. Printing wasn't acceptable. Those that failed that test had to answer 20 questions on government, which few passed. After some urging, the Mayor consolidated the two registrations into one location and arranged for two reserved parking spaces in front of the courthouse for cars bringing people to register. That made it easy for the White Citizens' Council, which had an office across the street, to photograph the license plates of the SCOPE cars. (*Bruin* 7-7-65, 1; 7-16-65, 1; 7-23-65, 1)

Even with turnover, there were a lot of SCOPers in Macon so they expanded their activities. Some started a youth center in East Macon which ran discussion groups on Negro history and the importance of protest. The kids loved these. SCOPE also did training in

non-violence, but the kids didn't care much for it. Kicking ass was one way the young men gained status among their peers. About ten percent of the people brought to be registered were rejected as illiterate, though many more refused to even try to pass the reading and writing test. Eric Schiller, Diane Hirsch and Elaine Zvonkin started a school in a church basement to teach adults reading and writing. A couple of the women wanted to work with little kids, so they held classes for them on Tuesdays and Thursdays. (*Bruin* 7-20-65, 1; 8-5-65, 2; Zvonkin diary, 1965, 17-18)

They did meet a few sympathetic whites among the students at Mercer University. Some were running a tutorial program for the 280 children expecting to integrate the schools in the fall. Token integration had started the year before when 16 young Negroes started their senior year at three white schools after Judge Bootle ordered the school system to stop stalling on August 12, 1964. The Mercer tutors were surprised to discover that the Negro children were afraid of white teachers. Overcoming this fear was a bigger challenge than improving their study skills. (*Sun* 9-2-64, 4; *NYT* 9-2-64, 20; *Bruin* 7-9-65, 1; *NYT* 8-29-65, 52 says Macon accepting 200)

Most local whites were not happy with the large group of SCOPers challenging Southern customs. Appearing in integrated groups generated a lot of stares and occasional retaliation. Their first week in Macon one group had dinner with a family in Mr. Randall's neighborhood. Later, that family's 13-year-old son invited them to play basketball in a near-by park. On seeing the white college students playing ball with the young Negro a local white called the cops. A deputy arrived and told them they couldn't play together. Chuck Hammond pulled out a notebook and started to write down his badge number. The deputy grabbed it and tore it up. No one was arrested, but this did break up the game and spoiled an otherwise fun evening. In mid-July, Willy Leventhal and two Negroes working with him asked to use the restroom at the gas station across the street from City Hall. As was common in the South, this gas station had three restrooms: one each for white men, white women and colored. Willy was given the key to the colored restroom and threatened by a white man on his way to use it. Joel Siegel sent a letter about the incident to AAG John Doar, who ordered the FBI to investigate. Two resident agents from Savannah finally made the trip to Macon in December. They concluded that no federal laws had been violated. This wasn't their first trip. In July they obtained a list of the SCOPE workers and where they were living for the summer. Apart from this, most harassment was low-key, with suspicious cars cruising past their local housing and the sound of occasional shots fired into the air. (Ken Long e-mail of 8-5-15; *Bruin* 7-9-65, 1; 8-5-65, 3; FBI file ##173-36, 173-246, 173-228; 157-933-201)

While most of the eating places were officially open to everyone, few Negroes ate at the previously all-white establishments and integrated groups never did. Some lunch counters had removed their seats when forced to integrate. They served everyone, and everyone stood. When white SCOPers entered a restaurant with local Negroes, often the latter would be served but not the whites. On August 2, Eric and Fran Schiller and Elaine Zvonkin went into a "white" restaurant with the black daughter of their Macon host. Patricia Tigenor was served; her white friends were not. On leaving, they found the tires of their car deflated. Eric went to a telephone booth to call for help. Two local whites followed him, broke into the booth and punched and kicked him. Eric scrunched down in the classic non-violent defense position, protecting his head

with his arms. They dragged him out of the booth and kicked him some more. An observant Negro in a nearby home called the police, who arrested the two white boys. In court the next morning the judge dismissed the charges. The next night the white SCOPers and Negro teenagers filled 20 parking spaces outside the restaurant and all of the tables inside. They ordered 15¢ cokes and sipped slowly when finally served. A large crowd of white youths gathered and began taunting them, but no blows were struck. As they exited one white boy pulled a gun, but didn't fire. The police were notable by their absence. All the integrationists left jubilant, hoping to do it again and again, all over Macon. (*Bruin* 7-2-65, 1, 3; 7-9-65, 1; 8-5-65, 1; 9-28-65, 8; Eric Schiller e-mail of 12-9-14)

Even when they were served, eating together disturbed local whites. One night Shelby, Ken and a couple other guys went to a drive-in for dinner but ate standing outside their car because it was hot. The Negro car-hops brought their food but the whites in neighboring cars practically stared them out of the parking lot. Another night Shelby went with Elaine Zvonkin and two other white women to buy ice cream. When the white owner saw them lick everyone else's cone to sample the flavors she practically had a fit, slamming towels and drawers. The very idea of a Negro man and a white woman licking the same ice cream was more than she could take. Shelby had other experiences with white double standards. One of the first came when his friend Norman Hodges phoned him from Laurens County to ask him to get some car parts that couldn't be found in the small town of Dublin. Shelby opened up the Yellow Pages and phoned a local auto parts supplier. With his "California accent" Shelby sounded white to the clerk who politely took his order. When he came in person to pick up the parts, that same clerk did a 180, talking down to him the same way he would to a local Negro. (Zvonkin diary, 1965, 4; Jacobs e-mail of 8-19-15)

Like all of those who had never been South, the Macon SCOPers experienced their own share of culture shock. The black church was a major source. Several went to a religious camp meeting in July where they loved the gospel singing but were uncomfortable with the religious emotionalism. A small party at the home of one of their hosts became loud and large when the local teenagers brought records and started to dance. Only later did the white SCOPers discover that their hosts' church forbid dancing. The high school students invited the SCOPers to a lot of parties, which they felt compelled to attend. The white girls were very popular dance partners, so much so that they felt overwhelmed with all the attention. They weren't used to being status symbols but found it hard to say no because they didn't want to offend the kids. (Zvonkin diary, 1965, 4, 9, 16)

All but a couple SCOPers left at the end of August, some intending to come back the next summer. A couple stayed to work on the campaign of a Negro candidate for the Water Board. In his bid to be the first Negro elected to anything in anyone's memory, his 4,729 votes were only 23 percent of the total. SCOPE estimated that it had registered 3,000 new voters that summer, to bring the total in the county to 17,000. The election indicated that increasing turn-out of all those new Negro voters was the next big challenge of the movement. That challenge would have to be met by the Macon movement without the outside agitators. (*Bruin* 9-20-65, 2; Leventhal 2013 LoC interview)

SCOPE in Fort Valley, Peach County, Georgia

When the University of Minnesota group arrived in Fort Valley on June 26, they found a college town where the 1960 Census had counted 8,310 people, of whom 61.2 percent were nonwhite. In addition to being the home of Fort Valley State College it was the county seat of Peach County, a small county, both geographically and demographically, that had been carved out of two neighboring counties in 1924. In 1960 the Census counted 13,846 residents of whom 58.7 percent were non-white. The presence of the FVSC faculty meant there were a large number of educated Negroes in Peach County, but there were only 679 registered Negro voters in 1962. These were 14.9 percent of an NVAP of 4,562. The WVAP was 3,650, of whom 69.9 percent were registered to vote. (USCCR 3-19-65 in House Judiciary Com., *Hearings* 1965, 171, citing *AJC*, 4-28-63)

