

'I Did My Duty,' Says Prosecutor in Reeb Trial

BY EDWARD M. RUDD

SELMA -- The hands of the white-haired jury foreman shook so badly as he read the acquittals of the three defendants that he almost tore the verdicts up.

As foreman Bill Vaughan sputtered out the last "not guilty," he sounded as though he were condemning the three men to die, instead of setting them free.

And so William Stanley Hoggle, Namon O'Neal Hoggle and Elmer Cook were cleared last Friday of the murder of the Rev. James Reeb. They were accused of beating the white Unitarian minister to death last March 9 during civil rights demonstrations in Selma.

As Vaughan announced the not-guilty verdicts, he and the other 11 white men on the jury hung their heads. They seemed to know they had been on trial for four days along with the defendants.

In his final argument to the jury, prosecutor Virgils Ashworth made it clear he was leaving the case in the jurors' laps.

"I feel like I did my duty," he told them. "I can go to bed tonight and sleep and not worry about this case any more. This is your time."

Perhaps Ashworth and his boss, Circuit Solicitor Blanchard McLeod, had done their duty. So, perhaps, had the jury. But almost immediately after the jury brought in the three acquittals, Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers came back with a guilty verdict on Dallas County Justice. "Failure or refusal of the citizens of our state to face their responsibilities as public officials and jurors in these isolated areas is certain to bring federal legislation," Flowers said.

"I only hope whatever form the legislation takes, it will only affect the areas which are guilty of bringing it about."

The all-white jury was selected after McLeod and defense attorney Joe Pilcher combined to strike all 13 Negroes on the jury list.

On orders from Flowers, McLeod asked the prospective jurors whether they thought white civil rights workers who ate and slept in Negro homes were "low persons."

Only three men said they did, and Circuit Judge L. S. Moore dismissed only one of the three.

One jury prospect said, "If a man goes in low places

with them niggers, I will not say that I am on an equal basis with him, and I stand on that."

He was not excluded, because he also said he would convict the defendants if their guilt was proved beyond a reasonable doubt.

McLeod later struck the two men that Judge Moore would not excuse.

But Harry Vardaman of Selma was one of the 12 jurors selected to try the case. He turned out to be the brother of a witness for the defense.

Vardaman caused a delay in the trial on the third day, when he was called into a family conference with his wife and son.

The case was held up while the family discussed a football scholarship offered to Vardaman's son, Wayne.

Before testimony began, McLeod told newsmen the state didn't have "a very strong case." The circuit solicitor, who suffered a stroke last spring, then retired to the sidelines and let Ashworth handle the prosecution.

The bare bones of a murder case were there. Two of Mr. Reeb's companions on the night of his death positively identified Cook as the man who attacked them.

They could not identify the other two defendants, however, and they could not say who actually struck the fatal blow.

A white waitress from the Silver Moon Cafe put the defendants at the scene of the crime at the time it happened.

After that, however, Ashworth's case fell apart. One witness refused to testify because he faced federal charges in Mr. Reeb's death. Another witness was ruled mentally incompetent. A third would not come back from Mississippi to testify.

As soon as Ashworth ended his case, Pilcher asked the judge to dismiss the charges because the state hadn't proved anything. Judge Moore refused, and the defense began.

Ashworth, a rugged-looking, red-faced former speaker of the Alabama House, sat back in his chair, brooding. He seemed to take Pilcher's dismissal arguments as an insult. Then he began attacking Pilcher's witnesses with real enthusiasm.

One defense witness, a white man, said he had "begged" ambulance drivers to get Mr. Reeb to a hospital. Ashworth challenged him with the question:

"You were after that ambulance because of what was in it, weren't you?"

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE)

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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Weekend Edition: December 18-19, 1965

TEN CENTS

Negroes Hear King-- Then They Go Home

BY GAIL FALK

MONTGOMERY -- "Reminds you of old times, doesn't it?" said Masonic leader R. D. Nesbitt as he looked around at the crowd Sunday in the Montgomery City Auditorium.

The 1,500 people in the auditorium murmured agreement. They had gathered to observe the tenth anniversary of the Montgomery bus boycott, and of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA).

It was like a family reunion, and the favorite sons had come home.

The Rev. Martin Luther King and the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, the first two presidents of the MIA and now top officials of SCLC in Atlanta, had come back to the city where they became leaders.

They reminisced about the old days, the way people do at reunions.

"How many times we sat in the First Baptist Church or in Holt Street Church and filled it from bottom to top and running into the streets," said Mr. Abernathy. "You remember those days. The choir used to sing 'A Great Day Is Coming' . . ."

Dr. King said, "A visitor to Montgomery before the boycott would have found a community rigidly and firmly segregated in all areas of life."

"Here we are ten years later," he said. "We watched the sagging walls of bus segregation finally crumble. Montgomery is a different city today. Alabama is a different state. Even Gov. Wallace last night led an integrated parade in Montgomery."

(Both white and Negro high school bands had marched in Saturday night's downtown Christmas parade.)

But as Dr. King spoke, he made it clear he took the meeting more seriously than a family reunion:

"It's a blasphemy to have that voting bill and not go all out and get every Negro of voting age registered."

"We must elect Negro legislators in the state of Alabama," said Dr. King. "And we've got to get the ballot, to free many of the white politicians who really want to do what's right but don't have the courage because they don't think they have the votes."

But Dr. King wanted his home folk to think beyond Montgomery, beyond Alabama. He wanted them to be concerned with the world in which he has become a prominent figure.

He talked about the threat of nuclear war. "We've developed a method here," he said, "and the world needs it now. We've got to say to the world, 'Either non-violence or nonexistence.'"

If we don't concern ourselves with disarmament and with strengthening the U.N., said Dr. King, "we may be plunged into an inferno that even the mind of Dante could not imagine."

Dr. King returned closer to home at the end of his talk. He recalled the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, where he delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech.

"I've watched my dream turn into a nightmare," he said. In the Delta of Mississippi and in the ghettos of the North, he said, "I've watched my dreams be shattered."

"But in spite of the nightmare," Dr. King said, "I still have a dream, that right down in the Cradle of the Confederacy, little white and little black children will live as brothers and sisters."

"I have a dream that sons of former slaves and sons of former slaveowners will sit down in the City Council together . . ."

"I still have a dream."

As soon as Dr. King finished his speech, most of the audience got up to leave, instead of waiting for the end of the program. They had heard what they came to hear. Their favorite son had come home to talk to his people.

But he was a busy man now. He couldn't stay long. And so they would go home now, and, like fond parents, follow his travels and his honors and begin to look forward to his next visit.



CROWD APPLAUDS DR. KING'S SPEECH

Negroes Don't Think Luverne Is Very 'Friendly'

BY SCOTT DE GARMO

LUVERNE--This little town with the pleasant-sounding name calls itself "The Friendliest City in the South."

But Luverne is a place where civil rights activities are simmering, and sometimes that keeps things from staying too friendly.

"The (white) people here are mad as hell about this," a deputy sheriff said Monday. As he spoke, 90 Negroes were staging a sit-down on the curb beside the Crenshaw County Courthouse. They clapped their hands, sang freedom songs and carried signs demanding better jobs, higher pay and an end to segregated justice. "Just let them get to needing something," the deputy said, "and they'll go straight to the white folks."

