Summary
"No movement characterized Florida's political and social life in the 1960s as much as did civil rights for the state's long-neglected and much-abused African-American population," writes Michael Gannon in Florida: A Short History. Emboldened by various legal successes against segregation in the preceding years, such as the Tallahassee bus boycott of 1956 and the desegregation of Dade County schools in 1959 and 1960, the state's African-American citizens became more aggressive in pursuing equality and integration in all aspects of life. This irresistible force for change collided with the immovable traditions of Jim Crow during 1963 in St. Augustine, as the city was preparing for its 400th anniversary of settlement. The "Ancient City" soon found itself in the national spotlight as outsiders from both camps, as well as members of the national media, descended on this quaint and peaceful town of 20,000.

Objectives
Students will:
1.) examine the Florida Legislative Investigative Committee's report on the details of the events in St. Augustine in 1963 and 1964;
2.) understand why the Legislative Investigative Committee was established, and how that may have influenced the findings in their report;
3.) discuss the role Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., played in the St. Augustine demonstrations, in light of the Investigative Committee's report;
4.) appreciate how events in St. Augustine from 1963-64 led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

U.S. History Event
This lesson could be implemented during any unit on the Civil Right Movement of the 1960s, and especially the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. In order to understand how the spread of McCarthyism caused the formation of the Florida Legislative Investigative Committee, students will need to have covered the 1950s and the Red Scare before this lesson.

Grade Level
This lesson can be used in the middle or high school classroom (Note: due to the nature of the reading included in this lesson, you may want to place students in mixed-ability reading pairs).

Materials
Overhead Transparency F-7-1, copies of the reading passages for each student (Introduction & Part I; Part II; Part III; and Part IV & the Conclusion), discussion questions, and a copy of "Another View" and the corresponding discussion questions.

Lesson Time
Two class periods, or one block period.
Procedures
1.) As students enter the classroom, have Overhead Transparency F-7-1 (found in the “Activities” section) projected in the front of the room. Instruct students to view the pictures and answer the discussion questions at the bottom of the transparency (Note: you may want to make copies of the transparency master copy included with this lesson instead to allow each student to see the images more closely).

2.) After allowing sufficient time to answer the discussion questions (5-7 minutes), lead a discussion of the images of segregation shown on Overhead Transparency F-7-1. Lead the students to the conclusion that segregation allowed for no almost no casual mingling of the races by forcing blacks to remain isolated from whites in every aspect of life, whether it was going to the theater, waiting for the local bus, going to the beach, or even going to school.

3.) Explain to students that today they will learn about how events in St. Augustine in the summer of 1964 helped to end legal segregation throughout the nation by influencing the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Pass out the reading passages and discussion questions to each student (you may want to place students in mixed-ability pairs for the reading passages). Tell your class that they will be reading portions of the actual report written by the Florida Legislative Investigative Committee in the months following the events described by the report. Important: In order for your students to fully understand the biased nature of the report, they will need to know that the FLIC was formed in 1956 as a McCarthy-esque attempt to combat the infiltration of Communists in Florida during the Red Scare. The Committee saw Communism everywhere people questioned the workings of government and the status quo. One of the main targets of the FLIC was the NAACP and the supporters of desegregation.

4.) As your students read the assigned passages, make sure they understand that, while not appropriate today, words used to identify black people in the 1960s included “colored” and “Negro.” These words were used as by leading proponents of the Civil Rights Movement and by the staunchest segregationists. This could lead to a lively discussion on how the mores of acceptable language have changed through the years, so be careful.

5.) When reading Part IV, you may wish to show your students the following video clip from http://www.floridamemory.com/OnlineClassroom/VideoFilm/video.cfm?VID=23, a 40-second segment of actual footage from the beaches of St. Augustine on June 25, 1964.

6.) After reading the passages and answering the discussion questions, you may assign the reading of “Another View: The St. Augustine Record, June 21, 2003: ‘On a Road to Equality: Dr. Robert B. Hayling Place Dedicated',” which is included in the Activities section. Students may read this article and answer the questions in class or for homework.
Pictures below were gathered from the following sources:
http://www.floridamemory.com/OnlineClassroom/PhotoAlbum/civil_rights.cfm &
http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/scripts/jimcrow/gallery.cgi?collection=segregation

**Picture F-7-1:** Entrance to a segregated railroad depot in Lake City, FL.

**Picture F-7-2:** African-American woman stands next to a sign marking the entrance to Virginia Beach, near Miami.

**Picture F-7-3:** Although many motion picture houses admitted both black and white patrons, they did so by segregating the audience. In such movie houses the blacks were seated upstairs in the balcony. A few theaters, like the Rex, completely separated the races, however, playing to all black audiences. The Rex was probably a black-owned theater.

