

THE SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH
OF MARCH 21-25, 1965

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CHAPTER I

THE MARCH ITSELF

This thesis deals with one topic in the quest for human dignity that characterized the Civil Rights movement under Dr. Martin Luther King. The Selma to Montgomery March of March 23 - 25, 1965, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, was a stimulus to the Voter Registration Drive in Dallas and Lowndes counties in Alabama. Since this march has not heretofore been critically examined historically, it remains one of the more controversial events of American history in the last decade.

The importance of voter registration drives in increasing black registration is described by two recent authorities:

Blacks have made their greatest strides in voting in the political scene since the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Statistics compiled by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, a biracial non-partisan organization, show that in 11 Southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia), registration of Negroes rose from 2,194,200 in November, 1964 to 3,324,000 in spring and summer, 1970. In the process the proportion of Negroes of voting age registered to vote rose from 43 to 66 percent.¹

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 provided for the assignment of federal examiners to conduct registration and observe voting in states or counties where patterns of discriminations existed. The law suspended literacy tests and other discriminatory

¹Richard A. Watson, Promise and Performance of American Democracy (New York, 1972), p. 525.

devices employed in any federal, state, local, general, or primary election in the states of Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia, and in at least 26 counties of North Carolina. These areas were identified on the basis of the legislative stipulation that this act could apply to any state or political subdivision which (1) had maintained a test or device as prerequisite to voting as of November 1, 1964, and (2) had a total voting-age population with less than 50 percent registered or actually voting in the 1964 Presidential election.

While the main thrust of the act was concerned with the plight of Negro voters, implementation was designed to aid the economically impoverished, the poorly educated, and the non-English speaking minorities as well.²

The Selma to Montgomery march began on Sunday, March 21, 1965, from Brown Chapel, African Methodist Episcopal, in Selma, Alabama, and continued 54 miles along Highway 80 to Montgomery, Alabama, being completed in a period of five days.³

The early hours of that Sunday morning saw a community relatively deserted and indifferent. Veterans of earlier marches ate scrambled eggs and drank watered down coffee. Dr. Martin Luther King and the Reverend Andrew Young were giving last minute instructions in the tac-

²Albert P. Blaustein and Robert L. Zangrando, Civil Rights and the American Negro (New York, 1968), p. 566.

³The following works were especially helpful for the material presented in Chapter I:

Renata Adler, "Letter From Selma," New Yorker (April 10, 1965), pp. 121-157;

Albert P. Blaustein and Robert L. Zangrando, Civil Rights and the American Negro (New York, 1968);

Richard A. Watson, Promise and Performance of American Democracy (New York, 1972).

tics of non-violence to parade marshals and security guards. Women and children must be kept in the middle if there were shots fired, the marshals must remain standing, and the marchers on the inside lines were to kneel down. If they were beaten they were to put their hands over their heads and were not to use their arms for protection. If marchers did fall, they were to lie still as if they were dead. Everyone was to get to know people in his unit so that if anyone turned up missing there would be someone who could be responsible for him. The march was very rigidly structured to provide the best possible security.

The marchers appeared in all kinds of dress: in denim, cassocks, tweed coats, ponchos, boots, sneakers, Shetland sweaters, silk dresses, khaki slacks, college sweatshirts, sport shirts, fur-collared coats, jean jackets, and trenchcoats. They sang choruses of "We Shall Overcome," and "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round."

The crowd, arranged in columns six abreast with women and children in the middle, prepared to set out down Sylvan street at approximately one o'clock on Sunday afternoon. Thirty-two hundred people marched, including civil rights activists, doctors, lawyers, college students, labor union leaders, and clergymen. The road was checked by army demolition teams to see if there were any bombs planted along it. President Lyndon B. Johnson had given a strong speech about voting rights in a national television appeal. Judge Frank M. Johnson granted permission for the march to take place.

The crowd was growing with two lines of marchers, one facing in and the other facing out. A heavy security fence was backed with National Guardsmen and local policemen. Standing on the steps of Brown Chapel, Dr. King began to speak. This broke the tedium that had built

up since the early morning hours. Then suddenly army jeeps drove through the center of the crowd. As the crowd was parted they began to see how large they had grown. Dr. King's speech ended, and the crowd sang, long and unified, "We Shall Overcome."

At last the march began. Six abreast the columns marched down Alabama Avenue and turned right on Broad Street which leads to Route 80, the highway to Montgomery. As they passed over the Edmund Pettus Bridge they had assurance they were finally on their way.

It was a cool and sunny day with the temperature in the low forties. People had their arms linked and filled two lanes of the four lane highway, but traffic proceeded regularly in the other two lanes. Along the roadside many spectators were flashing cameras, waving Confederate flags, and holding up slogans written on cardboard signs. For example, the signs read, "Martin Luther King," "Walk On," "Coonesville U.S.A.," and "Rent Your Priest Suit Here." Several times the procession came to a stop for rest. Rented trucks carried portable toilets up and down the road.

As the first day ended the caravan was seven miles from Selma. Several hundred people were forced to return to Selma because the court had allowed only 300 marchers to continue the second day along a two lane highway. There were four large tents erected on the campsite. Three tons of spaghetti were prepared as the marchers ate supper on paper plates. National guardsmen also camped around the marchers, and as the night descended many camp fires picturesquely dotted the countryside. The four tents provided housing, one for men, one for women, one for the security patrol, and one for the press. A shortage of blankets forced many marchers to huddle around an open camp fire, the only source

of heat.

Many people slept very uneasily that night because of talk that bombs, snakes, and mines were along the route they would take the following day. Assurances were given that army demolition teams would search thoroughly for mines and bombs.

As dawn came on the second day a chilled group huddled around camp fires eating oatmeal that reminded one clergyman of library paste. News was given that National Guardsmen had burned 13 fence posts, two shovel handles, and an outhouse belonging to a neighboring church to stay warm. The procession began at eight o'clock and planned to cover 17 miles to Rosa Steele's farm. The day grew warmer and many people put on hats, caps, and bonnets to keep from getting sunburned. At the end of the day's march was a station wagon which carried a medical team, to provide immediate medical attention if there were any problems.

As the marchers crossed an intersection in Lowndes County a woman bystander became hysterical because marchers were carrying the flag upside down. More sarcastic comments came to clergymen dressed in Roman collars when people asked priests where they bought their collars for 50 cents and accused them of devirginating nuns who marched in the procession.

Some Negro bystanders were asked by Dr. King to march with them, but the common response was that if they did they would lose their jobs or would be forced to leave their rented land. It is strange that in Lowndes County with a population 80 percent black that by March 1, 1965, there was not one registered voter. One Negro laborer stated that if he did register to vote he would lose his job and be put off his place. Many Negro children waited along the highway to wave flowers at the

marchers and Dr. King.

The afternoon was ending as the march passed through the swamps of Lowndes county. Dr. King held a press conference at the end of the second day and a black mother tried to hold up her three year old son so that the child could see Dr. King. As it soon became too much for the woman, a white reporter put the child on his shoulders.

The second night was damp and cold and the field where the marchers would stay was very muddy. The tents were pitched and most of the marchers went to sleep early. At a gas station across the road from the campsite the sounds of a jukebox could be heard where young Negroes gathered to dance and visit.

The next morning, Tuesday, rain began and continued all day. Even through the rain the determined crowd marched forward. In Selma so many people continued to arrive that they had to be taken into homes since no hotel facilities were available. The problem was how to occupy people's time during the remaining two days, because the big day of the march would be on Friday. As they entered the city they saw a sign on a large billboard showing Martin Luther King at a meeting, and the caption read "Martin Luther King at Communist School." The Selma Avenue Church of Christ, a white congregation, displayed on its sign "When you pray, be not as Hypocrites are, standing in the street. Matt 6:5" and the sign outside Brown's Chapel read "Forward Ever, Backward Never, Visitors Welcome."

The march continued the third day, arriving on Tuesday evening at the farm of A. G. Gaston. Again the ground was wet after an all day rain. That evening a clergyman became very ill, and people complained that it was caused by the water supply. They contended that the water

tasted like kerosene; when this charge was checked, it was discovered the water was polluted, since the truck that was hauling the water had pumps which were regularly used for draining septic tanks. Pete Seeger gave a concert that evening.

On Wednesday, the fourth day of the march, weather was bright and sunny. The marchers in good spirits set out to cover seven miles. A minister stepped out of line to make a telephone call at a gas station and was slugged by the owner, while a free lance photographer was struck on the ear by a rider in a passing car, requiring three stitches. There seemed to be less native opposition as the march reached closer to Montgomery.

The Montgomery Advertiser had run two pages prepared by the City Commission's Committee on Community Affairs asking local citizens to pay no attention to the march. The coverage of the march in the Southern press as a whole was amusing to the marchers. "Civil Rights Led By Communists" was the headline in the Birmingham weekly Independent; the Selma Times Journal, whose coverage of the march was accurate, editorialized about President Johnson, "No man in any generation...has ever held so much power in the palm of his hand, and that includes Caesar, Alexander, Genghis Khan, Napoleon, and Franklin D. Roosevelt;" and the Wednesday Advertiser's front page item was a one column, 21 line account in the lower right corner quoting the Alabama legislature's resolution which condemned the demonstrators for being "sexually promiscuous."

As the day went on the weather was quite warm. Two Negroes wrote "Vote" on their foreheads with suntan lotion and were photographed placing the American flag, Iwo Jima fashion, beside the road. There

were many flags in the procession including state and church flags.

The dialogue that ensued during the march was both humorous and pathetic. "This area is a study in social psychopathology," said Henry Schwarzschild, executive secretary of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee. In a way, some said, the marchers were asking for a show of force to make them face reality. "And there's the ignorance," said another civil rights lawyer. "A relatively friendly sheriff in Sunflower County, Mississippi, warned me, confidentially, that my client was a 'blue-gum nigger.' 'Their mouths are filled with poison,' he said. 'Don't let him bite you.' 'And what did you say?', asked a college student marching beside him. 'What could I say?' the lawyer replied. 'I said I'd try to be careful.'"

"The way I see this march," said a young man from the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, "is as a march from the religious to the secular--from the chapel to the statehouse. For too long now, the Southern Negro's only refuge has been the church. That's why he prefers these Southern Christian Leadership Conference ministers to the Snick cats. But we're going to change all that."⁴

"I'm worried, though, about the Maoists," said a student. "What do you mean by that, exactly?" asked another marcher. "A Maoist. You know. From the Mau Mau."⁵

That afternoon Dr. King and his wife left the march to attend a dinner given in his honor in Cleveland, Ohio. As the march drew to an

⁴Renata Adler, "Letter From Selma," New Yorker (April 10, 1965), p. 149.

⁵Ibid.

end that day they were outside the state capital at the fourth campsite--the Catholic Parish of St. Jude. The tents had been pitched before their arrival and as they marched onto the grounds they sang "We Have Overcome."

On the last night, the march looked like a large pep rally before a football game. There appeared to be a feeling of confidence and security because they had at last arrived. That night the gates were opened, thousands of people pouring in from Selma and Montgomery. A large cast of entertainers was scheduled for the evening, but it was late getting started. Thousands of people crowded around the platform to see and hear Shelly Winters, Sammy Davis, Jr., Tony Perkins, Tony Bennett, and Nina Simone. A number of girls in the crowd collapsed and had to be carried to the stage where Shelly Winters tried to give assistance. More entertainers that were there included Dick Gregory, Nipsey Russell, Mike Nichols, and Elaine May.

At 2:00 A.M. the entertainment and speeches were over, and the performers left for a Montgomery hotel which was surrounded all night by local residents shouting segregationist chants.

On Thursday morning the march expanded and pulled itself together. It finally seemed as if the entire group in the march were coming alive to face the climactic confrontation of standing before the state capital. Signs were present that explained various points of view. Some of the signs read, "The Peace Corps Knows Integration Works," "So Does Canada," "American Indians," "Freedom" in Greek letters, "Out of Vietnam Into Selma," and "The Awe and Wonder of Human Dignity We Want to Maintain."

There seemed to be a problem about who should march first, and it was agreed that the original 300 marchers and the leaders should lead

the procession. Each of these leading figures was given 89 cent orange plastic jackets, the same type worn by parade marshals. Some argued that the entertainers who had performed the night before should lead the march. Roy Wilkins, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, supported the view that the leaders and original 300 marchers should lead the demonstration.

As the procession began to take form the quibbling stopped with the original 300 marchers leading followed by Martin Luther King, Ralph Bunche, A. Philip Randolph, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Charles G. Gomillion, the Reverend F. D. Reese, and other civil-rights leaders; behind them came the grandfather of Jimmie Lee Jackson, the Negro boy who had been shot in nearby Perry County, and the Reverend Orloff Miller, a friend of the Reverend James Reeb, who had been beaten with Reeb on the night of Reeb's murder; and behind them came a crowd of more than 30,000 people.

The march began into the streets of Montgomery. Many appeals to join the march were made by parade marshals who marched outside the regular procession to people standing on the sidewalks. "Come and march with us!" were shouts to Negro bystanders. "You can't make your witness standing on the corner. Come march with us. We're going downtown. There's nothing to be afraid of. Come and march with us!"

The march eventually passed through 104 intersections to reach its destination. In the middle of Montgomery, at the Jefferson Davis Hotel, colored maids were looking out of the windows and the white clientele was standing on the hotel marquee. Ahead at the Whitley Hotel, colored porters were looking out the windows on the other side.

At the intersection of Montgomery and Dexter Avenues a marcher

looked to see people still coming from St. Jude's parish grounds where they had stayed the night before. The march continued up Dexter Avenue to the state Capitol. The 300 orange-jacketed marchers formed the first lines in front of the speakers' platform. A few green-clad Alabama officers blocked the Capitol steps, covering the bronze star that marked the spot where Jefferson Davis was inaugurated President of the Confederacy. A plywood shield had been constructed on orders of Governor George Wallace "to keep the S.O.B. King from desecrating the cradle of the Confederacy." Martin Luther King did draw a larger crowd that day than any leader of the Confederacy had ever drawn.

On the platform the first group of entertainers appeared: Joan Baez; the Chad Mitchell Trio; Peter, Paul, and Mary; and Harry Belafonte. Then Len Chandler, a young Negro folk singer who had marched most of the way, appeared on the platform, and at once the crowd joined in his singing.

You've got to move when the spirit say move,
Move when the spirit say move,
When the spirit say move, you've got to move,
Oh, Lord,
You got to move when the spirit say move.⁶

The following verses were changed by Len Chandler by using "move" to "walk," "march," "vote," "picket," "cool it," and "love." Joan Baez, who was wearing a purple velvet dress and a large bronze crucifix, broke into the frug.

The invocation was given by a rabbi, and then the speeches began. After the Reverend Andrew Young and the Reverend Ralph Abernathy spoke,

⁶Renata Adler, "Letter From Selma," New Yorker (April 10, 1965), p. 155.

the crowd turned toward the American flag and sang the national anthem. The next speaker, the Reverend Theodore Gill, president of the San Francisco Theological Seminary, gave a very simple prayer: "Forgive us our trespasses." Then came Whitney Young of the Urban League and John Lewis of SNCC. All the speakers made cutting remarks about Governor Wallace and the brutality that the state of Alabama had shown to the Negroes. Then Ralph Bunche and A. Philip Randolph spoke about divisions in the Black Civil Rights movement.

Throughout the speeches the crowd applauded politely, but gave no sign of real enthusiasm. SCLC AND SNCC leaders seemed to be equally popular, with the NAACP and the Urban League less popular, in that they were more active in other states than they were in Alabama.

