

“We Represented the Best of Georgia in Chicago”:

The Georgia Loyalist Delegate Challenge at the 1968 Democratic National Convention

BY

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In August 1968, a group of dissident Georgia Democrats organized a challenge to the state’s certified delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The challenge began as a protest of the politics of segregationist governor Lester Maddox by moderates in the state Democratic Party, but it transitioned into a cooperative effort between Georgia’s civil rights and antiwar movement activists to undermine the autocratic influence of party leaders in determining who would represent them at the convention. This effort illustrated the Georgia Democratic Party’s bumpy transition from a conservative organization to a liberal one in the second half of the twentieth century. Additionally, the challenge was a significant event in the eventual reformation and democratization of the Democratic Party’s national delegate and presidential candidate selection processes.¹

The split between Georgia Democrats in 1968 can be traced to the national party’s gradual realignment in the post-World War II period, when the southern wing of the party was increasingly at odds with the party’s majority. In the 1930s, Franklin Delano Roosevelt had cobbled together a New Deal coalition of voters that included liberals, labor unions, southerners, and minorities. The dissatisfaction of southern conservatives within the coalition grew, however, after President Harry S. Truman desegregated the United States Army in 1948 and the Democratic Party’s adoption of a civil rights plank in that year’s party platform.² In protest, some southern Democrats organized the Dixiecrat Party and ran South Carolina’s segregationist governor, Strom Thurmond, for president. Later, President Lyndon Johnson’s support and

passage of the Civil Right Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Acts of 1965 hastened the exodus of southern conservatives from the party during and after his presidency and weakened the New Deal Coalition. Consequently, Georgia's delegate challenge at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago came in part from the historic divisions within the party.³

The Georgia Democratic Party's continued conservatism put it at odds with both the national party and Georgia Democrats who continued to support the direction of the national party, a group the historian Tim S. R. Boyd refers to as "Loyalists."⁴ Civil rights and peace activists received little sympathy from the party of segregationist Georgia senators Herman Talmadge and Richard B. Russell. Reinforcing the Georgia Democratic Party's conservative bent was the election of the segregationist Lester Maddox to the governorship in 1966. In 1964, the Democrats' intraparty concerns were further complicated by the revival of a two-party system in Georgia, where the Republican Barry Goldwater won the state's electoral votes in the 1964 presidential election. In 1966, Bo Callaway, Georgia's first Republican representative in Washington since Reconstruction, earned his party's nomination by petition. Maddox was able to overcome a crowded field of Democrats (including liberal former governor Ellis Arnall and future president Jimmy Carter) to face Callaway. Maddox's victory that year was, in part, a result of a backlash from Georgia conservatives who were uncomfortable with the increasing desegregation of southern society, which had been largely introduced by the national Democratic Party. The general election was thrown — by constitutional provisions — into the General Assembly when a write-in campaign for Arnall denied the top vote-getter, Callaway, from reaching a majority. The Democratic-controlled body subsequently gave the governor's seat to Maddox. His triumph brought protests from moderates and liberal Democrats in the state and set into motion a series of events that contributed to the eventual challenge of Georgia's delegates at

the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968.⁵

The Democratic Party's outmoded national delegate selection process also contributed to Georgia's eventual delegate challenge that year. Selection practices in 1968 continued in the party traditions of previous decades, in which party bosses made decisions out of the public eye in metaphorical "smoke filled rooms." Voter participation in the process was minimal, since very few states required a primary or public caucus. Most delegates were selected by state party leaders, as was the case in Georgia. In June 1967, the Georgia Democratic Party passed rules that included a policy for selecting delegates to send to the national convention. Rule 55 gave the state party chairman the power to select a slate of delegates, which was then to be submitted to the governor for approval. In 1968, the process was placed in the hands of state party chairman James H. Gray, who had himself run fourth in the Democrats' 1966 gubernatorial primary. Gray submitted his list for approval to Governor Lester Maddox. As a result, the electorate was completely excluded from the delegate selection process.⁶

On July 3, 1968, Governor Maddox announced that he and Gray had settled on a slate of delegates to be sent to the Democratic National Convention. The list contained mostly party regulars, supporters of presidential aspirant Hubert Humphrey, and friends of the governor. Maddox and Gray, however, included several supporters of Alabama's segregationist governor George Wallace (who ultimately won Georgia's electoral votes in 1968). Maddox also rejected a pair of prominent racial moderates, former Georgia governor Carl Sanders and Atlanta mayor Ivan Allen Jr. Ironically, the list included seven African Americans (three delegates and four alternates), more than any previous Georgia Democratic delegation. Among the African Americans on the list were state senators Leroy Johnson and Horace Ward, state representative R. A. Dent, and Mamie Reese, dean of women at Albany State College, a historically black

college. Gray also named Reese to the Credentials Committee, making her the first African American from Georgia to serve on the committee. Despite this surprising step forward, their inclusion was far from representative of African Americans in the state. African Americans comprised over 25 percent of Georgia's population in 1968, but represented less than 5 percent of the nominated delegates. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) publicly contended that the delegation was "unrepresentative" and called on the African American delegates to withdrawal.⁷

Both the state party's methodology and eventual delegate selections directly challenged the national Democratic Party's recent efforts to establish an open and non-discriminatory delegation selection process. In July 1967, New Jersey governor and national Credentials Committee chairman Richard J. Hughes had sent a letter to all state party chairmen calling for open and publicized party meetings and welcoming the participation "of all Democrats, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin," echoing the precepts of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.⁸ These guidelines would be the basis for Hughes's 1968 "Call to the Convention" in January. Hughes's pronouncements were shaped by the findings of the Special Equal Rights Commission, which was formed largely as a result of the attention garnered by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's (MFDP) delegate challenge at the 1964 Democratic National Convention and the embarrassment it caused the party that year.⁹ National Democratic Party officials hoped that these directions would encourage state parties to open their delegate selection processes to underrepresented groups in their states. By hand selecting Georgia's delegates, Gray and Maddox implicitly disregarded the national party's directive, and left the state's delegation open to a challenge at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. No stranger to hyperbole, in response to criticisms of underrepresentation Maddox defended the

delegation. He called it “the most consensus delegation that any administration has ever had in Georgia. In fact, it’s three or four times more so,” and pointed to the seven African-American delegates.¹⁰

The eventual challenge came about as a result of the work of two organizations, the Georgia Democratic Party Forum and the Georgians for Senator Eugene McCarthy Campaign. The Forum had a history of battling Governor Maddox, anticipating the clash between the Democratic Party’s “Call to the Convention” and Maddox’s delegate selections. The Forum began in 1966 as collection of moderate Democrats who organized the Write-In Georgia campaign backing liberal former Democratic governor Ellis Arnall as an alternative to 1966 Democratic gubernatorial nominee Lester Maddox. Although the effort denied any candidate a majority, it led, indirectly, to Maddox being selected governor by the Georgia General Assembly. In 1967, the write-in campaign activists officially formed the Georgia Democratic Party Forum to rally the state’s Democrats in support of the Johnson administration and the national Democratic Party platform. That year, Forum leader E. T. “Al” Kehrer (also the director of the southern office of the AFL-CIO’s Civil Rights Department) prepared to mount a delegate challenge based on Maddox and Gray’s lack of loyalty to the national Democratic Party’s platform, as evidenced by their implementation of an autocratic delegate selection process in the state party.

The Forum mailed letters to Maddox, Gray, and several other state Democratic Party leaders requesting a more open selection process and promising to challenge Georgia’s national convention delegates if selections remained in the hands of party leadership. These letters were ignored, and the Forum moved forward with preparing a formal challenge. On June 29, 1968, the Forum’s executive committee met at the American Motor Hotel in Atlanta to determine if

sufficient support within the organization existed to launch a challenge. The Forum executives overwhelmingly supported the proposal and the steering committee was charged with planning a convention to elect an alternate slate of delegates. The convention would follow the model of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge of 1964. On July 2, the same week Maddox released his list of delegate names, Al Kehrer held a press conference announcing the Forum's intention to elect its own slate of delegates. The group would then bring a challenge before the Credentials Committee in August at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.¹¹

The Georgians for McCarthy campaign first became involved with the challenge through the efforts of Connecticut attorney Charles Negaro, a staffer sent to Georgia by the McCarthy campaign's operations director Curtis Gans to coordinate Georgians for McCarthy. Negaro attended the Forum's executive meeting in Atlanta, and he contributed to the discussion on convention procedures. The Forum's leadership understood the need for support and attendance from groups outside their organization if they had any hope of succeeding. As a result, they asked Negaro to encourage McCarthy supporters to participate in their upcoming convention in Macon, Georgia. Negaro, meanwhile, saw the challenge as an opportunity to gain delegates for McCarthy at the convention and pitched the idea to the national campaign.