**Picture F-7-4:** Children of segregation at a school water pump, early 1960s.

**Question:** What do you see in all of these pictures? What do all four of these pictures have in common? Do these pictures represent the exception or the norm for Southern culture in the 1950s and 1960s?
Introduction

At the end of 1941, on the eve of America’s involvement in World War II, over half a million African-Americans lived in Florida. By 1950, that figure had grown to over 605,000. While other southern states were losing black residents to better opportunity to the north, Florida’s cities continued to attract increasing numbers of African-Americans. This was because of Florida’s mostly moderate stance toward segregation; Florida’s leaders knew that, in the post-World War II boom, in order to attract new permanent residents, both white and black, through the relocation of industrial and manufacturing companies and temporary residents through the state’s growing tourism market, Florida would have to distance itself from the more violent segregationist views of the other southern states. This is not to say that Florida was fully integrated at the beginning of the 1960s; while African-American protesters had successfully abolished Jim Crow laws pertaining to seating on public transportation in some cities, blacks were still mostly kept separate from whites through both law and custom. But it is also important to note that Florida’s white leadership played an instrumental role in preventing Florida from becoming a bloody battleground during the Civil Rights Movement.

The relative peace that had existed in Florida throughout the early years of the Civil Rights Movement was about to be destroyed, however, as the nation and the world turned its eyes to events in Florida’s “Ancient City,” St. Augustine, in the summer of 1964. You are about to read several excerpts from “Racial and Civil Disorders in St. Augustine: A Report of the Florida Legislative Investigative Committee,” which was written in 1965 as the result of an investigation into the proceedings in St. Augustine the previous summer. Keep in mind as you read the report that this committee was created in 1956, towards the end of McCarthyism, in order to investigate Florida’s NAACP branches as possible Communist-connected organizations. Several college campuses were also monitored for any Communist or otherwise subversive elements. As you read, remember that the Investigative Committee consisted of a former governor of Florida and a few select members of the state government. What would be some possible motives in writing this version of what happened?

Racial and Civil Disorders in St. Augustine- Part I

Most Americans who have toured Florida are familiar with the quaint and unique city of St. Augustine. America’s oldest city will celebrate its’ 400th anniversary during the summer of 1965 with festive celebrations. That is, if the Quadricentennial of the city’s founding by the Spaniards is not marred and disrupted by a performance similar to last summer’s racial strife and commotion. In 1963, some 444,000 tourists thronged through the Old Spanish fort in the heart of St. Augustine. Last year, 1964, there were only 322,000—a sharp drop of 27%. This decline in visitors naturally depressed those businesses catering to and largely dependent on the tourist trade. St. Augustine’s economic losses by the end of 1964 were estimated at over five million dollars.

Despite massive propaganda to the contrary, Negroes and whites have lived together amicably in St. Augustine for centuries. Two hundred and fifty years ago the Old Spanish city was a refuge for fugitive slaves from the Georgia plantations. There has been no residential segregation as far back as anyone can remember. White patients made up more than half of the leading colored doctor’s patients two generations ago. The leading dentist for many years was a highly respected Negro named Dr. Robert Hayling. Both the city police force and sheriff’s office have had one or more Negroes on their staffs for years. The Catholic cathedral has been bi-racial for years. All city facilities were desegregated.

Only the privately owned hotels, restaurants, and motels catering to tourists reserved the right to determine whom they would serve. Their defense was that tourists from out of state would pass them by if they catered to colored customers. Negroes comprise about 23% of the old city’s 20,000 population. City officials assert that there never had been any serious racial disorders or even friction between the races prior to 1962.

On February 23rd, 1963, the St. Augustine branch of the NAACP addressed a letter to then-Vice President Lyndon Johnson (who was to speak in St. Augustine) protesting that neither the welcoming committee nor the Quadricentennial planning committee had any Negro members. The Vice President was asked to reconsider his acceptance to speak at a dedication ceremony. Copies were sent to a number of prominent people and nationally circulated magazines and newspapers. On May 7th and June 18th of that same year, the NAACP and the Tallahassee branch of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) contacted the late President Kennedy and asked him to withhold St. Augustine’s request for $350,000 of federal funds for the Quadricentennial because this money would be used “to celebrate 400 years of slavery and segregation in America’s oldest city.” Needless to say, these communications did not serve to help already deteriorating racial relations.

On June 19th, Dr. Robert Hayling, a Negro dentist and St. Augustine spokesman for the NAACP, was quoted as having said, “Passive resistance is no good in the face of violence. I and others of the NAACP have armed ourselves and we will shoot first and ask questions later.” Hayling later denied having made this remark but a Jacksonville newspaperman attested to its authenticity under oath.

The Widening Rift: The summer of 1963 saw a number of trial runs for bigger demonstrations to follow. Stores with lunch counters serving only whites were picketed or subjected to sit-ins, mostly by juveniles and teenagers.
Some were as young as ten years old. An order prohibiting picketing or demonstrations by anyone under seventeen years of age was quickly passed by a juvenile court judge; when picketing and other forms of harassment continued, those under seventeen were escorted home and their parents summoned to juvenile court.

Police and sheriff's records from June to September 1963 show a long list of inter-racial incidents. These ranged from threatening or obscene telephone calls to white women to rock throwing between white and colored children. Strong racial feelings began to develop. These incidents finally reached the felony stage in August when a white woman was robbed and assaulted at knifepoint by an unidentified Negro.

On September 1st, the Ku Klux Klan held a night meeting in the open country on a side road some three miles south of St. Augustine after having been refused a permit to hold their rally in the city. Dr. Hayling and three colored companions attempted to observe the proceedings but were caught by Klansmen and severely beaten. Deputy sheriffs rescued the four Negroes and arrested four Klansmen from Jacksonville. The *St. Augustine Record* reported that this was “the first open meeting of its kind in this area in recent years.” Some 400 people attended this meeting and a reputed 2,500 attended a meeting the following night. Local authorities claimed that very few of them could be identified as citizens of St. Augustine.