Albert Turner of Marion, Alabama, where Jimmy Lee Jackson was murdered, said from the platform, "I look worse than anybody else on the stage. That's because I marched 50 miles." Then he read the Negro voting statistics from Perry County, Alabama. When he said, "We are not satisfied," the crowd gave him a rousing cheer. He looked down at his orange jacket and smiled. Mrs. Amelia Boynton spoke; during the previous demonstrations she had been kicked, beaten, and jailed, for what some members of the press had come to call "resisting assault." Rosa Parks, the mother of the movement because she had set off Dr. King's first demonstration when she was jailed for refusing to yield her seat to a white man on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, received the most enthusiastic cheers of all.

Finally Dr. King began to speak, and the crowd began to be subdued. Gradually it began to be stirred again. By the time Dr. King reached the refrains--"Let us march on the ballot boxes. We're on the move now.

How long? Not long," and the final singing "Glory, glory, hallelujah!," the crowd was with him all the way.

The director of the march, Hosea Williams, of SCLC, said some concluding words, remarking that there should be no lingering in Montgomery that night and exhorting the crowd to leave quietly and with dignity. Then came the last rendition of "We Shall Overcome." Within ten minutes Dexter Avenue was cleared of all but the press and the troopers.

One very interesting issue of the march was its cost and how it was financed. The pay, subsistence and operating expenses of 1,863 Alabama National Guardsmen federalized by President Johnson cost United States taxpayers \$125,000. The expenses of about 250 FBI agents, United States marshals and other federal representatives, cost \$25,000. Outlays by Negro leaders for campsites, tents, and other equipment were announced as \$50,000. Donations of food, medical facilities, and equipment kept costs down. Transportation costs for two Regular Army military police battalions sent from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and Fort Hood, Texas, were described by the army as "considerable," with an exact tabulation to be made later. Expenses of the marchers--many of whom traveled from distant points--were estimated by civil rights leaders to be "in excess of \$100,000." Most paid their own expenses, but in some cases, churches, and other organizations footed the bill for their representatives in the march.

This chapter has tried to cover different dimensions of the march which directed civil rights advocates from the church to the state capitol and from the pulpit to the Supreme Court. Such a graphic portrayal shows how the mood of civil rights was expressed in an open and

orderly attempt to affect social change. Deeply committed individuals were willing to leave their daily routines and risk their lives in a march which they believed to be a graphic manifestation of the need to bring about equal opportunity in voting to show that democracy was a workable system. If American democracy was going to function at all levels it meant that all members of society should have the opportunity to participate in the electoral democratic processes. A recurring theme in American history is clearly expressed, in that a quasi-religious movement such as the civil rights activity had started with intercession to God and had ended in petitioning the Supreme Court, Congress, and the President for redress against inequities in the democratic process.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND OF THE MARCH

This chapter will cover the background of the Selma to Montgomery March and examine issues that prompted the civil rights demonstration of March 23 - 25, 1965. Selma was a logical point to begin since there had been previous efforts that year to register Negro voters. There had also been a federal court order banning such a march.

Dr. Martin Luther King had made it perfectly clear that 1965 was to be the year of the vote. Political action is the opening needed for the future. "It is now obvious," he said, "that the basic elements so vital to Negro advancement can only be achieved by seeking redress from government at local, state, and federal levels. To do this, the vote is essential."¹

This was the work of Dr. King's movement, to encourage and support the Blacks so that they could register and become active participants in southern politics. Control of Alabama politics thus continued with white leadership in social and economic life, which kept the political machinery running. To give political control to relatively uneducated Blacks who were unequipped for administration would be self-defeating. Voter Rights Demonstrations for a constitutional change by civil disobedience forced the President, Congress, and Supreme Court to react

¹Editorial: "Year of the Vote: The How and Whither," Life (March 26, 1965), p. 4.

under heavy emotion. Defenders of the demonstrations maintain that certain southern states were perverting the literacy tests and thereby violating the Fifteenth Amendment. The demonstrations, said critics, embody a newly rising campaign of civil disobedience and television oriented displays that culminated for the moment in the Selma affair and the White House sit-in.² The White House sit-in of March, 1965, brought to the President a growing public dissatisfaction with previous Civil Rights inequities.

President Johnson's administration, according to critics, was trying to give in to demonstrators, to give them their way in the hope that they would quiet down. Beneath the surface, these critics charged, the key method for change had become a civil disobedience campaign staged for television.³

The March for Change in 1965 traversed an area that had seen bitter fighting during the Civil War. This, and other precedents, had been established in the attitudes that had existed from before 1865. Deep-seated anxiety between races, insulated by 100 years of time, could produce nothing but more pronounced hostility. One effort to keep the Black in a lower social level had been to deny him the privilege of voting and thus of entering political processes that could bring about change.

Furthermore, Selma still had in its Municipal Code an Ordinance of 1852 stating that any Negro seen in public smoking a cigar would receive 40 lashes. This is an example of some of the racial codes that Blacks were subjected to before the Civil War, codes which continued

²"Amendment by Civil Disobedience," National Review (April 6, 1965), pp. 268-269.

³Ibid.

after the Civil War ended slavery yet did not rid southern society of unfair treatment of the Blacks. Thus, in 1965 the act of marching toward the historic capital of the old Confederacy was a representation incarnate that times were changing and that attempts were being made to change former wrongs.

The Selma to Montgomery March was not the first demonstration for Civil Rights in Alabama. That had occurred in 1956 in the Negro bus boycott, which ended after 380 days in a victory for the Negroes when a federal court barred racial segregation on the buses. The Negro revolution gained strength in 1961, when Freedom Riders from the North traveled to Alabama. Birmingham, Alabama, was a center for racial demonstrations in 1963, when police dogs were used against Negroes who defied the ban on street marches.

The voter registration drive was an attempt to make it legal for unregistered Black voters to vote. The Selma to Montgomery March was a demonstration to the nation that there was a concerned number of citizens who wanted to dramatize the plight of the Black who was not able to vote. A demonstration like the march led by Dr. King showed the nation and the world that there were problems in democratic processes and that he was trying to help the Black community to change this situation.

The resistance to the voting registration drive and accompanying demonstrations in Selma had been strong during an eight week period, with 3,000 people being jailed. A young Negro, Jimmy Jackson, had been slain in Marion, Alabama, a nearby city. The first march attempted from Selma on March 7, 1965, had met a heavy setback when Alabama state troops broke it up, using horse mounted troops, tear gas, chains, and

whips to disperse marchers as they knelt in prayer.

The influence of outside demonstrators, especially 300 clergymen answering the appeal given by denominational leaders throughout the country, culminated in the death of the Reverend James Reeb, a 38-year-old Unitarian minister from Boston. The Reverend Mr. Reeb was attacked and struck with a blunt instrument that caused his death. Four men were later arrested by FBI agents and charged with murder.

The city of Selma had been especially chosen by Dr. King to begin the 1965 registration drive because it was in the middle of a five-county area where Negroes were in the majority but where very few were registered to vote. In Dallas County the 1960 census listed 14,500 white adults, and 9,500 were registered voters. Negroes accounted for 57.7% of the county's total population of 55,000, but only 600 Negroes were registered voters.⁴

In Lowndes County, which is the adjoining county, the 1960 census lists 1,900 white and 5,122 Negro residents of voting age, but Lowndes had no Negro voters. There were also no Negro voters in adjacent Wilcox County, which had a population 75% Negro.⁵

The plight of the Black voter in much of the South is revealed in the following analysis.

The extent of Negro political deprivation is most vividly shown by some statistics. Where about 68% of the eligible Negroes are registered to vote in Chicago (as against 78% of whites), less than 7% of Mississippi's 450,000 are registered. According to the 1963 report of the Commission on Civil Rights

⁴"It Looks Like A 'Hot Summer' - With Selma the Beginning," U. S. News & World Report (March 22, 1965), p. 33.

⁵Ibid.

on registration procedures, in 100 Southern counties where discriminatory practices were used to limit Negro voters, only 8.3% of the total 668,802 eligible Negroes were cleared to vote. In many rural parts of these districts the percentage was much lower....⁶

Five days after receiving the Nobel Prize, Dr. King was in a Selma, Alabama jail.⁷ He had taken time out for the Atlanta ovation from the voter registration campaign which he had promised in his January 2, 1965, speech in Brown Chapel. Fifteen hundred Negroes were arrested in Selma the week of February 1, bringing the total arrested in Selma since mid-January, 1965, to 3,300.⁸ In jail for four days, King duly dramatized the incident before posting \$200.00 bond and securing release. The campaign continued and gathered momentum until it reached its climax six weeks later when attention was turned on Selma.

After the breaking up of the March 7 attempt, President Lyndon Johnson intervened. Following a conference with Negro leaders Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and Whitney M. Young, Jr., the President on March 15 assured the Negro leaders, "we shall overcome." He promised that a new Civil Rights Bill would be proposed before a joint session of Congress and that in it he would ask for legislation removing restrictions on voting for Negroes.

Thus, the Negro Leadership, which had set out in Selma to dramatize the issue of votes for Negroes in some States and counties of the South where barriers exist,

⁶Editorial: "Year of the Vote: The How and Whither," Life (March 26, 1965), p. 4.

⁷Benjamin Muse, The American Negro Revolution (Bloomington, Indiana, 1968), p. 163.

⁸Ibid.

achieved its purpose with spectacular effect.⁹

The mapping of the route of the Selma march was a very important detail. It was agreed to by former Florida governor Leroy Collins (a mediator sent by President Johnson), Selma's mayor Roy Smitherman, Alabama State Trooper Al Lingo, and Sheriff Jim Clark. The marchers would be allowed to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge, where they had been accosted on March 7, 1965. There were mixed emotions in the group for key decisions had to be made. The way for the march had been provided and Dr. King would be put in a strategic position after he conferred with federal and state authorities.

This decision was in a speech given by Dr. King on March 25, 1965, at Brown Chapel AME in Selma, Alabama. The issue was the powerful decision of Dr. King to seek to go ahead with the march in spite of the obstacle of a federal court order banning the march.

His unsuspecting listeners settled into a respectful hush as he spoke of his "painful and difficult decision." Said King with great emotion: "I have made my choice. I have got to march. I do not know what lies ahead of us. There may be beatings, jailings, tear gas. But I would rather die on the highways of Alabama than make a butchery of my conscience! There is nothing more tragic in all this world than to know right and not do it. I cannot stand in the midst of all these glaring evils and not take a stand. There is no alternative in conscience or in the name of morality."¹⁰

A direct and stirring speech by the President, a nation's conscience pricked by the sight of brutality and heroism in Alabama, a Congress suddenly unified and determined to act—these were the elements

⁹"Climax Near in Negro Revolt," U. S. News & World Report (March 29, 1965), p. 27.

¹⁰"Civil Rights," Time Magazine (March 19, 1965), p. 26.

which the Selma to Montgomery March was able to combine and thus mark a turning point in American race relations. For the first time since Reconstruction, a federal law was in prospect which at last would give the southern Negro the right to vote. It broke through one of the principal barriers blocking Negroes from exercising their citizenship.

Never before has federal law proved adequate to guarantee Negro suffrage in all parts of the United States. Despite an array of constitutional provisions and specific pieces of legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964...Southern Negro attempts to obtain the vote had been generally confounded by what President Johnson called the "systematic and ingenious discrimination" of white supremacist officials.¹¹

Confident in the assumption that Article One, Section Two of the Constitution reserved for them the complete right to determine voter qualifications, several southern states had traditionally employed many devices to deny voting rights. One of the most popular was literacy tests, used widely in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama. The requirements would shift according to the race of the applicant.

Until the daily demonstrations in Washington, D. C. during the week of the Selma March there were no attempts to correct such inequalities by moving along the cautious path of judicial process. The White House demonstrations included: on March 24, 1965, the White House was visited by a group of foreign priests for an hour to listen to President Johnson share his feelings about Civil Rights. Two days later a dozen young Civil Rights protesters broke away from a White House tour and sat near the door of the Oval Office for the President to hear them sing "We Shall Not Be Moved." The next day, on Friday,

¹¹Editorial: "Year of the Vote: The How and Whither," Life (March 26, 1965), p. 4.

pickets moved across Pennsylvania Avenue singing "Just You Wait for '68." This caused security precautions to be tightened at the White House.¹² Utilizing mechanisms provided by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, the Justice Department had by March 1, 1965, brought some 70 voting rights suits in federal courts. A Supreme Court ruling after 1964 allowed the Attorney General to sue the state, rather than the local authority, if discriminatory practices grew out of a state law. But the procedure was very slow, expensive, and ineffective. There had been few large victories. For the most part Negroes were being denied permission to vote just as they were before the passage of the Civil Rights Act.

On March 29, 1965, President Johnson recommended new legislation which would short-circuit the delay in voting by permitting federal registrars to move in where a discriminatory pattern exists. It would simplify voter qualification tests in these cases. On March 29, 1965, President Johnson went before a joint session of Congress and the American people on television where he introduced the substance of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. This was after the tragedy of Selma where three persons were murdered. The proposed legislation would: (1) give the federal government the responsibility for registering voters in areas where discrimination was evident; (2) suspend literacy tests or similar voter qualification devices in states and voting districts that had less than 50 percent of voting age residents registered in 1964 or actually voting in the 1964 presidential election; (3) allow

¹²"What the Negro Vote Will Do to South," U. S. News & World Report (March 29, 1965), p. 32.

for the appointment of federal voting examiners to go into areas to register Negroes; (4) with this action taken by the federal government it would be able to overcome any resistance to voting for Negroes that had been used by state governments; (5) seek to abolish the use of poll taxes which had formerly stopped many people from voting who were not able to pay a fee so they could vote.

The legislation that was introduced seemed to possess unassailable constitutional sanction for change. While individual states retain the ultimate right to set voter qualifications, this implies no right to discriminate racially. To deal with the specific point two amendments, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, had been ratified shortly after the Civil War. They assert the full citizenship of former slaves and guarantee that no state may deny or abridge their right to vote. These amendments thrust far into territory ordinarily governed by states rights provisions, so far, in fact, that according to Harvard constitutional lawyer Arthur Sutherland, "Congress has all the power it needs to pass the President's voting rights bill--and some left over. The Fifteenth Amendment [is] a blank check."¹³

What happened during the Selma to Montgomery March shows how public indignation, sweeping the country like chain lightning, could force an action that had been blocked by partisanship and governmental apathy for nearly 100 years. At the same time, the wave of sympathy born in Selma was expected to reach into other areas of racial injustice and make the victory in Selma infinitely greater. There is another important dimension to the Selma to Montgomery episode. As thousands of

¹³ Editorial: "Year of the Vote: The How and Whither," Life (March 26, 1965), p. 4.

sympathizers came to Selma:

...nuns, debutantes, psychiatrists, banjo players, Senators' wives, stock clerks, sculptors, social workers, social climbers, dropouts--and for most of the month--they lived in Selma's Negro quarter, shared the Negro's food and misery, sang his songs, and scorned his oppressors; helped inspire a new guilt, a new social conscience, a new voting bill in America; helped instill in Alabama, among many illiterate and uninspired Negroes, a strange hope that after the bridge had been crossed, after Montgomery finally had been reached, everything would somehow be all right, a kind of miracle would occur--it would be like Lourdes and the faithful might toss away their crutches.¹⁴

The tourist would feel cheated. Many would wonder if perhaps the whole experience of Selma was merely a show, a circus now moved to another town. They would not realize as they see Selma with innocent tourist eyes, that they are being watched by whites who suspect them of the worst, who despise them. Selma's whites regard all strangers--tourists, civil-rights workers, Government agents, newsmen--as "outside agitators," people who do not understand, do not know history, do not know that long before Martin Luther King came marching through Selma there had been another man named William King and that he had helped shape the destiny of the city that was still unbroken despite the revolution of 1965.

