

Handwritten: detail

Handwritten notes at top left: "has distinct gotten more cars in need 1972 (Have you?) Are you as you do that? In it. That he doesn't want Clay ton. Are my Republican a red neck? Probably the first & he fears for reputation. Is there any one who knows who did as well as you do."

Handwritten notes at top right: "next time get in to talk in 1 day of term + party term + record term more. May be fact that he didn't take this way indicates he really doesn't think this way. - Happy about cancer & cancer? Feels isolated? Any impact? Hands you see your self leaving politics?"

John Flynt

October 31 - November 4 1970

Get Joe Alkin's address and write him thanks. Mary Virginia Langston, Mary Lou Lucas, Ray Joiner (Griffin Office) - 404-227-1621

Jack and Betty Flynt picked me up about 8:00 at the Atlanta Airport and we drove south to Griffin on Route 41--starting in Clayton County (100,00), through Henry County (where Jack owns a farm and has some cattle) to Spalding County and Griffin, (Bibb County is 160,000--has Macon and is his largest)--farm is 300 acres--livestock, a little hay and corn for feed. Managed by Joe.

As we came down to Macon to church on Sunday, we passed through the country--side of Lamar and Monroe County--"This^{is} right beautiful farming country here - not much row cropping, mostly dairy". And discussions of pecan trees. "You never pick a nut until it drops--if you pick it, it's either green or defective. They have shakers though. The Southeast Georgia Testing Laboratory is studying harvestry and disease." "I hear they are pruning peach trees with the leaves still on them. I should think they'd bleed. Besides you can't see what you're doing with the leaves on. The idea of pruning is to let the light and air in so that you'll have better fruit."

"Right down that road lives one of my worst enemies. I appointed him Post-Master and he couldn't qualify. Then he blamed me for it. Against the advice of every one of my friends in the county, I appointed him acting Post Master. And I wouldn't have appointed him "acting" if I hadn't thought he should become the post master. But he got mad and campaigned against me in three counties. And I carried all three by a wide margin."

Then Joe Alkin told story of man in Lamar County who went around knocking

Handwritten notes at bottom left: "1966 vote John Flynt 45,806 66.4% 33.6% 1972 primary vote Flynt 25,417 76.9% Ray Quinley 7,625 23.1% Q. Paul Jones 23,176"

*JF
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knocking ^{the} congressman in '66 and saying he would be defeated. "Everywhere I went, he sought me out to tell me Jack Flynt would be beaten in Lamar County. But when the election came, Jack carried the County by at least 3 to 1. Next time I saw him, he didn't seek me out but I sought him out. I think it was just wishful thinking on his part, but maybe he meant it."

The backside of Macon--South Macon--is squalid--not unlike other large cities--except the dwellings are single, up on brick pilings, wooden and deterioration is very visible. But they have some new buildings--federal building, coliseum, Georgia Power and an insurance company which sits on the hill and dominates the city--North American Insurance, I think. Also a new federal building.

The district is strong on textiles. Bibb Manufacturing Company is a textile company with plants throughout the district. It's the largest single employer in the district and was close to closing down recently. The federal government is another large employer named by J.F. He also said that until 30 days ago there was no unemployment in the 6th district. All the mills were under employed. Bibb had a new plant that has never been more than 60% full re. employment. That they will take anyone--hard core unemployed and train them. "Anyone who wants a job and will work can find one in the 6th district." Textiles are a problem but no unemployment yet--Bibb employs about 5,000 and that would be tough if they closed.

We toured Macon--saw Mercer College, Wesleyan College, Sidney Lanier House and all sections of the town--125,000 people.

The paper--The Telegraph and News (or vice versa) supports J. F. and has been "right kind" to him. They have backed lots of losers lately and J. F. is almost the only winner they have i.e. Calloway, Sanders, Arnall. He, J. F.,

supported Arnall vs. Maddox and Carter vs. Sanders, and seems like a loyalist Democrat (a picture of him and J.F.K. sits in livingroom) in spite of his conservatism. He wants Buckley in N. Y. Doesn't respect Ottinger and can't understand Goodell. He talks openly of "the coalition" and says Jerry Ford killed Republicanism in the south by repudiating the coalition. He attaches great significance to that statement of Ford's and thinks if he had kept quiet, retiring Democrats would have been replaced by Republicans.

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The trip to the church was unbelievable--a Billy Graham, evangelistic operation by Rev. Jimmy Waters (Brother Jimmy) at the Mabel White Baptist Church--a new budget of \$325,000 for next year--having spent \$285,000 this year. He's on TV and everything is geared to TV--you feel like you're in a studio. We began in his office with him talking on an intercom telephone, calling up to the church, calling a hospital to see where J. F.'s local office secretary was, talking about two missionaries in the Philippines and how his Sunday sermon is broadcast out of Manila, how much money he had, how many people he had (over 1,000 there today), how many in youth groups are ~~etc.~~ etc. Clearly a big business. During the service we sang, prayed, gave, welcomed people to be saved--Joe and I stood up and were welcomed officially and J. F. presented the flag to the youth group "The Royal Ambassadors"--with a very appropriate talk about church, community and country. "I believe if ever there was a promised land, that land is America; and if ever there was a chosen people, those people are Americans. And that was no accident." It's because the pioneers built churches wherever they went. (I'll get a copy of his speech from Rev. Waters). Saving souls is a big business, mechanized, organized, televised, supervised. As Jimmy said during his sermon, "The Lord

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doesn't have anything against the profit motive; it's what you do with your money that makes the difference." Giving to the church ranks high.

Later, Jack described these people as "independent businessmen, people who work at Warner Robbins Air Base, middle-class, very conservative and part of my greatest strength." So he was talking to "his people." He described Jimmy Waters as a fine friend for whom he would do anything--Jimmy called him a "dry-cleaned Baptist" and nodded vigorously at everything Jack said from the pulpit during his speech. He also introduced Jack handsomely.

We made several stops at friends' houses in Macon and then in Forsyth (accent second syllable) at which there was talk of children, sports, politics, family and lots of "how dying", "how you doing?" "I'm mighty glad to see you." "I'm so glad you came by." *I don't know when I've enjoyed myself any more.*

1st Stop - Bob Train, until recently President of Bibb Mfg. Co.--a football player at Yale, a drink of bourbon--and talk about his children--one going to Divinity School in New Haven, one flunked out of Auburn and now at Southwestern Georgia and another one, I don't know where. Talk about University of Georgia football game, and sundry matters. J. F. described him as bitter because he was fired "and it was his second cousins who did it." He was blamed for building a new plant so far away from populated areas that they can't get enough workers.

