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The Attacks On the Highlander Folk School:
A White Supremacist Response to Anti-Racist Activism

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On 15 September, 1959, Hazel Mae Thomas testified under oath in the Circuit Court of Grundy County Tennessee. District Attorney, Ab Sloan asked her, “During this period of time, did you see anybody else out there in the woods from Highlander Folk School?” When Thomas answered that she had, Sloan continued, “I’ll ask you whether or not you saw a young girl and a boy out there?” Thomas answered that it was “Kathy Shepherd and a boy.” As Sloan pressed Thomas for more details, she revealed that Kathy Shepherd was a girl in her early teens whose parents worked at the Highlander Folk School. Sloan then inquired, “Now who was she with when you saw her on this occasion?” Thomas replied that it was, “A colored boy.” She then described the scene, “the boy had his pants down and she had her dress up.”¹ Thomas’s son, Samuel Lee Thomas, also testified, “well I seen the Shepherd girl and a nigger out at Piney Point and have seen them in the bushes together. . . . He had his pants down and she had her dress up.”²

Hazel Mae and Samuel Lee Thomas’ accusations were common during the September hearing against the Highlander Folk School. The hearing was an effort by district attorney Ab Sloan to win a court ordered padlocking of Highlander’s campus buildings, based on the charge that the school was a public nuisance, until he could win a revocation of Highlander’s charter in November. Sloan hoped to prove Highlander was a public nuisance with evidence that it was a place for drunken and immoral debauchery. The Thomases’ testimonies were meant to show the flagrant immorality that Sloan claimed Highlander endorsed. However, when understood in the context of the Highlander Folk School’s politics and the popular southern reaction to these politics, the testimonies shed more light on Southern attitudes about race than they did on Highlander’s morality.

¹ *In the Circuit Court of Grundy County, Tennessee, at Altamont, in the Matter of: State of Tennessee, ex rel., A.F Sloan, Attorney General of the 18th Judicial Circuit, vs. Highlander Folk School, a Corp.: Myles Horton; May Justus; and Septima Clark.* Sept. 14, 15, 16, 1959, the Highlander collection: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, microfilm, (hereafter referred to as Highlander Papers) roll 5, slides 775-776.

² *Ibid*, slide # 835.

This public nuisance hearing was the result of Highlander's educational focus on civil rights issues like school integration and voting rights. This made Highlander part of the battle that southern politicians waged against the Civil Rights Movement. The attacks against Highlander, like the attacks on other Civil Rights activists, relied on three interwoven elements of white supremacist Southern ideologies of fear. Highlander was accused of promoting Communism, atheism, and interracial sexual liaisons. Riddled with anxieties over losing political and economic control of the National Democratic Party and the South, southern democrats used these accusations to garner popular support from white southerners as well as to validate their subversion of democracy in the suppression of the Civil Rights Movement to the rest of the United States. Their ultimate aim was to maintain the southern racial status quo not only by quelling Civil Rights activism, but also by reinforcing white supremacist ideas of race, gender and sexual identities in the South.

To understand the attacks against the Highlander Folk School in the context of white supremacy in the South, a discussion about the meaning of white supremacy is necessary. White supremacy in this context does not refer to groups that traditionally have been defined as white supremacist terrorists, like the Ku Klux Klan. Instead it refers to the pervasive system of racial domination and oppression in America that critical theorists, like bell hooks, use as their basis for analysis about race. White supremacy, according to hooks, "continues to shape perspectives on reality and to inform the social status of black people and all people of color."³ Moreover, white supremacy, as this paper will illustrate, is interwoven with systems of gender and sexual domination. White supremacy as a term is useful because it differentiates the ideological and structural elements of racist oppression from "the type of racial prejudice that promotes overt discrimination and separation." Also, white supremacy is important to analyze because it is so embedded in culture that it can seem invisible, and that invisibility helps the ideology constantly

³ bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 113.

re-create itself. Therefore, even though the attacks against the Highlander Folk School were inspired by the overt prejudice of southern politicians who wanted to maintain racial segregation, the ideologies that inspired this prejudice and the ideologies that were used against the school, were part of the ideological system of white supremacy.⁴

Although the basic story of the attacks on the Highlander Folk School has been told by historians such as John Glen, Joan Hobbes, and John Edgerton, little analysis has been done about how the charges of communism, atheism, and interracial immorality were used by the white political elite of the South in their attacks against Highlander. However, there has been analysis about how each of these elements was used by groups like the White Citizens Council during the civil rights movement and by politicians throughout southern history.

Historians have illustrated how accusations that civil rights activists were either aligned with Communist ideas or that activism for racial equality itself was a tool for Communism hounded civil rights activists. These attacks solidified after the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision. According to historian Richard Fried, Anti-Communism on a national scale was winding down but the *Brown* decision inflamed Southern politicians who, according to Fried, “previously had been least lured by McCarthy’s appeal.”⁵ Fried also argued that southern politicians drew on Red Scare rhetoric to claim that the Supreme Court was infested with Communists who were behind the *Brown* decision, to challenge the Court’s decision.⁶ Furthermore, Fried and historians M.J Heale and Neil McMillen have claimed that southern political leaders further wove anti-Communist rhetoric with segregationist ideals by claiming that

⁴ Ibid, 112-116.

⁵ Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 174.

⁶ Ibid, 175. See also M.J Heale, *McCarthy’s Americans: Red Scare Politics in State and Nation 1935-1965*. (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1998), 248. and Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizen’s Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 195.

communists were using the Civil Rights movement to create “panic, chaos, and riot to lower the morale of the American people” to pave the way for communist domination.⁷

According to historians, southern Democrats insisted that Civil Rights activists were atheists and wove this ideology into Red Scare ideology. McMillen, in his study of the White Citizens Council, the main organization of white supremacist political leaders during the Civil Rights Movement, recorded the religious ideology of segregationists who claimed that God created different races of people, so his natural plan was to keep the races separate.⁸ McMillen contended that this idea led to propaganda pamphlets with themes like, “segregation—God’s own plan for the races.”⁹ According to Heale, groups like the White Citizens Council also fused the ideas of communism, anti-racism and atheism. For example, one man who organized against integration wrote, “this move to amalgamate the races of God is designed to prepare social ground for the deadly system hated by God [communism]”¹⁰ Both McMillen and Heale articulate that white supremacist thinking claimed integration went against God so anti-racists must be atheists and are therefore either the same as or similar to atheist Communists.