On October 25th, four white youths drove a car through the Negro neighborhood. One, William David Kinard, age 24, carried a loaded shotgun on his lap. Negroes fired on the car, and Kinard died almost instantly. There had been no gunfire from the car. Several Negroes living in houses nearby were arrested and charged with manslaughter. A fifteen-year-old colored girl was questioned as a material witness. She was later released because of her age. She subsequently disappeared and has been missing ever since. Three nights after the Kinard slaying, unidentified whites fired from automobiles at two Negro nightclubs, a market, and two private homes. Tension began to increase in America’s oldest city.

On November 15th, U.S. District Judge William McRae dismissed a suit filed by Dr. Hayling seeking to keep the city authorities of St. Augustine from arresting demonstrators. Judge McRae ruled that Dr. Hayling and his supporters had not submitted sufficient evidence to warrant overriding of a city ordinance requiring a police permit to parade through the streets or to hold public meetings. Judge McRae observed:

> “The court is of the opinion that the NAACP, under the leadership of Dr. Hayling, has displayed a lack of restraint, common sense, and good judgment…Problems which might have been solved by intelligent action have been handled with deliberate annoyance and apparent intent to incite disorder and confusion.”

A month later, a St. Johns County grand jury found that two outside militant elements, the Ku Klux Klan and Negro civil rights workers, were responsible for the worsening racial situation and disorders in St. Augustine. The grand jury found that the KKK did not represent the majority view of the white citizens of St. Johns County. Four days later, Dr. Hayling resigned from the NAACP in the hopes that “less militant” Negro leaders would be able to make more progress in restoring interracial harmony once more in St. Augustine. It was common knowledge that a majority of the more responsible Negro leadership in St. Augustine was not too pleased with Dr. Hayling’s activities. Nine weeks later four loads of buckshot were fired from an unidentified car at 1:25AM into the home of Dr. Hayling. Dr. Hayling’s dog was killed and his house and furnishings suffered considerable damage.
**Part II**

**1964 Opens Stormy and Cloudy:** On March 11\(^{st}\), 1964, Dr. Hayling sent a letter to the Massachusetts chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). In this letter college students “from all over the nation” who normally headed to Florida's sunny beaches during their spring vacation were invited to St. Augustine to join a “struggle for human rights” in that city. This effort was entitled the “Florida Spring Project.” Appended to the appeal was a short statement of just what the “Florida Spring Project” hoped to accomplish, an application form, and a set of guidance instructions on what to wear, what to bring, anticipated expenses, and instructions on how to conduct oneself after arriving in St. Augustine. The letter frankly admitted that a “tense situation” existed in St. Augustine and that “our coming will increase this.” The letter ended with the declaration:

> “Many have sought to dissuade us with predictions of violence. No one denies this possibility...The existing conditions of injustice result in great violence to the lives of people there. Non-violence is a means of speaking and acting in the midst of a violent world, in a way that seeks to convert the world. Anyone who is not committed to non-violence should not go to St. Augustine. Workshops will be held for all participants when they arrive. In St. Augustine each participant must be prepared to follow the authority of the designated leader. Each participant must be willing to go to jail.”

On March 12\(^{st}\), St. Augustine native attending college in New England warning that a mass invasion of civil rights demonstrators was being mobilized in the New England area. About the same time a Boston radio show host advised Mayor Shelley by phone that Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, the mother of the governor of Massachusetts, was coming to St. Augustine and asked the mayor what he would do if she violated any local laws. Mayor Shelley replied that he would do nothing as long as Mrs. Peabody broke no laws. If she did, the police would have no choice but to arrest her just like any other lawbreaker. This statement was quickly distorted in the headlines to read that Mayor Shelley had threatened to arrest the mother of the Governor of Massachusetts. *That same day* between 150 and 175 reporters, photographers, and TV cameramen began arriving in St. Augustine from all over the Untied States. Local authorities naturally gathered that “something big” was about to break to justify such a massive invasion of newsgathering services.

The first contingent of the New England demonstrators, some thirty strong, arrived by bus and plane on March 23\(^{rd}\). Several appeared to be university professors and chaplains. They told the media that they would stage sit-ins at segregated restaurants, picketing, and pray-ins at local churches that barred Negroes. During the next few days a steady stream of white “civil rights workers” continued to arrive. On March 28\(^{th}\), 26 of these Negro and white demonstrators were arrested after being warned against trespassing and conspiring to commit a misdemeanor.

**Easter Sunday and Mrs. Peabody:** St. Augustine’s traditional Easter Sunday parade was held without incident in front of 20,000 spectators. Mrs. Malcolm Peabody arrived late that afternoon. City officials claim that she made no effort to contact them or make known the purpose of her visit. On March 31\(^{st}\), Mrs. Peabody arrived at the Trinity Episcopal Church at 9:45AM. She had with her 75 colored students from St. Augustine’s Murray High School. Mrs. Peabody entered the church and held a brief discussion with church officials. She denied any intention to demonstrate inside the church. She said she merely wanted to “integrate” it.