By 1840, Selma was the heart of Alabama's booming cotton economy, and there were considerably more slaves than whites; but the whites, while continuing their genteel existence, dabbled in politics, culture and horse racing.

During the Civil War, Selma became a center for cotton and gun-

¹⁴G. Talese, "Where is the Spirit of Selma Now?," New York Times Magazine (May 30, 1965), p. 9.

making; and as the city was served by both river and railroad it became an ideal supply depot and industrial center for the Confederate States. It also became in the spring of 1865 a major military objective of the Union.

On April 2, 1865, Selma was attacked by 9,000 Union soldiers, including a Negro regiment, who overwhelmed the 3,000 Confederate defenders and destroyed the city. They burned homes and public buildings, butchered horses, destroyed 35,000 bales of cotton, and then, discovering barrels of whiskey that the Confederates did not have time to destroy, they continued to sack the city through a wild and drunken night.

Perhaps no part of Alabama was more ravaged by the war and Reconstruction than Selma, and much of the bitterness has remained. It may account in part for the fact that shortly after the United States Supreme Court's school desegregation decision in 1954, Selma became the first Alabama city to organize a Citizens Council; and this bitterness too, may have helped shape racial views of such native sons as T. Eugene (Bull) Connor, the Police Commissioner who led dogs and directed firehoses against Negro demonstrators in Birmingham; and Leonard Wilson, a University of Alabama student who in 1965 led a campus movement aimed at preventing the Negro student, Autherine Lucy, from attending classes there; and James G. Clark, Jr., Selma's sheriff and its symbol of segregation, who when asked by newsmen if he had any hero who influenced his thinking, unhesitatingly replied, "Nathan Bedford Forrest."

Nathan Forrest was the Confederate General who tried to defend Selma from 9,000 "outside agitators" in 1865, and Sheriff Clark saw himself, 100 years later, as trying to do the same thing. They both failed. Their failures were followed by quietude. But scars remain.

The scars are not easily spotted by tourists who visit Selma today, but they are there, sometimes on the surface of the city, sometimes beneath. There is a quiet hate now between large numbers of Selma's white and black citizens, a reaction not unlike that which existed after the Battle of Selma in 1865.

Today many Selma whites who formerly referred to Negroes as "colored folks" are snapping out with "nigger;" and Negro hitchhikers, who once could easily get a ride into town from the outskirts, today are waiting long hours along the road and usually end up walking. It is said that nearly 200 Negroes have lost their jobs in Selma since the demonstration began there.¹⁵

After the demonstrations and parades in June, 1965, the schools were still segregated. The YMCA, the swimming pool, the jail, the restaurants and hotels were not officially segregated, but Negroes felt so unwelcome that they stayed away; only an extremely brave Negro would dare to test the laws in a hostile atmosphere.

Most of the churches, though they denied it, were segregated--segregated in spirit, segregated in the sense that the white parishioners would rather not see Black men in the pews on Sunday to put it mildly. That included most of Selma's Jews who attended Temple Mishkan Israel, most of Selma's Catholics who attended the Church of the Assumption, and most of the white Protestants who attended other churches.

Negro requests for representation on the Selma police force were denied on the grounds of insufficient funds and no immediate plans to add new patrolmen; and Negro chances for full employment in skilled positions in Selma's businesses were not improved by Civil Rights

¹⁵Ibid., p. 41.

demonstrations. The relationship between the Negro job seeker and white employer was at a very low point, and much of the animosity sprang from the fact that many Negroes began to buy from the few Negro merchants or to go outside Selma for shopping. This only infuriated the white merchant in Selma, and in the cases where a white merchant catered to Negro trade it hurt him financially. It has caused more anxiety when white merchants refused to hire Negro sales clerks because they came face to face with white customers.

Because of the actions in Selma and Montgomery, as well as Dr. King's marchers and martyrs, black and white, southern Negroes will have an excellent chance of getting the vote. Enfranchisement is psychologically crucial to the political image of the Blacks, but the day of its importance may be many years away. Apathy is forever waiting to take over when the brutality of the demonstrations ends. The voter registration drive which Dr. King led in Montgomery may be the last one needed because officials greeted it with cooperation instead of opposition.

In the same sense there is no call for white complacency or self-satisfaction at having found a just legislative answer to the voting rights question. There may never be another rights issue so neatly and easily settled, because it appears for now to have exhausted the possibilities of legislated redress.

The number of Negroes registered to vote in Alabama had increased from 6,000 in 1947, to 110,000 in November, 1964. Yet 370,000 Negroes of voting age, approximately 70 percent of the total, still were not

registered.¹⁶ In the Black Belt hardly any progress had been made. In Dallas County, of which Selma is the center, Negroes comprised 57 percent of the total population, but at the beginning of 1965, only 335 Negroes were registered to vote. In contrast, 9,543 whites were on the voting list.¹⁷

Selma, sometimes called the capital of the Black Belt, was a city of 30,000 population situated on the bank of the Alabama River. The main purpose of Dr. King and his associates was to organize Alabama Negroes to demand their rights and to bring their grievances to the attention of the nation. In the objective of placing Negroes immediately on Alabama voting lists, little was expected and less accomplished. In Selma, in addition to the familiar tactics of obstruction and delay, the registration functioned only two days a month, although as a concession to Dr. King's campaign, applicants on other days were allowed to sign an appearance sheet to get into line for next attention. As summarized in the New York Times Magazine of March 14, 1965: "Selma has succeeded in limiting Negro registration to a snail's pace of about 145 persons a year. At this rate it will take about 103 years to register the 15,000 eligible Negro voters of Dallas County."¹⁸

But denial of the vote to Negroes was the discrimination that the American people were most nearly united in condemning. On any typical day in Selma in January, 1965, Negroes from city and farm converged on

¹⁶ Muse, The American Negro Revolution, p. 163.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 163-164.

¹⁸ Martin Luther King, Jr., "Civil Right No. 1 - The Right to Vote," New York Times Magazine (March 14, 1965), pp. 26-27, 94-95.

the campaign headquarters at Brown Chapel and marched to the courthouse, there to be banned by Sheriff Clark and his helmet posse and ordered to disperse.

As usual in the Negro movement, a stormy religious note guided the campaign in Selma. Negroes often knelt on the street in prayer, led by one of the many clergymen among them; they prayed even for Sheriff Clark. They sang hymns and they sang "We Shall Overcome" and all the familiar Civil Rights songs. Some new songs developed in Selma, for example:

Police cars are the Berlin Wall,
 Berlin Wall, Berlin Wall,
 Police cars are the Berlin Wall,
 In Selma, Alabama.
 We're going to stand here till it falls,
 Till it falls, till it falls,
 We're going to stand here till it falls,
 In Selma, Alabama.
 Love is the thing that'll make it fall,
 Make it fall, make it fall,
 Love is the thing that'll make it fall,
 In Selma, Alabama.¹⁹

A small band of Alabama whites who hated injustice to Negroes also made an appearance in Selma. All honor must be paid them; their action required a special kind of intestinal fortitude. "Concerned White Citizens of Alabama" they called themselves, some 60 professors, businessmen, school teachers, housewives, and others led by the Reverend Joseph Ellwanger of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Birmingham. They staged a one-and-a-quarter-mile march to the Dallas County Courthouse on March 6, 1965. Tears trickled down the cheeks of some of the women among them as crowds of Selma whites cursed, insulted, and jeered them.

¹⁹Muse, The American Negro Revolution, p. 165.

The large scale movement of Negro population into the major industrial centers of the nation, which began during World War I and continued thereafter at a steadily mounting tempo, introduced marked changes into Negro church life. Many of the urban churches became much more formal and restrained. The emotionalism of earlier days declined, "spirituals" were sung less frequently, the itinerant evangelist was less prominent, and preaching gave less emphasis to other-worldly aspects of faith.²⁰

Attention was increasingly devoted to advancing the interests of the Negroes through practical action. The Supreme Court decision of 1954, which put an end to the "separate but equal" doctrine in public education, triggered a massive Civil Rights movement in which Negro churches played a prominent role. A spectacular illustration of this was the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 - 1956, which was led by the local Negro clergy and which made Martin Luther King, Jr., a national figure. Subsequent "freedom rides" to eliminate discrimination in interstate travel, "sit-ins" and "demonstrations" to obtain equal access to public accommodations, and voter registration drives, were usually planned and organized in the Negro churches and often led by their pastors.²¹

A new phase of the struggle began in 1956, when the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, put an end to segregated seating in the city's public transportation. The leader of this demonstration was a young

²⁰Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America (New York, 1965), p. 352.

²¹Ibid.

Negro Baptist Minister, Martin Luther King, Jr., who was to become the principal architect of a drive to attack all forms of segregation through nonviolent action.

Negro clergymen and particularly Negro college students rallied to his support, as did leaders of the northern white churches. Several organizations, including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which Dr. King became President, were formed to push the program of nonviolent resistance. By 1962, the movement had spread to northern cities, when the focal points of concern were discrimination in housing, employment, and "de facto" school segregation.

As a founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a religiously motivated organization dedicated to racial justice, Dr. King became one of the most powerful and controversial figures in the Civil Rights Movement. A winner of the Nobel Peace Prize (1964) Dr. King was a Baptist minister whose credo of "nonviolence" was firmly based on Christian principles. Jailed several times for his "extremist" views, he had also been repudiated by some Negroes as an impractical idealist whose program was too moderate to be effective. His ultimate death at the hand of an assassin in Memphis, Tennessee, came at a point in his career when he was attempting to weld the poor and unemployed, white and black, into a viable social and political group.

This was part of the spirit of Selma, part of the reason that the quiet southern city of 30,000 became a hot spot on the map of the world, then a tourist attraction, although many tourists were not sure why it attracted them. It had been described, after all, in various ways: a shrine of segregation, a bacchanalia for beatniks, a gentle southern city noted for its antebellum mansions, a victimized little

town that was converted by the demonstrators and the press into a national stage upon which to dramatize scenes between Alabama's black angels and its white devils.

If one would visit Selma today one would see children on bicycles; young men in sports cars; farmers loading supplies; businessmen strolling into the corner drugstore for a cup of coffee. They would see no marchers. They would hear no one yelling "Freedom Now!" or singing "We Shall Overcome."

CHAPTER III

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING'S RELATIONSHIP TO AND LEADERSHIP IN THE SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

There is a very distinct lineage to the leadership in and relationship between Dr. King and the Selma march. This lineage began in the 1950's when Martin Luther King was a student at Crozer Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. After completing his Ph.D. degree in systematic theology at Boston University in 1953, King began to mature his concern for social equality. Likewise in the early 1950's King read Walter Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis, a book that left an indelible imprint on his thinking. The mistake Rauschenbusch made, as King saw it, was following the 19th century

"cult of inevitable progress," which led him to an unwarranted optimism concerning human nature. Moreover, he came perilously close to identifying the kingdom of God with a particular social and economic system--a temptation which the church should never give in to....¹

The gospel at its best deals with the whole man, not only his soul but his body, not only his spiritual well-being, but his material well-being. Any religion that professes to be concerned about the souls of men and is not concerned about the slums that damn them, the economic conditions that strangle them and the social conditions that cripple them is a spiritually moribund religion

¹H. Shelton Smith, Robert D. Handy, and Lefferts A. Loetscher, American Christianity, Vol. II, 1820-1960 (New York, 1963), p. 556..

awaiting burial.²

After reading Rauschenbusch I turned to a serious study of the social and ethical theories of the great philosophers. During this period I had almost despaired of the power of love in solving social problems. The "turn the other cheek" philosophy and the "love your enemies" philosophy are only valid, I felt, when individuals are in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and nations are in conflict a more realistic approach is necessary.³

When Dr. King read the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi he was deeply impressed by his campaigns of nonviolent resistance. As he "delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi," Dr. King recorded,

my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. At this time, however, I had a merely intellectual understanding and appreciation of the position, with no firm determination to organize it into a socially effective situation.⁴

The second link in the development of Martin Luther King's relationship with the Selma march came in 1954. He continued:

When I went to Montgomery, Alabama, as a pastor in 1954, I had not the slightest idea that I would later become involved in a crisis in which non-violent resistance would be applicable. After I had lived in the community about a year, the bus boycott began. The Negro people of Montgomery, exhausted by the humiliating experiences that they had constantly faced on the buses, expressed in a massive act of non-cooperation their determination to be free. They came to see that it was ultimately more honorable to walk the streets in dignity than to ride the buses in humiliation. At the beginning

²Ibid., pp. 556-557.

³Ibid., p. 557.

⁴Ibid.

of the protest the people called on me to serve as their spokesman. In accepting this responsibility my mind, consciously or unconsciously, was driven back to the Sermon on the Mount and the Gandhian method of nonviolent resistance. This principle became the guiding light of our movement. Christ furnished the spirit and motivation while Gandhi furnished the method.⁵

The Montgomery experience, King recalled, did more to clarify his thinking than all of the books he had read. As the days unfolded he became more and more convinced of the power of nonviolence. Living through the actual experience of the protest, nonviolence became more than a method to which a person gives intellectual assent; it became a commitment to a way of life. Many issues not cleared up for Dr. King intellectually concerning nonviolence were now solved in the sphere of practical action.

His trip to India made "a great impact" on him; it made a deeper impression that the power of nonviolence was the way. He witnessed the "marvelous" results of nonviolent struggle. India won her independence, "but without violence on the part of Indians. The aftermath of hatred and bitterness that usually follows a violent campaign is found nowhere in India."⁶

Maturity begins to come to a person, Dr. King recorded, when he sees

that nonviolence will [not] work miracles overnight. Men are not easily moved from their mental ruts or purged of their prejudiced and irrational feelings. When the underprivileged demand freedom, the privileged first react with bitterness and resistance. Even when the demands are couched in non-

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 558..

violent terms, the initial response is the same.⁷

Whites in Montgomery

are still bitter toward Negro leaders, even though these leaders have sought to follow a way of love and nonviolence. So the nonviolent approach does not immediately change the heart of the oppressor. It first does something to the hearts and souls of those committed to it. It gives them new self-respect; it calls up resources of strength and courage that they did not know they had. Finally, it reaches the opponent and so stirs his conscience that reconciliation becomes a reality.⁸

Dr. King stated that he was

no doctrinaire pacifist. I have tried to embrace a realistic pacifism. Moreover, I see the pacifist position not as sinless but as the lesser evil in the circumstances. Therefore I do not claim to be free from the moral dilemmas that the Christian nonpacifist confronts. But I am convinced that the church cannot remain silent while mankind faces the threat of being plunged into the abyss of nuclear annihilation.

