

First Day of Integration: 'Like Any Other School Day'

BY DAVID M. GORDON

HAYNEVILLE--As Hayneville School opened its doors to its first Negro students here last Tuesday, the air was tense in this sleepy county seat, scene of a civil rights killing two weeks ago.

But for Arthalise Hulet, 15, one of four Negro students who enrolled without incident Tuesday, the day was "just like any other school day."

"Arthalise began the day as usual by rolling out of bed on his family's farm at 4:30 a.m. 'I've been getting up that early all summer,' he said, 'Wasn't any reason to do different today.'"

His tenth-grade classes weren't scheduled to begin until 8 a.m., and Arthalise was taking it easy.

He fixed a sandwich for his sister, helped feed the four family dogs, checked the oil on his family's car and copied out his class schedule in his new notebook.

At 6:30 a.m., he drove with his father to Hayneville, where he waited at his aunt's house for school to begin. He seemed completely calm.

"I'm not nervous at all--so far, at least," he said.

"And I'm much better off than my brother John."

John was supposed to begin the eighth grade at Lowndes County Training School, the Negro school in the county, Arthalise explained.

Instead, John was out picking cotton, as part of a fairly effective boycott of the school. The boycotters were demanding

the resignation of the school's Negro principal.

"John and me, we don't like to miss school," Arthalise said. "And now I get to go to school and he doesn't."

At 7:45 a.m., Arthalise and his mother joined the three other Negro students and their mothers to register for the first day of classes.

As the group strolled quietly on to the school grounds, news photographers clicked and whirled their cameras wildly. They were kept behind the school fence by about 15 recently appointed auxiliary deputies.

And that was the only visible excitement of the day. When the children were safely inside the school, Miss Hulda Coleman, Lowndes County school superintendent,

explained the almost surprising calm: "Getting ready for school requires a lot of planning. This is a new experience for all of us, and we did a good deal more planning than usual."

When school let out at 3 p.m., in the afternoon, Arthalise rode the school bus home with the rest of the white students. Once at home, he seemed as relaxed as before.

"It wasn't hard at all," he said, "and nothing happened."

"The only strange thing," he continued, "was the way all the white students acted."

Whenever the four Negroes walked down the corridor, Arthalise said, the white students would gasp and jump to the side or turn their heads.

"No one spoke to me the whole day," he said, "and when I got off the bus, they

all started laughing. They asked us to sit by ourselves at lunch, and they asked me to sit at the back of the bus on the way home."

"But I'm going to think about my lessons first," he said, "and then make friends. It may be hard for them to make friends, but it won't be for me."

Arthalise said he planned to work hard at Hayneville School because he figured his education at the county Negro schools had put him behind many of the white students.

Then, he said, he would go to college. When asked what college he was thinking of attending, he replied with a twinkle in his eye:

"Is the University of Alabama integrated yet?"



ARTHALISE HULETT

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. I, NO. 8 Weekend Edition: Sept. 4-5, 1965 TEN CENTS

Alabama Integrates Its Schools

5 Counties Start Private Schools

BY DAVID M. GORDON

SELMA--Integration of many of Alabama's public schools this month has brought several new all-white private schools into the western Black Belt.

Four private schools--in Selma, Marion, Greensboro and Demopolis--will definitely be opening next week for the first time.

The opening of a fifth school, in Lowndes County, depends on the results of a county-wide survey taken this week to determine the number of interested white parents.

"The reasons for setting up the schools in the different areas are pretty much the same," said R.L. DeWitt, director of the Demopolis School Foundation, Inc.

"There are just a few schools now, but I think there are going to be a lot more of them in the future."

Most of the directors of the new schools agree that parents have been enrolling their children in private schools for two reasons.

Either parents want to keep their children in segregated schools, the directors feel, or they want to take advantage of the small size of private school classes.

"The school can't simply be a haven from integration," said C.L. McLafferty, a trustee of the new John T. Morgan Academy in Selma. "We will have to have a really top-notch school."

