

Ken 1 Hll
not re??

he had a
p.m. 1972
for Gailley.

Jack's style is
personal, personal
kenia. As
expressed by
Ben R. who
gives implicitly
personal service!

Who did you talk to before
you made your decision?
(could you recall that
person you met
though.
If this is Wallace county
does that mean there is
a lot of populist
sentiment here?
(or is it not true)

Jack Flynt

September 22-25, 1972

September 22

1:00 To Jack's office in Masonic Building
3:00 Pike County Sesquicentennial Parade, Zebulon
(Emmett and Howard Gunnells Store, Bill -
Gas Station, Bob Smalley's for dinner).

September 23

a.m. Georgia Experiment Station; Cleanwell
Pressing Club
① p.m. Zebulon for Centennial - Gunnells'
High Falls State Park
Indian Springs State Park
Howdying in Barnesville
Bill Holloway's General Store - Boy appointed
to Air Force Academy who left in Monroe
7:00 Meeting of Coalition for Pollution Control Inc. at
High School, Jackson, Butts County - (re South
River bringing Fulton and DeKalb County sewage
into Jackson Lake)

No
country club
still for
Jack -
met in high school
11:00 am

sure for the

September 24

11:00 Williamson Methodist Church
Service and "dinner on the grounds"
(ride home via Blanton's mill and countryside)
John and Sarah Lou Erickson for dinner

September 25

7:00am East Point Civitan Club breakfast
8:30-12:00 Drove around new district - East Point, Ben Hill,
Greenbrier - Shopping Plaza; Owl Rock Methodist Church
(Only person we met - Solomon Oliver at gas station)

change
②
Baptist church
for carter
come in to
old relief
in the
going

1972-6
person in the
committee
my carter party.

September 25

12:00 Lunch with Ellis Arnall at National Bank Building
3:00 Bill Lee, State Representative, who is ill.
(3) 7:00 Women's Business and Professional Club of Jackson,
Butts County
8:30-10:30 Visit with Mary Will Hearn, Butts County Tax Collector
and her family. Recuperating from operation.

Jack met me at the airport--alone--which is very indicative of the personal attention he gives everything. No other Congressman I've been with would drive 40 minutes to pick me up at the airport.

At the airport, he noted that he had had a funny primary. "I only paid attention to two counties. Some new counties, I didn't even go near." Patty later said Jack deliberately decided to lay low so he wouldn't give the other guy publicity, and she noted that Jack campaigns hard when there's no election and slacks off when there is! Later at Bob Smalley's house, JF put it just that way. "You know you can get a lot more votes campaigning in the off years than you can campaigning in the on years. You know that, don't you?" He said this as if he were instructing Bob Smalley.

He took me around to Woodward Academy on the way out of airport. It is in College Point, a part of South Fulton County, which is in new part of district. Woodward ^{used} was to be Georgia Military Academy and it's where Jack, John and Crisp (his sons) all went. Recently they went co-ed and demilitarized. A great trauma for some trustees, said Jack. He's a member of board. Patty gave money for chapel stained glass. Stucky gave the balcony at chapel. Woodruff of Coca Cola was also a graduate and he has been chief benefactor. All

Flynt

3.

boys and girls had uniforms on. It has liberalized but about to point of Mercy High.

Our first good talk concerned Clayton County as we drove through. I began by saying he didn't seem as much ~~at~~ home here as in other counties. He said that was right, he didn't. "It's so heterogeneous and disorganized, and full of factions. It doubled in population between 1940, doubled again between 1950 and 1960; and doubled again between 1960 and 1970. Politically, it's bitterly divided between factions." How do you deal with it? "Very cautiously."

"It's so disorganized that if I campaigned 10 times more than I do, I couldn't raise my vote by more than 10%."

"I don't spend very much time there. Some of my good friends criticize me and tell me I neglect it unduly. And they have a point. But I could get 50% of the vote in Clayton County without campaigning there at all. And I couldn't get more than 25% if I ^{if} campaigned there all the time. And/I did that, I would probably lose more votes than I gained because I would become identified with one of the factions and half the people would hate me. And on top of that, I would lose a lot of my support elsewhere in the district. It's not worth it."

Community
Can you know what they want? "You can't know what they want. Population alone would create so much change that it's difficult

Flynt

4.

Eighty per cent of them have moved in since I went into office. There are two stabilizing forces in Clayton County. Bill Lee and _____ Terrel. They have been in either the state senate or county commissioners ever since I've been in politics. They have my interests at heart; and I rely very heavily on them to tell me what I have to do in Clayton County. I trust them to tell me what I have to do to keep my image." He noted that another man in Clayton vs. him when Republicans ran but paid him "lip service" when no Republican was running.

Later in evening, back at his house, he said "I should write a book about this district--beginning with the indians. It's a very historic district and a very cohesive district--except for Clayton County." Said no one knew it like he did.