A civil rights worker answered, "If the Negroes had their rights, they wouldn't have to ask white people for anything."

To one marcher, 36-year-old James R. Allen, a carpenter, the problem was simple:

"I get \$1.25 an hour for work a white man gets paid \$3 for doing. If I can read a rule as good as a white man, why shouldn't I get the same pay? It just ain't right. I'm going to keep on marching till I get justice or till death do we part."

Most of the marchers, however, didn't share Allen's problem--at least not yet. They were students boycotting the Negro high school in nearby Helicon.

They said they were protesting the firing of a biology teacher, H. J. Richburg, who was dismissed last month on charges of threatening to kill the principal of the school.

The real reason for the firing, said the students and Richburg, was that Richburg had taken part in civil rights activities.

Demonstrators finally reached the



JAMES KOLB

courthouse Monday, after a week of trying.

James Kolb, 66, head of the Crenshaw County Democratic Conference, has been cooperating with SCLC in heading the demonstrations.

Alton Turner, state representative from Crenshaw County, said the demonstrators "are just a bunch of kids that anybody could get stirred up about anything. No respectable, law-abiding Negro would be caught dead with these rabble rousers," he said.

Many Negroes replied that "respectable, law-abiding Negroes" are just scared of losing their jobs.

Law officers, city officials and white citizens disagreed sharply with the Negroes. "There's just no cause for this," said one. They said Negroes were on county jury rolls and that voter registration had gone smoothly. (The Justice Department has not sent federal examiners into Crenshaw County.)

They also pointed out that Negroes could present their grievances to the city council, that formerly white Luverne High School had taken integration and that the superintendent of education met regularly with a Negro delegation.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO)



CONFRONTATION IN LUVERNE

Another Negro Boycott in Selma; White Merchant Asks What To Do

BY EDWARD M. RUDD

SELMA--A downtown boycott has become an almost daily fact of life in Selma. Except for two months this fall, the Dallas County Voters League has had white Selma merchants under an economic siege since last January.

The first "selective buying campaign" was called nearly a year ago to speed up voter registration.

At the beginning of September--after nearly 7,000 new Negro voters had been registered, and just after federal examiners had come to town--the DCVL called off the boycott, "as an act of good faith."

Leaflets Again Appear On Porches in Mobile

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--Leaflets are out again in Mobile--this time in the Plateau-Magazine Point section of town.

Late last summer, mysterious, violent leaflets began appearing in Mobile's Trinity Gardens section and in the suburb of Prichard. Four different sets of leaflets were distributed by night in a two-month period.

Now, a similar leaflet has been distributed in Plateau and Magazine Point.

Residents estimate that at least 1,000 copies of it were left on porches and in mail boxes.

The new leaflet seems to come from the same source as the others. Many of the phrases and arguments are similar.

So is the mixture of fact and fiction. The leaflet begins, "From: Mobile County Training School Student Council & FLP."

Mobile County Training School is the Negro high school in the area. Immediately after the leaflet appeared, the student council and its faculty advisors denied any connection with the leaflet.

No one seems to know what "FLP" stands for.

The leaflet blasts conditions at the training school. It also attacks "Uncle Tom Negro preachers," the two large paper mills in the area and a recent increase in bus fares.

Like the earlier leaflets, the new one refers to the Los Angeles riots of last summer. It calls the rioters "heroes" for destroying white businesses and

factories. Some Negroes felt then that pressure from civil rights groups and the federal government had added more new voters than the boycott.

In a press release announcing the end of the boycott, the Rev. F. D. Reese, president of the DCVL, said ten grievances having to do with job and social discrimination had to be relieved by Christmas.

If not, he said, the "Christmas Season may bring in with it a selective buying program, the likes of which the City of Selma has never seen."

In a special mass meeting early in November, Mr. Reese called for a new boycott, and the people at the meeting

voted to have it.

Selma has seen better boycotts. All Negroes agree that the grievances about unequal opportunities in jobs, housing, and school are well taken. But many also think that lumping them all under one boycott has confused people on both sides of the issues.

Apparently no new lines of communication, from DCVL to the downtown merchants to City Hall, have been opened by boycott pressure.

"We're not running around trying to find out what they're doing," said Mr. Reese, speaking of the white Retail Merchants Association. "We're going to try to make the boycott more effective."

And at least two Negro wards have objected to boycotting one white-owned store on the DCVL list, Lovoy's, a large department store and supermarket, has 35 Negroes and four whites behind its counters and cash registers. Yet it is included in the boycott.

"I've been practicing what Mr. Reese is preaching for 20 years," said the owner, Brace Lovoy.

He said the combination of the boycott and the county's free surplus food program has put a serious dent in his business.

"I will continue to conduct my business the same way, as long as business justifies it," he said. "But I can't go broke complying with him. . . . If he would give me a reason, I wouldn't feel bitter."

Mr. Reese said Lovoy was boycotted because he could influence other merchants to follow his example.

"It's not enough to be good yourself," said Mr. Reese. "You ought to try to get some others to be good along with you."

Lovoy said he was in no position to influence other white merchants.

"They think I'm one of the big dogs in this racial bit," he complained. "But the other merchants won't listen to me. . . . To them, I'm sitting on the other side of the fence."

"Actually, I'm right in between--neither side has enough confidence to confide in me."

NO COURIER

Because of the Christmas holiday, THE SOUTHERN COURIER will not be published next weekend, Dec. 25-26. The next issue of THE SOUTHERN COURIER will be published the weekend of Jan. 1-2, 1966.

Plans for new buildings at the school were begun in early 1963. But they had to be drastically revised twice because of major population changes, according to school officials.

The current plans are about half finished, but now sewage disposal for the new building is causing problems.

There are no sewers in Plateau, where the school is located.

John R. Montgomery, assistant superintendent of schools, estimated that the new buildings will be ready by September, 1967.

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Editorial Opinion

'Plantation Mentality'

In a speech in Chicago last week, the head of the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity made it clear he didn't expect poor people to plan their own anti-poverty programs. "A client tells the architect the kind of house he wants--but he doesn't design it," said R. Sargeant Shriver. "That's what we mean by participation of the poor in the poverty program."

More and more, the anti-poverty program is being taken away from the people and turned over to the politicians. The most important thing about the War on Poverty was that it gave poor people a chance to plan their own rescue programs. Now it is becoming just another kind of government hand-out.

It is bad enough to turn the program over to politicians in a place like Chicago. But it is even worse in the South, where City Hall control of anti-poverty money means that poor Negroes will be ignored.

As a Chicago Negro leader said of Shriver, "Again, he has exhibited his Southern plantation mentality."

A Christmas Message

Ho ho ho.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

Well over 1,000 Americans--Negroes and whites--have given their lives in the war in South Vietnam. These are the true heroes in the fight for freedom. Yet in the Dec. 4-5 issue of your paper, you attacked Governor Wallace for preventing Alabama students from taking part in activities which are very near to treason. Not only treason to America, but also treason to the ideal of freedom. In the same editorial, you asked what

student would want to come to Alabama to get an education. My home is in New Jersey, and I am in Alabama of my own free choice. Although I am an out-of-stater, I am proud to call Alabama my "second home," and I am proud to call George Wallace my governor.

Thank you for your time.

