

## TRUSTEE ELECTION

-----11,000.00  
 fees, library, athletics  
 stage, etc., about----- 2,000.00  
 y paid to retire G. M.  
 school bonds and inter-  
 about----- 4,400.00

In this connection, I have felt that it is not fair to the taxpayers of Milledgeville, and not fair to the children in the lower grades to require such a small part of the income of the children of Milledgeville and so much of the income on the faculty of the higher classes, composed largely of outside pupils.

That tax money should be spent wisely in educating the children of Milledgeville first. The schools should be for the children and not for the faculty members. The money should get the proper results. It should be efficiently managed and give the taxpayers a return in the education of their own children first.

There has been that to maintain the paid faculty and officials for the other classes of boarding students here ought to be more income derived in from outside students by a larger enrollment of such students.

It would let the local tax money be used for the education of the Milledgeville children, which certainly seems reasonable.

Finally, no one can successfully demand that I have given liberally, generously and freely of my time and effort for the welfare of G. M. C.

And again, in the midst of financial storms, I have come to the aid of the college as all the former trustees will agree to. I have backed the college officially, and I have personally signed notes of large amounts to carry the college over a crisis. I have repeatedly arranged loans

## MONROE JURY INDICTS FIVE MEN

Raines, Unice, Herndon, McSwain and Wood Indicted.

## BILLS ARE RETURNED BY MONROE COUNTY

Bail Denied by Judge Searcy to Those Arrested.

MACON, Aug. 31.—Five Macon men were indicted for murder by the Monroe county grand jury at Forsyth yesterday in connection with the lynching of John (Cocky) Glover, negro lawyer of Deputy Walter C. Byrd and two negroes.

- Indicted were:  
 Troy Raines, grocer.  
 Nathan Unice, soft drink dealer.  
 Gordon Herndon, mechanic.  
 H. L. McSwain, loan agent and insurance man.  
 D. L. Wood, hotel clerk.

The first four were lodged in the Bibb county jail last night at 8:30 by Sheriff R. C. Bittick, of Monroe county. Wood, against whom indictments were also pending in the county, had not been located. Bibb county sheriffs have not been able to locate him, either, and it is believed that he has effected his escape for the time being, at least.

Judge W. E. H. Searcy, informed on long distance phone at Forsyth last night that the men had been arrested, ordered them held without bail. He took the position that the indictments were returned on a capital offense and the defendants were not available.

McSwain Arrested First.  
 Sheriff Bittick and his brother, Deputy Sheriff L. C. Bittick, rushed to Ma-

## SEVERAL SUFFER LACTEAL POISONING

Six Children Become Seriously Ill from Drinking Milk Thursday Morning. All Now Improving.

Four children of Mr. and Mrs. O. C. Terry and two children of Mr. and Mrs. L. D. Roberson, all residents of Wall street, were made seriously ill Thursday morning from lacteal poisoning.

Shortly before noon the children were given a glass each of fresh butter milk that had been milked from one cow. In about an hour after being given the milk all became desperately ill and a physician was immediately summoned to administer treatment.

For several hours the six year old son of Mr. and Mrs. Terry was considered in a most critical condition and it was feared for a time that he had barely a slight chance of recovering from the poison shock. All six of the children became highly nauseated and developed considerable fever within less time than two hours after drinking the milk and throughout the day all were considered in a rather serious condition.

The children subjected to the poisoning were constantly visited by a physician Thursday, though at a late hour in the evening it was considered that all were out of danger.

It is presumed that the milk became poisoned by the cow having eaten certain weeds, though whatever might have been the cause it is looked upon by the attending physician and members of the family that all had a very narrow escape.

## NOTICE OF MEETING

# The Three Deaths of John Glover, 1922

BY THOMAS AIELLO

The Shelton family of early twentieth-century Southwest Georgia owned a turpentine and timber company set on a piece of property in rural Lowndes County, just outside of Valdosta. It was a business that had generated profit since the Gilded Age by exploiting Black prisoner labor, but by the 1920s those days had passed. Just after the turn of the century, the convict lease system had been replaced with the chain gang, a system almost as brutal but one that served the state rather than private industries like the Sheltons' turpentine business. (Turpentine was infamous for continuing a variety of debt peonage practices well into the decades following convict lease.) While the Sheltons used predominantly Black labor, the company was far less notorious than many of its rivals in South Georgia and North Florida. One of its employees was John Glover.

Glover, a Black man, was killed in February 1922 after committing a brutal mass school shooting near the Shelton turpentine still. Five months later and three hundred miles away in Rome, in the northwest part of the state, another John Glover died naturally after a long, successful life. This John Glover was White, a Confederate veteran who had risen in commerce to become a bank president and one of the wealthiest citizens in the region. Just weeks after his death, a third John Glover was drinking in a pool hall in the Black section of Macon, halfway between Rome and Valdosta. When a particularly brutal White sheriff's deputy came into the establishment to bully its Black clientele, Glover shot the officer in self-defense, killing him on the spot. Though he escaped briefly, authorities caught him; a mob then took him from the police and lynched him on August 1.

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Left: A story in the *Milledgeville News*, August 4, 1922, about the indictment of five men in connection to the lynching of John "Cocky" Glover. *Digital Library of Georgia's Georgia Historic Newspapers database.*

In less than six months in 1922 three men named John Glover died in Georgia. Their lives and deaths were representative of several groups of Blacks and Whites in the post-World War I South: impoverished, rural Blacks who worked in exploitative industries; White elites whose Confederate service, economic privilege, and whiteness provided them keys to a kingdom that rural Black workers could never know; and Blacks who were victimized and abused at the hands of law enforcement officers and lynch mobs after frequently being accused of assaulting White women. Of course, most exploited Black workers did not get drunk and shoot up schools. Most Confederate veterans did not become wealthy scions of cities they helped build. And most lynching victims had not had some kind of inappropriate contact with White women. But these deaths of John Glover do, with some exceptions, provide a portrait of the dominant economic and social forces at work in early 1920s Georgia—violent, deadly forces. The three John Glovers of Georgia were not related. There is no evidence they ever met. But they were tethered by more than a common name, bound by systems of reward and oppression that post-World War I Georgia shared with most of the broader South.

The First Death of John Glover:  
Valdosta, February 17, 1922

The schools in Jim Crow Georgia were always unequal. There was never even the false pretense of meeting the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision's "separate but equal" standard in the state's public school systems until 1949. In that year the state enacted a law to haltingly address these inequities because legislators feared that segregation itself was increasingly vulnerable to a pernicious and activist Supreme Court.<sup>1</sup> Prior to those postwar changes, whenever a group of Black students in Lowndes County registered for school, the county chartered a new school for them to ensure that integration by way of simple proximity would never disrupt segregation. There was no allowance made for age or quality of education of the would-be students. Rural Black schools in Lowndes were one-room, one-teacher affairs, with everyone attending together. What students learned, when they arrived, and when they left for the day was left to the discretion of the instructor, without any meaningful state standards or other guidance. At least four of these county schoolhouses were among the more than five thousand schools funded by Julius Rosenwald, leader of Sears, Roebuck and Company.<sup>2</sup> Along with the Rosenwald schools, there were other rural county schools like Bemiss, Hahira, Jumping Gulley Road, Red Flagg, and Woods Chapel. No less

than thirty-four Black schoolhouses existed in the county at some point during the segregation era.