The McCarthy campaign originally wanted little to do with the group, but when it became clear they were not going to succeed in pursuing the support of regular delegates in Georgia, McCarthy advisor Joseph Rauh threw his support behind Negaro's participation. The campaign provided \$8,000 to help ensure that McCarthy supporters would participate in numbers large enough to win delegates at the Forum's convention. Consequently, the McCarthy campaign would have a significant effect on the composition of the resulting delegation.¹²

Negaro enlisted the support of two recent University of North Carolina graduates —

Taylor Branch and Parker Hudson — who were already attempting to organize a challenge in Georgia. They had volunteered for the McCarthy campaign in the spring of 1968 and were spending the summer working with Negaro and the Georgians for McCarthy organization in Atlanta before attending graduate school in the fall.¹³ In late June, they attended Allard Lowenstein’s Coalition for an Open Convention meeting in Chicago, which promoted grassroots delegate challenges in non-primary states. After returning to Georgia, Branch and Hudson “vowed that at least one Georgia Democratic delegate would cast a Georgia vote for McCarthy.”¹⁴ Despite their youth, the two became prominent organizers in the challenge effort and worked with Negaro that summer to recruit attendees to the challenge convention in Macon. Branch spent time traveling around the state speaking at African-American churches, while Hudson worked the telephone at his workplace after hours, calling McCarthy supporters, anti-war activists, and civil rights workers.¹⁵

Since the challenge was generally modeled after the 1964 challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, racial balance and inclusion were important tenets of the organization. Although both the Forum and the McCarthy campaign believed in a racially inclusive challenge delegation, there was a concerted effort on behalf of Georgians for McCarthy organizers to recruit civil rights leaders and activists to attend the convention in Macon. It became an opportunity both to democratize participation in the presidential selection process and a strategy to create a stark contrast between the challenge delegation and the regular delegation, which included segregationists like Maddox and Gray. This overlap between the civil rights and antiwar movements was not uncommon in Georgia by 1968, but while both groups shared an interest in achieving racial equality and ending the Vietnam War, enlisting the participation of African-American leaders at the Forum convention proved challenging at first.¹⁶

Negaro and the student activists contacted several prominent civil rights leaders that summer, including former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) chairman John Lewis, former SNCC field secretary Charles Sherrod, and youthful Georgia representative Julian Bond, who had a history of bucking the Georgia political establishment. As a co-founder of SNCC, Bond had served as the organization's communications director for the first half of the decade. In 1966, Bond had won election to the Georgia State Assembly, but the body denied him the seat shortly after he endorsed an anti-Vietnam War statement released by SNCC. He took the matter to court and was reelected the following year, despite never having been allowed to take office. In December 1966, the US Supreme Court ruled in a 9-0 decision that the Georgia state government had violated Bond's freedom of speech, and he was finally sworn into office in January of 1967. The affair garnered attention nationwide and increased Bond's national prominence in the Democratic Party.¹⁷

Despite his loose involvement with the Forum, Bond was initially reluctant to attach his name to the fledgling challenge effort. He had been a Robert Kennedy supporter, but after Kennedy's assassination he lost interest in the election. The McCarthy campaign was persistent, however, believing Bond's participation would help bolster the credibility of the challenge convention, and the campaign continued to court Bond through visits and invitations to join the effort. It finally took the persuasion of fellow SNCC veteran Ivanhoe Donaldson to convince Bond to attend the convention in Macon. Donaldson was working as a staffer for the national McCarthy campaign, and Negaro contacted him for help with convincing his fellow civil rights veterans both to support McCarthy and attend the Macon convention. Donaldson persuaded Bond, in particular, to attend and speak at a few McCarthy events in Ohio, where he eventually endorsed McCarthy. Despite this show of support, Bond remained noncommittal about attending

the Forum's convention, but he agreed to participate just a week before the gathering. Bond ultimately decided to attend, he recalled, because he "believed in its purpose — establishing democratic procedures for picking delegates to the Democratic Convention, procedures that would require the delegation to be racially reflective of the state's Democrats."¹⁸ Bond's presence would become pivotal to the success of the challenge.

The Forum's attempts to mobilize attendees to the convention were less extensive and only marginally successful. Aside from organizing their members, the group's main push involved placing newspaper ads in the largest cities in Georgia, including Atlanta, Savannah, Augusta, Athens, and Macon. The Forum directed most of its attention on organizing the event. They invited both the Humphrey and McCarthy campaigns to send a representative to the convention to provide credibility to the proceedings. Although Humphrey had previously praised the work of the Forum, he had already locked up the support of Georgia's regular delegates and had little to gain and valuable delegate votes to lose by participating in the Forum's challenge, so the campaign ignored the Forum's attempts to make contact. Their refusal to join the effort put the Humphrey-leaning Forum members at a disadvantage compared to their McCarthyite counterparts.¹⁹

The Humphrey campaign's cautious approach left a vacuum in Georgia that the McCarthy campaign filled eagerly. The week of the convention, several national McCarthy staffers (including Sam Brown, Curtis Gans, and David Mixner) traveled to Georgia to organize and bolster the Macon event. Mixner, in particular, made a three-day run through southwest Georgia towns, including Americus, Albany, and Tifton, to answer questions from activists who were interested in participating. According to Mixner, securing activists from this area, which had seen some of the harshest civil rights battles in the nation, "would bring a poignant and

powerful human face to the challenge delegation.”²⁰ Gans and Brown, meanwhile, spent the last few days before the convention planning how their supporters might successfully organize to win the votes needed to control the delegation.

The Georgia Democratic Party Forum steering committee (led by chair Reverend John Morris, an Episcopal minister and civil rights activist) met on August 3 to prepare for the upcoming convention. At the meeting disagreements between Humphrey and McCarthy supporters flared immediately over how the delegation would be divided between the two candidates. Kehrer had insisted throughout the process that the challenge should remain nonpartisan, but organizers on both sides were hoping to tilt the convention in their candidate’s favor. One Forum member suggested that the delegates be divided 60-40, favoring Humphrey, but McCarthy supporters rejected the idea outright, arguing the move was undemocratic and would defeat the purpose of the convention. It was clear at this point that the convention would be a divisive event.²¹

The night before the Macon convention, tensions between the Humphrey-leaning Forum and the McCarthy campaigners worsened. Joseph Rauh, Curtis Gans, and Charles Negaro met with Al Kehrer, who was furious about their partisan approach to recruiting attendees. Negaro had run newspapers ads and television specials that week asking McCarthy supporters to attend the convention. The Humphrey campaign had given no such support to the Forum, and it was clear to Kehrer that McCarthy delegates were prepared to overrun the convention. He threatened to walk out the following day if Humphrey did not receive a majority of the votes. Fearing Kehrer would alter the rules to cheat them out of delegates, the McCarthy staffers considered using their influence with the attendees to have him removed from his chairmanship at the convention. Ultimately, they received assurances from Forum steering committee chair John

Morris that the convention would be run fairly. Kehrer nonetheless sent an early brief to the national Credentials Committee that placed emphasis on party loyalty, rather than on the racial balance and selection process considerations the McCarthy supporters preferred. The Forum also passed a rule banning campaign literature on the convention floor in Macon, fearing it might be used to sway attendees toward electing McCarthy delegates.

On the morning of August 10, over six hundred Democrats from every district in the state arrived at the Georgia Convention of Loyal National Democrats at the Dempsey Hotel in Macon. Julian Bond attended with his friend John Lewis, the former SNCC chairman, who had recently worked as an organizer for the Robert Kennedy campaign. (Lewis had even been present at the Ambassador Hotel when Kennedy was assassinated in June.) McCarthy supporters arrived on several buses funded by the campaign, along with McCarthy campaign officials Curtis Gans, Sam Brown, David Mixner, and the campaign's credentials coordinator, Joseph Rauh. As expected, the Humphrey campaign sent no representatives to the convention. All attendees were required to sign a loyalty pledge before being permitted entry onto the Macon convention floor.

Bond remembered it as an “orderly, but boisterous” event, filled with civil rights activists, anti-war clergymen, college students, and supporters of Senator McCarthy, that it was “a reflection of sentiment among grass-roots [*sic*] activists for him — they were those most likely to be attracted to an effort like this.” Early in the proceedings, attendees nominated and elected Kehrer chairman of the convention. Forum members delivered a series of speeches, and during his keynote address US representative John Conyers of Michigan pledged his support for their effort and his opposition to the Maddox delegation in Chicago. After Kehrer outlined the nomination procedures, the convention recessed at noon for lunch.²²

During the recess, the McCarthy faction put into motion a plan to skip lunch and hold

unofficial caucuses with their supporters to pre-select delegate chairmen and nominees before the convention reconvened at one o'clock. The early caucuses were intended to ensure that the McCarthy supporters were properly organized to avoid any confusion or conflict once the official caucuses began. McCarthy organizers believed this was vital. If McCarthy-leaning attendees were unable to select chairman or were divided in their selections, Forum members would have the opportunity to nominate and elect pro-Humphrey delegates. The plan, therefore, proved vital for ensuring the election of a slate of McCarthy supporters.²³

When the Macon convention reconvened, the attendees divided up by congressional districts to caucus and nominate delegates. Each district elected its own chairman to oversee nominations and votes. The pro-McCarthy attendees began successfully nominating and electing their pre-arranged delegate selections. The resulting delegation leaned heavily in favor of McCarthy. It was also split evenly between whites and African Americans, and the group included academics, business people, housewives, clergy members, farmers, and a number of significant civil rights pioneers, including Bond, Lewis, Charles Sherrod, state representative Ben Brown, and Celestine Hill, the first African-American student to integrate Georgia College in Milledgeville.

Forum leadership was not pleased with the outcome of the vote. Kehrer met with the newly elected district chairmen and received the results of caucus votes. After that meeting, he brought the convention to order and immediately resigned his chairmanship. He was joined by a handful of his fellow officers, including Forum secretary and labor lawyer Joe Jacobs, who scolded the attendees for what he called a "planned sabotage of this convention for the sake of a national presidential candidate." As the convention attempted to reorganize in his absence, Kehrer held a press conference outside the hotel where he labeled the challenge a "lost cause and

a tragedy placed squarely on the shoulders of the professional McCarthy staff.” He warned that they had “picked on the wrong fellow.” Before returning to the convention, he promised to reconvene the Forum to discuss the possibility of withdrawing the challenge brief.²⁴

Inside the hotel, the convention threatened to disintegrate without leadership. Attendee Robert Griffith of Athens described the situation as “chaotic.” Seven different attendees — including Julian Bond — rejected a nomination to replace Kehrer as chair before Forum member and McCarthy supporter ‘s Reverend James Hooten of Savannah accepted the position and presided over the remainder of the delegate selection process. The convention elected each of the district nominees and filled vacant delegate spots with Forum members and Humphrey supporters, both rewarding those who had worked to organize the challenge and also reducing the appearance of partisanship in Chicago. Those nominated for at-large seats included Hooten, Morris, and civil rights attorney Jack Ruffin. (Ruffin had successfully filed suit to desegregate public schools in Richmond County in 1964, and later became the first African-American chief judge of the Georgia Court of Appeals.) The convention twice nominated Kehrer to fill a vacant delegate seat, but he refused in protest.²⁵

