

CHAPTER 11

CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS: GEORGE WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT

By early May of 1964, the filibuster of the civil rights bill had degenerated into a stalemate. As the Southerners talked on and on, the Senate floor became a place of monumental inaction and stupefying boredom. The attention of the nation, and the national press, slowly began to turn elsewhere.

So Clark Schooler was not surprised one morning when he heard a voice say to him: "Get up to Baltimore and get up there fast! George Wallace is getting hotter than a firecracker on the Fourth of July."

President Lyndon Johnson looked directly into Clark Schooler's eyes as he gave him that order. The two men were in the Oval Office at the White House. Johnson was sitting behind his large wooden office desk. Clark was seated on a chair in front of the desk.

"Wallace almost beat me in Wisconsin and Indiana," Lyndon Johnson roared on. "Now he's running for president in Maryland and the polls show he just might win there. It's up to you, Clark Schooler, to stop George Wallace in Maryland and save the civil rights bill."

At that moment, Clark turned in his chair to watch the three television sets that lined one side of the Oval Office. Each set was tuned to one of the three major TV networks. Alabama Governor George Wallace was pictured on all three TV screens. It was the same George Wallace who had threatened to "bar the school house door" rather than racially integrate the University of Alabama.⁷³

Governor Wallace was standing behind a portable wooden podium set up on the front steps of the Maryland state capitol in Annapolis, Maryland. Wallace was announcing his candidacy in the upcoming Democratic presidential primary in Maryland. He was challenging President Johnson, the

Democratic incumbent. Wallace shook his fist in the air as he spoke.

“I stand here in the great Border State of Maryland,” Wallace orated. “I speak for every white Marylander who believes in the right to associate with whomever you please. I call on every white Marylander to join me in opposing President Johnson's civil rights bill. I call on white Marylanders to vote for George Wallace for president and send Lyndon Johnson a message he'll never forget.”⁷⁴

“And,” Wallace added with a grin on his face, “I don't care if they do send Clark Schooler up to Baltimore to help out. I'm still going to win Maryland!”

At that moment, Clark Schooler awoke with a start. He was not in the Oval Office with President Johnson. He was alone in his own bed in his house on Sixth Street Southeast on Capitol Hill. It had all been a dream.

But George Wallace running for president was not a dream. Early in 1964, the Alabama governor had announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president of the United States. Wallace said he would run against President Johnson and campaign on the issue of all-out opposition to racial integration.

Clark Schooler knew George Wallace from having reported on Wallace's famous attempt to prevent racial desegregation at the University of Alabama. Wallace had been forced to back down, and the university had been integrated by a U.S. court order. But Wallace had emerged from the confrontation as the hero of Southern segregation. He had successfully turned himself into a national symbol of opposition to black civil rights.

Wallace's strategy was to try to win presidential primary elections outside the old South. He therefore filed in the Democratic presidential primaries in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland.

What would happen if Wallace won one of those three primaries? Civil rights leaders feared that their plans for beating the filibuster would be seriously damaged. Word leaked out of the White House that President Johnson himself told close associates that a Wallace victory would “stiffen the Southerners and their will to keep on fighting the civil rights bill.”⁷⁵

Lyndon Johnson thought that, after a Wallace primary victory or two, the pro-civil rights forces in the Senate might begin to fall apart.

President Johnson refused to permit open season on his presidential administration by campaigning against George Wallace himself. Johnson quickly recruited “favorite son” candidates to run in his place in each of the three states. In Wisconsin, the Johnson stand-in was Democratic Governor John W. Reynolds. In Indiana, Johnson was replaced on the ballot by Democratic Governor Matthew Welsh. In Maryland, the man chosen to run in President Johnson's stead was Democratic U.S. Senator Daniel Brewster.

Things had gone well enough for the Johnson forces in Wisconsin. Governor Reynolds won the primary and guaranteed all of Wisconsin's delegate votes at the upcoming Democratic National Convention for President Johnson. But George Wallace polled more than 264,000 votes in Wisconsin, many more than the news media had predicted he would get in a Northern state. Suddenly George Wallace was winning the "expectations game." Wallace had lost the primary, but he did better than expected. In the eyes of the press, that made him a "winner." Clark Schooler read a typical report in *Time* magazine:

"The real issue in the primary was civil rights. Wallace had entered the Wisconsin primary to demonstrate that many Northern, as well as Southern, whites are unhappy about current civil rights trends. And he demonstrated that dramatically."⁷⁶

The outcome was much the same in Indiana. Governor Welsh defeated George Wallace by a margin of more than two-to-one, but the newspaper and television commentators focused all their attention on the 170,146 votes that George Wallace polled. Skillfully exploiting the advantage created by the news media's playing of the expectations game, Wallace claimed his second place finish in Indiana was a victory.