Richard J. Rivard
 Spring Hill College
 Mobile

Sermon of the Week

Dexter Ave. Notes 88th

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

MONTGOMERY--The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy gave the members of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church a lesson in how to make a church great.

The secretary-treasurer of SCLC spoke at Dexter's 88th anniversary service Sunday.

Mr. Abernathy said today's church is like the "vineyard in a very fruitful hill," mentioned in Isaiah 5:1.

He read from Isaiah what God did with this vineyard:

"And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a winepress therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes." (Isaiah 5:2)

Mr. Abernathy said, "So must we fence in the church from the rest of the world. And we must gather out the stones."

"Some stones in our church we cannot move, and so we must roll them over to the side and let them sit there while we cultivate the vineyard."

"And we must build a tower, a beacon to guide all of the churchbrethren," the preacher said.

Mr. Abernathy said the church is no longer a strong leader for its people.

"The church has been a tall light," he said, "when it should have been a headlight--it has been an ambulance picking up the wounded or dying, when it should have been a tank, or a bulldozer."

Now pastor of West Hunter Street Baptist Church in Atlanta, Mr. Abernathy said he had preached many times before from Dexter's pulpit.

He was pastor of First Baptist Church in Montgomery from 1951 to 1961, and for five of those years his close associate, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., was Dexter's pastor.

Famous Negro Church To Go?

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

MONTGOMERY--A master plan for the future of the state Capitol area recommends the destruction of the historic Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

However, an influential state official said Alabama does not plan to use its right to seize the land because, as he put it, the church is "almost a national shrine."

Technically, the state has the right to condemn land needed for public purposes.

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. came to the church in 1955 as a young pastor just out of graduate school. He left five years later as a national figure.

His church was one of the centers of the Montgomery bus boycott protests.

Now the Dexter Avenue Church has 350 members, many of them prominent Negro citizens. It is celebrating its 88th anniversary this week.

Robert D. Nesbitt, clerk of the church, said the members had no intention of moving.

"We have just completed a \$20,000 remodeling program," he said.

"The church board decided last week to make no comment and to take no action unless we are approached by the state."

The state official said Alabama might try to persuade the church to sell the property.

The purpose of the master plan, he said, is to determine what property purchases will be necessary in the future.

The plan, drawn up by the staff of the building commission, recommends that the Capitol grounds be extended in a "V" towards Dexter Avenue.

student would want to come to Alabama to get an education. My home is in New Jersey, and I am in Alabama of my own free choice. Although I am an out-of-stater, I am proud to call Alabama my "second home," and I am proud to call George Wallace my governor.

Thank you for your time.

Richard J. Rivard
 Spring Hill College
 Mobile

Settlement in Natchez



NATCHEZ, Miss. -- Twenty-three store-owners in Natchez decided this month they'd rather integrate than go broke.

With Christmas approaching and their stores half-empty because of a boycott by Negro citizens, the merchants agreed to hire Negroes as clerks and to treat customers of all races courteously.

Their decision was part of an agreement between the city of Natchez and the city's Negro community. It was announced at a joint press conference Dec. 3 by Mayor John J. Nossier and Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary for Mississippi.

The agreement was a response to three months of intense civil rights activity that began after Natchez NAACP president George Metcalfe was nearly killed by a bomb hidden in his car Aug. 27.

After the bombing, angry Natchez Negroes sent Nossier a petition listing 12 grievances. They began street demonstrations, and called a boycott of white-owned stores in downtown Natchez.

The demonstrations, which resulted in mass arrests, fed rivalry among civil rights leaders in the town. But everyone was agreed on the boycott and it became nearly 100 per cent effective.

The Negroes said they wouldn't buy at downtown stores until the city agreed to their demands, and they organized car-pools to take shoppers to neighboring towns.

The Dec. 3 agreement granted all the Negro demands and more.

The city announced it had hired six Negro policemen and six Negro auxiliary officers, and said "no member of the Police Department is to use undue

force, verbal abuse or brutality in discharging his duties."

Natchez announced that all city-operated public facilities were open to persons of all races, that a two-year desegregation plan had been submitted to the school board and that the city's federally-supported hospital would comply fully with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by the end of the month.

The agreement reminded municipal employees, "No person is to be referred to in any manner or by any title which is offensive, such as 'uncle,' 'auntie,' 'boy,' 'hoss,' etc."

It announced that all public officials would be hired on the basis of merit without regard to race, and said two Negroes were already working in the Social Security office.

The city agreed to submit to the voters a \$2,500,000 Capital Improvement Program, to pay for streets, sanitation and other projects in Negro neighborhoods.

The city said it would appoint one Negro to the school board, "in view of the fact that more than fifty per cent of the pupils attending the local public school are members of the Negro race, it is considered fair and equitable that this majority be represented by a qualified Negro on that Board," said the agreement.

"To insure that there will be no breakdown in communications (between the white and Negro races) ... and to provide orderly procedures for dealing with grievances, to reduce tensions and prevent violence ... a meeting of the Board of Alderman and the Negro Citizens Committee will be held at the request of either group at any and all reasonable times, and whenever conditions warrant," the agreement concluded.

Reid, Douglas Speak to MIA

BY INEZ J. BASKIN

MONTGOMERY--The Montgomery Improvement Association, after a glance back at its ten-year history, set its goals last week for the year ahead.

The Rev. Jesse L. Douglas, MIA president, pledged to create "a larger consciousness" through voter registration, school desegregation and precinct work.

"We shall present and select Negro candidates for office," Mr. Douglas said.

"Token integration" of schools was attacked and preparations revealed to triple the number of students now attending formerly all-white schools.

"Discriminatory practices in employment continue," Mr. Douglas told the Friday night MIA session at Boush Baptist Church. "Economic withdrawal will be necessary if people are not fair in employment," he said.

The MIA, born out of the bus boycott of 1955-56, began its weekend anniversary observance with a mass meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church Thursday night.

The speaker Thursday, the Rev. Milton A. Reid of First Baptist Church, Petersburg, Va., quoted from Psalms: "I believe I shall see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living."

"The psalmist says, 'Freedom Now,'" said Mr. Reid. "Freedom for our children and our grandchildren, yes. But also 'Freedom Now.'"

The meeting commemorated the night ten years before when more than 3,000 persons crowded in and around the same church to demand the historic bus boycott.

Thursday night only the downstairs pews were filled. On hand were 20 of the original dispatchers, car pool drivers, arrested ministers and MIA board members.

Luverne Protests

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

The Negro leaders replied that Luverne's progress is "tokenism."

"All these schools do is manufacture niggers," said a Negro youth.

"When we get out these schools," said a Negro woman, "we so dumb we can't do anything."

A police official tried to sum up the problem. "It's like this," he said. "You think about it for a while and you think for a second, 'Maybe they've got a point.' And then you think again and you figure, 'No, they haven't got one at all.'"

He said the police had no serious problems with the local Negroes, "except for suicides."



Television next week focuses on the Christmas season--with a little football, and a grim reminder of the war in Vietnam.

MONDAY, DEC. 20

VIETNAM, DECEMBER 1965--For the American fighting men far from home, Christmas will mean the sounds of gunfire and bombing. NBC takes a hard look at the war in Vietnam, with first-hand reports from reporter Sander Vanocur and government officials, 9 p.m. Channel 10 in Mobile, Channel 12 in Huntsville, Channel 13 in Birmingham and Channel 15 in Florence.