Mrs. Peabody was arrested the following day and charged with trespass and conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor when she participated in a demonstration in the Ponce de Leon Hotel. She refused to make bail and elected to remain in jail. After spending two days in jail Mrs. Peabody posted $450 bond and departed by plane from Jacksonville. The arrest and jailing of the mother of a governor (and the wife of an Episcopalian bishop) received tremendous nationwide media coverage. Interviewed in jail, Mrs. Peabody praised the jail staff, saying, “Everyone is so nice. My cell is quite comfortable and clean with running water and showers.” She also stated that she had intentionally broken a state law and had fully expected to be arrested.

With the departure of Mrs. Peabody, some 128 white and Negro demonstrators arrested during the hectic Easter Week disorders posted bonds and were released. Mayor Shelley issued a public statement criticizing the fact that the mother of a governor of another state had journeyed more than a thousand miles to Florida for the self-admitted purpose of breaking the law. The mayor also charged that some of the news media were deliberately misquoting him and distorting the true picture of just what was happening in the oldest city.

By the 5\(^{th}\) of April, the whole civil disobedience campaign was at a low ebb. Hosea Williams, a chief lieutenant of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was able to muster only ten volunteers from an audience of 200 for a sit-
down and possible arrest. Nearly all the northern demonstrators had departed and local St. Augustine Negroes, excepting juveniles, apparently did not care to support the “Negro revolution.” Williams warned, “If segregation barriers remain up…it will be because the people here did not support the movement.” A week later five Negroes attended services at Trinity Episcopal Church without incident; the North Florida Diocese had ordered all Episcopal churches to admit anyone without regard to race or color.

**MLK Arrives:** On May 18th, Martin Luther King arrived in St. Augustine. He left the next day, promising that he would soon return with his “Non-violent Army.” Two of King’s assistants arrived a week later, stating that the reason that St. Augustine had been chosen for a visit by King and his army was because, as America’s oldest city, St. Augustine was symbolic and that they felt they could get more publicity out of it.

King returned on May 26th, and announced that his “Non-violent Army” was being mobilized and would be in St. Augustine soon. He promised the ancient city “a long, hot summer,” but was sure to add that he hoped it would be a “long, hot non-violent summer.” King’s army began arriving on May 28th. Some 300 of King’s demonstrators marched on the “Old Slave Market,” and a large group of young whites gathered, armed with clubs and tire irons. City police with trained dogs, county deputy sheriffs, and state patrolman prevented contact between the two groups.

Suddenly, some of the gathering media turned on blinding floodlights while at the same time training their lens on the crowds. These lights excited the police dogs. Angered at having cameras on them, some of the young toughs attacked the cameramen, injuring one. There were reports that some of the cameramen had complained of the high costs of keeping their expensive TV equipment in St. Augustine for days without too much action, and that they had incited both sides to “get things going.”

Later, city officials demanded that all people, black and white, stay away from the downtown area after dark. Chief of Police Virgil Stuart believed that some Black Muslims had come to St. Augustine from Jacksonville to stir things up. He also stated that most of the white men engaged in violence were not local people and that some were known Klansmen from nearby cities.

On May 30th, King’s army unveiled a new tactic. Nearly 200 people defied a police order and began another march on the center of the city. Fifteen were arrested but refused to post bond, electing to remain in jail ten to twelve days instead. During the following days a number of demonstrators were arrested and accepted jail sentences rather than pay small fines. “Flooding the jails and clogging the courts” was a technique devised to attract the greatest publicity to a civil disobedience show that had started to taper off and to collapse. All demonstrations were suspended for several days while King denounced St. Augustine as the most lawless place he had ever visited. He also stated that President Johnson was closely watching developments in St. Augustine.

On June 9th, a federal judge ordered city officials to permit demonstrations at any time and not to restrict or restrain such marches. Night marches were resumed within hours. King threatened further “massive demonstrations” unless all integration demands were promptly met. It was reported that he had boasted that he would bring the city of St. Augustine to its knees within ten days. At a news conference on June 10th, King announced that he would go to the well-known Monson Motor Lodge the next day and commit an act of civil disobedience. Busloads of King’s “Non-violent Army” continued to roll into St. Augustine from the eastern seaboard.
**Part III**

**The Motel Pool Incident:** The next day, June 11th, King and two associates were arrested for trespassing on private property and conspiring to commit a misdemeanor at the Monson Motor Lodge. King’s attempt to integrate the motor lodge made a fine TV and newsreel show for millions of viewers, but it was overshadowed by what may have been intended to be a mere sideshow. Two white northern integrationists, who had secured accommodations at the motor lodge, jumped into the swimming pool. Several Negro men and women immediately followed them. The whole group congregated in the middle of the pool where police officers could not reach them. The white integrationists insisted that the Negroes were their “guests” and hence not guilty of trespassing. An off-duty patrolman finally jumped into the pool and the whole group was dragged out and arrested.