Historians have shown how white supremacist politicians used the white southern fear of interracial sex or “the amalgamation of the races” to challenge the Civil Rights Movement. According to historians Martha Hodes and Anthony Bardaglio, the southern fear of interracial sex was dictated by the initial definitions of race itself. Bardaglio studied early ideas about interracial sex in the United States and argued that with the rise of African slavery an individual’s status as slave or free became tied to race, giving interracial sexual liaisons the power to undermine definitions of racial slavery.¹¹ Bardaglio and Hodes argue that laws were created to limit the possibility of interracial sex because it led to blurred definitions of slave or free. The result was a

⁷ Fried, 174.

⁸ McMillen, 175.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Heale, 248.

¹¹ Peter Bardaglio, “‘Shameful Matches’ The Regulation of Interracial Sex and Marriage in the South before 1900,” in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, ed. Martha Hodes (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 113.

legal system that claimed that the legal condition of a child followed the condition of its mother and the legal control of white women's sexuality, making it a crime for them to bear racially mixed children who were free.¹² Bardaglio and Gary Nash have shown that this ideology also seeped into legal definitions of race to keep whiteness a privilege and exclusive group.¹³ Laws were passed in southern states that made whiteness an exclusive category through the idea that anyone who had more than one-eighth, or in some states one drop, of African ancestry, or "blood," was legally black.¹⁴

Feminist historians have argued that sexual controls were extended to Black men's sexuality after the Civil War, to retain white supremacy and these ideas of exclusive whiteness. This was achieved through the myth of the black male rapist and the sexual terrorism of lynching black men who transgressed southern sexual, political or economic codes.¹⁵ The myth of the black rapist was used by elite politicians as well as vigilantes. Glenda Gilmore, in her study of the Wilmington riots of 1898, showed how Democrats vying for power from Reconstruction Republicans and Populists used Democrat owned newspapers to create a statewide white terror of black men raping white women, which resulted in white Democrats rioting and forcefully reclaiming control of the state.¹⁶ The Cold War version of this ideology was used by the White Citizens Council during the Civil Rights Movement. According to McMillen, the Citizens

¹² Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 30. see also Bardaglio, 115.

¹³ Bardaglio, 118 and Gary Nash, "The Hidden History of Mestizo America." in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, 17.

¹⁴ Bardaglio, 118. and Nash, 17.

¹⁵ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 46; Christopher Booker, "I Will Wear No Chain!": *A Social History of African American Males* (Westport, Conn: Prager Publishers, 2000), 140-141; see also: Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "'The Mind That Burns in Each Body': Women, Rape and Racial Violence," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 334; Martha Hodes, "The Sexualization of Reconstruction Politics: White Women and Black Men in the South after the Civil War," in *American Sexual Politics: Sex, Gender and Race since the Civil War*, ed by John C. Fout and Maura Shaw Tantillo (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 63; and Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 184.

¹⁶ Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 83.

Council made claims concerning the *Brown* decision that the NAACP appealed to the high court “to open the bedroom doors of our white women to Negro men.”¹⁷ They also used their own press to spread hysteria about black rapists. One article headline was, “Sex Atrocity in Massachusetts: Blacks Rape White Girl Repeatedly.”¹⁸ Thus, we see that a result of this history of white supremacist ideology in relation to race and sexuality was the idea that Black people, who were a threat to white supremacist social order, were stereotyped as hypersexual deviants. These stereotypes are important to analyze because, according to Patricia Hill Collins, “these controlling images are designed to make racism, sexism, poverty and other forms of social injustice appear to be natural, normal, and inevitable parts of everyday life.”¹⁹

Theorists like Collins have also shown that language defines reality in ways that create and perpetuate oppression. Michel Foucault has shown how language and social discourse create and define reality.²⁰ Theorists have built on Foucault’s ideas to show how racial, gender and sexual identities are created and defined through language and discourse via binary thinking which makes dichotomous race, sexuality and gender identities seem natural.²¹ Racial laws like the one-drop rule, for example, have been used to create the illusion of naturally dichotomous definitions of racial identity. These categories, like male/female and white/black, according to Collins, are marked with power and privilege and rely on their duality to maintain this privilege.²² For example, male privilege could not exist without the exclusivity of being defined in opposition to female oppression. Furthermore, because these categories are socially constructed and mark privilege, they are unstable and, according to Scott, require constant maintenance through the

¹⁷ Qtd in McMillen, 185.

¹⁸ Qtd in Ibid, 186.

¹⁹ Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 69.

²⁰ Michel Foucault, *An Introduction*, vol.1 of *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley, (New York: Vintage, 1980), 101.

²¹ Collins, 70.

²² Ibid, 70-71.

suppression of ambiguities, as well as the suppression of the conflicts that have challenged racial, gender, and sexual identity binaries in the past.²³

Another way the instability of binary thinking has been fortified is through the “Othering” of subordinate groups by the dominant privileged group. This means the Othered group is always defined in opposition to and inferior to the norms of the privileged group.²⁴ According to hooks, Othering creates subject and object identities and gives the privileged subject identities the power to define their own reality, identity and history as well as the reality, identity and history of the object.²⁵ The erasure of African American’s and white women’s history is evidence of this. Furthermore, to go back to Scott’s point, this erasure of the object’s history perpetuates the binary because it also erases the history of conflict.²⁶ For example, erasing the way that the racial binary was created through laws like the one-drop rule, makes the racial binary, and the white exclusiveness and white privilege that comes with it seem more natural. This is why Scott stresses the importance of analyzing binary categories, like gender, to understand the nature of dominance and oppression.²⁷ Kate Clark’s analysis which looks at how people are described and placed in grammatical clauses to denote subject and object identity positions as well as intentionality and value is one methodology for analyzing the language of binaries.²⁸ Clark’s methodology will help us see how language was used during the trials against the Highlander Folk School to reinscribe binary subject and object identity ideas and the dominance and privilege that’s attached to them.