This phase of his development began to unfold in Dr. King's relationship with a personal God. In recent months, he wrote in 1960, he had become

more convinced of the reality of a personal God. True, I have always believed in the personality of God. But in past years the idea of a personal God was little more than a metaphysical category which I found theologically and philosophically satisfying. Now it is a living reality that has been validated in the experiences of everyday life. Perhaps the suffering, frustration and agonizing moments which I have had to undergo occasionally as a result of my involvement in a difficult struggle have drawn me closer to God. Whatever

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., pp. 558-559.

the cause, God has been profoundly real to me in recent months.¹⁰

In the midst of outer dangers I have felt an inner calm and known resources of strength that only God could give. In many instances...the power of God transform^{ed} the fatigue of despair into the buoyancy of hope....Behind the harsh appearances of the world there is a benign power. To say God is personal is not to make Him an object among other objects or attribute to Him the finiteness...of human personality; it is to take what is finest and noblest in our consciousness and affirm its perfect existence in Him. It is certainly true that human personality is limited, but personality as such involves no necessary limitations. It simply means self-consciousness and self-direction. So in the truest sense of the word, God is a living God. In Him there is feeling and will, responsive to the deepest yearnings of the human heart: this God both evokes and answers prayers.¹¹

The past decade has been a most exciting one. In spite of the tensions and uncertainties of our age something profoundly meaningful has begun. Old systems of exploitation and oppression are passing away and new systems of justice and equality are being born. In a real sense ours is a great time in which to be alive. Therefore I am not yet discouraged about the future. Granted that the easy-going optimism of yesterday is impossible. Granted that we face a world crisis which often leaves us standing amid the surging murmur of life's restless sea. But every crisis has both its dangers and its opportunities. Each can spell either salvation or doom. In a dark, confused world the Spirit of God may yet reign supreme.¹²

Yet there were many striking paradoxes in his leadership abilities. The phenomenon that was Martin Luther King consists of a number of striking paradoxes. The Nobel Prize winner was accepted by the outside world as the leader of the nonviolent direct action movement, but was

¹⁰Ibid., p. 559.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

criticized for what appears, at times, as indecisiveness, and more often denounced for a tendency to accept compromise.

Yet in the eyes of many Americans, both black and white, he remained the symbol of militant direct action. So potent was the symbol of Dr. King in direct action, that as a result a new myth is rising about his historic role. The real credit for developing and projecting the techniques and philosophy of nonviolent direct action in the Civil Rights arena must be given to the Congress of Racial Equality which was founded in 1942. The idea of mass action by Negroes themselves to secure redress of their grievances must, in a large part, be ascribed to the vision of A. Philip Randolph, architect of the March on Washington Movement during World War II.

Yet, as we were told in Montgomery on March 25, 1965, King and his followers now assert, apparently without serious contradiction, that a new type of civil rights strategy was born at Montgomery in 1955 under King's auspices.¹³

In a movement in which respect is accorded in direct proportion to the number of times one has been arrested, Dr. King appears to keep the number of times he went to jail to a minimum. In a movement in which successful leaders are those who share in the hardships of their followers, in the risks they take, in the beatings they receive, in the length of time they spend in jail, Dr. King tended to leave prison for other important engagements, rather than remaining there and suffering with his followers.

In a movement in which leadership ordinarily devolves upon persons

¹³August Meier, "The Conservative Militant," Martin Luther King, Jr., edited by C. Eric Lincoln (New York, 1970), pp. 144-145.

who mix democratically with their followers, Dr. King remained isolated and aloof. In a movement which prided itself on militancy and "no compromise" with racial discrimination or with the white "power structure," Dr. King maintained close relationship with and appeared to be influenced by Democratic Presidents and their emissaries, seemed amenable to compromises considered by some half a loaf or less, often appeared willing to postpone or avoid a direct confrontation in the street.¹⁴

Dr. King's career was characterized by failures that, in the larger sense, must be accounted triumphs. The buses in Montgomery were desegregated only after lengthy judicial proceedings conducted by the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund secured a favorable decision from the U. S. Supreme Court. Nevertheless, the events in Montgomery were a triumph for direct action, and gave this tactic a popularity unknown when identified solely with C.O.R.E.

King's subsequent major campaigns--in Albany, Georgia; in Danville, Virginia; in Birmingham, Alabama; and in St. Augustine, Florida--ended as failures or with only token accomplishments in these cities. But each of them, chiefly because of his presence, dramatically focused national and international attention on the plight of the Southern Negro, thereby facilitating overall progress. In Birmingham, in particular, demonstrations which fell short of their local goals were directly responsible for a major Federal Civil Rights Act. Essentially, this pattern of local failure and national victory was recently enacted in Selma, Alabama.¹⁵

Dr. King was ideologically committed to disobeying unjust laws and court orders, in the Gandhian tradition, but generally he followed a

¹⁴Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 145-146.

policy of not disobeying Federal Court orders. In his Montgomery speech, he expressed a crude neo-Marxist interpretation of history romanticizing the populist movement as a genuine union of black and white common people, ascribing race prejudice to capitalists playing white workers against black. Yet in practice, he was amenable to compromise with the white bourgeois political and economic establishment. Most important, Dr. King enunciated a superficial and eclectic philosophy and by virtue of it he did profoundly awaken the moral conscience of America.

Dr. King was described as a conservative militant according to August Meier in his essay "The Conservative Militant." In this combination of militancy with conservatism and caution, of righteousness and respectability, lies the secret of King's enormous success.¹⁶

Certain important Civil Rights leaders have dismissed Dr. King's position as the product of publicity generated by the mass communications media. But this can be said of the success of the Civil Rights nonviolent action movement generally. Without publicity it is hard to conceive that much progress would have been made. In fact, contrary to the official nonviolent direct action philosophy, demonstrations have secured their results not by changing the hearts of the oppressors through a display of nonviolent love, but through the national and international pressures generated by the publicity arising from mass arrests and incidents of violence.

No one has employed the strategy of securing publicity through

¹⁶Ibid., p. 147.

mass arrests and precipitating violence from white hoodlums and law enforcement officers more than Dr. King. He abhorred violence as at Selma, for example, he constantly retreated from situations that might result in the deaths of his followers. But he was precisely most successful when, contrary to his deepest wishes, his demonstrations precipitated violence from southern whites against Negro and white demonstrations. To see this only look at Birmingham and Selma.

Publicity alone does not explain the durability of Dr. King's image, or why he remains for the rank and file, of whites and blacks alike, the symbol of the direct action movement, the nearest thing to a charismatic leader that the Civil Rights movement has ever had. At the heart of his influence and popularity are two facts. First, better than anyone else, he articulated the aspiration of Negroes who responded to the cadence of his addresses, his religious phraseology and manner of speaking, and the vision of his dream for them and for America. Dr. King had intuitively adopted the style of the old-fashioned Negro Baptist preacher and transformed it into a new art form; he had, indeed, restored oratory to its place among the arts.

Second, he communicated Negro aspirations to white America more effectively than anyone else. His religious terminology and manipulation of the Christian symbols of love and non-resistance were partly responsible for his appeal among whites. To talk in terms of Christianity, love, nonviolence is reassuring to the mentality of white America. At the same time, the very superficialities of his philosophy, that rich and eclectic amalgam of Jesus, Hegel, Gandhi and others as outlined in his Stride Toward Freedom make him appear intellectually profound to the superficially educated white middle-class American.

Actually if he had been a truly profound religious thinker, like Tillich or Niebuhr his influence would, of necessity, be limited to a select audience. But by uttering moral cliches, the Christian pieties, in a magnificent display of oratory, he became enormously effective.

If Dr. King's success was largely due to the style of his utterance, his success with whites is a much more complicated matter. He knew unerringly how to exploit to maximum effectiveness their growing feeling of guilt. Dr. King, of course, was not unique in attaining fame and popularity among whites through playing upon their guilt feelings. James Baldwin is the most conspicuous example of a man who has achieved success with that formula. The incredible fascination which the Black Muslims have for white people, and the posthumous near-sanctification of Malcolm by many naive whites in addition to many Negroes whose motivations are, of course, very different, must in large part be attributed to the same source.

With intuitive, but extraordinary skill, Dr. King not only castigated whites for their sins, but in contrast to angry young writers like Baldwin, he explicitly stated his belief in their salvation. Not only will direct action bring fulfillment of the "American Dream" to Negroes, but the Negroes' use of direct action will help whites to live up to their Christian and democratic values; it will purify, cleanse, and heal the sickness in white society. Whites will benefit as well as Negroes.

Dr. King had faith that the white man would redeem himself. Negroes must not hate whites, but love them. In this manner, he aroused the guilt of whites, and then relieved them through always leaving the lingering feeling in his white listeners that they should support his

nonviolent crusade. Like a Greek tragedy, Dr. King's performance provided an extraordinary catharsis for the white listener.

As a speaker, Dr. King gave white men the feeling that he was their good friend, that he posed no threat to them. It is interesting to note that this was the same feeling white men received from Booker T. Washington, the noted early 20th century accommodation. Both men stressed their faith in the white man; both expressed the belief that the white man could be brought to accord Negroes their rights. Both stressed the importance of whites recognizing the rights of Negroes for the moral health and well-being of white society. Like Dr. King, Washington symbolized for most whites the whole program of Negro advancement. While there are important similarities in the functioning of both men vis-a-vis the community, needless to say, in most respects, their philosophies were in disagreement.

It was not surprising, therefore, to find that Dr. King was the recipient of contributions from organizations and individuals who failed to eradicate evidence of prejudice in their own backyards. For example, certain liberal trade union leaders who were philosophically committed to full racial equality, who felt the need to identify their organizations with the cause of militant Civil Rights, although they were unable to defeat racist elements in their unions, contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. One might attribute that phenomenon to the fact that SCLC evolved in the South rather than the North, but that was also true for SNCC which did not benefit similarly from union treasures. The fact is that ever since the college students started their sit-ins in 1960, it was SNCC which had been the real spearhead

of direct action in most of the South, while SCLC received most of the publicity and money.

Dr. King's tendencies toward compromise and caution, his willingness to negotiate and bargain with White House emissaries, his hesitance to risk the precipitation of mass violence upon demonstrators, further endeared him to whites. He appeared to them a responsible and moderate man. To militant activists, Dr. King's failure to march past the state police on that famous Tuesday morning in March, 1965, outside Selma indicated either a lack of courage, or a desire to advance himself by soliciting Presidential favor. But, because Dr. King's shrinking from a possible bloodbath, his accession to the entreaties of the political Establishment, his acceptance of facesaving compromise in that, as in other instances, were fundamental to the particular role he was playing, and essential for achieving and sustaining his image as a leader of heroic moral stature in the eyes of white men. His caution and compromise kept open the channels of communication between the activist and the majority of the white community. In brief: Dr. King made the nonviolent direct action movement respectable.

Yet American history shows that for any reform movement to succeed, it must attain respectability. It must attract moderates, even conservatives, to its ranks. The March on Washington made direct action respectable; Selma made it fashionable. More than any other force, it was Martin Luther King who impressed the Civil Rights Revolution on the American conscience and did attract the great middle body of American public opinion to its support. It was the revolution of conscience that undoubtedly led to the elimination of all violations of Negroes' constitutional rights, thereby creating the conditions for the economic

and social change that were necessary if Blacks were to achieve full racial equality. This was not to deny the dangers of the Civil Rights movement in becoming respectable. Respectability, for example, encouraged the attempts of political machines to capture Civil Rights organizations.

Respectability can also become an end in itself, thereby dulling the cutting edge of its protest activities.... These perils, however, do not contradict the importance of achieving respectability.... There is another side to the picture: King would be neither respected or respectable if there were not more militant activists on his left, engaged in more radical forms of direct action. Without CORE and, especially, SNCC, King would appear "radical" and "irresponsible" rather than "moderate" and "respectable."¹⁷

¹⁷August Meier, "The Conservative Militant," Martin Luther King, Jr., edited by C. Eric Lincoln (New York, 1970), p. 151.

CHAPTER IV

PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING'S LEADERSHIP
AS A CIVIL RIGHTS ADVOCATE IN THE
SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

This final chapter gives an in-depth view of the basis that motivated Dr. King to become a spokesman for Civil Rights. It is difficult to fit a model for examination since any human motivation is so mixed and complex, but the Selma to Montgomery march may be the culmination of one of his greatest endeavors.

The relationship of Martin Luther King to the Selma to Montgomery march is really the relationship of Dr. King with the Black Church. From the Black Church came the influence and spirit for Negroes to join in the struggle for human rights.

The lull in demonstrations signalled by the moratorium of July, 1964, continued through the turn of 1965. It caused Civil Rights leaders to think about the problems of the denials of Negroes to vote in the Deep South and particularly Alabama. Since 1962, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee had worked for Negro voter registration. Martin Luther King had visited Selma on January 2, 1965, where he spoke to about 800 Negroes at Brown Chapel. There he promised to return to Selma and assist in a planned demonstration that would bring about Negro representation at the ballot box.

In an attempt to examine any philosophical or theological phenomenon a model must be used. The model selected for this examination was taken from The American Journal of Sociology which provided an examination of a contemporary religious movement that tried to delve into the complex variables that were related to religious motivations. This model may be a help to attempt to explain how Dr. King's impact was quite evident in the Civil Rights movement.

The second part gives a detailed synopsis of the most classical work of Dr. King that most clearly shows his philosophical and theological beliefs, that is his Letter From a Birmingham Jail.

One example of religious influence on the southern Negro is the radio broadcast ministry of A. A. Allen. Lower-class Negroes from states which still have or have only recently abolished severe restrictions on Negro suffrage are heavily represented among Allen's followers.¹

The South and Southwest have a conservative political image. However, for the rural poor and the urban working class of both races, the outstanding fact is the history and tradition of exclusion from even minimal political participation. The poll tax, the literacy laws, the single-party system, and the "courthouse crowd" resulted in very low political participation. In all areas, also, the groups most heavily represented in the Allen movement are precisely those least likely to vote.²

¹Howard Elinson, "The Implications of Pentecostal Religion for Intellectualism, Politics and Race Relations," The American Journal of Sociology, LXX (January, 1965), p. 413.

²Ibid.

They are also people least likely to participate in voluntary associations. It seems highly unlikely that many lower-class Negro women of rural southern origin will, as a result of their participation in the Allen movement or through any other cause, join a political party, write frequently to government officials, conduct phone campaigns in school board elections, or engage in any of the other characteristic activities of the radical right. The minimal political act, voting is probably much less common among Allen's followers than in the population as a whole.

The politics of the Allen movement are conservative in the literal sense of that word. Allen's people contribute to the preservation of the status quo by refraining from worldly efforts to change it. While the religious beliefs undoubtedly have a dynamic effect on individual members' personal lives, the movement has a minimal effect on public life. The implication of the belief that all man's woes are caused by sin and cured by salvation is that political solutions should be ignored or opposed since they are futile.³

The apolitical background of the movement appears to have resulted in a pattern of ignoring political solutions. If political awareness were to increase without a concomitant weakening in commitment to a theological view of the social world, the movement and Pentecostalism in general might become a source of political negativism and obstructionism.

As this work tries to assess the leadership of Dr. King in the Selma to Montgomery march, another obstacle must be found in a secular

³Ibid., p. 414.

analysis of a basic theological issue.

This work is in the sociology of religion. An attempt to sustain the Weberian tradition frequently focuses on the consequences of religious beliefs from various aspects of secular life. The Weberian tradition would show that normative values of society have a religious basis and that expressions of political, social, economic, and moral sanctions of society are the truest indications of value. An example of Weberian examinations is the theological term mercy which when translated into a secular vernacular becomes justice. One of the most persistent generalizations about American Christianity in this vein is that religious conservatism causes social and political conservatism. Unfortunately this hypothesis has not been supported by a direct examination of the implications of religious beliefs.