TUESDAY, DEC. 21

THE NUTCRACKER -- The popular ballet classic, performed by some of the world's most acclaimed dancers, 6:30 p.m. Channel 5 in Mobile, Channel 19 in Huntsville and Channel 20 in Montgomery.

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 22

SEASONAL MUSIC from 6:30 p.m. to 10 p.m., including the Tuskegee Institute Choir at 8 p.m. Channel 2 in Andalusia, Channel 7 in Anniston, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville and Channel 26 in Montgomery.

THURSDAY, DEC. 23

THE MESSIAH--Handel's musical masterpiece, 7 p.m. Channel 2 in Andalusia,

Channel 7 in Anniston, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville and Channel 26 in Montgomery.

CHRISTMAS EVE, DEC. 24

A FULL SCHEDULE of Christmas music on all stations, including Christmas Eve church services, Channel 6 in Birmingham presents "The Messiah" at 10:30 p.m., followed by Christmas choral music until 8:30 a.m. Christmas morning.

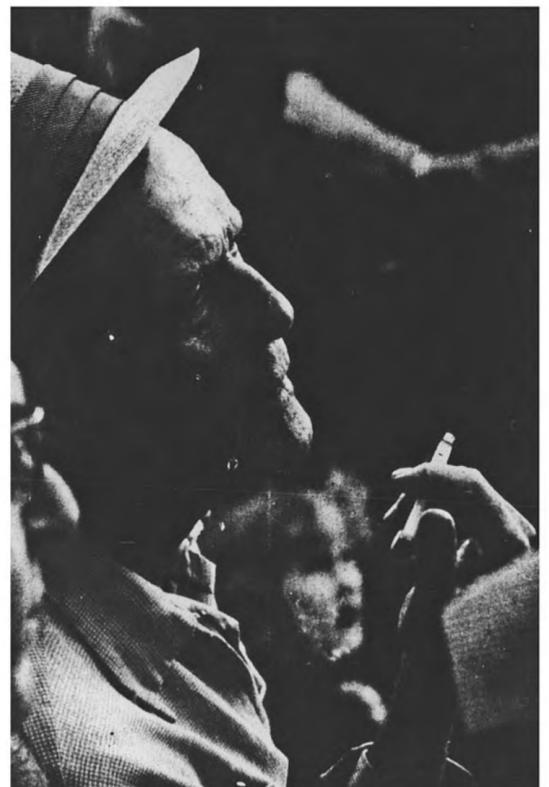
CHRISTMAS DAY, DEC. 25

CHURCH SERVICES are telecast on many channels in the morning, followed by various programs of Christmas music. The Tuskegee Institute Choir presents an hour-long concert at 3:30 p.m. on Channel 12 in Montgomery.

BLUE-GRAY FOOTBALL GAME -- From Cramton Bowl in Montgomery, this annual college all-star classic returns to TV after a two-year absence. The reason? The teams had never been integrated, and TV networks had refused to televise the game. But this year, both North and South teams will have Negro and white players. Kickoff at 3:30 p.m. Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 6 in Birmingham and Channel 13 in Mobile.

SUNDAY, DEC. 26

DIRECTIONS '66--An all-Negro cast performs material based on the New and Old Testaments, 12 noon. Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 13 in Mobile and Channel 32 in Montgomery.





The Men Meet Their People

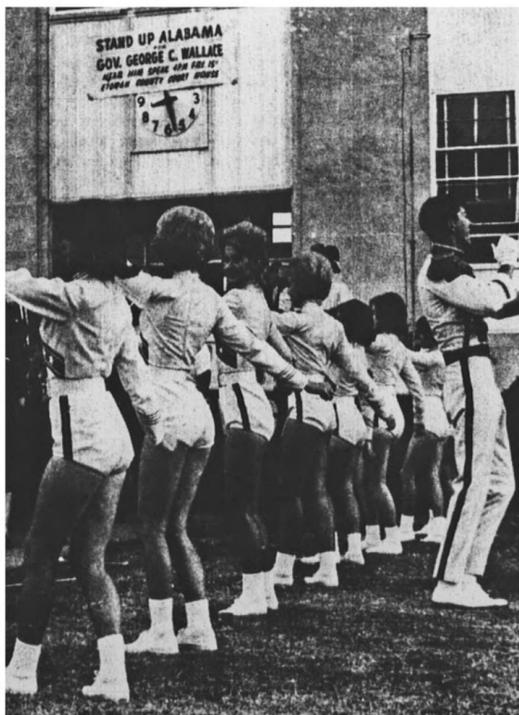
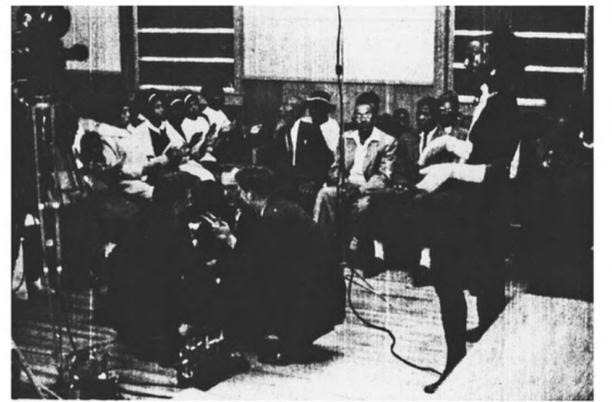
Photography and Text by James H. Pepler

It was a warm day in October. It was a chilly day in December. The people gathered at the courthouse. The people gathered at the church. The man would be coming. Their leader. Rightly or wrongly the symbol of what they believed.

The television crews set up their cameras and microphones. He hadn't arrived yet but the program began slowly.

Then, all at once, the word spread through the crowd. He is here. He has come. The band began to play. The singers burst into song. The music was "Dixie." The song was "Freedom."

He appeared and they cheered. He was introduced and they cheered again. He spoke and they listened. He spoke and it was a song--their anthem. "Stand up for Alabama." "We Shall Overcome." He spoke the words they had come to hear and they responded.



'If You Don't Like to Study, Stay at Carver'

School Officials in Bessemer Try to Block Desegregation

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON



STUDENTS WHO GOT B'S AND C'S AT CARVER ARE GETTING F'S AT BESSEMER, THEY SAY THEY ARE BEHIND IN ALMOST ALL THEIR COURSES.

BY ROBIN KAUFMAN

BESSEMER--Each Saturday morning the basement of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Birmingham looks more like a one-room schoolhouse than a church. For there, 12 students who integrated Bessemer High School this fall and students from George Washington Carver who plan to transfer to Bessemer High next year meet to get extra help in their studies.

In one corner, a boy reads by himself; in another, a teenager stares at a book standing on edge. And from other tables, bits of conversation can be overheard: "Where is the decimal point in this number. . . . Mental illness is the failure to adapt to environment. . . . The 'visitor' is the subject of the sentence, isn't it?"

After a legal battle which lasted all summer and still is unfinished, all-white Bessemer High School accepted Negroes for the first time last September. But the Negro students soon found their background in many subjects was so weak that they could not keep up with their new classmates.

Kids who had gotten B's and C's at Carver were getting F's at Bessemer. Four of the students got F's in three or more major subjects.