"Our campaign for states' rights won," Wallace told the press on primary night in Indiana. "We began by shaking the eyeteeth of all those Northern liberals in Wisconsin. The noises you hear tonight are the eyeteeth falling out of all the Northern liberals in Indiana."⁷⁷

Suddenly, national press attention shifted to Maryland's Democratic presidential primary scheduled for mid-May of 1964. It would be George Wallace's last chance to try to win a presidential primary held in the North or a Border State.

And the civil rights forces were genuinely frightened that Wallace just might win Maryland. Here was a state that had not seceded from the Union during the Civil War, but it was a former slave state and located south of the Mason-Dixon line, the traditional boundary between Northern freedom and Southern slavery. George Wallace had polled more than 30 percent of the vote in Wisconsin and Indiana, both of them Northern states that were steadfastly loyal to the Union during the Civil War. It was not inconceivable that Wallace could poll 50 percent or more in a former slave state such as Maryland.

Clark Schooler's unnerving dream about George Wallace and Lyndon Johnson had been accurate in one respect. He had been asked to go up to Baltimore and help out in the campaign to defeat George Wallace in Maryland. Only the order had not come directly from President Johnson. It was Evan Harris, Senator Kuchel's chief of staff, who sat Clark down and told

him the best thing he could do for the civil rights bill was to go back to his home state and work against Wallace.

“With the Senate tied in knots by the filibuster,” Evan Harris explained, “we can do without you here in Washington for two weeks or so. Don't ask me, Clark, how the White House found out you know a lot about Maryland politics? But they did find out. They've been after me all week to get you up there as quickly as possible. Please leave for Baltimore first thing tomorrow morning. The rest of the staff can keep up with the legislative mail while you're gone.”

Clark shook off his dream about President Johnson and Governor Wallace and ate breakfast. He grabbed his bags, which he had packed the night before, and said a temporary goodbye to his two house mates, Greg Netherton and Carl Brimmer. He got into his 1951 Ford hardtop convertible and pointed the hood ornament toward Baltimore.

Less than an hour later, Clark and his 1951 Ford were rolling down Redwood Street in downtown Baltimore. Clark found a place to park his car close to the Emerson Hotel. U.S. Senator Daniel Brewster placed the headquarters for his 1964 campaign against Alabama Governor George Wallace in a suite of rooms at the Emerson.

“Brewster for President,” blared the sign above the marquee at the Emerson Hotel. But no one was fooled. Everyone knew that a vote for “Brewster for President” was in reality a vote for “Lyndon Johnson for President.”

But Clark did not immediately go into the Emerson Hotel. Instead, he stepped into Bickford's, a small and inexpensive restaurant across the street from the Emerson.

Bickford's was only a block or so from Baltimore City Hall and just a few blocks from the Maryland court building and the U.S. court building. Bickford's thus was the unofficial hangout of Democratic politicians in Baltimore city. Because so many important decisions in Maryland politics were made over a chicken salad sandwich in a booth at Bickford's, the place was nicknamed “10 Downing Street,” the address of the residence of the British prime minister in London.

Clark had arranged to meet with Albert Kurdle, a childhood friend. Al Kurdle had lived over the back fence from Clark Schooler when the two of them were growing up in Baltimore. Clark always referred to Albert as “the friend of my youth.” The two boys had struggled through puberty together, often going on double dates and, at different times of course, often dating the same girls.

Al Kurdle's family owned a major share of Quality Meats, a well-known local meat packing plant in Baltimore. It was traditional that young

scions in the Kurdle family work their way up in the business before assuming executive positions in middle age. Al Kurdle thus was working at Quality Meats as a route salesman, calling and visiting store owners and store managers and taking their orders for a wide range of Quality meat products. Clark Schooler thus often kidded Albert by calling him a “hot dog salesman.”

But there was a serious side to Albert Kurdle's profession that made him unusually valuable to Clark. Al Kurdle had a job in which he met the public and traveled around the city of Baltimore. Al Kurdle always knew the latest jokes that were being told. He also knew “the word on the street” about the latest goings-on in Maryland politics.

And Albert was not just sociable with white people. He had a real knack for talking to and gaining the friendship of black people. In the early 1960s, it was fashionable for youthful whites to go out dancing and listen to jazz music at the various African-American night clubs in Baltimore. But there was a grossly unfair double standard in effect. Young white couples could go on a date to a black night club and be properly, if not warmly, received. But black couples were not permitted to go to white night clubs. Black couples would be turned away firmly, and sometimes impolitely, at the outside doorway to a white night club.

Clark Schooler and Albert Kurdle often went to black night clubs when on a double date. Young white women found it exciting, almost sort of dangerous, to go to a black night club in Baltimore in the early 1960s. Adding to the thrill was the almost certain fact that the parents of the young white women would strongly disapprove of such behavior if the parents ever found out about it.

It was while at black night clubs that Clark Schooler discovered he was almost jealous of Al Kurdle's ability to get along with black people. Albert always seemed to know exactly what to say and how to say it. It appeared to Clark that, with no more than an “I'm hip” here and an “I'm cool, daddy” there, Al Kurdle could wipe away the subtle, unpleasant tension that often characterized relationships between white people and black people.