Next stop - Tom Green, banker--ex-University of Georgia football player--just back from trip somewhere and going somewhere else. We watched Falcons and Chicago Bears with him. Some talk of politics.

3rd Stop - John Mitchell, in the Administration at Mercer--he was at Falcon game in Atlanta, Saturday with his wife and had some discussion of why

he didn't fly in his own plane to the game. We watched rest of Falcon-Bear game there. Lots of empty pleasantries.

4th Stop - Tom and Margaret Harden--he owned cottonmill that just closed. Talk of their children and J. F.'s children and had another drink--bourbon. Walked around the yard picking out interesting trees with Joe and Margaret--Loblolly pine, live oak (or water oak), mimosa, sweet gum, poplar, Camelia, etc. This was in Forsyth, Monroe County. The others were in Macon.

5th Stop - We came home, picked up Pat and went to visit their close friends, Elizabeth and Mac Cheatham. He's President of Dundee Mills, the largest employer in Griffin. Talk of their families, churches, politics. Elizabeth Cheatham's great-great-grandfather carried Jack Flynt's great-grandfather off the field of battle, wounded, in the war between the States--
"So our ties go back very deep."

Only Margaret Hardin told racial stories--about her maid--and when we left she said "You are White folk, you can go out the front door." But J. F. never once mentioned Black people the entire day except when I asked him if South Macon was Black and he said a lot of it was. Yet we drove by Black people living in terrible homes. Some white people, too. Nothing was said.

The day was spent in personal contacts with very well to do people in powerful economic positions--all Southern--no talk of issues (though J. F. did give Mac Cheatham ^{"the word"} ~~some~~ message from Wilbur Mills). The day seems to bear out Jack's comment yesterday that "in Georgia only a person to person campaign will work." That's what he does. Besides those I've mentioned, he stopped to talk to one widow out in her yard, and one guy stopped when he was riding by and saw us in the filling station. When I commented later about all the

stopping and starting, Jack replied, "There were 200,000 I didn't see." This seems to be the way he does it.

Griffin - 30,000, largest pimento packing plant in the country. Stokelys packaged under Sunshine brands, Dundee Textiles, a branch of Tomaston Mills (in Upson County)--these are main industries.

Tonight Jack and I walked the dog in the yard and he pointed out a lot of trees in a fashion that reminded me of Barber Conable. He has a Dawn Redwood, a tree that people thought were extinct for 2000 years till some pilot spotted them in Asia. He has cedar, live oak, magnolia, ^{chinateberry, persimmon} and 23 varieties--and he wants to label them.

Re. Georgia Delegation - "How can you get together with a Stuckey and a Hogan in your delegation?"

So far, I've been eating Southern--chili last night, grits this morning, quail tonight.

Another theme is emphasis on shooting, Joe shooting doves when I got here. Jimmy Waters asking a parishioner in optics to get him an 08 sight for his gun--discussion of mounts--the 320 pound deer with the "typical rack" of 16 points, shot by Paul Hancock's son.

Old America and new America kind of contrast, but that doesn't really get at it.

"I could vote conservative or liberal on any piece of legislation and most people of my district wouldn't care a bit--~~sos~~ long as they know I'll help them when they come to me with a problem. The main image they have is that if they come to me for help, I'll do everything I can to help them. Another part of the image I like to think I have is that they can talk to me.

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If they are talking, I ~~will listen to them~~ and they feel that I am listening ^{to them} to what they have to say. Some people have the ability to do ~~that~~ ^{make people feel that way} and some don't."

Today, Monday, we drove over to Thomaston in Upson County, starting about noon. In Pike County, near Zebulon, we stopped at ^{Emmett + Howard Howell} ~~Howard~~ Gunnel's ^(Emmett Gunnel's and Son) country store and talked to ~~Howard~~ ^{Emmett} and his "daddy" for a bit. Jack asked him about some meeting over in Lamar County and Howell told me how Jack used to stop by when he was solicitor and ~~Howard~~ ^{or d} would tell him he should run for Congress. When Sid Camp died, ~~Howard~~ ^{ed} heard it on the early radio and called Jack at 5:00 a.m. to break the news and tell him, "You don't have any excuse for not running now, Jack." Pat told me a similar story--that Jack got a call early and called the man with whom he had to register and the man was out of town down in South Georgia. Jack took off and spent the weekend chasing him

down to make sure he registered ^{+ "qualified"} under the wire. ^{In my 1972 story the state, Howard went through some story. Jack said phone started ringing at 4 AM - that he 'qualified' before Camp's funeral, but new papers}

When Sid Camp was elected, Jack was at George Washington Law School and Sid and his Executive Secretary lived in his apartment when they first came to Washington. Camp had told Jack and his father that he would make Jack his Executive Secretary; but in order to win the election he needed to commit himself to appoint someone (a friend of Jack's who went to school with Jack) else over in Troup County as Executive Secretary. Camp went to Jack's Dad and then to Jack and said he would honor his prior commitment to them if they wanted him to. "My father said, I know you will, but you had to do what you did and you're released." Jack said, "As far as I'm concerned, you've honored it." But a bit later, Camp was "instrumental to say the least" in getting Jack a job as Assistant District Attorney for northern part of Georgia, "in which job I acquired a good reputation as a trial lawyer and made friends that have been a great help to me ever since."

he told him
After the service, he ran for Georgia House from Spalding County--five men ran for two seats. "Out of 7,000 votes, I got 6,400, the next man got 3,300 and the next man was 10 votes behind him." Later in the day, he told me that he thought the Black vote helped give him that margin.

Then he ran for Solicitor--now called District Attorney for four-county area and won. His counties were Spalding, Pike, Upson and Fayette. And those have been a kind of core of his support ever since. He was solicitor general when Camp died.

"I had been tempted to run for Congress earlier, but Sid Camp was a very dear friend of mine and a very dear friend of my father's and so I couldn't do it." There were 3 men in the race for Congress the first time, but Jack won handily.