Instead, the relationship has been inferred from associations between kinds of church membership and attendance patterns and political indexes such as party preference and voting.⁴ Sometimes the conservatism hypothesis is expressed in terms of a stereotype involving anti-intellectualism, a penchant for extreme right-wing politics, and strong segregationist sympathies.⁵

To see further into Dr. King's leadership we examine broadly the

⁴David Danzig, "The Radical Right and the Rise of the Fundamentalist Minority," Commentary (April, 1962), pp. 291-299; Daniel Bell (ed.) The Radical Right (New York, 1963).

⁵Benton Johnson has demonstrated the association between fundamentalist affiliation and Republican identification and voting; "Ascetic Protestantism and Political Preference," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Spring, 1962), pp. 35-46 and "Ascetic Protestantism and Political Preference in the Deep South," American Journal of Sociology (January, 1964), pp. 359-366.

theoretical approach of the classical students of the sociology of religion: Engels, Weber, Troeltsch, Niebuhr, and Pope.⁶

The approach suggests three steps. First, the location of the movement in historical and structural context--what is the history of the movement? Where do its members fit in the social structure of the United States? Second, an analysis of the manifestations of historical antecedents and structural factors in the religious teachings of the movement. What is the content of its eschatology and its theodicy? What are its moral teachings? Third, what is the relationship between the religious group as established in the study of its history, place in society, and teachings, and the special problems which are a concern? In this case, what are the implications for anti-intellectualism, rightist politics, and race relations?⁷

The most positive writing of Dr. King that expands his religious philosophy and theology of nonviolence is his Letter From a Birmingham Jail, (1963). Dissatisfied with status of the Negro 100 years after emancipation, Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, with its commitment to direct, nonviolent action, decided upon the bold stroke of attacking segregation in its most prominent fortress, Birmingham, Alabama. Carefully laid plans led to the opening of the campaign on April 3, 1963, the day after the city's municipal elections. The Civil Rights movement underwent a dramatic transition as the nation watched the dignity of protest and the brutality of segregationist

⁶Howard Elinson, "The Implications of Pentecostal Religion for Intellectualism, Politics and Race Relations," The American Journal of Sociology, LXX (January, 1965) p. 404.

⁷Ibid.

retaliation in Birmingham.

Working in conjunction with Civil Rights leaders in Birmingham, Dr. King coordinated an overall campaign designed to attack segregation by the use of sit-ins, picketing, demonstrations, and rallies. Led by Eugene "Bull" Connor, the city responded with mass arrests, and the use of police dogs, night sticks, and high-pressure firehoses. On April 12, 1963, Dr. King defied a local judge's ban on protest marches and was promptly arrested and jailed.

Dr. King stated that he was in jail because injustice was in Birmingham, Alabama.

Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their 'thus saith the Lord' far beyond the boundaries of their home towns, and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco-Roman world, so am I compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid....

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action.

These steps had been completed in Birmingham.

There can be no gainsaying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of brutality is widely known.⁸

Dr. King went on:

Negroes have experienced grossly unjust treatment in the courts. There have been more unsolved

⁸Albert P. Blaustein and Robert L. Zangrando, Civil Rights and the American Negro, Document 86: Letter From a Birmingham Jail (New York, 1968), pp. 503-504.

bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in the nation. These are the hard, brutal facts of the case. On the basis of these conditions, Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good-faith negotiation.

The letter continued:

You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. My citing the creation of tension...may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word "tension."⁹

I have earnestly opposed violent tension, but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths... to...objective appraisal, so must we see the need for nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood.¹⁰

As King went on: "The purpose of our direct-action program is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation." Dr. King concurred with southern leaders in a call for negotiation, for "Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in a tragic effort to live in monologue rather than dialogue."

King went on:

⁹Ibid., pp. 503-504.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 504.

We have waited more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "Wait." But when Negroes saw vicious mobs lynch their mothers and fathers at will and drown their sisters and brothers at whim; when they saw hate-filled policemen curse, kick, and even kill their black brothers and sisters; when... the vast majority of... Negroes smother in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society,

this was what Dr. King saw as part of the heritage of Black men in America that needed to be changed.¹¹

Dr. King said further that it is difficult to explain to a child:

Why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when again a colored child asks his parents... "why do white people treat colored people so mean?"¹²

Dr. King made two honest confessions to Christians and Jews.

First, he confessed that over the past few years he had been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. He had almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's greatest stumbling block in his stride toward freedom was not the white citizen's council or the Ku Klux Klan, but the white moderate, who was devoted to order more than justice, who preferred a negative peace which is the absence of tension

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., pp. 504-505.

to a positive peace which is the presence of justice. They say that we agree with you in the goal you seek, but they cannot agree with the methods of direct action; who paternalistically believe they can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will was more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.¹³

His second major disappointment was with the white church and its leadership. There were exceptions, for example, in the integration of major Protestant and Catholic churches. But despite the notable exception Dr. King was disappointed with the church. He did not say that a negative critic should always find something wrong with the church, but rather he said it as a minister of the gospel, who loved the church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who had been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who wanted to remain true to it all his life.¹⁴

The model of leadership used in the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965 was developed in Birmingham, Alabama in 1963. Dr. King hoped to get help and money from the white church. He believed that white ministers, priests, and rabbis of the South would be his strongest allies. Instead, some were outright opponents, who refused to understand the freedom movement and misrepresented its leaders; all too many others were more cautious than courageous and remained silent behind the

¹³Ibid., p. 505.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 507.

anesthetizing security of stained-glass windows.

In spite of his shattered dreams, Dr. King came to Birmingham, Alabama, with the hope that the white religious leadership of the community would see the justice of the cause and, with deep moral concern, would serve as the channel through which the grievances of the Negro could reach the power structure.

Dr. King had heard numerous southern religious leaders admonish their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it was the law, but he longed to hear white ministers declare: "Follow this decree because integration is morally right and because the Negro is your brother." In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, he had watched white churchmen stand on the sideline and mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a struggle to rid the nation of racial and economic injustice Dr. King heard many ministers say: "Those are social issues, with which the gospel has no real concern." He watched many churches commit themselves to a completely otherworldly religion which makes a strange, unbiblical distinction between body and soul, and between sacred and secular.¹⁵

It is true that the police in Birmingham did exercise a degree of discipline in handling the demonstrations. In that sense they did conduct themselves rather "nonviolently" in public. But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. For many years Dr. King preached that nonviolence demands that the means he used must be as pure as the ends he sought. He tried to make clear that it was wrong

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 507-508.

to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But later he sought to affirm that it is just as wrong, or perhaps even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Perhaps Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather nonviolent in public, as with Chief Prichett in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of racial injustice. As T. S. Eliot said: "The last temptation is the greatest treason: To do the right deed for the wrong reason."¹⁶ Dr. King expressed more of his philosophy in the statement regarding the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools; at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws. One may well ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws; just and unjust. He would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. He would agree with St. Augustine that "an unjust law is no law at all."¹⁷

Now, what is the difference between the two? How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in terms of St. Thomas Aquinas: "An unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal law and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust." All

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 508-509.

¹⁷Lettie J. Austin, Lewis H. Fenderson, and Sophia P. Nelson, The Black Man and the Promise of America (Glenview, 1970), p. 481.

segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality.

It gives the person segregated a false sense of inferiority. Segregation, to use the terminology of the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, substitutes the "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. Hence segregation is not only politically, economically, and sociologically unsound, it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Is not segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? Thus Dr. King urged men to obey the decision of 1954 by the Supreme Court, for it is morally right; and he urged them to disobey segregation ordinances for they are morally wrong.¹⁸

Another example cited by Dr. King of an unjust law: if it is inflicted on a minority as a result of being denied the right to vote, when they had no part in enacting or devising the law. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up the state's segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout Alabama all sorts of devious methods were used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters, and there were some counties in which, even though Negroes constitute a majority of the population not a single Negro was registered. Can any law enacted under such circumstances be considered democratically structured?

Sometimes a law is just on its face and unjust in its application. For instance, Dr. King had been arrested on a charge of parading without

¹⁸Ibid.

a permit. Now, there was nothing wrong in having an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade. But such an ordinance becomes unjust when it is used to maintain segregation and to deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and protest.

Dr. King summarized his leadership philosophy regarding law by making a distinction:

In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law, as would the rabid segregationist. That would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for law.¹⁹

¹⁹Ibid., p. 482.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The Selma to Montgomery March of March 23-25, 1965, was an influence in voter registration drives in Dallas and Lowndes Counties, Alabama. "We have walked on meandering highways and rested our bodies on rocky byways," said Martin Luther King.

They told us we wouldn't get here. And there were those who said that we would get here only over their dead bodies. But all the world today knows that we are here, and that we are standing before the forces of power in the state of Alabama, saying "we ain't goin" let nobody turn us around!"¹

Sympathy with the Negro struggle was never more fervent or more general than at the conclusion of the great Selma to Montgomery March. The Negro novelist Ralph Ellison described it as "a moment of apocalyptic vision."² But the glow of a sensational Episode fades quickly in the broad march of events.

The prestigious Birmingham News, in a two-column, front-page editorial on March 28, 1965, reviewed the recent disgraceful events in the state and called for action to convince the world "that Alabama is at work in a positive, constructive manner correcting past ills and

¹Benjamin Muse, The American Negro Revolution (Bloomington, Indiana, 1968), p. 172.

²Ibid., p. 174.

facing up to realities of the Negro insistence on further redress."³

This state has been described by one angered non-Alabamian as a place that ought to have a fence built around it, which ought to be isolated. It is a tragic, offensive description of bitterness. But that's the way a great many people are thinking of us--and they don't separate the bed-sheet brutes from decent, churchgoing, law-abiding folk.

The people who can do something about this know who they are. If elected leaders don't put us on a better, more effective, more convincing course, then these other Alabama leaders must do something about it. They'd better do it soon or you can really put up a headstone over this entire commonwealth that will forever read "Here We Rest."⁴

Rarely has momentous legislation been enacted so directly in response to one spectacular upheaval as the Voting Rights Act of 1965. President Johnson had for several months contemplated offering a voting rights bill in Congress. This intention was announced on February 6, 1965. No one was aware of the need for a more drastic measure than Attorney General Katzenbach and men like John Doar in the Justice Department, but it was unlikely that the Administration would have felt it possible to go as far as it did in the bill without the unwitting help of Sheriff Clark, Governor Wallace, and company, and the bonfire lit by S.N.C.C. and Martin Luther King.

Like the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was a bipartisan achievement. Republicans in Congress were anxious to restore the historic image, obliterated in the Goldwater presidential campaign, of the Republican party as the Negro's friend. They began early to prod President Johnson for a strong voting rights recommendation, and several House Republicans in-

³Ibid., p. 176.

⁴Ibid., pp. 176-177.

troduced a bill of their own.⁵

A number of minimum changes were made to clarify provisions of the bill and to fortify it against arguments of unconstitutionality. The greatest controversy, and four weeks of delay, were caused by the efforts of Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts to ban the poll tax in state and local elections.

The poll tax had already been banned in federal elections by Amendment XXIV of the Constitution, ratified in 1964, but four states--Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia--still imposed the tax as a voter qualification in other elections. The poll tax ban amendment was defeated, but only by the bare majority of 49 to 45.⁶

Nevertheless the bill finally passed declaring the finding of Congress that the poll tax abridged the constitutional right of citizens to vote and directing the Attorney General to seek its invalidation through the courts. The Supreme Court eliminated the poll tax completely in a decision nine months later.

In signing the bill into law on August 6, 1965, President Johnson recalled that Negroes had come to these shores originally "in darkness and in chains," and said: "Today we strike away the last major shackle of those fierce and ancient bonds. Today the Negro story and the American story fuse and blend."⁷ Implementation of the new law proceeded with extraordinary dispatch.

Prospective Negro voters promptly jammed federal examiners'

⁵Ibid., p. 178.

⁶Ibid., p. 179.

⁷Ibid., p. 180.

offices in the Black Belt. Hundreds turned out to register in Selma. A Justice Department secretary showed that in the first two months 110,000 Negroes were registered by local officials in the affected states, and by October 25, 1965, 56,000 additional Negroes had been registered by federal examiners.

By August 6, 1966, one year after the signing of the Voting Rights Act, the number of Negroes registered to vote in six Southern states affected was estimated at 1,289,000, or nearly 46 percent of those of voting age. In Alabama the number of Negroes on the voting lists more than doubled, increasing from 113,493 to 248,000, or 51.5 percent of the Negro voting age population.

Despite this increase, however, fewer southern blacks than southern whites were registered in spring and summer, 1970: the figures were 66 and 83 percent of voting-age citizens, respectively. The disparity was particularly great in Alabama where 96 percent of whites compared to 64 percent of Negroes were registered.⁸

The substance of this thesis has endeavored to bring into perspective a struggle for voting equality in America. The method of non-violence used by Dr. Martin Luther King has showed that social change can come in American society and that in our constitutional democracy there is a conscious awareness of the need for such change. The Selma to Montgomery March was one of the most evident demonstrations in the last decade, a period of great stress and social change in our society,

⁸Richard A. Watson, Promise and Performance of American Democracy (New York, 1972), p. 525.

of the fact that equal opportunity must exist. Our nation will forever be indebted to Dr. Martin Luther King for his contribution to this effort.

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APPENDIXES

The voting statistics do reveal a change in voter registration and participation in Dallas and Lowndes counties in the state of Alabama. The examination of the voting tables covers two three-year periods-- 1962 - 1965 and 1965 - 1968. Each represents a change in voter response.

The analysis covers the two senatorial, two presidential, and governor elections as a composite to measure the level of change that resulted from the passage of the 1965 Voting Right Act. There is a composite sheet that gives the total breakdown of each of the elections. There are, however, many more issues that are involved in any election analysis that this examination does not take into account. But at least in three distinct levels some measure of change was recorded. These two rural counties, Dallas and Lowndes, are unique in that they are both 90 percent Negro and are located in the historic Black Belt in the state of Alabama.