He wanted to keep Upson --which had been in district ever since it was created--and some others. Said Smalley was State Sen. and unpopular, that several people said Smalley's unpopularity cost him some of his best counties. He lost Troup, Meriweather, Upson, Monroe, Bibb. Picked up Harelson, Douglas, Jasper and South Fulton County. (Fletcher Thompson's) old ground. Eight new communities but fewer blacks than in old district. The first redistricting had given him larger number of urban blacks. They protested and the districts were changed. [To be Dept protested!]

"When Marvin introduced me today and said there weren't 5 people out there (out of 4000-5000) who didn't know me, he was probably right. And those who don't know me think they do."

"If I had said I couldn't make it, they would have understood. They know that if I say I can't come, it's because I honestly can't. If I had accepted and not shown up, they would have been hurt and they would never have forgotten it as long as they and I lived. If I hadn't come today, they probably would have assumed I had died."

In the morning we walked around Jack's yard--to spring house surrounding a beautiful, fast flowing spring which they used to use for water. Then to look at and taste grapes from his grape arbor--they have Scuppernong, Dulcet, Hunts, McGoons, Higgins grapes. Patty had been making jelly out of Hunts. We had had some for breakfast. We also looked at trees--water oak, pecan, white oak, magnolia, osage orange, peach, pear, plum, etc. Jack owns 31 acres of land here and he may sell it all to a developer. It has been zoned commercial, his taxes are going to go way up and he says that he's been made an offer by some people who want to develop a covered shopping mall here and that it's so good, he can't afford not to consider it. He has no idea what he'll do next.

He was born in a house in town, which he has since sold. ("That was a big mistake, I should have developed it myself along with the land next to it. That property now brings in as much income a year as I sold it for. And it's been paid off long ago.") The house he now lives in was not his birthplace, though it has that look about it.

He talked about his father, who would have been 100 years old today (Friday)--Patty went to the cemetery and put some flowers there.

"He ran for Congress when I was 8 years old and lost. I suppose that's the reason why I always wanted to go to Congress."

His father was State Representative for 7 years, State Senator for 4 terms and was President of the Georgia State Senate. He told story of how his father walked and sat very erect. "He had a great bearing, ^{very erect.} One day he was walking down the street past two men. One of them said to the other in a loud voice, 'There goes John Flynt, he walks as if he owns the whole town.' My father overheard him and said, 'yes, and I ploughed my fields the very same way.' Point seemed to be that his father was a man of the soil and people even though ^{+ "strayd"} successful. And Jack has that very same demeanor--not so much the erect bearing as the man of the people demeanor.

At Woodward Academy a Secretary said to him, "You aren't politicking are you?" "not for this year, I'm politicking for two years from now,"

Flynt

said Jack. Nice comment on fact that he's always running.

On Thursday the day before I arrived, he had been in Griffin, gotten up at 4 a.m., caught a 6:00 plane to Washington, come back at about 4:00 in the afternoon to go to event at suppertime. It was the installation of officers of the Flint River Council of the Boy Scouts of America at Holiday Inn in Griffin. I asked him why he had worked so hard to get there. "I wanted to make it because of who they were. They were Boy Scout leaders from six of my counties--the men who make scouting here a viable movement. They have given me some of my strongest support ever since I have been in politics. And they have never asked anything of me but to give them good government. So when they ask, I sure don't want to pass up the opportunity to meet with 90-100 of them. I knew about 90% of them that were there. And the other 10% I know now. Some of those I hadn't met were the sons of men I had known."

About the Pike County Sesquicentennial, he had the same feeling. "Everybody in the community worked together to make it a success. There was no bickering and backbiting; none of this 'If I can't play I'm going to pick up my baseball and go home.' It was a 'come one, come all' type of celebration. That's the kind of thing I want to be a part of. I enjoy it." I noted that politically, a total community effort of that sort was the best kind of event to be associated with--no faction, no conflict. And he agreed.

7.

connects nicely
with later
comment that
it's best to
campaign in
off years
or in
years where
you have
no opponent.

good
to accom-
pany
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supporter

(72)
recognize
community
effort

We had dinner with Bob and Mary Smalley--Bob is State Senator. Earlier, Jack had said about Bob. "I would like to see Bob succeed me as Congressman when I decide to give it up. But I'm not sure he can be elected. He is very reserved and people think he's standoffish. He isn't but he looks that way. He has a huge law practice and he's very smart--generally recognized, I think, as the ablest and most analytical man in the Senate. But he's unpopular." He went on to say that Bob's unpopularity hurt him on redistricting and that some people told him (Jack) that they voted against him on redistricting to get back at Bob. Jack said that disgusted him--"That was a hell of a reason to vote against me." Bob said "Jack and I kept ^{our} ~~air~~ lines open to each other. But we just didn't have the votes."

A lot of the conversation between Jack and Bob was about individuals--who was supporting who, who they could trust, an insight into personal nature of it all.