He spoke of Upson County as pretty typical, but "It's one of the most Democratic of my counties. The people here work together very well and there aren't any factions as there are in some of my counties, either among Democrats or with Republicans. It's more industrialized than some with the mills. I've carried it by 94% of the vote on occasion." During the day he kept saying, "This is my county, you know." And he told a story to his friends "You remember, don't you what happened on the way back from Atlanta? There was some talk about splitting Spalding and Upson (counties) in the redistricting and ~~there~~ someone said, what would you do if that happened. I said, "I'd move to Thomaston." And I didn't hesitate a bit, did I? Not a bit." Obviously fond of it. *(In 1972, they did split them. He didn't move!)*

*1975 7
"butter"*
We stopped in front of an insurance agency and talked to Charlie somebody. Talked about Charlie's recent illness and Charlie's relatives' health. *Charlie* He said to me as we were leaving, "I'll bet there are more communists in the U. S. than

there are in Viet Nam." He expressed total bewilderment "at all the goings on in the world today."

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Then over to Leon Smith, editor of the two weekly papers, The Thomaston Times and The Free Press. Each paper has a circulation of about 5,000, ^{10,000} in all. He later told me that each paper is read by 4 1/3 persons and that between the two, he achieved "saturation coverage of over 90% of the county." Those that don't read it are illiterate or sick! Leon was a very nice man who has been with Jack from the beginning, has helped write his campaign literature in 1966 (Pat likes him very much and that's good enough for me). We *howdied* in the paper office and through the office equipment store next door and rode off to eat lunch at a tea room, family style. *incl. turnip greens & corn bread* When we first went to Leon's office, Jack looked at a picture of Leon's several children and proceeded to name them all. That was typical of the entire day. He constantly tries to remember names, relatives, relationships, roads, buildings, owners of houses, farms, buildings. "Didn't George Smith build that house?" "Whose cannery is that, Hubert's?" "Isn't this old ^{Route} ~~Dante~~ 74?" "Doesn't Alabama Road come out here?" "That's old Bert Williams's house, isn't it? He's dead, isn't he? Wasn't Sassy his sister? Oh, sister-in-law?" "Wasn't that house built in 1945--or was it '46?" Over and over again, he went through this routine, checking and crosschecking his facts, filing and sorting and cataloguing. A truly amazing memory for names.

As we walked along the street, he knew everyone. At lunch, Leon said, "There are 115,000 voters in the 6th district and Jack knows half of them. And they know him. I don't see how else you can succeed in politics in any other way. You have to know the people. Maybe you can get away with it once

style

on some other basis, but not the second election. You've got to get out in the street and meet people."

After lunch, Jack walked through the County Court House, meeting all the employees and all the members of the grand jury. Leon drove me to see Martha Mills of B. F. Goodrich makes cord for tire and yarn for other uses; Thomaston Mills - make sheets and shirts. Latter employs 2,300 people; in two of the plants, 50% are Black and are good workers. A man and wife who work can take home over \$200 a week. He showed me two new integrated housing projects, one private, on F.H.A. The private one will have rents subsidized. Hubert Hancock was incensed at the radio talk by a minister telling Black people to move there. "What gets me is that the Negro minister says to them--you pay \$40 a month and the rest is paid by the United States Government." Leon, however, was proud--wanted to show me what they were doing for Black people. "Our relations are very good. Our school is completely integrated. Every Black man that wants a job can have one. If he and his wife both work in the mill, they can take home \$200 a week. We've had no racial incidents of any kind and we stay right on top of the situation. We have about 225 families that can't support themselves and we take care of them. We pride ourselves that no one goes hungry or without toys at Christmastime. If they go without on that day, it's because they didn't ask." He was genuinely concerned and proud and had something to be proud of, I thought--though I couldn't really judge.

Back to the office of the paper; we picked up Paul Hancock, County Warden and County Public Works Superintendent and Hays Arnold, Chairman of County Commissioners, then went out to pick up Hubert Hancock who owns 200 acres of peach trees (20,000 peach trees--largest grower in Upson County--where peaches are

declining) and out we five went to look at the site where a new set of three dams will be built on the Flint River.

On the way out a lot of the conversation was the regular, but Paul was worried because he was holding a prisoner "the Robinson boy", a White man charged with killing a Black man in Griffin. And two Black men had threatened to kill him. Paul mentioned the killing of the California Judge a couple of times and people were giving him advice. "Put him in maximum security." "You let them know if they come, you're ready for them." "If they come near here, take 'em in the kitchen and make sure they don't walk out." Lots of tough talk.

The ride out was lovely--over red clay road, by pine and hickory and sweet gum and dogwood. The weather was warm--high 60's--and sunny and there were some gorgeous overlooks of the river winding through hills and hollows. When we got down to it, it was bubbling along with rocky, tree dotted hillsides around it--somewhat muddy (from last Thursday's rain)--and we walked 1/4 mile along the bank. Jack kept telling Hays, who is father of the project, "Hays, that's too pretty to dam up." Hays: "The way you say that, maybe you know something that I don't know." Jack: "I'd better keep my mouth shut or you'll think I mean it." (He almost did, in a wistful sort of way, but he had fought hard to get the money for the dam and the first construction money had just been appropriated. They were proud of him for getting it--even though Pilcher's opposition and the Viet Nam War had slowed it down.)

At the overlook, as we looked down the river, conversation shifted to the liquor that was made down in the hollows. "We may put a few people out of business down near dripping rock--make a right fine huckleberry brandy." Hays asked Jack if the story was true of J. F. and the sheriff, Dick Adams, getting

drunk on peach brandy so that Jack had to be driven back to Griffin. This was same story Jack had told on himself at the Hardin's yesterday--how they drank 1/2 gallon of this clear stuff, cut with honey so that it seemed smooth and harmless. Jack was then solicitor and this occurred after court. Jack allowed *as how* "Every word is true!" and everyone laughed. Then Jack told a story of how he and an old army buddy of his from the Georgia hills went to his buddy's house in the mountains." Oray took me back in the hills to meet a friend of his who made apple brandy. When we got to the house, Oray introduced me and the man said, "Is he all right? Are you sure he's all right?" Oray said, "He's all right; he's my friend." So we all started to walk and must have walked 3/4 of a mile back into the woods, ~~We~~ came to an old stump, he reached in and pulled out this can of apple brandy. He passed ^{it} to Oray and Oray said he didn't think he wanted any. Well, that man pulled out a pistol with a barrel on it over a foot long, the longest one I ever saw, and he pointed it right at Oray. "When I invite a man to have a drink, I mean for him to have a drink." So, Oray took a drink, passed me the can and I took a drink. When I finished, the man turned to Oray, handed him the pistol and said, "Now you hold that gun on me so I'll have to take a drink." Great laughter.

