

SWORN WRITTEN APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION

(By reason of the provisions of Section 244 of the Constitution of Mississippi and House Bill No. 95, approved March 24, 1955, the applicant for registration, if not physically disabled, is required to fill in this form in his own handwriting in the presence of the registrar and without assistance or suggestion of any other person or memorandum.)

1. Write the date of this application: \_\_\_\_\_
2. What is your full name? \_\_\_\_\_
3. State your age and date of birth: \_\_\_\_\_
4. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Where is your business carried on? \_\_\_\_\_
6. By whom are you employed? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Are you a citizen of the United States and an inhabitant of Mississippi? \_\_\_\_\_
8. For how long have you resided in Mississippi? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Where is your place of residence in the district? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Specify the date when such residence began: \_\_\_\_\_
11. State your prior place of residence, if any: \_\_\_\_\_
12. Check which oath you desire to take: (1) General \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Minister's \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) Minister's Wife \_\_\_\_\_ (4) If under 21 years at present, but 21 years by date of general election \_\_\_\_\_
13. If there is more than one person of your same name in the precinct, by what name do you wish to be called? \_\_\_\_\_
14. Have you ever been convicted of any of the following crimes: bribery, theft, arson, obtaining money or goods under false pretenses, perjury, forgery, embezzlement, or bigamy? \_\_\_\_\_
15. If your answer to Question 14 is "Yes," name the crime or crimes of which you have been convicted, and the date and place of such conviction or convictions: \_\_\_\_\_
16. Are you a minister of the gospel in charge of an organized church, or the wife of such a minister? \_\_\_\_\_
17. If your answer to Question 16 is "Yes," state the length of your residence in the election district: \_\_\_\_\_

18. Write and copy in the space below, Section \_\_\_\_ of the Constitution of Mississippi:  
(Instruction to Registrar: You will designate the section of the Constitution and point out same to applicant.)
19. Write in the space below a reasonable interpretation (the meaning) of the section of the Constitution of Mississippi which you have just copied:
20. Write in the space below a statement setting forth your understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.
21. Sign and attach hereto the oath or affirmation named in Question 12.

\_\_\_\_\_  
The applicant will sign his name here.

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF \_\_\_\_\_

Sworn to and subscribed before me by the within named \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ on this the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_

19\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_  
COUNTY REGISTRAR

\*\*\*\*\*

These are exact questions which will be asked prospective registrants.

In order to vote in the State of Mississippi, a person must: (1) Register (2) Have two (2) Poll Tax receipts for the previous years.

One may register by going to the Circuit Clerk's office in his or her respective County Court house; however, you must be a resident of the election district for at least one year (Minister's and their wives, six months) before one might register.

The payment of Poll Tax is accepted during the months of December and January, with February 1st being the deadline. Poll Taxes are \$2.00 per year, in most counties; however, in the former third congressional district (known as the Delta) \$3.00 is the cost of Poll Tax, which is the legal limit.

Poll Tax must be paid in consecutive years, in order to enable a person to vote, after having met other requirements, unless one is twenty years of age, and will be twenty-one before the date for the General Election of that year, which is usually the first Tuesday in November; or if the person is twenty one at present or sixty years of age or above.

In the above cases, one might become exempt from the payment of poll tax and waive the two year requirement for poll taxes.

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE  
 SOUTHEASTERN GEORGIA CRUSADE FOR VOTERS  
 416 West Park Avenue  
 Savannah, Georgia.  
 Adam 3-8127

May 14th 1962

PRESIDENT  
 Hosea L. Williams

SECRETARY  
 (MRS) E. S. Middleton

Memorandum

TO:

FROM: Hosea L. Williams, President

SUBJECT: Expenses to Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, Voter-  
 Registration Clinic last March 10th 1962

Please forgive me for being so late with something that was promise you by Mr. Calhoun.

We were not responsible for the expenses of that clinic as you know but the State Wide Registration Committee ran into financial trouble and the Southeastern Georgia Crusade For Voters must pay the bills of that clinic.

Please let hear from you. I enjoy meeting with you so much.

How is your Registration program coming? Do you need any help? Have you heard about Liberty County running a Negro for County Commissioner? They are bound to win.

Why don't you all let the Southeastern Georgia Crusade For Voters help your county get on the ball.

In God We Trust,

Hosea L. Williams, President  
 of SGCV

HLW:bvc

YOUR OFFICIAL BALLOT

FOR MAYOR	FOR ALDERMEN						
1 D	2 D	3 D	4 D	5 D	6 D	7 D	8 D
MALCOLM MACLEAN	John W. Carswell	C. Harold Carter	J. Thomas Coleman	XXXXXXX	Louie M Nunn	John J. Rauers	Julius Schoob

DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

17 C	23 C	32 C
Carrie Cargo	Judson E. Ford	P. A. Patterson

Political Guidance Committee: Rev. P. A. Patterson, Chairman, Benjamin Adams, Mrs. Bessie Adams, James Alexander, Walter Bogans, Samuel Brown, Dr. Phillip W. Cooper, Benjamin V. Clark, Joseph Cochran, Dr. H. M. Collier, Jr., Joe Cohen, Judson E. Ford, Atty. E. H. Gadsden, Mrs. Esther F. Garrison, Rev. P. H. Gray, Mrs. Mildred Hutchins, Henry Holmes, John Q. Jefferson, Mrs. Ethel Luten, Atty. B. C. Mayfield, Mrs. Mary McDew, Dr. S. M. McDew, Jr., Rev. E. P. Quarterman, Rev. L. S. Stell, Jr., Cody Thomas Mrs. Juanita T. Williams

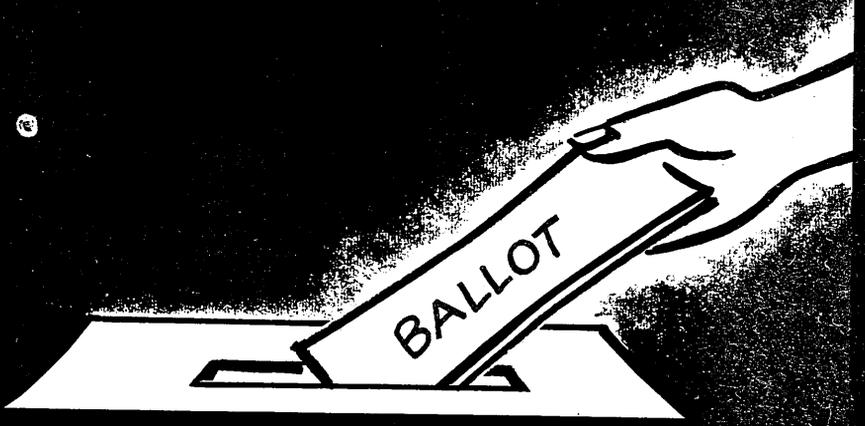
Georgia Election Laws

One who cannot read and write must answer 20 of these questions to register.

1. What is a republican form of government? A GOVERNMENT OF, BY AND FOR PEOPLE.
2. What are the names of the 3 branches of the United States Government? LEGISLATIVE, EXECUTIVE, AND JUDICIAL.
3. In what State Senatorial District do you live, and what are the names of the counties in such District? DISTRICTS: BULLOCH, CANDLER, CHATHAM, EFFINGHAM, EMANUEL, EVANS, LIBERTY, SCREVEN, WATNALL, AND BRYAN. (SECURE ANSWER FOR YOUR OWN DISTRICT.)
4. What is the name of the State Judicial Circuit in which you live, and what are the names of the county or counties in such circuit? (SECURE ANSWER FOR YOUR OWN CIRCUIT.)
5. What is the definition of a felony in Georgia? (ANY CRIME PUNISHABLE BY DEATH OR IMPRISONMENT IN THE STATE PENITENTIARY.)
6. How many Representatives are there in the Georgia House of Representatives, and how does the Constitution of Georgia provide that they be apportioned among the several counties? 205. LARGEST 8 COUNTIES - 3; NEXT LARGEST 30 COUNTIES - 2; REMAINING COUNTIES - 1 REPRESENTATIVE EACH.
7. What are the qualifications of the Representatives in the Georgia House of Representatives? CITIZEN OF UNITED STATES, 21 YEARS OF AGE, CITIZEN OF GEORGIA FOR AT LEAST 2 YEARS, RESIDENT OF COUNTY FOR AT LEAST ONE YEAR.
8. How does the Constitution of the United States provide that it may be amended? ARTICLE V. STATES: THE CONGRESS, WHENEVER TWO-THIRDS OF BOTH HOUSES SHALL DEEM IT NECESSARY SHALL PROPOSE AMENDMENTS TO THIS CONSTITUTION OR ON THE APPLICATION OF THE LEGISLATURES OF TWO-THIRDS OF THE SEVERAL STATES SHALL CALL A CONVENTION FOR PROPOSING AMENDMENTS, WHICH IN EITHER CASE SHALL BE VALID TO ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES, AS PART OF THIS CONSTITUTION, WHEN RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THREE-FOURTHS OF THE SEVERAL STATES OR BY CONVENTIONS IN THREE-FOURTHS THEREOF AS THE ONE OR THE OTHER MODE OF RATIFICATION MAY BE PROPOSED BY THE CONGRESS.
9. Who is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia, and who is the Presiding Judge of that Court? CHIEF JUSTICE IS W. H. DUCKWORTH; PRESIDING JUDGE IS LEE B. WYATT.
10. Who may grant pardons and paroles in Georgia? THE STATE PARDON AND PAROLE BOARD.
11. Who is the Solicitor General of your State Judicial Circuit, and who is the Presiding Judge (or Judges if more than one)? (SECURE ANSWER FOR YOUR OWN CIRCUIT)
12. If the Governor of Georgia dies, who succeeds him, and if both the Governor and the person who succeeds him die, who exercises the executive power? THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR. SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

-2-

13. a. What does the Constitution of the United States provide regarding the suspension of the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus?  
b. What does the Georgia Constitution provide?  
A. UNDER THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION IT CANNOT BE DONE "UNLESS WHEN IN CASE OF REBELLION OR INVASION THE PUBLIC SAFETY MAY REQUIRE IT."  
B. UNDER THE GEORGIA CONSTITUTION IT CANNOT BE DONE.
14. What are the names of the persons who occupy the following state offices: (1) Governor, (2) Lieutenant Governor, (3) Secretary of State, (4) Attorney General, (5) Comptroller General, (6) State Treasurer, (7) Commissioner of Agriculture, (8) State School Superintendent, and (9) Commissioner of Labor? (1) EARNEST VANDIVER, (2) GARLAND BYRD, (3) BEN FORSTON, (4) EUGENE COOK, (5) ZACK D. CRAVEY, (6) GEORGE B. HAMILTON, (7) PHIL CAMPBELL, (8) CLAUDE PURCELL, (9) BEN T. HUIETT.
15. How many Congressional Districts are there in Georgia, and in which one do you live. THERE ARE 10.
16. What is the term of office of a United States Senator? SIX YEARS.
17. What is the term of office of a State Senator? TWO YEARS.
18. What is the county seat of your county? THERE ARE 159 COUNTIES. (SECURE ANSWER FOR YOUR OWN COUNTY.)
19. How may the county seat be changed under the Constitution of Georgia? BY A 2/3 VOTE OF THE PEOPLE PLUS 2/3 VOTE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
20. What are the qualifications for jury service in Georgia? NAME MUST BE ON THE BOOKS OF THE COUNTY TAX RECEIVER: MUST BE AN UPRIGHT, INTELLIGENT CITIZEN.
21. What are the names of the persons who occupy the following offices in your county: (1) Clerk of the Superior Court, (2) Ordinary, and (3) Sheriff? SECURE ANSWER FOR YOUR OWN COUNTY.)
22. How may a new state be admitted to the Union? BY ACT OF CONGRESS.
23. On what day and how often is the general election held in Georgia at which members of the General Assembly of Georgia are elected? THE TUESDAY AFTER THE FIRST MONDAY IN NOVEMBER; EVERY TWO YEARS.
24. What does the Constitution of the United States provide regarding the right of citizens to vote? RIGHT CANNOT BE ABRIDGED BECAUSE OF "RACE, COLOR OR PREVIOUS CONDITION OF SERVITUDE."
25. In what Federal Court District do you live? (SECURE ANSWER FOR YOUR OWN COUNTY.)
26. What are the names of the Federal District Judges of Georgia? FRANK A. HOPPER, WILLIAM BOYD SLOAN, T. HOYT DAVIS, WILLIAM A. BOTTLE, AND FRANK A. SCARLETT.
27. Who are citizens of Georgia? ALL CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES WHO LIVE IN GEORGIA.
28. What is treason against the State of Georgia? THE STATE CONSTITUTION STATES THAT TREASON AGAINST GEORGIA SHALL CONSIST OF LEVYING WAR AGAINST HER, ADHERING TO HER ENEMIES, GIVING THEM AID AND COMFORT.
29. In what body does the Constitution of the United States declare that the legislative powers granted in such a Constitution shall be vested? CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.
30. How many electoral votes does Georgia have in the Electoral College? TWELVE.