Because Peach County was so small and the U.MN group so large, they sent a few workers to Houston County. Adjacent Houston County had three times the population of Peach, with 39,154 residents in 1960 of whom 22.5 percent were non-white. Named for a Georgia Governor, Houston County was one of the original five counties that made up Georgia in 1821. Other counties were carved from it, reducing it to a minor place. The number of Negroes registered to vote in Houston County was only 413 in December of 1962. Houston Co. had an NVAP of 4,228, of whom 9.8 percent were registered and a WVAP of 17,742, with a 44 percent registration rate. (USCCR 3-19-65 in House Judiciary Com., *Hearings* 1965, 167, citing *AJC*, 4-28-63)

The DoJ had not been to Houston County, but it had collected data in Peach Co. early in 1964, after being informed that Negroes were being rejected for mispronouncing words in the Constitution. It had not yet investigated elections, where Negroes voted separately. "In Peach County, blacks and whites voted in the courtroom of the county courthouse, but blacks entered through the back door and voted in booths on the east side of the courtroom, while whites entered through the front door and voted in booths on the west side of the courtroom." (CRD 1964, 190 [1342]; quote in McDonald, 2003, 114)

SCOPErs in Fort Valley were initially housed in a vacant student dormitory near the college with men and women at separate ends of the building. They soon realized that it had been vacated because it was falling apart. It had holes in the ceiling. The walls and floors were overrun with the largest cockroaches the Minnesotans had ever seen. As Negro families volunteered to house them they moved into different homes. Several switched homes every few weeks for safety. Shirley Heyer stayed at the home of the town barber. She later wrote that his wife took one son and moved out, out of fear that their home would be attacked because they were boarding white civil rights workers. (Conrad notes, 2008; Grefenberg, 2009, 16) Those that did house the white workers generally treated them like special guests. Sandy Wilkerson wrote that "I lived ... with a grandmother and her two grandchildren, in a home whose only source of running water was a spigot in the side yard. I was given the best bedroom and offered a chamber pot at bedtime. My hostess was upset to find the chamber pot empty in the morning, thinking she had failed to make me feel at home. The truth is, I was just too embarrassed. The outhouse was a

perfectly fine alternative.” (Quote in Grefenberg, 2009, 16)

Everyone quickly figured out that the Negro sections of town did not have paved streets, streetlights, sewage or garbage collection. Some of the houses were very nice, but their streets didn't have any services provided by the city. About the time homes became available, Nancy Addison came from Bennington College in Vermont to join the project. Her boyfriend, Rich Reichbart, was already there, but she didn't stay with him. Instead she and Darlene Keeler moved into the home of an extended Negro family in Gano, one of the eight Negro sections of Fort Valley.

Edna Rumph's home had sinks but no bathroom. Everyone used outhouses. Nancy was scared to go outside after dark to use the outhouse, so her host put a bucket in a closet for her to use as a chamberpot. To bathe they filled a galvanized washtub with water heated on the stove; little kids would sit in it, adults took sponge baths. Miss Rumph had another sink in a tiny shop next door from which she washed and styled hair. She also had a washing machine, though wet clothes were hung outside to dry. Two nieces living with her picked peaches, which ripened quickly in the hot summer sun. The teenagers worked 12-hours a day, getting about 6 cents for each 100 lb bag they filled. Other women worked 12 hour shifts at the canning factory for 70 to 80 cents per hour. The work in the canneries was on the books, so no one under 16 was employed. Picking peaches was off the books, so the fields were full of younger children earning money to buy school supplies. (Addison ltr of 7-25-65; e-mail of 9-9-15)

There was no NAACP chapter in Peach County. Local leaders in the black community had organized the Citizenship Education Commission (CEC), headed by professor Houston Stallworth. Composed primarily of FVSC faculty and some ministers, they had obtained a VEP grant to conduct voter registration drives. These had added roughly 700 blacks to the voter lists since 1962, while twice that many were rejected by the registrars. (CRD 1964, 190 [1342]) The CEC asked their student co-ordinator, Willie Sneed, 20, to work with Jack Mogulson as co-director of the SCOPE project to bring that number higher. Willie recruited about 20 FVSC students to work with the SCOPERS. They were joined by a fluctuating group of high school students.

CEC leaders took the SCOPERS to Trinity Baptist Church to introduce them to the black community. Three SCLC staffers came down from Atlanta to meet them. Since the U.MN group had not gone to the SCOPE orientation in Atlanta the staff conducted a short-course the next day. Deciding that wasn't enough, the Minnesotans and six locals went to Atlanta over the July 4 weekend for a few more days of orientation. There they practiced canvassing by going into Atlanta neighborhoods with experienced staffers. (Grefenberg, 2009, 15; Addison postcard of 7-5-65)

The CEC invited five of the SCOPERS to meet with the Sheriff and executives from the Blue Bird bus company, the largest employer in the county, on June 28th. The latter were worried that bad publicity might affect sales of their school buses to northern school districts. The SCOPERS made it clear that if they weren't given a hard time there wouldn't be any demonstrations, and hence no bad publicity. (Grefenberg, 2009, 15)

Mixed pairs of SCOPers and students canvassed Ft. Valley first and then moved out into the rurals. Canvassing was not easy, and often involved long discussions. In addition to persuading people to come downtown to get registered, they had to explain that it had to be done twice. Everyone had to register at the courthouse to vote in state elections, and then cross the street to city hall to register for city elections. In reality, the latter were far more important, but many people simply forgot about the second registration – until they discovered that they couldn't vote for mayor or city council.

SCOPers ran into the usual problems of fear and apathy. Sometimes police cars would follow the canvassers, stopping outside the houses they visited. Anyone inside could see the cop car, and not answer a knock at their door. SCOPers expected fear; they didn't expect apathy. Nancy wrote that they found "the majority of the Negroes scared, apathetic and ignorant." There weren't enough cars to take people to the registrars so when they went to pick someone up who said they'd register, they were really unhappy when that person wasn't there at the appointed time, or had an excuse for not going that day. Nonetheless, they estimated that they registered 400 new voters by the time the VRA became law on August 6. In Houston Co. less than a hundred new voters were added. (Addison ltr of 7-25-65; *Daily Minn.* 8-6-65, 3; 8-13-65, 1; *Peach County Freedom News*, 8-3-65, 1) SCOPE only stayed in Peach Co. for another week, but in the next six weeks, another 241 Negroes (and 102 whites) became voters. In Houston County, it was just 89. (USCCR 1965, 58)

In addition to canvassing, the SCOPers spoke at local churches to encourage registration, and held evening rallies. They would flyer a neighborhood asking people to come to a specific place in the evening, where they would be greeted by a singing group. After a few speeches, those present would march through the neighborhood singing freedom songs and calling to people to come register. On July 30, a Friday night, there were five such rallies in Ft. Valley. (*Peach County Freedom News*, 7-30-17)

There were a few incidents, but compared to what other SCOPers experienced in other counties, they were pretty minor. Early in July Dan Conrad and a FVSC student took a woman in her 80s and her two daughters in their 60s to be registered. They insisted on dressing up in their Sunday best before getting into "our really old junker of a car" for the ride downtown. They all stood in line for a long time. Just as they got to the registration window "a man came up from behind the counter and yelled: 'We aren't registering any more of you people today' and slammed the window in her face!" (Conrad notes 2008, 5) On Saturday, July 17, SCOPE brought 83 Negroes to be registered – the largest contingent in three weeks of work. As one newly registered voter was holding the courthouse door open so his wife could exit, a white man come up the steps said "Don't block the door you black bastards." Both men raised their fists and it looked like a fight was about to start. Jack Mogelson stepped between the two men. Soon a police officer escorted the white man into the building. (*Peach County Freedom News* 7-18-65,1; *Minn. Daily* 8-6-65, 3)