Following the close of the convention that evening, the newly elected Georgia Delegation of Loyal National Democrats met and chose Hooten and Bond to serve as their co-chairmen, Ben Brown as the vice-chairman, women’s rights and civil rights activist Eliza Paschall as secretary, and attorneys Al Horn and George Walsh as legal counsel. The new delegation leadership decided to shift the focus of the challenge from party loyalty to racial representation and democratic selection. This approach, McCarthy supporters contended, would be more likely to succeed in Chicago; they argued that a challenge based solely on the party loyalty of Maddox and other conservative Democrats could be easily dismissed at the convention with a mere

loyalty pledge.²⁶

Supporting this strategy shift, Bond and Hooten submitted a new replacement brief to the DNC Credentials Committee in Chicago written by McCarthy campaign lawyer Al Harris; it arrived just before August 12 deadline. Upon leaving that meeting, the group became the de facto delegation, independent from both the Forum and the McCarthy for President Campaign. Delegate leadership agreed that major decisions would be made by the entire group, and only the new Loyalist leadership (Bond and Hooten) would speak publicly on behalf of the other delegates going forward.²⁷

Despite the successful conclusion of the convention in Macon, participants harbored little actual hope that their challenge would succeed. Georgia's regular delegation was comprised of some of the most prominent and powerful politicians in the state, some with personal connections to national party leaders — including Secretary of Agriculture Phil Campbell. Additionally, a precedent had been set four years earlier when the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation unsuccessfully challenged that state's party regulars at the 1964 Democratic Convention in Atlantic City. Planners in Georgia had based their own challenge on the Mississippi effort in the hope that it would bring publicity to the lack of democratic participation in Georgia's delegate selection process. "We didn't really expect to get seated," Taylor Branch recalled. "Since the Mississippi Freedom Democrats were expected to be seated in '68...maybe we would have the chance to be seated in '72." Publicly, Reverend Hooten was slightly more optimistic at the time; he placed their odds of success at "50-50." Despite their limited expectations, the Loyalist delegation pursued the challenge with passion. They spent the week before the credentials hearing devising their strategy and lobbying Credentials Committee members by mail and telephone in an attempt to sway their votes.²⁸

The state news media paid little attention to the Loyalist convention outside of Macon, where the coverage was predominantly negative in tone. The *Macon Telegraph and News* front page headline the following day read “Dissention Divides, Foils Demo Forum In Convention Here,” with a subheading that referred to the convention as a “Tragic Lost Cause.” Coverage of the event painted the delegation as a product of a hostile partisan takeover by McCarthy professional staffers. It was not the kind of attention helpful to a fledgling political movement hoping to challenge the establishment.²⁹

The regular Democratic Party leadership in Georgia thought even less of the Loyalists. Governor Maddox publicly ridiculed the organization, referring to them as “a bunch of soreheads,” and stated that if the challengers were seated, then he would be “the most surprised man in the country.”³⁰ Several of the most prominent members of the Georgia regular delegation were under the same impression because of their ties to the Humphrey campaign. After President Lyndon B. Johnson’s decision not to run for reelection, Vice President Humphrey had sought backing in Georgia through Campbell, seeking to shore up southern support against Robert Kennedy. Campbell and Chairman Gray both committed to taking leadership roles in the Humphrey campaign after the convention. Moreover, Georgia Democratic Party executive director Joe Sports had told the media that he had received assurances from national party leaders that Georgia’s regular delegation would be seated at the convention in Chicago. The Maddox delegation, therefore, maintained an air of confidence throughout the credentials challenge process, which made the ultimate result surprising to many on both sides.³¹

On Saturday, August 17, just two days before the Credentials Committee began hearing delegate challenges in Chicago, Governor Maddox complicated matters when he announced on the floor of the Georgia House of Representatives his candidacy for the Democratic presidential

nomination. He delivered a “law and order” speech before the body and declared that he had “been unable to find a representative of the conservative element of American society seeking the Democratic nomination for the highest office in our land”; he asserted that he had waited as long as his conscience would allow before deciding to run. His words were an unequivocal expression of the continually growing divide between the Georgia and national Democratic parties. The party that had spearheaded civil rights legislation was facing a backlash from its southern wing, and Maddox was determined to be one of the public faces of that backlash at the Chicago convention.³²

Maddox’s fellow regular Georgia delegates were split evenly in their support of him, although many of the most prominent members of the delegation later openly opposed his candidacy. Maddox’s lieutenant governor and political rival George T. Smith stated bluntly, “I cannot believe his candidacy will be taken seriously.” Party chairman Gray refused to comment on Maddox’s candidacy, and according to sources close to him, he was insulted when Maddox announced before notifying him. African-American legislator and regular delegate Leroy Johnson was, perhaps, harshest in his assessment when he said, “We’re tired of being made the laughing stock of the entire nation. Gov. Maddox puts us in that position too often.” The governor’s support within the delegation was comprised of many of his confidants, including his chief of staff T. Malone Sharpe, and state representative and former Maddox advisor Jack Gunter.³³

Julian Bond had flown to Chicago the day before Governor Maddox made his presidential announcement. He spent that Saturday campaigning with Eugene McCarthy on the city’s Southside at the Southern Christian Leadership Council’s Operation Breadbasket Chicago headquarters. During his introduction speech, Bond used the opportunity to mock Maddox’s

presidential run. He announced that “While we are sitting here something terrible is happening in my state. My governor is announcing his candidacy for president.” This was met with boos from the crowd.³⁴ The rest of the Georgia Loyalist leadership — including Reverend James Hooten, state representative Ben Brown, Reverend John Morris, and Al Horn — arrived on Monday, August 19. Taylor Branch and Parker Hudson also traveled to Chicago with the group and served in a staff-like capacity throughout the credentials contest. Charles Sherrod, meanwhile, drove a bus to the convention that week as well, bringing with him Reverend J. R. Campbell of Americus, who had been chosen by the Loyalist leadership to testify before the Credentials Committee.

The Committee on Credentials met on Monday, August 19 in the International Room of the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago. Overseen by the chairman, New Jersey governor Richard Hughes, the committee held its hearings in a courtroom-like setting. Anti-war protesters had broken the air conditioning system; this created a sweltering environment for the delegates and reporters, exacerbated by the crowd and powerful television camera lights. The committee had on its agenda an unprecedented seventeen delegate challenges from fifteen states. The committee did not schedule the Georgia delegate challenge until late Wednesday afternoon, which gave Bond’s group a couple of days to organize its presentations. Preparations were disrupted on Tuesday morning by the news that Forum chairman Al Kehrer and a group of his supporters were en route to Chicago. Unbeknownst to the Loyalist leadership, Kehrer had sent a message to the Credentials Committee after he resigned his convention chairmanship notifying them that he would attend the convention and argue the Forum’s original brief himself. The Loyalists feared — with good reason — that Kehrer’s presence would give the challenge effort a divided and disorganized appearance, severely impairing their chance of unseating Maddox’s delegation.³⁵

Bond suspected that Kehrer's actions were part of the Humphrey campaign's effort to discredit the Loyalist delegation. Bond contacted the vice president directly that evening and asked, for the good of all Georgia Democrats, that he dissuade Kehrer from testifying. Humphrey agreed to talk to Kehrer, but also took the opportunity to express his surprise that Bond opposed his candidacy. Humphrey had, after all, supported Bond's seating in the Georgia House of Representatives in 1966. Bond's response: "That was 1966, Mr. Vice-President, this is 1968." Humphrey promised he would look into it.³⁶

Within the hour, Ben Brown and Reverend Morris met with Kehrer and urged him not to testify at the Credentials Committee hearing the following day. Kehrer would only agree not to testify if the challengers promised to accept the final decision of the Credentials Committee and not submit a minority report on the convention floor if they lost the fight. This stipulation all but confirmed the Humphrey campaign's influence. A minority report submitted before the convention on national television would undoubtedly embarrass the party and endanger support for Humphrey from conservative southern Democrats. Reverend Morris's outrage over Kehrer's actions prompted a press conference that evening where he told reporters that he had lost friends and left his Humphrey buttons in his room. With no agreement reached with Kehrer, nothing was left for the Loyalist group to do but to prepare for their testimony the following afternoon.³⁷

The Credentials Committee hearing on the Georgia challenge began late Wednesday afternoon, August 21. Al Horn served as counsel for the challengers and called four witnesses to testify before the committee: Bond, Morris, Brown, and Campbell. Bond's testimony described the unbalanced racial composition of both the state party leadership and the Maddox delegation. Brown focused on the undemocratic nature of Georgia's delegate selection process, while Reverend Morris explained Maddox and Gray's lack of party loyalty. Both, after all, had

campaigns for Barry Goldwater in 1964. He argued that the Forum, in contrast, had successfully selected a challenge delegation loyal to the party.

The most compelling testimony of the session belonged to Reverend Campbell, whose testimony was crafted to give a voice to everyday citizens who had experienced firsthand the exclusionary tactics of Georgia's Democratic Party. He spoke specifically of the obstacles he had faced in South Georgia during his attempt to run for Americus city auditor in 1965. Campbell explained how the party stalled and shunned him during the application process, and how ultimately he was unable to run for office because of their obstruction. Moreover, he described how his wife had been arrested for attempting to vote using a white ballot box during that election. The Campbells's political activism was also met with physical intimidation. Campbell, his family, his home, and his church had received threats on multiple occasions; he had been told that if he acted "like a good boy, everything will be good."³⁸

The committee then called E.T. Kehrer and Forum secretary Joe Jacobs to testify on behalf of those convention planners who felt betrayed by the challenge process. Although they agreed with the sentiments of the Bond-led Loyalist delegation, their testimony before the committee highlighted the factional methods used to select their delegates and argued that the Loyalist delegation was tainted as a result. During the recess, Kehrer spoke to reporters and went so far as to claim that seating the Bond delegation would be just as undesirable as seating the regular delegation. Despite his best efforts, Kehrer's criticism of the Loyalist delegation was ultimately unimpressive, and did less to endanger their case to the Credentials Committee than the Loyalists feared it might.