**VOTE**

SCHEDULE FOR VOTER-EDUCATION WORKSHOP

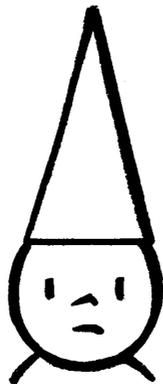
JUSTUS HOUSE

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

June 4 - 9, 1962

Monday	6:30 P.M.	Dinner in Church basement. Program: Group Singing, Introductions, Orientation.
Tuesday	7:30 A.M.	Breakfast
	9:00	Workshop Session
	10:30	Coffee Break
	11:00	Question Period
	12:30 P.M.	Lunch
	2:00	Workshop Session
	×4:00	Leisure Time Activities
	6:30	Dinner
	8:00-10:00	Program: Role Playing and Discussion
Wednesday	7:30 A.M.	Breakfast
	9:00	Workshop Session
	10:30	Coffee Break
	11:00	Question Period
	12:30 P.M.	Lunch
	2:00	Workshop Session
	4:00	Leisure Time Activities
	6:30	Dinner
	8:00-10:00	Program: Role Playing and Discussion
Thursday	7:30 A.M.	Breakfast
	9:00	Workshop Session
	10:30	Coffee Break
	11:00	Question Period
	12:30 P.M.	Lunch
	2:00	Workshop Session
	4:00	Leisure Time Activities
	6:30	Cook Out at Highlander Center-1625 Riverside Dr.
Friday	7:30 A.M.	Breakfast
	9:00	Workshop Session
	10:30	Coffee Break
	11:00	Question Period
	12:30 P.M.	Lunch
	2:00	Role Playing and Discussion
	4:00	Leisure Time Activities
	6:30	Dinner
	8:00-10:00	Program: Movie and Discussion
Saturday	7:30 A.M.	Breakfast
	9:00	Workshop Session
	10:30	Coffee Break
	11:00	Summary and Evaluation
	12:30	Lunch - Closing

IDIOT or NOT



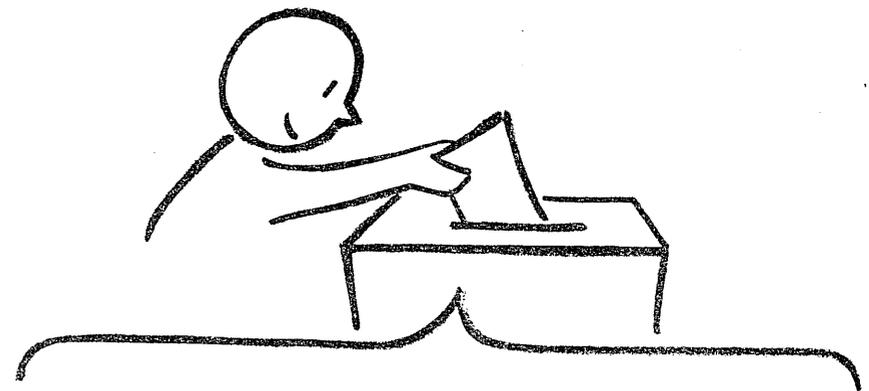
**THE MAN WHO DOESN'T VOTE  
WHEN HE HAS THE CHANCE  
MAY BE ACTING AS:**

- (1) A TOOL of the WORST  
MACHINE BOSSSES
- (2) A VICTIM of  
PRESSURE GROUPS
- (3) AN ALLY of CROOKS
- (4) A GENERAL INFLUENCE for  
BAD GOVERNMENT



HOWEVER, IN YOUR CASE,

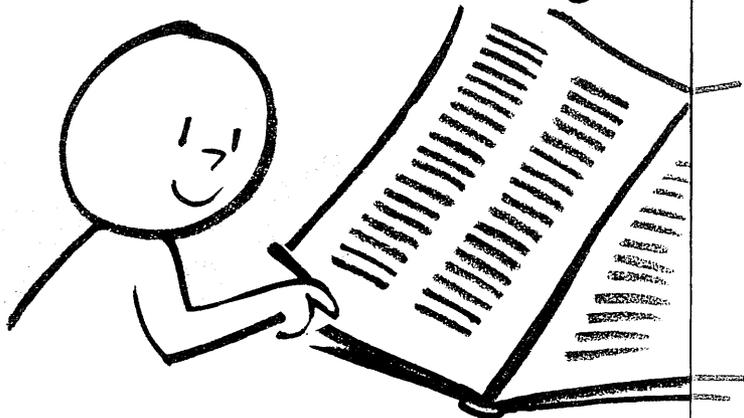
## **WHEN YOU VOTE**



- you help create LEADERS  
(instead of "bosses")
- you help POLITICIANS reflect  
the will of the VOTERS
- you become a REAL  
American citizen
- and you are an influence  
for GOOD GOVERNMENT

OF COURSE,  
TO VOTE AT ALL--  
YOU'VE GOT TO

# REGISTER!



TO FIND OUT - **HOW**  
- **WHEN**  
- **WHERE** to REGISTER--



- call (a) Local officials  
(b) Newspaper  
(c) Courthouse (ask for  
office handling registration)

to register  
you may be  
required to...

## (1) IDENTIFY YOURSELF

under OATH

- (a) Name
- (b) Address
- (c) Place of Birth

## (2) GIVE YOUR AGE

## (3) ESTABLISH YOUR RESIDENCE

also--

about 1/3 of the  
states require  
a reading test.

**ONCE  
YOU'VE  
REGISTERED**

- (1) find out how  
long it is  
good for--  
- PERMANENT?  
- ONE YR. ONLY?  
- or UNTIL YOU  
STOP VOTING?

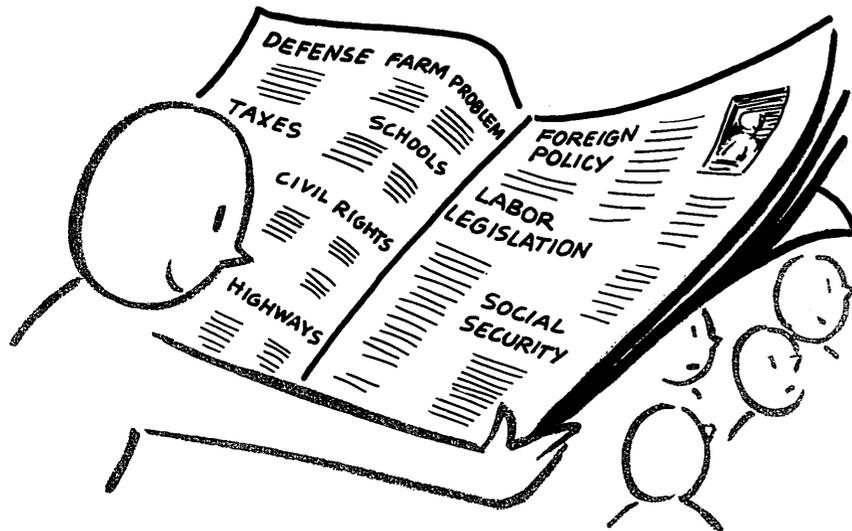
- (2) if you MOVE..  
you must  
register again

- (3) if a woman  
MARRIES, she  
must RE-REGISTER



THEN-- BEFORE YOU VOTE

## STUDY THE ISSUES



Remember -- every public issue is a political issue. The GOVERNMENT is your servant-- to carry out your wishes-- and local issues are just as important for you as state or national ones -- perhaps more important.

## -- AND THE CANDIDATES

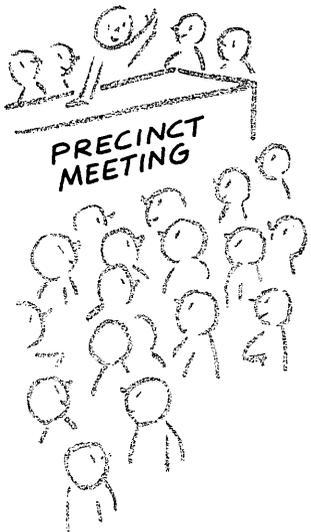


Don't be misled by campaign "promises". See how elected officials have voted. Look behind party labels. Think before you vote--

**AND REMEMBER--** Contrary to some opinion-- the average professional politician (ie. elected legislator or official) is a **DECENT, HONEST** person who wants to do what's **BEST** and generally will **REFLECT** the attitudes, morals and wishes of the **PEOPLE** who **ELECTED** him.

AMERICA HAS BEEN BUILT AND IS BOSSED BY

**YOUR BALLOTS**



PRECINCT MEETING

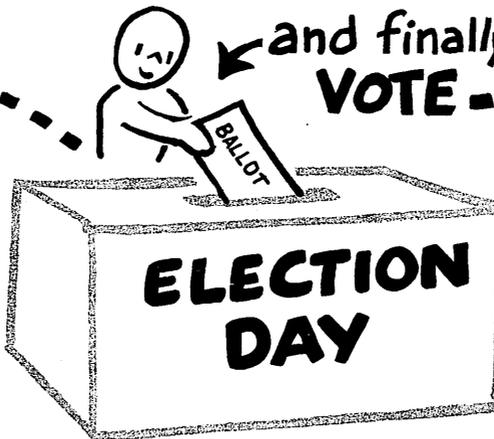
**YOU** --attend these important meetings to help screen and choose candidates

**THEN VOTE** and choose candidates.. sometimes more important than the election itself



PARTY PRIMARY

and finally **VOTE**



ELECTION DAY

**TO CHOOSE..**

**LOCAL OFFICES**

such as...

- MAYOR
- COUNCIL
- SCHOOL BOARD etc.

**STATE OFFICES**

such as

- GOVERNOR
- SENATOR
- REPRESENTATIVES etc.

**NATIONAL OFFICES**

- PRES. & VICE PRES.
- SENATOR
- CONGRESSMAN

Your vote makes you a member of America's only "RULING CLASS"

**YOUR VOTE COUNTS**



+ YOUR PRECINCT (300 to 1,000 VOTERS)

about **165,000** PRECINCTS in the U.S.

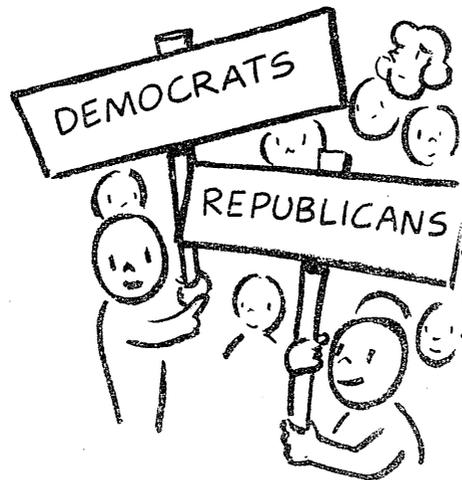
**= GOVERNMENT OF, BY and FOR THE PEOPLE**

what can  
poor little  
me do?



As a citizen  
you can

**GET MORE DONE  
and HAVE MORE FUN  
if you WORK  
WITH OTHERS**



# **I** You can take part in **YOUR PARTY**

PURPOSE:  
(1) to define issues  
(2) to select candidates

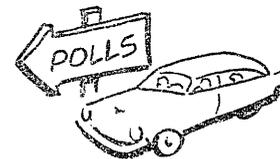


(a) Find out about  
candidates  
and issues



(b) Get others to  
register

- call on them  
- take them to  
registration point



(c) Get others  
to vote

- drive them to polls  
- baby sit while  
they vote



(d) Work at party  
headquarters

- as receptionist,  
clerk or phone  
operator



(e) Distribute  
literature

- booklets  
- posters  
- flyers

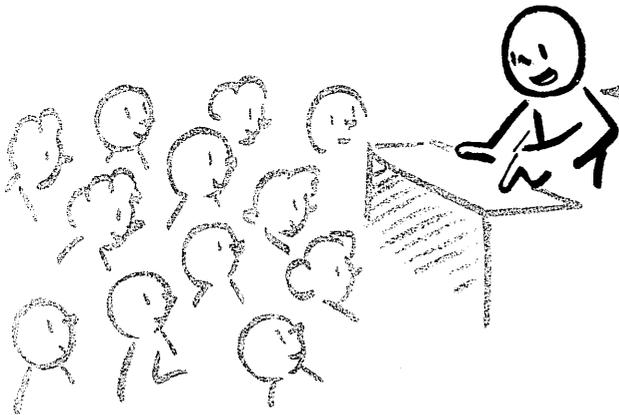


(f) Attend party  
meetings..

join precinct clubs,  
young people, women's  
groups, etc.

## 2 You can work with fellow-members of **CLUBS**

and other organizations to which you belong

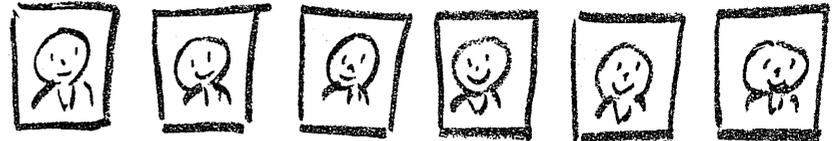


P.T.A.  
CIVIC  
VETERANS  
LODGES  
GRANGE  
LEAGUE of  
WOMEN  
VOTERS  
ETC.

on a non-partisan basis

- (1) get **EVERY** member to **VOTE**
- (2) get **CANDIDATES** to explain **ISSUES**
- (3) organize **CIVIC AFFAIRS** committees to promote better citizenship

## 3 You can get to know your **ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES**



SENATOR CONGRESSMAN MAYOR COUNCILMAN GOVERNOR etc.



- (1) Make a **LIST** of them  
- local, state and national
- (2) **ASK THEM** what they think-  
or ask them for more information on issues that interest you
- (3) **TELL THEM** what you think-- **IT'S EASY..**

be serious  
honest  
courteous  
praise as well  
as criticize



**Just sit down and WRITE THEM A NOTE**  
no form letters or post cards

Simply  
address ↴

Senator -----, U.S. Senate, Washington 25, D.C.  
(or) Congressman -----, U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington 25, D.C.  
(or) Governor -----, State House, Capital City  
(or) Senator -----, " " " "  
(or) Representative ---, " " " "

# REMEMBER--

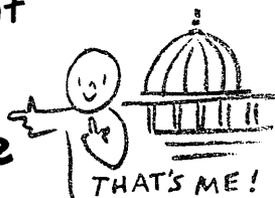
POLITICS is the BUSINESS of running **YOUR** government

It's concerned with--

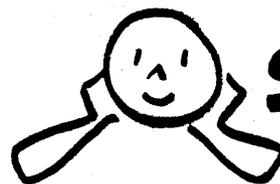
- YOUR** human DIGNITY
- YOUR** personal FREEDOM
- YOUR** general WELFARE

So.. POLITICS is **YOUR** BUSINESS  
lest government

**OF**  
**BY** } the  
**FOR** } people



perish from the earth



## SO WHAT ?

### SOOO...



1 Be sure to register



2 Find out { when  
where } to Vote  
how

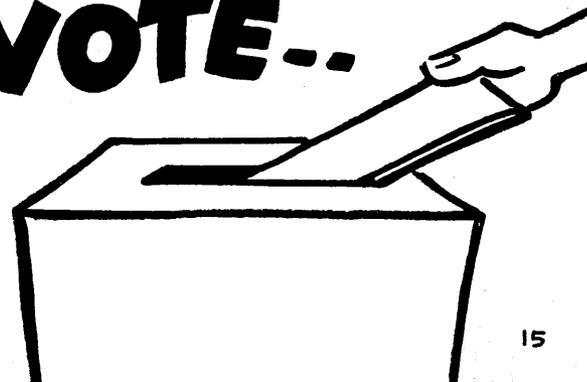


3 Decide { whom  
what } to Vote for



4 Urge others to do likewise

and.. 5 **VOTE--**



## VOTER EDUCATION WORKSHOP

Students attending workshops at Highlander are limited, as far as Highlander is concerned, to educational activities only. But if they wish to take part in any forms of social protest while in this community, they are to get in touch with Rev. R. E. James and Rev. W. T. Crutcher who are co-chairman of the Associated Council for Full Citizenship in Knoxville. Students must have the approval of and work through this group for any action taken while attending workshops at Highlander. Contact Rev. R. E. James at 524-0435 and Rev. W. T. Crutcher at 522-6695.

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5.

The subsequent statements describe desegregation efforts as they relate to the following community institutions and facilities located in Knoxville and Knox County:

- (A) Total desegregation on local buses has been the practice since the United States Supreme Court decision was given affecting bus travel. Compliance with the intent of the Court's decision came from self-initiated action of the Knoxville City Council through the Knoxville Transit Company shortly after the Court's 1958 decision.
- (B) In 1962, the city owned golf course that is leased to private individuals was opened to Negroes. Action to desegregate this facility came from efforts of the Associated Council for Full Citizenship, a Negro organization that concerned itself in 1956 with identifying problems related to status changes for the group. Chilhowee Park, a publicly owned facility, is non-segregated. The present practice grew out of a one-day-per-week use by Negroes approximately ten years ago. A Negro minister initiated efforts to make this gradual change.
- (C) Segregation continues to be the practice in hotel and / or motel accommodations.
- (D) Total desegregation in eating facilities in variety stores, four drug stores, and three department stores is a practice. The listed eating places and dates of desegregation are: McClellan's, Kress, Woolworth, and Grant started desegregated practices in July 1960; Walgreen, Ellis and Ernest, Colonial, and Western Avenue Drug stores started similar practices in July 1960; Atlantic Mills and Zayres began desegregated practices in eating facilities in July 1960; and Miller's on January 2, 1961. Many of these variety stores and one drug chain have stores in other areas of the city, and desegregated practices exist at eating facilities. In the spring of 1962, Town House, G. & H., Burger King, and Stuart's Tea Room were desegregated.
- (E) Total desegregation exists at the Municipal Airport, including eating, rest room, and waiting room facilities. On special occasions, Negroes eat at the S. & W. Cafeteria, and the Farragut and Andrew Johnson Hotels.
- (F) All library facilities in Knoxville are totally desegregated.