The Civil Rights Movement, which Highlander was a part of, challenged the racial privileges southern law had accorded whites that relied on the white/black binary. In the 1950s, as

²³ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, Revised ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 43.

²⁴ Collins, 70.

²⁵ hooks, 42-43.

²⁶ Scott, 43.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Kate Clark, “The linguistics of Blame: Representations of Women in the *Sun*’s Reporting of Crimes of Sexual Violence,” in *The Feminist Critique of Language: A Reader*, ed. Deborah Cameron, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1998), 184-187.

the Supreme Court began hearing the cases that would lead to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, Highlander shifted its focus from labor to civil rights. According to historian Frank Dunham, Highlander began its civil rights work with a series of workshops aimed at developing strategies for school integration. A result of these workshops was a guide to organizing titled, “A Guide to Community Action for Public School Integration,” which was, according Dunham, “distributed widely around [the] nation.”²⁹ Highlander also had notable civil rights activists attend their workshops. Rosa Parks, for example, was profoundly affected by a visit to Highlander just months before she helped set off the Montgomery bus boycott.³⁰ Furthermore, Highlander started Citizenship Schools on the Sea Islands of South Carolina.³¹ Because of the Citizenship Schools, the percentage of black voters on one island rose three hundred percent between 1956 and 1960.³² The program was ripe to spread throughout the South when many southern politicians began to perceive Highlander as a threat to the southern white supremacist status quo and launched attacks like the public nuisance hearing in September of 1959.

In addition to the Civil Rights Movement’s challenge to their power, traditional southern Democrats were losing power in mainstream politics. The National Democratic Party had begun courting the votes of African Americans in the northern and western parts of the United States and progressive southern business leaders were discovering the intense white supremacy of traditional leaders could be a turn-off to northern investors.³³ In addition to this, leaders in the

²⁹ Ibid, 141.

³⁰ *Before the Joint Legislative Investigation Committee, State of Tennessee, in the Matter of Investigation of the Highlander Folk School, Grundy County, Tennessee Public Hearing* Tracy City Feb 26, 1959 and Nashville, Mar. 4, 5, 1959. Highlander Papers, roll 5, slides 393-394, Myles Horton’s testimony. see also: Frank Dunham, “Opposition in Process: The Press, Highlander Folk School and Radical Social Change 1932-1961,” (Ph.D diss., University of Wisconsin, 1994), 141 and Aimee Horton, *The Highlander Folk School: A History of it’s Major Programs, 1932-1962* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing Inc, 1971), 208-209.

³¹ Septima Clark, “Finding Your Way Back Home,” in *Refuse to Stand Silently By: An Oral History of Grass Roots Social Activism in America 1921-1964* (New York, Doubleday Press, 1991), 243-244.

³² Sandra B. Oldendorf, “The South Carolina Sea Island Citizenship Schools, 1957-1961” In *Women in the Civil Rights Movement Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*, (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing Inc, 1990), 174.

³³ Ibid, 225.

churches were promoting integration. For example in May of 1954, the Southern Baptist Convention supported the *Brown* decision.³⁴ Southern elites also had a deep economic stake in white supremacy because their wealth and their prosperity and political economy depended on the cheap labor force of oppressed blacks.³⁵ With southern segregationists' power waning in the Democratic National party and in the Southern Baptist Church and anti-racism posing a threat to their economic positions, it becomes clear that the argument that anti-racist thought was equated to Communism was meant to appeal to the American public as a whole and to reclaim the power of white supremacy inside the Democratic Party. The appeals of atheism and interracial sexual immorality were used to inflame the white southern imagination and insure popular hostility against the movement. Furthermore, the argument that anti-racist activists were innately atheistic was meant to tie them ideologically with Communism in the American mind. The combination of the these three ideologies was meant to maintain the racial and economic status quo in the South, which depended on the exclusive and privileged identity status of white people in opposition to that of black people. The attacks on the Highlander folk school fit into this historical context both in the ideologies of attacks and in the motivations of the attackers.

The ideology of the Southern politicians who attacked the Highlander Folk School was evident in the words of Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia, who waged the first attack on Highlander. In May 1956, Governor Griffin gave a speech at a meeting of the Southern Regional Citizens' Council in New Orleans. Griffin touched on the themes of communism, interracial sexuality and atheism in his speech. First, Griffin implied that the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision was the first step towards Communism, "while the subject today is schools and their operation, its next use may involve taxes or criminal law or the right to own property."³⁶ Next Griffin's speech moved to interracial sex, which he said would be the natural result of integration.

³⁴ McMillen , 172.

³⁵ Heale 221.

³⁶ "Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia Speaking Before the Southern Regional Citizen's Council," New Orleans, LA May 1956. Highlander Papers, Roll 4, slide 0081.

Griffin dramatized the concept by predicting, “Mongrelization of our people here in America will follow integration of the races in school and on the social level.”³⁷ He then drew Christianity into his argument, “When mongrelization of the races occurs—and God grant that it will never occur—it will bring with it the destruction of the Christian religion.”³⁸ This “destruction” of Christianity was inevitable because according to Griffin, “Wherever you find a country that is populated by a black race, a colored race or a mongrel race, the Christian religion has not been able to survive.”³⁹ In this speech to the White Citizens Council, Griffin combined the Southern white supremacist ideologies of anti-Communism, interracial sexuality, and atheism that the Council and Griffin’s Georgia Commission on Education used against Civil Rights activists, and especially against the Highlander Folk School.