"The votes I cast in Congress satisfy the people in my district--not because I set out to satisfy them but because we think alike on most issues. They don't disagree with me on anything--not anything they are likely to get mad about. Even my Negro friends this morning don't get mad at me. They don't expect me to vote for those crazy civil rights bills and they completely forgive me for my civil rights votes."

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When I sort of rephrased it and said that he and they agreed, he said "Sometimes I agree with them and sometimes they agree with me. I have taken unpopular stands and then swung them around to my way of thinking." Example: Upholding an Veto of Public Works bill. Letters came in criticizing. He answered them by defending budgetary process. They agreed with him and no problem. Later, in recounting Rayburn story, he said constituents didn't care about that vote. ✓ p. 2

I asked if he thought he'd get more ^{mail} ~~mad~~ in new district and he said no, because Macon generated an awful lot of mail of all types.

We talked about critical mail and he couldn't really think of much. Said most mail he ever got was on pay TV, inspired from outside the district by a N.C. TV station. "I'll tell you a position of mine that did not bring in critical mail, my speech against the war. I was very apprehensive about the effect it would have in the district. I didn't really know how people felt and I was being pessimistic. But it was something I had to do. As it turned out only a very few wrote in criticizing me and many, many wrote favorable letters. It turned out their thinking was just about the same as mine on the subject."

Talked re inspired mail by Southern RR lobbying vs. the emasculation of ICC. "I almost got into a fist fight with the President of the Southern Railroad. I told him that if he ever again sent me those god damned kinds of letters, I'd call him in, give him some of

my stationery and make him answer them himself. Those letters paralyzed my office. I could have punched him."

He just doesn't appear to have great issue conflicts to confront. What he does in new district will be interesting. He noted that there was almost no vote in South Fulton this time--he got 5,200 and his opponent got about 2,500. Out of a population of 115,000. He concluded that many people didn't vote in that race because they didn't know him. "That area will require an entirely different kind of campaign, entirely different." By which he meant he couldn't use the old friends network. But he started it in Macon and it worked. And when I asked if Macon techniques wouldn't work, he said maybe. But it wasn't clear what he meant by new--he told story of his use of TV with 12 debates in which he waited for 12th, and let Jones have it.

Re his campaign system--we had just left Main Street tour of Barnesville. How does he find out what's going on? "I don't know, but I do it. There's no system. But I suppose the answer is that I have good friends throughout the district who tell me whatever I ought to know. I have a broad base of acquaintances and I depend on them to keep me informed."

"We have right very much of a pecan crop in the district--Pike, Upson, Monroe,--but we don't have many in the new district! They sure played 'whaley' with this district." Patty said that meant goofed it up!

In Zebulon the day before, he had talked to a pecan dealer who told him "it's going to be a short crop." About 50% of last year--thought last year was a good year--still, he kept saying it would be a "short crop."

We stopped on back road--Blanton's Mill Road--when we saw a guy coming out of another back road in pickup truck. Jack jumped out and talked to Bill Mixon. "Hey, how're you?" "Just fine." "How're you?" "Is that your cotton over there?" "No, I don't do anymore row cropping. Just cattle and hogs." "How you doin'?" "Pretty good; I didn't follow your part in it but I'm glad you kicked off that ban on the export of hides. I thought that was a mistake." "Sure enough, I did too." "The Livestock business is about as good as I've ever seen it. So things are real good right now." "I'm mighty glad to hear it." "I went down to Lamar Johnson's yesterday. He said he wanted to have you down to shoot doves. But he didn't want you to waste your time if there weren't any." "You went on a dove shoot yesterday?" "Yes. There was a little spread of doves. But dove shoots haven't been too good this year." "I'm sorry I missed it." "You let me know when you're home in duck season. I want you to come over and have breakfast with me and go out and shoot us some ducks." "I sure will. How's your father?" "Fine, real fine." "Say hello to him for us and to your wife and children." "And, you all come see us, you hear." "We will." And we ride off. Bill gets into his pickup

and drives off. This is just one conversation I happened to record because it just happened. This goes on all day with person after person--continual howdying.

Father had "quite a farming operation." "At any one time he probably owned about 1500 acres; but over the years, he owned 5 or 6 thousand acres of the best farming land in this country."

His present house was built in 1922; it's on Poplar Street or Newnan highway (after you get beyond city limits).

Called his father "the patron saint" of Georgia experiment station. Main building is called Flynt building. Athens trying to get it centralized. Jack thinks he has helped keep most of it here in Griffin--he likes it and people it brings. Spoke of large number of Ph.D.'s. Dundee Mills is near there and it was a company owned town--but they've sold all the houses now.