The worst incident wasn't at the courthouse, but at a café. On August 3, six locals and three SCOPers entered Poole's Café to get something to eat. The owner took their orders, but only served the locals. He left the three white SCOPers just sitting and waiting. "I have to serve

those niggers under the law, but not you whites,” he said when asked. After eating, the locals left. The SCOPers stayed. Although they were no longer part of an integrated group, they still weren’t served. Soon they were joined by a few more SCOPers and locals. Again, the local Negroes were served while the white SCOPers were left hungry. Soon a white man came in with a ladder and some equipment, which he appeared to use to examine the A/C unit at the back of the room. Gas was soon leaking from a container. It smelled like sulfur dioxide. As the gas filled the room, the other white customers left. Next, the manager and the repairman left. The SCOPers lasted about half an hour; then they left. The FBI were notified, but nothing came of it. (*Peach County Freedom News* 8-3-65; 8-11-65, 2)

Cavassing and taking people to the courthouse was only one of their summer activities. Realizing that adult literacy was a serious problem, the SCOPers set up classes to teach adults to read. Dan Conrad, the high school teacher in the group, made this his primary project. SCOPE found churches willing to host classes at night and elementary school teachers willing to run them. Soon they had six classes taught by dozen local teachers. Willie Sneed had run CEP classes at one time, but those had ceased. Conrad secured adult literacy materials from Minneapolis. Their efforts also stimulated some of the Ft. Valley neighborhoods to create organizations to work on problems specific to those locales. (Conrad notes, 2008, 6) Kathy Connor organized some Freedom Schools for the younger children, in order to teach them something about the civil rights movement. Shirley Heyer had a degree in journalism. Since there was no Negro newspaper within the county she organized the teenagers to produce the *Peach County Freedom News*, a mimeographed sheet of one or two pages. The articles were written by local people. (Grefenberg, 2009, 20-1)

They were called back to Minnesota by the University administration two weeks before the project was scheduled to end. No one knew why. Several took local friends they had made home to visit. Before they left, local folk thanked them with a major barbeque. (Conrad notes, 2008, 7)

SCOPE in Albany - Dougherty County, GA

Albany, Georgia, incorporated in 1838, was named for the state capitol of New York. Its strategic location on the Flint River in SW Georgia made it a major shipping center for cotton and other goods. In the late 19th Century it became a major railroad center. In 1960 the city itself had 58,890 people, 36.2 percent of whom were non-white. It was the seat of Dougherty County with 75,680 people, 34.4 percent of whom were non-white. The County had a NVAP of 14,163 of which 33.9 percent were registered to vote in December of 1962. This left 9,363 to be registered. The WVAP was 29, 897 of which 49.8 percent were registered. (USCCR 3-19-65 in House Judiciary Com., *Hearings* 1965, 164, citing *AJC*, 4-28-63) It was the home of Albany State College (ASC), one of the three public colleges for Negroes, and the site of Turner Air Force base.

Albany was a movement town. SNCC sent in three fieldworkers in the fall of 1961 who began working with the students at Albany State College and the black high schools. After some of them were arrested for sitting in the white waiting room at the bus station, several organizations came together to form the Albany Movement. They wanted desegregation of all public facilities and more jobs for Negroes in stores whose customers were mostly Negroes. They marched, picketed and boycotted for months but all that happened was that hundreds were arrested and farmed out to the jails in neighboring counties. The Governor sent in the National Guard and the Albany Movement asked for Dr. King. He and Rev. Abernathy soon joined the multitudes in jail. Eventually all were released in exchange for stopping the demonstrations in favor of negotiating various grievances. (Branch, 1988, 534-561)

The truce soon broke down. City facilities remained segregated or closed. Pickets, boycotts, demonstrations and arrests continued, with the last big demonstration held on July 24, 1962. There was some violence, though exactly who did what to whom was disputed. The municipal bus company went out of business. In July the City went to federal district court to stop the picketing. The Albany Movement, represented by NAACP lawyers, asked the same court to enjoin segregation in public facilities. Unfortunately they drew Robert Elliott, who had only been on the bench for six months but was already known as a supporter of the status quo. He granted the City's request and dismissed that of the Albany movement. While the adverse court decisions were on appeal, SCLC left town and the Albany Movement appeared to break up. The press labeled the Albany Movement a failure. (Branch, 1988, 601-632)

That was a premature assessment. Underneath things were percolating. SCLC brought its CEP program to Albany in 1962, using ASC students to teach the literacy classes. (SCLC IV 158:9-14) A VEP grant that same year added 500 new Negro voters to the registration lists. (http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_voter_education_project/) The City repealed all of its segregation ordinances in March of 1963. The library re-opened, now available to both blacks and whites, though not the swimming pools or the tennis courts. They were sold to private parties, who could legally open them to whites only – until passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In July the Fifth Circuit enjoined the City from enforcing segregation in city facilities, whether through specific ordinances or through neutral laws such as breach of the peace and trespass. In the fall Slater King, who was president of the Albany Movement, ran for mayor, getting roughly one-fourth of the total vote. (*WP* 10-16-63, A13; *NYT* 10-16-63, 32) The next year his brother, attorney C.B. King, ran for the Democratic nomination for Congress. Both

races stimulated a registration drive. In September, 21 Negro children integrated five white schools. (*ADW* 5-3-64, A5; *Anderson v. Kelly*, 1962-3; *Anderson v. City of Albany*, 1962-64; Chalfen, 1994; *Sun* 9-9-64, 6; *WP* 9-9-64, A4)

Eight SCOPers arrived in Albany on June 19 after orientation in Atlanta. They came from two schools in or near Terre Haute, Indiana. Sisters Mary Jean Marks and Alma Louise Meschler were professors of history and biology, respectively, at Saint-Mary-of-the-Woods College. They brought with them three of their students – Meg Baum, Susan Sperry, Midge Maroni – and one recent graduate, Jonny Maldonado. Barbara Koester and Bob Mullins came from Indiana State University. Before they left they raised both money and in kind contributions from churches and merchants in Terre Haute, including a green Chevy station wagon on loan from a Terre Haute minister. Later in the summer, three members of the Terre Haute community spent some of their vacation time working with the SCOPE project.

SCLC's main man in Albany was the Rev. Samuel B. Wells, Jr. Born in late December of 1916 in a rural area of the county, Wells served in WWII. He became a part-time preacher in 1956 but always had to hold an additional job to support his wife and four children. His prominence in the Albany Movement cost him his day job at a local military base. It became impossible for him get and keep a regular job so SCLC put him on staff in 1964. In the Spring of 1965 SCLC sent him to Marengo Co., Alabama. He stayed there as head of its SCOPE project. While he made a couple trips back to Albany during the summer, he wasn't in a position to direct two projects 300 miles apart. Rev. Wells did some introductions and gave some advice, but the *de facto* project leaders were the two nuns. (Chalfen, 1994)

The Sisters did what they came to do: set up a school where they could teach. For that they cleaned up a vacant four unit apartment house that SNCC had maintained as a Freedom Center. To find students, the young SCOPers walked the neighborhoods, asking who wanted to come to "summer school." They soon had over a hundred students ranging in age from 3 to over 70. They organized pretty standard courses, though the subjects reflected in part what the students asked for with an emphasis on Negro history and achievements. Classes had a greater mixture of ages and were run far more freely than was true of a regular classroom.

SNCC had maintained a presence in Albany since 1961. In 1965, SNCC's person was Roy Shields. SCOPE and SNCC worked together that summer, despite some friction and disagreements between Roy and the nuns. The two nuns slept in the basement of the Freedom Center; the students lived with various families. The Freedom Center had no hot water or any way to cook, but the apartment rooms made good classrooms. A library was set up in one which was very popular. (Abbott, 2013, 532; *Look*, 11-2-65)

There were two Catholic churches in Albany, one for each race. The nuns visited the white church and spoke to the congregation about what they were doing in Albany. They pointedly said that they wouldn't be attending mass there on Sundays because they would not go to a segregated church. Instead they attended St. Theresa's, which was the Catholic church for Negroes. They must have made a favorable impression on the white congregation, because the latter make some donations to the Freedom School.