Griffin used these ideologies of Communism, atheism, and interracial promiscuity in a propaganda pamphlet that the Georgia Commission on Education published after he sent Edwin “Ed” Friend to investigate Highlander’s twenty-fifth anniversary celebration on Labor Day weekend in 1957.⁴⁰ The result of Friend’s investigation, a newspaper sized propaganda pamphlet, accused Highlander of being communist and clearly insinuated that religion was merely a vehicle for their Communism and that interracial sexual liaisons were the norm. The title of the pamphlet was, “Highlander Folk School—Communist Training School, Monteagle, Tenn.,” and it detailed the relationships between Highlander and supposed Communist Front organizations like the Civil Rights Congress.⁴¹ According to the pamphlet, the Civil Rights Congress was formed by the merger of two Communist front organizations and, “controlled by individuals who are either

³⁷ Ibid, slide 0085.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Frank Adams, *Unearthing the Seeds of Fire: The Idea of Highlander* (Winston Salem: John F. Blair Publisher, 1975), 126; Thomas Bledsoe, *Or We’ll All Hang Separately: The Highlander Idea*, (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1969), 87; Dunham, 159; John Glenn, *Highlander, No Ordinary School, 1932-1962* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1988), 217 Donna Langston, “The Women of Highlander.” In *Women in the Civil Rights Movement Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing Inc, 1990) 158; and, Joan Hobbes, “The Politics of Repression: The Prosecution of the Highlander Folk School, 1957-1959,” (M.A diss., Vanderbilt University, 1973), 53.

⁴¹ “Highlander Folk School-Communist Training School, Monteagle, Tenn.,” Georgia Commission on Education, 1957. Highlander Papers, Roll 4, slide 0111.

members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it.”⁴² The pamphlet also claimed that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was pictured participating in the celebration, was one of the “four Horsemen” of racial agitation who, “have brought tension, disturbance, strife and violence in their advancement of the Communist doctrine of ‘racial nationalism’”⁴³ The claim that Highlander, the Civil Rights Council and Martin Luther King Jr. were Communists was based on the ideology that anti-racist activism was innately intertwined with Communism.

The pamphlet also proposed the idea that subverted religion and interracial sexuality were part of this Communist training school. The depiction that the Christian religion was a cover for Highlander’s Communism surfaced in the middle of the pamphlet on a page of pictures Friend had taken. A picture of a church car with four men milling behind it had a caption that claimed it was illustrating, “how many units of the Communist apparatus are assisted by organizations purportedly charitable or religious in nature.”⁴⁴ This statement claimed that Highlander and its friends were superficially rooted in religion and used faith to give themselves a public image cleaner than that of Communists. By divorcing Highlander from the Church in this way, the pamphlet was aligning them with atheism and Communism. The largest picture on the page insinuated interracial sexuality, where a white woman and a black man appear to be embracing or clapping behind each other’s heads.⁴⁵ This was the only picture without a caption, illustrating that the Georgia Commission on Education assumed white people in the South would grasp the idea that not only was it an interracial embrace, but since it was a black man and a white woman, it conjured the idea of the hypersexualized black male rapist and the protection of white womanhood. Within the pages of the pamphlet, the southern ideologies of fear, Communism,

⁴² Ibid. For information on the anti-communist attacks against the Civil Rights Congress see: Gerald Horne, *Communist Front? The Civil Rights Congress, 1946-1956* (London: Associated University Press, 1988).

⁴³“Highlander Folk School-Communist Training School, Monteagle, Tenn.,” slide 0112.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

atheism, and transgressions of interracial sexual boundaries, were intertwined to leave a deep impact on the elite and popular Southern mind.

The ideologies in the “Communist Training School” pamphlet had a far reaching effect on Highlander’s reputation in the South because, according to Heale, it became the Georgia Commission on Education’s widest distributed and most popular work of propaganda.⁴⁶ Heale noted that “Copies were sent to every daily and weekly newspaper in the United States” and “to other federal and state investigating committees.”⁴⁷ Once the pamphlet caught on, “The Commission was flooded with requests for more copies, sometimes for a thousand or more at a time,” especially in the South because “interest was strongest in other southern states.”⁴⁸ The pamphlet also led other media groups like the magazine *Human Events* and the *Atlanta Constitution* to report unfavorably about Highlander.⁴⁹ The Georgia Commission on Education successfully integrated white supremacist ideologies that claimed Highlander was promoting Communism, atheism, and interracial sexual liaisons and was therefore a threat to white Cold War America into their pamphlet and then disseminated those ideologies throughout the United States. The incredible southern demand for the pamphlets illustrated that white supremacist South understood and constantly re-established the ideologies of the pamphlet.

The Georgia Commission on Education’s widespread manipulation of southern fears and the pressure of politicians like Governor Griffin and Attorney General of Arkansas, Bruce Bennett, led to a Tennessee state Legislative investigation of allegations of Communist subversion at Highlander in late February and early March of 1959.⁵⁰ The main theme of the event was Communism, but notions of religion and interracial sexuality seeped into the Committee’s questions and the witness’s answers throughout the investigation.

⁴⁶ Heale, 259.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 259-260.

⁵⁰ Dunham, 166; Glen, 221; Hobbes, 58; Adams, 127-128.

Witnesses testifying against Highlander spoke of Communist subversion at the school in outrageous and insinuating ways. The most scandalizing testimonies involved claims that Highlander openly pledged allegiance to the Russian government. Carrington M. Scruggs, a man born and raised in Grundy County claimed that when he was at Highlander in the early 1940s, he was taught to sing a song called “the Red Flag.”⁵¹ Scruggs related that the song praised Russia and had lines like, “Beneath its shade we’ll live or die. Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer, we’ll keep the red flag flying here.”⁵² Reverend C.H Kilby, a Methodist preacher from Grundy County read an affidavit from the 1940s that recounted Myles Horton teaching students to salute the Russian flag, “He would have them hold their arms out in front of them even with their shoulders, palms upward.”⁵³ However, when the committee asked Horton how he felt about Russia’s government he answered, “I think that the Soviet Union is trying to force other people in various ways to accept their policies. I don’t believe in that.”⁵⁴