Despite this increase, however, fewer Southern blacks than Southern whites were registered in spring and summer, 1970: the figures were 66 and 83 percent of voting-age citizens, respectively. The disparity was particularly great in Alabama where 96 percent of whites compared to 60 percent of Negroes were registered.¹

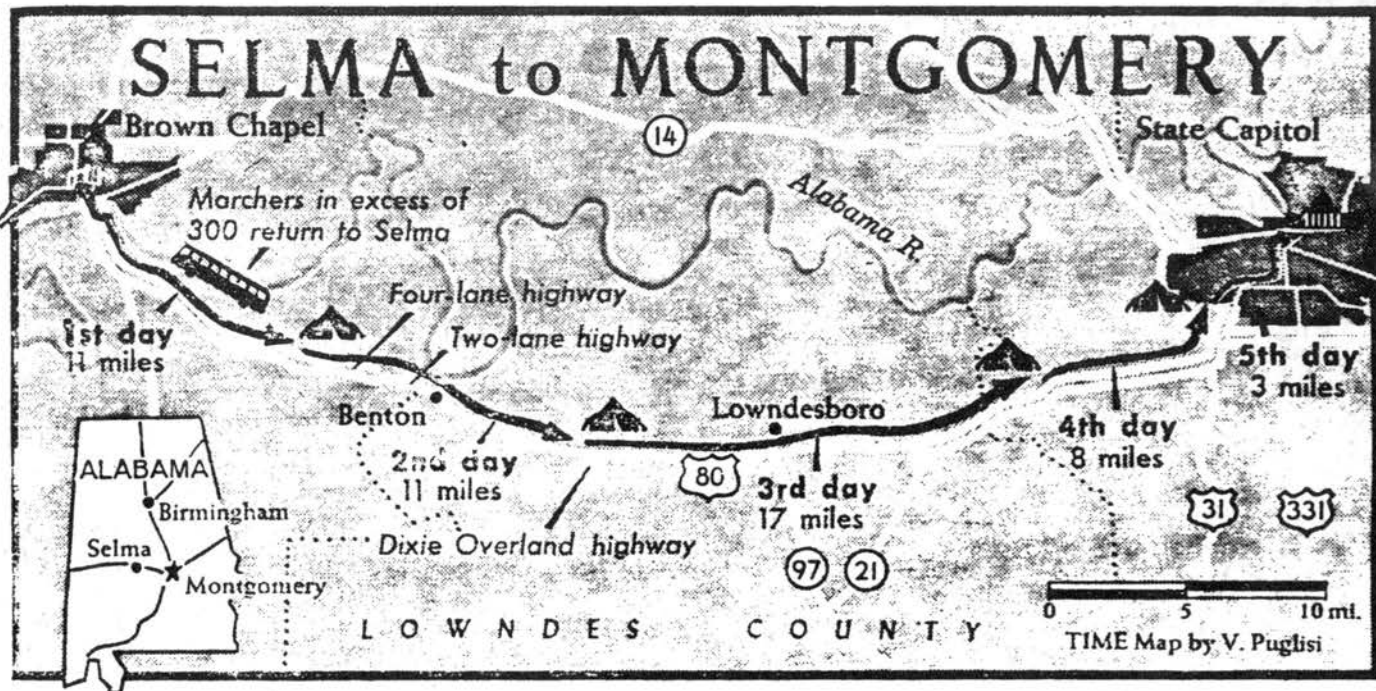
¹Richard A. Watson, Promise and Performance of American Democracy (New York, 1972), p. 525.

APPENDIX A

THE MAP OF THE SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

OF MARCH 23-25, 1965

THE NATION



APPENDIX B

A MAP OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA WHICH INCLUDES
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS ESTABLISHED
AUGUST 26, 1965

ALABAMA
Districts Established August 26, 1965



Richard M. Scammon, "America Votes 6, 1964," Government Affairs Institute, Congressional Quarterly (Washington, 1966), p. 6.

APPENDIX C

THE VOTING STATISTICS FOR THE STATE OF ALABAMA
IN THE 1962 SENATORIAL ELECTION

SENATOR 1962

SENATOR 1966

ALABAMA

| 1960 Census Population | County | Total Vote | | | Rep. Dem. Priority | Other | Total Vote | | | Rep. Dem. Priority | Other | Percentage | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------------------|--------|------------|------|-------|--------------------|-------|------------|------|-------|----|----|
| | | Rep. | Dem. | Other | | | Rep. | Dem. | Other | | | Rep. | Dem. | Other | | |
| 18,739 | AUTAUGA | 4,285 | 2,713 | 3,249 | 303 | 536 | 43 | 31 | 45 | 58 | 54 | 58 | 54 | 58 | 54 | 58 |
| 1,672 | BALDWIN | 1,555 | 1,708 | 1,708 | 43 | 1,112 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| 24,700 | BARRINGER | 1,535 | 1,535 | 1,535 | 3 | 1,535 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 14,337 | BELMONT | 4,312 | 2,325 | 2,325 | 16 | 359 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 |
| 23,449 | BLOUNT | 8,087 | 3,549 | 4,502 | 16 | 933 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| 13,446 | BULLOCK | 3,073 | 422 | 2,211 | 40 | 1,389 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| 10,345 | CHAMBERS | 20,345 | 7,771 | 12,536 | 28 | 4,765 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 |
| 37,828 | CHANDLER | 8,244 | 3,164 | 5,035 | 45 | 1,859 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 |
| 16,303 | CHESTER | 3,924 | 813 | 3,105 | 6 | 2,292 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| 35,493 | CHEVY | 7,785 | 3,509 | 4,276 | 58 | 711 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 |
| 12,970 | CHICKAMAUGA | 6,773 | 4,594 | 4,594 | 28 | 2,444 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 |
| 23,718 | CLARKE | 6,253 | 2,351 | 3,060 | 42 | 1,509 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 |
| 4,340 | CLAY | 4,340 | 1,771 | 2,564 | 5 | 793 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| 10,911 | CLEBURNE | 3,371 | 1,198 | 2,169 | 4 | 911 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 |
| 30,583 | COFFEE | 7,309 | 1,864 | 5,402 | 63 | 3,558 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| 44,506 | COLBERT | 13,333 | 5,401 | 7,886 | 64 | 2,445 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| 4,380 | COSSA | 4,380 | 1,125 | 3,216 | 39 | 2,091 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| 10,724 | COOSA | 2,938 | 1,015 | 1,900 | 23 | 885 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 |
| 35,631 | COVINGTON | 10,896 | 4,771 | 5,878 | 27 | 1,107 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 |
| 16,909 | CRENSHAW | 4,481 | 1,482 | 2,924 | 75 | 1,452 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 |
| 45,572 | CULLMAN | 15,421 | 6,779 | 8,616 | 26 | 1,837 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 |
| 6,680 | DALE | 6,680 | 1,929 | 4,705 | 54 | 2,776 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 |
| 56,667 | DALLAS | 13,952 | 5,159 | 6,529 | 26 | 3,370 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 |
| 41,417 | DE KALB | 17,519 | 6,870 | 7,838 | 8 | 1,188 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 |
| 30,524 | ELMORE | 8,919 | 3,075 | 4,795 | 249 | 920 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 |
| 33,511 | ESCAMBA | 8,550 | 3,307 | 5,208 | 35 | 1,901 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 |
| 96,980 | ETOWAH | 24,266 | 9,080 | 15,073 | 113 | 5,933 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 |
| 4,414 | FAYETTE | 4,414 | 1,787 | 2,622 | 5 | 835 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| 21,998 | FRANKLIN | 8,085 | 3,764 | 4,291 | 10 | 527 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| 22,310 | GENEVA | 6,881 | 1,809 | 5,044 | 26 | 3,237 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 |
| 13,600 | GREENE | 2,620 | 1,618 | 2,624 | 18 | 994 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 |
| 17,537 | HALE | 3,865 | 1,355 | 2,444 | 46 | 1,093 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 |
| 15,286 | HENRY | 3,731 | 1,053 | 2,671 | 17 | 1,828 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| 50,718 | HOUSTON | 13,743 | 5,312 | 8,269 | 182 | 2,937 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 |
| 36,681 | JACKSON | 7,543 | 1,700 | 5,826 | 17 | 4,126 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| 634,064 | JEFFERSON | 195,488 | 69,438 | 83,954 | 2,096 | 14,516 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 |
| 14,271 | LAMAR | 3,914 | 952 | 2,945 | 17 | 1,993 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| 51,622 | LAUDERDALE | 14,291 | 5,673 | 8,151 | 37 | 2,708 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 |
| 24,501 | LAWRENCE | 6,233 | 1,917 | 4,323 | 13 | 2,400 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| 49,784 | LEE | 8,966 | 3,024 | 5,642 | 98 | 2,810 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 |
| 36,513 | LIMESTONE | 7,278 | 1,594 | 5,444 | 20 | 4,010 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| 15,417 | LINDSEY | 2,317 | 868 | 1,356 | 133 | 3,133 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 |
| 26,717 | MADISON | 3,553 | 1,078 | 2,332 | 137 | 2,228 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 |
| 117,398 | MADISON | 35,972 | 10,598 | 29,109 | 135 | 14,531 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 |
| 27,098 | MARION | 6,487 | 2,290 | 4,137 | 60 | 1,847 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 |
| 21,837 | MARION | 6,774 | 2,833 | 3,926 | 15 | 1,093 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 51 |
| 60,018 | MARTIN | 12,317 | 4,177 | 5,176 | 24 | 3,999 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| 52,301 | MEDLEY | 9,414 | 2,910 | 3,410 | 92 | 2,651 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| 22,312 | MORDE | 5,710 | 1,923 | 3,793 | 24 | 2,110 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| 170,210 | MONTGOMERY | 35,890 | 14,728 | 20,938 | 94 | 5,100 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 |
| 60,454 | MORGAN | 15,155 | 4,451 | 10,662 | 62 | 6,211 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 |
| 17,358 | PERY | 4,116 | 1,391 | 2,999 | 36 | 1,119 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| 17,358 | PERY | 4,116 | 1,391 | 2,999 | 36 | 1,119 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| 25,987 | PINE | 6,529 | 2,023 | 4,633 | 123 | 2,160 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| 16,477 | RANDOLPH | 5,022 | 1,704 | 3,287 | 21 | 1,593 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 |
| 64,331 | RUSSELL | 7,623 | 2,658 | 5,120 | 45 | 2,662 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 |
| 25,388 | ST CLAIR | 9,733 | 3,508 | 4,209 | 16 | 3,111 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 |
| 17,358 | ST CLAIR | 4,116 | 1,391 | 2,999 | 36 | 1,119 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| 20,041 | SUMNER | 3,186 | 924 | 2,223 | 33 | 1,105 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 |

Richard M. Scammon, "America Votes 7, 1966," Government Affairs Institute, Congressional Quarterly, (Washington, 1968), p. 16.

APPENDIX D

THE VOTING STATISTICS FOR THE STATE OF ALABAMA
IN THE 1964 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND 1966
GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

ALABAMA

PRESIDENT 1964

GOVERNOR 1966

| 1960 Census Population | County | Total Vote | | | Rep.-Dem. Plurality | Total Vote | | | Rep.-Dem. Plurality | Total Vote | | | Rep.-Dem. Plurality | Total Vote | | | Rep.-Dem. Plurality |
|---------------------------|-------------|------------|--------|---------|------------------------|------------|--------|---------|------------------------|------------|-------|-------|------------------------|------------|-------|-------|------------------------|
| | | Rep. | Dem. | 1964 | | Rep. | Dem. | 1964 | | Rep. | Dem. | 1964 | | Rep. | Dem. | 1964 | |
| 18,719 | ANTAUCA | 3,660 | 2,949 | R 55.82 | 491 | 1,665 | 5,202 | R 76.08 | 2,949 | 2,051 | 167 | 2,102 | D 36.18 | 80.98 | 36.92 | 63.12 | |
| 49,038 | BALDWIN | 13,400 | 10,870 | R 81.18 | 2,530 | 2,497 | 2,910 | R 65.98 | 10,870 | 10,064 | 69 | 2,826 | D 28.48 | 70.44 | 28.78 | 71.31 | |
| 24,700 | BARBOUR | 4,831 | 3,653 | R 79.82 | 978 | 4,160 | 4,460 | R 82.82 | 3,653 | 3,226 | 427 | 4,508 | D 15.48 | 81.92 | 15.18 | 84.98 | |
| 14,357 | BIRMINGHAM | 3,126 | 2,623 | R 83.92 | 503 | 2,427 | 2,815 | R 70.18 | 2,623 | 2,907 | 33 | 1,759 | D 30.88 | 67.78 | 31.38 | 68.78 | |
| 25,449 | BLOUNT | 6,869 | 4,442 | R 64.78 | 2,427 | 1,893 | 4,978 | R 69.78 | 4,442 | 3,859 | 583 | 1,988 | D 23.84 | 75.34 | 24.08 | 76.08 | |
| 2,630 | BULLOCK | 1,514 | 1,114 | R 57.42 | 400 | 1,665 | 5,202 | R 76.08 | 1,514 | 1,259 | 255 | 3,472 | D 16.82 | 66.78 | 31.54 | 64.52 | |
| 24,560 | BUTLER | 4,975 | 4,002 | R 60.42 | 973 | 4,002 | 4,635 | R 63.18 | 4,002 | 3,621 | 381 | 3,472 | D 16.82 | 76.78 | 19.92 | 80.38 | |
| 95,878 | CALHOUN | 16,845 | 10,635 | R 63.18 | 6,210 | 6,930 | 6,448 | R 61.48 | 10,635 | 9,749 | 886 | 3,916 | D 28.48 | 72.18 | 27.18 | 72.98 | |
| 37,858 | CHANDLER | 7,167 | 4,630 | R 64.48 | 2,537 | 1,916 | 4,893 | R 69.78 | 4,630 | 4,442 | 188 | 2,893 | D 17.58 | 80.58 | 17.38 | 82.18 | |
| 16,103 | CHENESEE | 3,809 | 1,893 | R 49.78 | 1,916 | 1,665 | 5,202 | R 76.08 | 1,893 | 1,893 | 0 | 2,893 | D 17.58 | 81.88 | 18.18 | 81.18 | |
| 25,693 | CHILLUM | 6,847 | 5,202 | R 76.08 | 1,645 | 2,497 | 2,910 | R 65.98 | 5,202 | 4,635 | 567 | 4,160 | D 15.48 | 70.44 | 28.78 | 71.31 | |
| 17,870 | CHOCTAW | 2,910 | 2,497 | R 65.98 | 413 | 4,160 | 4,460 | R 82.82 | 2,497 | 2,907 | 410 | 4,508 | D 15.48 | 81.92 | 15.18 | 84.98 | |
| 25,738 | CLARKE | 5,384 | 4,460 | R 82.82 | 924 | 1,199 | 2,815 | R 70.18 | 4,460 | 4,160 | 300 | 1,759 | D 30.88 | 67.78 | 31.38 | 68.78 | |
| 12,400 | CLAY | 4,014 | 2,815 | R 70.18 | 1,199 | 2,427 | 2,815 | R 70.18 | 2,815 | 2,907 | 93 | 1,988 | D 23.84 | 75.34 | 24.08 | 76.08 | |
| 10,911 | CLEGG | 2,828 | 2,156 | R 76.28 | 672 | 1,665 | 5,202 | R 76.08 | 2,156 | 1,893 | 263 | 1,988 | D 23.84 | 75.34 | 24.08 | 76.08 | |
| 30,593 | COFFEE | 6,123 | 4,910 | R 80.28 | 1,213 | 5,202 | 4,635 | R 63.18 | 4,910 | 4,002 | 888 | 3,472 | D 16.82 | 66.78 | 31.54 | 64.52 | |
| 46,506 | COVERT | 10,840 | 5,247 | R 48.68 | 5,593 | 2,427 | 2,815 | R 70.18 | 5,247 | 4,635 | 612 | 4,160 | D 15.48 | 81.92 | 15.18 | 84.98 | |
| 11,762 | COMAUCH | 3,421 | 2,782 | R 81.38 | 639 | 2,782 | 2,815 | R 70.18 | 2,782 | 2,907 | 125 | 1,759 | D 30.88 | 67.78 | 31.38 | 68.78 | |
| 10,726 | COOSA | 2,718 | 1,978 | R 72.88 | 740 | 1,665 | 5,202 | R 76.08 | 1,978 | 1,893 | 85 | 1,988 | D 23.84 | 75.34 | 24.08 | 76.08 | |
| 39,631 | COVINGTON | 9,115 | 1,621 | R 82.38 | 1,621 | 3,008 | 4,002 | R 60.28 | 1,621 | 1,621 | 0 | 3,175 | D 16.24 | 82.18 | 16.42 | 83.48 | |
| 14,909 | CRENSHAW | 3,824 | 3,008 | R 78.78 | 816 | 3,008 | 4,002 | R 60.28 | 3,008 | 2,782 | 226 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 22,310 | ELMORE | 7,596 | 6,363 | R 83.88 | 1,233 | 5,110 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 6,363 | 5,823 | 540 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 33,511 | ESCAMBA | 7,551 | 1,124 | R 87.18 | 647 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 1,124 | 1,259 | 135 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 98,790 | EUCLAR | 21,833 | 12,894 | R 59.18 | 8,939 | 3,888 | 6,746 | R 61.78 | 12,894 | 11,889 | 1,005 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 16,468 | ETOWA | 3,493 | 3,185 | R 90.38 | 308 | 3,888 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 3,185 | 3,008 | 177 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 21,388 | FRANKLIN | 7,135 | 4,623 | R 66.28 | 2,512 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 4,623 | 4,623 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 5,875 | GENEA | 4,502 | 1,074 | R 80.78 | 1,428 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 1,074 | 1,074 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 22,310 | GENEVA | 7,596 | 6,363 | R 83.88 | 1,233 | 5,110 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 6,363 | 5,823 | 540 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 1,711 | GRENE | 1,124 | 1,124 | R 65.78 | 587 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 1,124 | 1,124 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 19,537 | HALE | 2,446 | 1,898 | R 77.68 | 548 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 1,898 | 1,898 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 16,468 | HANDSHAM | 3,493 | 3,185 | R 90.38 | 308 | 3,888 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 3,185 | 3,008 | 177 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 50,718 | HOUSTON | 11,774 | 10,193 | R 87.38 | 1,581 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 10,193 | 10,193 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 36,631 | JACKSON | 5,875 | 2,730 | R 66.58 | 3,145 | 2,730 | 2,730 | R 66.58 | 2,730 | 2,730 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 69,336 | JEFFERSON | 13,938 | 10,756 | R 72.68 | 3,182 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 10,756 | 9,549 | 1,207 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 44,251 | LOUISIANA | 3,473 | 2,974 | R 85.68 | 499 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 2,974 | 2,974 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 24,501 | LAWRENCE | 3,617 | 1,809 | R 50.08 | 1,808 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 1,809 | 1,809 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 59,756 | LEE | 7,516 | 5,214 | R 78.78 | 2,302 | 5,214 | 5,214 | R 63.88 | 5,214 | 4,635 | 579 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 5,404 | LEITCHFIELD | 3,027 | 2,377 | R 78.58 | 650 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 2,377 | 2,377 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 1,831 | LIBERTY | 1,358 | 1,358 | R 68.78 | 679 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 1,358 | 1,358 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 117,253 | MOBILE | 27,629 | 14,279 | R 51.38 | 13,350 | 13,217 | 14,279 | R 51.38 | 14,279 | 14,279 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 27,093 | MORNING | 4,466 | 3,677 | R 82.38 | 789 | 3,677 | 3,677 | R 82.38 | 3,677 | 3,677 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 21,637 | MONTGOMERY | 3,150 | 3,956 | R 69.48 | 1,806 | 3,956 | 3,956 | R 69.48 | 3,956 | 3,956 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 15,331 | MONTGOMERY | 6,981 | 4,970 | R 70.78 | 2,011 | 4,970 | 4,970 | R 63.88 | 4,970 | 4,970 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 22,312 | MORNING | 4,156 | 3,070 | R 74.58 | 1,086 | 3,070 | 3,070 | R 74.58 | 3,070 | 3,070 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 10,412 | MORNING | 3,697 | 2,315 | R 62.78 | 1,382 | 2,315 | 2,315 | R 62.78 | 2,315 | 2,315 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 19,427 | MORNING | 4,971 | 3,127 | R 62.78 | 1,844 | 3,127 | 3,127 | R 62.78 | 3,127 | 3,127 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 28,358 | MORNING | 6,902 | 4,813 | R 70.38 | 2,089 | 4,813 | 4,813 | R 70.38 | 4,813 | 4,813 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 32,132 | MORNING | 7,930 | 6,037 | R 75.78 | 1,893 | 6,037 | 6,037 | R 75.78 | 6,037 | 6,037 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |
| 20,041 | MORNING | 2,058 | 1,653 | R 80.38 | 405 | 1,653 | 1,653 | R 80.38 | 1,653 | 1,653 | 0 | 4,882 | D 15.38 | 82.78 | 15.88 | 84.28 | |