So far, no one in the five school foundations knows whether they will be receiving state money under the provisions of the new grant-in-aid bill recently passed in the state legislature.

The bill would provide \$185 toward tuition for each student attending a private school who fits the qualifications of the bill.

"The state money is not going to be easy to come by," DeWitt said. "Nobody seems to be able to tell us how we get it."

Nevertheless, all of the directors feel certain they will be able to finance their schools without the benefit of state aid. Money in most cases will come both from private donations and from student tuition fees.

Of the five schools, the three in Selma, Greensboro and Demopolis are apparently best-established and most certain of making it through the year.

Negroes in Selma are planning to try to enroll several Negro children in the school when it opens.

"We expect this will develop into some kind of test of the legality of such private schools," said the Rev. F.D. Reese, pre-

Fashion Show



MOBILE--The first annual Artists' and Models' Fashion Show was held Sunday afternoon at Central High School. Donations went to retarded children.



NEGRO AND WHITE CHILDREN LEAVE HAYNEVILLE SCHOOL

Four Arrested in Murders

ANNISTON--Three white men have been arrested and indicted for the July 15 shotgun murder of Willie Brewster, a 38-year-old Negro.

Another white man is being held for the fatal shooting of Thad Christian, 54, a Negro, last Saturday in rural Calhoun County.

As the arrests were made in the Brewster case, the violently anti-Negro National States Rights Party came back to town.

The racist group planned to hold rallies on the steps of the Calhoun County courthouse on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

The Brewster shooting last July came after the second of three courthouse rallies held by the National States Rights Party.

On the night Brewster was killed, the

Rev. Connie Lynch told a crowd of 100 at the NSRP rally that "fighting the nigger is a war, and in a war there's got to be killing."

Lynch was back in town this week, too. The three men charged with the Brewster murder were Johnny Ira DeFries, 25; Lewis Blevins, 26, and Hubert Damon Strange, 23. They were indicted Aug. 27 by the Calhoun County grand jury in a six-hour special session.

DeFries and Strange were employees of Kenneth Adams, 45, local head of the National States Rights Party. Adams, in fact, brought Strange in to surrender Monday morning. He and three other men signed bonds for all three defendants.

Adams himself was recently arrested in Anniston in connection with the theft of a large supply of explosives from Fort McClellan.

He had been indicted by a federal grand jury on a charge of receiving stolen property.

Police said Blevins had been arrested 18 times since 1955 on charges ranging from reckless driving and stealing hubcaps to assaulting a police officer.

DeFries, police said, has been arrested six times since 1956.

Brewster was driving himself and three friends home from work when the fatal shooting occurred late the night of July 15 on Highway 202, four miles west of here.

More recently, Robert Haynes, 41, of Jacksonville, was arrested for the shotgun murder of Thad Christian last Saturday night.

Christian was the father of seven children.

A companion said he and Christian were fishing in a small creek when Haynes approached and told them to leave. The stream is known as a "white man's creek."

The companion told police Haynes then shot Christian in the stomach.

Tuskegee Summer Program Stirs Interest in Education

BY PETER WESTOVER

TUSKEGEE--"I've given a lot of mind to getting a college football or basketball scholarship," said a 16-year-old Negro boy taking part in Tuskegee Institute's Summer Education Program (SEP).

"But," he said, "I want to major in engineering so I can qualify for two jobs at once."

He and some 6,000 other seventh- to 12th-grade students in ten Alabama counties finished a summer of SEP tutorial sessions this week.

The sessions were run by Tuskegee and financed by the federal Office of Economic Opportunity.

Students from Tuskegee and 12 other colleges spent 60- to 80-hour weeks in the cities and the backwoods, teaching the kids a variety of school subjects, plus several "cultural extras."

Their aim was to awaken the children to the advantages of a good education, and help the kids take better advantage of the education they get in their public schools.

"Most importantly, the program helped kids and their parents to become critical of the education they can get in Alabama now," said SEP program coordinator P. Bertrand Phillips.