One of these county schools served the small turpentine and lumber community of Indianola, just outside Valdosta, the county seat and most significant regional hub. It educated about twenty students of different ages, with one teacher for all of them.<sup>3</sup> Indianola was, as of 1910, owned in its entirety by the Shelton family. They were one of Valdosta’s oldest clans, establishing themselves in the city in the decade after its 1860 founding. C.I. Shelton, the family patriarch, built a family home in Valdosta and a timber and turpentine concern on its outskirts in Indianola. Timber and turpentine were profitable and grew the Sheltons’ wealth and reputation. They were also well known for controlling Black labor through debt peonage.<sup>4</sup>

Peonage in the South was a product of conflicts between Black freedmen and White landowners following Emancipation. Impoverished freedmen were forced to sign year-long contracts that took away their ability to bargain for the use of their labor.<sup>5</sup> Congress made peonage technically illegal in 1867. But in *United States v. Clyatt*, a 1902 peonage case in Pensacola, prosecutors gave lie to the technicality, claiming that in South Georgia and North Florida—particularly in the turpentine business—debt peonage was widely used as a source of involuntary labor. “No other crime is



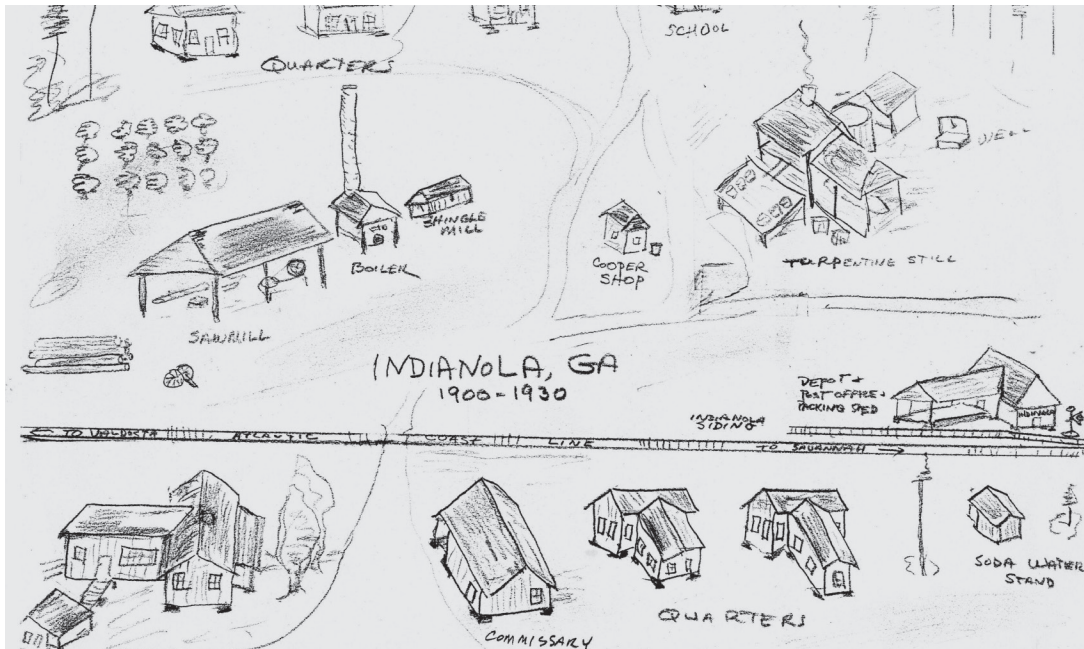
Turpentine workers in Georgia, 1937. Photo by Dorothea Lange. Library of Congress.

so subtle in its operation,” went another ruling in 1903, and “more destructive in its results than that which degrades the public conscience, until it can tamely and without protest witness the unlawful slavery of the citizen.”<sup>6</sup> One investigation in 1907 estimated that one third of plantations “operating from five to one-hundred plows” were holding their Black workers in a state of peonage. An August 1919 letter from Coffee, a small hamlet in Bacon County, to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s (NAACP) national headquarters in New York demonstrated the avarice that attended debt peonage: “I am in slavery,” the letter writer explained, and “All I want to do is leave this place. I am here at this place and my husband are working turpentine and the poor men here are only getting something to eat, and not very much of that, and when a man gets ready to leave he are not allowed to go.”<sup>7</sup>

The historian Pete Daniel, who published the seminal study on southern debt peonage, argues that “most complaints from the rural South charged that coercion, not laws, kept the victims [of peonage] at their jobs.” Some were arrested for petty crimes, with White men paying the prisoners’ fines to gain control over them. At other times, as Len Cooper has explained, White landowners “swindled the sharecropper into debt so permanent he could never work himself out of it.” Using fines was probably the most common tactic. Others took the indigent and traded rooms for work, then billed for food and other amenities that kept employees in an overwhelming cycle of debt. “This peonage system was the dying gasp of that reign of terror called slavery,” explains the historian Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, “and the people didn’t want to let go of it.”<sup>8</sup>

The Shelton Company was a competitive part of the notorious turpentine industry. There is no specific evidence that the business was driven by debt peonage, but it is certainly likely. To better manage its workers, the company housed them on the sprawling property that constituted Indianola and helped fund the one-room schoolhouse for workers’ children. (The school was part of the Moulton-Branch District of the Lowndes County schools, running east and northeast from Valdosta.)<sup>9</sup> Shelton Company workers received better treatment than many Black turpentine workers got in South Georgia and North Florida, but such treatment did not erase the hardships of the industry or create a universal sense of contentment in Indianola.

John Glover was anything but content. Born in 1876, as Reconstruction was dying, Glover had spent his childhood in the forced poverty of Redeemer retrenchment—but



Map of Indianola, Lowndes County, Georgia. Lowndes County Historical Society, Valdosta, GA.

he had survived. In the early twentieth century, he married his wife, Lue; in 1906, the couple had a daughter, Purl. In 1920, the family was living near the school at Indianola, but there the trail goes cold. Something happened to Lue and Purl in 1921—something lost to history—but it was undoubtedly something bad. John moved to Indianola to work at the turpentine still that year, and he came alone, most likely the consequence of peonage. In 1922, he was forty-six-years-old and bound in debt; he had been “very troublesome recently, due to his continued drinking.” On February 17, “crazed by mean moonshine whiskey,” he became even more troublesome.<sup>10</sup>

Glover lived in the Shelton workers’ quarters, which was near the schoolhouse and the other workers and their families, including the children who attended the school. He arrived back at the quarters around noon, desperately drunk from a recent moonshine bender. All he wanted was to rest, but the school children were playing baseball outside. Lying in his house in that tenuous state between drunkenness and hangover, his anger at the noise turned quickly into anger at the children. He went outside and threatened the students, including young Emma Mason. Glover slapped fourteen-year-old Stafford Berrien, who responded by hitting the aging drunk with a baseball bat.

Stafford Berrien was the youngest son of Tobias and Annie Berrien. The couple had several children; Stafford had come along in 1908. Though he had just become a teenager, Stafford's parents were already in their late fifties. Much earlier, just after their 1885 marriage, the couple had conceived their second child, Ada. Tobias was a turpentine worker, had always been a turpentine worker, and Ada grew up in that world. It was no surprise that when she decided to marry, she married a turpentine worker, Cleveland Mason, who had bounced around from farming to timber before winding up in turpentine. After the two were married they began having children—lots of children. Within the first four years of their marriage they already had six kids, including two pairs of twins. Their final child was Emma, born just after World War I. Fourteen-year-old Stafford Berrien was little Emma Mason's uncle, even though both attended the same one-room schoolhouse. Stafford was the oldest and the uncle, which made him responsible for Emma. That responsibility gave him the strength to hit back against John Glover.<sup>11</sup>

The school's teacher, Victoria Pearce, feared trouble. Anyone who would drunkenly slap a young boy without provocation would surely retaliate after being struck with a baseball bat. She hurriedly brought the kids back into the school and locked the door. Glover, meanwhile, was bent on revenge. He went back inside his house, got a pistol and a shotgun, and then began to lay siege to the school. He started firing at the building before he even reached it. There was only one door to the one-room school, but the drunken Glover would not be deterred. He used his shotgun to destroy the lock, then opened the flimsy door and continued indiscriminately firing inside. Four-year-old Emma Mason was closest. She was struck first and fell, dead when she hit the ground. Next to to be shot was her uncle Stafford. The students had begun running out to escape Glover and Berrien was the last one to leave. He was struck with birdshot from Glover's long gun. His wounds did not kill him immediately, but he would succumb to them before the day was done.<sup>12</sup> Another recounting of the event had Berrien being shot first, trailing everyone as they ran out of the building. Glover then followed them out and began shooting at children in the schoolyard. Young Emma Mason was unable to keep up with the crowd, making her the most vulnerable. Glover's shot, even in that version of events, killed her instantly.<sup>13</sup>

The first person who arrived to stop Glover was Ada, Emma's mother and Berrien's sister. In the second telling, Ada watched Glover kill her daughter as she ran from the workers' quarters toward the school. She tried to attack her daughter's assailant, but Glover beat her off with the shotgun after he had unsuccessfully tried to shoot

her. At this point, a truckload of armed men arrived to stop Glover's rampage. They first attempted to draw Glover out of the school. When he responded by firing on them, they called the Lowndes County sheriff. Deputies were slow to arrive, so the group tried to arrest Glover on their own. He was unwilling to be taken alive and continued to fire on them. Glover was shot in the head three times—yet he continued to shoot in his death throes. The farmhouse reinforcements ran out of ammunition. Finally, Toby Berrien—the father of one of Glover's victims—beat him over the head with a shovel, killing him. In the second telling, the guns of the responders were aimed at Glover, but they never fired. Cleveland Mason chased Glover with the shovel until he was able to bash in his skull. In this version of the story Glover was not drunk; he had just returned from his shift at the turpentine still and was eating lunch. The children's noise at recess drove him from the dinner table and into his frenzied rage. Finally, the only physical injury he suffered came from the shovel to his head; he was never shot.<sup>14</sup> Regardless of the particulars of the incident, the White leaders of Indianola praised the Black parents and responders for their quick action.<sup>15</sup>