Other witnesses testified that Highlander taught Communist ideology and conspiratorial plans. Roy Lane read an affidavit he wrote in the 1940s to the Committee which detailed what he claimed was Highlander’s plan for conquering the United States, “we should bring up the youths of the country in this belief [Communism] and train them, have them join the U.S Army, and if the necessary vote could not be mustered, then they would be able to overthrow the government from within the army.”⁵⁵ Earl Scruggs, the same man who learned the song “the red flag” also recounted Highlander’s teachings of the five year plan of Russia, “the working man could...more evenly distribute capital through a system of not voting.”⁵⁶ When Horton was asked what Highlander taught, he described the citizenship schools Highlander had started on the Sea Islands

⁵¹ *Before the Joint Legislative Investigation Committee, State of Tennessee, in the Matter of Investigation of the Highlander Folk School, Grundy County, Tennessee Public Hearing Tracy City Feb 26, 1959 and Nashville, Mar. 4, 5, 1959. Highlander Papers, roll 4, slide 1010.*

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid, slide 0998.

⁵⁴ Ibid, roll 5, slide, 0417.

⁵⁵ Ibid, slide 0092.

⁵⁶ Ibid, roll 4, slide 1017.

of South Carolina. He explained the goal of the program was to help poor black folks on the islands register to vote because, Horton said, “We think it is our duty to help people become citizens, to help them to register so they can vote. We do say they should vote. That is part of their responsibility as a citizen.”⁵⁷ The testimonies painting Horton and Highlander as devout Communists with ties to Russia and plans to overthrow the United States’ government did not add up when compared to Horton’s explanations of Highlander’s activities and philosophy. Instead the witnesses illustrated that their testimonies were fanciful constructions of Communist subversion at the school.

The committee and witnesses also tried to imply the existence of Communist subversion at Highlander through references to secret meetings and by characterizing Highlander’s work in the labor movement as anti-American. L.C Goodman, for example remembered the time he tried to visit Highlander, “there would be a half dozen, maybe a dozen people gathered there, as soon as I entered they declared a recess.”⁵⁸ The committee followed up his statement with, “In other words, what they were discussing, they didn’t want you to know about it, trying to keep it a secret.”⁵⁹ Goodman answered yes, casting an image of covert subversion on the school.⁶⁰ The Committee also tainted Highlander’s help organizing Works Progress Administration (WPA) workers in the 1930s, with a Communist flavor. Judge Malcolm Fults worked for a division of the WPA during the depression. The committee asked him, “Judge, these people that we have been talking about, were they employees of the government under the relief program?” Fults answered yes to the question and the committee built their argument, “And was it these people that Myles Horton was trying to organize to work against the federal government?” Fults confirmed this statement, and the committee was able to insinuate that Highlander’s work trying to win better

⁵⁷ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0374.

⁵⁸ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0034.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

wages for Grundy county workers was really an excuse to rally against the United States government.⁶¹

Witnesses who testified on behalf of Highlander had a different view of Highlander's politics. They described Highlander as an institution dedicated to democracy. David E. Underdown, a professor at the University of the South, testified that during his visits to Highlander, "At no time did I observe the slightest trace of anything resembling subversion... On the contrary, what I heard and saw seemed to me an inspiring example of democracy at work."⁶² He went on to say that because the United States was the world leader in democracy, "it would be tragic if anything should interrupt the work of an institution which so convincingly demonstrates the vitality of American ideals."⁶³ However, during their time with Underdown, the Committee insisted that Highlander, "wouldn't come out and say they were Communists, they would work underground through integration."⁶⁴ The committee also claimed that Highlander was using racial integration as a means to create chaos and asked, "Isn't it true that Communism thrives faster and better when there is chaos, turmoil in the nation?"⁶⁵ The committee took Underdown's description of Highlander's dedication to democracy and equality and tried to warp it into the white supremacist ideology that integration was merely a cover and a tool for Communists to use. This argument attempted to discredit Highlander and other institutions that were in the anti-racist struggle in the context of the Red-Scare.

In an attempt to prove that Highlander was atheistic, and therefore, prone to Communism and racial integration, members of the committee repetitively asked questions about Highlander's religious practices. The committee asked Scruggs, "Do you know whether or not they ever returned thanks before they ate, or anything in that respect?" and Scruggs answered, "No."⁶⁶

⁶¹ Ibid, roll 4, slide 0931.

⁶² Ibid, roll 5, slide 0200.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0218

⁶⁵ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0221.

⁶⁶ Ibid, roll 4, slide 1021.

Folks testifying on behalf of the Folk School were also interrogated about Highlander's religious piety. May Justus, a local retired school teacher and secretary treasurer of Highlander was asked if there was a Bible in Highlander's library.⁶⁷ The committee also asked many of the witnesses questions concerning the allegation that Horton would take children away from church services on Sundays and take them hiking in the mountains where he would tell them "to look out over the horizon and over the valleys and tell them that there is no God."⁶⁸ By depicting Horton as a freewheeling atheist who tried to ruin the religion of local children, the committee and witnesses like Scruggs insinuated that Horton and Highlander were atheists, which was aligned in the southern imagination with Communism.

The Committee also pressed the issue of sexual immorality at Highlander. Indeed, the largest focus of the questions and testimonies concerned interracial sexual immorality. Although the committee stated a few times that, "Integration is not a question for this Committee," the issues of black and white people learning, swimming, and dancing together continuously came up and some witnesses took this to the extreme by testifying to interracial sexual liaisons. The most sensationalized of this testimony was Edwin Friend's, the photographer who was sent by Governor Griffin to cover the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration at Highlander. Friend showed a film he had taken of his weekend at Highlander and narrated it for the committee. His first accusation of immorality came when he described Highlander's lake, "This is the lake they invited me to go in swimming without a bathing suit on or not."⁶⁹ He then described a scene by the lake, "a little Negro boy pulling a little white girl off in the water."⁷⁰

Friend also answered questions about the picture that was featured in the "Communist Training School" propaganda pamphlet that depicted a black man and a white woman embracing. Friend described the picture, "At the time I took the picture they were that close and in some

⁶⁷ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0146.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 991.