APPENDIX E

THE VOTING STATISTICS FOR THE STATE OF ALABAMA
IN THE 1968 SENATORIAL ELECTION

ALABAMA
SENATOR 1968

| 1960 Census Population | County | Total Vote | Republican | Democratic | Other | Rep. - Dem Plurality | Percentage | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|---------------|------------|------------|--------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | | | | | | | Total Vote Rep. | Total Vote Dem. | Major Vote Rep. | Major Vote Dem. |
| 18,739 | AUTAUGA | 7,180 | 1,629 | 4,368 | 1,183 | 2,739 D | 22.7% | 60.8% | 27.2% | 72.8% |
| 49,088 | BALDWIN | 16,266 | 3,030 | 13,111 | 125 | 10,081 D | 18.6% | 80.6% | 18.8% | 81.2% |
| 24,700 | BARBOUR | 7,247 | 496 | 5,451 | 1,000 | 4,955 D | 6.8% | 75.2% | 8.3% | 91.7% |
| 14,357 | BIBB | 4,505 | 314 | 3,609 | 582 | 3,295 D | 7.0% | 80.1% | 8.0% | 92.0% |
| 25,449 | BLOUNT | 8,119 | 2,182 | 5,914 | 23 | 3,732 D | 26.9% | 72.8% | 27.0% | 73.0% |
| 13,462 | BULLOCK | 4,032 | 518 | 1,914 | 1,600 | 1,396 D | 12.8% | 47.5% | 21.3% | 78.7% |
| 24,560 | BUTLER | 5,840 | 2,069 | 3,558 | 213 | 1,489 D | 35.4% | 60.9% | 36.8% | 63.2% |
| 92,878 | CALHOUN | 25,645 | 3,347 | 20,377 | 1,921 | 17,030 D | 13.1% | 79.5% | 14.1% | 85.9% |
| 37,828 | CHAMBERS | 9,269 | 1,091 | 7,953 | 225 | 6,862 D | 11.8% | 85.0% | 12.1% | 87.9% |
| 16,303 | CHEROKEE | 5,108 | 318 | 4,743 | 47 | 4,425 D | 6.2% | 92.9% | 6.3% | 93.7% |
| 23,693 | HILTON | 8,244 | 2,743 | 5,154 | 347 | 2,411 D | 33.3% | 62.5% | 34.7% | 65.3% |
| 17,870 | CHOCTAW | 3,970 | 181 | 3,742 | 47 | 3,561 D | 4.6% | 94.3% | 4.6% | 95.4% |
| 25,738 | CLARKE | 6,008 | 760 | 5,139 | 109 | 4,379 D | 12.6% | 85.5% | 12.9% | 87.1% |
| 12,400 | CLAY | 4,743 | 689 | 4,013 | 41 | 3,324 D | 14.5% | 84.6% | 14.7% | 85.3% |
| 10,911 | CLEBURNE | 3,939 | 484 | 3,440 | 15 | 2,956 D | 12.3% | 87.3% | 12.3% | 87.7% |
| 30,543 | COFFEE | 9,886 | 1,077 | 8,620 | 189 | 7,543 D | 10.9% | 87.2% | 11.1% | 88.9% |
| 46,506 | COLBERT | 14,473 | 2,060 | 11,112 | 1,301 | 9,052 D | 14.2% | 76.8% | 15.6% | 84.4% |
| 17,762 | CONECUH | 4,125 | 544 | 3,529 | 52 | 2,985 D | 13.2% | 85.6% | 13.4% | 86.6% |
| 10,726 | COOSA | 3,619 | 492 | 2,661 | 466 | 2,169 D | 13.6% | 73.5% | 15.6% | 84.4% |
| 32,631 | COVINGTON | 11,872 | 2,871 | 8,825 | 176 | 5,954 D | 24.2% | 74.3% | 24.5% | 75.5% |
| 14,909 | CRENSHAW | 4,896 | 949 | 3,668 | 279 | 2,719 D | 19.4% | 74.9% | 20.6% | 79.4% |
| 45,572 | CULLMAN | 16,470 | 5,225 | 11,134 | 111 | 5,909 D | 31.7% | 67.6% | 31.9% | 68.1% |
| 31,066 | DALE | 9,133 | 941 | 7,861 | 331 | 6,920 D | 10.3% | 86.1% | 10.7% | 89.3% |
| 50,667 | DALLAS | 13,153 | 2,444 | 7,507 | 3,202 | 5,063 D | 18.6% | 57.1% | 24.6% | 75.4% |
| 41,417 | DE KALB | 14,361 | 3,340 | 8,998 | 23 | 5,658 D | 37.2% | 62.7% | 37.2% | 62.8% |
| 30,524 | ELMORE | 10,480 | 2,284 | 7,552 | 644 | 5,268 D | 21.8% | 72.1% | 23.2% | 76.8% |
| 33,511 | ESCAMBIA | 9,131 | 956 | 8,110 | 65 | 7,154 D | 10.5% | 88.8% | 10.5% | 89.3% |
| 96,980 | ETOWAH | 29,813 | 4,425 | 23,759 | 1,629 | 19,334 D | 14.3% | 79.7% | 15.7% | 84.3% |
| 16,148 | FAYETTE | 5,577 | 792 | 4,757 | 28 | 3,965 D | 14.2% | 85.3% | 14.3% | 85.7% |
| 21,988 | FRANKLIN | 8,518 | 2,579 | 5,734 | 205 | 3,155 D | 30.3% | 67.3% | 31.0% | 69.0% |
| 22,310 | GENEVA | 8,470 | 406 | 7,798 | 268 | 7,392 D | 4.8% | 92.1% | 4.9% | 95.1% |
| 13,400 | GREENE | 3,858 | 181 | 1,544 | 2,133 | 1,363 D | 4.7% | 40.0% | 10.5% | 89.5% |
| 19,537 | HALE | 5,126 | 418 | 2,765 | 1,943 | 2,347 D | 8.2% | 53.9% | 13.1% | 86.9% |
| 15,286 | HENRY | 4,717 | 157 | 4,003 | 557 | 3,246 D | 3.3% | 84.9% | 3.8% | 96.2% |
| 50,718 | HOUSTON | 16,561 | 1,396 | 14,815 | 350 | 13,419 D | 8.4% | 89.5% | 8.6% | 91.4% |
| 36,681 | JACKSON | 9,563 | 1,086 | 8,327 | 150 | 7,241 D | 11.4% | 87.1% | 11.5% | 88.5% |
| 634,864 | JEFFERSON | 159,640 | 53,094 | 94,603 | 11,943 | 41,509 D | 33.3% | 59.3% | 35.9% | 64.1% |
| 14,271 | LAMAR | 5,676 | 334 | 5,263 | 79 | 4,929 D | 5.9% | 92.7% | 6.0% | 94.0% |
| 61,622 | LAUDERDALE | 16,585 | 3,414 | 12,421 | 750 | 9,007 D | 20.6% | 74.9% | 21.6% | 78.4% |
| 24,501 | LAWRENCE | 6,505 | 692 | 5,632 | 181 | 4,940 D | 10.6% | 86.6% | 10.9% | 89.1% |
| 49,754 | LEE | 11,637 | 2,442 | 7,975 | 1,220 | 5,533 D | 21.0% | 68.5% | 23.4% | 76.6% |
| 36,513 | LIMESTONE | 9,545 | 1,207 | 7,888 | 450 | 6,681 D | 12.6% | 82.6% | 13.3% | 86.7% |
| 15,417 | LINDSEY | 2,753 | 618 | 1,463 | 672 | 845 D | 22.4% | 53.1% | 29.7% | 70.3% |
| 26,717 | MADON | 8,913 | 782 | 1,399 | 2,637 | 1,117 D | 8.2% | 33.9% | 23.2% | 76.8% |
| 117,348 | MADISON | 48,689 | 16,699 | 27,249 | 4,741 | 10,550 D | 34.3% | 56.0% | 38.0% | 62.0% |
| 27,098 | MARENGO | 8,814 | 674 | 4,886 | 3,254 | 4,212 D | 7.6% | 55.4% | 12.1% | 87.9% |
| 21,837 | MARION | 8,139 | 1,567 | 6,534 | 38 | 4,967 D | 19.3% | 80.3% | 19.3% | 80.7% |
| 48,018 | MARSHALL | 15,782 | 2,933 | 12,686 | 163 | 9,753 D | 18.6% | 80.4% | 18.8% | 81.2% |
| 314,301 | MOBILE | 71,685 | 16,473 | 53,656 | 1,556 | 37,183 D | 23.0% | 74.8% | 23.5% | 76.5% |
| 22,372 | MONROE | 5,749 | 561 | 4,842 | 346 | 4,281 D | 9.8% | 84.2% | 10.4% | 89.6% |
| 169,210 | MONTGOMERY | 42,865 | 18,598 | 15,815 | 8,492 | 2,783 R | 43.4% | 36.9% | 54.0% | 46.0% |
| 60,454 | MORGAN | 19,307 | 3,600 | 15,353 | 354 | 11,753 D | 18.6% | 79.5% | 19.0% | 81.0% |
| 17,358 | PERRY | 5,460 | 580 | 2,557 | 2,323 | 1,977 D | 10.6% | 46.8% | 10.5% | 81.5% |
| 21,882 | PICKENS | 5,808 | 341 | 4,379 | 1,088 | 4,038 D | 5.9% | 75.4% | 7.2% | 92.8% |
| 25,987 | PIKE | 7,327 | 1,785 | 4,570 | 972 | 2,785 D | 24.4% | 62.4% | 28.1% | 71.9% |
| 19,477 | RANDOLPH | 6,178 | 789 | 5,176 | 213 | 4,387 D | 12.8% | 63.8% | 13.2% | 86.8% |
| 46,351 | RUSSELL | 8,514 | 543 | 7,850 | 121 | 7,307 D | 6.4% | 92.2% | 6.5% | 93.5% |
| 25,388 | ST. CLAIR | 9,108 | 1,849 | 6,893 | 366 | 5,044 D | 20.3% | 75.7% | 21.2% | 78.8% |
| 32,132 | SHELBY | 9,763 | 2,142 | 7,287 | 334 | 5,145 D | 21.9% | 74.6% | 22.7% | 77.3% |
| 20,041 | SUMTER | 4,712 | 277 | 2,165 | 2,270 | 1,888 D | 5.9% | 45.9% | 11.3% | 88.7% |
| 65,495 | TALLADEGA | 15,967 | 1,744 | 13,649 | 574 | 11,905 D | 10.9% | 85.5% | 11.3% | 88.7% |
| 35,007 | TALLAPOOSA | 10,887 | 1,605 | 8,695 | 587 | 7,090 D | 14.7% | 79.9% | 15.6% | 84.4% |
| 109,047 | TUSCALOOSA | 26,452 | 3,801 | 18,530 | 4,121 | 14,729 D | 14.4% | 70.1% | 17.0% | 83.0% |
| 54,211 | WALKER | 17,388 | 2,779 | 14,542 | 67 | 11,763 D | 16.0% | 83.6% | 16.0% | 84.0% |
| 15,372 | WASHINGTON | 4,501 | 318 | 4,022 | 161 | 3,704 D | 7.1% | 89.4% | 7.3% | 92.7% |
| 18,739 | WILCOX | 3,429 | 639 | 2,012 | 778 | 1,373 D | 18.6% | 58.7% | 24.1% | 75.9% |
| 14,858 | WINSTON | 5,208 | 2,173 | 3,017 | 18 | 844 D | 41.7% | 57.9% | 41.9% | 58.1% |

Richard M. Scammon, "America Votes 8, 1968," Government Affairs
Institute, Congressional Quarterly (Washington, 1970), p. 8.