W. H. M.
I saw something in the Spaulding County countryside on Sunday--the changing of social structure--abandoned tenant homes and lack of cotton farming or row cropping. In 1840's and up until early 1900's, Jack's district was cotton country. But need for machinery and flat land and lack of field labor drove it away to the west. Very little cotton left. Norton Scott, with whom I spent some time in Zebulon (he drove car in which Jack rode as Grand Marshal; I sat in front seat) said that most people in Pike County now worked in industry and kept

a few cows and a garden. Idea was that there were no pure farmers left. They all have another source of income. But farm talk is present. The mayor of Zebulon broke off a conversation with Jack saying "I've got to go to country; it's time to milk the cows." Throughout the week, there was much talk of the dry weather they'd been having and of its effect on crops. Most of what I saw was soy beans.

Speaking of agriculture, my meals this trip included such native dishes as turnip greens, pot likker, venison stew, eggplant parmesan, fried okra, grits, corn bread and assorted relishes, pecan pie.

Nowhere in all my travels with Jack did the stability and sense of history and place seem as strong as it did during the church service on Sunday and at lunch. The atmosphere of "The Homecoming," the talk, the plain country church with the cemetery by its side and "dinner on the grounds"--all these gave real strong solid feeling. Biggest crowd they'd ever had in the church. Jack spoke about this being the promised land and how we ought to leave world better than when we came and how we ought to keep faith of our fathers. It was some God and country speech, loaded with cliches that I heard him give two years ago. But it seemed to come from the heart and was effective, I guess.

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✓ /
Re his primary, I asked if he did any advertising. He said no, none at all. Patty said his friend wanted at least a brochure to hand

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trouble
brewing

out in new part of district and Jack said no--he didn't want anything. I asked if he expected and wanted a low turnout in new part of district, he said no. And I said, "How did you think they would know who you were?" He said, "I thought they knew me; and if they didn't, I didn't want their support anyway. It's like the story of Paul Toombs down in Washington, Georgia, when the new highway came through and people suggested he build a new hotel. He said he didn't want a hotel. And people said, what about the people coming to Washington on the highway. He said, "If they're good people, then I'll invite them to stay at my house. If they aren't good people, I don't/^{want} them stopping in Washington." Interesting story, but a poor analogy for a politician. But maybe he really does think he's got enough and doesn't much need the new part. Ellis Arnall referred to same story at lunch.

We were driving to East Point Monday and we saw a car with a Fulton County license plate and a bumper sticker "Save the Flint." I commented that here was an issue that might divide his district. He said yes. And I asked if there were any issues that divided the old district. He thought for quite a while and said, "No, I don't believe there were any. The only division in the district was between the East side of the Flint River and the West side of the Flint River. I never faced that conflict because I was determined to go into the West side of the river in force. By that I mean I

worked from the beginning to establish myself there. The result was that they never did run anyone against me from West of the Flint." *A community kind of division, he mentioned, not an issue kind of division.*

I commented that what he had been talking about was a political matter than an issue division. Had there been any issue divisions? He seemed to indicate not by his answer "The thing that tied the old district together was the dominance of the textile industry and the dependence of the people of the district--employer and employee--on the textile industry."

I then asked if he could vote against the textile industry and survive. "It would be very very difficult. If I had been hostile to the textile industry, it would have been fatal. But that could never have happened because I felt so close to the textile industry." (Could be past or present tense).

At Mary Will Hearn's house later that evening, he gave an example, I thought, of how much textile industry meant to him. He told how the industry wanted a change from two price cotton to one price cotton so that American manufacturers could buy cotton at same price as foreign companies. They asked Ike. "He didn't know what we were talking about, turned it over to his Secretary of Commerce and nothing was ever done about it. We asked Jack Kennedy, he promised us some help, but never did anything about it. But LBJ pitched in and helped us get one price cotton. After his help, I felt I owed him something. So, not only did I support him in 1964, but I went down

to meet him in Miami and rode with him to Macon and sat beside him on the platform. I never heard so many boos from an audience, but I sat right up there with him. I felt I owed it to him for what he had done for us." In Jack's mind, he had traded some of his personal popularity for LBJ's help with textile industry.

Before B&PW Club, he used as his theme the quote Ellis Arnall had paraphrased in such flowery fashion. Ellis had praised Jack for coming back to the country, to touch his feet to the ground, to "mix and mingle--the human equation" and he used phrase that comes from burning bush story in Exodus about ^{Moses} taking off ^{his} shoes for this is holy ground. Jack quoted it and said, "I can't begin to describe to you the frustrations I feel when I see these crazy experiments in social reform and when I watch them move this country from strength to weakness instead of from strength to greater strength. These frustrations would make me a nervous wreck or worse, if I could not come back home to be with you, my friends and neighbors, my supporters and my constituents. I come home to refresh my spirit and renew my strength--here in the heart of West Central Georgia, where my family's roots go deep. To me this is truly 'holy ground.'"

He began by contrasting himself to George Mahon (whom he did not mention). "He has been in Congress for 36 years. He hates to go home. He has sold his home in the district. And when he does go back to Texas, he has to check in at a motel. I could never do that."