On the way back we detoured to see the 320-pound deer's head and then to look at Paul Hancock's stone patio, water at Hubert's and back to town.

At the river, Jack kept up his quizzing of others. "Did you know what the Indian name for this river was? And do you know what it meant? River with beds of flint." "Do you know that this river formed the boundary of the Creeks land?" "Do you know that everywhere the indian trails crossed in this area, there is today a major highway intersection." "Do you know that somewhere in

this valley there's a place that is the southernmost location of trailing arbutus and the northernmost location of spanish moss. The two plants meet." He picked up flint rock to take home.

When we got back to town, we made a few more stops--to the Court House where he picked up a box of turnip greens someone had left for him, to the newspaper office where Leon gave him an inscribed copy of the history of Upson County, to the lawyer's office, to the bank where the bank President said something interesting. "Jack, things are changing. You don't want to spend all your time with people like me. You want to get out in the stores and the filling stations and the barbershops--where the people are. We are the establishment and a lot of people are against the establishment now. I know I don't have to tell you, but there are a lot of young people just itching to take over your job. So you listen to what I say. Because we want you to be chairman of the Appropriations Committee." Jack's comment was "that's what I do now." But I thought it was very serious. Jack repeated it laughingly to Patty this evening without comment. I found it interesting.

interesting

disputed We stopped next at Johnnie Caldwell's. Johnnie is running for Comptroller General of Georgia and there was lots of election talk. John wanted to talk to J. F. about redistricting, which John has some hand in or interest in--Jack said that if he lost Clayton and picked up Peach and Crawford that would be his preference and that would give him just the right number. There appeared to be a potential opponent in Clayton. J. F. thought he could do 50-50 in Clayton and Johnnie said that's not good enough. J. F. did 2-1 in Clayton in 1966. He mentioned that they "tried to gut me" in the last redistricting.

15/2/4
On way home we talked about his voting. He's a conservative--he has freedom--he's pretty loyal to party--he's reasonable on Black issues. He does as he pleases pretty much.

"I have more freedom in voting than almost anyone I know. Many times I vote in ways that are not popular with my constituents and I know they aren't popular. They know how I vote, but they will listen to me and let me explain. And they trust me."

Leeway
Sep 16

I asked him whether he would cast liberal votes and he said yes--but had some difficulty mentioning them. "I voted with Speaker McCormack in 1963 to keep the Rules Committee at 15 instead of going back to 12. Earlier I had voted against changing it to 15 under Mr. Rayburn. That became an issue in the 1966 campaign. I don't think it cost me one vote."

"I marched up on Christmas eve and voted to send wheat to Russia. That was a bad vote as far as my constituents were concerned, and it was a bad vote logically. My opponent made a lot of that in 1966. But I don't think it cost me one vote."

"I asked him then whether his Republican opponent had tried to make him out a liberal in 1966. "He tried at first to paint me as a liberal and, failing that he tried to out-conservative me. No matter how hard he tried he couldn't out-conservative me. There just wasn't any room. ^{he got on the} ~~If order to be more~~ conservative ^{sided} of me, ~~than I, he'd have to~~ fall off into the air." J. F. supported Ellis Arnall in the '66 primary for governor; but supported Maddox vs. Calloway in the election."

"Some members of the Georgia delegation vote against most all appropriation bills. I vote against some, but I vote for a lot of them. If anyone tries to criticize me on that, I know so much about those bills that I'd just cut him to ribbons."

Talked about how he talks economy a good deal and how in 1966 a story got out that he had told "talked up to Lyndon Johnson" to get him to economize in executive departments and stop laying blame on Congress. That helped him a lot in the election, he felt. Bibb County is very conservative, anti-Johnson, pro law and order--strong for Wallace, Nixon and Humphrey a poor third. Strong for Calloway. But J. F. carried it. Also Troup County, third largest. J. F. got more votes in '66 than Calloway. Obviously, '66 is the election he remembers-- his opponent was ^{mayor of Macon} ~~State~~ Republican Chairman and lived in Bibb County, Macon-- ideal combination. Also, as Patty said, they really didn't know how strong local Republican organizations were.

"As far as people around here are concerned, I am as tolerant and as fair on racial matters as anyone. I was one of ^{the} first district attorneys to convict a White man of raping a Negro woman. And I was one of the first to convict ^{a white man} and get the death penalty for murdering a Negro. Before this time, these things were almost unheard of. The Black people know that and that was one of the reasons I did so well in the ³ ~~8~~-man race ^{Congress} ~~for state legislature~~. I don't promise them things I know I can't deliver. If I did that I would get myself in a bind from which I could never extricate myself. I don't promise so-called civil rights bills, which to my mind are the cause of all the permissiveness and rioting we have today. But I get 90% of the ^{Negro} ~~Black~~ vote in some places-- Upson and Spalding Counties for instance. --in spite of the fact that they sent Negro organizers down from Atlanta to tell them to ~~vote~~ against me. They vote for me because they, too, know me," Black vote is 32% in the district--and he said he had no problems there. Yet I noted he conspicuously did not shake hands with Black people he met or passed on the street--though he spoke to some and ignored others.

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"I don't send out questionnaires, not on a general basis. On controversial issues I do sometimes ask a select group of people their opinions. About one half of them either give me an answer or ask for more information. And the other half will say, 'You know more about it than I do. I trust your judgment.'"

Then he talked at length about giving people a straight answer and not trying to figure out what they want you to say and saying that. You never remember what you've told each group.

In 1964--he supported LBJ--sat on platform with him in Macon, 1968--"I didn't say one single thing about the national race. Not one single word did I ~~utter~~. I stayed out entirely and completely. I told a few close friends how I was going to vote, but to my knowledge none of them ever said a word. At least it never came back to haunt me."