One reason for the difficulty was the strange situation. A student explained that at first she was "completely lost."

"The first six weeks it was just study, study, study," she said. "Now I'm getting more used to it."

But there was more to the problem than "getting used to it." "There are many things we haven't learned in earlier grades," explained another student.

In English, in math, in social studies, in foreign languages, the kids from Carver found they had not learned many things the Bessemer students had been taught.

Most of the Bessemer teachers were willing to give them some help in catching up. "The teachers are quite fair to us. Some seem aware of our problems and try to help us out," said a Negro student.

But one of the teachers sat the students at the back of the room by the fan. They never knew their lesson because when the words reached them "they were all chopped up." This teacher kept the papers of the Negro students in a separate pile after she collected them.

And even the teachers who wanted to help didn't have time to go into problems in detail because the classes were so large.

"And so the parents of the Bessemer students began looking around for tutors for their children.

Telephone calls located two professors and ten students from nearby Miles, Howard and Birmingham-Southern Colleges who were willing to help. Four local ministers donated their churches for a meeting place. The parents set up a carpool, and tutors started meeting with students Saturday mornings.

During the week the kids get together to talk about their assignment. Usually by Saturday they have a list of questions that have stumped them. That's where the tutor comes in.

They divide into small groups to go over hard parts from lessons of the week before and then look at the work for the week ahead.

At the beginning of the year the kids were expected to write a book report. They had never been taught to write a book report at Carver, but the Bessemer kids had "been doing them since seventh grade," said one student.

So one of the first topics for the Saturday morning sessions was writing book reports. If a student had a book report assigned, he got it ready the Saturday before it was due. That way the tutor could go over it with him and give him help in rewriting it.

One Saturday a tutor explained how democratic processes developed from Greece until today so the students could write a social studies paper on democracy.

Ninth graders got help in writing pa-

ragraphs, and 12th graders practiced diagramming sentences. One tutor gave a careful explanation of "energy" to two seventh graders who were behind in science.

The tutors don't do the work for the students. "They give us as much as they can, and expect us to give as much as we can," explained one tutor.

For example the tutors ask questions to see if the students are reading with understanding. They give advice on how to keep assignment notebooks or how to review material for an exam. "They are catching us up on how to study and arrange our time. After a while, we will be caught up," a student said.

The students feel they have been helped by the tutoring. "If it hadn't been for the tutoring, I wouldn't have made it," said one.

In many cases the grades haven't reflected improvement, but this doesn't worry the tutors. One said he didn't expect the grades to change radically "because how they do in school is based on an inadequate education until now. Change is a very slow and gradual thing. But what we are doing now is good and helpful even if the grades don't change."

"I'd like to get them interested in their work above and beyond their grades," said another tutor.

The tutors have kept the project from becoming all work. When Odetta came to Birmingham, they got a block of tickets and took the students to her concert.

Getting to know college students has been a new experience for some of the kids. "It's a big help to have them to talk to about anything, like making decisions," said one senior trying to de-

BESSEMER--Bessemer now has token school integration. By 1978, there may be many more Negroes attending Bessemer schools with whites--but probably not. At least, that's not the way the school board has it planned.

The Bessemer school board never did like the idea of integration. Last March, a group of Negroes asked the board to integrate the schools. There was no reply.

In fact, the board was already working on a way to get out of integrating the schools.

The federal government had been writing letters to the board asking whether Bessemer would comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. If it didn't comply--by integrating its schools--the school system might lose more than \$100,000 in federal funds this year alone.

Unlike many other Southern school districts, which promised to begin desegregation, Bessemer refused to submit compliance forms.

Instead, school officials filed a suit in federal court claiming the part of the Civil Rights Act which requires integration was unconstitutional. Bessemer's attorneys argued that the city shouldn't have to integrate the entire school system just to receive federal funds.

The only thing the federal government should be able to require, they said, is that its money go to help Negroes and whites alike.

And they promised that any federal money given to Bessemer would benefit all children--separately but equally. That should satisfy the federal government, said the lawyers, because Bessemer had only "voluntary segregation"--Negroes wanted it that way.

After all, they pointed out, no Negro had ever applied for a transfer to a white school, and none had ever filed a school desegregation suit.

The city's attorneys spoke too soon. In May, the parents of 11 Negro school children filed a suit calling for the integration of the Bessemer school system.

The Negroes won the suit. The school board was ordered to submit a plan for integrating its schools.

But there's more than one way to segregate a school--for example, the Bessemer school integration plan.

All Negroes would still be assigned to Negro schools, just as they had always been. All Negro first graders would still begin their school careers by reporting to Negro schools.

If a Negro wanted to attend a white school, he could fill out a special application. And then he would have to wait for the school board to act on it.

There was no exact limit on how much time the board could take. There was no standard at all for judging the applications. And not all students could apply. It would be three years before students in all grades could even ask to be transferred.

In 1978, the first Negro to enjoy 12 years of integrated education in Bessemer would graduate--maybe.

At the beginning of every school year he would have been sent back to the Negro school to fill out a transfer application. And every year the school board would have been able to turn him down.

Negroes and the federal attorneys objected to the plan. Circuit Court Judge Seybourn H. Lynne ordered a couple of minor changes.

The Negroes didn't think the changes improved the plan much so they appealed to a higher court. This court ruled that Bessemer had to rewrite its plan.

On Aug. 27, four days before the opening of school, Bessemer submitted a new plan to Judge Lynne. It was the same old plan with a few more small changes. Lynne said it was too late to make any major changes--and he approved the plan again.

An appeal may bring a stricter plan for next year, but for this year Bessemer's school integration plan is about the way it started out.

In the meantime, Bessemer is receiving federal money. According to the federal government's rules, a court-approved desegregation plan is enough to show that a school district does not discriminate.

But the federal government may change that rule. So the city is still trying to win its first school suit that would let Bessemer keep getting federal funds even if its schools are segregated.



SEVENTH-GRADERS ASK QUESTIONS AT A SATURDAY MORNING TUTORING SESSION

cide what college to attend next year. The tutors can tell her about different colleges and give advice on how to apply.

Two 12th graders who want to apply to Northern colleges are getting practice for the Scholastic Aptitude Test, a nation-wide test they will have to take. The test will have many problems and words the students haven't seen before. So every Saturday morn-

ing now they work with the tutors on increasing their vocabulary and practicing sample test questions.

High school students aren't the only ones to benefit from the project. As they teach, the tutors say they are re-learning things they had forgotten.

Many of the tutors from Birmingham-Southern and Howard, both white colleges, have never before had contact with Negroes as educated and intelligent as they.

"Many really admire one Negro tutor from Miles, who is really good at math, and one of the seventh graders, who is a whiz. They had never met anyone like him before," commented a Howard student.

"Of course, the ones that volunteer for tutoring are not the ones with racial prejudice who need such contact most," he added.

At Howard the tutors have

to be quiet about what they are doing. University officials fear the school would get in trouble with its supporters if word got around about the project. "But some of the people in the administration are sympathetic with our aims," said a Howard tutor.

Some tutors are from liberal homes but some aren't. They don't tell their parents what they are doing, because their parents would make them quit if they knew.

The students now at Bessemer think the tutoring will be very helpful to students planning to transfer from Carver next year. "They can listen to our problems and get ahead start in preparing. They will have a general idea what to expect," said a Bessemer student.