The regular delegates' strategy was to distance themselves from Governor Maddox and the racial animosity associated with his politics. They preferred instead to highlight their more

moderate elements, even going so far as to request that the challengers not refer to them as Maddox delegates. Unsurprisingly, Maddox and Georgia Democratic chairman James Gray were absent from the hearing. Atlanta attorney and Credentials Committee member Lamar Sizemore represented the regular delegation and presented party loyalists — African Americans in particular — to testify against the challengers' claims. California state assemblyman and future San Francisco mayor Willie Brown, a champion of the Bond delegation during the hearings, led the cross examination of the Maddox-chosen delegates.³⁹

The witnesses included Lieutenant Governor Smith, Agriculture commissioner Campbell, attorney Irving Kaler, P. T. Yancey, and Mamie B. Reece, dean of women at Albany State College. Most of the witnesses confirmed their loyalty to the party, despite their misgivings about the selection process. Kaler, in response to accusations of improper selection, brought into question the validity of the challengers' own selection process, including the size of their Macon convention and the political maneuverings there, as previously highlighted in Kehrer's testimony. During her testimony, Yancey read telegrams of support from delegate and Georgia state senator Leroy Johnson, an African American, and Reverend Martin Luther King Sr. She admitted during questioning, however, that the regular delegation was not as racially balanced as she would have liked; Reece concurred. Following a rebuttal by Horn, the committee closed the hearing of the Georgia challenge at around 10:30 that evening.⁴⁰

Unsure of their standing with the Credentials Committee, the Georgia challengers abandoned their plan to return home to Atlanta. They had discovered they had a great deal of access to the members of the Credentials Committee in hallways, lobbies, and hotel bars. Consequently, Bond, Brown, and Reverend Hooten met personally with committee members during the remainder of the week to lobby for their cause. Branch and Parker prepared a fact

sheet highlighting the arguments of the challenge; members Willie Brown and Herman Badillo distributed copies to the committee. Because they had expected to fly back to Atlanta after the hearing, the Loyalist leadership had not packed for a longer stay. The running joke in the days following the hearings was that Bond had only packed one shirt, and it was Branch's job to iron it until his wife brought more.⁴¹

The Credentials Committee, meanwhile, remained in a tenuous position. The Georgia delegate challenge had forced national party leaders to confront the increasing influence of African Americans in the party and their reluctance to alienate the southern wing of the party. The media's characterization of the challenge as "Lester Maddox versus Julian Bond" further complicated matters because — among party regulars at least — each had their supporters and detractors. On Thursday, August 22, the Credentials Committee hinted it was considering splitting the two Georgia delegations and testing possible reactions from each group. The Georgia challengers decided to remain firmly opposed so as not to concede ground to the Maddox delegation prematurely. Hudson and Branch drafted a press release that was delivered by Bond; it reinforced the Loyalist position that the entirety of the Maddox delegation should be replaced. The regular delegation also remained unyielding in its opposition to the Bond-led delegation.

Around 2:00 a.m. on Friday, August 23, the Credentials Committee completed a compromise proposal to split Georgia's forty-one votes between the two delegations, with the last two votes assigned to Georgia's two national committee members, for a total of forty three votes. Each group was asked to produce a list of twenty-one delegates by 6:00 p.m. that day to fill out a combined delegation. Hughes's Solomon-like decision that split the delegations was meant to compensate for both the strengths and weaknesses of each delegation and, he hoped, to

provide the groundwork for future cooperation between the two sides. The sentiment represented wishful thinking on the committee's part since Governor Hughes had also made clear during questioning that he did not believe Lester Maddox would be an acceptable delegate for the combined delegation.⁴²

The regular delegation was displeased and openly angry with the decision. They had received assurances from party leaders that the challenge would be denied, and they were not amenable to compromise. Lester Maddox, in his usual hyperbolic style, likened the proposal to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, which had occurred earlier in the week. Maddox promised, "We are not going to accept under any circumstances a dilution of the delegation we sent to Chicago" and warned that any such compromise would force his delegation to walk out on the convention.⁴³ Additionally, Chairman Gray threatened to organize a group of southern delegates who would withhold their votes and deny Humphrey the nomination.

Bond and Hooten, in contrast, remained publicly noncommittal that evening on their delegation's response to the compromise. According to Reverend Morris, however, they were privately "delighted and celebrated the fact that once more Georgia politics had been turned upside down."⁴⁴ Despite their excitement, the Loyalist leadership was concerned about the convention's unit voting rule, which could be used to negate the Loyalist's votes if left in place. They agreed that they would need assurances from party leadership regarding the removal of the unit rule before any compromise was reached.⁴⁵

On Friday afternoon August 23, both the Georgia challenge leadership and Chairman Gray met with Governor Hughes to discuss the proposal. The Loyalists submitted their twenty-one-person delegate list and reiterated their concerns with the split, making clear that their cooperation was contingent upon these problems being addressed. Much to Hughes's irritation,

Chairman Gray flatly refused to accept the compromise delegation. Gray argued that he and other regular delegates had put in the hard work to organize and fundraise for the state Democratic Party; he could not kick half of those people off of the delegation for the benefit of outsiders who had failed to participate in the everyday work of the party. Gray's refusal to submit names for his half of the split delegation left the Credentials Committee with the unenviable task of trying to figure out a solution acceptable to both sides.⁴⁶

While the Credentials Committee wrestled with the delegate challenges that week, the Georgia Loyalist leadership was faced with the task of securing travel and boarding funds for the rest of the delegates, many of whom could barely afford to attend the convention in Macon, much less Chicago. Their solution was to come from an unlikely source. Bond contacted Walter Turner, a public relations representative for the Nation of Islam and a man whom Branch later described as looking like he came "straight out of *The Godfather*." Bond explained to Turner that the Loyalists had been unable to find accommodations for their delegation. Turner, for his part, claimed to have connections in the hotel industry and promised to secure them lodging. Finding money to pay for the rooms and flights remained a dilemma for the Loyalists, so Turner suggested they contact Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad for financial assistance. Bond and Branch were "incredulous" that someone who opposed participation in the political process might be willing to help them do just that. Despite their skepticism, Turner set up a meeting with his employer the following evening.⁴⁷

The next day, Bond traveled to Elijah Muhammad's Hyde Park mansion, where he joined a dinner party of Nation of Islam decision makers. With the women sitting on one side of the table and the men on the other as they ate, Muhammad asked each of his guests their opinions on whether or not they should provide financial support for the Georgia Loyalists. A majority of the

women opposed the idea, suggesting that Bond would “give all the money to the devils.” A majority of the men, however, supported the idea. In the end, Muhammad decided to help the challenge delegates by giving Bond \$3,000 in \$100 dollar bills. He explained to a stunned Bond that “in the Nation of Islam, we listen to the women, but we do what the men say to do.”⁴⁸

Bond remained unsure why Muhammad had decided to help his cause. He had asked Bond for nothing in return, and the two never spoke again. Regardless of motive, though, the money allowed the Loyalists to purchase airfare for the rest of the delegates to fly to Chicago and paid for their lodging during convention week. Most of the delegates were lodged in thirty rooms Turner secured at the Del Prado Hotel on Chicago’s Southside. The Crystal Room of the hotel was used as the Loyalists’ meeting space, and during the upcoming week the delegates were shuttled around the city in an old rented yellow school bus with no air conditioning, since most of the city’s other buses had already been booked. Those with knowledge of the incident kept the source of funding a secret with the understanding that, if publicly known, it would almost certainly endanger their chance to be seated at the convention. Most of the Georgia challenge delegates had assumed the money came from the McCarthy campaign or wealthy liberal donors. The true source remained a secret until Bond revealed it in 1996.

On Sunday, information on the fate of the Georgia delegates remained little more than rumor. The Credentials Committee was torn: on one hand they faced pressure from Humphrey supporters and southern delegates to reject the Bond-led challenge, and on the other the embarrassing prospect of throwing their support behind Lester Maddox. The committee’s inability to come to a compromise forced the party to leave Georgia off its temporary convention roll until the floor vote on Tuesday. The Georgia challengers spent the day organizing the logistics of their attendance at the convention, interacting with the media, and setting up

meetings with other delegations to lobby their support in case the Georgia challenge ever reached the floor of the convention.

Thousands of peace protesters had also arrived in Chicago that weekend, organized by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (the Yippies) and dozens of other anti-war groups. The city denied the protesters permission to sleep in the city parks and, on the Sunday night before the convention, the Chicago police force clashed with demonstrators while evacuating Lincoln Park after curfew. In an excessive use of force, during the sweep of the park police clubbed and gassed the protesters, along with reporters, photographers, and bystanders. John Lewis remembered the city to be “in a state of near war” upon the arrival of the Georgia delegation. He compared downtown Chicago that week to a “battlefield” smelling of “tear gas and stink bombs, and marijuana.”⁴⁹ The events of Sunday night were the commencement of a week of violence that culminated on Wednesday night, and that would shape the public’s view of the convention, the Democratic Party, and the state of the nation.

Early Monday morning, Governor Maddox resigned his spot in the Georgia regular delegation. He had up to that point resisted calls to step down for the benefit of the rest of the delegation. With the Credentials Committee meeting to make a final decision that day, however, Maddox’s presence had become a powerful target for the Loyalist challenge. The governor dubbed his move “an effort to show that we’re willing to try to build unity in the national Democratic Party.”⁵⁰ Chairman Gray believed Maddox’s resignation strengthened his delegation’s cause, but the move came much too late to have any effect on the challenge, which seemed almost certain to succeed in claiming at least half of the regular delegate votes.

Bond, meanwhile, spent the morning meeting with the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York delegations to deliver speeches requesting their support for the Georgia Loyalists on the

convention floor. The lobbying proved to be time well spent. Slender, handsome, and poised, the twenty-eight-year-old state representative and civil rights leader was also a charismatic speaker; he garnered goodwill from every group he addressed, and his growing status among the liberal delegates ultimately paid dividends at the convention. The New York delegation's reception was particularly hospitable, and the group later voted to support the challenge on the convention floor. Ivanhoe Donaldson argued that Bond's success with the various state delegations was because he was a known quantity to reformers in the Democratic Party: "You say 'Julian Bond would like to speak to your delegation for five minutes about the challenge,' and people would make space. It would have been impossible for the Georgia delegation to have done as well as they did with anybody else, even though the challenge would have been the same, just as legitimate and just as honest."⁵¹

While Maddox and the two opposing delegations jockeyed for position on Monday, the Credentials Committee continued working to find a compromise solution for Georgia that would prevent turmoil and embarrassment on the convention floor. Richard Hughes had been unable to convince Lieutenant Governor George T. Smith to accept a compromise during a meeting the previous day. The committee also floated an alternate compromise to the Loyalists in which the whole of each delegation would be seated and the two sides would split the votes. The Loyalist delegation, however, maintained their strategy of refusing to compromise, but Bond also promised that his delegation would not walk out of the convention, regardless of the committee's final proposal.