The manager of the motel, apparently under great stress and excitement, poured a bottle of muriatic acid into the pool hoping to scare the demonstrators into leaving. This substance is commonly added to swimming pools as a disinfectant, a fact well known to one of the white demonstrators. He calmed the apprehension of the Negroes by offering to drink some of the water to prove it was harmless. The TV and news cameras picked up the whole bizarre scene for millions of viewers all over the United States. These pictures were flashed to Europe and the rest of the world, providing unlimited propaganda opportunities for anti-American elements to offer as another “typical example of American barbarism and racism.”

Meanwhile, busloads of Negro and white demonstrators continued to arrive in the ancient city. *The New York Times*, reporting from the scene, admitted “Dr. King has appealed for outside help to fill up the jails and to put more people in the streets.” *The news account added that most St. Augustine Negroes “are not taking part in the movement.”* On June 12th, an entirely new development occurred. Several whites, inspired by two recently arrived representatives of the racist National States Rights Party, organized a counter-demonstration, marching into the predominately colored section of Lincolnville only a few blocks from the center of the city. These counter-demonstrations were heavily guarded on all sides by almost as many law enforcement officers as there were marchers. Negro leaders were able to control the colored community so that there was no violence. A large sign at a street corner read, “WELCOME! PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD TO YOU!” Several hundred Negroes either carried signs reading “We Love Everybody” or chanted the words. Dr. King was released from jail under bond and hurried to Yale University in Connecticut to pick up an honorary degree.

By June 14th, the demonstrations and counter-demonstrations had simmered down. Andrew Young, a King lieutenant, told newsmen that nighttime marches would be resumed as soon as new forces were mustered and brought from other states. He also said that if the townspeople would not come down to watch the demonstrations, “then we’ll take it to them.” Marches began to ramble through the private residential sections of the old city, with shouting and singing lasting until well past 11PM. Within the next week, Governor Farris Bryant used his emergency powers to ban all marches and demonstrations between 8:30PM and sunrise.

Law enforcement officers, now numbering over 150, were positive that they could control demonstrations and protect both demonstrators and peaceful citizens if the marches were confined to the daylight hours. The reason for this insistence on daylight hours was the peculiar nature of many of St. Augustine’s downtown streets. Laid out by the Spaniards 300 years ago, many streets are extremely narrow and bordered by low stone walls or hedges. There are numerous alleyways and narrow passages between buildings. Renovation of several old Spanish and British buildings had left piles of rubble, bricks, and other material ideally suited for missiles, ready at hand. Lighting in some of the narrower streets was poor. In short, young toughs able to leap low walls and hedges and dodge down dark passageways had little difficulty in evading the police after throwing bricks at demonstrators. In the daytime most of them would be in school or working. Daytime demonstrations would also limit participation mainly to local people and such professionals from other states already present in the old city; if night marches were allowed, trouble-makers on both sides had ample time to drive to St. Augustine after work from a radius of 100 miles or more.

Daily arrests for violating Florida laws ran from 18 or 20 to as high as 90 in a single day. *Many were juveniles as young as 14 years old, who gave their home addresses as being a thousand or more miles from St. Augustine.* Individuals arrested came from as far away as Maine, Seattle, and San Diego. Local law enforcement officers were impressed by King’s remarkable ability in mobilizing his “Non-violent Army” from the far corners of the United States.

With the tensions and hardening of feelings in the strife-torn community already high, an already bad situation was made worse by more unfortunate developments. A widening rift was developing between local law enforcement officers and the special task force of state highway patrolmen and state-appointed control officers operating in and around St. Augustine. Under the governor’s order, this special task force had assumed supreme command of all police actions in St. Augustine and St. Johns County. One member of the task force was overheard at a press conference telling someone, “We have the power to do anything we want. We do not need a warrant—complete law enforcement is in our hands.” Whether authorized and correct or merely an offhand remark, the repeating of this statement under the flash-point tension then prevailing in St. Augustine could have nothing but unfortunate effect.
State troopers cordoned off a number of streets in the heart of the city. Cars were searched indiscriminately and all objects which could possibly be used as weapons or missiles were removed and confiscated. Even a child’s popgun apparently fell under the category of “dangerous weapons.” A respected and well-known local doctor returning from a house call was searched in front of a crowd even though he had identified himself. The doctor was forced to leave his car in the middle of the street and taken to jail. When several citizens objected to the actions of the arresting officers, they were told to shut up or they would be arrested, too. The wife of another doctor, delivering medicine to a friend, was similarly stopped for failure to obey a lawful command. She had mistaken a waving flashlight as a signal to proceed with caution. She was also arrested and taken to jail.

It is almost inevitable that untrained officers hastily pressed into riot control duty are bound to make some errors under conditions of super-charged tension and excitement. Maneuvering law enforcement officers into situations that involve them in friction with the majority of the population is, needless to say, always a hoped-for dividend by the planners of alleged “non-violent” civil disobedience demonstrations.

*It should be noted that the consensus of opinion by most of those interviewed is that the overwhelming majority of the older and more responsible Negro citizens not only stayed at home but also gave little indication that they supported the wild goings-on whipped up by non-residents.*
Part IV

**The Battle of the Beaches:** On June 25th, the battle shifted to the world-famed St. Augustine beaches, several miles east of the city. Here again violent clashes between Negroes seeking to integrate the beaches and whites opposing them supplied “made to order” footage for the TV and news cameras. *The fact that cameramen always arrived on the scene well ahead of the “non-violent” demonstrators more or less gave away the whole show as a planned and stage-managed propaganda production for nationwide consumption.* At one point, when they found their way into the surf barred by segregationists, the demonstrators knelt on the wet beach to conduct prayers. State officers were vigorous in using their clubs on the heads of the white counter-demonstrators. Several were severely beaten on the head and required hospital attention.