One of the girls now at Bessemer already had this advice for her former schoolmates: "If you don't like to study, stay at Carver."

Honor Roll Integrated at Lanier

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

MONTGOMERY--"Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, and segregation forever" was the long-time slogan of Alabama and its capital Montgomery.

But that slogan became an untrue statement in 1964, when several Negro students desegregated the two largest all-white schools in Montgomery--Robert E. Lee and Sidney Lanier High Schools. In 1965 there were twice as many Negroes to go to the previously all-white schools as before.

All of the 12 students who transferred to Lanier this fall have done well, and two of them--Miss Janice Caple and Miss Deloris Boyd--received all A's and first honor roll ranking at the end of the last marking period.

Miss Caple, a sophomore who transferred from the Alabama State Laboratory School, recalled her adjustment to Lanier this way:

"The first week I was cautious of them and they were cautious of me. Many ignored me--then and now--and a few smiled and said hello or tried to act friendly."

Miss Caple made four A's and one B the first six weeks.

Comparing Lanier to the State Lab School, she said, "It's a big difference because it's (Lanier) bigger and it's a public school." Miss Caple is a member of Lanier's Future Homemakers of America and French Club. She is thinking about becoming a physical therapist.

She added, "I was kind of excited about the Lee-Lanier game."

Miss Deloris Boyd, also a sophomore, graduated last year from Lovell Junior High School, where she was



MISS JANICE CAPLE valedictorian of her class.

She said her first week was the hardest at Lanier because it took a long time for the white students to get used to seeing so many Negroes in the school at one time. White students threw spit balls and made fun of her sitting alone at the lunch table.

But "the teachers were nice," she said; and after the first week "everything was normal and I have a few friends."

Miss Boyd is a member of the French Club. When she received her report card, the instructor commented, "That



MISS DELORIS BOYD is a nice-looking report card."

Once her English class was asked unexpectedly to write a paper on "What Happiness Means to Me," Miss Boyd wrote it, passed it in and received an A.

The next day her biology teacher, who had seen the paper, told her how beautiful it was. He asked, "Are you sure you were born here? Have you always lived in Alabama?"

Miss Boyd replied, "Yes, why?" "I cannot believe that you are a Southerner. Your terminology is so different," answered the biology teach-

er. The following are excerpts from her paper:

"Happiness is a joyous feeling of contentment and peace of mind. Happiness results from service. To know that my ideals and actions are right in the sight of God brings peace and joy to me.

"Material values alone do not bring happiness. When I was younger, my ideas of success were based on having lots of money, among other material possessions. As I matured, I realized that money does not bring everything. One thing it can never purchase is true happiness.

"Genuine happiness come from within. It is that spark of joy I receive when I have accomplished some major triumph. Happiness is love for others more than yourself. It is kindness and respect for others and their ideals. It is unselfishness. . . ."

Summing up her experience at Lanier Miss Boyd said, "I'm glad I'm over there and I plan to finish there."

Most of the other students who transferred to Lanier went to George Washington Carver last year. They are Miss Yvonne Miles, Miss Myrta Vinson, Miss Joann Mastin, Sergeant Austin Perry, Bobby Arrington, John McCain and Jerry Taylor--all juniors--and Miss Emma Scott--a sophomore, Arrington and McCain plan to join the track team, and Taylor is a member of Lanier's ROTC.

Arlam Carr, a sophomore, is a member of ROTC and Patricia Oliver, a sophomore who transferred from St. Jude, is now a member of Lanier's Future Medics Club.



ENGLISH AND MATH GIVE THE MOST TROUBLE, HERE A TUTOR HELPS WITH A DIFFICULT ALGEBRA PROBLEM

Selma Men Acquitted

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Pilcher produced witnesses to alibi for the defendants. And, he claimed, Mr. Reeb did not get the prompt medical attention that could have saved his life.

He charged in court that "certain civil rights groups had to have a martyr, and they were willing to let Reeb die."

It did not take the jurors long to do their "duty." Ninety minutes after they began deliberating, the jurors made Cook and the brothers Hoggie free men.

Mayor: I'll See Selma Negroes Of 'Good Faith'

BY EDWARD M. RUDD

SELMA -- It's not just any Dallas County Negro who can talk to Mayor Joe Smitherman about poverty. It's only Negroes of "good faith."

On Dec. 4, the mayor granted an audience to about two dozen Negroes from SHAPE, (Dallas County Self-Help Against Poverty with Everyone), an anti-poverty committee springing mostly from the Negro communities of Dallas County.

They offered Smitherman a written plan for a committee to run a federal anti-poverty program in Dallas County. The mayor took one look at it. It was the exact opposite of the plan he had proposed.

It suggested that the poverty program be run by people in mass meetings. His plan was to have it go through an appointed 11-man committee.

The mayor said he would study the Negroes' plan. But, he said, since nothing could be discussed until he had studied it, everybody was dismissed.

But the people wouldn't be dismissed. They got up and talked about their plan, and Smitherman listened.

"As the expression goes," said the Rev. Ernest Bradford, SHAPE chairman, "they stood tall--each one of them who stood and had something to say."

People at a SHAPE meeting the following week decided that the mayor had had enough time to study their plan. They wanted another meeting.

But Mr. Bradford said that when he called the mayor, he was given a flat "no."

"He told me a meeting would not be granted to me," said Mr. Bradford, "but only to other people of good faith."

"The mayor is still afraid," said one woman who had attended the meeting. "The question is, of what?"

"He lacks something of growing up," said another.

Mr. Bradford said he felt the mayor had locked the door of his office to SHAPE.

"We'll have to move on," said Mr. Bradford. "We won't try to make contact with him any more. There might be meetings with other representatives of city and county government, but I'm not saying yes."

Meanwhile, the mayor will have to look elsewhere for Negroes of "good faith."

After the acquittals, the federal government began looking into the possibility of prosecuting the three men on civil rights charges.

The three Selma defendants have already been charged, but not indicted, under the same 1870 law used to convict Collie Leroy Wilkins Jr. and two others earlier this month in Montgomery.

The U.S. Supreme Court is expected to rule soon on whether the 1870 law can be applied to killings of Negroes and civil rights workers.

Alabama Opinion

Negroes Shouldn't Deny Heritage of Blues Songs

BY NORMAN LUMPKIN

MONTGOMERY -- Negroes believe they have nothing to offer their own American society.

This is a grave mistake, because we have the blues. The blues are an original art form in this country, an art form this country has to offer the world. The blues tell the story of happenings -- the trials and tribulations of the black man and his woman... his food... his liquor... his travels... what he's done to other men... the jails he has served time in... the white men he's liked and disliked.



NORMAN LUMPKIN

Someone like Lightnin' Hopkins can keep a roomful of white people listening for at least an hour. Groups from England go back 20 years for songs written by Negro blues composers, and make millions of dollars off them.

But the Negro himself has tried to dissociate himself from his true heritage. He has overlooked this heritage of the blues.

To see how ashamed Negroes are of their heritage, take a look at some New York City Negroes who change their mode of dress to African garb, and stop straightening their hair and wear it "au naturel."

They change their names to Mobutu, or something like that. Anything to separate themselves from the American Negro race. This is a bad thing.

After one sitting of listening to the blues artists, these Negroes might realize they have something to offer to society.