He was a “Negro terrorist,” the *Athens Banner* hyperbolically proclaimed, a “whiskey-crazed demon” in the words of the nearby *Thomasville Times Enterprise*. “The affair created the wildest excitement among the Blacks in the eastern portion of the county,” reported the *Times Enterprise*. The heroism of the farmhouse group “was highly commended by the White people of the section.” Of course, when law enforcement arrived, they found little to investigate. The perpetrator had been killed justifiably. No arrests were made. Emma Mason's death certificate summed up official White attitudes about the killing. The medical examiner listed her cause of death: “Shot by a crazy Negro.”<sup>16</sup>

Studies of lynchings and other forms of Black mob violence directed against other African Americans have made the case that such violence had a decidedly moral impetus. For example, Black mobs in the late nineteenth century believed that certain crimes merited extralegal violence because—in some cases—they mistrusted White judicial systems to render justice for those accused of attacking Black victims.<sup>17</sup> The historian Brent Campney has expanded that understanding by including non-lethal forms of violence within Black communities, enacted at least in part as a performative prophylactic against violent White actions. “We are handling our own,” such acts told would-be White vigilantes, “so there is no reason for you to get involved.”<sup>18</sup> But at Indianola in 1922, the Black violence against Black victims



was neither performative nor moral. It was simply violence. Glover's was seemingly senseless; that of his killers was pragmatic, keeping the rampage from producing more casualties. All of it was catastrophic. Cleveland and Ada Mason never had more children; Emma's murder had devastated them. Tobias Berrien died five years after the shooting. The official cause of his death was chronic nephritis exacerbated by hypertension, but many would assume that it was not a disease of the kidney that had killed him. It was a disease of the heart.<sup>19</sup>

The Georgia Association for the Advancement of Education Among Negroes had nothing to say about the school shooting, instead choosing the days following the attack to issue a press release lamenting "the poor conditions of our common schools and the lack of advantages given for good training of the thousands of Negro boys and girls." It announced that March 19 would be Common School Day in Georgia. "We ask that each pastor preach a sermon or give an address of some kind or talk not less than fifteen minutes upon the subject, 'The Common Schools and How to Make Them Better.'"<sup>20</sup> When the reputation of Black schools and potential funding for their improvement was on the line trying to make sense of solvable problems seemed a far better strategy than trying to solve the senseless.

The *Valdosta Times*, the local White paper, had nothing to say about the shooting. As horrifying as a mass shooting at a school might have been, it was a crime with a Black perpetrator and Black victims. This fact made silence the appropriate response, both because White readers were uninterested and because coverage might have exposed the uglier parts of the region's brutal, exploitative labor system. One of the first mass school shootings in what would become an inordinately violent century was immediately, intentionally, forgotten.<sup>21</sup>

#### The Second Death of John Glover: Rome, July 7, 1922

"Capt. John A. Glover, a venerable and prominent business man of Rome," died on Friday, July 7, 1922, lamented papers throughout Northwest Georgia with a reverence that Valdosta's John Glover never received.<sup>22</sup> John Abraham Glover was born in Cherokee County, Alabama, on November 18, 1846, but his family had come from much farther. His parents, James and Mary Glover, had moved to Alabama from South Carolina, but the family traced its lineage back to Scotland. John Abraham's grandfather, Hezekiah, was born to Scottish parents in colonial

Virginia and fought in the American Revolution. Hezekiah Glover then moved to South Carolina, where he raised his son James. James moved to Alabama, living first in Tuscola County; after marrying Mary Cornelius, the couple moved to a plantation in Cherokee County, abutting the Georgia line. There they began to accumulate wealth. They were devout Baptists who had eight children, John among them.

Despite the family's wealth and privilege, John's ability to gain a comprehensive education was limited. He attended rural schools when they were available, but they rarely were so his family sent him back to South Carolina to be educated, near Anderson. Glover ended his education at seventeen, then went off to fight in the Civil War, enlisting as a private in Company H of the Sixth Georgia Cavalry. He fought with the unit at Resaca, Atlanta, and throughout the Carolinas in 1864 and 1865.<sup>23</sup>

The Sixth Georgia had been formed from the hull of Smith's Georgia Legion, which itself had been established by Colonel Sumner J. Smith in 1862. Smith's Legion fought in East Tennessee and Kentucky in 1862 and early 1863. But just before the Battle of Chickamauga, its infantry companies were pulled to create the marching heart of Georgia's Sixty-Fifth, leaving Smith's Legion cavalry without a home. Smith's second in command was Lieutenant Colonel John R. Hart, who remedied the problem by forming the Sixth Georgia Cavalry. The Sixth fought alongside its old infantry at Chickamauga, and then throughout East Tennessee before moving south to Georgia in 1864. Young John Glover joined the fight in defense of Atlanta and then continued on to defend Savannah. From there the cavalry moved into the Carolinas until the end of the war.<sup>24</sup>

When the war ended, Glover moved back to Cherokee County, where he worked on his father's plantation. But John was an adult now and wanted to escape the shadow of his parents. In 1865, his oldest brother Cain moved to nearby Rome, Georgia (just across the Alabama state line) and started a dry goods store, Glover & Bale. John relocated to Georgia in 1867 and went to work as a clerk for Cain. He stayed a year before moving on to work for another grocer; he remained there for a year before lighting out again, this time with his friend John D. Ford to create a rival grocery in Rome, Ford & Glover. "From the first, Capt. Glover was successful as a business man," the editor of the *Rome Tribune-Herald* remembered, largely by hueing closely to "those principles of honesty, fair dealing, and just treatment which are the primary essentials of success."<sup>25</sup> Glover also had the benefit of being a veteran in



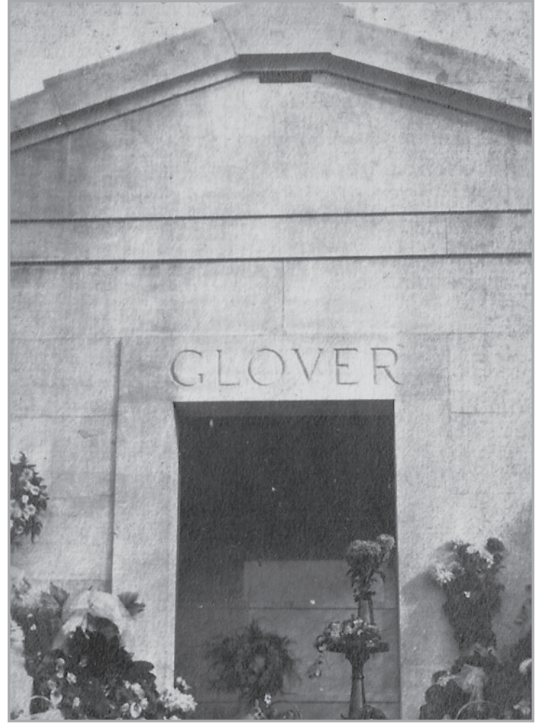
Confederate veterans parade in Milledgeville. *From the Edwin Jackson Collection at the Georgia Historical Society.*

the Lost Cause era: he was known for the rest of his life as “Captain” to honor his service to the Confederacy.