As Clark had arranged to do, he met Albert in Bickford's. The two young men sat down in a booth and ordered an early lunch. Clark began the conversation. “Can you believe,” Clark said, “that the poor voters of Maryland are going to have to suffer through a Democratic presidential primary involving George Wallace and his fierce anti-black rhetoric?”

“Too bad,” Albert replied. “It's further proof that there are infinite varieties of the human experience.”

The “infinite varieties” saying was one that Clark had heard from Albert many times before. Clark had no idea where his friend had gotten it.

But whenever Clark told Albert a sad story in which something really bad happened to someone, Albert would inevitably turn to his “infinite varieties of the human experience” line.

“Human beings have lived every conceivable type of life and existed under every conceivable circumstance,” Al Kurdle told Clark. “Now it's our turn to undergo that peculiar variety of the human experience known as ‘George Wallace for President.’”

Clark decided to get right down to business. He asked: “What's the word on Wallace and Brewster?”

“The word is that Wallace will probably win the primary,” Al Kurdle said matter-of-factly. “The thinking starts with the Eastern Shore of Maryland, on the east side of the Chesapeake Bay, and with Southern Maryland, south of Baltimore city. Those are rural farming areas which, prior to the Civil War, had large numbers of plantations and large numbers of black slaves to work those plantations. That's going to be Wallace country for sure.”

Clark decided to launch a counter argument. “But those votes will be offset by Western Maryland,” Clark said. “That's Appalachian mountain country up there. They never had any plantations or very many slaves. Senator Brewster should win up there. A big Brewster vote in Western Maryland will offset the Wallace vote on the Eastern Shore and in Southern Maryland.”

“Good thinking,” Albert replied. “But the real problem for Senator Brewster is going to be Baltimore city. The Democratic political bosses are all officially supporting Brewster. But in private, those same bosses are telling everyone that the white working-class voters of Baltimore are going to vote for Wallace. There's a real possibility that, this time out, the Democratic faithful in Baltimore are not going to follow the instructions of their Democratic leaders.”

Clark pondered that disturbing thought for a moment. “We call it white backlash,” Clark said. “In the central city, it's the white working class that works and lives close to the black neighborhoods. These lower middle-class white voters think black gains are going to cost them personally. Above all, they are frightened that equal employment opportunity will take away their jobs and give those jobs to black workers. George Wallace proved particularly adept at winning white backlash votes in Wisconsin and Indiana.”

Depressed over the thought of Baltimore city's white voters going for Wallace, Clark decided to change the subject. He asked Albert: “What's the situation out in the suburbs?”

“Nobody talks about them very much,” Albert said. “I think most people assume that the suburbs are filled with white people and therefore

Wallace will do reasonably well out there. That's why the word is that Wallace will win this election. Everywhere you go in Baltimore city, everyone is saying that Wallace has it won!"

Clark's lunch with Al Kurdle had been both disturbing and valuable. No wonder, Clark thought, that Lyndon Johnson was recruiting anyone who knew anything about Maryland politics to go to the aid of Senator Brewster. The situation was looking dire for Brewster. That meant the situation was looking dire for Lyndon Johnson. And for the civil rights bill.

Once inside the Emerson Hotel, Clark found his way to the set of meeting rooms that had been turned into "Brewster For President" headquarters. The people there were expecting Clark. Early that afternoon, Clark was invited to attend a campaign staff meeting presided over by Senator Daniel Brewster himself. The purpose of the meeting was to whip up the staff for a major "Brewster for President" rally that was to be held that evening in Baltimore city.

Danny Brewster, as he was called by those who knew him well, was the first speaker at the meeting. He began his talk by taking his listeners into his confidence.

"Let's be honest about it," Brewster said. "I was not Lyndon Johnson's first choice to be his stand-in candidate to run against George Wallace here in Maryland. President Johnson's first choice was my good friend, J. Millard Tawes, the Democratic governor of Maryland."

"Tawes is probably the most popular and most successful Democrat in Maryland politics," Brewster went on, "but Tawes turned the president down. Turned him down flat. And then Tawes let it be known that he didn't think that maybe Wallace could be beaten in Maryland. 'Beating Wallace is not a cinch,' Tawes said. 'And it's not our fight,' Tawes said. Tawes thought Lyndon Johnson should run against Wallace himself and not make some poor Maryland politician take the heat in Johnson's behalf."

"But I saw that the eyes of the nation were on Maryland," Brewster said, his voice gaining a tone of commitment and enthusiasm. "I saw that there had to be a political leader who would step forward to save Maryland from the disgrace of being the only state outside the secessionist South to give its convention delegate votes to George Wallace. I knew that there had to be a man from Maryland who would have the courage to stand up and turn back Wallace in his final drive for votes in the North."

"When no one else would do it," Brewster said, "I decided to do it. Because the job of beating George Wallace in Maryland is a job that must be done."⁷⁸

It was a great pep talk. Brewster and his staff set out for that evening's "Brewster for President" rally with spirits high and all flags flying.