I AM ON MY WAY TO REGISTER  
HOW ABOUT YOU?  
**REGISTER NOW!**

**REGISTRATION DOES NOT COST A PENNY**

**WHY?**

In order to help get better schools, streets and lights, police protection, jobs, etc.

**WHO?**

YOU — If you are 17½ years or older, have lived in Georgia one year, and Chatham County six months.

**HOW?**

You will be asked the following questions: Name? Address? Age? Year of birth? Mother's name before marriage (maiden name?) Type of work (Occupation)? How long have you lived in Chatham County? You can register in three minutes.

**WHERE?**

124 Bull Street (between State and York Streets). Enter Chatham County Court House at Main Floor, (Bull Street side) turn to your left and go to the "Voter Registration" window. This is the same building where you purchase license tags and marriage licenses.

YOU WILL RECEIVE COURTEOUS TREATMENT  
FROM THE REGISTRAR

**WHEN?**

NOW — EVERY DAY 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

**REGISTER YOURSELF! TAKE ANOTHER ONE WITH YOU**

---

**Every Citizen A Qualified Voter**

---

**A Voteless People Is a Helpless People**

(Courtesy Chatham County Crusade For Voters)

---

- (G) Desegregated practices exist at both Southern and L. & N. Railroad stations in waiting and rest room facilities. This practice resulted from the 1958 Court's decision declaring discriminatory practices illegal in inter-state travel.
- (H) Desegregated practices in waiting, rest room and eating facilities are existent at the Greyhound and Trailways bus stations. These practices have been in vogue for two years and they resulted from negotiations between managements and the Associated Council for Full Citizenship.
- (I) Of ninety-one (91) Negro students eligible to attend integrated schools, forty-one (41) are enrolled at Fort Sanders, Belle Morris, Bell House, Flenniken, Park City Lowry, Lincoln Park, Chilhowee Elementary Schools and Fulton High School.
- (J.) Integrated churches in the area are: First United Presbyterian, Catholic, St. John's Episcopal, Unitarian, and Friends.

REGISTER AND VOTE CAMPAIGN  
Precinct Date Sheet

Precinct Number \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name of Precinct Leader)

Ward Number \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name of Ward Captain)

Block Canvassers according to blocks:

Block No.	Name	Address	Phone	Date	
				Reg.	End
1.					
2.					
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LIST OF PRECINCT LEADERS

WARD \_\_\_\_\_

WARD LEADER \_\_\_\_\_

	NAME	ADDRESSES	PHONE
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____

LIST OF PRECINCT LEADERS

WARD \_\_\_\_\_

WARD LEADER \_\_\_\_\_

	NAME	ADDRESSES	PHONE
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____
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APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION, QUESTIONNAIRE AND OATH

I, \_\_\_\_\_, do hereby apply to the Board of Registrars of \_\_\_\_\_ County, State of Alabama, to register as an elector under the Constitution and laws of the State of Alabama, and do herewith submit answers to the interrogatories propounded to me by said Board.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. State your name, the date and place of your birth, and your present address.
2. Are you married or single? (a) If married, give name, residence and place of your husband or wife, as the case may be.
3. Give the names of the places, respectively, where you have lived during the last five years, and the name or names by which you have been known during the last five years.
4. If you are self-employed, state the nature of your business.
5. If you claim that you are a bona fide resident of the state of Alabama, give the date on which you claim to have become such a bona fide resident. (a) When did you become a bona fide resident of \_\_\_\_\_ County? \_\_\_\_\_ Ward or Precinct?
6. If you intend to change your place of residence prior to the next general election, state facts.
7. Have you previously applied for and been denied registration as a voter? (a) If so give facts.
8. Has your name been previously stricken from the list of persons registered?
9. Are you now or have you been a dope addict or an habitual drunkard? (a) If you are or have been a dope addict or an habitual drunkard, explain as fully as you can.
10. Have you ever been legally declared insane? (a) If so, give details.
11. Give a brief statement of the extent of your education and business experiences.
12. Have you ever been charged with or convicted of a felony or crime or an offense involving moral turpitude? (a) If so give facts.
13. Have you ever served in the Armed Forces of the United States Government? (a) If so state when and for approximately how long.
14. Have you ever been expelled or dishonorably discharged from any school or college or from any branch of the Armed Forces of the United States, or of any other country? If so, state the facts.
15. Will you support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama?
16. Are you now or have you ever been affiliated with any group or organization which advocated the overthrow of the United States Government or the government of any state of the United States by unlawful means? (a) If so, state the facts.
17. Will you bear arms for your country when called upon to do so?
18. If your answer is no, give reasons.
19. Do you believe in free elections and rule by majority?
20. Will you give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States Government or the Government of the State of Alabama?
21. Name some of the duties and obligations of citizenship.
22. Do you regard those duties and obligations as having priority over the duties and obligations you owe to any other secular organization when they are in conflict?

23. Give the names and post office addresses of two persons who have present knowledge of your present bona fide residence at the place as stated by you.

Answer the following, concerning which you are under oath to tell the truth the same as in the remainder of the application:

Have you ever been convicted of any offense or paid any fine for a violation of the law? (Yes or no.) If so give the following information concerning each conviction: charge, in what court, fine or sentence given, if paroled state when, if pardoned state when.

(If fine is for traffic violation only, you need write below only the words "traffic violation only".)

(DO NOT WRITE BELOW HERE ON THIS PAGE)

Article 1, Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and a house of representatives.

Article 1, Section 2. Bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Article 1, Section 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by legislature thereof, but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

Article 6. The senators and representatives before mentioned and the members of the several state legislatures and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution, but no religious tests shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article 3, Section 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

OATH

STATE OF ALABAMA, \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTY

Before me, \_\_\_\_\_, a registrar in and for said County and state, personally appeared \_\_\_\_\_, AN APPLICANT FOR REGISTRATION AS AN ELECTOR, WHO BEING BY ME FIRST DULY SWORN DEPOSES AND SAYS: I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that the foregoing answers to the interrogatories are true and correct to the best of my knowledge, information and belief. I do further swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of Alabama; that I do not believe in nor am I affiliated with, nor have I been in the past affiliated with any group or party which advocated or advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the State of Alabama by unlawful means.

Sworn to and subscribed before me in the presence of the Board of Registrars this the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_.

Member of the Board of Registrars for \_\_\_\_\_ County.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION, AND OATH

STATE OF ALABAMA, \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTY

Before the Board of Registrars in and for said State and County personally appeared \_\_\_\_\_, an applicant for registration, who being by me, \_\_\_\_\_, a member of said Board first duly sworn as follows: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that in the matter of the application of \_\_\_\_\_ for registration, an elector, I will speak the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help me God" testifies as follows:

My name is \_\_\_\_\_, and I have herefore executed the "Application for Registration, Questionnaire and Oath" submitted to me by the above-named Board of Registrars.

In addition to the information given on said "Application for Registration, Questionnaire and Oath", I depose and state as follows:

1. I was previously registered in the following State and County in the years named: \_\_\_\_\_
2. I have not been convicted of any offense disqualifying me from registering.
3. My present place of employment is \_\_\_\_\_
4. I know of nothing that would disqualify me from being registered at this time.

Remarks \_\_\_\_\_

Sign \_\_\_\_\_

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_

ACTION OF THE BOARD

STATE OF ALABAMA, \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTY

Before the Board of Registrars in session in and for said State and County personally appeared \_\_\_\_\_ who executed the foregoing application in the manner and form therein stated. The Board having further examined said application under oath, touching his qualifications under Section 181, Constitution of Alabama, 1901, as amended, and having full consideration of the foregoing Application for Registration, and Oath as executed adjudges said applicant entitled to be registered and he was duly sworn on this the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_, in \_\_\_\_\_ precinct and county.

(SIGNED) \_\_\_\_\_  
CHAIRMAN

(SIGNED) \_\_\_\_\_  
MEMBER

(SIGNED) \_\_\_\_\_  
MEMBER

EXAMINATION OF SUPPORTING WITNESS

STATE OF ALABAMA, \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTY

Before the County Board of Registrars in and for said State and County personally appeared \_\_\_\_\_, who being first duly sworn as follows: "I solemnly swear (or affirm) that in the matter of the application of \_\_\_\_\_ for registration as an elector, I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help me God," testifies as follows: My name is \_\_\_\_\_. My occupation is \_\_\_\_\_. I reside at \_\_\_\_\_. My place of business is at \_\_\_\_\_. The name of my employer is \_\_\_\_\_. I am a registered, qualified elector in \_\_\_\_\_ Precinct in \_\_\_\_\_ County in the State of Alabama. I have known the applicant, \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ years. He is a bona fide resident at \_\_\_\_\_ and to my knowledge has resided thereat for the past \_\_\_\_\_ years. I know of no reason why he is disqualified from registering under the Constitution and laws of Alabama enacted in pursuance thereof.

Space for further remarks: \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Sworn to and subscribed before me in the presence of the Board of Registrars this the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_  
Member of the Board

VE

*Pub. Op. It.*

NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH\*

by

Donald R. Matthews

and

James W. Prothro

University of North Carolina

A paper presented at the Duke University Conference on  
"The Impact of Political and Legal Changes in the Postwar South"

July 12-14, 1962

Durham, North Carolina

*of Research*

On August 18, 1961, John W. Hardy, a 21 year old student from Nashville, Tennessee, opened a voter registration school for Negroes at the Mount Moriah Baptist Church in Walthall County, Mississippi. Mr. Hardy, a political science student at Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial University and an active member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, spent several weeks training 20 to 50 local Negroes in Mississippi's literacy test and registration requirements. Up to that time, these requirements (and their administration) had proven sufficiently intricate that not one of the 2,500 Negroes of voting age in Walthall County had been able to satisfy them. On August 30, four Negro graduates of the school -- including one college student and a former school teacher -- presented themselves to the registrar of voters, Circuit Court Clerk John Q. Wood, in the county courthouse in Tylertown. The next day Wood announced that they had failed to meet the legal qualifications necessary to register. On September 7, two more graduates of the school, this time accompanied by Mr. Hardy, attempted to register. Mr. Wood said that he could not administer the test pending the outcome of a Justice Department suit against him claiming discriminatory treatment of potential Negro voters. An argument between Wood and Hardy ensued, at the conclusion of which Wood reached into his desk, pulled out a gun and ordered the three Negroes to leave. After the Negroes turned toward the door, Wood struck Hardy on the head with his pistol. As Hardy staggered from the Clerk's office assisted by his Negro companions, County Sheriff Ed Craft arrived on the scene, arrested the student for disturbing the peace, and threatened to "beat him within an inch of his life."<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \*

Six days later, municipal elections were held in Atlanta, Georgia. More than 28 per cent of the Atlantans qualified to vote in the contest were Negroes. Two of the five candidates for Mayor -- Ivan Allen, Jr., and M. M. (Muggsy) Smith -- openly pledged themselves to continue the enlightened racial policies of retiring Mayor Hartsfield; two were silent on racial matters but were believed to be in general sympathy with Hartsfield's handling of the city's racial problems. A fifth candidate, Lester Maddox, was an avowed segregationist. A spirited contest between Allen and Smith for the endorsement of the powerful Atlanta Negro Voters League dominated the early stages of the campaign. Allen won the endorsement of the League and went on to lead in the first election, polling 39,000 of the 102,000 votes cast. Mr. Maddox, who polled 20,000 votes, was second. Between the first election and the run-off contest held on September 22, Maddox campaigned almost exclusively on the racial issue. He charged that the Negro voters "were out to get him" and that if Allen were elected "Auburn Avenue [predominantly Negro] will run your city." The voters chose Allen by a 2 to 1 margin. Post election analysis showed that the votes in predominantly white precincts were evenly divided, with Maddox enjoying a small plurality of 2,000 or 3,000 votes. In the predominantly Negro portions of Atlanta, Allen received 31,224 votes -- about half his total -- while Maddox received 179.<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \*

Neither the beating of John Hardy in Tylertown nor the victory of Ivan Allen in Atlanta is "typical" of the South today. But they do indicate the wide range of situations found in the region, so far as Negro voting is concerned. At one end of the continuum, no Negroes vote, politics is the

white man's preserve and he is willing to resort to violence and intimidation in order to preserve this monopoly; at the other end, Negroes virtually have achieved parity at the ballot box and have very substantial political power. In this paper, we shall describe this range of Negro voting situations in some detail and attempt to explain why the variation exists.

This is more than an academic exercise. The vote may be the key which unlocks the door to full citizenship and social and economic equality for southern Negroes. A John Q. Wood would not last very long as an elective official in Atlanta -- unless, as the shrewd politician that he is, he treated Negro citizens very differently than he does in southwestern Mississippi. Once Negroes vote as heavily all over the South as they do in Atlanta, white politicians should prove more responsive to the desires of the Negro community. "Political rights pave the way to all others."<sup>3</sup>

Such, at least, seems to have been the reasoning behind the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, both of which deal primarily with the right to vote. The mere passage of these statutes indicates that the white South -- and southerners in Congress -- are less resistant to federal action on voting rights than action involving schools, jobs, or housing. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and his predecessor, Herbert Brownell, are both reported to believe that the vote provides the southern Negro with his most effective means of advancing toward equality, and recent actions of the Justice Department seem to reflect this view.<sup>4</sup>

Negro leaders apparently share this belief in the over-riding importance of the vote. Hundreds of Negro registration drives have been held in southern cities and counties since 1957.<sup>5</sup> Martin Luther King, usually considered an advocate of non-violent direct action, recently remarked that the most significant step Negroes can take is in the "direction of the voting booths."<sup>6</sup>

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, historically identified with courtroom attacks on segregation, is now enthusiastically committed to a "battle of the ballots."<sup>7</sup> In March, 1962, the Southern Regional Council announced receipt of foundation grants of \$325,000 to initiate a major program to increase Negro voter registration in the South.<sup>8</sup> The Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee are among the organizations now participating in the actual registration drives.

While the advocates of the unique importance of the vote to Negroes in the South are numerous and persuasive, there is an alternative point of view. Southern Negroes overwhelmingly possess low social status, relatively small incomes, and limited education received in inferior schools. These attributes are associated with low voter turnout among all populations.<sup>9</sup> The low voting rates of Negroes in the South are, to perhaps a large extent, a result of these factors rather than a consequence of direct political or legal discrimination by the white community. Moreover, the low status, income, and education of southern whites foster racial prejudice.<sup>10</sup> Thus poverty and ignorance may have a double-barrelled effect on Negro political participation by decreasing the Negroes' desire and ability to participate effectively while increasing white resistance to their doing so. Negro voting in the South is not, according to this line of argument, easily increased by political or legal means. A large, active, and effective Negro electorate in the South may have to await substantial social and economic change.