The Lost Cause narrative and the romanticizing of the antebellum South began immediately after the war’s conclusion. Thomas Nelson Page wrote stories about happy Black slaves and rich comfortable White slaveowners who looked like Colonel Sanders and drank mint juleps on their porches while grateful slaves who loved them brought refills and sang them spirituals to pass the time. It was a narrative that came attendant with an assumption that the South’s prewar economy was destroyed by northern aggression. All such stories were completely false, but White southerners had nothing else to hold on to. *Song of the South*, *Gone with the Wind*, “states’ rights,” and the Confederate battle flag all became key elements of the Lost Cause mythology of principled southern struggle and honorable defeat in the face of insurmountable odds. It was a reverence for this vision of the war that redounded to the benefit of Confederate veterans like Captain Glover.<sup>26</sup>



John Glover of Rome, Georgia, later in his life. *Ancestry.com. Public domain.*



John Glover's grave in Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Rome, Georgia. *Ancestry.com. Public domain.*

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By 1892, Ford had left his grocery partnership with Glover; he was replaced by a series of successful partners, most notably Captain W.P. Simpson. That same year, the company began wholesaling and changed its name to Simpson Grocery Company, which expanded its reach throughout North Georgia and Alabama. In 1896, Glover and Simpson combined to organize the Exchange Bank of Rome; Simpson served as its first president. When he died in August 1912, Glover took over the bank's presidency and reorganized it the following year as the Exchange National Bank. Glover also founded the Anchor Duck Cotton Mills and Hanks Stove Foundry, spreading his business interests throughout the region. "He was a leader who inspired his followers with his dauntless determination, his strategic ability and his high purposes," read the *Tribune-Herald's* eulogy. "He rarely knew failure—it was not in his vocabulary."<sup>27</sup>

Glover was a Mason and a Democrat. He served on the Floyd County board of commissioners, the Rome city council, and the municipal board of public works,

where, between 1905 and 1906, he led the effort to pave Rome's streets. He also oversaw the installation of the city's first water system. "His faith in his home city was superb," opined the *Tribune-Herald*. "He always believed in Rome, and was ever among the foremost in any movement looking to the upbuilding and progress of the city." He was also pivotal in Rome's social and religious development. He helped organize the DeSoto Baptist Church (which later became the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church) and served as one its deacons for forty-two years. He then moved to the First Baptist Church and became a deacon there as well. He was, in the words of the *Atlanta Constitution*, "a recognized leader in social, moral and material development of the entire community."<sup>28</sup>

Rome was founded in 1834, in the heart of the antebellum period romanticized by those who celebrated Confederate veterans like Glover. The Cherokee Indians were still there when the Whites came in, and the resulting fight for land led to the forced removal of the Cherokee to the Indian Territories in the West. They were one of the last major southeastern tribes compelled to embark upon what became known as "The Trail of Tears." With the Natives out and slaves in, White Rome began to prosper, using its iron works to become a vital part of the Confederate war effort. In 1863, General Nathan Bedford Forrest defended the city. (He would later go on to found the Ku Klux Klan.) In 1864, Rome was part of William Tecumseh Sherman's march through Georgia, its ironworks making it a particularly important target. US Army forces destroyed the ironworks, the railroad, and any other valuable targets in the city. As a result, Rome was a virtual economic clean slate during Reconstruction when Glover crossed the state line and took up residence there.<sup>29</sup>

In September 1872, just as Reconstruction was beginning to wind down, Glover married Sarah Johnson, whom he had known since his Carolina school days. (The pair had reunited during the Sixth Georgia's Carolinas Campaign in early 1865.) Johnson was from Statenville, North Carolina, and the couple was married there. Glover brought his new bride back to Rome, and they eventually had seven children.<sup>30</sup> His daughters married into other prominent area families, as did his sons. The sons had sons of their own, who moved away to Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida. It was a diffusion of prominence across the South and across the generations, the interest paid on wealth and White privilege.<sup>31</sup>

John Glover died quietly at 4:00 p.m. in a local hospital after a three-week illness. He was mourned throughout the city and the region by those who had benefited

from his largesse and those convinced by their economic betters that the wealthy were to be revered. “In the passing of Capt. Glover Rome has lost one of its oldest and most valued citizens, a man whose memory will be cherished, whose accomplishments make a conspicuous chapter in the city’s history,” said W.S. Rowell, editor of the *Tribune-Herald*. “It is men like him who make for the greatness of a community, and as such their names are honored and their memories revered.”<sup>32</sup>

Glover was integral to the development of North Georgia commerce. His life was no lost cause. And yet in its distance from the life John Glover of Valdosta, in his Confederate reputation, in his ability to thrive despite an education level that was at least comparable to that of the school shooter, his death represented the Lost Cause personified. Veterans of the Civil War were venerated, despite their loss in the contest; descendants of former slaves were vilified, precisely because of the freedom that Confederate defeat represented. That dichotomy provided mobility and access to capital for White soldiers and actively denied those opportunities to former slaves and their children. Educational opportunities were variable, as demonstrated by the school shooter, but the value of education itself was always negotiable based on race, as demonstrated by the veteran. And so the Lost Cause of the White John Glover was a mirror image of the lost causes of his Black contemporaries.

#### The Third Death of John Glover: Macon, August 1, 1922

Walter Byrd had a reputation for racial brutality. He was six feet, five inches tall, big and brutish, a deputy sheriff who used his position to terrorize the Black residents of Bibb County. Byrd began his career as a prison guard but was removed from the position because of the violence he inflicted on prisoners—he even beat ill prisoners and refused them food. Despite having lost his job overseeing convict labor, Byrd managed to find his way into the ranks of sheriff’s deputies. He often walked into Black businesses and public spaces without any official cause—or even the pretense of one—and began interrogating everyone present, knowing that any refusal to answer would be a perfect pretext to beat and arrest those being questioned. He was a menace, and he had well earned his reputation as one.<sup>33</sup>

It was a reputation that John Glover and his companions were very familiar with when Byrd entered Hatfield’s Pool Hall on Hollywood Avenue in Macon just after 6:00 p.m. on August 1. He shot the sheriff in self-defense, as a correspondent

for the *Chicago Defender* explained, to prevent Byrd from having “another star in the crown of his fearlessness just because he had beaten up another ‘nigger’ for no cause whatsoever.” Another deputy, Romas Raley, shot and killed George Marshall and wounded Samuel Brooks, two pool players who happened to be Black and in his way. Brooks died of his wounds days later.<sup>34</sup>

The local White newspaper, however, told a decidedly different story. According to it, Byrd was a hero, a gentle and loving man whose career was one of diligence, his life cut short by a career criminal. It was that kind of sympathetic coverage that would inflame the White rage to come. The *Macon Telegraph* would later denounce the consequences of that rage, but nevertheless described Glover as a “bellhop, bootlegger and petty crook,” a “yellow negro” who had been “bulldozing negroes in the poolroom with a pistol.”<sup>35</sup>

In such White accounts it was not Raley who shot Marshall and Brooks, but Glover. The deputies had responded to yet another mass shooting by another John Glover.<sup>36</sup> In this telling, Glover snuck out the back of the pool hall when the deputies came looking for him. As they exited the back of the poolroom Glover opened fire, killing Byrd and leaving Raley no choice but to jump over the prone body of his colleague to chase the shooter back into the pool room. Glover kept firing as he went, wounding Marshall. After the assailant fled outside again, his bullets struck Sam Brooks, who was eating ice cream at the nearby soda fountain. The heroic Raley stopped only long enough to take the gun off the body of his dead partner before chasing Glover through the Macon night. The Black gunman ran through a hardware store and down an alley before jumping into a car on Walnut Street to make good his escape.<sup>37</sup>

The search for Glover continued into the night. Police stopped all trains entering and leaving the city. They kept several pool hall customers in custody after none offered useful information about what they saw or knew. They issued a bulletin to encourage citizens to be on the alert: “John (Cocky) Glover, aged 25, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches in height; light mulatto; right eye cocked; wears gray striped pitch-black suit of clothes; clean shaven; neat dresser. Reward of \$300 will be paid by the sheriff of Bibb county for his apprehension.”<sup>38</sup>

White citizens responded to the call not by finding Glover, but instead by menacing Black Macon. The local postmaster suspended night collection after the city’s Black postman was attacked three different times in the hours after the pool room

shooting. Meanwhile, police went through Black neighborhoods and shut down every Black business in the city. When locals offered resistance they were arrested. As Black residents were forced out, angry mobs of Whites came in, filling Macon's Black business district. Whenever they spotted an African American resident who drifted into the area, Whites—led by police—attacked, shooting at the bystanders and terrorizing them until the victims were eventually taken into custody. “It was sufficient at all times to have any person approach or pass wearing a Black skin,” the *Telegraph* editorialized, “and like the wolf pack that follows the cry of its leader, the gang was off to do any devilment that opportunity might permit.”<sup>39</sup>