After three weeks, SCOPE shifted to canvassing for prospective voters, though teaching remained the primary activity. Bob spent most of his time working on voter registration, as well

as doing most of the driving that needed to be done and a lot of odd jobs. The young women split their time between teaching and voting work. The nuns did some voter registration work in the late afternoons after school ended for the day. In the evenings they conducted literacy classes for adults. (SCLC IV 168:16) They always wore their full habits, despite the heat and humidity, and still managed enough energy to go to some of the mass meetings, held at a different church every Monday night.

Voter registration was tougher in Albany than in a lot of other Georgia counties. By the summer of 1965, after years of voter registration campaigns and the “push” of the Albany Movement, the easy catches were already registered. Left were those who were apathetic or resistant or who were illiterate. SCOPE estimated that some 200 more Negroes became registered voters that summer. (Mullins, 8-14-65)

The attitude of local whites toward the Terre Haute visitors was mixed, which was better than in most SCOPE counties, where it was uniformly hostile. The young SCOPERS commented on the intentionally poor service they received from white merchants, but they didn’t have to leave the county to buy gas for their car.

Police harassment was more typical. SCOPERS were often stopped while driving and given tickets for doing nothing. Midge Maroni went to traffic court as a witness only to discover that cops lied under oath and the defendant was always guilty, no matter how many witnesses testified that the cop was wrong. Bob Mullins was charged with reckless driving and put in jail. He was fortunate that Albany had one of the few Negro lawyers in the state. (Maroni, 1965; Mullins, 1965)

The Albany project was written about more than most SCOPE projects. Both Bob Mullins and Midge Maroni wrote about it for their student newspapers. *Look* magazine sent a reporter to orientation who decided that the two nuns made a compelling story. It was published in November.

In early August Hosea asked the Albany group to join the daily marches going on in Americas, 40 miles to the north. Several went and marched, on different days. When Bob drove back to Albany, he was chased by a car full of white teenagers. By the time he drove the borrowed Chevy back to Terry Houte, it had two bullet holes in its rear. (Mullins, 8-14-65)

Georgia Hotspots

“Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas [as the U.S. Constitution]; its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition.”

Alexander H. Stephens, the vice-president of the Confederacy, March 21, 1861

Georgia had some hotspots in the summer of 1965, particularly in Sumter and Taliaferro Counties. Both counties were in Georgia’s blackbelt, but at opposite ends of the state, with different characteristics and different histories. Taliaferro was a tiny county in the northeast part of the state. Created in 1825 from land acquired by the colony in 1763 at the end of the French and Indian War, it was named for a colonel in the Revolutionary War. Its 1960 population was only 3,370, of which 62.2 percent were non-white, reflecting its origin as a plantation county. Its claim to fame was that it was the home of Alexander H. Stephens, whose residence had the ironic name of Liberty Hall. It had been turned into a historic house museum. Crawfordville, the county seat, was named for Senator and Cabinet secretary William Harris Crawford. It never grew beyond a few hundred people.

Americus

Sumter County was much larger, with an urban center, Americus, as its county seat. Created in 1831 out of land ceded by the Creek nation upon defeat in the 1813-1814 Creek Wars, it was named for a Revolutionary War general who later became a Senator from South Carolina. Like most of SW Georgia, this land was distributed among white residents through a land lottery, which resulted in a lot of small and medium sized farms. The 1960 Census counted 24,652 people in Sumter County, of whom 52.8 percent were non-white. Over half the county population lived in Americus; 49.6 percent of its 13,472 people were non-white.

Sumter was the home of an alternative model of race relations, but it was a beleaguered one. In 1942 two white Baptist ministers and their wives bought land and created a communal farm eight miles west of Americus in order to practice the Christian virtues of pacifism, non-violence, simplicity, and racial integration. Called Koinonia – Greek for fellowship or community – they welcomed conscientious objectors during World War II and shared meals with their Negro farm hands, some of whom later became members of the commune. By the mid-1950s about 60 people lived or worked at Koinonia, of whom a quarter were Negro. Some white professors from surrounding colleges and seminaries brought their students to Koinonia to expose them to a different way of thinking, but local whites were always hostile. Harassment increased as desegregation became a public issue. There were years of vandalism, legal investigations, bombings and other violence, but the commune refused the request of a white citizens’ committee to close up and leave. When the civil rights movement came to Sumter County, Koinonia was barely surviving. In 1965 it had about two dozen full-time participants. (K’Meyer, 1997, 81-7; <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/koinonia-farm>; Auchmutey, 2015; Manis, 2004, 185; SC 2-12/13-66, 4)

By the summer of 1965 Sumter County was well-worked territory. SCLC had administered a VEP grant for Sumter County in 1962 and ran CEP programs in Americus in 1963-64. (SCLC IV 139:3; 158:15-17) SNCC began working in SW Georgia in 1961 and in

Sumter County in 1962. In 1963 it rotated fieldworkers throughout the SW counties from its Albany headquarters, two of whom lived at Koinonia. (SNCC statement to House, *Hearings*, 5-28-63, 1274) After local Negroes attempted to integrate a movie theater that summer, there were major demonstrations in Americus, along with multiple arrests. Eleven were arrested on July 11 for trying to purchase tickets to the white section of the theater. On July 15, 15 girls between the ages of 12 and 15 were arrested for the same attempt. They were shipped thirty miles away to Leesburg, where they were held for two months in a 12 X 40 foot room with one poorly working shower and one toilet. On August 8 three SNCC fieldworkers were arrested and charged with "insurrection." A white CORE worker from Minneapolis was similarly charged on Aug. 17. Since this charge carried the possibility of the death penalty, no bond was set. Local officials later said that they wanted to keep them in jail in order to prevent them from "stirring up trouble." Their arrest precipitated more demonstrations in which many were beaten, one was shot and killed and about 250 people arrested, though not charged with a capital offense. Most of those arrested were young students, who were stuffed into vacant buildings and filthy work camps, without beds or adequate toilet facilities. Bond was set high enough to keep them in jail until November 2. (*NYT* 9-29-63, 80; 10-23-63, 28; *ADW* 8-17-63, 5; 8-22-63, 1; *BAA* 9-21-63, 1; quote in *WP* 11-3-63, 4; 4:3 *SV* Oct.'63 2,4; Meltsner, 1965, pp. 148-153)

NAACP Inc. Fund lawyers asked the state courts to set bail for the four charged with insurrection and appealed the denial all the way to the Georgia Supreme Court. They then asked the federal district court to accept the case as a denial of constitutional rights. A three-judge court found the insurrection charge unconstitutional in a 2-to-1 decision and ordered the defendants released on bail pending trial on the other charges. (*Harris v. Chappell*, 1963) Freed after 85 days in jail, the three SNCCers plus one local were immediately indicted on charges of rioting and assaulting an officer. One white SNCCer was tried in December by an all-white jury, convicted and sentenced to two years in prison. After his conviction was reversed by a state appeals court seven months later the charges against the others were dropped. (4:4 *SV* 11-11-63, 1,2; 4:7 *SV* 12-9-63, 1,3; *NYT* 11-2-63, 1; 12-6-63, 21; 7-8-64, 18; *WP* 12-3-64, A2; *CD* 12-3-64, 3; *BAA* 12-14-63, 18; McDonald, 2003, 113; Meltsner, 1965, pp. 151-53) Incidents continued to happen throughout 1964 though none led to massive demonstrations.