The next day, the Credentials Committee, in an attempt to force through the alternate solution to the Georgia delegate challenge, used Bond's promise not to walk out to imply that the Loyalists had accepted the compromise. Committee member Willie Brown was surprised by the

turn of events and called Bond to ask why he had accepted the new proposal. Bond rushed to the Hilton to plead his case before the committee, but they quickly passed the compromise before he had the opportunity. Brown and several other Credentials Committee members drafted a minority report calling for the complete rejection of the Maddox delegation and relayed it to Governor Hughes, but the governor's counsel denied having ever received the minority report and claimed it was too late for a replacement.⁵²

With this background of Machiavellian moves and countermoves, the Democratic National Convention opened its first session Monday evening at the International Amphitheatre. The Georgia Loyalist delegates rode their school bus to the convention and sang hymns and civil rights songs along the way, with two of them played their harmonicas. Upon entering the amphitheater, the Loyalists discovered that they had been given seats in the balcony with the observers, while the regular Georgia delegation had been given the credentials needed to sit on the floor of the convention with the certified delegates. According to one of the Loyalist delegates, Julian Bond likened the seating arrangements to being segregated in a "pre-1964 Atlanta movie palace."⁵³ It was from this balcony that the Loyalist delegates watched the opening of the convention, including a rendition of the national anthem by Aretha Franklin. Then mayor Richard J. Daley spoke, extolling the virtues his city and promising "as long as I am mayor of this town, there will be law and order in Chicago."⁵⁴ His speech foreshadowed the looming violence in Chicago's streets and the aggressive security measures within the amphitheater that were to come.

Bond left the group and retrieved a pass from the McCarthy headquarters. He then found Iowa governor Harold Hughes on the convention floor and requested his assistance in getting passes for the rest of his delegation. The governor called Richard Hughes and demanded the

passes, which were issued. Willie Brown and Herman Badillo, meanwhile, approached Chairman Hughes with media cameramen in tow and presented him with a newly written two-page Credentials Committee minority report that supported the full seating of the challengers. The committee's attempts to avoid a credentials fight on the floor of the convention had clearly failed.⁵⁵

During the California delegation's motion to delay the credentials report, Bond and Reverend Hooten led the Loyalists down to the convention floor toward the Georgia regular delegation. The Loyalists's appearance brought cheers from the convention floor as everyone turned to witness their arrival. As the challengers passed through the security gate, they were swept up in a mob of reporters, delegates, and security. "I was literally picked up off my feet and moved," Parker Hudson remembered, "I had no control over whether I was going left or right.... I'm surprised nobody got killed or fainted."⁵⁶ Tension mounted as the challengers approached the seated Georgia regular delegation. Bond and Hooten were immediately met by Georgia Democratic Party executive director Joe Sports, who informed them that there was not enough space for the challenge delegates. Sports recalled that his greatest concern at this anxious moment was "that one of our own delegates was carrying a pistol in his coat pocket and had been reflecting a bit of temper all evening."⁵⁷ Fortunately, the tension was diffused when the Loyalists moved away from the area to sit with other groups, including the Wisconsin and Mississippi delegations. Despite their haphazard placement, the new arrivals enjoyed celebrity status on the floor and were greeted and congratulated by, among other, delegates Paul Newman and Shirley MacLaine.⁵⁸ The Loyalist group remained divided on the floor until convention staff provided them folding chairs in the far front corner of the convention floor late in the evening.

During the Monday session, the convention took votes late that evening on the

Mississippi, Washington, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Connecticut, and Texas delegate challenges; only the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation successfully overthrew their regular counterparts. The Georgia challenge was taken up at around 1:30 a.m. by Chairman Hughes. The Georgia vote was originally planned to take place during the second session on Tuesday evening, but officials moved it up to the early morning hours of the first session to avoid possible confrontation and bad publicity. Moreover, both Bond and Gray were denied access to the podium for fear of further inciting tension on the floor. In anticipation of the vote, inflammatory literature describing Julian Bond as a “‘mulatto’ who recommended forced miscegenation” was anonymously distributed on the convention floor.⁵⁹

Governor Hughes read the Credentials Committee’s majority report for Georgia, which recommended that the state’s forty-one delegates be split between the two delegations, as long as they pledged their loyalty to the Democratic Party. Temporary chairman Senator Daniel Inouye then allotted time for speakers to present their minority reports. Bronx borough president Herman Badillo spoke in support of the minority report that recommended that the Loyal National Democrats receive the full allocation of delegate votes, and declared that the “time for shoddy compromises is past.” California assemblyman Willy Brown then spoke on behalf of the Julian Bond and the Georgia Loyalist delegates, announcing their rejection of the compromise in the majority report, despite rumors to the contrary.⁶⁰

The chairman of the convention requested a roll call vote on the minority report supporting the Georgia Loyalists. The report was defeated 1413-1041½, to the vocal displeasure of many of the attendees. Before the second minority report (which called for the complete seating of the regular delegation) could be addressed on the floor, there was a major distraction. Chants of “Julian Bond, Julian Bond” echoed through the amphitheater, led by the New York,

California, and Wisconsin delegations. During the demonstration, California delegate Charles E. Anderson burned his credentials. The convention band tried to stifle the uproar with no success, and Chairman Inouye's attempt to gavel the convention back to order also failed to silence the crowd. Inouye instead accepted a motion to adjourn the proceedings at around 2:45 a.m. as the crowd continued to voice its support for the Georgia Loyalists. The small group of rebellious Democrats who were once dismissed as a rump delegation were now front page news from Chicago to Atlanta.⁶¹

The second day of the Democratic National Convention opened on August 27 with a prayer from Billy Graham, followed by Anita Bryant singing "Happy Birthday" to President Johnson. That evening, the first piece of business was a vote on Georgia's national committeeman William P. Trotter's minority report calling for the entire Maddox-selected regular delegation to be seated. The report was promptly rejected by voice vote. The chairman then brought up the Credentials Committee's majority compromise proposal to split Georgia's votes between the regulars and the loyalists. That report was approved by voice vote just as swiftly and with no ceremony. But with that vote, the Georgia Loyalists became official delegates at the 1968 convention. It was a feat few had thought possible.⁶²

In response to the vote, twenty Georgia regular delegates — including Chairman Gray — walked out of the convention rather than sit with the newly seated Loyalist delegation. Lieutenant Governor Smith refused to attend the session altogether to avoid association with either Gray or Bond. Most of the delegates who left Chicago on Tuesday were politicians who had decided it would be unwise to be seen cooperating with the party's more liberal elements, including civil rights and anti-war activists. More specifically, Smith simply stated, "No elected Democratic Georgia official can afford to be seated with Julian Bond."⁶³ The writer Norman

Mailer interviewed an anonymous Georgia delegate who had walked out that evening; he called the decision “high handed” and threatened to “work for Mr. Wallace” upon his return home.⁶⁴ Georgia representative McKee Hargrett attempted to remove the Georgia standard from the convention hall in protest during the walkout, but he was detained by convention security and removed from the floor. It was during this incident that reporter Dan Rather was famously punched and pushed to the floor by convention security while trying to interview Hargrett.⁶⁵ The violent treatment endured by Rather on the convention floor became one of many televised incidents of the police-state-like environment that existed in Chicago throughout the week.

All of the African Americans named to the regular delegation remained at the convention, including state senators Leroy Johnson and Horace Ward and state representative R. A. Dent. Despite their presence with the delegation, they had no love for the politics of Governor Maddox and Chairman Gray, and they had no intention of participating in their protest of the compromise. Many of the other regular delegates who refused to participate in the walkout did so for personal reasons. According to one delegate, “A lot of wives are here and they’ve hired baby-sitters for the whole week — and they’re going to stick around.”⁶⁶ Those regulars who remained at the convention were also Democrats committed to supporting the party nominee, including Atlanta attorney Irving Kaler and Joe Sports, who was in charge of the delegate accommodations.

The two newly created Georgia delegations, including the remnant of the regular delegation, were seated in the same area of the convention floor, but lingering resentment prevented much cooperation between the groups. Reverend Hooten proposed they submit votes as one united Georgia delegation, but regular leadership rejected the idea and submitted their votes separately from the Loyalists for the remainder of the convention. The regulars also

refused to allow the Loyalists to use their microphone, and the Loyalists were forced to request their own microphone to be able to vote on the floor. On at least one occasion relations between the two groups became physically contentious, as Ben Brown recalled pushing between the two groups in what he described as “an ugly scene.”⁶⁷

During the Tuesday session, the split Georgia delegations participated in two procedural votes, one on the future of the delegate selection process and the other on the fate of the convention’s unit rule. After the convention rejected challenges from Alabama and Michigan, Hughes brought one final resolution from the Credentials Committee. He called for the creation of a commission to examine how states might more openly select their delegates so that such delegate challenges as these in 1968 could be avoided in 1972. This resolution passed by voice vote and was to become one of the most significant and far-reaching events of the convention. The Georgia Loyalists played a significant part in forcing the resolution that would lead to the formation of the McGovern-Fraser Commission⁶⁸

Later that evening, a vote was taken on the future of the unit rule. The unit rule had previously required state delegations to cast their entire allotment of votes based on the decision of the majority. The Georgia loyalists voted unanimously in favor of discarding the unit rule during the roll call vote, while the Georgia regular delegation voted eighteen and a half to four for the same. Eventually, the unit rule was struck down by the convention by a vote of 1,350 to 1,206.⁶⁹ The two votes were representative of the Georgia Loyalists’ cause of democratizing the practices of the Democratic Party by breaking the power of party leaders. It was fitting that they were able to participate in the ultimate outcome of those two significant votes.