⁶⁹ Ibid, roll 5, slide, 0435.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

instances closer.”⁷¹ Friend provided the committee with another picture of a square dance where two African American boys were square dancing with a white girl. Friend explained that during this particular square dance, the man who called the dance, “always wound up with one of the Negro boys dancing with one of the white girls.”⁷² Friend attributed this to the caller’s attempt to, “break down the resistance to integration in that you had to do it anyway that a person really wouldn’t be conscious of it.”⁷³ Friend was painting a picture for the committee and the press. The little white girl was getting dragged into the lake by the little black boy, the same lake where nude swimming was condoned. On top of that, not only were black men and white women dancing together, they were being coerced into it via Highlander’s ploys at integrating the races and sexes. Friend described integration in the vein of Governor Griffin, as a gateway for interracial sex and the eventual mongrelization of the races. This description invoked fear in the minds of white southerners, who were indoctrinated with the ideas of the black rapist, as well as the deeply embedded taboo against interracial sexuality.

The language used during the trials re-established white supremacist domination. One way the language of the trials did this was by re-creating the stereotype of the black male sexual aggressor. For example, when both Myles Horton and May Justus, were asked about the picture of the black man and white woman dancing together from the “Communist Training School” pamphlet, the committee presented the question, “Do you know that colored man there in the picture who is dancing with this white woman?”⁷⁴ By wording the question this way, according to language theorists like Kate Clark, the committee was making the black man the subject, or actor, in the sentence. When Horton implied that the picture was taken to make it look more scandalous than reality, the committee rebuffed him with, “Do you deny that this colored man is embracing

⁷¹ Ibid, roll 5, slide, 0438.

⁷² Ibid, roll 5, slide, 0440.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0144.

this white woman?”⁷⁵ After Horton volunteered to demonstrate the dance step he said the picture depicted, the first thing the chairman of the committee said was, “You represent the colored man. Tell me how the colored man had the white woman.”⁷⁶ By continuously placing the black man in the subject and actor place of the sentence and the white woman in the object and acted upon place and by making the action itself active instead of passive, the committee’s language added intentionality, and blame, to the black man’s actions and evoked the idea of the black man as sexual aggressor. Furthermore, by choosing verbs like, “embracing” and especially “had,” the committee deepened this impression because “had” was often seen as a synonym for sexual conquest.⁷⁷

The selective use of language also marked subjectivity in the testimonies of witnesses who erased the gender of people they were referring to. While phrases such as, “the colored man embracing the white woman” gave the African American man a subject place in the action, this subjectivity was often erased by witnesses. For example, when Henry Dyer, a local Grundy County resident, referred to his son who, “went in and got into it with a Negro,” according to the theories of Patricia Hill Collins and bell hooks, he erased the gender of the person his son was fighting with, and therefore erased a part of their identity and returned the African American male to the place of object.⁷⁸ The ways that black men were referred to during the trial were used to mark them either as subjects, where they should not be according to white supremacist thought as intentional actors upon white women, or as objects, which fortified the subject position of the white people testifying, and Othered the black people they were referring to.

Edwin Friend also referred to “Negroes” as a monolithic non-gendered identity. He testified that his wife “couldn’t understand how in the world white men and Negroes could get

⁷⁵ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0306. see also Clark, 187.

⁷⁶ *Before the Joint Legislative Investigation Committee, State of Tennessee*, roll 5, slide 0307.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0119. see also Collins 70, and hooks, 42-43.

together and laugh at the democracy in which we live and criticize it.”⁷⁹ While white men in Friend’s description were given a gendered status, “Negroes” were not. Even more telling was the way that the *Chattanooga News Free Press* warped this testimony. According to the paper’s account, Friend’s wife, “had been so upset by seeing Negro men and white women together that she ‘laid down in the bed’ of their motel room...and cried.”⁸⁰ The use of language in the Highlander legislative hearing reinforced white supremacist ideologies of race, sex, and gender and the newspapers in Tennessee offered sensationalized accounts of these ideologies. An effect was both a public uproar against the Highlander Folk School, and a strengthened and disseminated cultural inscription of both the idea that black men are subjects as hypersexualized sexual predators, or objects as neutered “Negroes.” According to Joan Wallach Scott, conflicting cultural symbols like the hypersexed and neutered black man are part of the ideology of binary thinking that perpetuates the dominance of privileged groups.⁸¹ Furthermore, this language helped lead to the padlock hearing in mid-September, 1959 and became a central part of the newest attack on Highlander.⁸²

Like the Legislative hearing, race was not supposed to be an issue in the public nuisance hearing, yet examples of interracial sexuality were used to demonize Highlander according to white southern ideology and the language used to describe them, once again, reinscribed white supremacist ideas of race, gender and sex. Cecil Branstetter, Highlander’s attorney, interjected into witnesses’ testimonies that race was not supposed to be an issue. For example, Mrs. Willie Lane, a neighbor of Highlander, testified that couples from Highlander walked by her house. Then the prosecuting attorney, Ab Sloan asked, “Would they be what color, if anything?” and

⁷⁹ *Before the Joint Legislative Investigation Committee, State of Tennessee*, roll 5, slide 0447.
⁸⁰ *Chattanooga News Free Press*, March 5, 1959, University of Tennessee at Knoxville, periodical storage, microfilm. (hereafter referred to as UT).
⁸¹ Scott, 43.
⁸² Glen, 231.