What the newspaper columnists, radio commentators, and TV cameras did not reveal was that very few Negroes ever used their own beach, the Frank Butler State Park. This beautiful sandy Atlantic beach is over a mile long and adjoins the other ocean beaches and is therefore identical in attraction and desirability. This beach is named for a respected and prominent St. Augustine Negro, Mr. Frank Butler, who has been in the real estate business for many years. These “stage-managed” wade-ins continued for several more days, making good TV shows.

Later that same day, about 300 white segregationists, already angered by the severe clubbing suffered by one of their number at the beach and provoked by the angry rhetoric of two representatives of the National States Rights Party, attacked a group of demonstrators. The inflamed whites broke through the heavy police guard and scattered the Negro demonstrators. Fifteen people were arrested. Thirty, mostly colored, had to be given emergency first aid treatment at the Flagler Memorial Hospital. Some were merely hysterical and required only sedation. Although Martin Luther King was in town at the time, he did not take part in the demonstration. In fact, there is no record that he ever actually participated in any of the marches downtown. While he exhorted his colored listeners to be prepared to suffer and “if we must, offer our bodies as sacrifices,” there is no record that he himself ever “offered his body” or did any suffering. Instead, he appears to have been on the phone trying to get the White House to send in federal marshals. The next day, Governor Bryant visited the ancient city. Upon returning to Tallahassee, the governor said that he had found St. Augustine facing a “very explosive and very tense situation.” He ordered 80 more highway patrolmen and other state officers to the ancient city, bringing the total there to 235.

On July 1st, Governor Bryant announced that he had appointed a four man bi-racial committee of St. Augustine citizens to try to restore communication between that community’s white and colored citizens. The governor declined to identify the members of the bi-racial committee in order to spare them embarrassment. There is no record that it ever met or that the identities of the committee members were ever made known to anyone. Immediately, Martin Luther King called a hurried press conference to announce a 12-to-15-day truce on all demonstrations. The media had previously quoted him as saying that “The purpose of our direct action was to create a crisis.”

President Johnson signed the Civil Rights bill the following day, radically altering the whole situation as far as the St. Augustine “crisis” was concerned. St. Augustine businessmen met and told a press conference that while they had strong personal objections to the new law, they would comply with the public accommodations section of the statute.

Peace and quiet prevailed until July 4th, when some 200-robed Klansmen arrived to stage a parade. The racial truce was further marred by a gang of white toughs attacking six Negroes fishing from a bridge; the police later arrested nine of them. Mayor Shelley appealed to all citizens for restraint and respect for the new law. Out-of-town and local Negroes began “testing” some 29 motels and restaurants to see whether or not the public accommodations section of the new Civil Rights Law was being observed.

Those public eating places and motels that complied now found themselves picketed by white segregationists seeking to discourage patrons from entering because they served Negroes. Several St. Augustine businessmen that were summoned before a judge testified that they were “caught in the middle” and feared mob violence if they complied with the new law and served Negroes. Two flaming “Molotov cocktails” were hurled through the front window of a recently integrated hotel at an early hour in the morning; damage was set at $3000.
With the beginning of school in September most of the northern demonstrators and agitators had departed. The battle of the streets was transferred to the calmer atmosphere of the courtroom. St. Augustine soon returned to the peaceful and quiet life its citizens enjoyed until it was selected as a pilot project for a new form of political warfare, so called—"non-violent direct action." Martin Luther King’s “peaceful” and “non-violent” visitation had cost the city an estimated $5 million in lost tourist trade. Negroes naturally shared in this loss as employees of those businesses catering to tourists.

It has required years to restore the amicable relations once existing between the two races in America’s oldest city. In the wake of economic catastrophe, riots, violence, physical injury, property damage, and much human suffering, Dr. Martin Luther King, Nobel Peace Prize winner and his “Non-violent army” departed for other pastures. The Negro community of St. Augustine was left divided and bewildered. No effective voice speaking for the whole colored community remained since the Ministerial Alliance of many years standing broke up whether or not to support the King enterprise. Unfortunately there was no civic or business association of colored St. Augustinians, leaving the field wide open for any small-interest group with little local support to move in and claim to speak for the entire Negro community.