These sharply differing evaluations of the significance of Negro voting

in the South hinge upon an empirical question which political scientists ought to be able to answer -- the relative importance of socio-economic versus political factors in determining Negro voter turnout in the South. Can registration drives, legal pressures on the region's voter registrars, abolition of poll taxes, revision of literacy tests, and similar political and legal reforms have a significant impact on the amount of Negro voting in the former confederate states? Or do the social and economic realities of the region make the goal of Negro parity at the ballot box difficult if not impossible to achieve for generations?

A short paper cannot hope to "answer" such large questions. However, an analysis of the relationships between county social, economic, and political characteristics and Negro voter registration rates may provide important clues to the unsolved mystery.

Registration rather than voting statistics are employed in this paper because registration figures are available by race whereas the number of Negroes actually voting is not known.<sup>11</sup> The use of registration rather than voting figures tends to exaggerate the size of the active Negro electorate since, for a number of reasons, some registered Negroes seldom if ever exercise their franchise. Moreover, voting lists in rural areas are often out of date, containing the names of many bonafide residents of New York, Detroit, and Los Angeles, to say nothing of local graveyards. In some states, the payment of a poll tax is the nearest equivalent of voter registration and numerous exemptions from the tax make lists of poll tax payers not strictly comparable to the enfranchised population. Finally, statewide statistics on voter registration (or poll tax payment) by race are collected only in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia.

In the remaining states, the number of registered Negro voters must be obtained from estimates made by county registrars, newsmen, politicians, and the like. Nonetheless, when analyzed with caution, the sometimes crude data on Negro voter registration can throw considerable light on Negro voting in the South.

First, let us consider the development and the distribution of Negro registration in detail. Then we shall examine the correlations between a battery of social and economic variables and Negro voter registration in order to determine the extent to which the former are predictive of the latter for the South as a whole. Then we shall examine the relationships between some political variables and Negro voter registration, controlling for the effects of social and economic structure. Finally, we shall estimate the relative importance of social and economic versus political variables and Negro voter registration and draw a few conclusions and implications from the analysis.

#### NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION: AN OVERVIEW

Immediately after Smith v. Allwright declared the white primary unconstitutional in 1944, the number and proportion of Negro adults registered to vote in the southern states increased with startling speed (Table 1). Before this historic decision, about 250,000 Negroes (5 per cent of the adult non-white population) were thought to be registered voters. Three years after the white primary case, both the number and proportion of Negro registered voters had doubled. By 1952, about 20 per cent of the Negro adults were registered to vote. Since then, however, the rate of increase has been less impressive. In 1956, the authoritative Southern Regional Council estimated that about 25 per cent of the Negro adults were registered. Four years, two Civil Rights Acts, and innumerable local registration drives later, the

Table 1

ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PER CENT OF VOTING AGE NEGROES  
REGISTERED TO VOTE IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES, 1940-60

<u>Year</u>	<u>Estimated Number of Negro Registered Voters</u>	<u>% of Voting Age Negroes Registered as Voters</u>
1940	250,000	5%
1947	595,000	12
1952	1,008,614	20
1956	1,238,038	25
1958	1,266,488	25
1960	1,414,052	28

Sources: Derived from U.S. Census data on nonwhite population and Negro registration estimates in G. Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 488; M. Price, The Negro Voter in the South (Atlanta, Georgia: Southern Regional Council, 1957), p. 5; Southern Regional Council, "The Negro Voter in the South -- 1958," Special Report (mimeo.), p. 3; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959 Report and 1961 Report, Vol. I, "Voting."

proportion of Negro adults who were registered had risen to only 28 per cent, as compared with about 60 per cent for the adult whites in the region. Of course, the fact that Negroes held their own during this period is a significant accomplishment when one considers such factors as heavy out-migration, increased racial tensions stemming from the school desegregation crisis, the adoption of new voter restrictions in some states, and the stricter application of old requirements in other areas.

The 250,000 Negroes estimated to be registered before Smith v. Allwright were unevenly distributed among the southern states (Table 2). In Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and Louisiana, less than 0.5 per cent of the adult Negroes were thought to be registered to vote in general elections and

Table 2  
ESTIMATED PER CENT OF VOTING AGE NEGROES REGISTERED TO  
VOTE, 1940-60, BY STATES

State	Year					
	1940	1947	1952	1956	1958	1960
Mississippi	*	1%	4%	5%	5%	6%
Alabama	*	1	5	11	15	14
South Carolina	*	13	20	27	15	***
Louisiana	*	2	25	31	26	31
Georgia	2%	20	23	27	26	***
Arkansas	3	21	27	36	33	38
Florida	3	13	33	32	31	39
Virginia	5	11	16	19	21	23
Texas	9	17	31	37	39	30**
North Carolina	10	14	18	24	32	38
Tennessee	16	25	27	29	***	48**

\* Less than 0.5%.

\*\* Incomplete data; the data for Tennessee are especially unreliable.

\*\*\* No data.

Sources: Same as for Table 1.

non-partisan contests in 1940. At the other end of the continuum, in Tennessee, 16 per cent were registered. Between these extremes, Georgia, Arkansas, Florida, and Virginia had from 2 to 5 per cent of the adult Negroes registered, North Carolina and Texas, about 10 per cent.

Negro registration increased rapidly after the death of the white primary, but with conspicuous differences from state to state. The slowest increases occurred in the Deep South states of Mississippi and Alabama and in three states -- Texas, North Carolina, and Tennessee -- with the largest amount of Negro voting prior to Smith v. Allwright. Today only 6 per cent of the adult Negroes in Mississippi and 14 per cent in Alabama are registered.

The comparable figures for Texas, North Carolina, and Tennessee are 30 per cent, 38 per cent, and 48 per cent. After a rapid start following the death of the white primary, Negro registration in South Carolina suffered a substantial decline until only 15 per cent were registered in 1958. A different trend occurred in Louisiana; the surge of registration in response to the court decision was delayed but, once begun, it climbed to and stabilized at 25 or 30 per cent in the early 1950's. In Arkansas and Florida, the proportion of Negroes registered has increased more than tenfold, from 3 per cent in 1940 to almost 40 per cent in 1960. After starting at the 3 to 5 per cent level in 1940, the percentage registered in Georgia and Virginia appears to have leveled off at about 25 per cent, but the rise to this level was rapid in Georgia and gradual in Virginia.

The uneven response to Smith v. Allwright is evident. Of the four states that had too few Negro voters to count in 1940, three remain near the bottom but one (Louisiana) now ranks above the southwide mean. Virginia was fourth among the eleven states in proportion of Negroes registered in 1940, but it has dropped to seventh, while Florida has moved from a tie for fifth place in 1940 to the second place in 1960. One obvious point that emerges from these variations is that the "Solid South" is a fiction, but the source of the variations is not so obvious.

Table 3 shows the different registration rates, by county, within the eleven southern states and for the region as a whole. Two general conclusions can be drawn from this table. First, the range of Negro registration rates in the region is sizeable. In most counties, the rate of Negro voter registration is very low -- indeed the most common (modal) situation is for less than 5 per cent of the voting age Negroes to be registered. In a significant minority of cases, however, the level of Negro registration

Table 3

## RATES OF NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1958

% of Voting Age Negroes Registered to Vote	States (% of Counties)											South-wide (% of Cos.)
	Miss.	S.C.	Ala.	Va.	Ark.	Ga.	La.	N.C.	Tex.	Fla.	Tenn.	
0-9%	89%	30%	38%	10%	3%	25%	32%	5%	2%	9%	4%	21%
10-19	6	50	26	31	24	16	11	30	7	7	0	18
20-29	4	20	11	31	28	19	12	23	24	18	4	19
30-39	1	0	6	15	33	10	5	7	28	18	2	13
40-49	0	0	3	8	7	11	9	5	21	19	11	10
50-59	0	0	9	1	3	5	16	9	12	15	4	7
60-69	0	0	3	2	2	3	5	6	2	5	18	4
70-79	0	0	2	0	0	3	5	5	1	5	11	2
80-89	0	0	2	0	0	5	3	3	1	3	17	3
90+	0	0	0	2	0	3	2	7	2	1	29	3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of counties on which figures based	82	46	66	124	58	153	64	96	190	67	54	997
Unweighted mean of county percentages	3.4	12.5	20.5	24.1	27.6	30.4	31.2	36.0	36.8	39.1	72.3	30.4
Standard Deviation	6.6	7.8	20.3	15.6	11.2	25.6	26.9	26.5	15.6	21.0	25.1	24.3

Sources: U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 1959 Report and 1961 Report, Vol. I.

compares favorably with that of white southerners. Second, the southern states differ markedly not only when compared with one another on a statewide basis, but also when compared in terms of their internal distributions of Negro registration.

The greatest diversity in Negro registration rates is found in Louisiana

(standard deviation, 26.9), North Carolina (26.5), Georgia (25.6), and Tennessee (25.1). In Louisiana, for example, the bottom third of the parishes have less than 10 per cent of their voting age Negro population registered, while the top third have over 50 per cent registered. The diversity in Negro participation rates is almost as great in Georgia. In North Carolina, over 50 per cent of the counties have from 10 to 30 per cent of their adult Negroes on their voting lists, but there is a wide spread in both directions from this norm. Tennessee has an equally broad range of Negro registration situations, although here the unreliable data suggest a higher norm than in its neighbor to the east.

Nothing like this diversity in Negro registration rates exists within Mississippi (standard deviation, 6.6), South Carolina (7.8), Arkansas (11.2), Virginia (15.6), or Texas (15.6). Whether this lack of variation results from social and economic homogeneity, the characteristics of the state political system, or some mixture of both is not now clear. It is evident, however, that striking differences are found from state to state in the patterns of Negro registration.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CORRELATES OF NEGRO REGISTRATION

What accounts for the wide variation in Negro voter registration rates both between and within the southern states? While no comprehensive explanation has been offered, previous studies of southern politics and political participation suggest a number of possible influences. Drawing upon this literature, and adding a few hypotheses of our own, we collected data from the U.S. Census and other sources on 31 social, economic, and political characteristics of all southern counties with populations containing more than one per cent Negroes.<sup>12</sup> We then computed simple correlations between

each of these variables and the per cent of voting age Negroes registered to vote in the same counties.<sup>13</sup> In order to control for the effects of one variable upon another, we also computed partial correlations, which tell us the association between each social, economic, and political variable and Negro registration controlling for every other variable, one at a time.

We shall spare you the details of this analysis, which of necessity is often complex and technical, and will concentrate on the main conclusions we have drawn from this mass of data.

Twenty of our variables concern the social and economic characteristics of southern counties. As a first step, simple correlations were computed for each of these social and economic factors (viewed as independent variables) and the per cent of the voting age Negroes registered to vote (the dependent variable). The coefficient of correlation ( $r$ ) varies from 0 (no association between the independent and dependent variables) to 1.0 (one variable perfectly predicts the other). A positive correlation indicates that as one variable increases the other also increases; a negative correlation indicates an inverse relationship -- as one variable increases, the other decreases. The simple correlations are presented in Table 4. What do they tell us about the relationships between social and economic structure and Negro registration?<sup>14</sup>

The Size of the Negro Middle Class. The higher the educational level, occupation, or income of a person, the more likely he is actively to participate in politics: these are among the more strongly supported generalizations in contemporary research on political participation.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, these three factors are probably a pretty good index of the size of the county's Negro middle class. It is widely believed by students of Negro politics

Table 4  
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND  
PER CENT OF VOTING AGE NEGROES REGISTERED TO VOTE,  
BY COUNTY, IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES

<u>County Characteristics</u>	<u>Simple Correlations (r)</u>	<u>Partial Correlations, Controlling for Per Cent Negro, 1950</u>
Per cent of nonwhite labor force in white collar occupations	+ .23	+ .15
Nonwhite median school years completed	+ .22	+ .01
Nonwhite median income	+ .19	+ .02
Per cent of total church membership Roman Catholic	+ .15	+ .10
Per cent increase in population, 1940-50	+ .08	.00
Per cent of labor force in manufacturing	+ .08	+ .09
White median income	+ .08	- .03
Per cent of population urban	+ .07	- .02
Percentage point difference in per cent population Negro, 1900-50	+ .04	- .02
Per cent of total church membership Jewish	+ .004	+ .01
Difference in white-nonwhite median school years completed	- .02	- .02
Difference in white-nonwhite median income	- .02	- .05
Number of Negro colleges in county	- .05	+ .01
Per cent of total church membership Baptist	- .10	- .07
Per cent of population belonging to a church	- .17	+ .01
Per cent of labor force in agriculture	- .20	- .07
White median school years completed	- .26	- .15
Per cent of farms operated by tenants	- .32	- .13
Per cent of population Negro in 1900	- .41	- .01
Per cent of population Negro in 1950	- .46	--

Note: No tests of significance are reported in this paper since the correlations are based upon a complete enumeration rather than a sample.

that the low rate of voter registration by southern Negroes is partly the result of a lack of leadership.<sup>16</sup> Only when there is a pool of educated and skillful leaders whose means of livelihood is not controlled by whites can sufficient leadership and political organization develop to ensure a relatively high rate of Negro registration in the South.

Our data support both lines of argument. The three largest positive correlations with Negro voter registration are per cent of the nonwhite labor force in white collar occupations (+.23), the median number of school years completed by nonwhites (+.22), and the median income of nonwhites (+.19).<sup>17</sup> While these are not very large correlations, these factors are more closely associated with high rates of Negro registration than any other social or economic variable tested. Furthermore, the correlations between per cent in white collar jobs and Negro registration is not reduced very much when controls for other variables are introduced. (The partial correlation is +.15 when per cent Negro in 1950 is held constant, one of the highest partials obtained while controlling for the important factor of Negro concentration. See Table 4.)

Small increases in the size of the Negro middle class are associated with large increases in Negro voter registration, and these higher rates cannot simply be attributed to the registration of white collar workers themselves. The average southern county with 1 per cent of its nonwhite labor force in white collar jobs has only 4 per cent of its voting age Negroes registered to vote; at 5 per cent white collar, 15 per cent of the Negroes are registered, and so on, each percentage point increase in white collar occupations being associated with a 3 to 4 percentage point increase in voter registration. This trend continues until 12 per cent of the nonwhites are in white collar jobs and 42 per cent of the potential Negro electorate

is registered. After this point, additional increases in the proportion of Negroes in white collar jobs is no longer associated with increases in voter registration; indeed, voter registration actually declines somewhat as the size of the middle class grows beyond 12 per cent. Perhaps when the Negro middle class becomes this large, it tends to become more isolated from other Negroes, more preoccupied with the middle class round of life, less identified with the black masses. A sharpening of class cleavages within the Negro community may lead to some loss of political effectiveness. Even so, this decline in effectiveness is not enough to wipe out the added increment from jobs to registered votes; it merely declines from 3 or 4 votes for every white collar job to about 2.