"I feel so much at home in Bath cant as I do any place else on earth."

He + Ben R
measured rules
vs Mahon!

I think the thing that came home listening to the speeches this time was that Jack is a community builder or maintainer. He builds and maintains a sense of community among people, by speaking to them of country, of God, of faith; by invoking ties to the past; by talking individually to them of the great life cycle crises--birth, sickness, death, marriage, family--always discussing relationships between people. No one--absolutely no one is ever discussed without relating him or her to someone else--usually family. Jack began every speech--in the rural areas by addressing his audience as "my friends and neighbors" (He invoked the very phrase every time!). He identifies himself with every place he visits. At Pike County Sesquicentennial Speech. "I feel as much at home in Pike County as if I had been born here, raised here and lived here every day of my life." At the Williamson Methodist Church. "I have never recognized the artificial boundaries that separate our two counties. I have felt at home in this county--our county--among my friends and neighbors for over 50 years." At the B&PW Club dinner. "I feel as much at home in Butts County as I do anyplace else on earth." The entire 4-day performance was totally and completely issueless--not that the sense of community does not rest on an issue consensus--it does. But the articulated, visible content of politics is personal, communitarian and not issues. On the one occasion where the meeting concerned an issue; that was the

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too!

Jack
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categories
just right

Flynt

18.

one occasion when Jack--by choice--said nothing. He sat all evening in the Jackson High School auditorium amid great citizen frustration over pollution and said nothing. He was introduced, got a big hand and showed his interest--but he stayed out of it. He felt he could only lose if he spoke. Didn't even sit on platform, but sat down in 2nd row with me, County Commissioner Hammond Barnes and Dave Ridgeway, Clerk of Superior Court.

The issue of environmentalism bothers Jack. I think, though he doesn't put it quite that way. One of the pamphlets handed out at the door involved stopping the Spewrell Dam, which was Jack's baby--to dam up Flint River. Two years before, we had gone to the River with Hayes Arnold and the others to survey the prize project. All the lower counties wanted it for economic reasons. They thought recreation lakes would benefit them. Yet, here, two years later, there's a big save the Flint campaign on. At Pike County Sesquicentennial, Jack said in his speech that the new Spewrell Dam would be the key to the bright economic future of Pike County. At the Jackson meeting a guy from the Georgia League of Conservation Voters spoke to the crowd urging them to talk tough on ecology to officeholders. I talked with him afterward and he said he knew Flynt was the big backer of the dam, but that they hadn't asked him to do anything yet and still considered him friendly, competent and a good congressman. "Our friends in Clayton County asked us who they should

of got a lot
of it in
his district
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now

vote for, Gurley or Flynt and we told them Congressman Flynt. I visited with him in Washington and he seemed very friendly and very competent. We haven't asked anything of him yet. We're hoping he just won't fight too hard for the dam. The state is against it now and we're hoping Congressman Flynt will just let it die." And he told that to Jack. Jack was curious as to what he and I had talked about. I told him. And Jack showed some ambivalence on the project. "Ten years ago, when we started on that project, there weren't 20 people who could have enjoyed the Flint River if we left it as it was. But the lakes behind the dam would have given recreation to thousands of people. Now it's changed. I don't think I would be terribly unhappy if they never did build that dam." But, as I said earlier, the views of Pike and Clayton would be very different on that proposition.

We "campaigned" in two church graveyards--on Saturday we visited the Providence Congregational Methodist Church in High Falls, Monroe County. Jack's grandfather's brother was listed first on a tablet of founders of the church in pre civil war period. A lot of Flynts were buried in the graveyard and Jack took great interest in inter-marriages, dates of birth, death, names, etc. On Monday we went to the Owl Rock Methodist Church in Ben Hill (which broke off from the Mt. Gilead Baptist Church in 1852!) and we toured that graveyard noting the names, etc. "Well, I never knew that Hamilton Barge's family was buried here in Fulton County, but it used to be Campbell

County." I don't suppose I'll ever do as much graveyard touring with any other candidate--but it is of a piece with Jack's encyclopedic memory for family and his insatiable historical curiosity. (He was reading U. S. Grant's memoirs this trip.)

Jack's oratory would be considered totally corny and cliché ridden in a northern city. But the people hang on it. His oratory is a rotund example in 3 speeches he said "When that final summons comes, as it must come to us all, when it comes time for us to draw our final breath, and when the last words pass between our mortal lips--audibly or inaudibly--if we can say that we have left this a better community, a better country than it was when we found it, if we can say that we have done, each of us in his own way, something to move our community, our country from strength to greater strength, if we can say this we will not have lived in vain." His speech is a kind of "come home" speech--it has a vision. But it is not, in the end a national vision. It just ignores too many problems. But it works for him in his area. And he creates or maintains a constituency that supports him and gives him no trouble. The new one will! Some--.