The dissenter from the federal court decision was Judge J. Robert Elliott, a lifelong Dixiecrat whose racism was not clothed in subtlety. He ruled against the movement in 90 percent of the civil rights cases that came before him. (Navasky, 1971, 247, 256-58; Bass, 1981, 169-70) The two judges in the majority were Lewis Morgan, and Elbert Tuttle, one of the best judges on the Fifth Circuit. (Peltason, 1961, 113-14, 178, 195) Both Elliott and Morgan were appointed by JFK; Tuttle was appointed by Eisenhower.

Hosea sent three white SCOPERS from the state of Washington to Sumter County and put an 18-year-old local woman, Lena Tuner, in charge of the project. Molly Murdey, 19, and Patricia Sands, 20, were students at Washington State University. Molly came from a small town in western Washington and Pat from Idaho. Originally from Seattle, Jim Owens, 21, attended Whitman College, about a hundred miles away. They drove to Atlanta with Gregory Kafoury (who was sent to Virginia) in Jim's VW bug. Working out of the SNCC "Freedom Center" they spent the first month canvassing to get Negroes to register to vote. As described in letters to family and friends, their steady work was interspersed with a little fun and a little fear. One day they joined some SNCCers and a group of Negroes at a state park in neighboring Crisp County. They were there to integrate the park and protest the shooting of a young Negro that happened

when another group tried to picnic in that park. When the integrated group entered the swimming pool, the local whites got out, but didn't leave. Jim Owens took a photo of his group in the pool and then turned to take one of the whites. They grabbed his camera and roughed him up. The four SCOPERS fled to their car with the local whites in pursuit. As they entered the car, one white guy smashed the back window of Jim's car and a tail light, spraying glass all over and cutting Molly's arm. Jim drove off in a hail of bricks and bottles. A group of accompanying Negroes got out of their car and threw stuff back. The whites fired shots into the Negro group; at least one Negro showed his gun as he drove out of the park. It was a miracle that no one was hit with a bullet. (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 9-29-65, provided by Molly Murdey; Owens e-mail of 4-15-14)

The cars of Negroes and SCOPERS were followed by a parade of cop cars and white boys. When the cops pulled over, the SCOPERS decided it was safer to caravan with the Negroes back to Cordele, the Crisp County seat, rather than return alone to Americus. On arriving they tried to report the incident to the sheriff and chief of police, but neither would do anything. Told to come back the next day, they returned to Americus for the night, where they made statements to the resident FBI agent. Instead of investigating the assault, the FBI contacted Whitman College, where Jim was a student, to ask about him. The next day SCOPE went to the Crisp County Justice of the Peace armed with good descriptions of two of their assailants and several license plate numbers. He too wouldn't write out a warrant. It was a great revelation to the young SCOPERS from Washington State to learn that none of the relevant officials would even make a record of the incident, let alone pursue the perpetrators. Only the Seattle newspapers showed any interest. (Murdey letter of 5-16-14; Owens e-mail of 4-15-14; FBI memo of 7-1-65, file #157-2925)

Sumter was a highly mobilized county. Over half of its population lived in the large town of Americus. Size created a critical mass of Negro ministers and business owners who could survive independently of white patronage. In Americus these included Rev. R. O. Freeman and Rev. J. R. Campbell, President of the Sumter County Movement, as well as funeral director John Barnum. His wife, Mabel, was regarded as the "mother" of the Americus movement and his property was often used to guarantee bond for the many arrestees. Koinonia had provided a model of blacks and whites working together for two decades, and readily lent itself as a refuge and training center for activists. It had also stood up to intimidation, showing that it could be done. Some of Americus' young people had participated in the 1961-62 Albany movement, as that city was less than 40 miles away. (Tuck, 2001, 177-78; K'Meyer, 1997, 145-164)

Georgia counties had long maintained separate voting lists and polling places by race. During the 1961 Albany movement a group of Negro voters represented by attorneys C. B. King, and Donald L. Hollowell had challenged this practice in federal district court. In January of 1962 Judge William A. Bootle found that segregated voting violated the 15th Amendment and the 1957 Civil Rights Act, but declined to issue an injunction in favor of voluntary compliance. It was slow in coming. In June of 1962 the DoJ identified 48 counties and 17 municipalities that still required Negroes and whites to vote separately. One of these was Sumter County. It accommodated the court decision enough to allow Negroes and whites to vote in the same building, but had them wait in separate lines for separate booths. Following the same pattern as service station bathrooms, white voters were separated by sex but Negroes weren't. (McDonald, 2003, 115, citing *AC* 6-13-62; *Anderson v. Courson*, 1962)

When CRD attorneys went into the county in May of 1962, it found that only 548 Negroes were registered out of a NVAP of 6,710. Eighteen months later only 91 Negroes had

been added to the voting rolls, bringing the total registered to 9.5 percent of those eligible. Most of these were processed only after DoJ lawyers met with the registration board in May of 1963 and received a lot of promises. While Negroes were marching in the summer and fall of 1963, the registration board processed Negro applications on separate days from those of whites. In the 1964 primary and general elections there were still separate voting booths. (CRD 1964, I-191-92 in 1965 Senate *Hearings* 1343-44)

On July 20, 1965 Sumter County held a primary election. One Negro was on the ballot as a candidate for Justice of the Peace. Mary Kate Bell was 24, a college student and the mother of three. The Negro community had been working for weeks to achieve a high turn-out in hopes of a run-off election. Expecting problems, it had also notified the FBI and the federal CRS. Requests for Negro poll watchers were refused by the county. Americus officials were determined to run this election as they normally did, which meant three separate voting lines, labeled White Men, White Women and Colored. Mary Kate Bell arrived at her polling place accompanied by three other Negro women, all seasoned activists. They tried to join the line where white women waited to cast a ballot but were blocked by a deputy sheriff. Refusing to go to the Colored line, they were arrested and charged with “blocking the entrance to a polling place.” Believing that they were innocent, the women refused to post bail, even when a committee of white merchants put up \$4,000 to cover it. (Auchmutey, 2015, 139-40; Owens report in *Whitman College Pioneer*, 10-14-65; *NYT* 7-28-65, 40)

Hosea immediately sent in Willie Bolden, 26, and Ben van Clarke, 22, to organize marches and pickets. Both men came from Savannah, where they had worked with Hosea in his Chatham County Crusade for Voters. Hosea brought them with him when he joined SCLC in 1963. To help them, Hosea transferred two SCOPers working in Savannah. One of these was Iris Geller, a freshman from Temple University in Philadelphia. She had found out about SCOPE from one of the traveling recruiting teams. Another was Boyd Faust, a white boy from Mississippi. He was the only student who came from the University of Notre Dame, in Indiana. Boyd was at his home in McComb, MS during the 1964 Freedom Summer. He wisely kept his distance from the civil rights workers, knowing how a “traitor” would be treated by his friends and neighbors, but what he observed and heard prompted him to join SCOPE the following summer. Neither he nor his father shared the Southern white attitude toward Negroes, but they both knew that dissent would be dealt with harshly. Even in Georgia, which wasn’t home, his Southern accent brought him more unwelcome attention than the other white SCOPers. (Faust e-mails of March 2015)