Such wolf packs were front of mind for many in 1922. The immediate period following World War I had been wracked with racial violence, beginning with the Red Summer of 1919. Tensions between races resulting from the Great Migration and the treatment of Black troops in the military led to a series of race riots across the country in cities like Chicago, Houston, Omaha, Knoxville, Charleston, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC. Such incidents were not limited to urban centers; there were also race riots in Waco and Longview, Texas, and in even smaller communities like Elaine, Arkansas.<sup>40</sup> Two years later, violence caused by both expected and unusual factors erupted in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on May 31, 1921. Black Tulsa had thrived in the wake of World War I. Its business district (known as Black Wall Street) was an affront to a White population that had not experienced its own financial boom. More immediately, a Black man named Dick Rowland had been falsely accused of raping a White woman. Fearing a lynch mob, a group of Black men assembled at the jail to protect him. A White mob inevitably arrived, and the two groups exchanged gunfire, resulting in the deaths of several White and Black men. The violence continued, fueled by the White assumption that any Black self-defense was a threat to the White citizens of Tulsa. The next day, a mob of five hundred White men confronted a mob of about one thousand Black men. White attackers burned a church full of people, and as the congregants ran out the assailants began picking them off, one-by-one. More than four square blocks in the Black neighborhood were burned to the ground. As many as three hundred Black residents and twenty Whites were killed in the catastrophic violence.<sup>41</sup>

That Oklahoma violence was well known in Georgia and across the country, providing a particularly gruesome context to the anti-Black terror in Macon. The principal target of the mob's rage was C.H. Douglass, the wealthiest Black man in Macon and the owner of the pool hall where the trouble had begun. Rumors had circulated



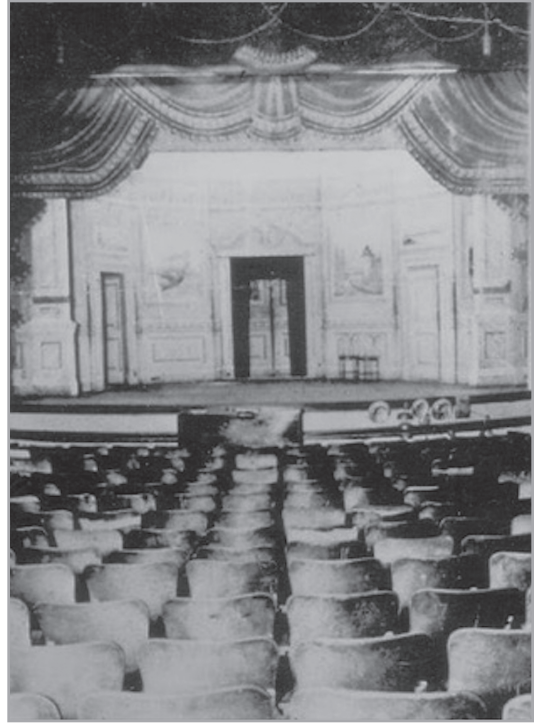
among the White mob that Glover might be hiding in a theater owned by Douglass. Another rumor claimed that Byrd's dying words were, "Douglass is responsible for all of this." After several threats were made on his life, twenty policemen ringed Douglass's house throughout the night. To defend his life, Douglass issued a statement proclaiming his lack of knowledge and involvement in the shooting: "The report that the slayer of Mr. Byrd was concealed in my theater is false; and does me a great injustice. I was at home when the killing occurred and upon arriving at my place later I rendered the officers every assistance possible in making sure that the murderer was not in my hotel or theater," he wrote. "No one regrets the occurrence more than I do. Mr. Byrd was a good friend of mine and trusted me implicitly. I stand for law and order and teach my people the same." The police, too, disputed the rumors, explicitly denying that Byrd said anything on his deathbed.<sup>42</sup>

Douglass was not alone in being compelled to engage in such self-serving ingratiation of Whites. Another Black Maconite, L.J. May, wrote the *Telegraph* that "poolrooms for the most part furnish a meeting place for the lowest element of humanity." The best "thing to do is to close up all of the poolrooms on Broadway; in fact all licensed poolrooms should be closed." The *Telegraph* was all too eager to print a letter from a Black resident that placed the burden of guilt for the affray squarely on pool-room culture.<sup>43</sup>

The *Macon Telegraph* hypocritically sought to distance itself from the violence it had played a role in starting, presenting itself as the voice of reason. The paper had consistently railed against a federal anti-lynch law, but "there are far too many instances of flagrant flaunting of the law in this State to make it possible for us to defend the practice and permit the criminals to go unpunished." It had also venerated the tyrannical Walter Byrd, thus helping to incite the mob, but the paper now claimed there was "no earthly excuse for the gang of white men to chase or beat up or shoot at negroes." Every time a Black criminal took advantage of a White suspect, "it is construed as license to run riot." Not only were respectable and wealthy Black citizens affected, but "respectable white people had to stand by and see these things go on." Such behavior had real consequences for the state. "If we in Georgia are spineless and permit taxpayers and innocent people who are entitled to the protection of the laws, stand aside and see those laws disregarded, what defense have we against the plan to have the National Government take charge of our home affairs?"



Douglass Theater in Macon, Georgia. Cinema Treasures. *Creative Commons. Public Domain.*



Interior of Douglass Theater. Cinema Treasures. *Creative Commons. Public Domain.*

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It was a good question. The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill was first introduced by Leonidas C. Dyer of Missouri in 1918. It was joined by another put forth by Merrill Moore of Indiana, and a third by William C. Mason of Illinois. There was, however, a general pessimism that any of the bills would become law. “In the opinion of several constitutional lawyers,” explained one national newspaper, “the federal government has no power to protect the life, liberty and property of citizens except against any possible encroachment by the states.” The constitutional lawyers were right. Dyer’s bill was the most prominent, but it failed in 1918. Dyer continued to introduce the bill until it finally was passed in the House in 1922, and it was being debated in the Senate at the time of the third John Glover’s death. Despite the seeming prominence of the Macon case, the Dyer bill was stopped by a Senate filibuster.<sup>44</sup>

The morning after the poolroom attack, on Sunday, police began a door-to-door search of houses in the African American sections of East Macon. Pleasant Hill,

Tindall Field, Unionville, and other neighborhoods all underwent warrantless searches. Authorities kept everyone they had already arrested in jail, claiming that it was only for their protection. The Bibb County coroner, Lee Wages, conducted an inquest. Romas Raley testified as a witness, as did Will Jakes, the county's only Black deputy sheriff. Both hued to the White line, and the coroner ruled that Byrd's death was the result of Glover's premeditated assault.<sup>45</sup>

One hundred miles away in Leesburg, a train conductor reported that he thought he might have the fugitive John Glover on his train. Authorities detained two Black men, Frank Rawlins and Buster Jones. Rawlins admitted to being in Macon the previous evening, but he denied shooting anyone. Officials were interested because of his "cocked eye," but Rawlins had dark skin and was clearly not the shooter. Nonetheless, both he and Jones were taken to Leesburg's jail.<sup>46</sup> As the search for Glover continued, White Macon paid tribute to Sheriff Byrd, his funeral packing the First Presbyterian Church to capacity. As mourners cried, the bloodhounds and searchers combed the lowlands around the city. Law enforcement officers mailed circulars describing the suspect to their counterparts in the Carolinas and Florida. Meanwhile, a crowd of more than forty cars and hundreds of men gathered in front of the courthouse, promising to stay until Glover was apprehended.<sup>47</sup>

Police granted Black Macon small concessions by releasing the residents who had been taken into custody and allowing Black businesses to reopen.<sup>48</sup> They knew, after all, that Glover's escape was only temporary. In the early morning hours of Tuesday, August 1, there was another tip from a train conductor, this one from the Central of Georgia railroad in nearby Monroe County. Reportedly, Glover was headed to Chicago, where he planned to start a new life under an assumed identity. Unfortunately for Glover, authorities had engineered the escape plan. He had taken a train to Atlanta, where police undercover agents had given him a ticket for Chicago that had to be redeemed at Forsyth. Glover hopped a freight train back toward the scene of the crime, stopping at Forsyth, where he boarded a passenger train. It was there that Griffin policemen T.F. Phelps and Jim Huckabee boarded the train and approached their suspect. The desperate Glover pulled a gun and began firing, five shots. One of them struck Phelps in the hand, but the wound was not enough to keep the patrolmen from beating Glover mercilessly.<sup>49</sup>

The officers took John Glover to the Griffin jail, where word of his arrest traveled fast to Macon. When the news broke, a caravan of more than twenty-five cars filled

with White men took off on the fifty-mile drive to Griffin. Officers later claimed that Glover begged them, “Kill me now! Don’t take me back to Macon.” In an effort to spare the prisoner’s life, a federal marshal and Deputy Sheriff Lane Mullally put Glover in a car just after 10:00 a.m. and began driving him back to Macon. Meanwhile, Macon officers announced publicly that the prisoner would absolutely not be returning to the city.<sup>50</sup>