APPENDIX F

THE VOTING STATISTICS FOR THE STATE OF ALABAMA
FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 1968

ALABAMA

PRESIDENT 1968

| 1960 Census Population | County | Total Vote | | | | | Percentage Total Vote | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|---------------|------------|------------|---------|--------|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | | | Republican | Democratic | AIP | Other | Plurality | Rep. | Dem. | AIP |
| 28,734 | AUTAUGA | 7,732 | 606 | 1,553 | 5,523 | 100 | 3,970 A | 7.8% | 20.0% | 71.0% |
| 48,006 | BALDWIN | 18,404 | 2,154 | 1,821 | 14,167 | 262 | 12,013 A | 11.7% | 5.9% | 77.0% |
| 24,700 | BARBOUR | 7,946 | 326 | 1,898 | 5,491 | 171 | 3,593 A | 4.9% | 23.9% | 69.1% |
| 14,357 | BIGBEE | 4,673 | 263 | 652 | 3,746 | 12 | 3,094 A | 5.6% | 14.0% | 80.2% |
| 23,449 | BLOUNT | 9,086 | 2,013 | 331 | 6,536 | 206 | 4,523 A | 22.2% | 3.6% | 71.9% |
| 13,462 | BULLOCK | 4,347 | 190 | 1,964 | 2,161 | 32 | 197 A | 4.4% | 45.2% | 49.7% |
| 24,350 | BUTLER | 7,361 | 500 | 1,240 | 5,601 | 20 | 4,361 A | 6.8% | 16.8% | 76.1% |
| 97,076 | CALHOUN | 26,775 | 3,061 | 4,146 | 19,211 | 357 | 13,063 A | 11.4% | 15.5% | 71.7% |
| 17,020 | CHAMBERS | 10,030 | 1,082 | 1,358 | 7,665 | 311 | 6,527 A | 10.2% | 12.8% | 74.1% |
| 10,303 | CHEATEE | 5,685 | 343 | 462 | 4,773 | 107 | 4,311 A | 6.0% | 8.1% | 84.0% |
| 23,093 | CHILTON | 8,902 | 1,602 | 566 | 6,611 | 123 | 5,009 A | 18.0% | 6.4% | 74.3% |
| 17,070 | CHOCTAW | 6,093 | 176 | 1,641 | 4,250 | 26 | 2,609 A | 2.9% | 26.9% | 69.8% |
| 23,730 | CLARKE | 8,626 | 488 | 1,717 | 6,168 | 253 | 4,451 A | 5.7% | 19.9% | 71.5% |
| 13,400 | CLAY | 5,044 | 706 | 256 | 4,048 | 34 | 3,342 A | 14.0% | 5.1% | 80.3% |
| 13,911 | CLEBURNE | 3,995 | 485 | 160 | 3,314 | 36 | 2,829 A | 12.1% | 4.0% | 83.0% |
| 30,303 | COFFEY | 10,766 | 662 | 1,071 | 8,885 | 128 | 7,814 A | 6.3% | 9.9% | 82.5% |
| 40,303 | COLBERT | 15,621 | 1,727 | 2,291 | 11,341 | 262 | 9,050 A | 11.1% | 14.7% | 72.0% |
| 17,762 | CONECUH | 5,346 | 186 | 1,151 | 3,828 | 181 | 2,677 A | 3.5% | 21.5% | 71.6% |
| 10,720 | COOSA | 3,811 | 330 | 623 | 2,830 | 28 | 2,207 A | 8.7% | 16.3% | 74.3% |
| 33,031 | COVINGTON | 13,128 | 831 | 791 | 11,419 | 87 | 10,588 A | 6.3% | 6.0% | 87.0% |
| 14,909 | CRENSHAW | 5,460 | 209 | 726 | 4,513 | 32 | 3,787 A | 3.8% | 13.2% | 82.4% |
| 43,072 | CULLMAN | 17,265 | 4,964 | 1,115 | 11,063 | 123 | 6,099 A | 28.8% | 6.5% | 64.1% |
| 31,006 | DALE | 9,705 | 607 | 862 | 8,109 | 127 | 7,247 A | 6.3% | 8.9% | 83.6% |
| 30,007 | DALLAS | 10,636 | 1,246 | 6,516 | 8,798 | 76 | 2,282 A | 7.5% | 39.2% | 52.9% |
| 41,017 | DE KALB | 14,859 | 5,314 | 1,274 | 8,144 | 127 | 2,830 A | 33.8% | 8.0% | 54.8% |
| 30,524 | ELMORE | 11,812 | 801 | 1,745 | 9,038 | 228 | 7,293 A | 6.8% | 14.8% | 76.5% |
| 33,511 | ESCAMBIA | 10,765 | 680 | 1,992 | 8,474 | 119 | 6,982 A | 6.3% | 13.9% | 78.7% |
| 40,900 | ETOWAH | 31,106 | 4,351 | 4,613 | 21,416 | 806 | 16,803 A | 14.0% | 14.8% | 68.7% |
| 10,140 | FAYETTE | 6,238 | 827 | 676 | 4,683 | 52 | 3,856 A | 13.3% | 10.8% | 73.1% |
| 21,000 | FRANKLIN | 9,096 | 2,524 | 588 | 5,909 | 75 | 3,385 A | 27.7% | 6.5% | 65.0% |
| 22,010 | GENEVA | 8,581 | 284 | 380 | 7,871 | 46 | 7,491 A | 3.3% | 4.4% | 91.7% |
| 13,000 | GREENE | 3,969 | 180 | 2,229 | 1,555 | 5 | 674 O | 4.5% | 56.2% | 39.2% |
| 17,007 | HALE | 5,260 | 266 | 2,003 | 2,934 | 57 | 931 A | 5.1% | 30.1% | 55.6% |
| 13,200 | HENRY | 5,292 | 84 | 955 | 4,233 | 20 | 3,278 A | 1.6% | 18.0% | 80.0% |
| 30,710 | HOUSTON | 16,536 | 974 | 1,488 | 13,872 | 202 | 12,384 A | 5.9% | 9.0% | 83.9% |
| 30,001 | JACKSON | 10,908 | 1,191 | 1,022 | 8,504 | 191 | 7,313 A | 10.9% | 9.4% | 78.0% |
| 60,004 | JEFFERSON | 20,034 | 39,752 | 55,645 | 106,233 | 3,204 | 50,386 A | 19.4% | 27.2% | 51.8% |
| 14,271 | LAMAR | 5,925 | 364 | 302 | 5,229 | 30 | 4,865 A | 6.1% | 5.1% | 88.3% |
| 61,022 | LAUDERDALE | 13,883 | 2,952 | 2,166 | 13,467 | 298 | 10,515 A | 15.6% | 11.5% | 71.3% |
| 24,501 | LAWRENCE | 7,529 | 580 | 650 | 6,255 | 46 | 5,603 A | 7.7% | 8.6% | 83.1% |
| 40,734 | LEE | 13,136 | 2,366 | 2,803 | 7,721 | 246 | 4,918 A | 16.0% | 21.3% | 58.8% |
| 30,513 | LIMESTONE | 10,375 | 870 | 889 | 8,430 | 186 | 7,541 A | 8.4% | 6.6% | 81.3% |
| 13,417 | LONGBEES | 3,803 | 234 | 1,127 | 1,822 | 80 | 695 A | 7.2% | 34.5% | 55.8% |
| 20,717 | MADISON | 8,301 | 257 | 4,250 | 1,619 | 55 | 2,831 O | 4.0% | 69.7% | 25.8% |
| 17,000 | MADISON | 51,953 | 13,213 | 8,004 | 29,623 | 913 | 16,610 A | 25.4% | 15.4% | 57.4% |
| 27,000 | MAKONO | 9,154 | 457 | 3,479 | 5,185 | 33 | 1,706 A | 5.0% | 38.0% | 56.6% |
| 21,007 | MANNING | 10,403 | 1,442 | 365 | 6,415 | 131 | 4,923 A | 17.8% | 4.3% | 76.3% |
| 40,000 | MARSHALL | 10,000 | 2,725 | 955 | 12,742 | 258 | 10,017 A | 16.3% | 5.7% | 76.4% |
| 30,001 | MOBILE | 91,950 | 10,509 | 18,015 | 61,675 | 1,139 | 43,058 A | 11.4% | 20.2% | 67.1% |
| 24,072 | MURFEE | 7,324 | 375 | 1,673 | 5,217 | 59 | 3,544 A | 5.1% | 22.6% | 71.2% |
| 100,210 | MONTGOMERY | 46,531 | 6,746 | 12,088 | 27,202 | 495 | 15,114 A | 14.5% | 26.0% | 58.5% |
| 30,004 | MORGAN | 22,277 | 3,043 | 1,078 | 16,841 | 515 | 13,798 A | 13.7% | 8.4% | 75.6% |
| 17,000 | PERRY | 5,555 | 308 | 2,457 | 2,768 | 20 | 311 A | 5.5% | 44.2% | 49.8% |
| 21,000 | PICKENS | 6,328 | 321 | 1,434 | 4,549 | 24 | 3,115 A | 5.1% | 22.7% | 71.9% |
| 20,007 | PIKE | 8,341 | 658 | 1,565 | 6,038 | 80 | 4,473 A | 7.9% | 18.8% | 72.4% |
| 19,477 | RANDOLPH | 8,804 | 839 | 666 | 5,103 | 196 | 4,264 A | 12.3% | 9.8% | 75.0% |
| 40,551 | ROSSWELL | 11,245 | 704 | 2,707 | 7,584 | 250 | 4,877 A | 6.3% | 24.1% | 67.4% |
| 23,300 | ST. CLAIR | 9,697 | 1,635 | 869 | 7,050 | 143 | 5,415 A | 16.9% | 9.0% | 72.7% |
| 24,132 | SHELBY | 10,770 | 1,706 | 1,105 | 7,736 | 223 | 6,030 A | 15.8% | 10.3% | 71.8% |
| 20,001 | SUMTER | 4,637 | 303 | 2,336 | 2,158 | 10 | 178 O | 6.3% | 46.6% | 49.9% |
| 30,495 | TALLADEGA | 18,750 | 1,935 | 3,099 | 13,505 | 217 | 10,406 A | 10.3% | 16.5% | 72.0% |
| 35,007 | TALLAPOOSA | 11,821 | 1,205 | 1,351 | 9,043 | 242 | 7,712 A | 10.2% | 11.3% | 76.0% |
| 100,007 | TUSCALOOSA | 28,071 | 3,822 | 5,553 | 18,611 | 382 | 13,055 A | 13.5% | 19.6% | 65.6% |
| 30,021 | WALKER | 19,355 | 2,628 | 1,971 | 14,416 | 370 | 11,788 A | 13.6% | 10.2% | 74.0% |
| 20,072 | WASHINGTON | 5,662 | 200 | 902 | 4,545 | 36 | 3,643 A | 3.5% | 15.9% | 80.2% |
| 10,739 | WILCOX | 4,435 | 237 | 1,658 | 2,511 | 29 | 853 A | 5.3% | 37.4% | 56.6% |
| 14,000 | WINSTON | 5,527 | 2,174 | 258 | 3,032 | 63 | 858 A | 39.3% | 4.7% | 54.9% |
| 3,700,740 | TOTAL | 1,049,922 | 146,923 | 196,579 | 691,425 | 14,995 | 494,846 A | 14.0% | 18.7% | 65.9% |

Richard M. Scammon, "America Votes 8, 1968," Government Affairs Institute, Congressional Quarterly (Washington, 1970), p. 7.

APPENDIX G

THE COMPOSITE VOTING STATISTICS FOR DALLAS AND
LOWNDES COUNTY, ALABAMA IN THE 1962 SENATORIAL
ELECTION, THE 1964 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION,
THE 1966 GOVERNORSHIP, THE 1968
SENATORIAL ELECTION

1962 - Senatorial

| 1960 Census Population | County | Total Vote | Rep. | Dem. | Other | Rep - Dem Plurality | Percentage | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | | | | | | | Total Vote Rep. | Total Vote Dem. | Major Vote Rep. | Major Vote Dem. |
| 56,667 | Dallas | 4,327 | 2,788 | 1,539 | | 1,249 R | 64.4% | 35.6% | 64.4% | 35.6% |
| 15,417 | Lowndes | 1,003 | 663 | 340 | | 323 R | 66.1% | 33.9% | 66.1% | 33.9% |

1966 - Senatorial

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|--------|-------|-------|-----|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 56,667 | Dallas | 13,952 | 5,159 | 8,529 | 264 | 3,370 D | 37.0% | 61.1% | 37.7% | 62.3% |
| 15,417 | Lowndes | 2,317 | 848 | 1,336 | 133 | 488 D | 36.6% | 57.7% | 38.8% | 61.2% |

1964 - Presidential

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|-------|-------|--|-----|---------|-------|--|-------|--|
| 56,667 | Dallas | 6,607 | 5,888 | | 719 | 5,888 R | 89.1% | | 100 % | |
| 15,417 | Lowndes | 1,858 | 1,548 | | 310 | 1,548 | 83.3% | | 100 % | |

1968 - Presidential

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|-------|-------|--------|----|---------|--|--------|------|-------|
| 16,636 | Dallas | 1,246 | 6,516 | A.I.P. | 76 | 2,282 A | | A.I.P. | 7.5% | 39.2% |
| 15,417 | Lowndes | 3,263 | 234 | 1,822 | 80 | 695 A | | 55.8% | 7.2% | 34.5% |

1968 - Senatorial

| 1960 Census Population | County | Total Vote | Rep. | Dem. | Other | Rep - Dem Plurality | Percentage | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|---------------|-------|--------|-------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | | | | | | | Total Vote Rep. | Total Vote Dem. | Major Vote Rep. | Major Vote Dem. |
| 56,667 | Dallas | 13,153 | 2,444 | 7,507 | 3,202 | 5,063 D | 18.6% | 57.1% | 24.6% | 75.4% |
| 15,417 | Lowndes | 2,753 | 618 | 14,463 | 672 | 845 D | 22.4% | 53.1% | 29.7% | 70.3% |

1966 - Governorship

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|--------|-------|--------|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 56,667 | Dallas | 15,245 | 2,326 | 11,388 | 1,531 | 9,062 D | 15.3% | 74.7% | 17.0% | 83.0% |
| 15,417 | Lowndes | 2,592 | 481 | 2,049 | 62 | 1,568 D | 18.6% | 79.1% | 19.0% | 81.0% |

VITA

James David Little

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: THE SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH OF MARCH 23-25, 1965

Major Field: History

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Storm Lake, Iowa, June 28, 1941, the son of Robert D. and Mrs. R. D. Little.

Education: Graduated from Albert City-Truesdale High School, Albert City, Iowa, in May, 1959; received Bachelor of Arts degree in History from Buena Vista College in 1963; entered John Marshall Law School in 1963; entered Roosevelt University in 1964; received Master of Divinity degree in Theology in 1968, from the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago; enrolled in Kansas University in 1968; completed requirements for the Master of Arts degree at Oklahoma State University in May, 1973.

Professional Experience: Ordained as a Pastor in the Lutheran Church in America, 1968; Assistant Pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lawrence, Kansas, 1968-1970; Pastor of Zion Lutheran Church, Perry, Oklahoma, 1970-1972.