When I asked him which of the activities was the most important to him, he was very reluctant to say. "I just couldn't say." Patty broke in and said that the East Point meeting was in a new area and, though it was small, they were solid people. Jack did not agree--just said nothing. Then I asked, if you had to take just one, which one would you take and he said, "Numbers would have to count for a lot--

so I guess the Pike County Sesquicentennial would be first. My whole weekend was built around that, because I accepted it at least two months ago. But the meeting tonight was a good one too (B&PW)." There had been 90 people at the B&PW meeting and Jack mentioned that he had told Mary Wll that he would make that one: "If I was alive, I'd be there." So he chose the reenforcing meeting over the pioneering meeting.

When Bill asked him about the East Point meeting, Jack said, "It went very very well. I'm going to go into the new area very slowly and not by blitz." He wants to feel his way--that's what comes naturally. But he's not totally sure how he'll do it!

Example as we circled Greenbriar Shopping Plaza. "To my way of thinking--and my friend Ellis Arnall agrees with me--campaigning in shopping centers is a complete and total waste of time. I may be wrong, but I believe that when people are shopping, they don't want to be interrupted by someone handing out political literature.

Another example: As we drive around new part of the district--"exploring" as Jack put it, he asked. "How would you campaign in this district? It's going to be an entirely different kind of campaign fro me. It's going to be hard to reach. You can't do it by TV because you reach such a small part of the market you pay for. Economics rules that out. And there's no focal point of interest, no incorporated areas. It will have to be done on an individual basis. In the primary, the substantial, intelligent people--the businessmen,

Yet he
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Flint River
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Just not do
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community leaders, educators--the people I like to have on my side--and I don't mean to neglect the rank and file--these people took me completely on faith. It wasn't that they knew me; they just didn't want the idiot that was running against me." Idea was that he would have to find these "substantial people" and go to work on them. But finding them in the absence of real communities was very puzzling to him. It was a nice transition kind of lament. At one point, after we had been driving around for one hour, he said, "Well, we've been exploring the new district for an hour, but we haven't seen one person yet." I said you mean stopped to visit with them and he said yes, that was what he meant. It was plaintive; I thought. The one person he did talk to was a black man who owned the filling station where he stopped to call Arnall--a man named Solomon Oliver. Jack talked to him and had me meet him. Really ironic that where he was a stranger, he ended up talking with a black man. But where he is at home, he almost never talks with a black man.

He did take me by the Cleanwell Pressing Club where the Head brothers and he chatted at length. One of them has been elected first black Griffin city commissioner in history. Jack called him his good friends and they seemed to be superficially so. On the way home he told the same story about black supporters 2 years ago, how he lost in black precinct's first two races--but carried them for Congress--meeting with Atlanta people, "I'm going to vote for Mr. Jack." "And then what I think was the clincher" the courtroom

voice. His point was the same as he makes over and over about the whites. "They know me." I asked him why more blacks didn't come talk to him after the speech in Pike County--since many blacks were there and all I could see talking to him afterward were whites. "Some did, but not very many. I was surprised, very frankly, that more did not come up afterward. But they don't know me in Pike County as well as they do in Spalding County."

Re the East Point meeting, he was pleased afterward. He expected them to be Fletcher Thompson supporters but not necessarily Republicans and probably people a lot like himself. As we got into the car he said, "I felt right at home in that group." I asked him why. "I don't know. I can't tell you why; I just did. For one thing the two men on either side--Steve Smoker and Jim Percival were both airline pilots, and I always feel very comfortable when I'm with pilots, military or civilian. Emmett _____ who used to live in Fayetteville and was my constituent there, he made me feel at home. And Bob Brown (mayor of East Point) made it a special point to come to the meeting, that made me feel at home. So I guess I have given you some reasons, haven't I." The interesting thing is that all these reasons are personal individual reasons. Nothing about issues or philosophy--at least not overtly.

In his East Point talk, there was less of God and country. He invoked whatever ties he could. J. V. Roberts, a visitor (who later got up spontaneously and praised Jack tremendously), Bob Brown, with whom

he had visited, called them neighbors, said they'd get to know each other, he'd work hard, felt at home already, etc. Described himself as "a fiscal conservative" and talked about excessive deficits, getting something for nothing, etc. Then said when he voted he asked first, "What would a composite of the 487,000 people of 6th district do if they had the information I have." Second "What is right for country regardless of popularity." And he made strong point that he was there to do what was right, even if unpopular. Went on in this vein (as he did at B&PW Club) and talked a bit about his Committee. It was O.K. and people seemed to like it. I kept thinking it verged on the corny; but it did cover a lot of ground.