It was a good plan—but it failed. The posse met the officers between Griffin and Macon. Mullally pleaded with the mob to let the criminal justice system take its course, but the mob, now numbering three hundred angry White men, would not be mollified. It was one o’clock in the afternoon, and the hundreds of White men and one frightened Black man were just two miles from the small community of Holton, just across the line that separated Monroe County and Macon’s Bibb County. The Whites grabbed Glover and dragged him to a nearby tree. The pine forest that surrounded them did not produce trees conducive to a hanging: the thin, high pine branches were unable to support the kind of murderous activity the mob had planned. The White men instead used a rope to tie Glover to the trunk of one of the trees and took turns firing their guns into him. Those without guns gathered pine straw from the ground and arranged it around Glover’s feet and then set the brush on fire, allowing flames to lick the bleeding, gutshot body of their victim. Other men in the crowd extinguished the fire, but the damage had been done. Another John Glover was dead in Georgia, this one tied to a lonely, county-line pine tree.<sup>51</sup>

Members of the mob then took turns mutilating the arms, legs, and face of Glover. After the assault, they took his body back to Macon, displaying it on Broadway, in the center of the city’s Black commerce district. Whites singled-out the theater owned by C.H. Douglass. They dumped Glover’s body in the foyer of the theater and threatened to set it on fire before police arrived to stop them. The officers then pulled the corpse to the curb in front of the theater, where more than seven thousand people gathered to see the remains, many fighting for souvenirs from the murder. In the scrum that followed, Glover’s body was thrown against a billboard at the theater’s entrance before police finally retrieved it and took it away to Forsyth for a Monroe County inquest. Officials then buried what was left of Glover in Forsyth’s “colored” cemetery. They then travelled to Macon to investigate those presumably involved in the lynching.<sup>52</sup>

It had not just been violence, but rage. White Georgians had proven willing to abandon themselves to that rage before. The state had 458 documented lynchings, second only to Mississippi. In the decade preceding Glover's killing, two of the state's most infamous lynchings had made national news.<sup>53</sup> In 1915, a Jewish pencil factory superintendent, Leo Frank, had been lynched after being suspected in the murder of a female employee, Mary Phagan.<sup>54</sup> Three years later, after one of his debt peonage workers had killed Brooks County plantation owner Hampton Smith for poor treatment, a manhunt instigated by both civilians and law enforcement generated a ruthless race riot in Brooks and neighboring Lowndes County. White mobs murdered at least thirteen people. No one was held accountable for the rampage. One of those killed was the husband of Mary Turner, claimed to be eight months pregnant. She threatened to swear out warrants against her husband's killers. In response, reported the NAACP, another mob captured her, took her to the county line, and hung her by her ankles. They poured gasoline on her and set her on fire. They cut open her abdomen, pulled out her fetus, and stomped it into oblivion before riddling her body with bullets. Three days later, the police found and killed Hampton Smith's murderer, leaving his body for another mob—which removed his genitals. They then dragged him to a neighboring town, where they held a public burning.<sup>55</sup>

It was a postmortem mutilation that seemed a precursor to that inflicted on John Glover, and some in Bibb County worried that their region would become tarnished with the same scarlet letter as its neighbors to the south. They wanted an investigation into the violence, though officials in Macon originally ruled one out. A group of prominent citizens, including the board of the local Rotary Club, lobbied Bibb County superior court judge Henry A. Mathews to call a special session of the grand jury. They were worried about the stain that lynching would have on Macon's reputation and business potential. They were worried that Monroe County would get credit for taking the lead in holding the perpetrators—all from Bibb—accountable, simply because the murder had happened on the Monroe side of the county line. They argued that the only reason the vigilantes made their way to Monroe was to avoid a Bibb County inquest, that the county line was in sight of the lynching location for that very reason. "No one has any particular regret over the death of the negro Cocky Glover," explained the *Telegraph*, but mob rule was never an appropriate response. Monroe County's effort was commendable, the paper reasoned, but if they "accomplish anything in the matter of prosecution it will be novel in the annals of Georgia jurisprudence," even though "the lynchers did not

take the trouble to disguise themselves.” Even worse, perhaps, was the broad daylight desecration of the body after it was tossed away at Douglass’s theater. “Whatever else might be said of the murder of Walter Byrd and this method of vindication, the bestiality of this latter demonstration was no credit to his memory nor to those comprising the mob.” Mathews assured the citizen group and the paper that he would take the matter under advisement.<sup>56</sup>

That he did. Just days later, Mathews empaneled a special grand jury for an investigation into Glover’s lynching. “There has been too much trifling with this subject in this state and country at large,” he said. There were some who “will speak of lynchings as evils, but as evils impossible to prevent under some circumstances, as necessary incidents of the conditions in which we live. Nothing could be more mischievous than this attitude, and the only attitude for a good and patriotic man is that of abhorrence and active, everlasting opposition to outrages on the law in all cases of whitecapping and murderous lynchings.” Mathews admitted that because the killing had taken place in Monroe County, murder charges would not be appropriate; however, everything else was on the table.<sup>57</sup> It was refreshing language from a southern judge, but it was also a scream into the White Georgia wind.

The *Telegraph*, for its part, gave a qualified endorsement of Mathews’s actions. The newspaper had “nothing but charity and compassion for the people who indulged in the passionate and reckless outburst of Tuesday,” as “these people did not realize the spectacle they were making of Macon.” It was “with no intention of bringing about any undue hardship upon any one that *The Telegraph* is pursuing the discussion further.” Instead, the paper endorsed the Bibb County inquest out of a desire that such an event never take place in the city again, and that Macon’s reputation be restored. It commended Monroe County’s effort, as well. “This thing or its counterpart should not be allowed to happen again, and now is the time to prepare against it.” A group of local White ministers joined the *Telegraph* in its support, denouncing mob rule and violence, but also condemning pool rooms as dens of vice and corruption that also played a role in the chaos and death.<sup>58</sup> Unremembered by everyone in the charges and countercharges over the cultures of lynchings and pool halls was John Glover. His death spurred a regional debate, but his death—and his life—had already been forgotten.

Solicitor Charles H. Garrett summoned more than a hundred witnesses. Griffin’s chief of police, L.L. Stanley, admitted on the witness stand that his office failed to

inform the Bibb County sheriff that Glover was being transported back to Macon, which may have made his traveling party more vulnerable to the mob. The sheriffs of Monroe and Bibb Counties testified as well, but most of the witnesses were alleged members of the mob. The grand jury began by investigating Glover's transit from Griffin, which had left him exposed to capture. It then took up the lynching itself.<sup>59</sup>

On August 11, the Bibb County grand jury indicted five White men for their role in Glover's vigilante murder, and days later indicted two more. Sheriff's deputies went out to make the arrests. Among those sought was Hector L. McSwain, president of the Southern Cooperative Fire Insurance Company, who had been charged with rioting and assembling for the purpose of a lynching. Herbert Block was manager of the Hotel Dempsey, and he was arrested for the same crime, as well as on an unlicensed concealed weapon charge. Gordon Herndon (a local mechanic), city fireman Guy Jones, Nathan Unice (a soft drink merchant and operator of a fruit stand), and dry goods clerk J. Ellis Bryant were all charged and arrested. Bibb County Superior Court judge Henry A. Mathews ordered each held on a \$1,000 bond. There was some question as to whether the charges were justifiable, as the mob had taken Glover across the line into Monroe County, but Mathews never hesitated. This was a Macon case, a Bibb County case, regardless of where the lynching had technically taken place.<sup>60</sup>

The final man indicted in Bibb was the county's chief sanitary inspector, Briggs Jordan. Jordan had been charged with disorderly conduct in relation to events at a private residence in Macon. After paying a fine of \$150 he was asked to resign by both the county Committee on Charities and Health and Macon mayor Luther Williams. He reluctantly agreed, but while he was writing his resignation letter he found that he had been indicted by the grand jury on a gun charge in connection with Glover's lynching. His days as sanitary inspector were over.<sup>61</sup>

Meanwhile, "the citizens of Monroe county have expressed indignation that the soil of the county should have been defiled by the presence and deeds of the lawless from beyond the bounds of the county," explained the Forsyth-based *Monroe Advertiser*. The newspaper repeatedly pointed out that Monroe had nothing to do with the incident. "Another lynching was added to the list charged against Georgia," went one editorial, "and the citizens of Monroe deserve no part of the blame." It was mob violence from Macon and Bibb County, and "the best element among the citizens of every state has always been against mob violence."<sup>62</sup> Responding to that kind of regional vitriol,