I can't a liberal vote support
He mentioned as one of his liberal votes his vote for the Voting Rights Bill in 91st Congress--He said he did it because it equalized treatment across the country instead of singling out the South. And when he explained it to his constituents, they said "If I were in your place I'd have done the same thing." Not all Southerners voted for it--he sees it as liberal. *Freedom to do as he wishes - but he knows the strategy.*

He also said, "I voted to sustain the President's veto of a public works bill, and it didn't cost me a single vote back home." He told story of how he cast that vote and left the floor. *Prince* ~~Rennie~~ Preston called him and asked him to come back to the floor. He did and Preston, McCormack and Rayburn tried to get him to change his vote--he was the deciding vote. "Sam Rayburn shook his finger in my face, and said to me, 'The people in your district will never forgive you for this. I said, Mr. Rayburn, I can vote conservative or I can vote liberal,

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and my constituents don't care. But if I vote one way at 2:00 and another way at 2:30, they'll think they sent an idiot to Congress. I can't do it.' Sam Rayburn never forgave me for that."

In Upson County yesterday, he looked at the brown shirt he was wearing and he said, "This will be the first time these people have ever seen me in anything but a white shirt." Most of the local leaders wear white shirts.

Today, we went to McDonough, county seat of Henry County, and went to the Court House where Jack attended a meeting of county officials interested in money for sewer and water. Henry will be a commuting area for Atlanta soon--with two interstate highways connecting the two. And they are afraid if they don't get water and ~~sewer~~ facilities they'll be in bad shape.

On way over he told story about Henry Mack Williams. "He was the last sheriff of Spalding County who was a political leader of the county. He worked at politics 365 days a year. There was this one fellow out in the country that Henry Mack Williams could not get to support him no matter how hard he tried. He tried everything he knew and nothing worked. One night when it was pouring down rain, Henry Mack Williams got in his car, drove out to where this fellow lived and purposely drove his car into a ditch. Then he went to the fellow's door and asked him for help. The fellow said to wait till he got on his overalls and he would get his tractor and pull Henry Mack Williams out of the ditch. He did. And the next day this fellow was around town saying 'The sheriff got stuck in the mud last night and he asked me for help.' From that day on he was a supporter for life. If you want someone to support you, don't do him a favor; let him help you. That's human nature. You ^{son} know that sign I have over ^{our kitchen} my sink --

at home, "Why are you mad at me. I haven't done you any favors." Later--Joe told me that this sheriff knew name of every Negro in the county and that amazed him. "Even if they were going down the street at night, he knew every one of them by name."

✓ After we visited the post master Blanton _____. J. F. said to me: "Did you remember Miss _____ back in the post office. She had never seen me before, but she called me Jack. That's the way people think of me. No person will ever vote against you if he is on a first name basis with you. Did you know that?"

On the way out of town, we turned right and Jack mused: "I should go down to Locust Grove, but I haven't the time. If I went there, there are about a dozen people I'd have to go see. Two of them are very close to me, much closer ^{the} than others. But if I went to see those two and didn't go to see the others ^{ten} too, word would get around and I would lose Locust Grove in the next election. That's how it is. But if I saw the other ten and didn't stop to visit the two, nothing would happen. They would understand."

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I went to see the cotton gin with Bill Pitts, but it had just broken down. We waited for them to fix it, but they didn't and we left. Bill told me about the school up ^{at} ~~road~~. Now there are three schools 1-5, 6-8, 9-12, all fully integrated. But well-to-do Whites send their kids to a newly formed private school or military school nearby. Henry is over 50% Negro and I saw lots of Blacks voting.

Company owner,
worker, Went to Holiday Inn and had lunch with two bankers, a lawyer, a construction the foreman of a rock quarry and a former president of a textile machinery firm and others. Lots of talk and speculation about the new Atlanta airport, which Henry County wants. Some conservative political talk. It's clear that

these leaders are very conservative and are vs. federal programs generally. More conservative anti-welfare type talk at Chevrolet Dealers--then to doctor. Doctor voted Republican--also to hardware store and to a Negro ("colored") undertaker--who was not at home. Two of the men at lunch, Windsor Daniel and Cameron Mitchell came to Jack's on election night. Also to county historian, Dr. and Mrs. Rayner for concentrated genealogical talk--also post office.

Doctor told great story--bad storm battered a bird. Little boy comes along next day and tries to help bird--warms him up, fixes feathers, etc.--no sound or movement--sees a heap of cow manure and thinks it would make warm home and healing place for bird--puts him in it. Bird gets better, feels so much better that he starts to sing. Hawk up above hears him, swoops down, grabs him from inside the manure, flies off with him and eats him: The moral of the story is -"It may be your friends and not your enemies who put you there, and it may be your enemies, not your friends who get you out of there, but while you're there, keep your damn mouth shut."

At county historian's, he ended the visit with an adage "If a man isn't proud of his heritage, he won't leave a heritage to be proud of. And that goes for his family, his community and his country."

Henry County has dropped in cotton to about 1800 bales a year. Men said that there used to be a gin at every cross roads, wagons lined up and each one did more than that. Now only the one I visited. ^(how can?) Land's too expensive to farm in cotton. I asked Jack and he said, "There's right much cotton, soy beans and livestock in Henry County." But others talked of decline in cotton. No tobacco for commercial purposes grown in Jack's district.

On way home, we stopped where Joe Aiken and friends and Jack's boy

were shooting doves. They had about 20 and came over to have a drink as the temperature dropped to near freezing while I, in my summer suit "like to near froze." Joe later said, in the evening, "Jack, those men standing by the road this afternoon would fight, die and go to hell for you and you know it." Jack said, "I know it, all of them."

He told, going out to lunch, the battlefield story about Elizabeth Cheatham's graddaddy whose name was Kelly. ^{Did you know that a Henry County man saved my grandfather} "In the battle of Charlesville, my grandfather was badly wounded and Lieutenant Kelly ^{from Kelly} picked him up and carried him off the field--just a bloody uniform with pieces of bones sticking out.

An orderly stopped him and said, "what are you doing carrying that corpse?" ^{Lieutenant Kelly said, 'that's} "that's Captain Flynt; and so long as there's a spark of life in him, I'm going to try to save him." And he did and my grandfather lived." He used this as evidence that "my roots are deep in Henry County." His grandparents lived there, too.

Lots of similar talk yesterday--with the automobile dealer--"You were born in 1915; I was born in 1914 and Joe was born in 1914, too, seven months before me." "Was your father born in 1884 or 1885"? "My father would be 98 this October. And my grandfather was born in 1829." Proud of his longevity--only topped by President John Tyler's relatives! To each person who has children, "How's your boy. You can be mighty proud of him."