Clark Schooler had watched, with a political scientist's trained eye, the swift development of Daniel Brewster's political career in Maryland. Danny grew up in Baltimore County. That was the populous county to the north of Baltimore city that contained some of Baltimore's most upwardly mobile suburbs.

Danny Brewster was a member of the so-called horsey set, a group of people with large homes with a stable for the family horses. For amusement, these people often ran steeplechase races, galloping over the countryside on horseback and jumping wooden fences and low stone walls. Because of the resemblance of these horse races to English fox hunting, Danny Brewster's part of Baltimore County often was referred to as "Hunt Country."

In the manner of English nobility, Danny Brewster was "born" to a career as a Maryland politician. Due to his family's prominence in Baltimore County affairs, Brewster was elected to the Maryland state legislature in his late twenties. It was Clark Schooler's opinion that Danny Brewster had been sent to the state legislature the way other people's children were sent to summer camp. Before anyone knew it, Danny Brewster had been elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and, shortly thereafter, to the United States Senate. To most observers, Clark included, Danny Brewster was the "Golden Boy" of Democratic politics in Maryland.

The Fifth Regiment Armory was a favorite location for Democratic Party political rallies in Baltimore city. Located just to the north of downtown Baltimore off Howard Street, the building could hold the large crowds of people that turned out for Democratic rallies in such a Democratic city. More important, the Fifth Regiment Armory was reasonably handy to the urban, white, working-class neighborhoods that housed the most loyal members of Baltimore's Democratic Party political machines.

Clark Schooler arrived at the Fifth Regiment Armory early for the "Brewster for President" rally. He watched the individual attendees as they poured into the building and took their seats. Clark noticed two things that disturbed him. The first was that the crowd was composed almost entirely of white people. A number of African-Americans had come to show their support for Brewster, but they were few and far between. Given the large African-American population in Baltimore city, and given George Wallace's pro-segregation viewpoint, Clark thought that many more black people should have shown up at the rally.

The second thing that disturbed Clark was that many of the people were bringing signs to wave at the rally but were keeping what was painted on the signs hidden from view. In some cases the text of the sign was covered with brown paper, which could be ripped off once the rally began. In other cases, the entire sign was hidden in a large paper bag with just the handle

sticking out.

The rally began with a band playing and the crowd singing the Star Spangled Banner. The words to the national anthem had been written in Baltimore, by Francis Scott Key, during the shelling of Fort McHenry in the War of 1812. Clark was extra emotional about the Star Spangled Banner just because of its direct relationship to his hometown.

The Fifth Regiment Armory contained a raised stage from which speakers could address the audience. A microphone and a podium were placed at the center of the stage. A bank of footlights illuminated the speakers as they came on to the stage to participate in the ceremonies.

The opening speaker at the rally was U.S. Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin, a prominent liberal in the Senate and a strong supporter of civil rights. Proxmire was one of a number of U.S. senators who had agreed to come over to Maryland and help draw crowds to "Brewster For President" rallies. Clark was looking forward to hearing what Senator Proxmire would have to say.

The senator from Wisconsin was about five minutes into his speech when a man in the audience stood up on his chair and yelled "Cadillac pink!" That particular slur implied that Senator Proxmire, and by implication Senator Brewster, was a wealthy Communist sympathizer. Opponents of racial integration often accused strong supporters of civil rights of being Communist revolutionaries in disguise.

Whether it was purposefully intended or not, the words "Cadillac Pink" set off a round of boos and catcalls from the audience. Another man jumped up on his chair and shouted "Race-mixing socialist!" Suddenly, almost the entire audience was on its feet, raising a ruckus and screaming racial epithets at Senator Proxmire.

And then the signs came out. Brown paper coverings were ripped away. Signs were pulled out of their paper bags. Some of the signs were "Wallace For President" banners. Others were homemade affairs emblazoned with the famous racist slogan: "Two-Four-Six-Eight; We Ain't Going To Integrate!" One sign close to Clark read: "Senator Proxmire: Maryland Does Not Want Or Need Advice From Wisconsin."

A member of Senator Brewster's campaign staff came to Clark Schooler and asked him to help get the few African-American attendees safely out of the rally. The almost all-white audience had not turned on the few blacks in its midst, at least not yet. Some of the more militant blacks did not want to leave, but the Brewster staffers prevailed on them "to get out while the getting was good." The Brewster forces had completely lost control of the rally and did not know what was going to happen next.

One section of the audience seemed to be particularly noisy and yelling

very offensive racial slurs. Clark later learned that this was an official George Wallace “jeering squad.” These people made it a point to go to Brewster rallies, sit together in one section, and jeer rather than cheer for Danny Brewster. On this particular night, however, the entire hall seemed to have turned into a pro-Wallace jeering squad.

Senator Proxmire of Wisconsin was absolutely dwarfed by the pro-Wallace roar. His efforts to quiet the audience proved completely futile. He slowly drifted off the stage.