Monroe County also engaged in its own investigation, led by county judge W.E.H. Searcy Jr. “Monroe county doesn’t approve of mob violence, and I certainly don’t,” he said. Searcy assured citizens that he would “direct the grand jury to investigate the case fully.” He then paraded more than thirty men before a grand jury, most of whom had already appeared in front of the Bibb grand jury. At the end of August the judge announced that Monroe County would hold its own trial for the Bibb County lynchings.<sup>63</sup>

“Few Monroe county grand juries have had to consider a case more formidable,” the *Monroe Advertiser* explained, reminding its readers that “the men involved were men from another county.” It was time “to strike a blow for justice and condemn murder whether it be at the hands of one man or many.” After all, “the mob no longer assembles in connection with cases of rape alone, but its victims have been murdered for various crimes during recent years.” Rape, the paper seemed to argue, was reason enough for lynching, but when the reasons for mob rule breached the bounds of that long-held norm then society found itself at a crossroads and trials would have to ensue.<sup>64</sup>

Though the state produced fourteen witnesses and the defense introduced none, all were acquitted after a brief thirty-minute jury deliberation—the same outcome as in Bibb County. Some of the witnesses changed the stories they had told to the grand jury when the eyes of the White public were upon them. A frustrated solicitor general threatened perjury charges against the duplicitous witnesses, but everyone knew it was an empty threat. This was a culture that expected such denials. Meanwhile, the defendants claimed that they were there to help law enforcement. There was, they explained, a “death gang” of Black residents in Bibb County who had been killing law enforcement officers and had paid Glover to assassinate Byrd. Their goal was to discover the leaders of the death gang, and that while they had been unsuccessful at rousting out the mythical, murderous group, they had not participated in the actual lynching.<sup>65</sup>

Bibb and Monroe Counties squabbled over who would pay the expenses for the inquest and Glover’s burial. They also squabbled over culpability. The Bibb grand jury blamed officers of Monroe County for transporting the prisoner at all, having been fully apprised by Macon officials that it was not safe to bring Glover back to the scene of his crime. It was, in other words, all a preventable accident caused by the failings of Monroe County.<sup>66</sup> R.C. Bittick, Monroe County sheriff, was horrified



by Bibb County's scapegoating. He wrote an indignant response to the Bibb County grand jury's presentment, denying its allegations and reminding them of the actual criminal act: "We are not outlaws up here and believe in law enforcement and regret very much some of Bibb county citizens have little respect for law and not enough of the love of truth and justice."<sup>67</sup>

What neither Bibb nor Monroe had any respect for was the life and death of John Glover. The bickering over blame in the transportation of the prisoner and the proper love of truth and justice continued through the remainder of 1922, but lost in the argument was an emphasis on the victim himself. Despite the publicity given to the commotion following the murder of the third John Glover, his death was just as forgotten and anonymous as the death of the first. Because whether a victim of lynching or a rampaging school shooter, Black deaths in Georgia meant less than those of wealthy White Confederate veterans—and Whites generally—in the eyes and minds of those who kept the records.

The three deaths of John Glover in 1922 virtually disappeared from the historical record, but the deaths of the three men and the disappearance itself was a presentation of post-World War I Georgia in microcosm. Black lives were devalued and easily taken by White vigilantes. Poverty and peonage wreaked havoc on the mental stability of those—mostly Black—who experienced them. White privilege dominated, as did Confederate privilege and wealth. The descendants of former slaves found themselves, like the first John Glover, in tenuous economic situations, drawn into the consequences that often accompanied such socio-economic realities. While most in such circumstances did not commit mass murder as a result, their suffering was no less palpable. Such tenuousness also left Black Georgians all the more susceptible to state-sanctioned violence, making fear of law enforcement a functional adaptive response to the harsh environment of the postwar South. That fear, however, could lead to retributive violence, a close cousin of its state counterpart. The third John Glover had the misfortune of discovering that dire reality, as did hundreds of others from the 1880s to the 1930s. Meanwhile, having ancestors on the other side of antebellum slavery served to insulate White Georgians against such violence, even when those White Georgians found themselves in economically precarious positions. Confederate veterans without such monetary constraints were even further insulated, allowed to thrive in a system built on a racial and economic privilege that many interpreted as merit.

The three deaths of John Glover paint a picture of a Georgia obsessed with its own progress while still bound by the same racial customs and tropes that had dominated since the antebellum era and been celebrated in the Lost Cause narrative. It was a contradiction mirrored by another—that the deaths of three men named John Glover in one state in one year were anomalous in their nature and circumstances, but their deaths were, in fact, representative of the all-too-common deaths of the early twentieth-century South.

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## NOTES

1. It was in 1949 that the state passed the “Minimum Foundation Program for Education,” which acted as a “separate but equal” doctrine for the segregated schools of Georgia. R.O. Johnson, “Desegregation of Public Education in Georgia—One Year Afterward,” *Journal of Negro Education* 24 (Summer 1955): 228.
2. Tomas Franklin Moore, *From Whence We Came: A Historical Overview of the Black Schools of Lowndes County and Valdosta, Georgia from the Period of Reconstruction to the Time of School Desegregation (1867–1969)* (Valdosta, GA, 2006), 17. For more on segregated education in Georgia and the South, see Vanessa Siddle Walker and Kim Nesta Archung, “The Segregated Schooling of Blacks in the Southern United States and South Africa,” *Comparative Education Review* 47 (February 2003): 21–40; Stephanie Deutsch, *You Need a Schoolhouse: Booker T. Washington, Julius Rosenwald, and the Building of Schools for the Segregated South* (Evanston, IL, 2011); Mary F. Hoffschwelle, *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South* (Gainesville, FL, 2014); and Adam Faircloth, *A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South* (Cambridge, MA, 2009). For the early development of segregated education in the generation following the Civil War, see William Preston Vaughn, *Schools for All: The Blacks and Public Education in the South, 1865–1877* (Lexington, KY, 2014).
3. Moore, *From Whence We Came*, 18; and *Macon Daily Telegraph*, February 18, 1922, 1. For more on Rosenwald schools in Lowndes County, see Fisk University Rosenwald Fund Card File Database, <http://rosenwald.fisk.edu/>, accessed May 3, 2019.
4. Jane Twitty Shelton, *Pines and Pioneers: A History of Lowndes County, Georgia, 1825–1900* (Atlanta, GA, 1976), 191–93; and *Valdosta Daily Times*, September 2, 3, 1912; January 19, February 6, 1931.