"The Greeting:" "Hey ^{How you? How's it going with you?} And, the ending "You come see me" or "Come see me, you hear."

Election eve, Jack started chewing tobacco and walking around in stockings, then barefoot! Some people who came were dressed up--some were in sweatshirts--just as one of the men at lunch had overalls. Jack seems to do well with all Whites of all economic groups--leaders and farmers anyway--blue collar and

black is another question. His coalition is town leaders ^{businessmen} and farmers. Patty told me how ^a mill worker friend in Griffin would take ^a few of his friends to La Grange to talk to mill workers there for J. F. Unions not a factor in district.

When I asked him whether his ideology or his service to constituents were more important, he said, "both".

He was very interested in Byrd and Buckley races--because he empathizes with these in between candidates--he was happy about both. Also happy with Democratic sweep in Georgia and especially in Bibb County, which is regarded throughout Georgia as a Republican stronghold. Happy to see Gore beat--says he beat himself opposing Haynesworth and Carswell--would have won if he'd supported either one. Even though Jack felt neither judge was first-rate.

Leaving Henry. "If I had been campaigning hard, I would not have stopped at any one place more than one minute and no more than 10 seconds at most. And I would have seen about 800 people." Mills etc.

Talk re R. E. A. Meetings this morning as grass roots meeting--large captive audience (they have to stay till after the drawings for appliances) and good many "colored people" came.

ADA - ACA are "frauds"--one is pro-liberal Democrat; one pro-Republican. He doesn't use them at all--though editor in Griffin does once in awhile,--"on those few occasions when he decides to say something nice about me."

He's upset at poor floor attendance--he likes procedure. Votes with Dems on procedure usually. ^{RP} "When I first ran for Congress, my opponents were developing the thought that I couldn't get the Black vote and that they could beat me in that way--that I was in favor of the county unit system and the White primary,

part of the
Telmadge factory

and so on. Some Black leaders came down from Atlanta and they made the mistake of holding the meeting in my home town. When I ran for State representative, the only precinct I had not carried was the segregated box. I came in fourth. When I ran for solicitor I improved my showing in that precinct getting 299 votes out of 390. So when the chairman at the meeting asked how people felt about me--no one spoke up. Finally one man said, "I don't know about the rest of you, but I'm going to vote for Mr. Jack (Flynt.) I don't care if he is in favor of the County Unit system and I don't care if he's in favor of the White primary (both of which statements were wrong). When we speak to him, he listens to us. I do know that he was the first solicitor to ^{convict} ~~commit~~ a White man of raping a Negro woman; he was the first solicitor to ^{convict} ~~commit~~ a White man of murdering a Black man; he was the first solicitor to ^{convict} ~~commit~~ a Black man of killing another Black man and ^{that} stopped us from making mean faces at each other for 3 months. ~~and this time we were the teachers~~ Furthermore, when he talks to us in the court room, he uses the same tone of voice he uses when he talks to a White man. For him, this last thing was the ^{clinchier, the} most important of all. And I believe it is, too. I was ahead of my times."

He also said he thought that Southerners like Negroes and Northerners don't. On one to one basis, Southerners like them and treat them better. The point is that he sees White-Black relations as a one to one matter just as he sees White-White relations. "Northerners love the Black man collectively but don't like him individually; Southerners like him individually but don't like him collectively." He said Northerners don't understand Black man. Said if I'd stayed longer, we could have covered more of that subject. I'm not sure--Joe

asked me that as last question--"How's the colored situation in Rochester?" Obviously, Southerners are sensitive about it and find it a hard question to handle in dealing with Northerners.

A typical regional joke--re hunting. "How come you shot that bird when he was running along the ground?" "I didn't shoot him while he was running on the ground; I waited till he stopped."

Thursday's events began with a speech at Broadmoor Nursing Home where we ate with a regional group of nursing home administrators, owners and operators. They are worried about federal inspection and licensing and about the adventures of Rep. David Pryor in the field. The presiding officer, Ed Willis of Macon, had been the first man to call Jack after redistricting had been announced and offer his support. Jack thanked them for support, told them he agreed that federal government should leave them alone, but warned them that they must police themselves or else they would be in difficulty. Afterwards, he said to me, "I hope they got the message about self-policing." I made a short talk, too. Once again, Jack demonstrated his ability to remember names and something about each person.

We then drove to Carrollton in Carroll County--about 62 miles through weird, snow, sleet, rain, sunny weather. In commenting about its changeability later Jack told the story of how it got so hot one summer that popcorn popped in fields, animals thought it was snowing and froze to death.

On way to Carrollton we passed through Coweta County (an indian name), making it the only one of the 16 counties he did not know who it was named for. He listed each county in the district and who it was named for. Said he's collecting pictures of each man and wishes someone on his office staff would take

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did then & has
remembrance of
Indians. But
city is different.
center of America
never lost child
down the hill
around*

enough interest to help him fill out his collection. He's also collecting a history of all the counties and is encouraging the Henry County historian with hers as I noted yesterday.

Newman, they say, was once "the 8th richest town in the United States." We went by to see Ellis Arnall's house, on a street filled with "fraternity row" houses. The main street, too, was filled with older, but large and gracious homes. Jack says he wishes he could have shown me some of the nicest areas. But what I saw was like the best of Rochester area and was surprising to me. J. F. said it was "old money and new money". Old in cotton, farming and new in the plants in the district. We passed a huge aluminum extrusion plant making window and door frames, Bon L. Corporation; and a plant that makes grills for Ford cars. Plus Bibb cotton mills and others. A very prosperous area. Later on at the College, some people said that Carroll and ^{OW} Coweta counties had always been rivals because of the disparity in wealth-- (Carroll is in the Appalachia (EDA) area. Newman looks more like Pittsford. When I asked Jack about the alleged rivalry he attributed it to contest for federal money. Chatahoochee river is the boundary of the two counties, and the fact that big Yates steam generating plant of the Georgia Power ^{Co.} ~~Plant~~ was put on the Coweta side of the river--enriching Coweta and not Carroll. A lady in Carrollton had said, "we just don't understand why 20 miles should make so much difference." But as J. F. said, Carroll is now moving ahead, with the West Georgia College (10 million dollar business) and EDA money.