By this time, Clark Schooler was standing out of sight of the audience at the left side of the stage. He was watching in amazement. He had never in his life heard or felt the deep hatred that was coming across the footlights from this particular group of people.

Senator Brewster also was standing at the left side of the stage. He was furious at what was happening. Over the din, he shouted to a group of his campaign advisers standing near by:

“What’s happened to my popularity? Just two years ago, in 1962, I was elected to the U.S. Senate by one of the largest vote margins in Maryland political history. Where has all that support gone?”

Brewster was bewildered as well as angry. “I’ve never been booed or razzed before in my entire political career,” he raged. “Until tonight, people have always treated me with respect.”⁷⁹

Clark Schooler shouted back:

“This is a racial fight. All the rules are changed.”

In a last ditch effort to save the rally, the band was ordered to play some patriotic march music as loudly as possible. After a few minutes of “Stars and Stripes Forever,” Daniel Brewster himself stepped on to the stage to try to quiet the crowd. But it was no use. The catcalls and jeering and insults and racial slurs were even louder than when Senator Proxmire had tried to speak.

As Senator Brewster and Senator Proxmire hurried away from the rally, which had been a total failure, all Clark could think of were the words he had spontaneously yelled at Senator Brewster:

“This is a racial fight. All the rules are changed.”

Clark Schooler and Al Kurdle were enjoying another lunch at 10 Downing Street, also known as Bickford’s.

“It was incredible,” Clark said as he described the “Brewster For President” rally the previous Saturday night. “The audience absolutely refused to let Senator Brewster or Senator Proxmire speak.”

“There’s no accounting for taste,” Albert replied. “Some people even like Schultz’s!”

Here was another favorite Al Kurdle line. It referred to the fact that

different people liked different things. In some cases, people preferred inferior products to what most other people thought were superior products. As for Schultz's, that was a rival meat packing plant in Baltimore which was the principal local competitor with Quality Meats. Al Kurdle and all the rest of the people at Quality Meats had to face the fact that some people actually liked Schultz's meats better than Quality meats.

"George Wallace has his supporters in Maryland," Albert said with an air of finality, "and there's not much you and Danny Brewster can do to stop them from voting for Wallace."

Later that day, Clark attended an emergency meeting of the "Brewster for President" campaign staff. Most of the staffers were in a quandary, not knowing what to do to stop Governor Wallace's growing momentum in the Maryland presidential primary. The one person who did have some advice was Clark Schooler.

"You have to forget the traditional Democratic technique in Maryland of lining up political machine support in Baltimore city," Clark said. "The white working class is going to ignore the political bosses and vote for Wallace. That vote is gone. The sooner you forget about it the better."

"And stop having Senator Brewster give speeches in Baltimore city," Clark lectured on. "They're all going to end the way Saturday night ended. Everyone will be cheering for Wallace and jeering Danny Brewster."

"The way to win this election," Clark said, "is to unite the black vote in Baltimore city with the upper middle class white suburban vote in the Baltimore suburbs and the Washington, D.C., suburbs in Maryland. The best source of Brewster votes will be in Montgomery County, the most affluent part of Maryland's piece of the Washington suburbs."

Clark's mini-oration was stopped at that point. One of the older campaign staff members said: "Black voters in Baltimore city are famous for not bothering to vote. It is political legend that blacks are apathetic voters, particularly in presidential primaries. There are no black political machines to deliver black voters to the polls."

Clark had a ready response. "Have Senator Brewster campaign in the black churches in Baltimore," Clark said. "Those are the same churches where they have been holding civil rights meetings and organizing sit-in demonstrations. Put the black ministers of Baltimore to work on it. They can turn out a record black vote for Daniel Brewster."

"As for the Baltimore suburbs and the Washington suburbs in Maryland," Clark continued, "the best way to go after them is with advertising."

Clark was amazed at what he was saying and how forcefully he was saying it.

The Lyndon Johnson White House had arranged for a top Washington

campaign consultant to come up to Baltimore, just as Clark Schooler had, to write press releases and advertising materials for the Brewster campaign. The man composed what Clark thought was a pretty good advertising slogan: "Reject George Wallace's Invitation To Be Irresponsible." The slogan implied that anyone who voted for Wallace was not taking seriously the great civil rights crisis currently facing the United States.

"That slogan will not work in downtown Baltimore," Clark said when he first heard the slogan proposed. "But, effectively written into radio and television spot ads, it will go like gangbusters in the Baltimore suburbs and the Maryland suburbs north of Washington."

It was another lunchtime and Clark Schooler and Al Kurdle were once again at 10 Downing Street. "I keep pushing the 'black vote plus suburban white vote equals victory' line everywhere I go," Clark said to Albert. "I push it with every newspaper reporter and television reporter that interviews me. They've let me push it particularly hard on WJZ-TV, Channel 13, the ABC outlet here in Baltimore. Yesterday I told them: 'We're playing both ends against the middle. Low income blacks in Baltimore and high income whites in the suburbs against working-class whites.'"