The most controversial issue remaining before the convention on Tuesday was the party’s Vietnam War platform plank. The convention planners waited until after 1:00 a.m. to bring the

debate to the floor to place it safely out of reach of the prime-time television viewing audience. Those who supported McCarthy's minority peace plank had no intention of letting the party leadership hide either the debate or their opposition to the war, so they shouted down the proceedings until the chairman was forced to adjourn the Tuesday session. Much to the chagrin of the Georgia regulars, many of the Georgia Loyalists participated in this show of rebellion, standing on chairs and shouting down the chairman with chants of "Let's go home."⁷⁰

On Wednesday morning, Governor Maddox officially ended his eleven-day presidential run during a press conference in the Grand Ballroom of the Hilton, capping the Loyalists' victory of the previous evening. As his wife Virginia wept, Maddox denounced the Democrats as the party of "looting, burning, killing, and draft card burning," and lamented how the party refused "to tolerate any voice of reason, common sense and conservatism." He further announced that he planned to rescind the authority of the remaining regular Georgia delegates to represent their state at the convention. Later, Maddox privately recanted the order since many of his friends had decided to remain at the convention. That afternoon, Maddox took a plane back to Atlanta but continued to comment to the press on the news from Chicago. During a press conference the following day, the Georgia governor mocked Vice President Humphrey by joking that his initials stood for "hell-hell-hell" and confirmed his intention to campaign against the eventual Democratic nominee.⁷¹ His resentment symbolized the conservative South's frustration with the national Democratic Party and foreshadowed Georgia's electoral votes going for George Wallace in November.

Meanwhile, back in Chicago, the Democratic National Convention reconvened on Wednesday afternoon. After Mahalia Jackson sang "The Lord's Prayer" and "Ain't Gonna Study War No More," the debate on the Vietnam War plank of the party platform continued. The

majority report advocated for a continuation of the Johnson administration's policy on Vietnam. Peace advocates, including the supporters of McCarthy and McGovern, backed the proposed minority plank, which called for American withdrawal from Southeast Asia. After nearly four hours of debate, a roll call vote was taken on the minority plank. The regular Georgia delegates voted unanimously against the peace plank, while the Georgia Loyalists voted nineteen and a half votes for with one vote against. The minority peace plank was eventually defeated 1,567 $\frac{3}{4}$ votes to 1,041 $\frac{1}{4}$ votes, which was a sign that peace advocates were not as influential in the amphitheater as they would be in the streets of Chicago that evening. The convention then quickly adjourned as a group of delegates sang "We Shall Overcome." This result implied that if the Democratic Party won the presidency in November there would be no immediate end to the war. Notwithstanding these foreign policy implications, the defeat of the peace plank at the convention would have a dramatic effect on Chicago that night and subsequently on the fortunes of the Democratic Party for a decade.

The convention reconvened at 7:00 p.m. and began nominations for president. Iowa governor Hughes placed Senator Eugene McCarthy's name in nomination. The McCarthy campaign selected Julian Bond to deliver his seconding nomination from the podium on the convention stage that evening. The selection was a last-minute decision undoubtedly influenced by Bond's popularity among McCarthy supporters at the convention. Composed by McCarthy speechwriter and future Oscar-winning screenwriter Jeremy Lerner, the speech reached Bond backstage via teletype just minutes before he went onstage. The rousing speech was inspired by the challenge efforts of the Georgia Loyalists, and Bond used it to electrify the crowd. He spoke of 1968 as "a year of people, students and teachers, black and white, workers and housewives. All over the world people want to be free to speak, to move about, free to protest, free to be

heard, free to live honorable lives and, most of all, free to participate in the politics which affect their lives.” Bond referred not only to the delegate challenges and their struggle to increase democratization within the party, but also of his commitment, and that of activists around the nation to the civil rights and peace movements that had helped shape his delegation’s presence at the convention. The speech epitomized everything that Julian Bond and his Loyalist delegation were working for at the convention.⁷²

As the nominations proceeded, video and reports were being relayed to the convention hall of riots in the streets of Chicago. The violence could be traced back to the moment when news of the convention’s rejection of the peace plank reached Grant Park by radio. The failure of the delegates to support withdrawal from Vietnam created frustration and unrest among those demonstrators that had gathered for a rally at the park’s bandshell. After 7 p.m., the crowd of protesters moved out of the park to participate in an unauthorized march down Michigan Avenue to the convention site. The marchers, whose numbers eventually swelled to over four thousand, were blocked by police at the Balbo Avenue intersection. At 7:57 p.m., the police moved into the crowd and began an indiscriminate and brutal demonstration of violence later known as “The Battle of Michigan Avenue.” The “battle” lasted only seventeen minutes, but during that relatively brief time the police beat, clubbed, gassed, and arrested demonstrators, along with bystanders, reporters, photographers, cameramen, campaign workers, and clergymen.

In one particular incident, a group of demonstrators and onlookers were forced through the plate glass window of the Conrad Hilton Hotel’s Haymarket Lounge. The police followed the protesters through the broken window and began beating them in the bar. Among those assaulted was David Mixner, the McCarthy staffer who had traveled through southwest Georgia earlier in the month to encourage participation in the Macon convention. Officers beat him with

nightsticks and chanted “Kill! Kill! Kill!” while he lay curled on the floor. After the officers left the lounge, Mixner limped through the debris-covered streets back to Grant Park with the other protesters. He remained on crutches for several months after the convention.⁷³

During the riot, protesters chanted “The whole world is watching,” as the media filmed the violence in the streets. Because of a telephone workers’ strike, cameramen were forced to relay raw tapes of the events to their various headquarters, where they were aired as part of that evening’s convention coverage. The delegates, including the Georgia Loyalists, watched the events from televisions in the lounges of the amphitheater and voiced their outrage during the remainder of the Wednesday night proceedings. During his nomination of Senator George McGovern, Connecticut senator Abraham Ribicoff famously referred to the violence as “Gestapo tactics in the streets of Chicago.” Mayor Daley appeared to curse him for the accusation. Ribicoff responded, “How hard it is to accept the truth when we know the problems facing our nation.”⁷⁴ During the remainder of the evening’s proceedings heavy security surrounded the Illinois delegation, in effect sealing Mayor Daley away from the rest of the convention.

The Georgia Loyalists also took the opportunity to go on record that evening against the violence in the streets. During the presidential roll call vote, Julian Bond prefaced his delegation’s selections, stating, “Because of the atrocities in downtown Chicago, Georgia’s Loyal National Democrats cast their votes only with reluctance.” The Georgia Loyalist delegation then cast thirteen and a half votes for McCarthy, two and a half votes for Humphrey, three votes for Reverend Channing Phillips (the first African American to ever receive votes for president at a Democratic convention), one vote for George McGovern, and one half vote for Edward Kennedy (cast by John Lewis in honor of Robert Kennedy).⁷⁵ Branch and Hudson had more than fulfilled their vow to secure at least one Georgia vote for McCarthy at the convention,

but they could not have imagined it would come under such dire circumstances.

Humphrey won the nomination just after midnight, and the convention adjourned soon after. The Georgia Loyalists met with several other delegations and learned of plans to march down Michigan Avenue to Grant Park to protest the evening's violence. They boarded their rented school bus and dropped off a part of the delegation back at the hotel before heading downtown. Tension was high among the delegates, who feared the violence would continue. Along the way, John Lewis instructed the group on how to react should they be attacked. He knew firsthand of the dangers of political protest. During his participation in the civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965, he and hundreds of protesters had been beaten and gassed by Alabama state troopers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Few were more qualified to offer advice on the subject.

Upon their arrival downtown, the Georgia delegates found that the violence had subsided, but the smell of tear gas remained in the air, along with a lingering unease between the police and protesters. Delegates from New York, California, Oregon, Wisconsin, Georgia, and several other states carried candles in Pepsi cups and sang "We Shall Overcome" as they marched down Michigan Avenue into the park to meet the recently beaten protesters.⁷⁶

Loyalist delegation secretary Eliza Paschall was among the marchers to enter Grant Park that Wednesday night and compared the experience to memories of her service as a Red Cross worker during World War II:

"The quiet singing, the candles, all reminded me of another scene. . . Christmas Eve.... Then we were across from the Hilton and into the picture is a new silhouette, helmets and bayonets outlined against the dawning sky. That too was in another Christmas Eve picture back in my mind – a Christmas in Belgium during World War II, when Red Cross workers, like

myself, and American soldiers rode around in an army truck, singing quietly. Then there was the Enemy that might be disturbed by the singing. The soldiers, now as then were American, but this time they were facing me instead of beside me, facing out. And suddenly it didn't seem like Christmas Eve any more and all I wanted to do was to sit on the grass and rub my feet and cry and cry and try to figure out what had happened to my country.”

Event organizers collected bail money for those protesters who had been arrested during the riot. Some occupants of the Conrad Hilton across the street flashed their hotel room lights in support of the rally. Julian Bond was one of many delegates and protesters to speak before the crowd that had gathered in the park. Additional speakers included Norman Mailer and New York senatorial candidate Paul O'Dwyer. The gathering remained peaceful and lasted through the night.

The next afternoon, while Humphrey was announcing Edmund Muskie as his vice-presidential selection, Julian Bond spoke before a crowd of five thousand demonstrators at Grant Park; they were angry and restless as a result of the previous night's violence. Bond recalled the “tense” mood at the gathering: “You could sort of smell the tension in the air, and you knew that the police had beaten people the night before and would beat them again if they got any provocation or any chance.” According to reporter Jack Colwell, Bond delivered a “calming” and “persuasive” impromptu speech to the protesters, pleading that they not “lash out blindly at blue uniforms or brown uniforms.” Bond contended that not all of the policemen participated in the beatings and that some might also oppose the war. He and Dick Gregory then introduced Eugene McCarthy, who gave what amounted to a concession speech to the dejected onlookers. He told them that he could not support either presidential candidate going forward, which was met with applause. After McCarthy and Bond left the demonstration, the protesters attempted to

organize a march to the amphitheater but were turned away with tear gas.⁷⁷

The final evening of the convention opened with a memorial film in honor of Robert Kennedy. Some in the crowd sang the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” to prevent the continuation of the convention, but Mayor Daley was prepared. He had stocked the convention hall with union supporters of his own to drown out the crowd. After a moment of silence for Martin Luther King Jr., the convention opened up to consider nominations for vice president. Edmund Muskie of Maine had already informally secured the nomination, but there was an effort by the peace wing of the party to nominate a McCarthy supporter. This parliamentary tactic would give Allard Lowenstein the opportunity to deliver a nomination speech condemning the tactics of Mayor Daley, both inside the amphitheater and in the streets outside. With time running out to nominate a candidate, Ted Warshafsky of the Wisconsin delegation took to the microphone: “We wish to offer in nomination the wave of the future. It may be a symbolic nomination tonight, but it may not be symbolic for years hence. We offer in nomination with the greatest pleasure the name of Julian Bond.”⁷⁸ With those words, the convention erupted in approval. Lowenstein took the microphone to deliver a planned speech, but convention organizers had anticipated the move and shut the microphone off before he was able to speak.