We toured the new facilities aided by EDA and they were impressive. Tom Blanton, where we had the cocktail party and who accompanied us and who is a developer (South Park Apartments) said the community was united, no factions,

etc. We saw a huge recreation area around a 170 acre, 170,000 gallon man-made lake, a new copper refinery being built by Southwire Company (700 new jobs,--already employ~~ing~~ 2,000) and a library that would make any city proud. Everyone seemed civic-minded, optimistic. We drove around with Pete _____ in charge of copper refinery construction, Dave _____ City Supervisor, and Tom Blanton, the developer. At the cocktail party at Tom's, a lot of old friends came by, told stories of how they helped Jack in his first campaign. One man, a past president of American Bar Association (Gambrell?) told how he got Jack a secretary for his first campaign. General hilarity.

As we drove down the main street of Newnan, we drove by a new modern federal building across from the old county courthouse. "I worked my head off to get that building. The people here were fixing to run someone against me if I hadn't produced it. People think you just have to wave a wand to get an appropriation when most of it is a matter of standing in line to wait your turn."

Went to dinner with some faculty administration, Tom and editor of paper. J. F. to the editor was typical. "How many other papers do you print besides your own? Have you gone to offset?" After the meal we had good off-the-record talk--Mel--of the history department pumped him hard on a lot of things--Doyle Mathis, Chairman of the Political Science was there.

Story of sheriff. He once had "very unpleasant dirty" task of trying a county sheriff on 64 counts. ~~After he~~ tried the case and won--"I prepared the case well and I tried the case well", ~~and~~ After the man was convicted, "He sent a message to me that if he ever saw me on the street or if I ever came within his line of vision he was going ^{to} and I quote "stomp hell out of me." I sent back the message that I was ready and that if that day ever came he had better kill

Like the
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me, because if he didn't, I would kill him, so help me God. He also told a group of his supporters that he had quote a poke left and that he would put up \$75,000 for anyone who would run against me. Now ~~the~~ \$75,000 is a lot of money now and it was a lot more money then. I had a friend present when he said it. I was just waiting for someone to run against me so I could wrap that thing around his neck."

Some talk off and on yesterday about \$2500 filing fee for Congress. Pat brought it up and said, "It keeps out the riff-raff, but it makes it very expensive to run." And Jack that evening said, "Why it takes \$10,000 to run an unopposed campaign." Part of that is filing fee, but I'm not sure what the rest goes for. I never saw one single piece of literature for Flynt. At one point, he did say to someone that he was campaigning as if he had an opponent, but obviously he was not.

Patty (Miss Patty) said at breakfast, "One man ran against Jack twice in the primary, but Jack didn't even deign to campaign against him." And Jack said, "I campaigned; but not against him."

Joe Alkin on way to airport noted: "He can see more people in one day than anyone I ever knew. When he's really campaigning, we take off in the car and he has a speech at 9:00 in the morning, one in the afternoon and one in the evening. And in between, he's around seeing people. When I'm driving, he sleeps; when he's speaking, I sleep in the car. And sometimes we don't stop till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. He's liable to come to your house at 3 in the morning, get you out of bed and say, "Let's talk." I've seen him do it."

On way home from Carrollton (having stopped to visit with Lamar (Young,)

There's a lot of the same a "fighter" when pushed to the wall in other of Jack's comments. re. Rayman. no Approp. set. ne has Rayman encounters. He is not aggressive at all, but when he decides he's intent on his honor or of state he will not maintainance "lossing" & needs enough he can't win. very much fighter in his way. one Kona

Circuit Judge and his wife Carolyn) we stopped to visit Don Boone in Newnan. I asked if they wouldn't be frightened if they heard him knock at such a late hour. "If they hear a knock on the door after 11:00, they know it's me."

On redistricting, he noted that in the last redistricting, "I woke up one morning and found that the legislature had given me a district that reached all the way to Columbus, included Macon and retained only 3 of the fifteen counties I had. We fixed that up in a hurry. (This was what he meant when he said they tried to gut him--but I never asked who or why.) Eventually, I lost one medium-sized county and one small county and picked up one very large county and one small county. People thought that Bibb County would be a very difficult area for me to digest. But the day after the redistricting, I started ploughing new ground, and I've been ploughing it ever since."

At Lamar⁷(Young)s he said--"I'd like to get out of this business. But it would make so many people happy that I just don't see how I can." Later on the ride he said he'd like to retire from Congress and teach history, political science or law. "I'd love it." We talked a lot about Dean Rusk at the University of Georgia. And he did say he guessed the time to have retired was a few years ago. I think he was feeling just slightly pleased about his talk.

About his talk and question period, I think he gives the appearance of vigor and honesty. He told Viet Nam story of how he communicated with the kids in Washington and how important it is to "open lines of communication", "listen to one another" and "disagree without being disagreeable". Deliberately (he later said) he told them that a dialogue with young people in college recharges his intellectual and spiritual batteries. ¹⁷ "The greatest compliment you can pay to a faculty member is to say that he stimulates you to think." His

conservativism shines through with great honesty and I find it admirable and surprising that he would give exactly the same opinions to the boys at the court house, the men at the dove shoot and the students at West Georgia College. Actually he made alot of that earlier in the week--talking about how important it is to be honest and to tell everyone what you believe ("I somehow believe" turns out to be one of his pet filler phrases). "If you tell everyone the same thing, you don't have to remember who you ~~lied~~ to." He was afraid he would walk into a "bear trap" and hostility at the College (which he associates with radicals, drugs, permissiveness, etc.) and was pleased to find that there was none. "There was not one single discourteous question or action. They were remarkably attentive. I ~~engayed~~ it." The relief which he expressed at Lamar Young's and to me indicates that he is apprehensive about meeting with students but that somehow he is committed to doing it. Part of his value system includes "the free flow of communication" and I think in a funny way, it's a deviation to the legislative or political process. He is not, I think, as self confident as he might be in some situations. This was one; the Congress may be another.

West Ga. ✓

Mel, the history teacher, when I asked him his opinion of Flynt said that, "He's a very nice and very honest man. I like him very much. He's very open to his constituents in helping them. And he's got the power to do it. But he's far too conservative for me. I'll vote for him though, because he is so nice and so powerful. I'll only vote against him if some charismatic ^{liberal} comes along." A compliment from a ^{Rockett} liberal. Mel also said that a group of young people in the district were trying to get someone to run against ^{IF} him, he's so conservative.