5. The main provisions of the original statute continued into the *Revised Statutes of the United States*, sections 1990, 1991, 5526, and 5527. Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901–1969* (Urbana, IL, 1972), 19–20; and “Peonage Abolition Act,” *United States Statutes at Large*, 39th Congress, session 2, chapter 187, 546.
6. *Clyatt v. United States*, 197 U.S. 207 (1905); Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery*, 33; William Wirt Howe, “The Peonage Cases,” *Columbia Law Review* 4 (April 1904): 279–86; and “Procuring Money On Contract for Service,” No. 345, *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1903* (Atlanta, GA, 1903), 90–91. For more on the *Clyatt* case, see Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery*, 3–18.
7. Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery*, 22, 36; and Benjamin L. Vieth, “Kinderlou: Paradise for Vagabond Negroes,” unpublished manuscript in possession of the author; and *Washington Post*, June 16, 1996, F1.
8. Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery*, 28; and *Washington Post*, June 16, 1996, F1. For more on debt peonage in Georgia and the South, see Martha A. Myers and James L. Massey, “Race, Labor, and Punishment in Postbellum Georgia,” *Social Problems* 38 (May 1991): 270–71; Dan T. Carter, “Prisons, Politics and Business: The Convict Lease System in the Post-Civil War South” (master’s thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1964); William Cohen, “Negro Involuntary Servitude in the South, 1865–1940: A Preliminary Analysis,” *Journal of Southern History* 42 (February 1976): 33–34; and “Peonage in Georgia,” *Independent* 55 (December 24, 1903): 3079.
9. It was a district that covered a broad swath of territory. Several of the schools that were part of Moulton–Branch were located in what is now Lanier County. Ronald W. Irwin, *Our Noble Quest, Three Centuries of Educational Excellence: The History of Lowndes County Schools* (Macon, GA, 2009), 53, 73, 75, 80. Indianola managed to get its own post office in 1901 but lost it in 1915. See Jim Forte’s *United States and Worldwide Postal History*, <https://www.postalhistory.com/postoffices.asp?task=display&searchtext=indianola&state=GA&county=&searchtype=word>, accessed May 7, 2019.
10. *Thomasville Times Enterprise*, February 18, 1922; *Cordele Dispatch*, February 19, 1922; *Macon Daily Telegraph*, February 12, 1922; and Department of Commerce, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*, Population Schedule, Lowndes County, Georgia, Sheet no. 6A.
11. Department of Commerce, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*, Population Schedule, Lowndes County, Georgia, Sheet no. 7B; “Tobias Berrien and Anne Belle Hodge,” Record of Marriages, Book B, Lowndes County, Georgia, 1879–1890, Court of Ordinary, Valdosta, GA; Department of Commerce, *Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900*, Population Schedule, Lowndes County, Georgia, Sheet no. 14A; Department of Commerce, *Tenth Census of the United States: 1880*, Population Schedule, Lowndes County, Georgia, Sheet no. 44D; “Cleveland Mason,” Registration Card, 1018, 10-2-31-C, World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC; and Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910*, Population Schedule, Lowndes County, Georgia, Sheet no. 13A.
12. *Savannah (GA) Morning News*, February 19, 1922; *Chicago Defender*, February 25, 1922; and *Norfolk (VA) Journal and Guide*, February 25, 1922.
13. *Cordele (GA) Dispatch*, February 19, 1922; *Macon Daily Telegraph*, February 12, 1922; and *Tifton (GA) Gazette*, February 18, 1922.
14. *Cordele (GA) Dispatch*, February 19, 1922; and *Tifton (GA) Gazette*, February 18, 1922.
15. *Savannah (GA) Morning News*, February 19, 1922; *Chicago Defender*, February 25, 1922; and *Norfolk (VA)*

*Journal and Guide*, February 25, 1922.

16. *Athens (GA) Banner*, February 18, 1922; *Thomasville (GA) Times Enterprise*, February 18, 1922; *Chicago Defender*, February 25, 1922; and “Emma Mason,” Standard Certificate of Death, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Georgia State Board of Health, Lowndes County, File no. 4432, Valdosta, GA.
17. Stewart Tolnay, “When Race Didn’t Matter: Black and White Mob Violence Against Their Own Color,” in *Under the Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997), 137–43; Bruce Baker, “Lynch Law Reversed: The Rape of Lula Sherman, the Lynching of Manse Waldrop, and the Debate Over Lynching in the 1880s,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 6 (No. 2 2005): 273–93; and Karlos K. Hill, “Black Vigilantism: The Rise and Decline of African American Lynch Mob Activity in the Mississippi and Arkansas Deltas, 1883–1923,” *Journal of African American History* 95 (Winter 2010): 26–43.
18. Brent M.S. Campney, “Race Always Mattered: Black-on-Black Mob Violence and Interracial Relations in Kansas,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 16, no. 1 (2015): 35–57.
19. Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, Population Schedule, Lowndes County, Georgia, Sheet no. 30B; and “Toby Berrien Jr.,” Standard Certificate of Death, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Georgia State Board of Health, Lowndes County, File no. 14495, Valdosta, GA.
20. *Atlanta Independent*, February 23, 1922, 1.
21. See, for example, *Valdosta (GA) Times*, February 17, 25, 1922, 1. The other regional weekly White newspapers also ignored the shooting. See *Fitzgerald (GA) Herald*, February 17, 22, 24, 1922; *Quitman (GA) Free Press*, February 24, 1922; *Cairo (GA) Messenger*, February 17, 24, 1922; and *Bainbridge (GA) Post-Searchlight*, February 23, 1922. The daily *Moultrie (GA) Observer* did, as well.
22. *Cedartown (GA) Standard*, February 13, 1922.
23. Lucian Lamar Knight, *A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians* (Chicago, 1917), 4:2252; and *Rome (GA) Tribune-Herald*, July 8, 1922.
24. Stewart Sifakis, *Compendium of the Confederate Armies: South Carolina and Georgia* (New York, 1995), 156–57; and Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History, Extended Edition*, vol. 7, *Georgia* (Wilmington, NC, 1987), 139–40, 151–52.
25. *Rome (GA) Tribune-Herald*, July 8, 1922.
26. For more on Lost Cause ideology, see Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865–1920* (Athens, GA, 1980); Adam H. Domby, *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory* (Charlottesville, VA, 2020); Edward H. Bonekemper, *The Myth of the Lost Cause: Why the South Fought the Civil War and Why the North Won* (New York, 2015); and Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington, IN, 2000).
27. Knight, *Standard History of Georgia and Georgians*, 4:2253; and *Rome (GA) Tribune-Herald*, July 8, 1922.
28. *Rome (GA) Tribune-Herald*, July 8, 1922; and *Atlanta Constitution*, July 8, 1922.
29. See George Magruder Battey Jr., *A History of Rome and Floyd County, Georgia 1540–1922* (Marietta, GA, 2000).
30. Knight, *Standard History of Georgia and Georgians*, 4:2254.
31. *Atlanta Constitution*, June 16, 1891, July 8, 1922, April 20, 1939, May 25, 1939.

32. *Rome (GA) Tribune-Herald*, July 8, 1922.
33. *Chicago Defender*, August 12, 1922.
34. *Ibid.*; and *Baltimore Afro-American*, August 4, 1922.
35. *Macon (GA) Daily Telegraph*, July 30, 31, 1922.
36. *Athens (GA) Banner*, August 3, 1922; *Milledgeville (GA) News*, September 1, 1922; *Macon Daily Telegraph*, July 30, 1922; and *Athens (GA) Daily Herald*, August 2, 1922.
37. *Macon Daily Telegraph*, July 30, 1922.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1922.
40. See William M. Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York, 1970); Cameron McWhirter, *Red Summer: The Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America* (New York, 2011); Lee E. Williams and Lee E. Williams Jr., *Anatomy of Four Race Riots: Racial Conflict in Knoxville, Elaine (Arkansas), Tulsa, and Chicago, 1919–1921* (Jackson, MS, 2008); Lee E. Williams, “The Charleston, South Carolina, Riot of 1919,” in *Southern Miscellany: Essays in History in Honor of Glover Moore*, ed. Frank Allen Dennis (Jackson, MS, 1981), 150–76; William Tuttle, “Violence in a ‘Heathen’ Land: The Longview Race Riot of 1919,” *Phylon* 33 (4th Qtr. 1972): 324–33; Matthew Lakin, “‘A Dark Night’: The Knoxville Riot of 1919,” *Journal of East Tennessee History* 72 (2000): 1–29; and Michael Lawson, “Omaha, A City in Ferment: Summer of 1919,” *Nebraska History* 58 (Autumn 1977): 395–417.
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43. *Macon Daily Telegraph*, August 3, 1922.
44. “Democracy versus Demo-n-cracy,” *Survey*, August 3, 1918, NAACP Administrative File, I-C-343, Papers of the NAACP, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; William B. Hixson Jr., “Moorfield Storey and the Defense of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill,” *New England Quarterly* 42 (March 1969): 65–81; William B. Harvey, “Constitutional Law: Anti-Lynching Legislation,” *Michigan Law Review* 47 (January 1949): 369–77; and *Chicago Defender*, August 12, 1922.
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46. *Baltimore Afro-American*, August 4, 1922; and *Macon Daily Telegraph*, July 31, 1922.
47. *Macon Daily Telegraph*, August 1, 1922; and *Baltimore Afro-American*, August 4, 1922.
48. *Macon Daily Telegraph*, August 1, 1922.
49. *Athens (GA) Daily Herald*, August 1, 1922; *Macon Daily Telegraph*, August 1, 1922; *Thomasville (GA) Times Enterprise*, August 1, 1922; and *Jackson (GA) Progress-Argus*, August 4, 1922.
50. *Athens (GA) Daily Herald*, August 1, 1922; *Athens (GA) Banner*, August 2, 1922; *Macon Daily Telegraph*, August 1, 1922; and *Baltimore Afro-American*, August 4, 1922.
51. *Macon Daily Telegraph*, August 1, 1922; *Athens (GA) Daily Herald*, August 1, 1922; *Thomasville (GA) Times*

*Enterprise*, August 1, 1922; and *Jackson (GA) Progress-Argus*, August 4, 1922.

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66. *Chicago Defender*, August 12, 1922.

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