The press hadn’t paid any attention to the marching in Americus so on Monday, July 26, Hosea Williams, John Lewis and Rev. Campbell held a press conference in Atlanta. They announced that demonstrations would continue until the women were freed without bail. They also demanded a re-do of the election, police protection for all civil rights demonstrators, appointment of at least one Negro registration clerk along with night and weekend registration, and a bi-racial committee of seven whites and seven Negroes to discuss other problems. (*NYT* 7-27-65, 18; *CD* 7-26-65, 2) The next night, after a mass meeting, they led some 650 people through Americus’ streets to the courthouse despite taunts and threats from whites, mostly teenage boys, along the way. They huddled in the courthouse parking lot throughout the night, guarded by 18 state troopers sent to keep local whites from harassing them. (*NYT* 7-28-65, 40) Wednesday night, some 300 marched again despite the steady rain. A couple blocks from the courthouse they passed a group of two dozen white youths on a street corner who were throwing

rocks and bottles at the people parading to that night's vigil. Long after the marchers had passed, the white boys were still throwing things at passing cars. One of two Negro youths in one such car pulled a gun and fired three shots into the crowd, hitting a white youth who died a few hours later. Soon caught, the two Negroes were charged with murder. When he learned of the shooting, Hosea called it a "helluva mess" and told the vigilers to go home. He announced a 24-hour moratorium on marches. Georgia Governor Carl Sanders sent another 82 state troopers to keep order in Americus. (*NYT* 7-29-65, 1; 7-30-65, 23; *BN* 7-29-65, 1; quote in *Sun* 7-30-65, 8) The following March, the shooter was convicted of murder by a jury with two Negroes on it and sentenced to life. The driver pled guilty to voluntary manslaughter and was sentenced to five years. (*NYT* 3-4-66, 16; 3-6-66, 7; *CD* 3-15-66, 6)

A week after the arrests of the women, three complaints were filed in the US district court. The DoJ asked for the women's release and an injunction forbidding racial segregation in the conduct of elections. Mary Kate Bell, represented by the NAACP Inc. Fund, asked for a court order to set aside the election as tainted by unconstitutional practices. The hearing was held on Friday, July 30, in Judge Bootle's court in Macon, attended by several Macon SCOPERS as well as many from Americus. Judge Bootle ordered the release of the four women. He also enjoined all county officials from conducting racially segregated elections, including maintenance of voter lists by race, but held off on the third complaint until a thorough hearing could be held. (*NYT* 7-28-65, 40; *US v. Chappell*, 1965) He didn't rule on the election until Spring, when he declined to order a new election because the wrongs involved would not have affected the outcome. Among other reasons, the registration clerk had testified that 1,223 Negroes were registered for that election, of whom only 403 voted. If all of them had come to the polls and voted for Mary Bell, the winner would still have received more than half of all the votes cast for all the candidates. A year later, the 5th Circuit reversed and ordered that a new election be held. Two months later, the same opponent won over Bell by an even larger margin than in 1965. (Zvonkin diary, 1965, 19; *Bell v. Southwell*, 1966, 1967; *Americus Times-Recorder*, 6-13-67; <http://americusmovement.org/the-movement.html>)

The marches resumed that same Friday. Hosea wrote and called other Georgia SCOPE projects asking them "to get a busload of people to go into Americus, Georgia and participate in the direct action program." (Quote in letter of 8-4-65 to Max Rice) That resulted in about two dozen SCOPERS coming in from Savannah, Macon and Albany. Six came from Savannah, five from Macon, and two from Albany. The Savannah group brought a bus with 34 locals. SNCC augmented its existing staff with additional fieldworkers. The number of marches per day increased to as many as three, but the number of people in each march was about a third of what it had been before the shooting. Usually marchers left from a Negro church on the edge of town and walked singing and chanting through the business district to the courthouse. First came Jim Owens' blue VW bug with a loudspeaker system strapped to the roof. While he drove, a local volunteer used the speaker to exhort his friends and neighbors to come join the march. Behind the car came the front line of the march with leaders of the Sumter County Movement and whatever dignitary was in town. Dick Gregory flew in from Chicago to lead a march on August 6. Day marches usually ended with Negroes going into the courthouse to register to vote. Night marches ended with a rally and a return to the church. Sometimes the police were notified in advance when the movement would march, and sometimes they weren't. There were 28 marches over a period of three weeks. (*BN* 7-31-65, 1; *WP* 7-31-65, A2; *WP* 8-7-65, A8; *Barnum v. Chambliss*, 1965)

There were no more attacks *on* whites, but some demonstrators were attacked *by* whites, despite statements by prominent politicians that there should be no retaliation. On Saturday, July 31, right before the funeral of the white youth who had been killed, local Negroes and white SCOPERS held a shop-in at a local supermarket. It only hired whites even though most of its customers were Negro. They quietly pushed empty carts around the store until the manager figured out that they weren't going to buy anything and locked the doors. After two hours the protestors moved on to a different grocery store, where they found the doors locked. A crowd of whites gathered, jeered and began hitting the demonstrators. Dennis Lineau was hit by a snub-nosed revolver and three local Negroes were punched. When Boyd Faust asked the Georgia State Patrol to intervene, one of them clubbed the back of his head, calling him a "goddamn nigger-loving son of a bitch." Boyd fell to the ground. Only then did the cops separate the whites from the protestors. One demonstrator picked him up and carried him out of the crowd and back to the Barnum Funeral Home while the others stood outside the store singing and chanting. Three of the protestors were taken to the county hospital. Boyd had a concussion; he was taken to a better hospital in Atlanta. None of the white assailants were arrested. The cops denied the incident even happened. On Monday, the pickets returned to that store where 23, including three small children, were arrested before they could go inside. One SNCC worker and SCOPER John Watts of Newark N.J. were assaulted by whites. The whites who struck them were not arrested. During one march a hammer was thrown which hit SCOPER Susie Schmitz on the shoulder. Both the Mayor of Americus and the Governor of Georgia responded to the attacks on protestors by asking them to stop their marches. (*WP* 7-31-65, A2; 8-1-65, A4; 8-3-65, A2; *BN* 7-30-65, 18; 8-1-65, A-2; 8-2-65, 1; *Sun* 8-1-65, 5; *NYT* 8-1-65, 1; 8-2-65, 1; 8-3-65, 16; *CD* 8-3-65, 1; Faust e-mail of 3-23-15; B.Ungersma e-mail of 6-8-15)

On Sunday, August 1, integrated groups tried to enter Americus' two largest churches, First Baptist and First Methodist, which were across the street from each other. A dozen church officials stood on the steps barring their way while Negroes and whites knelt and prayed. Catholic, Episcopal and Presbyterian churches had accepted integrated groups earlier in the year. During that evening's mass march two small Negro children were injured when whites in a passing car threw bottles at them. During the week, demonstrations and marches continued at the courthouse, as did thrown objects and occasional beatings. At the Friday night march Ben Clarke threatened to march on the home of Mayor T. Griffin Walker if he didn't appoint a bi-racial committee. The Mayor had refused to name such a committee until the demonstrations stopped. The following Sunday, August 8, integrated groups tried once again to enter the two churches. John Lewis of SNCC led the SCOPERS and several locals to First Baptist, where the church deacons were on the steps blocking entry to the church. The head deacon carried a blackjack. When John spoke to him softly, he exploded in anger, yelling at them to get off of church property. When they didn't leave, seven Negroes and six whites were arrested. Another eight were arrested at First Methodist. All were charged with disturbing a divine service. The UCLA SCOPERS who weren't in jail called California for help, and on Monday acting Governor Glenn Anderson wired Georgia Governor Carl Sanders asking about the location and condition of his constituents. Everyone remembered that three Freedom Summer volunteers had been killed in Neshoba County, Mississippi only a year earlier after first being jailed. One California Senator and three Congressmen called the DoJ. On Tuesday, everyone was released on bond. Trial was set for Sept. 21. (*NYT* 8-2-65, 1; *CD* 8-7-65, 9; 8-9-65, 10; *Sun* 8-9-65, 4; *WP* 8-9-65, A4; *AJ* 8-8-65; *Bruin* 8-12-65, 1; Fran Schiller e-mails of 1-16-17, 1-24-17)