Despite this finding, it should be pointed out that the correlations between Negro registration and Negro education, income, and occupation are far smaller than many of the correlations between Negro registration and the characteristics of the white dominated community. The level of Negro voter registration in southern counties is far less a matter of the attributes of its Negro population than of the characteristics of its white population and of the total community. The rest of our analysis, therefore, deals with community and white characteristics rather than with Negro attributes.

Negro Concentration. In virtually every study of Negro politics in the South, the proportion of Negroes in the population emerges as the primary explanation of variations in rates of participation.<sup>18</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the per cent of Negroes in the county population has the largest simple correlation (-.46) with the county's rate of Negro registration. Moreover, when partial correlations are computed between these two variables, controlling for a large array of other social and

economic factors, the association between Negro concentration and registration is not sizeably affected. As the proportion of Negroes in the population goes up, the Negro registration rate goes down no matter what statistical controls are introduced.

The decline in Negro registration associated with increasing Negro concentration does not occur at a constant rate. Increases in the proportion Negro from 1 per cent to about 30 per cent are not accompanied by general and substantial declines in Negro registration rates. As the proportion Negro increases beyond 30 per cent, however, Negro registration begins to decline very sharply until it approaches zero at about 60 per cent Negro and over.

Given the fact that the proportion of Negroes in the South is now less than 30 per cent and is steadily declining, proponents of Negro electoral participation would appear to have reason for great optimism. But Negro concentration in 1900 is almost as highly (and negatively) correlated with Negro registration (-.41) as is Negro concentration a half century later.<sup>19</sup> This strong negative correlation is impressive evidence of the stability of southern racial practices.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that decreases in Negro concentration in the South are not associated with increasing Negro voter registration. In counties with more than 70 per cent Negro populations in 1900, heavy declines since 1900 in the proportion Negro seem to make little difference. The Negro population percentage was still very high in 1950 and the proportion of Negroes registered was negligible. If the county had less than 30 per cent Negroes in 1900, its rate of registration in 1958 tends to be high whether the county experienced a decline in the proportion Negro or not. However, those counties which have experienced a greater net loss of Negroes (or a greater net gain of whites) have a somewhat higher rate of

registration than those counties where the division of the two races remained approximately the same. Finally, in those counties with populations from 30 to 70 per cent Negro in 1900, a decline in Negro concentration is clearly related to higher Negro voter registration. Moreover, the larger the decrease in the Negro population percentage, the higher the registration. The average county of this sort with a 30 percentage point decrease in Negro proportions since 1900 has a voter registration rate double or triple that of the average county which did not experience significant change in the numerical balance between colored and white inhabitants.

The Agrarian Economy. It is widely believed that the South's relatively poor agricultural economy contributes to the low levels of Negro political participation in the region.<sup>20</sup> People living in poverty are unlikely candidates for active citizenship anywhere. The Negroes' economic dependence upon local whites in the rural South serves as a potent inhibition to those few who are not otherwise discouraged from voting. Rural whites are both more hostile to Negro voting and in a better position to do something about it than their urban kin.

Our correlations tend to support this line of reasoning. The per cent of the county's labor force in agricultural employment and the per cent of the farms operated by tenants are negatively correlated with Negro voter registration to the extent of -.20 and -.32. But the region's Negro population is still primarily rural: the simple correlation between per cent in agriculture and per cent Negro is +.30; between farm tenancy and Negro concentration, +.49. Are these two characteristics of the counties still associated with low Negro voter registration when Negro concentration is controlled? The partial correlation between farm tenancy and Negro

registration is  $-.13$  when Negro concentration is controlled; between per cent in agriculture and registration it is reduced even further to  $-.07$ . There is, therefore, some tendency for Negro voter registration to decline as farm tenancy increases which holds true even when differences in Negro concentration from one county to the next are taken into account. Nonetheless, it is a far less important factor than Negro concentration and probably is less important than the size of the Negro middle class as a factor explaining Negro participation and non-participation

Urbanization and Industrialization. If the South's agrarian economy tends to discourage Negro registration and voting, then industrialization and urbanization should facilitate them. The urban-industrial life is more rational, impersonal, and less tradition-bound; both Negroes and whites enjoy more wealth and education; the Negroes benefit from a concentration of potential leaders and politically relevant organizations in the cities. The urban ghetto may provide social reinforcement to individual motivations for political action. Many other equally plausible reasons might be suggested why urbanization and industrialization should foster Negro registration.<sup>21</sup> Our southwide correlations, however, cast serious doubt upon the entire line of reasoning.

The simple correlations between the per cent of the county population living in urban areas and Negro registration is a mere  $+0.07$ ; between per cent of the labor force in manufacturing and Negro registration the correlation is  $+0.08$ . When partial correlations are figured, controlling for Negro concentration, the association between urbanization and Negro registration completely disappears (the partial correlation is  $-.02$ ), a fact which suggests that the initial  $+0.07$  simple correlation is largely the result of the low

proportion of the urban population which is Negro. The partial correlation between per cent in manufacturing and Negro registration goes up slightly to  $+0.09$  when controls for Negro concentration are added. Partial correlations figured controlling for many other social and economic variables do not significantly increase either correlation.

It seems plausible to assume that if urbanization does facilitate Negro voter registration, the effect should be particularly clear in the region's largest urban complexes. If the Negro registration rates of the 70 counties contained in the South's Standard Metropolitan Areas<sup>22</sup> are compared with the distribution of registration rates for non-metropolitan counties, we note that the "metropolitan" counties are far more likely to have from 20 to 40 per cent of their voting age Negroes registered than the other counties. Moreover, there is a tendency for counties in larger metropolitan areas to have slightly higher registration rates than counties in less populous SMA's. However, the metropolitan counties have smaller concentrations of Negroes than the rural and small town counties. Do these relationships hold true when comparisons are made between metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties with approximately the same proportion of Negroes within their boundaries? The answer is no; there is no meaningful difference in the rate of Negro registration between metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties when Negro concentration is controlled. Thus, neither "urbanism" nor "metropolitanism," as crudely defined by the census categories, appears to be independently related to high Negro voter registration.

The very low correlation between per cent of the labor force in manufacturing employment and Negro voter registration appears to be the result of other considerations. The word "manufacturing" conjures up images of the "New South" -- with belching smokestacks, booming cities, and bulging

payrolls. For the South as a whole, this is a quite misleading picture. While manufacturing in 1950 was associated with somewhat higher income for both Negroes and whites (the correlation between per cent in manufacturing and median income was  $+0.19$  for both races), it was not primarily an urban phenomenon (the correlation between per cent in manufacturing and per cent urban was  $+0.08$ ), nor was it associated with rapid population growth (the correlation with population increase between 1940 and 1950 is  $+0.05$ ). Manufacturing was negatively correlated with school years completed by both whites and Negroes ( $-0.14$  and  $-0.05$ , respectively). This kind of low wage manufacturing centered in relatively stable, small towns is not strongly associated with growing Negro voter registration.

While our analysis should not be taken as the last word on the subject, it does strongly suggest that urbanization and industrialization are vastly over-rated as facilitators of Negro voter registration. Urbanization and industrialization may provide necessary conditions for high levels of Negro political participation but, by themselves, they are not sufficient to insure them.

White Educational Levels. If, as we have argued, Negro registration rates in the South respond far more to the characteristics of the white community than to the attributes of the Negroes themselves, then it seems reasonable to expect Negro voter registration to be positively correlated with white educational levels. Numerous studies have shown that racial prejudice and discrimination tend to be related to low levels of formal education.<sup>23</sup> Where the whites are relatively well educated, there should be less resistance to Negro political participation and, therefore, more Negro voter registration.

Just the opposite is the case for the South as a whole. The correlation between median school years completed by whites and Negro voter registration is  $-0.26$ , one of the largest negative correlations obtained in this study. When white education increases, Negro voter registration decreases.

How can we account for this unexpected finding? In view of the surprising nature of the relationship between white education and Negro registration, the first expectation would be that the relationship is merely a reflection of some third variable which happens to be related both to Negro registration and to white education. If so, it should disappear when other factors are held constant. But the correlation holds up surprisingly well when other variables are controlled. The most powerful third variable is, once again, Negro concentration in the population. With Negro concentration controlled, the partial correlation between white educational level and Negro registration is reduced to  $-0.15$ . While this is a substantial reduction, the partial correlation remains one of the largest obtained after controlling for the extraordinarily important factor of Negro concentration. The strong correlation ( $+0.30$ ) between Negro concentration and median school years completed by whites is almost as unexpected as the correlation between Negro registration and white education. The whites in the black belt counties tend to be better educated -- at least quantitatively -- than other white southerners. And, regardless of the percentage of Negroes in the population, fewer Negroes are registered in counties where whites have more education.

A second explanation for the negative relationship between white education and Negro registration might be that their relationship is curvilinear; at the lower educational levels, increases in white median school years might be associated with declining rates of Negro registration but, at

higher educational levels, the relationship might be reversed. If this were the case, then the overall negative relationship would be a result of the generally low educational levels of the South, concealing the fact that the few counties with high white educational levels had the highest rates of Negro registration. Close analysis suggests only a moderate tendency in this direction. As the number of school years completed by whites goes up through the primary and secondary grades, the proportion of voting age Negroes registered declines.<sup>24</sup> In the very few counties in which the average white adult has completed high school or received some higher education, the trend reverses and Negro registration rates begin to increase. But the reversal is not sharp enough for the counties with the highest white education to reach as great a Negro registration as the counties with the lowest white education. Southern counties with extremely high white educational levels have only about average rates of Negro registration.

Being unable to "explain away" our finding entirely, either by examining the correlation for hidden third variables or by examining the regularity of the association, we must conclude that white education is independently and negatively associated with Negro registration. Up to the highest levels, the more educated the whites the more actively and effectively they seem to enforce the traditional mores of the region against Negro participation in elections. The usual effect of an increase in average schooling for whites in the South as a whole appears to be to give the white people more of the skills that are needed effectively to express their anti-Negro sentiment. For example, the correlation between median school years completed by whites and the presence or absence of a White Citizens Council or similar organization is +.32. It seems to take considerably more formal education than the average southern white receives to alter his attitude toward the Negro's

place in southern politics.

White Religious Affiliation. A variety of studies suggest that religion plays some role -- either an independent or intervening variable -- in the racial politics of the South. Church-goers have been found to be less tolerant than non-attenders,<sup>25</sup> and the South is a church-going region. Studies of Louisiana politics have found substantial political differences between the Catholic and Protestant sections of the state.<sup>26</sup> It seemed worthwhile, therefore, to examine the correlation between white religious affiliation and Negro registration rates for the South as a whole.

We find that Negro registration rates are depressed as church membership among whites<sup>27</sup> increases (-.17), despite the fact that white membership in different churches has different functions -- Baptist membership is negatively related to Negro registration (-.10) while Catholic membership is positively related (+.15). On a southwide basis, the percentage of Jews in the county's total church membership is not significantly associated with Negro registration (-.01).

Granted that Catholicism is positively related to Negro registration, we can partial out the influence of Catholicism in order to determine the correlation between non-Catholic white church membership and Negro registration. This partial correlation is, as expected, slightly greater (-.23) than the simple correlation. But the negative correlation between white church membership and Negro registration disappears when Negro concentration is held constant. (The partial correlation is +.01.) Apparently, then, white church membership per se is unimportant for Negro registration. White people in the kinds of counties with more Negroes and in predominantly Catholic counties are more often members of churches. In the former kinds of

counties, fewer Negroes will vote regardless of non-Catholic church membership. Most non-Catholic churches presumably take on the racial attitudes of their localities; or, if they do not, they have little effect on those attitudes in so far as the attitudes are reflected in rates of Negro registration.

Per cent of Roman Catholics in the white church population is by far the most important of our religious attributes of southern counties. And the relationship between Catholicism and Negro voter registration does not disappear when Negro concentration is controlled. (The partial correlation is +.10,) The presence of Roman Catholics, then, does seem to facilitate Negro voter registration on a southwide basis. Roman Catholic churches presumably respond less directly to other county attributes than most Protestant churches; in any case, Catholicism is independently and positively related to Negro voter registration.

Multiple Correlation of Social and Economic Factors and Negro Voter Registration. So far, we have examined the association between selected social and economic factors and Negro registration one at a time. While controls for the impact of one social and economic factor on another have been introduced, we have not yet attempted to estimate the extent of the association between all the social and economic factors taken together and Negro registration.

In order to do this, we have figured the multiple correlation coefficient between all 20 social and economic factors (plus the size of the Standard Metropolitan Area, if any, within which the county is contained -- a qualitative variable for which simple correlations could not be obtained) and Negro voter registration. The results of this undertaking are presented in Table 5.

Table 5  
MULTIPLE CORRELATION OF 21 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VARIABLES AND  
PERCENT OF VOTING AGE NEGROES REGISTERED TO VOTE,  
BY COUNTY, WITHIN 11 SOUTHERN STATES

<u>State</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R<sup>2</sup></u>
Alabama	.79	.62
Arkansas	.65	.42
Florida	.76	.58
Georgia	.66	.44
Louisiana	.89	.79
Mississippi	.82	.67
North Carolina	.74	.55
South Carolina	.85	.72
Tennessee	.79	.62
Texas	.59	.35
Virginia	.55	.30
SOUTHWIDE R	.53	.28
MEAN, STATE R	.73	.53
MEDIAN, STATE R	.75	.56

The southwide correlation between these 21 social and economic variables and county registration rates of Negroes is .53, which explains about 28 per cent ( $R^2$ ) of the variation in Negro registration. When the same variables are used to compute the multiple correlation coefficient with Negro registration within each southern state, the R's go up considerably. Our 21 social and economic variables are most successful in predicting Negro registration rates in Louisiana ( $R = .89$ ) and least successful in Virginia ( $R = .55$ ). For the states, then, our 21 social and economic variables explain between 30 and 80 per cent of the variance in Negro registration.

## POLITICAL FACTORS AND NEGRO REGISTRATION

Having accounted for this much of the variation in Negro voter registration rates, we might simply stop with the conclusion that social and economic forces have a great deal to do with the problem. But must we stop here? Our underlying hypothesis is to the contrary -- that political and legal factors not only shape Negro registration rates but that they also exert an influence on Negro voter registration independent of social and economic structure.

The multiple regression equation obtained in the process of computing the multiple correlation reported in the preceding section can be used to predict the level of Negro registration every county in the South "ought" to have on the basis of its social and economic attributes. Some counties behave politically just as would be expected from these demographic features, but others have registration rates which are above or below the predicted level. By examining the pattern of these deviations above and below predicted registration -- the deviations are called "residuals" in statistical parlance -- we are able to control the effects of social structure on Negro registration, and thereby to ascertain whether political and legal factors have any independent association with Negro registration.