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I asked J. F. about his opponent in the first primary--Trotter. "He was attractive, had a good background, was inclined to be a bit lazy and was not as aggressive a campaigner as I was. In philosophy, we were about the same. He's the Democratic national committeeman now." He had represented a three-county area but only ran from Troup--since counties rotated the State Senator's job--hence, he was State Senator but his only power base was Troup.

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In connection with his Viet Nam story, which he told at Broadmoor and West Georgia, he said re 3 N. Y. students, "I suppose when they saw the sign saying that a congressman from Georgia was in the office they expected to find some redneck." Thinks of himself as not a redneck.

Said at Lamar (Young's) that if he had tried for governor he should have tried in '58 or '62. Thinks he would have won in those years. Not clear how serious he really was.

Newnan and Griffin have alternated having congressman from the district, once Coweta and Spalding were joined in one district.

J. F., when at Georgia was Georgia's candidate for Rhodes Scholarship and was eliminated in the regional finals. Told story of one question. "Sam Alston? asked a few preliminary questions and then asked me what did I think of Kant's categorical imperative. Not only had I never heard of the categorical imperative, I had never even heard of Kant. But I sure found out in a hurry. And one way you can interpret ^{The categorical imperative} ~~it~~ is to say that each one of us should leave his community a better place than it was when he came into it." Very strong on this.

"I should stay around for two more weeks to beat the bushes. But I

decided a week ago that people have seen and heard so much politics that any one even remotely associated with politics would not be appreciated at this time. So I'm going hunting. Then, I'm going back to Washington to see if I can help elect Hale Boggs majority leader of the House."

"I remember once when I was sitting in the gallery with a constituent watching Dan Flood on the floor. Dan is from Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, is a former Shakesperian actor and his wife is a former opera singer. Dan was wearing a purple shirt and a white suit and was sporting his little waxed mustache. My constituent turned to me and asked, "What chance do you think a man like that would have to get elected in the 6th district of Georgia." And I said, "Exactly the same chance as I would have getting elected in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania."

Story about how, when J. F. was on I. & F. C, and he voted against the exemption of natural gas from Federal regulation--voted in committee. "When I got back to my office, my secretary told me that the Speaker's office was on the line. I said, 'tell them to wait a minute.' She said, 'well, it's the Speaker himself on the line.' So I picked it up and Mr. Rayburn said, 'We have chosen you to make the motion to reconsider today's vote when the committee meets again in the morning.' I said, 'I voted against the measure.' He said, 'I know that.' But as you know, a motion to reconsider must be made by a person who was on the prevailing side of the original vote. You don't have to vote for the motion. We have the votes. All you have to do is make the motion to reconsider.' I said, 'Mr. Speaker, I can't do that. I've already made up my mind. And I want the bill defeated.' He said, 'why don't you think about it tonight and we'll get back to you in the morning.' I said, 'it won't make any difference. My

answer will be the same tomorrow as it is now and it will be the same next week as it is tomorrow.* Mr. Rayburn listened and said, "Son, I've been in this House for nearly 30 years, and let me tell you one thing. *Those who go along most, get along best."

In connection with the above, he repeated story of his Appropriations Committee assignment--Georgia delegation wanted him to have the seat it had held since 1884--he lost it and Georgia newspapermen circulated the story that he didn't have the power to ^{get} do it. "Nothing is more damaging to a Congressman in his district than to have his constituents believe that he doesn't have the power to get something he wants of that nature. That would have been all that was needed--and only that--to defeat me in my district. And so, once that story was printed, I had to try for the Appropriations seat and I had to win. So I set about to do it, [✓] when a vacancy opened up about a year later. I had 13 of the 15 votes on the Committee on Committees. Also during that time, Mr. Rayburn had died. I'm not sure I could have made it if Mr. Rayburn had still been there." What he neglected to say was that what really made Rayburn mad was his vote on Rules Committee enlargement in 1960. My guess is that his later vote for a 15-man Rules Committee, which he described as a liberal vote was a repayment in kind to John McCormack--whom he likes very much, he said.

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On election day a lady "poll manager" who was a Republican complained to Jack about conditions at polling places. She also said, "As Mr. Flynt knows, I'm a Republican and I'm on the other side. I believe that competition is a good thing. He said, ~~Baby,~~ 'don't I vote like a Republican most of the time?' She said, "Yes, your voting record has improved lately. And that's because of

the competition you had in the last election!" I asked him if he thought she really knew what his voting record was. "I seriously doubt it. But I didn't argue with her. She's crazy."

He complained a lot about his staff. It seems as though he can't find L.A., can't find a person who can take change--Mary Lou can't get along with the rest; one girl came home on leave and wouldn't come over to Griffin to help; one L. A. has ability and not attitude; one L. A. has attitude and no ability. A. A. is sickly but carries on, etc.

In 1968, every one of Jack's ^{counties} ~~centers~~ went for George Wallace. That says something about his territory that's very important. *He said he thought all the members of his family voted for Wallace. I would bet Jack voted for Humphrey.*

LaGrange - one of the larger counties in Jack's district is in Troup County and is the home of Calloway Mills, the ones owned by Bo Calloway. That's why Jack was so pleased to poll more in Troup County than Calloway. *He knows where everyone of his counties ranks in population out of the 157 in Georgia.*

Interesting that Jack and a great many of the people he visited with share a dislike of Lester Maddox. Patty called him "an idiot" and Jack commented often in disparaging terms about Maddox--essentially an untutored, boorish, clownish disgrace to the name of Georgia. It's a stylistic response, not necessarily an ideological one. But Lester is viewed as essentially incompetent and Jack values competence; so do the men he associates with. Viz his comment that he's no "redneck." I think he may see Lester as a "redneck." Jack shares racial attitude of southerners but he does not want to and does not conduct a politics based on race. Maddox does--more than suits Jack's taste--though he never put it this way. He will support Maddox as a Democrat, and because there is support for him in his constituency. But he is comfortable with Jimmy Carter. He voted vs. Carl Sanders in the gubernatorial primary because he thinks Sanders

is responsible for LBJ pushing his civil rights program--for the idea that the South is changing, that there will be a new South, etc. Jack believes that all this talk led to civil rights acts which led to permissiveness which has caused problems in South. I guess you'd say Jack thinks he understands people's attitudes and that they can't be pushed. He, surely, is no pusher.

Would he support Muskie? "I just might."

Daughter - School in Wellesley, works for USIA, travelled recently to Pakistan and came home via Nairobi. Erosion of nativism.