Not surprisingly, the KKK responded to this action like iron to a magnet, holding its own

march shortly after the church arrests. Several hundred white people, many of them women, many in KKK regalia, paraded silently throughout Americus. They held a brief service at the street corner where the white youth had been shot, then went on to the courthouse. There Georgia Grand Dragon Calvin Craig told them to do what the Negroes do, march and register to vote. The rally was broken up by a sudden downpour. The Klan didn't leave town, but contented itself with patrolling the streets at night with rifles showing until civil rights demonstrations resumed later in the month. On August 28, the Klan brought 500 people to another night rally at the Sumter County Fairgrounds. (*Sun* 8-9-65, 4; *NYT* 8-9-65, 1; 8-30-65, 18; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RmVwIKr8ZLM>)

Demonstrations declined during the week as the SCLC staff, some of the SCOPers and locals from the Sumter County Movement went to Birmingham for SCLC's 9th annual convention. While they were gone, county attorney Warren Fortson, one of the few local whites who believed that blacks and whites should talk to each other, met with the remaining movement leaders. These meetings appeared to bear fruit when representatives from the Sumter County Movement met with the City Council on August 19 and agreed to call off demonstrations. Discussions of problems would continue between the SCM and the City Council, with the County Commission becoming involved where necessary. That agreement didn't stop the youth from marching when they felt like it. On August 27 they resumed picketing downtown businesses, demanding jobs. After being chased away by local whites they marched to the courthouse. That caught the attention of the cops. The next night, 32 Negroes and three whites were arrested for parading without a permit as they attempted to go to the courthouse. They obtained a permit and marched again the next night, only to be assaulted by half a dozen white youths who threw bricks and bottles at them. The Negro youths continued picketing the stores and marching to the courthouse intermittently, even when there were just a few of them. Only with the start of the school year did they stop. (*BAA* 8-21-65, 17; *Sun* 8-28-65, 7; 9-8-65, 9; *NYT* 8-29-65, 44; 8-31-65, 13)

With the signing of the Voting Rights Act on August 6, the emphasis of the Sumter County Movement shifted to getting Negroes to register to vote. That very day, three Negro women were hired as registration clerks and over a hundred Negroes were registered to vote – even though the VRA would not go into force for a couple more days. (*NYT* 8-7-65, 1; 8-10-65, 14; 8-14-65, 9; *WP* 8-7-65, A8) The Sumter County Movement, especially the Youth Council, continued to bring Negroes to be registered. Between August 9 and September 18, 1,648 Negroes became voters in Sumter County. None of the applicants were rejected. The DoJ saw all of this as a sign that the registrars would follow the law. Sumter had been on John Doar's "Group A" list of counties to get federal examiners immediately. (*BAA* 8-21-65, 14; USCCR, 1965, 59; Doar memo of 7-9-65 in Belknap, 1991, 15:169) It would be another 20 months before any federal examiners went to Georgia; none would go to Sumter County until 1980.

Everyone – the protestors, represented by the NAACP Inc. Fund, city officials and law enforcement – asked the federal court for an injunction to restrain the other side. A week-long hearing began on August 11, but the decision was not released until November. The protestors wanted law enforcement to stop interfering with their marches and provide more protection from white harassment. Law enforcement wanted an end to "unreasonable, unwarranted and unlawful marching." This case drew Judge J. Robert Elliott. His lengthy decision in November reflected his belief that the testimony of law enforcement was credible and that of the protestors was not. Despite his personal views, he denied both sides their requested injunctions since all the

demonstrations had ended. Neither side appealed. (Quote in *Barnum v. Chambliss*, 1965)

Crawfordville

Located roughly a hundred miles east of Atlanta, Crawfordville was virgin territory for the civil rights movement. SCLC hadn't run a VEP program in all of NE Georgia except in Augusta. Neither had SNCC. Even the DoJ had passed those counties by. Only the NAACP had a presence. It had set up a Voter's League, which had been steadily getting Negroes registered to vote for several years. Like most of the South, news of the Selma marches was broadcast into every home, and both Negro and white communities were facing the fact that at least some school desegregation was a real possibility. This was the issue that would dominate Taliaferro County for the rest of 1965. (Turner KZSU interview)

Crawfordville was a tiny town, with a 1960 population of 786 people. In 1965 there were only two public schools in all of Taliaferro County. About 600 Negroes went to Murden and 200 whites attended Alexander Stephens Institute (ASI). HEW had approved the school board's "freedom of choice" plan, which required that the Negro students apply to the school they wanted to go to, with parental approval. Several of the teachers helped students apply for transfers to ASI in the fall. Most thought that's why the Taliaferro County school board announced that the principal and five teachers at Murden would not be rehired for the coming school year even before the Spring term ended. The school board refused to give any reason. Loss of their teachers angered the students so much that they threatened to boycott graduation ceremonies and did boycott one day of classes. One of the fired teachers was Calvin Turner. Only 33, he had five children and commuted from neighboring Greene County to teach at Murden. He was head of the Voter's League. At the students request, he asked SCLC for help. (Turner KZSU interview; Bates, 2014, 23)

Hosea sent Willie Bolden to raise a ruckus. Born in 1938 in South Carolina, Bolden was raised in Savannah, Georgia, where he became involved with the movement after a short stint as a hotel bellman and pool hustler. Hosea was his leader. Bolden had proved himself as a demonstration organizer in the 1964 St. Augustine Movement. (Gilliard, 2002, 189-202) Hosea sent Bolden to places where he wanted something big to happen. With him came Bob Heard of Chicago and three white volunteers who had stayed on with SCLC after the Selma march. Bob had grown up in Chicago and worked in the post office after graduating from high school. He was active in CORE, which brought him a certain degree of notoriety. Mobilized by the publicity from the 1963 Birmingham demonstrations, Bob, 21 at the time, and a bunch of his friends drove to Atlanta to work for SCLC. (Heard e-mail of 5-22-14)

On Wednesday, May 26 the SCLC staff started daily marches to the courthouse, demanding that the teachers be rehired. Only a few dozen local Negroes joined them, until they spiced up the protests by integrating some public accommodations. They started with the laundromat across the street from the courthouse. That business closed after an integrated group started to use the washers. Over the next few days integrated groups went to the nearby state park, swam in the pool (the whites got out), and tried to eat in the white section of the Liberty Café (which closed and re-opened a few days later as a whites only private club). (*WP* 5-28-65, A2; 5-30-65, A4; *Sun* 5-28-65, 12; 5-30-65, 3; 5-31-65, 3; SCLC IV 146:14)

With marching came harassment. Integrated cars were occasionally run off the road.

One white worker, Tony Scruton, a minister's son from Chewelah, WA, was walking down the road with two Negroes after integrating the park when four white boys drove up and dragged him into their vehicle. One drove while the others beat him. They dumped him in front of the Liberty Café where the sheriff took him into "protective custody." The next day, the four Hubbard brothers were charged with assault and released on \$200 bond. Tony was still in jail. A second attempt at using the laundromat resulted in the arrest of 11 locals and two white workers for trespassing. Al Luthmers of Chicago and Jim Gibson of Atlanta were held overnight before being released on \$200 bond. On Sunday another 13 were arrested when they tried to attend services at two white Baptist churches. As a group knelt on the church steps, the church deacons came out and confronted them. The deacons were particularly angry at the white civil rights workers. One grabbed Bond Perry, 24, by his tie and yelled "How dare you kneel here." Perry's father was a Unitarian minister in Rhode Island. Another deacon spit in their faces. Perry and seven others were arrested and sentenced to ten days in jail for blocking a driveway. Bob Heard was filming this scene when he felt someone try to jerk the camera out of his hands. They scuffled. Bob glimpsed a group of whites moving toward him and ran for his car. He wasn't sure he'd make it, but someone in that car opened the door and he dove in, locking the doors before the white mob caught up with him. They rocked the car violently, trying to turn it over, while the sheriff's deputies just watched. The car got away. When Heard appeared at a later rally Sheriff Moore arrested him for assault and failure to obey an officer. Clifford Cooper Jr., the driver of that car, was also arrested and charged with reckless driving. (*NYT* 5-27-65, 19; 5-28-65, 19; 5-29-65, 10; *WP* 5-28-65, A2; *Sun* 5-28-65, 12; 5-31-65, 3; *CD* 5-29-65, 2; 6-1-65, 3; *NYAN* 6-12-65, 6; SCLC IV 169:7; *Spokane Daily Chronicle* 5-28-65 (AP); *Providence Journal* 6-1-65, 23; Heard e-mail of 5-21-14; Treanor interview; Bates KZSU interview)