When the average (mean) percentage of voting age Negroes registered to vote, by county, is compared to the average predicted rate of county registration for each state in the South, the results are startling (Table 6). The average county in Mississippi should have, in terms of its social and economic characteristics, about 18 per cent of its Negroes registered to vote; a little less than 4 per cent were actually registered in the average Mississippi county in 1958. The predicted registration for South Carolina is 19.4 per cent while the actual per cent registered is 12.5. The actual

Table 6  
MEAN PERCENTAGE OF VOTING AGE NEGROES REGISTERED TO VOTE,  
BY COUNTY, COMPARED TO MEAN PERCENTAGE PREDICTED BY  
21 DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES, BY COUNTY, 1958

<u>State</u>	<u>Actual Mean Per Cent</u>	<u>Predicted Mean Per Cent</u>	<u>Actual Mean as Percentage of Predicted Mean</u>
Mississippi	3.4	17.7	19.2
South Carolina	12.5	19.4	64.4
Alabama	20.5	26.8	76.5
Virginia	24.1	34.3	70.3
Arkansas	27.6	32.3	85.4
Georgia	30.4	24.9	122.1
Louisiana	31.2	31.2	100.0
North Carolina	36.0	32.8	109.7
Texas	36.8	36.7	100.3
Florida	39.1	32.6	119.9
Tennessee	72.3	39.7	182.1

per cent registered is 70 per cent of the social and economic prediction for Virginia, 76.5 per cent for Alabama, and 85 per cent for Arkansas. Louisiana and Texas have just about the proportion of Negroes registered that one would expect on the basis of their social and economic characteristics; North Carolina and Florida, somewhat more than one would expect, and Georgia and Tennessee a great deal more. When it is understood that these contrasts among the states exist when the states are viewed as if each had identical social and economic characteristics, one can easily see that the state political systems must be an additional independent influence. Two socially and economically identical counties -- one in Mississippi and the other in North Carolina -- will have very different rates of registration. To say that this is the result of different state political systems is not

to say very much. What aspects of state politics account for these differences?

We have been able to isolate a few of these.

Voting Requirements. The southern states have different requirements for registration and voting. Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia have poll taxes. These vary in size from Mississippi's \$2.00 to Arkansas' \$1.00, and in Alabama, Mississippi and Virginia they are cumulative. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia require potential voters to pass a literacy test. Locally administered, these tests are highly responsive to local racial prejudices and vary greatly in form and difficulty within each state. Tennessee and Florida have neither a poll tax nor a literacy test.

To what extent are these differences in formal voting requirements related to differences in registration rates, controlling for social and economic structure? The answer is given in Table 7. The three states with both literacy tests and poll taxes have, on the average, actual registration rates which are 10.3 percentage points below the predicted value. The six states with either poll taxes or literacy tests have Negro registration rates which, on the average, are about what one would expect. The two states with neither poll taxes nor literacy tests have, on the average, about 19.2 percentage points more Negroes registered than one would expect on the basis of their social and economic characteristics. If we were able to take into account the way these requirements are variously administered by different officials within each state, this factor would undoubtedly prove to be more important than Table 7 indicates. Voter requirements, then, do seem to have an important effect on Negro registration over and above the admittedly large impact of social and economic structure.

Table 7  
STATE VOTER REQUIREMENTS AND NEGRO VOTER  
REGISTRATION RESIDUALS\*

<u>State Voter Requirements</u>	<u>Mean Residual</u>	<u>Range of Residuals</u>
Poll Tax and Literacy Test	-10.3	-14.3 to - 6.3
Either Poll Tax or Literacy Test	- 0.5	- 6.9 to + 5.5
Neither	+19.2	+ 6.5 to +32.4

\* The county residual is the percentage point difference between the actual per cent of voting age Negroes registered to vote in 1958 and the registration rate predicted by 21 social and economic variables. The state residual is the mean of county residuals. A positive residual indicates that the actual rate is larger than predicted; a negative residual, that the actual rate is less than predicted.

The Structure of Competition. Another political reason why Negro registration tends to be low in the South may be that southern politics presents no meaningful alternatives to the Negro voter.

Confronted with a choice between Senator Eastland and a challenger attempting to outdo the Senator from Mississippi at his own game, scores of potential Negro voters may decide to go fishing rather than attempting to register. Given a choice between Frank Porter Graham and Willis Smith, they will turn out in droves. The southern Negro vote is an "issue-oriented" vote and race is the only important issue. But in some states in the South, all the candidates for public office are unsatisfactory from the Negro's point of view. In other states, it is usually possible for the Negro to distinguish one or more candidates as favorably disposed to Negro interests

-- despite the candidate's best efforts to avoid being labelled by whites the as/"Negro candidate" -- and these candidates have some chance of winning.

Southern state political systems also vary in another way which affects the nature of the choice confronting potential or actual Negro votes. While the South is no longer solidly Democratic in presidential elections, state and local politics is still largely confined to contests between Democrats. The factional alignments within the Democratic party are rather different from state to state. In some states, two fairly clear cut factions battle it out on rather even terms and these factions tend to persist from one year to the next. In others, Democratic factionalism is more fluid and unstructured. The number of candidates tends to be larger, and there is little relationship between one electoral contest and the next. Finally, there are states in which one Democratic faction clearly dominates the others -- Virginia is the classic example.<sup>28</sup>

The factional structure of a one-party system has an effect upon the turnout rate of all citizens, but perhaps particularly on those with low social and economic status and limited intellectual skills. Obviously there is less reason to vote where one dominant faction runs the show; there is no realistic choice to be made. It is a good deal easier for a voter of limited political interest and skill to determine where his self-interest lies in a bi-factional state than in a fluid multi-factional one; there are fewer candidates to choose from and they tend to be identified with long-standing political cleavages. Candidates can be identified as belonging to the Long faction, or Talmadge faction, or Ken Scott faction, and these labels have some policy meaning.

We expect, therefore, that both the type of Democratic factionalism and the extent to which candidates are identified with different racial

views would be associated with different rates of voter registration among Negroes. When the 11 southern states are classified according to these two criteria,<sup>29</sup> and the mean state residuals of each type of state examined, we see that this is the case (Table 8). Two states, Virginia and South Carolina, have been dominated by one faction since 1948. In neither state are there discernible racial differences between factions. The mean residual for the two states is -8.5. Alabama and Mississippi have multi-factional systems combined with white racial consensus: their mean residual is -10.3. Arkansas and Georgia have had bi-factional Democratic politics but it has been difficult for Negroes to ascertain significant differences on racial policy between them: their mean residual is +0.4. Louisiana, Florida, and Texas have had multi-factional politics in recent years, but these have been discernible differences between the candidates from the Negro point of view. Taken together, they have a residual of +2.2. Finally, North Carolina and Tennessee have had both bi-factional politics and significant differences on racial matters between the factions. The mean residual of these two states is +17.8. Thus the structure of competition does seem to make a difference, and these differences are in the expected direction. The presence of observable differences in the racial views of candidates seems somewhat more important than the character of Democratic factionalism, but both factors are independently related to Negro registration rates.<sup>30</sup>

Race Organization. The South has seen a plethora of new racial organizations created in the wake of Smith v. Allwright and Brown v. Board of Education. SCLC, SNCC and CORE have entered the lists along with the NAACP and the Urban League as champions of the Negro cause. The White Citizens

Table 8  
THE STRUCTURE OF COMPETITION IN SOUTHERN STATES, 1948-1960, AND  
NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION RESIDUALS\*

	Generally No Major Candidate Favorable to Negroes	Generally 1 or More Major Candidates Favorable to Negroes	Total $\bar{X}$ s
One Dominant Faction	Virginia (-10.2) South Carolina (-6.9) $\bar{X} = -8.5$		-8.5
Two Competitive Factions	Arkansas (-4.7) Georgia (+5.5) $\bar{X} = +0.4$	Tennessee (+32.4) North Carolina (+3.2) $\bar{X} = +17.8$	+9.1
Multi- factionalism	Alabama (-6.3) Mississippi (-14.3) $\bar{X} = -10.3$	Louisiana (0) Florida (+6.5) Texas (+0.1) $\bar{X} = +2.2$	-2.8
Total $\bar{X}$ s	-6.5	+8.4	

\*See note to Table 7 for explanation of the term "residual." The numbers in parentheses immediately after the names of the states are state residuals. All other numbers are means of state residuals.

Councils, sometimes called by different names in different states and communities, have sprung to the defense of white supremacy. Are these politico-racial organizations associated with higher or lower rates of Negro voter registration when the effects of social and economic characteristics are controlled?

We have made strenuous efforts to ascertain, through correspondence and a search of newspaper files, the location of all chapters of all Negro and white race organizations in the South. While our list is no doubt incomplete, we believe that it is probably accurate enough to classify the states according to the degree to which they contain Negro and white race organizations. The four Deep South states with the largest Negro concentrations have been far more heavily organized by the White Citizens Councils than the others. North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, and Florida have been better organized by the Negroes. When we examine Table 9, we see that the

Table 9  
EXTENT OF RACE ORGANIZATION AND NEGRO VOTER  
REGISTRATION RESIDUALS\*

		Extent of White Race Organization		
		HIGH (46%+ of counties organized)	LOW (Less than 17% of counties organized)	
Extent of Negro Race Organization	HIGH (43%+ of counties organized)	South Carolina (-6.9) $\bar{X} = -6.9$	Virginia (-10.2) Florida (+6.5) North Carolina (+3.2) $\bar{X} = -.01$	$\bar{X} = -6.9$
	LOW (Less than 28% of counties organized)	Mississippi (-14.3) Louisiana (0) Alabama (-6.3) $\bar{X} = -7.0$	Arkansas (-4.7) Tennessee (+32.4) Texas (+0.1) Georgia (+5.5) $\bar{X} = +8.3$	$\bar{X} = +4.7$
		$\bar{X} = -1.8$	$\bar{X} = +1.8$	

\* See note to Table 8.

Negro registration residuals are definitely lower in states with numerous white race organizations than elsewhere. The opposite, however, apparently is not the case: the states with a large proportion of their counties organized by Negro racial groups actually have a lower mean residual (-6.9) than those in which they are not so strong (+4.7). But this is largely because Negro organization is weak in four states where White Citizens Councils are also weak; the largest Negro voter registration residuals are found in the four states (Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Texas) where neither kind of racial organization is very prevalent.

We should not jump to the conclusion that Negro racial organizations do more harm than good, so far as voter registration is concerned. Our data are proximate at best, no evidence is available as to how actively these Negro organizations have pursued registration drives, and we are dealing with statewide tendencies while Negro political organization are generally far more potent at the local level.

Therefore, let us examine the Negro registration residuals for southern cities where we know that local Negro voters leagues are relatively active. Table 10 presents the Negro registration residuals for the county containing these cities. If one subtracts the mean state residual from this figure, we can see that the existence of a Negro voters league does tend to be associated with relatively high Negro registration rates -- on the average about 5 percentage points above the statewide norm, even after one controls for social and economic factors.

Table 10

SOUTHERN CITIES WITH KNOWN NEGRO VOTERS LEAGUES AND  
NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION RESIDUALS\*

City, State	Residual for Central County (A)	Mean State Residual (B)	Adjusted Residual (A - B)
Houston, Texas	+19.6	+ 0.1	+19.5
New Orleans, La.	-16.0	0	-16.0
Atlanta, Ga.	+ 1.4	+ 5.5	- 4.1
Dallas, Texas	+ 5.7	+ 0.1	+ 5.6
Birmingham, Ala.	-12.4	- 6.3	- 6.1
Memphis, Tenn.	+43.0	+32.4	+10.6
Tampa, Fla.	+ 0.4	+ 6.5	- 6.1
Richmond, Va.	- 4.8	-10.2	+ 5.4
Jacksonville, Fla.	+13.0	+ 6.5	+ 6.5
Chattanooga, Tenn.	+43.7	+32.4	+11.3
Mobile, Ala.	- 8.3	- 6.3	- 2.0
Charlotte, N.C.	+ 5.0	+ 3.2	+ 2.8
Greensboro, N.C.	- 1.3	+ 3.2	- 4.5
Winston-Salem, N.C.	+23.3	+ 3.2	+20.1
Columbia, S.C.	+ 1.2	- 6.9	+ 8.1
Jackson, Miss.	+ 2.8	-14.3	+17.1
Montgomery, Ala.	- 3.8	- 6.3	+ 2.5
Durham, N.C.	+25.5	+ 3.2	+22.3
		MEAN	= + 5.2

\*See note to Table 7 for explanation of term residual.

POLITICAL VERSUS SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES AND  
NEGRO REGISTRATION

We have seen that both social and economic factors and political and legal factors are associated with Negro voter registration in the 11 southern states. Which type of factor is more important in shaping Negro registration rates?

Earlier we reported that the multiple correlation between all 21 social and economic variables and Negro registration was .53, which means that they explain about 28 per cent of the variation in Negro registration. If we add 10 political variables<sup>31</sup> to the equation and calculate the multiple correlation between all 31 variables -- socio-economic plus political -- we obtain a multiple correlation of .70, which explains about 50 per cent ( $R^2$ ) of the variation in Negro registration figures. The addition of the political variables to the southwide analysis/<sup>almost</sup>doubles the explanatory power of the analysis. In so far as statistical analysis will answer such a broad and complex question, it would appear that political variables are of about equal importance to socio-economic ones.

#### IMPLICATIONS

What does all this mean? What are the implications for public policy of such a finding?

One must approach the drawing of policy implications from our analysis with extreme caution. Our data are crude, our units of analysis (counties and states) are large. The dividing line between what is "social" or "economic" and what is "political" is arbitrary (at worst) or merely conventional (at best). Correlations are not "causes" but merely associations; attributing causal relationships to variables which are correlated with one another is to engage in the drawing of inferences, which sometimes are spectacularly wrong. Nonetheless, we believe that tentative implications can be drawn from our analysis.

First of all, the low rate of Negro voter registration in the South is heavily conditioned by the social and economic realities of the region. Most Negroes in the South are poor, undereducated and not strongly

motivated toward political activity. Political "apathy" is the normal reaction to such conditions, regardless of one's skin color. Add to this the hostility of most of the white South to effective Negro political participation, the frequent lack of adequate Negro leadership, Negro economic dependence on whites, and so on, and it is rather surprising that 28 per cent of the adult Negroes are already registered voters.

Moreover, one cannot help but be impressed by the massive indications of stability in the situation -- the extremely high negative correlation between per cent Negro in 1900 and Negro registration in 1958, the apparent failure of urbanization and, to a lesser extent, industrialization to provide favorable conditions for Negro political participation, the negative correlation between white educational levels and Negro registration, and so forth. Clearly, the political and legal reformers should not expect miracles. Talk of southern Negroes being "able to elect at least five Negroes to Congress in the next few years"<sup>32</sup> seems wildly to underestimate the social and economic barriers to Negro political participation.

At the same time, Negro registration has increased rapidly since 1944 and changes in the southern society and economy suggest that this trend will continue. Everyone of the social and economic variables that we have found to be positively associated with Negro registration is on the increase -- some have doubled in 20 years and all but one have increased by at least 50 per cent. Only one of the variables associated with low Negro registration -- white educational levels -- is also increasing and there is reason to believe that a good many southern counties will soon reach the stage where this factor may tend to facilitate rather than hinder Negro political participation.<sup>33</sup> All the other factors negatively correlated with Negro registration (except, of course, per cent Negro in 1900) are declining

rapidly. Thus the South's social and economic structure may be, at one and the same time, the reformer's major obstacle and a long-run cause for hope, that

Moreover, our analysis suggests/substantial changes in the level of Negro voter registration can be attained by political and legal means. It is not necessary to await the arrival of basic social and economic change before attempting, with reasonable expectations of moderate success, to enfranchise more southern Negroes. The abolition of the poll tax and modification of literacy requirements to assure fair treatment of Negroes might enhance the southwide vote of Negro registration by 10 or more percentage points. Encouraging the candidacy of politicians -- both Negro and white -- who are favorable to the Negro cause should bring out many more Negro votes, even when they have little chance of success. Finally, heightened organizational efforts by Negroes would increase Negro registration levels over what they would otherwise be. All of these reforms would have a positive effect on Negro registration rates without waiting for massive social and economic change.