Despite the plan’s failure, Bond’s nomination marked a milestone in American political history. Bond had become the first African American to be nominated for vice president by a major party in United States history. The Wisconsin delegation had not told him of their plans, and he was taken aback to hear his name announced. Despite the surprise, Bond handled the media with his customarily calm and measured demeanor. During an interview with CBS, Bond said that he hoped his nomination would be used to discuss “poverty, racism, [and] war,” in the United States, subjects which he believed had been overlooked at the convention. Dan Rather

asked Bond if he believed his name was now a household word. He responded, “No, no, no. It’s barely a household word in my own house. I’m not there very often.”⁷⁹

Notwithstanding Bond’s modest tone, his participation as part of the Georgia Loyalist delegate challenge had made him a star of the convention. Norman Mailer described him as “extraordinarily popular” and suggested that “his name alone possessed an instant charisma... people cheered hysterically whenever it was mentioned on the podium, and the sound, ‘Julian Bond,’ became a chant.” McCarthy staffer Charles Negaro later referred to Bond as the “Fannie Lou Hamer of 1968.” John Lewis, who had stood at Bond’s side at that moment, later wrote that Bond had become a “national symbol... both of the opposition to the war and of the new generation poised to inherit the nation’s political mantle.”⁸⁰ Liberals had pined for charismatic and inspirational leaders after the assassinations of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., and in 1968 Chicago Bond filled that vacuum for many Democrats and much of the New Left. Henceforth, Julian Bond was to be a national figure and a respected voice for justice and equality.

Constitutionally, nominees for vice president are required to be thirty-five years of age and Julian Bond was only twenty-eight years old at the time. Consequently, when the roll call vote reached the Georgia Loyalist delegation, Bond withdrew his name from consideration. Nonetheless, Bond finished with forty-eight and a half votes (including a half vote from the Georgia regular delegation), second only to eventual nominee Muskie. His nomination was a highlight for everyone who had worked to make the Georgia delegation challenge a success and tried to bring attention to the discrimination against African Americans and the marginalization of liberals in Georgia’s Democratic Party.⁸¹

At the close of the convention, Bond gathered the Georgia Loyalist delegates and thanked

them for their service to the cause. They had challenged the power of the political establishment by wresting away delegate votes from Lester Maddox, successfully building their efforts on the work of the Mississippi Freedom Democrats in 1964. Bond and his band of Loyalists represented for many Democrats the direction in which they wanted to take the party. They epitomized a future national Democratic party that rejected the military adventurism and racial politics of the southern Democratic wing of the party, a future that embraced diversity and emphasized social justice and economic opportunity. Ironically, few of the Loyalists ever worked together again in the political realm after the convention, but their legacy lived on in the politics of both Georgia and the nation.

The Georgia delegation challenge of 1968 represented the state Democratic Party's ongoing evolution from a conservative organization to a more liberal one aligned with the principles of the national party. Following the close of the convention, a group of elected Democratic officials known as the "Capitol Clique" dramatically and publicly switched their allegiance to the Republican Party; they included Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell, Comptroller General James Bentley, Treasurer Jack Ray, and Public Service Commissioners Crawford Pilcher and Alpha Fowler. Most of Georgia's other prominent conservatives refused to defect from the Democratic Party that year and the switch ultimately hindered their political careers. But the high-profile new Republicans illustrated the increasing shift in the political allegiances of Georgia conservatives that began with President Truman's desegregation of the military and Johnson's support of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights acts. This conservative realignment continued in the decades that followed, with the Republican Party eventually controlling a majority of the state's elected offices — including the governorship — by the early twenty-first century. The Georgia Democratic Party, conversely, gradually lost power in the state

and came to resemble closely the composition of the Loyalist delegation: a party of liberals, African Americans, women, college students, and college graduates.

The most significant effect of Georgia's delegate challenge (and the challenges from Mississippi and a dozen other states) was the change wrought on the presidential nominating process. The challenges at the convention in Chicago represented the general dissolution of the autocratic method of selecting presidential candidates. That process was run by party leaders and involved very little voter participation. For example, Hubert Humphrey won the nomination in 1968 without participating in a single preference primary. After 1968, selections made by political bosses no longer satisfied the Democratic electorate. Additionally, the delegation selection process had discouraged and excluded the participation of minorities and women. In response, party officials established a commission after the 1968 election to examine how Democrats might reinvent the delegate selection process. The Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, first led by Senator George McGovern and later by Representative Donald Frasier (along with member David Mixner), addressed the problem by exposing the unjust party practices and creating recommended guidelines that allowed for the open, inclusive, and timely selection of delegates to the national convention. The commission's findings were adopted by the Democratic Party in 1971 and eventually led to the widespread adoption of state primaries as a means for selecting candidates. The Republican Party also turned quickly to primaries. The selection practices adopted by both parties in early 1970s came about as a direct result of the delegate challenges at the 1964 and 1968 Democratic National Conventions; they embarrassed party leaders into supporting the democratization of the delegate and candidate selection processes.⁸²

The challenge also helped bring about gradual changes to delegate selection in Georgia.

In 1969, Chairman Gray established a thirty-person commission to study the state party's rules. When the commission advised moving toward democratizing the state's delegation process, Gray rejected the commission's recommendation. But Jimmy Carter, upon taking office as governor of Georgia in 1971, pledged to open up delegate selection to conventions held in each state senatorial district. As a result, the Forum decided not to challenge the state's delegates in 1972. The state finally instituted its first presidential primary in 1976 and unsurprisingly pledged its delegates to Georgia native Jimmy Carter. The Forum and the Georgia Delegation of Loyal National Democrats' goal of breaking loose the state's delegates from the control of party bosses had been achieved in less than a decade.⁸³

Two months after the close of the convention in Chicago, Julian Bond sent correspondence to the Loyalist delegation participants who "made a lot of people eat their words." In his letter he thanked them for their service and succinctly conveyed the significance of the group of rebellious Democrats: "The sound and the fury of Chicago is dying, and for most people, will soon be forgotten. But I don't think that any of us will ever forget that we represented the best of Georgia in Chicago, that we fought a long hard battle for what we believe in and we very nearly completely won it. We haven't changed the Democratic Party of Georgia, as some of the regulars seem to think we have. It still remains in the hands of the same old courthouse crowd as before. What we have done is shown that ordinary people...housewives, a lot of ministers, students and workers, rich and poor, black and white...can work together in a just cause."⁸⁴

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² The plank was supported by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who became the party's 1968 presidential nominee.

³ See Jack Bass and Walter DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945* (New York, 1976); Kari A. Frederickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South, 1932–1968* (Chapel Hill, 2001); Dewey W. Grantham, *The Life & Death of the Solid South: A Political History* (Lexington, 1988); Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South* (New York, 1984).

⁴ Tim S. R. Boyd, *Georgia Democrats, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Shaping of the New South* (Gainesville, 2012).

⁵ For an examination of post-war politics in Georgia, see Numan V. Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia* (Athens, 1983); Boyd, *Georgia Democrats*; Charles Bullock and Ronald Keith Gaddie, *Georgia Politics in a State of Change* (Boston, 2010); Kenneth Coleman, ed., *A History of Georgia* (Athens, 1991); Arnold Fleischmann and Carol Pierannunzi, *Politics in Georgia* (Athens, 2007). On Lester Maddox's political rise in Georgia, see Bruce Galphin, *The Riddle of Lester Maddox* (Atlanta, 1968); Lester Maddox, *Speaking Out: The Autobiography of Lester Garfield Maddox* (New York, 1975); Bob Short, *Everything is Pickrick: The Life of Lester Maddox* (Macon, 1999). On the 1966 Georgia gubernatorial election see *Congressional Quarterly*, Gubernatorial Elections, 1787–1997 (Washington, D.C., 1998), 108.

⁶ Rules and Regulations, The State Executive Committee, Democratic Party of Georgia, 21 June

21, 1967, box 339, folder 18, Georgia Democratic Party Forum Records, Georgia State University Special Collections, Atlanta, Georgia (hereafter cited as Forum Records).

⁷ Statement of Julian Bond, August 1968, box 1, folder 36, Lipscomb Collection, Founders Memorial Library, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois (hereafter cited as Lipscomb Collection); United States Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1968*, <http://www2.census.gov/library/publications/1968/compendia/statab/89ed/1968-02.pdf>; *Atlanta Constitution*, July 3–4, 1968; *Atlanta Journal*, July 3, 1968; *Atlanta Inquirer*, August 10, 1968.

⁸ Richard J. Hughes to party chairmen, July 26, 1967, box 2, folder 40, Lipscomb Collection.

⁹ The MFDP was a political party established in 1964 in response to the political exclusion and disenfranchisement of African Americans in Mississippi. The group mounted a delegate challenge at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, highlighted by an impassioned speech by sharecropper and civil rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer. Fearing that legitimizing the challenge could drive Mississippi Democrats to support Barry Goldwater, the party only offered the MFDP two non-participating seats, which they refused. The event brought national attention to the political discrimination faced by African Americans in the South and forced the Democratic Party to address those inequalities at the 1968 convention. See Taylor Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–1965* (New York, 1998), p. 456–476; Lisa Anderson Todd, *For a Voice and the Vote: My Journey with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party* (Lexington, Kentucky, 2014); Earnest N. Bracey, *Fannie Lou Hamer: The Life of a Civil Rights Icon* (Jefferson, North Carolina, 2011).

¹⁰ *Augusta Chronicle*, July 2, 1968; *Macon News*, August 10, 1968.

¹¹ Written statement by E. T. Kehrer, July 1, 1968, box 337, folder 4, Forum Records; John Morris, “A Summary of Factors Which Went Into the Georgia Challenge as I was Involved in

it,” April 1969, series IV, subseries C, box 1, folder 3, John B. Morris Papers, Richard B. Russell Library, Athens, Georgia (hereafter cited as Morris, “Summary of Factors”); *Augusta Chronicle*, July 2, 1968.