All of this was dispassionately observed by FBI agents and Frank Miller of the federal CRS. The sheriff told the white workers that they should leave town because it wasn't safe for them. He put Scruton in jail as a material witness so that he would be available at the trial of his assailants, who were out on bond. Sheriff Moore offered to release him if SCLC would remove him from the county. No one left. Instead SCLC sent in more staff. Indeed, all the commotion attracted more local Negroes to the daily marches. It also attracted the attention of the Georgia Klan, whose Grand Dragon announced that he would pay Crawfordville a visit. (*CD* 5-29-65, 2; 6-9-65, 9; 6-10-65, 5; Crawfordville report, SCLC IV 146:14; Bates KZSU interview)

Andy Young came to the county on Sunday, May 30. He spoke to about 250 people at a meeting and rally at the Springfield Baptist Church about 8-9 miles from Crawfordville. Tony Scruton also spoke. He was black-and-blue from the beating and exhausted from a two-day fast in jail. Afterwards a 30-car caravan drove to the housing project on the outskirts of town, from which people marched to the courthouse. Andy spoke again and everyone went home. The next day the Negro community began a boycott of the Crawfordville stores. SCLC's Al Luthmers organized a shopping trip to a town 17 miles away so people could buy their necessities. (*CD* 5-29-65, 2; Crawfordville report, SCLC IV 146:14)

There were some changes. The three whites who came with Bolden were replaced by six white SCOPE workers toward the end of June. These came from all over the country. Howard and Judy Price came from Brockton MA; Judith van Allen had just finished her M.A. in Political Science at U.C. Berkeley; Candi Weber had just graduated from high school in Seattle; Richard Copeland was the son of an Episcopal priest in San Diego, and Rev. Joseph Cooney was a student at Catholic University law school in Washington, D.C. The latter two had gone to the

Selma march. Cooney was a priest in the Dominican Order of the Catholic Church. He wore his clerical collar in hopes of making local whites more willing to talk to him, but it mostly attracted greater hostility. Bolden was still the man in charge of demonstrations, but Calvin Turner provided overall direction to the SCOPE project. Because so much was already going on in Taliaferro county, Turner didn't want the project to confine itself to voter registration. SCOPERS participated in the picket lines and demonstrations, and provided general support, such as driving those boycotting the local stores to other counties to buy supplies. Fr. Cooney helped Calvin Turner and his wife set up a Head Start program and the others worked in it. (Weber, Van Allen, Copeland and Cooney KZSU interviews)

In mid-July, the town council hired a 66-year-old Negro to be its only cop; he was given the title of police chief. A retired sawmill worker, Jesse Meadows had never been to school, but he had spent three years in a Georgia penitentiary during the 1920s for violating prohibition. His first act was to arrest Frank Bates, a high school student who had been one of the most active civil rights workers, for not obeying his orders on where to turn a march line. The next day he arrested his brother, Fred Bates, for telling others to boycott a store. When local Negroes responded by marching around the courthouse square singing freedom songs, Meadows arrested 31, charging them with disturbing the peace. Hosea Williams and the Grand Dragon of the Georgia Klan finally found something to agree on; neither liked Meadows as a police chief. The county sheriff commented that "They've been demanding more jobs for colored people and we're trying to work them in." This one didn't work out; Meadows resigned after less than a week on the job. (*NYT* 7-17-65, 22; 7-22-65, 23; *WP* 7-22-65, A6; quote in *BAA* 7-24-65, 1; 7-31-65, 13; *BN* 7-16-65, 1; *SC* 7-23-65, 5; *Augusta Chronicle* 7-18-65)

Sheriff Milton B. Moore was still The Law in Taliaferro County, with or without a police chief in Crawfordville. In late July he arrested Calvin Turner, charging him with violating GA Code 26-3914 by forging nine of the Murden students' applications to go to ASI and falsely notarizing three applications. This was only a week after Turner and other local Negroes had met with the city council and agreed to give up marching in exchange for promises. (*NYT* 7-22-65, 23; 7-29-65, 16; *CD* 7-31-65, 3; *WP* 7-29-65, 16; 7-30-65, A2; *BAA* 7-31-65, 13; *SC* 9-11/12-65, 1) After bail was set at \$15,000 Turner was transferred to the Wilkes Co. jail, which was further away from his home in Greene Co. He was held for several weeks until the federal court reduced bail to \$2,500. On Saturday, August 14, about 100 Negroes marched to the courthouse to protest this turn of events. (*NYT* 8-15-65, 80)

By then, most of the SCOPERS were no longer in Crawfordville. When Hosea told them to go to Americus, Turner tried to talk them out of it. Judith, Candi, and Richard left on August 6, along with Frank Bates. They got to Americus just in time to march with Dick Gregory. They returned a week later but only long enough to pack up and go home. They figured they had done as much as they could do that summer.

More than a hundred marched to the Taliaferro courthouse on August 22, a Sunday. After a short rally, a little singing, and a prayer, they left. Shortly thereafter a county grand jury met and indicted nine local leaders plus Fr. Cooney for violating a Georgia statute which forbade disturbing a "divine service" by "cursing or using profane or obscene language." (GA Code 26-6901) It seemed that on that same Sunday, on another quadrant of the courthouse lawn, an itinerant minister was preaching to about a dozen people who were hanging out in the warm weather. He played a few records and read from the Bible. No one from either group complained

about the other. The ten were arrested, jailed, and bailed out at \$750 each. NAACP Inc. Fund attorneys brought a class action suit in federal court on behalf of them and all other “Negro citizens of Taliaferro County” against various city and county officials. The suit challenged all of the arrests for being unconstitutional as applied, meriting a three-judge district court. In October the court held a 3-day hearing on this and other counts, after which it enjoined further criminal prosecution of all the defendants. (*Turner v. Goolsby*, 1965; *BAA* 9-25-65, 1)

By 1965, most of the Negro voting age population in Taliaferro County was already registered to vote. In Georgia one could vote at age 18. The fired teachers had prepared Negroes to pass the test to become registered voters and pushed them to register. They made the county an exception to the rule that the percent NVAP who were voters declined as the percent of the county population that was Negro went up. The US Commission on Civil Rights had found that 756 Negroes were registered to vote in 1958. This was still fewer than the 913 registered whites, but it was far better than Sumter, where only 483 Negroes were registered to vote that year compared to 5,164 whites. Since Sumter had ten times the population of Taliaferro, that meant that 6.5 percent of NVAP was registered in Sumter compared to 48.5 percent of the NVAP in Taliaferro. By 1962, 828 Negroes were registered to vote in Taliaferro, but only 548 in Sumter. After the VRA was signed, another 1,648 Negroes (and 135 whites) registered in Sumter, while 105 Negroes (and 14 whites) registered to vote in Taliaferro County. By the end of September the number of registered Negroes was greater than the number of registered whites in Taliaferro County. There was no reason for the DoJ to send federal examiners to Taliaferro County. (Bates, 2014, 22-23; USCCR, 1959, 566; USCCR in *Hearings* 1965, 172-3; USCCR, Nov. 1965, 59)