In the blues, you can see yourself, you can see your mother and father, and better understand the troubles they had.

The blues are nothing but soul. "The Soul of a Man," that's a song. "Double-O Soul," "Soul Joint." The blues are nothing but soul, an earthy thing.

People who sing the blues are nothing but bums. Freight-train riders. Ex-convicts. And the only way they can express themselves is through song.

We all express ourselves through song. We hum or moan. If you go to a church, you express yourself through song. Let someone play a gospel beat, and you will go nuts with the rest of the sisters and brothers in church.

But the same people who will scream and sweat for two hours in church are ashamed of the blues. They don't understand that the blues are a lot like church music.

Most other races have closer family ties than Negroes. They have things to talk about, like what Grandpa did and what it used to be like in the old country. They talk about each other and they are proud of each other.

The Negro would be better able to understand himself and his people, if he accepted the fact that he is a black man and that he will be one until he dies. He should help to develop his culture -- like his songs -- so that more people will be able to understand him through his art form.

I think this would be an important contribution to relations among races. But it can never happen until we Negroes accept the fact that we have been torn away from another continent and thrust into a different environment, and a completely different culture has been developed in the process.

We should take time to listen to our own story for a change.

(Norman Lumpkin is news director of radio station WRMA in Montgomery.)

Name Change Starts A Fuss At Tuskegee Institute High School

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- "What's in a name?" may sound like a harmless question. But those were fighting words for a while last week at Tuskegee Institute High School.

The trouble was that the Macon County Board of Education and the students at Tuskegee Institute High School came up with different answers to the question.

The board of education took a long look at the high school's name and decided it spelled "segregation."

"All over the state, people think of Tuskegee Institute as a synonym for Negro," explained Joe C. Wilson, county schools superintendent. "But we don't have 'Negro' and 'white' schools here any more."

"Besides the racial connotation, there's been confusion for years over who operates Tuskegee Institute High School. We want people to realize it's a public school and has no connection with the college."

So the school board decided to rename the school Greenwood High School. The board passed the official word along

Xmas Present -- New Voters

BY LAURA GODOFSKY

WASHINGTON -- About 2,300 college students from all over the country will spend their Christmas vacation helping register Negro voters in Alabama and five other Southern states.

The first group of students helping in the "Freedom Christmas" project will arrive this weekend. The second group will arrive about Dec. 28.

The Alabama projects were planned by SCLC. One hundred students are expected in Birmingham. Others will work in Montgomery.

The students, many of whom worked on SCOPE projects last summer, will live in the homes of local Negroes. From Dec. 21 to Jan. 15, they will go from house to house in Negro neighborhoods, asking Negroes to register.

Most of the student volunteers will work in Southern counties with federal examiners. Organizers of the project feel that in these areas, a great deal can be done in the short time available.

Since primary elections will be held in some areas as early as May 3, say the project organizers, a summer registration drive would be too late.

Why No Scholarships For Negroes?

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE -- A few days ago, 24 high school seniors from Mobile County were taken to dinner at a plush restaurant. They heard representatives of Louisiana State University talk about the size of the school's library and the equipment in its science laboratories.

These students are the county's finalists in the National Merit Scholarship competition.

They have survived a series of examinations that began last spring. Some of the finalists may receive four-year National Merit Scholarships to a college of their choice.

Most of the others will probably receive some kind of scholarship, because they have proven themselves superior students.

All of them are from white high schools. "We tend to rank low in all these tests," explained J. T. Gaines, principal of Central High School, one of Mobile's Negro schools.

Gaines said he couldn't recall a Negro student in Mobile ever winning a National Merit Scholarship.

An aluminum company in Mobile gives a scholarship each year to a student whose father works at the plant.

Both white and Negro fathers are employed there, but "a white student wins it every year," said Gaines.

Gaines blamed this mainly on "a serious cultural lag." But another Negro teacher put most of the blame on "inferior teachers in inferior schools."

Negro students here almost all agree that their schools are inferior to the white schools.

Will SCLC Vote Drive Flunk in Birmingham?

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

BIRMINGHAM -- SCLC leaders have been trying for a month to start a voter registration drive in Birmingham. They haven't gotten very far.

More than four weeks ago, half a dozen SCLC staffers arrived here to organize the drive. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was scheduled to address a mass meeting to rally support.

But when the SCLC workers arrived, they learned that the registrar's office would be closed for the next two weeks, because of the constitutional amendment election.

So Dr. King's visit was postponed, and the SCLC workers returned to Atlanta. A group of local leaders promised to begin organizing the drive by themselves.

Three weeks later, the SCLC task force came back to help. The SCLC people found that the local group had done almost nothing.

But SCLC didn't do much better. The task force workers couldn't even find places to stay in local homes. They had to stay at the Gaston Motel.

Dr. King finally came to Birmingham last Monday. This time, he was sup-

posed to lead a march on the courthouse to publicize the vote drive.

But the march, scheduled for Tuesday, was canceled when King's aides learned that the registration office in the courthouse would be closed.

Dr. King spoke to 500 Negroes who packed the St. James Baptist Church Monday night.

"We mean to go all out to get the ballot," he declared. "I still have a dream that right here in Birmingham, Negroes will sit on the city council with white men."

But as Dr. King was speaking in St. James, one of his assistants was giving another kind of talk to 100 local Negro students in a church across the street.

Hosea Williams, the man in charge of SCLC voter registration task forces, told the students that Negroes in Birmingham were too apathetic.

"If Birmingham Negroes really want a voter registration drive, they're going to have to get it up themselves," he said. "SCLC can only help."

"I'm worried about Birmingham," he added. "We've never flunked before, but we may flunk out in Birmingham."

gives a scholarship each year to a student whose father works at the plant.

Both white and Negro fathers are employed there, but "a white student wins it every year," said Gaines.

Gaines blamed this mainly on "a serious cultural lag." But another Negro teacher put most of the blame on "inferior teachers in inferior schools."

Negro students here almost all agree that their schools are inferior to the white schools.

"I've never had a really hard teacher," said a Central student who was a semi-finalist in the National Achievement Scholarship competition.

This competition is for Negro students only. The National Merit Scholarship Corporation started it, because Negro students could rarely beat the whites in competition for the regular National Merit Scholarships.

A recent report released by the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

FOOD SPECIALS

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Voter Classes Begin

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

AUBURN -- "Registration will put you on the way to voting, but it won't get you there," said the big man with the Texas accent. "You have to pay your poll tax, too."

Sixteen Negroes nodded their heads so emphatically that the big man was surprised. He looked around the church where the East Alabama Council on Human Relations last week held one of its first voter education classes.

"I came here to tell you about state voting laws and city government," he told the Negroes. "But maybe you know more about it than I do."

As it turned out, they did. All of them were registered voters. Some had passed strict literacy tests to register several years ago. Many were members of the Auburn Voters League, a political action group.

They weren't the people the Human Relations Council was really trying to reach.

"We want to talk to new voters in Lee County, to the people who registered for the first time after the Voting Rights Act went through last summer," the big man said.

"We want to make sure they know about the poll tax and who their city and county officials are -- things like that."

People in the audience said they had been told he would show them how to use

a voting machine.