"Most had no idea before this summer that they should want or expect anything better."

Phillips said that "in Lowndes County, for example Negroes are showing a great dissatisfaction with the Negro schools, just since the program."

Tuskegee initiated SEP this spring as a kind of experimental "pilot" project, hopefully to be imitated all over the country by next year.

"Ultimately," said one SEP administrator, "we want our counties to get federal aid directly and run their own programs."

Federal money may also be used to continue tutorial work in the fall, especially for adults, in some of the same ten counties.

SEP classes were held not only in school buildings and Negro churches but, where these were not available, in garages, water sheds, and the raw outdoors. One cen-

ter regularly used a blackboard nailed up on a tree.

Criticism of the program varied. "The project only scratched the surface," said one tutor. "These kids will just go back to the way they were."

And some felt lack of adequate teaching facilities was an overwhelming obstacle.

But more felt that the educational experience alone was enough to overshadow the problems that arose during the first SEP summer.

First Negro Runs for Public Office in Dothan

DOTHAN--John C. Forrester, the first Negro to run for public office in Dothan, will be one of nine candidates running for the post of Associate Commissioner No. 1 in a city election Tuesday.

Commissioner No. 1 is in charge of the Department of Public Safety, which includes the city police and fire departments.

The other eight candidates are Joe Cutchen, John Enfinger, James P. Hall, Billy J. Hicks, Willard J. Lucas, Hilton Parish, Oscar Sileba and R. Dell Sellers.

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Switch Peaceful in Most Schools; Trouble in Greene County, Marion

Integration came to many of Alabama's public schools this week. For the most part, it came quietly, without incident.

The integration was a result of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. A section of the act requires school districts to desegregate if they want to keep receiving federal aid.

Civil rights leaders said, however, that the integration was mostly "token." The number of Negro students in integrated Alabama schools this year is expected to be "several hundred."

Two of the major trouble spots were Greene County and Marion.

Job Bias Law

Not a Cure-all

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, outlawing racial discrimination in jobs went into effect at the beginning of July.

But it hasn't had much effect yet in Alabama, and it probably won't in the future, said a law student who has been helping Negroes use the new law.

"The extent to which the law can help is very limited," said Ike Madison, from Howard University in Washington, D.C. He has been working in Alabama this summer for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

Madison talked with hundreds of Negro workers who believed they had been discriminated against, but he sent less than 20 formal complaints to the Justice Department in Washington.

Madison said of one worker's experience:

"It might involve racial discrimination. But it does. But I can't do anything about it. I can't pinpoint it."

Even where he could pinpoint it, the formal complaint he filed probably won't change things very much, Madison said.

What could bring improvements? A change in white employers' and employees' attitudes would help, according to Madison. It would even help the whites, he said.

"A lot of the industries are just cutting their own necks," Madison said. Many capable Negroes are moving north or west because they can't get good jobs in the South he said, while the less qualified Negroes tend to stay.

But Madison admitted some companies might hurt themselves by hiring even highly qualified Negroes.

One plant manager told Madison he couldn't hire any Negroes because the white women in the factory refused to work with them.

But even if the whites' attitudes changed tomorrow, many Negroes still wouldn't profit much, because they wouldn't be qualified for the new jobs opening up for them, Madison said.

Title VII can't help much here either, he said--it's hard to get the job without the experience, and hard to get the experience without the job.

In fact, Madison said, Negroes will not be able to "earn their way in" to the bet-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

Reactions as SCOPE Project Ends

BY ROBERT LEE STRINGER

LUVERNE--All SCLC-SCOPE workers left Luverne on Monday. The day was sad for some and joyful for others.

All over the South this week, SCOPE projects were ending, and the summer workers were going home.

The SCOPE workers had been in Luverne since June 28. They had been engaged in getting Negroes registered to vote in Crenshaw County, and diminishing barriers of de facto segregation in local restaurants uptown in Luverne.