Clark thought about the Wallace-Brewster race for a moment and then said with a touch of wonder in his voice: "A lot of people have praised me for identifying this potential 'blacks plus upscale suburban whites' voting combination. To me, it's the most obvious thing in the world."

Al Kurdle gave Clark one of his all-knowing looks. "In the land of the blind," Albert said, "the one-eyed man is King!"

A few days later, Clark Schooler was standing on Race Street in Cambridge, Maryland. This waterfront city on Maryland's Eastern Shore was famous for the fleet of large sail boats, the "last commercial sailing fleet in the world," which plied the Chesapeake Bay dredging for oysters. To preserve a dwindling supply of oysters, Maryland law required that oyster dredging be done only from slow moving sailing ships, not from high-speed power boats.

Ironically, the dividing line between the white community and the black community in Cambridge ran right down Race Street. On this particular occasion, more than 50 Maryland state police officers and 400 National Guard troops were posted on Race Street. They were facing toward the African-American section of town, with billy clubs, rifles, and tear gas at the ready.

Several blocks away, in the center of the white part of town, Alabama Governor George Wallace was giving a campaign speech in a volunteer firemen's hall. It was well known that Wallace was intentionally campaigning in cities like Cambridge, where there was a strong tradition of racial

segregation and bitter white resistance to racial integration. Wallace had come to Cambridge, Clark opined, in hopes of tempting the racially sensitive black population there to do something about Wallace's visit, preferably something violent.

Clark had attended the first part of Governor Wallace's speech. Wallace described how some civil rights demonstrators had recently protested by lying down in the street and stopping automobile traffic in front of restaurants and snack bars that refused to serve African-Americans. "If any of those civil rights protesters try to lie down in front of my car," Wallace told a wildly cheering white audience, "you can believe that will be the last thing those protesters ever do."⁸⁰

Clark had drawn opposition duty for this particular event. The Brewster forces sent campaign staffers to Wallace speeches and rallies in Maryland, just to keep an eye on what was going on and to quickly report important developments back to campaign headquarters. Suspecting that the more interesting action was going to be on the streets of Cambridge that night, Clark left the Wallace speech early and proceeded to Race Street. Clark took up a position from which to watch the action at the corner of Race Street and the main street of the city.

"Here they come," one of the state troopers yelled. Clark looked into the distance. Several blocks away he could see a band of civil rights demonstrators coming down the street. They were singing the anthem of the civil rights movement, "We Shall Overcome." The group was mostly black, but there were some white faces visible. Block by block, the group advanced on the state police and the National Guard.

Clark felt his heart start to beat faster and his body perspire, even though it was a cool spring evening. It was much the same feeling he had two years earlier, in 1962, when he was a newspaper reporter covering the riot at Ole Miss.

When the civil rights marchers were one block away, they broke ranks. A few voices were heard yelling: "Keep it nonviolent!" "Don't hurt anyone!" But those voices were quickly drowned out by more animalistic yells, screams, threats, and epithets. The black crowd threw rocks, bottles, and anything else it could find at the police officers and soldiers who stood between them and the Wallace rally.

The state police and the National Guard responded with tear gas and billy clubs. Anyone who made the mistake of trying to cross Race Street into the white part of town was either gassed or whacked over the head with a billy club. Suddenly paddy wagons were pulling up and carrying off to jail those demonstrators who were captured and arrested.

At the height of the riot, which was quite bitter and violent, Clark

realized he was at Ole Miss in reverse. At the University of Mississippi, white segregationists had gone out of control and attacked the immediate authority symbol of U.S. marshals. At Cambridge, Maryland, it was black civil rights protesters who were defying the law in the form of the state police and the National Guard.

Clark moved far enough back from Race Street to watch the bricks flying and the tear gas blowing without being in any danger himself. The police and National Guard line held tight. The demonstrators were thrown back. But it was a long night for the authorities. Random attacks, with a brick thrown here and a firebomb tossed there, continued long after Governor Wallace had finished his speech and left town.

But Wallace got what he wanted. As election day neared, Maryland voters and the rest of the nation watched saturation television coverage of the African-American rioting in Cambridge. The Brewster campaign responded with more Get-Out-The-Vote meetings in African-American churches in Baltimore city, and more radio and television ads beamed at the Baltimore suburbs and the Maryland suburbs of Washington.

Maryland was quiet by election day in mid-May of 1964. When all the votes were counted, Senator Daniel Brewster defeated Governor George Wallace by 57 percent to 43 percent. But Wallace did much better in Maryland than he did in Indiana and Wisconsin, where he received 30 percent and 34 percent of the vote respectively.

George Wallace immediately claimed his 43 percent of the vote was a victory. Speaking to his supporters at an election night rally, Wallace looked at the crowd and the television cameras and said:

“Everyone knows we won tonight. We had against us the national Democratic Party. We had against us the Democratic organization here in Maryland. Yet, in spite of all that opposition, Maryland voters have given me a vote that represents the philosophy of state's rights, local government, and individual liberty.”