Whether the southern Negroes, more effectively armed with the vote than ever before, will be able to vote themselves the social, economic, and political equality they desire as quickly as they demand, is another matter. It is at this stage, perhaps, that the "do-it-yourself-via-the-vote" theory of civil rights reform will face its severest test. To put the same point in different words: our analysis leads us to expect moderate increases in Negro registration and voting on the basis of social and economic change alone. If some or all of the political reforms mentioned above are realized, the rate of growth in the Negro vote may prove to be fairly substantial. Whether these votes can be translated into political power over southern racial practices fast enough to satisfy the heightening expectations of the southern Negro remains the unsolved mystery.

## FOOTNOTES

\* This study has been supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina. The first named author holds a Senior Award for Research on Governmental Affairs from the Social Science Research Council. We wish to express our gratitude to these organizations for providing the resources needed to engage in this analysis. Professors V. O. Key, Jr., Warren E. Miller and Allan P. Sindler have commented generously upon an earlier version of this paper. While we have learned much from their criticism, neither they nor the organizations named above should be held responsible for the contents of this paper.

1. This account has been reconstructed from the New York Times, September 9, 1961, September 21, 1961, October 24, 1961; Tylertown (Miss.) Times, August 31, 1961, September 7, 1961, September 14, 1961, September 21, 1961; the Baltimore Afro-American, September 16, 1961; the Pittsburgh Courier, September 30, 1961, November 4, 1961, November 25, 1961.
2. New York Times, August 27, 1961; Atlanta Journal, September 6, 1961, September 7, 1961, September 12, 1961; Atlanta Daily World, September 14, 1961, September 23, 1961; Baltimore Afro-American, October 7, 1961, October 14, 1961.
3. New York Times, January 7, 1962. See also H. L. Moon, Balance of Power: The Negro Vote (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1949), p. 7 and passim.
4. New York Times, January 7, 1962; Louis E. Lomax, "The Kennedys Move in on Dixie," Harpers Magazine, May 1962, pp. 27-33.
5. Wall Street Journal, November 6, 1961; New York Times, July 10, 1961.
6. Baltimore Afro-American, October 7, 1961; New York Times, August 17, 1961, July 2, 1962.
7. The 1962 Atlanta, Georgia, national convention of the NAACP had the "Battle of the Ballots" as its theme. Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, June 24, 1962.
8. New York Times, March 29, 1962. Louis E. Lomax, op. cit.
9. For useful summaries of the literature see Robert E. Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), ch. 16 and Seymour M. Lipset et al., "The Psychology of Voting," in G. Lindzey (ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), Vol. II, pp. 1126-1134.
10. Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, "Attitudes toward Desegregation," Scientific American, Vol. 195 (1956), pp. 35-39; B. Bettelheim and M. Janowitz, The Dynamics of Prejudice (New York: Harper, 1950); Frank R. Westie, "Negro-

White Status Differentials and Social Distance," American Sociological Review, Vol. 17 (1952), pp. 550-558; Melvin M. Tumin, Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 195 and passim. James W. Vander Zanden, "Voting on Segregationist Referenda," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 25 (1961), pp. 92-105 finds the evidence in support of the relationship in voting on segregationist referenda in the South "inconsistent and even contradictory....this study seems to suggest that the socio-economic factor may not play as simple or as critical a role as some of us doing research in this field have been prone to assign it." (p. 105).

11. The registration figures used in this analysis are from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959 Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959) and 1961 Report, Vol. I, "Voting" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961). Granted the lack of official reports on voting by race, survey data furnish the best available base for an estimate of the number of Negro voters in the South as a whole. Such a survey is a part of the broader study of which this paper is a part. But a region-wide survey does not supply data on every county; for the present study, we have accordingly relied on the estimates of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

12. A complete list of sources used to obtain county frequencies for the independent variables used in this analysis would be too lengthy to reproduce here. A mimeographed list will be supplied by the authors upon request.

There are 1136 counties in the 11 southern states (counting Virginia's independent cities as counties), of which 1105 had populations containing at least 1 per cent Negroes in 1950. Negro registration figures are available on 997 of these counties.

We are indebted to the following research assistants for their help in collecting these data: Lawton Bennett, Lewis Bowman, Barbara Bright, Jack Fleer, Donald Freeman, Douglas Gatlin, and Richard Sutton. All told, the collection and coding of this data took one man-year of work.

13. The 1958 registration data, contained in the 1959 Report of the Commission on Civil Rights are more complete and were used for all states except Tennessee. The 1960 figures, printed in the 1961 Report of the Commission, are the only ones available for Tennessee.

All computations were made on the University of North Carolina's UNIVAC 1105 high-speed digital computer.

14. The correlation coefficients between these same variables and the registration rates of whites is radically different than for Negroes. For 15 of the 20 social and economic factors considered, the direction of the association is reversed for the two races. Not one of the variables is substantially and consistently related to both Negro and white rates of registration. Thus the registration rates of the races are differently related to county social and economic structure as measured by our indices.

15. See Lane, op. cit.; Lipset et al., op. cit.; Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960), ch. 13; V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion

and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), ch. 6. For a study of these variables and political participation among southern Negroes see Bradbury Seasholes, Negro Political Participation in Two North Carolina Cities, Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1962.

16. For an extreme statement of this position see E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957). Less exaggerated statements to the same effect may be found in the literature cited in footnote 18, below.

17. The inaccuracy of some of the registration figures tends to reduce the magnitude of all correlations obtained by this analysis. The assumption of linearity underlying the computation of  $r$  also reduces the size of the correlations where the relationship between dependent and independent variables is, in fact, a curvilinear one. It is therefore safe to assume that the  $r$ 's reported in this article err in the conservative direction.

18. V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949) gives little attention to Negro voting since it was of little importance at the time he wrote (see, however, p. 518). His stress upon the overriding importance of Negro concentration for all aspects of southern politics makes his study highly relevant, nonetheless. Other works specifically on Negro voting which stress the importance of Negro concentration include: James F. Barnes, Negro Voting in Mississippi, M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi (1955); Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960); Margaret Price, The Negro and the Ballot in the South (Atlanta, Georgia: Southern Regional Council, 1959); H.D. Price, The Negro and Southern Politics: A Chapter of Florida History (New York: New York University Press, 1957); Donald Strong, "The Future of the Negro Voter in the South," Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XXVI (Summer, 1957), pp. 400-407; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1961 Report, Vol. 1, "Voting."

19. On this point see H. D. Price, op. cit., p. 41ff.

20. See especially, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1961 Report, Vol. I, "Voting," pp. 143-199.

21. On Negro voting in urban settings see Charles D. Farris, Effects of Negro Voting Upon the Politics of a Southern City: An Intensive Study, 1946-48, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1953; George A. Hillery, The Presence of Community Among Urban Negroes: A Case Study of a Selected Area in New Orleans, M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1951; Leonard Reissman et al., "The New Orleans Voter: A Handbook of Political Description," Tulane Studies in Political Science, Vol. II (1955), pp. 1-88; Cleo Roberts, Some Correlates of Registration and Voting Among Negroes in the 1953 Municipal Election of Atlanta, M.A. thesis, Atlanta University, 1954; Harry J. Walker, Changes in Race Accommodation in a Southern Community, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1945.

22. The Bureau of the Census defines Standard Metropolitan Areas as a county or group of contiguous counties which contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more. The contiguous counties must be socially and economically integrated with the central city to be included in the SMA.

23. See the literature cited in fn. 10, above.

24. Eleven of the 28 counties in which the average white adult has completed less than seven years of schooling are French-Catholic parishes in Louisiana. Even if those parishes are eliminated, the trend remains the same. The partial correlations between white school years and Negro registration, controlling for per cent Roman Catholic, is -.25.

25. Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955).

26. Allan P. Sindler, Huey Long's Louisiana (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956); V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics, ch. 8; John H. Fenton and Kenneth N. Vines, "Negro Registration in Louisiana," American Political Science Review, Vol. 51 (1957), pp. 704-13.

27. The most recent attempt to compile county-by-county figures on church membership is reported in a census by the National Council of Churches of Christ, Churches and Church Membership in the U.S., Series C, 1956. Negro churches are not included in this census, and the figures reported for many white churches appear to be incomplete.

28. V. O. Key, Southern Politics, Part I, presents the classic description and analysis of bi-factional versus multi-factional politics in the South. We have added the third category -- one dominant faction -- to his dichotomy.

29. The classification of states along the one dominant faction, two competitive factions, multi-factionalism dimension follows the procedure employed by Key, Southern Politics, pp. 17-18. The median per cent of the total vote polled jointly by the two highest candidates for governor in the first Democratic primary, 1950-1960 was:

Virginia	100.0
Tennessee	95.8
Georgia	94.7
South Carolina	89.8
Arkansas	81.5
North Carolina	77.9
Texas	69.3
Florida	60.5
Louisiana	58.6
Alabama	58.1
Mississippi	44.4

Unopposed candidates and contests in Arkansas and Texas involving incumbents were omitted. All those ranking below North Carolina were classified as multi-factional states.

In order to distinguish between competitive and non-competitive factional arrangements, the median per cent of the total vote polled by the leading candidate for governor in the first Democratic primary, 1950-1960, was obtained. The percentages are:

## 1962 registration

County	White		Negro	
	Number	Percent of Voting age	Number	Percent of Voting age
Amite*	3,553	79.8	1	.03
Attala	5,311	70.6	61	1.5
Bolivar	4,603	45.8	612	4.1
Carroll	2,720	91.6	3	.1
Chickasaw	4,522	70.7	0	0
Clarke*	5,000	83	1	.04
Clay	3,382	60.9	10	.2
Copiah	5,056	62	20	.3
DeSoto	3,551	66.5	1	.01
Forrest*	12,665	55.9	22	.3
Grenada	3,591	61.9	135	3.2
Holmes	3,497	73.2	41	.5
Humphreys	2,465	73.7	2	.04
Issaquena	621	97	0	0
Jasper	4,113	77.2	6	.2
Jefferson	1,643	98.6	0	0
Jefferson Davis*	3,600	98.	76	2.5
Leflore*	7,168	69.5	258	2
Lowndes*	8,312	51	95	1.2
Marshall	3,409	78.5	90	1.5
Monroe	7,389	55	9	.2
Montgomery	3,964	84.3	11	.4
Noxubee	2,225	74.2	0	0
Oktibbeha	4,306	51.1	107	2.2
Panola*	5,000	65	2	.03
Pike*	7,986	65.6	150	2.2
Rankin	12,000	90.9	94	1.4
Sharkey	1,522	80.8	3	.1
Sunflower*	4,500	51	114	.9
Tallahatchie*	4,334	84.7	5	.08
Tate	3,134	69.5	0	0
Tunica	1,441	71.6	37	.7
Walthall*	4,217	92.8	2	.1
Wayne	4,548	77.3	0	0
Wilkinson	2,438	104.1	60	1.5
Winston	4,764	69.9	57	1.6
Yalobusha	3,086	67.4	4	.2
Yazoo	7,230	95.1	178	2.2
Total	172,866	69	2,267	1.1

\*Department of Justice Suit

## VOTER REGISTRATION FIGURES

From the 1963 Report of the United States  
CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

April 30, 1963

Dear Sir:

At our meeting ~~on~~  
February 21, 1963, at New Mt. Zion  
Baptist Church you were elected by  
your group as temporary Chairman  
of your ward, group or community.

We are asking you to let us know if  
you have met and elected permanent  
Please give us the names and  
addresses of all officers elected and  
the time of your regular meetings.

When we get this information  
we will plan a County wide meeting  
at which we will plan our work  
for the Summer and Fall.

The registration books will  
be open at the Court House, Monday  
May 6, 1963, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.

You are urged to as many qualified  
persons as possible to register.

Yours truly

J. W. McPherson  
Rev. H. S. Hamner  
Earl M. Middleton

How-to-do-it Guide

for

ORGANIZING AND CONDUCTING A VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE

Adapted for the YWCA by Ethlyn Christensen, Executive Secretary of the  
National YWCA Public Affairs Committee

From a guide by Tinsley L. Spraggins, Ph.D., Chairman, Department of  
History, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

ORGANIZING AND CONDUCTING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

Registration requirements and procedures often constitute a major obstacle to voting. No matter how interested and excited a person is on Election Day, he cannot vote in 46 of the 50 states if he has not previously registered.

In most of these states, the registration books are closed well before the election - before political campaigns hit full stride and before peak interest in the upcoming election is achieved. Therefore, the registration of voters must be accomplished during a period of relatively little political activity. It requires organized effort to determine how many persons are unregistered, find out who they are, locate them, contact them, and get them registered. This guide represents a simplified approach to organizing and conducting such an effort.

The first step in programming a registration drive is to organize a small steering committee of knowledgeable individuals who have a sincere interest in solving the problem of registration. This committee should have the responsibility of organizing various committees to locate the unregistered individuals and get them registered. It also will secure information about the registration dates and requirements in the state.

Next, a committee should be appointed to assume the responsibility of determining the number of unregistered persons in the community. The procedure for doing this is as follows:

1. Locate the wards and/or precincts in the city, and secure from the Board of Elections the number of persons registered in each.
2. Locate the identifiable wards and/or precincts in the city in which there are concentrations of low income and socially isolated citizens who have for the most part not been motivated to vote.

I.e., obtain the total number of nonwhites in your city who are 21 years of age and over. (This information can be found in Table 20 of the Bureau of the Census publication for each state entitled General Population Characteristics, 1960.)

The volume for your state may be found in your city library or ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., or from any field office of the Department of Commerce.) Subtract the total number of Negroes registered from the nonwhite population 21 years and over. The difference would be an approximate number of Negroes who are not registered to vote. The same process applies to other minority groups.

A small committee then should have the responsibility for locating the unregistered persons by name, address, and telephone number; they should also be located by ward and precinct numbers (or similar political subdivision). This information should be noted on a set of file cards made in duplicate, one set filed alphabetically by last name, the other filed by street. These persons can be located in any one of the following ways. The committees might try different ways in different situations. On the whole it is best to get as accurate information as possible from sources like those listed in #1. Individuals may sometimes say they are registered if asked directly when in fact they are not.

1. Securing a list of registered voters from the Board of Elections and checking it against.
  - a. Organizational lists.
  - b. Church membership lists.
  - c. Residents of housing project.
  - d. Street telephone.

e. Teacher's directories.

f. College personnel directories.

g. Files of college registrars, and any other lists available.

h. City directories.