After we had been with Dave Ridgeway and after we had been with Mary Will Hearn, he made the point forcefully that those were his strongest kinds of supporters and that they don't give a damn how I vote. But they know me and they trust me. Dave couldn't say enough about our office for speeding up that passport application. He's Clerk of Superior Court. They come to him and he knows what something like that means to a person. He could care less how I vote in Congress. Even if they did disagree with me, they would conclude that I was right and they were wrong. A good case is the so-called equal rights amendment. The B&PW Clubs nationally and locally wanted me to vote for it. But I voted against it and I told them my reason. They said I had thought of some things they hadn't thought of. I

talked to Mary Will about it. And she invited me to speak to the B&PW Club tonight at their biggest function of the year. I think that was her way of telling her group that I was right and they were wrong on the Equal Rights Amendment. I think they had been brain-washed by the national organization."

We spent a couple of hours at Mary Will Hearn's house after B&PW speech. Most of it was reminiscing by Mary Will and Jack. He told me that when he first ran there were no voters lists and that she single-handedly compiled one for all of Butts County. She's a county official of some sort and Will became tax collector (if that's not what she is) this year. She's been elected since 1956; and is typical of Jack's supporters. Also there were Robbie and Mary Zane (Mary Wills' daughter) and Aubrey Taylor. Aubrey told Jack he hoped he'd beat Carl Vinson's record of service in Congress--50 years! Mary Will was recuperating from an operation. She filled Jack in on local situation, thanked him for a social security favor (for "Uncle Benny") and a service favor for some person they know.

Mary Will was supposed to introduce Jack at the dinner, but she couldn't make it. So Mary Zane introduced him. When we got home, Jack commented on the introduction. "Do you know that Mary Zane paid me the highest compliment a man could have in that introduction? She said I 'didn't know the difference between blue denim and blue serge', that I 'helped po' folks just as much as rich folks,' I'm very proud

of that." This is the way Jack sees himself--though the people he consorts with are not exactly poor folks--by local standards.

Jack estimates that he makes 25-35 trips home to the district every year and that he spends about twice that number of days--50-70 days, two months in the district every year.

"I can't think of anything more useless than keeping a perfect attendance record at the expense of going home to participate in things you ought to be participating in back home. Paul Brown believed in a perfect attendance record and he knew less about changes of opinion back home than Jack in the Beanstalk."

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"My first race was very interesting. Though I had many strong and close supporters, I ended that campaign without any obligation to anyone. My largest campaign contribution was \$350 and my total contributions came to \$4000. (He told me earlier that he spent \$27,000 on that campaign, mostly--23,000--of his own money.) But I intended to win. I worked like hell, campaigned hard and effectively. I had two opponents, one a county judge and one a state senator. I carried 12 of the 15 counties. I lost Clayton County to the man who lived there; but I was second. And I lost Meriweather by a little bit. But I carried all the others and neither of my opponents ran consistently first or second."

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He said he spent \$75,000 in his 1966 race--raised by friends--no more specific.

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Of the 1966 race. "I ran against the most popular Republican in the State of Georgia, G. Paul Jones. He had been elected twice to the state legislature from Bibb County (Macon) and was state Republican Chairman. I had a friend snooping on his strategy meetings, so I knew exactly what he was planning. He was sure that he was going to come out of Bibb County with a 15,000 vote majority. And he said he also would carry Spalding, my home county. Then he said he didn't care what the hell happened in the other 14. That was a big mistake. I told my people in those 14 counties what he said and told them they would have to redouble their efforts. I carried all 14, I carried Spalding County and I beat him by 3,000 votes in Bibb County. We took a Republican County and turned it right around to Democratic." And he said he did that "by doing just what I'm doing now"--going from place to place, person to person.

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That afternoon we worked our way from Pike County festivities to Butts County meeting in Jackson, and it was a typical Flynt performance. Perhaps the best example was in Barnesville, the county seat of Lamar County. On the way into town we stopped at Pete Banks house for a glass of water and a chat. Pete's a young lawyer who worked in Jack's office for a while, now also owns a bank. Then we stopped at a State Representatives house, but he was out. Then on to Main Street. We started at the furniture store where we sat with owner for a while discussing old time buggies, sulkies,

*See same
pg. 27
me & Jack
in town*

carriages, surreys and phaetons. Then to Henry Wisebrams clothing store. Henry was one of the scout leaders Jack had seen three nights before. Henry said he didn't see how Jack got around so much. "When you were solicitor you used to be around here all the time. Now I swear you get to see us even more. I don't see how you do it." Then to Keadles Hardware for a brief chat with Keadle brothers. Then across the street to a Jeweler's for a hello to the owner, then to Goodman's clothing store for same. Owner invites us home to dinner. Then to Pop Banks' (Pete's father) Pontiac Dealership for long chat about new models (I watched Canada-USSR hockey game). Then out of town. But he had covered part of the Barnesville establishment.

I tried to get him to reflect on whether one could carry his district with a very different kind of campaign. He said "It's possible" but I couldn't get him to confront the question of whether or not his style was his and imposed on the constituency or whether it was imposed on him by the constituency and would, therefore, be demanded of any candidate. Not good on this kind of question. But I should push again.