Later, talking to individual reporters, Wallace gave a more frank analysis:

“Look here. If it hadn't been for the black bloc vote, I'd have won it all. I got a majority of the white vote.”⁸¹

Wallace was right when he claimed that he had won the white vote in Maryland, Clark realized. But, when giving election night interviews as a spokesman for the Brewster campaign, Clark hammered away on a familiar theme. “A winning combo of black votes in Baltimore city,” Clark said, “was added to upper income white votes in the Maryland suburbs. That combination produced a clear majority for civil rights.”

Clark made that statement to any reporter who would listen and during

a number of television interviews. Clark would add: "This election proved that, in Northern and Border States where large numbers of black Americans have the right to vote, being against civil rights is a losing proposition."

Senator Brewster was jubilant. "There is no substitute for victory," he told the news media on primary election night. "We will go to the Democratic National Convention, and Maryland will stand up and cast its convention votes for President Johnson."⁸²

The next morning, Clark Schooler and Albert Kurdle met for a late breakfast at Bickford's. Clark was exultant and almost giddy over the big election victory from the day before. "This is significant," Clark said with great enthusiasm. "The civil rights forces in the U.S. Senate would be absolutely blasted this morning if George Wallace had won Maryland."

"I have to give you guys credit," Al Kurdle replied. "I wouldn't have bet two cents on your chances of beating Wallace two weeks ago. And almost all the guys I talk to around town would have agreed with me on that point. You really turned it around."

"I think," Clark said, "that working in the Brewster campaign against George Wallace may end up being one of the most significant and important things I ever do in my life."

Albert Kurdle looked at Clark with that all-knowing look that Albert saved for those times when he made major pronouncements on the nature of humanity and the universe in which humans dwell.

"You have a right to say that," Albert pontificated. "After all, your life means what you say it means."

All the shouting and vote counting was over. Clark Schooler got into his 1951 Ford hardtop convertible and headed back to Washington, D.C. Clark was enthusiastic. Governor Wallace had been defeated in Maryland. That ended once and for all the dream of the Southern filibusterers in the Senate that Wallace would win Maryland and unleash a national groundswell of opposition to the civil rights bill.

When Clark Schooler returned to Senator Kuchel's office following the Democratic presidential primary in Maryland, Evan Harris, Kuchel's chief of staff, had some instructions for Clark. "If anyone from the press calls you about the Maryland presidential primary," Harris said, "I want you to do some shaping of the news. I want you to offer an explanation for why Wallace got such a high percentage of the vote, 43 percent, in Maryland. The explanation I want you to give is that Senator Brewster was not a very strong candidate and proved to be a poor campaigner."

"That's not true," Clark answered vehemently. "Senator Brewster busted his . . . uh . . . tail to win that election. He was willing to run when no one else in Maryland would take the risk and make the fight. In my

opinion, he was a true champion. He was a lion in the fight. As we used to say at the campaign headquarters in Baltimore, Dan Brewster was the only Saint George willing to draw his sword and take on the segregation-breathing dragon of Alabama Governor George Wallace.”

Evan Harris spoke in such a way as to quiet Clark down. “You know that’s true, and I know that’s true,” Harris said. “But we can’t have the general public thinking that 43 percent of the voters in a Border State like Maryland really wanted George Wallace and his anti-segregation viewpoint for president. We’ve got to have another explanation for Wallace’s strong showing. And the one we’re using is that Dan Brewster wasn’t as strong a candidate as he might have been.”

Clark remained agitated. “That’s not shaping the news,” Clark said. “That’s changing history.”

“Nonetheless,” Evan Harris replied, “we can’t let Governor Wallace continue to portray his vote in Maryland as a victory. If we let Wallace get away with that, the Southerners filibustering the civil rights bill will build on that point. The filibuster will last all summer and into the fall. We can’t let that happen.”

“Who is this ‘we’ that wants me to take this ‘trash Brewster’ line,” Clark said, starting to get himself under control.

“It’s the White House,” Evan Harris said. “They believe they have to totally discredit George Wallace if we’re ever going to get cloture on the civil rights bill.”

Again, Clark thought, it was the total political picture. He had to downplay Brewster’s abilities as a candidate in order to weaken Governor Wallace. And Clark had to do that in order to help the civil rights bill.

Clark did as he was told. Three different reporters called him who were doing postmortem stories on the Maryland presidential primary. Clark said that Danny Brewster was not as powerful a speaker as he might have been, particularly when facing a bombastic demagogue such as George Wallace. And Clark hinted that Brewster’s aristocratic upbringing among the “horsey set” limited his ability to appeal to working-class white voters.

Clark believed that both points had some truth to them. He was not outright lying to the press. But he believed it was grossly unfair to Senator Brewster to emphasize only those two points.

So Clark tried to divert the reporters by offering the Basement Playroom Theory of presidential primaries. “Presidential primaries don’t elect anyone to office,” Clark volunteered to the reporters who called him. “Presidential primaries offer a safe environment in which disgruntled voters can cast a negative vote and not have to worry that the person they are voting for will necessarily be elected president of the United States.”