Branstetter objected with, “There is no colorship in this courtroom.”⁸³ Despite Branstetter’s objection Lane continued with her story stating that she had seen “colored and white couples come through there.”⁸⁴

The most scandalized testimonies came from Hazel Mae Thomas and her son Samuel Lee. In addition to the story of Kathy Shepherd and the young African American man in the woods Mae Thomas also testified about, “a lady and a colored man in the library having sexual intercourse.”⁸⁵ Samuel Lee testified to the same event. He saw a, “Nigger man and a white woman in the library on the couch, red couch...having sexual intercourse.”⁸⁶ Edwin Friend returned for the public nuisance hearing and brought out the picture of the black man and white woman dancing again, except this time Friend said that he followed them after the dance and, “They went down through the woods toward the dark room where she was staying...went into the room together, but in between there and the room, they hesitated and I was a little too far away to see whether they were hugging and kissing.”⁸⁷ Later in Friend’s testimony, Sloan asked, “And you did see them frequently together?” Friend answered, “I saw them that night and the next morning,” insinuating that they spent the night together.⁸⁸

Although Highlander’s attorney, Cecil Branstetter brought up issues that discredited the testimony of these witnesses, Tennessee papers ignored these issues and focused on the charges of interracial sexual immorality. Hazel Mae Thomas, for example stole twelve dresses from a student’s cabin at Highlander.⁸⁹ Horton, in his autobiography, wrote about the witnesses Sloan used against Highlander, “Later on, every one of them...told me he or she had been paid. They

⁸³ *In the Circuit Court of Grundy County, Tennessee, at Altamont, in the Matter of: State of Tennessee, ex rel., A.F Sloan, Attorney General of the 18th Judicial Circuit, vs. Highlander Folk School, a Corp.: Myles Horton; May Justus; and Septima Clark.* Sept. 14, 15, 16, 1959. Highlander Papers, roll 5, slide 0717.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0773.

⁸⁶ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0837.

⁸⁷ Ibid, roll 5, slide 0998.

⁸⁸ Ibid, roll 5, slide 1006.

⁸⁹ Ibid, roll 5, 0788.

wanted me to help them sue the prosecution for not having paid them more.”⁹⁰ However, when the *Chattanooga News Free Press* reported on Mae Thomas’s testimony, its depiction of her was that of a saintly and refined southern woman. The paper referred to her by her husband’s name, “Mrs. Robert J. Thomas” lending her the elevated respect of a solid white southern wife and mentioned that she, “came to the witness chair holding an infant in her arms.”⁹¹ The *Free Press* related every part of Thomas’s testimony that focused on interracial sex. The *Nashville Banner* also chimed in calling Highlander, “the scene of lurid ‘love nests’ involving Negroes and whites.”⁹² The idea of interracial sexuality was repeated throughout these Tennessee newspapers’ coverage of the Highlander trials.

Like the Legislative hearing, the language used by witnesses in the Padlock trial and in the newspaper accounts describing the trial, reinforced white supremacist ideologies of race gender and sexual binary identities. The *Chattanooga News-Free Press*, described Mae Thomas’s testimony, “She named a Grundy County girl whose father and mother had worked for Highlander, and who was in her teens at the time, that she had seen with a colored boy under compromising conditions.”⁹³ The information they gave about Shepherd was that she was a female, local and young, but they do not identify her race. The newspaper assumed that people would identify “Grundy County girl” with whiteness.⁹⁴ This insinuated that Grundy County identified itself as a lily white county and it reinforced this identity. It also depicted the, “colored boy” as having an outsider identity in the county, which according to Collins’ theory, clearly Othered him and relegated him to the subordinate end of the white/black binary.⁹⁵

Samuel Lee Thomas’s testimony was also indicative of language that inscribed white supremacist identities on the folks he was talking about. When he described the scene in the

⁹⁰ Myles Horton, *The Long Haul: An Autobiography* (New York: Doubleday Press, 1990), 110.

⁹¹ *Chattanooga News Free Press*, Sept. 14, 1959, UT.

⁹² *Nashville Banner*, Sept. 15, 1959, UT.

⁹³ *Chattanooga News Free Press*, Sept. 14, 1959, UT.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* see also Collins, 70-71.

library, he said he saw a, “Nigger man and a white woman in the library on the couch, red couch,” who were having sexual intercourse.⁹⁶ First of all, by choosing the word “nigger” to describe the man, Thomas, according to hooks’ description of subject and object, placed himself in the position of subject and illustrated the dominance of this position with his ability to define the identity of the black man who was made the object.⁹⁷ Moreover, he was referring to the man, as “nigger,” which placed a negative value on his identity, according to Clark’s methodology.⁹⁸ Also, when this description is juxtaposed next to the way he described black people in non-sexual situations in his testimony, the emphasis he was putting on “Nigger man” was emphasized.⁹⁹ Sloan asked Thomas, “When you say ‘them’ going up there drinking, who do you have reference to?” Thomas answered, “Colored people and faculty.”¹⁰⁰ Now that interracial sex was not an issue, the African Americans Thomas was speaking of, as well as the faculty they were with, lost their gendered identity so, once again, the subject identity position was being attached to African Americans only when it posed a threat to white supremacist ideology, when it involved black men, white women, and sex. Drawing again on hooks’ idea, this giving and taking away of the subject position, first of all, fortified the subject position of the white people involved because it illustrated their ability to define the identity and reality of the black participants as objects. Secondly, it gave the black subject position, the black male sexual aggressor, a negative connotation.¹⁰¹

The charge against Highlander was immorality and this was not supposed to have anything to do with race. However, by repetitively pointing out the race and gender of the black men that were allegedly sleeping with white women, while simultaneously erasing the gender of African Americans when they were not involved in sexual activity with white people, the

⁹⁶ *In the Circuit Court of Grundy County, Tennessee*, roll 5, slide 0837.

⁹⁷ *In the Circuit Court of Grundy County, Tennessee*, roll 5, slide 0837. see also hooks, 42-43.

⁹⁸ *In the Circuit Court of Grundy County, Tennessee*, roll 5, slide 0837. see also Clark, 184-185.

⁹⁹ *In the Circuit Court of Grundy County, Tennessee*, roll 5, slide 0837.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, roll 5, slide 0832.