When asked how she felt about the accomplishments of the SCOPE workers in Luverne, a Negro woman replied:

"I think they did a splendid job, and I hated to see them go. We need them back again. They were the only ones that could

reach the people down here."

A Negro minister said, "I don't think they did too well. They helped some and did what they could, I guess, and they were faithful. I'd say they did their part."

As of now three restaurants in town are integrated, and approximately 65 more Negroes have been added to Crenshaw's list of registered voters--all through the efforts of the SCOPE workers.

Earlier in the summer curiosity about the workers reached record-breaking heights.

Said one white citizen and proprietor, "I'll sell 'em something if they come in here." It seems as if the local SCLC workers sold him first.

BY JAMES KELLY

AND JOHN KELLY JR.

EUFAULA--The SCOPE group arrived in Eufaula on June 24. Eight white volunteers set to work immediately canvassing to get people to the courthouse.

Before they arrived, the local people weren't able to get more than 15 to 20 people to register.

The SCOPE workers were able to get 200 to 500 people down to the courthouse every registration day.

It didn't matter that, for the majority of the summer, the SCOPE workers were all white. There were no problems concerning the difference of races.

Negroes here feel that if they continue to build strength, they will be prepared for the battle ahead.

IT'S THAT TIME AGAIN! High School Football Roundup

See Page Five

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

The SOUTHERN COURIER is published weekly by the Southern Educational Conference, Inc., a non-profit, non-share educational corporation, for the study and dissemination of accurate information about events and affairs in the field of human relations. Editorial and business office: 68 Electric Ave. NW, Atlanta, Ga. 30314. Phone: 404-524-3957. Price: 10¢ per copy, \$5 per year in the South, \$10 per year elsewhere in the U.S., patron subscription \$25 per year, used to defray the costs of printing and publication. Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Atlanta, Ga.

President: Peter Cummings
Editor: Michael S. Lottman
Executive Editor: Ellen Lake

Sept. 4-5, 1965 Vol. 1, No. 8

Why Not Women on Juries?

Three women were among the five Negroes who recently filed a suit against alleged racial discrimination in the selection of juries in Lowndes County. But even if they win the case, these women won't be able to serve on juries. Under Alabama law, only men can be jurors. The women's rights battle is a lot older than the current civil rights battle, but it seems that it still hasn't been won in Alabama. The day is long past when women were considered incompetent to take part in government. They have voted for 45 years. They have served in the House and in the Senate. They have been appointed to judgeships. Surely if women can choose presidents, make laws and decide cases, they can serve on juries. Sifting evidence in a trial is no more difficult or unfeminine than any number of tasks that women now perform. It is high time that Alabama give its female citizens their full rights.

Sports for All Sorts

This week and the next, many of Alabama's schools will be integrated. So far, the process has been peaceful, and we hope it remains so. We have said before that "we believe all men are entitled to equal educational opportunities." And, therefore, we believe these first days of school integration will be a milestone, from which Alabama can go forward to a better society for all her citizens. Page Five of this issue reminds us of a very small, but nonetheless sad result of all the years of segregated schools. High-school football is run on a segregated basis, as are most other sports in the state. We hope that as the schools are integrated, the football teams will also be integrated. Then the segregated schedules can be done away with. Sports can do a great deal to promote understanding and respect between black and white. Even the most hard-headed bigot forgets about skin color when he watches someone like Willie Mays, Jimmy Brown or Wilt Chamberlain. On a more personal level, too, sports can make a difference. Negro and white boys who have played side-by-side through 60 minutes of a tough football game, depending on each other for support, are going to find it very hard to resume hating each other when the game is over. And they might also find they have developed a healthy respect for the men of different colors who played across the line from them.

Our New Address

As of this weekend, the SOUTHERN COURIER will have a new address. We are moving the business and mechanical end of our operation from Atlanta to Montgomery, to be closer to our reporters and the news we cover. Our new address is Room 620, Frank Leu Building, Montgomery Ala. Please send letters, story suggestions, subscription blanks, advertising copy and all other correspondence to this new address.