2. Using a street telephone directory and telephoning persons who have a telephone to see if they are registered to vote. If they are not registered, their names, addresses, and telephone numbers should be noted; the caller should make sure to ask if there are additional members of the household who are eligible to vote; if so their names and pertinent information should be noted also. The opening sentence in a telephone conversation might be "I am Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_, a member of the YWCA. We are working on a voter registration campaign and I am calling to ask if you are registered so you can vote in the coming election." This may need some explanation. If there is confusion about what this is all about, the caller might arrange to visit the person.
3. Canvassing door-to-door in wards and/or precincts - canvassers should have identifying credentials. They might wear badges saying something like YWCA Voter Registration Worker or carry cards which identify them.
4. Having workers located in shopping centers, in front of supermarkets, etcetera, asking people if they are registered to vote. You will be able to get permission from store managers to set up card tables identified with posters as information centers for voter registration. The names and addresses of those not registered should be obtained for the files.

Having spent some time in getting names, addresses and telephone numbers of the unregistered persons in the above manner, workers now should contact them for the purpose of getting them registered. Contact is established as follows:

1. The chairman of the Steering Committee should send letters to each person in the card file urging the individual to register and listing the times, dates, and places to register. The letter should also mention that someone will call upon them to explain the importance of registering and exactly how to do it. It is important to realize that some who receive the letter will not be able to understand it so they will not be prepared for the call.
2. Teams of volunteer workers should be organized for the purpose of house-to-house canvassing. Each worker should be given 25 to 30 cards with names of the unregistered persons and instructed to call on these persons at their homes to emphasize the importance of being registered, to explain the mechanics of registration, and to urge them to register. In places where registration is permitted by mail, the worker can explain the procedure and assist a person to register on the spot. The workers should also tell the unregistered persons that they will come back to go with them to register if they wish. Arrangements should be made for date and time convenient for both. A buddy or companion system can be developed so that a more experienced woman can accompany one who is hesitant about going to register.
3. Wherever possible make calls during the day to contact the women. If women are working it will be necessary to call at night. In any case get the support of women to help get men registered.
4. Recruit neighborhood women to go with YWCA member as the campaign develops.
5. In most cases it will be more effective if the women work in pairs when they contact other women about registering. In many situations the team might be made up of a Negro and a white woman, or other combinations of ethnic and cultural groups.

6. After the first contacts in a community have been made, seek out some of the women who can be enlisted to help as team members in their neighborhood. Not every woman will welcome the women who call on her nor will all of them be enthusiastic about the opportunity to register and vote. The callers must be prepared for indifference, apathy and, in some cases, hostility. A social worker, minister, or political leader who knows people in the neighborhood may be a help in understanding the attitudes of the people and how to deal with them.
7. Teenagers and young adults should be enlisted to help in distribution of materials, going with women to register, tutoring, etc.  
Teenagers might often be part of a young adult or adult team.
8. Some women may seem apathetic or uninterested because their education is so limited they are afraid they can't qualify. Here the YWCA could be helpful by setting up tutoring classes or relating women to literacy class.
9. Transportation systems should be set up to bring the unregistered person to registration centers. Baby sitting facilities might also be offered in nearby churches or schools to which transportation would be provided.
10. Tags saying "I'm registered" could be given to each person who registers. These might be provided by a business firm or advertising agency in the community.

Voter registration is a laborious process, but the burden can be lightened if the program is logically planned and executed. Don't forget: before any attempt is made to register, an estimation must be made of the size of the population that is unregistered; names, addresses, and, where possible, telephone numbers must be obtained. Following that, the unregistered may be brought to the registrar's office. Such an organized effort will help to insure maximum citizen participation on Election Day. Preceding the election, a party might be given for all those registered to vote for the first time.

Getting women registered to vote is the immediate objective of this voter registration project but in the process we can

1. Get to know more about our communities and the needs of women in the poorer and disadvantaged sections.
2. Become more sensitive to the urgent problems of a community and stimulated to find ways of dealing with them.
3. Make contact with women who are socially isolated and in need of services which an organization like the YWCA ought to be able to render, i.e., literacy education, cooking and sewing classes, homemaking education, money management, instructions about community and government services and resources available to them, demonstration training courses to stimulate better community training opportunities for jobs.
4. Discover new sources of leadership among many different kinds of women in the community.
5. Achieve more effective and meaningful interracial relations and programs in all areas of YWCA activity.
6. Help prepare women to participate not only in the YWCA but other aspects of community life.
7. Discover weaknesses in our election laws and procedures and seek ways to bring about reforms. (See Report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation.)

Thursday, August 19, 1965

U. S. Orders Voter Registrars  
Into 5 more Dixie Counties

Atty. Gen. Nicholad deB. Katzenbach, Wednesday night ordered federal voting examiners into five more Southern counties to register voters on a non-discriminatory basis.

The counties are Perry and Wilcox in Alabama, Quachita in Louisiana, and Jefferson Davis and Jones in Mississippi.

They made up the second group of counties picked for examiners under the recently enacted voting rights law. They cover the same three states where the first nine counties were designated a week ago.

Katzenbach said that despite the new law, the five newly named counties "have continued to discriminate and have given no substantial indication that they will comply with it (the voting law)".

#### HISTORY OF BIAS

He said that each of the counties "has a long history of discrimination against Negro voting applicants and had been named in voting discrimination suits filed by the Justice Department.

In the five counties named Wednesday, it was noted, the percentage of voting age Negroes ranges from 20 per cent down, while the percentage of white adults on the voting rolls ranges up to more than 100 per cent. Registration exceeding 100 per cent is laid to poor bookkeeping rather than fraud.

#### LATEST COUNTIES

The Justice Department gave the following information about the latest counties picked for examiners:

Perry - Voting age residents registered: whites, 4,602 (100 per cent plus); Negroes, 1,041 (20 per cent)

Wilcox - Voting age residents registered: whites, 3,135 (100 per cent plus); Negroes, 280 (4.6 per cent).

Quachita - Voting age residents registered: whites, 29,752 (74 per cent); Negroes, 1,794 (10.9 per cent).

2-2-2-2

Jefferson Davis - Voting age residents registered: white , 4,130(100 per cent plus); Negroes, 155 (4.8 per cent).

Jones - Voting age residents registered: whites, 25,833 (99.9 per cent); Negroes, 700 (8.8 per cent).

August, 21st.  
FDP Office  
507 1/2 N. Farish  
Jackson

VOTER REGISTRATION FIGURES... MISSISSIPPI

AND COMPLAINTS FILED WITH JUSTICE DEPT.

ASKING FOR FEDERAL REGISTRARS.

FEDERAL REGISTRARS

The FDP, in the following counties, has filed complaints with the Justice Dept., alleging discrimination, and asking for Federal Registrars:

HOLMES COUNTY: 60 complaints have been gathered, 25 of them sent to the Justice Dept - sent Wednesday, August 11th.

SUNFLOWER COUNTY: 33 complaints sent to the Justice Dept., approx. 10 days ago.

AMITE COUNTY: 20 complaints sent to the Justice Dept., August 17th.

HUMPHREYS COUNTY: 20 complaints sent to the Justice Dept., August 14th.

RANKIN COUNTY: 20 complaints sent to the Justice Dept., August 19th.

WARREN COUNTY: 30 complaints sent to the Justice Dept., August 21st.

In several counties the FDP is in the process of compiling complaints. They include Clarke County (about 15 complaints so far); Forrest County (in cooperation with the NAACP); Bolivar County (at least 18 complaints); Carroll County (14 complaints); Hinds County (about 25 complaints); Panola County; Leake County (20 complaints - have still to be sent to Washington D.C.); Washington County (20 complaints, which are to be sent within the next few days to D.C.); Harrison County (2 complaints); Clay County (6 complaints), Walthall County, Newton County, and Jefferson (25).

The basis for complaints were several. The main one seems to have been that Registrars were, or still are, refusing to register people who cannot read or write. This is stipulated under the new Voting Rights Bill.

Registrars in several counties - eg. Warren, Lauderdale, etc. - have been asking applicants whom they work for. In Amite County Negro applicants were requested to say who their nearest white neighbor was, and in the same county, whites on at least one occasion took photographs of Negroes going into the courthouse.

In Newton County affidavits have been signed to the effect that the Registrar's office has been closed on most days since the passage of the Voting Rights Bill.

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Break-down: Six counties have filed complaints with the Justice Dept.

Twelve counties are in the process of getting complaints.

FDP office.  
507 1/2 N. Farish  
Jackson.

page 2.

VOTER REGISTRATION

The figures are only an approximation, and not all the counties are included.

<u>AMITE</u>	About 200 Negroes registered since the passage of the State voting law amendments.	3,560 Negroes are eligible to vote. * * 1962 figure.
3rd district.		
<u>LEAKE</u>	150 ? Registrar has reported that Negroes are registering at a rate of between 20-40 a day.	3,397 eligible to vote.
4th		
<u>CLARKE</u>	About 500 over the past 3 weeks.	2,998 eligible to vote.
<u>Clay</u>	About 350	the county is just over 50% Negro.
<u>JASPER</u>	No figure available, but registration said to be very slow. Justice Dept suit against Jasper was heard earlier this year.	3,675 eligible to vote.
<u>KEMPER</u>	No figure. Registration slow.	3,221 eligible to vote
<u>MARION</u>	Slow. Police have told people its inadvisable to register. Freedom house was firebombed about a month ago.	3,630 eligible to vote.
<u>JEFFERSON</u>	No figure.	?
<u>JONES</u>	No figure. Federal Registrars to start registering.	?
<u>WASHINGTON</u>	2,000 plus registered	20,619 eligible to vote.
<u>ISSAQUENA</u>	A report that 85-100 people are registering each week.	? Over 50% Negro
<u>BOLIVAR</u>	Rosedale : 160 in last 2 weeks Cleveland: 20 in last 2 weeks Shaw : No figure.	? Over 50% Negro
<u>WARREN</u>	700 last week: 150 on Mon Aug. 15	@ 10,726 eligible to vote
<u>Claiborne</u>	Very few registered.	3,969 eligible to vote
<u>PIKE</u>	Between 300 and 1,000 : both figures have been given.	
<u>MADISON</u>	3,000 approx. Federal Registrars in Madison	10,366 eligible to vote (n.b. 5,458 whites are registered to vote)
<u>GREENWOOD</u> (Leflore)	3,000 approx. Federal Registrars in Leflore.	13,657 eligible to vote.

Voter Registration figures:

<u>HUMPHREYS</u>	About 200 people registered over the past three weeks.	5,616 Negroes eligible to vote * 1962 figure.
<u>FORREST</u>	About 850	7,914 eligible to vote
<u>RANKIN</u>	A report that 40-60 t people a day are registering to vote.	6,944 eligible to vote
<u>SUNFLOWER</u>	700 before the passage of the State voting law changes.	13,524 eligible to vote
<u>HOLMES</u>	60-70 people going down to register a day. This is the Registrar's	8,757 eligible to vote
<u>YAZOO</u>	According to Registrar, he is now registering 30-60 Negroes a day.	8,719 eligible to vote
<u>CARROLL</u>	180 registered	More than 50% Negro
<u>SMITMAN</u>	About 350	More than 50% Negro
<u>SCOTT</u>	Registrar says he is registering 8-10 a day, and 64 one day.	3,752 eligible to vote
<u>NEWTON</u>	100 approx.	3,018 eligible to vote.
<u>HARRISON</u>	65 in two weeks	?
<u>ADAMS</u>	Approx 3,000 (mostly from Natchez).	?
<u>HINDS</u>	No figure. At a guess over 1,000 ONLY 5,000 registered before changes in State Law.	36,138 eligible to vote
<u>LOWNDES</u>	About 150.	8,362 eligible to vote

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No figures yet from \* Sharkey, Jefferson, Walthall, Jones, Munroe, Oktibbeha,  
Desoto, Tippah, Benton, Marshall, Union, Tallahatchie,  
Lee, Jackson, Panola,

OMITTED : Neshoba County: about 150 registered. ?  
Good in Stello, slow  
in Philadelphia

The pattern of registration

Registrars in every Mississippi county have now received a letter from the Attorney General, Katzenbach. This, in effect, tells them that they should register people who can't read and write.

We know that in the majority of counties, Registrars are not complying with this stipulation. We also have evidence that in at least ~~two~~ 2 counties, s and Madison, Clairborne, the Registrar has used both the six question test and the old registration form since the State changed certain voting laws.

Of the counties where the Registrar has been registering people who cannot read and write - Warren, Issaquena, Lauderdale, ~~W~~ Washington(?) - registration has been high. So far that is.

The Justice Dept people have been visiting several counties - going to the project offices and people in the community. They have not been too optimistic over the possibility of many more Federal Registrars coming into Mississippi. We have heard - through the grapevine - that L.B.J. is running out of Federal Registrars.

THE REFERENDUM :

In Most counties people who had been registered under 4 months, were not allowed to vote.

There were however some exceptions. In Holmes county 25 - 30 people voted who had only registered recently. In Carroll County everyone who was a registered voter, was allowed to poll.

In Issaquena County one, or more polling places were not open. In Sunflower County, people were asked to produce three poll tax receipts. In Warren county there separate ballot boxes for White and Negro. In Clarke county poll tax receipts were required.

Affidavits have been gathered. These will be sent to the Washington FDP office to support the Challenge.

In the preparation of our final report and study on the Voter Education Project, we are re-examining data for each state. These revised data will be sent to you as completed.

Tables for the first state - South Carolina - are attached.

Leslie W. Dunbar.

**Southern Regional Council**  
**5 Forsyth St., N.W.**  
**Atlanta 3, Ga.**



Southern Regional Council, Inc.  
 Voter Education Project  
 August, 1965

VOTER REGISTRATION  
 SOUTH CAROLINA

COUNTY	Tot. Neg. Voters as of 11/64	Tot. Neg. Voters as of 4/62	Increase 4/62 to 11/64	NWVAP 1960 Census	% Elg. NReg. 1960 Census	Tot. Reg. Col. 1 + Chas. N&C Est. WReg.	% N. of Total Reg.	Tot. LBJ Vote**	Tot. BG Vote	Some More Current Fi Total Negr Voters
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
ABBEVILLE	(900)*	241	659	3,215	27.9	7,000	12.8	2,689	1,448	
AIKEN	4,725 (4,000)	2,498	2,227	10,040	47.1	30,725	15.4	7,622	17,467	
ALLENDALE	530 (504)	220	310	3,205	16.5	3,430	15.5	772	1,740	
ANDERSON	2,931 (7,500)	2,450	481	9,598	30.5	32,931	8.9	11,670	8,398	
BAMBERG	902 (1,400)	587	315	3,807	23.7	5,071	17.8	1,419	2,366	
BARNWELL	975 (1,500)	714	261	3,242	30.1	7,775	12.5	1,382	3,670	
BEAUFORT	3,606 (3,500)	2,727	879	7,247	49.7	10,106	35.7	2,747	3,432	
BERKELEY	4,645 (4,000)	3,250	1,395	7,619	60.9	14,645	31.7	3,537	6,100	
CALHOUN	339 (487)	128	211	3,318	10.2	2,754	12.3	612	1,591	
CHARLESTON	13,727 (13,976)	9,463	4,264	35,499	38.7	64,037	21.4	14,564	32,509	13,975 (3/65)
CHEROKEE	1,362 (1,438)	890	472	3,360	40.5	15,607	8.7	4,258	3,627	