“A lot of Maryland voters went down into the basement playroom and had a wonderful romp with George Wallace,” Clark explained. “Those voters had a great time supporting Wallace and voting for him. But when the general election rolls around in November, those same voters will come out of the basement playroom and go up to the living room. Once there, in an election that actually chooses the president, they will cast a serious and sensible vote for either the Democratic or Republican candidate.”

Clark's diverting stratagem was moderately successful. Two of the three reporters picked up on the Basement Playroom Theory. Their stories attributed Wallace's strong showing to Maryland voters casting a meaningless protest vote rather than Senator Brewster's weaknesses as a candidate.

One way to manipulate the press, Clark thought, is to overload inquisitive reporters with lots of extraneous facts. Doing it that way, the reporters just might overlook and fail to write about the one or two facts you would rather not see in the newspapers or on television news.

In The Interim

The presidential nominating system is the most rapidly changing part of the electoral process in the United States. In the 1960s, barely ten states held Democratic and Republican presidential primaries. At that time, most of the delegates to the national conventions were selected in state party caucuses and conventions. This caucuses/conventions nominating system was dominated by powerful political bosses or influential state governors.

In the early 1970s, in an effort to increase voter participation in the presidential selection process, a large number of states adopted presidential primaries. By the 1976 presidential election, about 3/4 of the states were holding presidential primaries. Winning a major party nomination for president thus became a matter of winning presidential primaries rather than electing delegates at state party caucuses and conventions.

This led to the phenomenon of momentum, often referred to as the “Big Mo.” Presidential candidates who won the early presidential primaries tended to win subsequent presidential primaries. This was due to all the national publicity and news coverage that was showered on candidates who were victorious in early primaries.

Throughout the last half of the Twentieth Century, the state of New Hampshire jealously guarded its favored position of hosting the first presidential primary for both the Democratic and Republican parties. The New Hampshire primary emerged as both the first stop, and the most important stop, on the presidential primary trail. Candidates campaigned early and hard in New Hampshire in hopes of jump starting their presidential cam-

paigns with a big New Hampshire victory.

As more and more states realized the importance of holding an early presidential primary, a process known as front-loading came to be. States began scheduling their presidential primaries at earlier and earlier dates, thereby hoping to have a more significant impact on the presidential primary race. The final result was large numbers of states holding early primaries, many of the primaries held on the same day. These big early presidential primary election days, with many states voting at the same time, became known as mega-Tuesdays.

Front-loading and mega-Tuesdays quickly led to early closure. This was the fact that, if a presidential candidate won a small number of early primaries, about eight or ten or so, the race was "closed." The early front runner was declared the presumptive party nominee for president. As for those states that held presidential primaries after early closure occurred, their primaries were irrelevant to the presidential nominating process.

The schedule of presidential primaries continues to change in the 2000s. Every four years, the states jockey with one another to be among the first to vote and thus hold a relevant presidential primary.

Many observers argue that the presidential nominating process in the United States needs to be reformed. One suggestion is to hold national presidential primaries, one for the Democrats and one for the Republicans, in which voters throughout the nation vote for their choice on a national primary election day.

A variation of this plan calls for two presidential primary election days in each political party. In the first primary, all the party candidates for president would run against each other. On the second primary day, about two weeks later, the top two vote-getters in the first primary would run off against each other. The winner would be that political party's nominee for president.

Another suggested reform is called Small States First, Large States Last. Under this plan, there would be five presidential primary election days. The primary days would be scheduled two weeks apart. Only states with small populations would be allowed to vote on the early primary days. States with large populations would vote on the later primary days. The assumption of this plan is that, with the states with large populations voting last, no single candidate would win enough support to be declared the winner until the final presidential primary day.

Despite all the changes in recent years, one thing is still definitely true about presidential primaries, such as the Lyndon Johnson-George Wallace contest of 1964. Presidential primaries provide some of the most colorful, hard fought, and exciting elections in the American political process.

73. For a detailed description of U.S. Government efforts to integrate the University of Alabama, see Dorman, *We Shall Overcome*, ch. IX, "Tuscaloosa," pp. 270-334.
74. Recollection of the author.
75. Lyndon Baines Johnson, *The Vantage Point: Perspectives On The Presidency 1963-1969* (New York, NY: Popular Library, 1971), p. 159.
76. *Time*, April 17, 1964, p. 37.
77. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, May 8, 1964, p. 905.
78. Daniel B. Brewster, interview by the author, August 1982, Glyndon, Maryland. Also see Robert D. Loevy, *To End All Segregation: The Politics of the Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964* (Lanham, MD: University Press of American, 1990), pp.216-223, 261-266.
79. Daniel B. Brewster, interview by the author, August 1982, Glyndon, Maryland.
80. Recollection of the author.
81. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, May 22, 1964, pp. 1000-1001.
82. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, May 22, 1964, p. 1001.