Alabama Opinion

Each Must Decide His Role in Rights

BY ADRIAN FOSTER
TUSKEGEE--A truly democratic society is made up of people with different interests, abilities, and dreams. This is true of the protest against discrimination and deprivation. The responsibility to improve the Negroes' position in America--as well as the positions of other groups--cannot be taken by only one group in the society. It is the job of many! But this responsibility ought not to be taken on by the individual, unless he clearly understands the purpose of the movement and the personal commitment demanded. The civil rights struggle has, to a large extent, provided the opportunity for individual Americans--of varying backgrounds and orientations--to take their stands and to translate their "social" beliefs into action. Social action is not entirely a group responsibility. It takes on meaning from the individual's own commitment to an ideal and his willingness to follow through with appropriate action. Negroes--as a group--have found it almost imperative to become a part of the struggle to end racial discrimination and injustice. Yet the clamor for mass action and protest must not overlook the effect of participation on the individual. If a person becomes involved, his physical safety may be endangered, as has been the case for so many dedicated civil rights workers in the South. Or he may very well find it hard to fight for his own civil rights, if these actions deny some else's rights or the rights of a larger group--on issues of religious freedom, for instance. The individual may be criticized in many

ways for participating in the civil rights struggle. From within the movement itself, a Negro may be criticized for tactics that are "too slow" or "too subservient." Criticism may be directed against whites who profess to believe in equality of the races, but who appear "naive" when it comes to understanding what it really means to be a Negro in America. From outside the movement, criticism has come from Negroes who themselves don't want to see "the boat rocked." It has come from whites who are unwilling, despite professed belief in equality, to jeopardize their relationships in the white community. Again, it may come from whites who are unwilling to accept the involvement demonstrated by other dedicated whites. Wide publicity was given the fact that, even after the death of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker, many criticized her for leaving her home in the North to take a stand against racial injustices in



The U.S. and the World

Space Used For Military?

BY JOHN SHORT
When the U.S. astronauts were halfway through last week's record-setting space flight, a Russian newspaper, Red Star, said that Gemini 5 wasn't really a step to the moon. The space voyage, Red Star said, was a high-flying spying mission on China and other Communist countries. This report was false, American scientists were only interested in the moon. They found out that man could stand life in space--long enough to get to the moon and back. Astronauts L. Gordon Cooper and Charles Conrad stayed up for 120 orbits--almost eight days. Their trip was the lon-



gest in history. And they were in good shape afterwards. But stories about spying from space might come true in the future. While the two astronauts were still up in space, a happy President Johnson ordered the Defense Department to build something the Air Force has wanted for a long time--a manned space laboratory to orbit around the earth. The two-man space station would be designed for research by the armed forces into the military advantages of outer space. Now the U.S. plans to launch its first manned military experiment in 1968--one year before the Apollo flight to the moon. The huge 42-foot, 7 1/2 ton laboratory would be the biggest spacecraft ever launched by the U.S. For the first time, astronauts would be able to walk around inside the laboratory without wearing spacesuits. When the time came, they would return to earth in the Gemini capsule, leaving the space station in orbit. When our space project got under way in 1958, our policy was to stay away from military objectives. But now, when both sides seem to be trying to make progress in the disarmament talks, the battlefield looks like it is spreading to the unexplored field of outer space. Soon after 1968, both the U.S. and Russia might have their own orbiting task force