Conclusion

And so the “long hot summer” of 1964 ended with St. Augustine a divided community. Though racial relations had been much more benign in this ancient city than in almost any other Florida, or Southern, community before the 1960s, it was still targeted as a symbol of America’s long history of racism. The upcoming Quadricentennial celebration of 1965 made it an even more attractive target. Both white racists, mostly from outside, and anti-segregation demonstrators, also mostly from outside, made the city’s streets, pools, and beaches a dangerous battleground, drawing wide media coverage, particularly when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., assumed personal direction of the demonstrations. The unnecessarily explosive environment resulted from awkward handling by both Governor Farris Bryant and local authorities. Whatever else may be said about the event, there is little doubt that the publicity generated by St. Augustine’s troubles provided momentum for the passage of the nation’s Civil Rights Act of 1964.
Discussion Questions

Introduction & Part I
1.) While the rest of the southern states saw a decline in the population of African-Americans, why did Florida experience an over-20% increase in just nine years?
2.) According to the Florida Legislative Investigative Committee’s report, how were relations between blacks and whites prior to the summer of 1964?
3.) Using evidence from the passage, show why the following statement is false: “There was no segregation in St. Augustine prior to 1964.”
4.) Who was Dr. Robert Hayling? In 2-3 sentences, explain his importance to the community and what eventually happens to him.
5.) A “rift” can be defined as a narrow break or fissure in a rock. Why is this a good metaphor for what was happening in St. Augustine?
6.) The first two paragraphs in the section titled “The Widening Rift” contain “evidence” given by the FLIC to show that relations between blacks and whites were straining. As you read these two paragraphs, do you see any evidence that the Committee writing this report might be biased against desegregation? Explain your answer.
7.) According to the report, what two outside militant elements were responsible for racial relations deteriorating in St. Augustine?

Part II
8.) What was the “Florida Spring Project”? Was it violent? Did it expect to encounter violence?
9.) What was the plan of action for the protesters, both white and black, that began arriving in St. Augustine in late March, 1964?
10.) In 2-3 sentences, explain the significance of Mrs. Peabody. How do you think the rest of the nation reacted to seeing a 72-year-old woman arrested for peacefully protesting?
11.) For what reason does the report give for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his “Non-violent Army” focusing on St. Augustine?
12.) What strategy was employed by King and his followers on May 30, 1964? Do you think that this strategy would be effective as a tool for protesters?

Part III
13.) Imagine yourself as an American living somewhere far away from St. Augustine on the evening of June 11, 1964. After dinner, you are watching the 6:00 PM news on TV when you see the events that transpired that day in the pool at the Monson Motor Lodge in St. Augustine. How do you react to the scene playing out in front of your eyes?
14.) Why do you think that the committee’s report continues to mention that only outsiders were involved in the demonstrations in St. Augustine in 1964?
15.) On June 12, 1964, when a counter-demonstration marched through the mostly-black neighborhood of Lincolnville, Dr. King traveled to Yale University to pick up an honorary degree. What do you think was the committee’s reason for writing this in their report?
16.) Why did law enforcement insist on daytime demonstrations?
17.) What was “a hoped-for dividend by the planners of alleged ‘non-violent’ civil disobedience demonstrations”?

Part IV
18.) According to the report, what was the real reason for the wade-ins at the beach near St. Augustine on June 25th?
19.) Look at Picture F-7-7, then answer the corresponding question in the picture’s caption.
20.) For what reason did the events of the summer of ’64 finally diminish?
Dr. Robert B. Hayling, one of St. Augustine’s most revered civil rights heroes, was welcomed home Friday to the community he helped lead through the perilous civil rights struggles of 1963 and 1964. Hayling, 73, who now lives in Lauderhill, returned to St. Augustine for the first time in 37 years to attend a ceremony renaming of Scott Street in West Augustine "Dr. R. B. Hayling Place."

Despite pouring rain, more than 100 people attended to show respect for the "father of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." Historian David Nolan said Hayling was the leader of the movement in St. Augustine. "And it was the St. Augustine movement that led directly to the Civil Rights Act. King went directly from here to the White House for the signing," Nolan said.

Hayling was at times overcome by emotion, and told of the weeks he was hospitalized after his abduction and beating by a Ku Klux Klan mob in 1964. His assailants broke his right arm and fingers because they knew he was a dentist and would not be able to work. "I still can't straighten my fingers," Hayling said. "Many people in that group were my former patients. I was the dentist for the city jail and county jail. About 40 percent of my practice was white."

Hayling, a Tallahassee native and former U.S. Air Force officer, became a spokesman for the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference during those years, fighting for equal treatment under the law. His dental office was on Bridge Street, near the old St. Augustine Record building, he said. He said his abduction was never investigated by federal authorities. "I never had one FBI agent hear my story," he said.

Willie Bolden of Atlanta, a former colleague of Hayling’s in the SCLC, said that when Dr. Martin Luther King’s delegation went to the Monson Motor Lodge, a 6-foot alligator was swimming in the motel’s pool. "Of course, none of us that day thought we were Tarzan, so we decided it wasn’t a good time to take a dip," Bolden said. "We tried to get into the restaurant, and of course we were arrested by Sheriff L.O. Davis." He spoke of the many telephone calls King received from Hayling. Finally, King sent people to St. Augustine to investigate, he said. "Dr. Hayling was committed to fight for the least of us," Bolden said. "There were people in this town in 1964 who wanted this man dead, not just run out of town. But did that stop him? No."

Friday’s event, however, wasn’t to recall past struggles, but to celebrate Hayling’s return to a community grateful for his contributions. Mildred Jackson sang, "We Made It," and told how the 11 homes in Rollins subdivision were built in 1956 expressly for black families. "We’re a close-knit neighborhood. But in 1963, our peace was shattered by bullets," Jackson said. Racist thugs fired shotguns into Hayling’s home, narrowly missing his pregnant wife, Athea, and killing their dog. "After that, Dr. Hayling would walk around here at night in a white shirt, checking our houses," Jackson said. "We were all scared to death. He wasn’t." She read a poem containing the line, "We want to give you our flowers while you yet live."