¹² Charles Negaro, interviewed by Beth Laube, October, 9 1969, box 30-GU 248, folder 25, Eugene J. McCarthy Papers, Special Collections and Rare Books Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota (hereafter cited as McCarthy Papers).

¹³ Taylor Branch later won the MacArthur Fellowship and the Pulitzer Prize for History for the *America in the King Years* trilogy.

¹⁴ Julian Bond correspondence to the author, July 13, 2006.

¹⁵ Parker Hudson, telephone interview by author, February 25, 2007.

¹⁶ Donald Summerlin, “Peach State Protest: The Anti-Vietnam War Movement in Georgia, 1964–1974,” *Journal of the Georgia Association of Historians*, 26 (2005/2006).

¹⁷ See John Neary, *Julian Bond: Black Rebel* (New York, 1971); Julian Bond, *A Time to Speak, A Time to Act: A Movement in Politics* (New York, 1972).

¹⁸ Julian Bond, correspondence to the author, November 14, 2005; Neary, *Julian Bond: Black Rebel*, 187–190; Charles Negaro, interview by Beth Laube, October, 9 1969, box 30-GU 248, folder 25, McCarthy Papers.

¹⁹ Georgia Democratic Party Forum to Hubert H. Humphrey, n.d., box 337, folder 2, Forum Records.

²⁰ David Mixner, *A Stranger Among Friends* (New York, 1996), 49. For a more extensive account of the activities of McCarthy for President Campaign staffers, see the oral interviews collected as part of the McCarthy Historical Project found in the McCarthy Papers.

²¹ Robert Griffith, “The Georgia Challenge: New Politics and Old,” n.d., series I, box 1, folder 3,

Clarke County (GA) McCarthy for President Records, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, Athens, Georgia (hereafter cited as McCarthy for President Records).

²² Julian Bond, correspondence to the author, July 13, 2006; Proposed Agenda of the Georgia Convention of Loyal National Democrats, August 10, 1968, box 337, folder 4, Forum Records.

²³ Parker Hudson, untitled manuscript, n.d, box 90, folders 2–3, 233–35, Papers of Julian Bond, 1897–2006, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia (hereafter cited as Hudson Manuscript). Hudson’s unpublished autobiographical manuscript provides the most comprehensive first-hand account of the events of the Georgia delegate challenge in 1968.

²⁴ Ibid; *Macon Telegraph*, August 11, 1968.

²⁵ Robert Griffith, correspondence to the author, December 9, 2005.

²⁶ For a list of the members of the Georgia Delegation of Loyal National Democrats, see Milner S. Ball Democratic National Convention File, box 1, folder 1, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, Athens, Georgia; and Congressional Quarterly Service, *The Presidential Nominating Conventions 1968* (Washington, 1968), 277.

²⁷ Hudson Manuscript, 244–47.

²⁸ Taylor Branch, telephone interview by author, January 29, 2007; *New York Times*, August 11, 1968; Robert Griffith to Maurice Rosenblatt, July 7, 1968, series 2, subseries B, box 1, folder 2, McCarthy for President Records .

²⁹ *Macon Telegraph and News*, August 11, 1968.

³⁰ *Macon Telegraph*, August 10, 1968; *Atlanta Constitution*, September 20, 1968.

³¹ *Atlanta Daily World*, August 10, 1968; *Atlanta Constitution*, August 28, 1968; August 29, 1968.

³² Lester Maddox, “Maddox for President Press Conference,” in *Addresses of Lester Garfield*

Maddox, 1967–1971 (Atlanta, 1971), 197–200.

³³ Lester Maddox, interview by John Allen, July 26, 1989, Georgia Government Documentation Project, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia; *Atlanta Constitution*, August 22, 1968; *Atlanta Journal*, August 18, 1968; *Macon Telegraph*, August 18, 1968.

³⁴ *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, August 18, 1968.

³⁵ Hudson Manuscript, 331–32.

³⁶ Neary, *Julian Bond: Black Rebel*, 198–199.

³⁷ Hudson Manuscript, 339–43.

³⁸ Minority Report of the Credentials Committee of the Democratic National Convention with Reference to the Delegates from Georgia, 1968, box 1, folder 35, Lipscomb Collection; Congressional Quarterly Service, *Presidential Nominating Conventions 1968*, 108–9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; Congressional Quarterly Service, *Presidential Nominating Conventions 1968*, 109.

⁴¹ Morris, “Summary of Factors”; Taylor Branch, interview by author, January 29, 2007.

⁴² Congressional Quarterly Service, *The Presidential Nominating Conventions 1968*, page 117–118; Hudson Manuscript, pages 383–384.

⁴³ *Augusta Chronicle*, 24 August 1968.

⁴⁴ Morris, “Summary of Factors.”

⁴⁵ The Democratic Party’s national convention unit rule required that state delegations cast votes unanimously based on the will of the majority of the delegation. The rule was suspended during the 1968 convention and abolished permanently beginning with the 1972 convention.

⁴⁶ Hudson Manuscript, 393–96.

⁴⁷ Julian Bond, “Now Let the Democrats Praise Elijah Muhammad,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 23, 1996; 2008 McCarthy Lecture with Julian Bond – Transcript, College of Saint Benedict Saint

John's University, New York City, New York, October 29, 2008,

<https://www.csbsju.edu/mccarthy-center/events-and-programming/mccarthy-lecture/eugene-j-mccarthy-lecture-archive/2008-lecture/2008-transcript>.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ John Lewis with Michael D'Orso, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (San Diego, 1999), 418.

⁵⁰ *Atlanta Journal*, August 26, 1968.

⁵¹ Hudson Manuscript, 411–13; Neary, *Julian Bond: Black Rebel*, 206–7; *Atlanta Journal*, August, 27, 1968.

⁵² *Atlanta Daily World*, August 28, 1968; Neary, *Julian Bond: Black Rebel*, 207–9; Hudson Manuscript, 416–18; Final Report, Committee on Credentials, 1968 Democratic National Convention, August 26, 1968, box 1, folder 9, Lipscomb Collection.

⁵³ Dr. Thomas Lyman, "Local Professor Attends Chicago 'Police Disaster'" *Emory Wheel*, September 26, 1968.

⁵⁴ Democratic National Convention, Official Report of Proceedings, 1968, microfilm, page 10.

⁵⁵ Minority Report of the Georgia Contest, n.d., box 1, folder 35, Lipscomb Collection; Hudson Manuscript, 424–28. Neary, *Julian Bond: Black Rebel*, 210–11.

⁵⁶ Parker Hudson, telephone interview by the author, February 25, 2007.

⁵⁷ Joseph A. "Joe" Sports, *Georgia's Man in the Middle: Fifty Years of People/Politics* (Atlanta, 2010), 117–22.

⁵⁸ Milner Ball, telephone interview by author, February 27, 2007.

⁵⁹ Lyman, *Emory Wheel*, September 26, 1968.

⁶⁰ Democratic National Convention, Official Report of Proceedings, 1968, p. 138.

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- ⁶¹ Ibid., 173–74; *Atlanta Journal*, August 27, 1968
- ⁶² Ibid., 175–80.
- ⁶³ *Atlanta Journal*, August 27, 1968.
- ⁶⁴ Norman Mailer, *Miami and the Siege of Chicago* (New York, 1968), 117.
- ⁶⁵ Sports, *Georgia's Man in the Middle*, 117–18.
- ⁶⁶ *Atlanta Journal*, August 28, 1968.
- ⁶⁷ Ben Brown, interview by Cliff Kuhn, October 31, 1996, Georgia Government Document Project, Georgia State University.
- ⁶⁸ The resolution would play a part in the formation of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection (informally known as the McGovern-Fraser Commission). See Byron E. Shafer, *Quiet Revolution: The Struggle for the Democratic Party and the Shaping of Post-Reform Politics* (New York, 1983), 30–38.
- ⁶⁹ Democratic National Convention, Official Report of Proceedings, 1968, p. 287.
- ⁷⁰ Hudson interview.
- ⁷¹ Mailer, *Miami and the Siege of Chicago*, 160; *Atlanta Journal*, August 28, 1968; *Atlanta Constitution*, August 30, 1968; Congressional Quarterly Service, *The Presidential Nominating Conventions 1968*, p.150.
- ⁷² Democratic National Convention, Official Report of Proceedings, 484–89.
- ⁷³ Mixner, *A Stranger Among Friends*, 54–55.
- ⁷⁴ Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, 509.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., 540–41; *Bobby Kennedy for President*, “Justice for Bobby,” directed by Dawn Porter, April 27, 2018, Netflix.
- ⁷⁶ Hudson interview; Ball interview; Mailer, *Miami and the Siege of Chicago*, 182–85.

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- ⁷⁷ Julian Bond, interview by Elizabeth Gritter, November 1 and 22, 1999, Interview R-0345, Southern Oral History Program Collection, *Documenting the American South*, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, http://docsouth.unc.edu/sohp/html_use/R-0345.html; Jack Colwell, “Julian Bond’s Speech on Race,” *Howey Politics Indiana*, January 5, 2015, <http://howeypolitics.com/Content/Columns/Columns/Article/Jack-Colwell-Julian-Bond-s-speech-on-race/10/20/12154>; Jack Colwell, “Remembering Julian Bond, Chicago 1968,” *Howey Politics Indiana*, August 26, 2015, <http://www.howeypolitics.com/Content/Columns/Columns/Article/Jack-Colwell-Remembering-Julian-Bond-Chicago-1968/10/20/12972>; *New York Times*, August 30, 1968.
- ⁷⁸ Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, 590–91.
- ⁷⁹ CBS News Convention Coverage, August 29, 1968. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2PoEiJk8bqc>. Accessed on April 21, 2017.
- ⁸⁰ Mailer, *Miami and the Siege of Chicago*, 207; Neary, *Julian Bond: Black Rebel*, 206; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 421.
- ⁸¹ Congressional Quarterly Service, *The Presidential Nominating Conventions 1968*, 159; Hudson Manuscript, 464; Ball interview.
- ⁸² See Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, *Mandate for Reform* (Washington, 1970); and Shafer, *Quiet Revolution*.
- ⁸³ Forum Records, box 339, folders 17–21.
- ⁸⁴ Julian Bond to Georgia Loyal National Democrat, October 1968, series II, subseries D, box 1, John B. Morris Papers, Richard B. Russell Library, Athens, Georgia.