Civil Rights Roundup

Whites 'Get the Message' on Watts: Negroes Isolated From White World

BY ELLEN LAKE
"We had a \$200,000,000 demonstration. I sure hope Whitey got the message," said a Negro in the Watts area of Los Angeles. Apparently, "Whitey" did. The past week was one of re-thinking and rebuilding in Los Angeles. Ever since the week-long riots ended, a large number of organizations--civil rights, governmental, civic and religious--have been searching for the causes of the disturbance. The answer they have found is that the Negroes of Watts felt isolated from white Los Angeles, white America--even from the successful Negroes who had moved out. "We have absentee leadership, absentee ministers, absentee landlords and absentee merchants," one Negro said. "They provide what services they can during the day, and when the sun goes down in Watts, it's just us and the cops." This isolation was felt on many fronts. It was economic. Thirty-four percent of the residents of Watts have no jobs. It was geographic. An eight-lane freeway separates Negroes of Watts from the rest of Los Angeles, and makes them invisible. In addition, well over half of the people of Watts have recently come from the South. They have no roots in the city. These people have special trouble finding jobs that require few skills. The isolation was political. Although Los Angeles has one Negro congressman, three Negro city councilmen and other Negro officials, only one--a state assemblyman--lives in Watts. And even he admitted that the riot was a "revolt against the Negro leadership."



Finally, Watts was isolated even from the civil rights movement. All the major rights groups have headquarters in Los Angeles. One week after the riot, SNCC managed to raise more than \$50,000 at a benefit there. But none of the groups has an office in Watts. All this boiled down to one point; the Negroes of Watts felt they were in, but not part of, the affluent society that surrounded them. To protest their loneliness, they rioted.

Church Honors Founders

BY VICTOIRE BRADFORD
MONTGOMERY--"The Place of the Church in This Present Day World" was the theme for the Founders' Day celebration at the Holt Street Baptist Church. Last Sunday marked 56 years of service by the church to the community (1909-1965). The day's activity began at 9:15 a.m., with Sunday School taught en masse. Afterwards, the 11 a.m. church service began. Music was rendered throughout the service by the Male, Number 2, and Senior choirs. During the service, the living founders were presented, and each made a few remarks. One of the founders, Mrs. Georgia G. Hargrove, a lively, petite "young" lady, said: "I've been working in the church for 56 years, and I haven't gotten tired yet." Gifts were given in appreciation to the founders. Later, a dinner was given in their honor. The theme, "The Place of the Church in This Present Day World," was discussed

by Professor Herman Harris. He began by saying that a housewife has a place for everything and everything in its place. The church has a place in the world, he said--just as salt gives flavor, the church serves as a seasoning to the world. It is the light of the world, and therefore should not be hidden from the shadows of worldly things, he said. Dr. A.W. Wilson, the pastor, gave the sermon. Its title was "The church from Generation to Generation." As the years go by, Dr. Wilson said, the church still exists from generation to generation. In this generation there is too much of the world in the church, he said. The final program of the day consisted of the Baptist Training Union (BTU) and a special musical rendered by the church choirs. Congratulatory greeting came from representatives of the Beauticians' Association, the Funeral Directors' Association and the Teachers' Association. It was a beautiful day, and a momentous occasion.

Law-Makers Pass the Buck On Reapportionment of State

BY MARSHALL BLOOM
MONTGOMERY--Reapportionment of state legislatures has been a problem in many places across the country. But the growing Negro vote complicated things even more for the Alabama Legislature. The legislature did succeed in drawing new districts for the Alabama members of the U.S. House of Representatives. But the legislators could not agree on any plan to do the same for their own House and Senate. Since the state legislature was under federal court order to reapportion itself and failed to do so, a federal court will now do the job. In most states, reapportionment has been difficult, because people from every part of the state want to have a big voice in the legislature. Also, nobody in the state senates or houses wants to re-district himself out of a job. But in Alabama, there is another roadblock--the Negro vote. The state legislators this session knew that Alabama would have a large number of Negro voters by 1966. The law-makers' goal was to draw the districts in such a way that the Negroes could not elect a Negro to the all-white legislature. But they also had to watch out for competing local white interests. Whites outnumber Negroes in most areas of the state, and whites will continue to have political control in these areas. But the legislators wanted to find a way to minimize the Negro vote in the heavily Negro areas. The way to do this would be to combine the Black Belt counties, which are largely Negro, with nearby counties that have huge white majorities. Then candidates would run "at large" in these combined districts, and Negro candidates would be swamped by whites. But legislators who are popular in small counties voted against plans of this type, because they did not want to have to risk running in large districts where they would not be well known.