"This may be the year to speak in all the high schools in the district. I do it every six years. You can reach nearly every generation that way. I find if you get down off the platform and talk with them and not at them, young people will respond. They don't want

to be lectured at, but they do want to talk things over face to face." He recalled how the West Georgia students had been "laying for" him and how well it went.

He mentioned specifically an introduction he had once in a black high school from a prominent woman educator (in days prior to integrated schools). She said "He is a good man. He can mingle with kings and queens and he can mingle with ordinary folks like us." He's always pleased when someone credits him with the common touch. I think he likes to feel he has it. Like the denim-serge quote.

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The day we spent exploring new parts of the "new district," we spent a lot of time trying to find his opponents house. It was kind of comical as we drove up and down Dodson Drive in East Point, then finally found a house that Jack thought was it and then went past it and up beside it a couple of times rubbernecking (it was a huge house with a cadillac and a boat in the driveway.) From time to time he would make a comment on him--Ray Gurley--so you could see that it was running through his mind.

"He got more votes than he should have (7000). He's a complete ignoramus. It makes me mad everytime I think of it." "He said I was born with a silver spoon in my mouth, and that he was born in an orphanage. He thought that entitled him to be a United States Congressman." "He was for cradle to the grave medical care and

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Hill

ending the war in Viet Nam." "Another thing he said was that I didn't have 50 friends in the district. He said I wouldn't speak to anyone who wasn't rich. Did you ever hear of anything so ridiculous." "He made an ass of himself in our TV debate. I almost lost my temper. Thank goodness I didn't. That's the only time I met him." "He didn't have anything personal against me. He ran last time, too. He's just the kind who loves to see himself written up in the paper and on TV." "He campaigned hard. He went to my home town, talked to my enemies, got one or two favorable notices in the paper and thought he was going to carry Griffin." He was a real estate man. His picture was plastered all over the trees in the district.

On way home from Cleanwell I asked if he would go to black functions and he said "I do. And they ask me in ways they know won't embarrass me. I went to dedicate the new wing of a nursing home. (Man who asked him was other black leader in Griffin begins with T). Afterward they wanted to pay me a fee. I said I didn't want it, that I was their Congressman, that I came because I wanted to and that when they put on another wing if they wanted me, I'd come back and dedicate it, too."

"The black people who know me know I will help them with their problems. All other things being equal, I will work harder to help

a black person than a white person on an individual case. Of course, you try your hardest on all cases, but if it's a marginal case, I'll work harder on the black person's problem." He didn't say it, but I assume that he works extra hard to let blacks know he'll help them to offset their suspicions.

He said when he was in Georgia Legislature he cast the, or *me d the,* deciding vote for Talmadge for governor and that a lot of his voters got mad at him. Later they cooled down and agreed with him. He used it as one example where he did something unpopular and in long run it was right.

He called the political parties "just technical entities--mostly poll pullers" (election officials).

He said one of his cardinal rules was to stay out of local politics and to openly solicit support from both sides in local politics. But said he did get involved on behalf of Bob Smalley in recent election--discreetly.

Some southern phrases. "Brag on," "listen at," "foller," "fixin to" do something.

I said politics was very subtle. Jack agreed and said some people never learn that.

Pike County speech excerpts. "I remember coming to Zebulon with my father literally more than 50 years ago." Today would have

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been my father's 100th birthday. In paying this tribute to Pike County, I hope you will not think it presumptuous if I also pay tribute to my father, who would be 100 years old today." (clapping) "My grandfather fought side by side and shoulder to shoulder with Pike County men in the Confederate Army in the War Between the States." Original deed to house he was born in was drawn in Pike County. He came to Pike County as a Solicitor, he carried all the districts in Pike County in early elections, etc. again and again, making the tie with Pike County.

At the airport when we were about to leave I told Jack that I had enjoyed myself. He said, "I know you have. You have looked completely at home everywhere we have taken you." I guess that's the supreme compliment for me too. But I liked the way old Aubrey Patrick delivered the same compliment as we were "fixing to" leave Mary Will Hearn's house. When Mary Will and Mary Zane heard I had a 23 year old son, they were flabbergasted, said they didn't believe it, that I was (like Aloma Redmond, the town gossip) saying things that weren't true, my ears were turning down, etc. Old Aubrey, however, believed me and took me for one of them. He looked at me and said simply "He takes care of hisself; he shoots and goes fishin'." That was the only possible explanation for a Butts County man. That Aubrey should have applied it to me so unhesitatingly was the most

flattering comment of my trip. He would never have believed it if I had tol him I played tennis or went skiig--never! So, of course, I didn't.

I asked JF if Defense Subcommittee helped with constituents. He said "Being an important one helps me even more (or something like that)?" I asked Do your constituents really know what subcommittee you are on and how important each is? He said, "I educate them."