¹⁰¹ hooks, 43-43.

language used in the trials designated subject identities in different ways. First of all, it reinscribed the idea that the white people using the language were ultimately in the privileged subject position and could define the object African American people according to the subject's needs. These needs were ways that perpetuated white supremacist thought such as aligning the black male subject position with intentional sexual aggression. It also created conflicting cultural symbols of black manhood, the sexual aggressor, and the neutered man, that according to Scott, help construct the racial binary that defines black men as objects.¹⁰² Through this language, the witnesses, the politicians, and the attorneys were subtly restating and perpetuating these white supremacist ideologies to re-establish their position as a privileged racial subject identity and to spread a moral hysteria that would click with the fears of the white supremacist southern imagination. This was a broader attempt to squelch the Civil Rights activism of Highlander which posed a threat to white privilege.

The charges of immorality and drunkenness that Sloan brought against Highlander during the nuisance hearing did not stand up in court, but the charge that Highlander was selling beer, based on Horton's own testimony about operating a rotating beer fund, did.¹⁰³ This led to the hearing in November of 1959, which ended in the revocation of Highlander's charter based on the accusation that Horton was operating Highlander for personal gain and that the school was selling beer. In addition, Sloan charged the school with violating a 1901 Tennessee law that banned integrated schools, claiming that the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision only applied to public schools. Highlander plead guilty to the charge of conducting integrated classrooms and their charter was revoked.¹⁰⁴ Although the main concentrations of the public nuisance hearing were immorality and the sale of beer, Communism came up again, as did interracial sexuality in

¹⁰² Scott, 43. see also hooks, 42-43.

¹⁰³ Bledsoe, 124; Dunham, 176; John Edgerton, "The Trial of the Highlander Folk School," *Southern Exposure*, 6,1(1978), 85; Glen, 238; Hobbes, 115.

¹⁰⁴ Myles Horton and Bill Moyers, "*Bill Moyer's Journal: an Interview with Myles Horton: The Adventures of a Radical Hillbilly part I and part II*," (New Market, Tn: Highlander Research and Education Center, 1983), 277. see also: Dunham, 178; Edgerton, 87; Glen, 243; Hobbes, 126; Langston, 161.

both the charter revocation hearing and the Tennessee Supreme Court decision. For example, when Sloan was questioning Horton about storing liquor in his house, he finished his question with, “You can holler the Fifth Amendment,” which tied Horton to the people who used the Fifth Amendment during House Un-American Committee hearings during the Red Scare.¹⁰⁵

During the charter revocation trial in November, according to Highlander staff member, John Thompson’s notes on the trial, during Ed Friend’s third testimony against Highlander, “he passed around the Gov. Griffin still picture of the folk dance where the white woman and a Negro man were caught close together. . . . It had no relevance to charges and the judge ruled it stricken from the record. But the jury had seen it.”¹⁰⁶ Sloan was preying on the jury’s white supremacist cultural understanding of the black male rapist as a threat, as well as the fear that integration would inevitably lead to miscegenation. Later, when the Tennessee Supreme Court ruled on the question of Highlander’s integrated classrooms, the decision showed explicit signs that interracial sexuality was still part of the issue. The court wrote that it was, “unnecessary for us to pass upon the constitutional question as to the mixing of white and colored, *male and female*, in the same school (my emphasis).”¹⁰⁷ When the issue of integration was removed from the Supreme Court case, Highlander lost all hopes of a constitutional challenge.¹⁰⁸ Its charter was revoked, its buildings were burnt, and its land was sold, but the idea of Highlander was reborn as the Highlander center in Knoxville.¹⁰⁹

Although the issues that closed down the Highlander Folk School, the transfer of land and a rotating beer fund were concrete but minute, the issues that fed the fire of the witch-hunt in Tennessee, were part of an abstract and deeply woven part of southern white supremacy’s un-democratic response to challengers of the racial status quo. Southern Democrats such as Marvin Griffin of Georgia and the White Citizen’s Council accused the Highlander folk School of

¹⁰⁵ *In the Circuit Court of Grundy County, Tennessee*, roll 5, slide 1194.

¹⁰⁶ John Thompson, “Untitled notes, November 9, 1959,” in Adams, 138.

¹⁰⁷ Qtd in Edgerton, 87.

¹⁰⁸ Adams, 140; Dunham, 180; Edgerton, 87; Glen, 245; Hobbes, 128; Langston, 161.

¹⁰⁹ Myles Horton, *The Long Haul: An Autobiography*, 110-111. see also, Glen, 248-249.

promoting Communism, atheism, and interracial sexuality, or in the southern imagination, immorality. There were different levels to the accusations against the schools. There were the scandals like students singing songs praising the red flag of Russia.¹¹⁰ There were also the reports that Myles Horton led children away from Sunday school, into the mountains where he told them there was no God.¹¹¹ And the most inflammatory reports, according to white supremacist ideology, were reports such as black men having sexual intercourse with white women in the middle of the Highlander library.¹¹² Supporting and giving meaning to this moral hysteria, was the language used by the committees, prosecutors and witnesses that indicated deeper issues with the school. According to the methodology of Kate Clark and the theories of Joan Wallach Scott, Patricia Hill Collins, and bell hooks, by repetitively shifting African Americans in and out of subject identities and only identifying the elements of their identity that could inflame public opinion, committees, prosecutors and witnesses illustrated that their deeper concern was with Highlander's efforts to help African Americans gain power in southern culture and politics. This power would help black people shift their identities from object to subject, therefore claiming the right to define their own realities, identities and histories. This would destabilize the racial binary in the South and the privilege and dominance that accompanied it. This posed a threat to the southern Democrats' already crumbling political and economic control of their party, the South, and to the exclusive privilege of whiteness in the South. Historical analysis of how the language of white supremacy was used in the trials and against the Civil Rights Movement gives us access to a deeper understanding of how white supremacist culture works and how it constantly re-establishes itself.

¹¹⁰ *Before the Joint Legislative Investigation Committee, State of Tennessee*, roll 4, slide 1010.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, roll 5, slide 991.

¹¹² *In the Circuit Court of Grundy County, Tennessee*, roll 5, slide 0837.

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