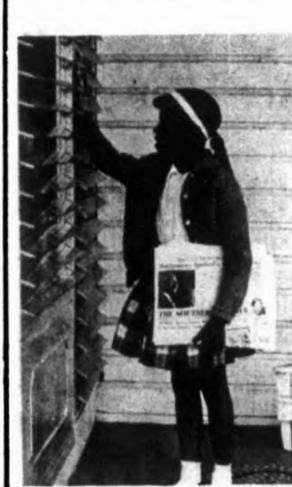
"I can't do that," he admitted, "I just moved here from Texas, and I've never used an Alabama voting machine. But I'll find out and tell you next time."

OPELIKA -- A lively question-and-answer session last week began the first in a series of voter education classes here.

Thirty Negroes gathered in a church to listen to an instructor from the East Alabama Council on Human Relations. But they didn't stay quiet very long.

One woman wanted to know how she could register to vote in Alabama and still vote in her old home state of Georgia.

She frowned when the instructor told her she could vote only in the state where she lived.



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Reconstruction Saw Negro Gains

BY BOBBI AND FRANK CIECIORKA

WHEN THE CIVIL War ended, people in the North couldn't decide what to do with the South. Before the war, almost all of the best land and most of the slaves were owned by a small number of white people. These slaveowners made most of the decisions about how the South was run. They were also the people who started the war. Many northerners wanted to let them run things again after the war. Andrew Johnson became president when Lincoln was shot. He was one of those who wanted to forgive the Confederates.

Other people believed that the war was fought for nothing if the old slaveholders were put back in power. They wanted to "reconstruct" society in the South so that equality and democracy would replace rule by a few. They were called "radicals." Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner were two leaders of the Reconstruction program in Congress.

But no matter what people in the North thought, the freed slaves had their own ideas. They wanted to own their own land, they wanted education, and they wanted a voice in how things were run.

DURING THE WAR, many slaves took over the plantations when the Union army chased the owners away. The soldiers told the slaves that Congress would give them the land to keep after the war. They set up their own government. They built roads, schools and churches. And they got guns to protect themselves.

All over the South, Negroes and poor whites organized together into what they called Union Leagues. One out of every three people in the Union Leagues was white. These Leagues were very much like the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is today. They held mass meetings once a week in churches and schools. They talked about the kind of government they wanted in the South. And for a few years after the war, they got their chance to be a part of the government.

During Reconstruction there were Negroes in Congress and in the state legislatures. There were Negro police, judges and lawyers in the South. Before the war, only the rich could afford to get an education. Only people who owned property could vote. Poor white people were not much better off than Negroes. The freed slaves and poor whites in the legislatures after the war gave everyone a chance to get a free education. They changed the law so that a person didn't have to own property to vote. They also gave more rights to women and they passed civil rights bills.

Most history books don't say that Negroes and poor whites passed good laws during Reconstruction. They say that Negroes did not have enough education

to make good laws. But when someone is sick, you don't need to go to college to know he needs medical care. And when someone can't read, anyone knows he needs education. These were the kinds of laws that were passed.

THE OLD SLAVEOWNERS tried to destroy the movement. They organized secret groups like the Ku Klux Klan. They tried to get their old power back by burning, beating and killing. But there were still federal troops in the South. And the Union Leagues still had guns to defend themselves. So the slaveowners were not too successful.

But in 1876, the election for president was very close. There were three Southern states that turned in two sets of votes. The slaveowners had separate elections and they voted for the Democrat, Tilden. Negroes and poor whites voted for Hayes, the Republican. Congress set up a committee to decide which votes should be counted.

Hayes wanted to make sure he became president. He talked to the people on the committee who were in favor of the slaveowners. He said that if they counted his votes instead of Tilden's, he would pull the federal troops out of the South. That meant that Negroes and poor whites would no longer have federal protection. So in 1877, President Hayes sold out the cause of democracy. The Klan stepped up their system of terror and hatred of Negroes as soon as the federal troops were gone.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY in the South was run by the old Confederates. Many of them wanted to have Negroes vote for them. So they offered to hold back the Klan in return for Negro votes. But Negroes didn't feel that they had the same needs and interests as rich people, landowners and old slaveholders. On the other hand, the Republican Party



was selling them out again and again.

Then, in the 1890's, a new party rose up to challenge the other two. It was called the Populist, or People's Party. The Populists said that poor whites and Negroes should stick together. As long as they were set against one another, their wages would be low and they would never get anywhere. One Populist leader, Tom Watson, said the party would "wipe out the color line".

The Democrats were afraid the Populists would take over the South. First the Democrats tried to split the union of poor whites and Negroes.

The next step was to take the right to vote away from Negroes. Each of the Southern states passed laws to keep Negroes from voting. Mississippi was the first in 1890. By 1910, all the states in the South had such laws.

By losing the Negro vote, the Populist Party was cut in half. More and more the Populists tried to get white votes by talking against the Negroes. By 1906, even Tom Watson turned against the Negroes. But the Democrats were solidly in power and the Populist Party slowly disappeared, Negroes and poor whites were left without any voice in the decisions that affected their lives.

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Jackson High Students Attack Negro Classmate

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

JACKSON--Robert Brooks hasn't been to his classes at Jackson High School for nearly three weeks. "I don't want to lose my life," Brooks explained.

He is a Negro. Jackson High was all white until this fall.

Brooks and four Negro girls integrated the high school in September. They are all seniors. A total of 14 Negroes integrated the Clarke County public schools in grades one, four, seven and 12.

Despite the integration, the county's desegregation plan has not yet been approved by the U. S. Office of Education.

At first, Brooks and the girls met no open hostility from their white classmates. Then, in mid-October, a little harassment began against Brooks. He said it came from teachers and students.

It grew steadily worse, he said, until it included "threats that I'd be killed."

Then, about three weeks ago, as Brooks started walking away from school, a bunch of white boys followed him out. He ignored them, and one of

them charged into him from behind, leaving him with an injured back.

Brooks' doctor sent him to bed for a few weeks. His back has mended pretty well by now, but he still hasn't returned to school.

According to Frank Dean, a young Negro leader in Clarke County, the Jackson High principal called and said things would get worse if Brooks returned to school.

But now it appears that an official attempt will be made to protect Brooks when he returns to school. "The high sheriff is supposed to escort him in and out," said Cleave Jackson, another Negro leader.

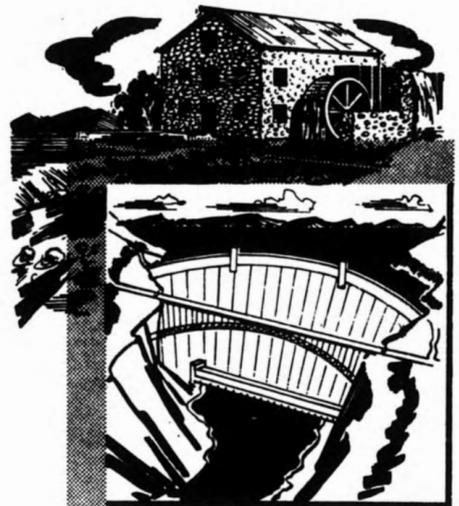
School officials refused to comment.

SCHOLARSHIPS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

school district shows that Negro first-graders in the Mobile system are, on the average, about one year behind white first-graders.

By the time the Negro students graduate from high school, they are three years behind, the report says.



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