The Rev. Nathaniel Jackson of New St. James Missionary Baptist Church said Hayling stands for equality and justice. "We look forward to better things, but will not forget the things that took us this far," he said.

The ordinance renaming the street in his honor was introduced on first reading June 9 by Commissioner Errol Jones. It passed unanimously and is expected to pass its second and final reading at Monday’s City Commission meeting. Mayor George Gardner issued a proclamation honoring Dr. Hayling. "There’s no greater honor a city can bestow than to name a public way for one of its citizens," Gardner said. "Dr. Hayling took a brave and courageous stand for justice."

1.) Dr. Hayling tells a much different account of the events leading up to the fateful summer of 1964. List at least three ways in which Dr. Hayling’s account differs from the FLIC’s report.

2.) Why do you think that the Committee’s report left out these details?

3.) How does Dr. Hayling’s statement that many of the men who participated in the KKK rally the night he was beaten were his former patients differ from the Committee’s statement about the origins of the people present at that same Klan rally?
Have students read the following transcription of a portion of Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, then answer the corresponding questions.

**The Civil Rights Act of 1964**

**Title II: Injunctive Relief Against Discrimination in Places of Public Accommodation**

Section 201. (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, and privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation … without discrimination of segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin.

(b) Each of the following establishments that serve the public is a place of public accommodation …

1. any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests …;
2. any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other activity principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises…
3. any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium, or other place of exhibition or entertainment…

1.) The purpose of Section 201 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is to:
   a. promote racial peace and understanding;
   b. discourage job discrimination;
   c. ban discrimination in public accommodations;
   d. end segregation in schools.

2.) The Civil Rights Act of 1964 bans discrimination on all these grounds EXCEPT:
   a. race    b. gender    c. religion    d. national origin

3.) Public accommodations are defined by the act as:
   a. government-owned buildings and facilities that are open to the public;
   b. businesses that offer products or services to people;
   c. apartments or houses that are rented to the public;
   d. businesses that provide food, lodging, or entertainment to the public.

4.) True or false. A restaurant owner in St. Augustine could no longer refuse to serve a black customer after the passage of this act in July 1964.

5.) According to the Florida Legislative Investigative Committee’s report, before the events of 1963 and 1964, St. Augustine was:
   a. already experiencing racial strains;
   b. a whites-only community;
   c. a small, mostly integrated city of 20,000 that had a long history of friendly racial relations;
   d. a colony of the Spanish empire, only to be lost to the Americans after the Cuban Missile Crisis.

6.) According to the committee, what was a major result of the charged atmosphere in and around St. Augustine during the summer of 1964?
   a. a loss of over $5 million in tourism revenues, which depressed the local economy;
   b. hard feelings between the city’s white and black populations;
   c. the passage of the civil Rights Act of 1964;
   d. all of the above.

7.) According to the committee’s report, who was to blame for what happened in St. Augustine during the summer of 1964?
   a. the townspeople, both black and white
   b. outsiders who supported segregation through racist rhetoric and violence;
   c. outsiders who demonstrated in support of desegregation;
   d. the national news media for exaggerating the events that transpired in order to give the world a “good show”;
   e. b, c, and d
8.) Today, the nation regards the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as a great hero and our nation's foremost champion for equality and justice for all. Do you think that the Investigative Committee's depiction of Dr. King matched the view held by most Americans today? Explain your answer using details you remember from the reading material. Do you think this treatment of Dr. King on the part of the committee was fair? Why do you think this?

9.) Compared to other cities throughout the South that we have studied in our Civil Rights Movement unit, on a spectrum of racial tolerance, how would you rate St. Augustine before the summer of 1964? Place an X on the line that you believe corresponds to St. Augustine’s treatment of minorities, and explain why you placed your “X” on that spot. Use details from the lesson to explain your choice.
- The Florida Heritage Collection’s (http://palmm.fcla.edu/fh/themes.html) copy of “Racial and Civil Disorders in St. Augustine: Report of the Legislative Investigation Committee.” Digitized from original source held at University of North Florida Libraries (http://fulltext.fcla.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=fhp;idno=NF00000072;sid=87a8a802f26107abc255e3730e596d71;cc=fhp;view=header;format=pdf)

- The Florida Memory Project’s Online Classroom Photo Album: “The Civil Rights Movement in Florida” (http://www.floridamemory.com/OnlineClassroom/PhotoAlbum/civil_rights.cfm)

- Florida Photographic Collection (http://www.floridamemory.com/PhotographicCollection/)

- The History of Jim Crow’s “Signs of Segregation” Collection (http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/scripts/jimcrow/gallery.cgi?collection=segregation)

- Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Remembrance Photo Gallery (http://www.sithly.com/enchantme/inmemory/mlk/)

- The St. Augustine Record (http://www.staugustine.com/stories/062103/new_1618816.shtml)


- “We Shall Overcome”: Historic Places of the Civil Rights Movement-Lincolnville (http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/civilrights/f1.htm)


"History Alive! The United States" Middle School Program, developed by Teachers’ Curriculum Institute (www.historyalive.com)