Finally, the legislators saw they couldn't settle on a plan. One representative commented, "Most representatives wanted to throw this in the lap of the court. They don't want to be the ones to bring Negroes into the legislature." LIBERTY AMENDMENT FIGHT The pressures to pass the so-called "Liberty Amendment" were felt by every state senator in the chamber on Aug. 27, the last day of the legislative session. The gallery was jam-packed with demonstrators (CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

Americus Demonstrators Beaten; 35 Arrested as Marches Resume

BY JAMES SMITH and JOHN SHORT
AMERICUS, Ga.--Demonstrations began again here last week after a two-week "cooling-off period." The two-week period of negotiations had brought a temporary end to demonstrations after a 21-year-old white youth, Andrew Whatley Jr., was killed. This time the demonstrations met resistance. Local whites beat demonstrators outside the Kwik Check food store Aug. 27, and police arrested 35 civil rights workers last Saturday night. Rights leaders accused police of turning their backs on the beatings. One white demonstrator, Richard Adler, of Berkeley, Calif., was badly beaten Aug. 27. Said Adler: "We were beat when we demonstrated at ten o'clock, and then we went to the police and asked for protection. Then we were beat when we demonstrated again at 11, and we went to the police again and didn't get any protection. The same thing happened at 12, when they got me." Americus Police Chief Ross M. Chambliss said, "I got a small force. I can't use the whole police force for one demonstra-



Photo by Lou Jacobs--Black Star

tion." Late Saturday police halted a freedom march. First to be arrested were the white SCOPE workers, or "outside agitators," as the police chief described them. While the Ku Klux Klan held a mass meeting Saturday night in a field out of town to recruit new members, SCLC and SCOPE organized a civil rights gathering at the Friendship Church. At about the same time, police arrested several more Negroes in the streets raising the evening's total to 35. Rights leaders said harassment and arrests continued this week. SCLC leader Ben Clarke said, "We're still harping on two things right now. "The first is equal job opportunity. The second is an open courthouse. . . we want the courthouse open from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. at night and 12 to 5 p.m. on Saturday, so the farmers can come in and register." During the negotiations local leaders yielded one point to the civil rights groups. They are going to add the first two Negroes to the Americus police force. The two are women in training to become traffic officers two hours a day.



Montgomery Night Life

Photographs by James H. Peppler



Jonathan Daniels Writes of the Black Belt



(The following are excerpts from an article written by the late Jonathan Daniels, killed in Hayneville on August 20. He wrote the article for his theology school Journal in April of this year, while he was living in Selma. He had come to Selma very briefly during the crisis in March, returned to theology school and several weeks later, came back to work in Selma with a fellow student, Judith Upham. The article was reproduced by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity---for which Daniels worked---and distributed at a memorial service for Daniels in Selma on August 27. Excerpts have been published here with the permission of ESCRU.)

SELMA- Reality is kaleidoscopic in the black belt. Now you see it; now you don't. The view is never the same. Climate is an affair of the soul as well as the body: today the sun sears the earth, and a man goes limp in its scorching. Tomorrow and yesterday sullen rain chills bones and floods unpaved streets. Fire and ice. . .the advantages of both may be obtained with ease in the black belt. Light, dark, white, black: a way of life blurs, and the focus shifts.

Black, white, black. . . a rhythm ripples in the sun, pounds in steaming, stinking shacks, dances in the blood. Reality is kaleidoscopic in the black belt. Sometimes one's vision changes with it. A crooked man climbed a crooked tree on a crooked hill. Somewhere, in the midst of the past, a tenor sang of valleys lifted up and hills made low. Death at the heart of life, and life in the midst of death. The tree of life is indeed a Cross.

We knew we were home

Darkly, incredibly the interstate highway that has knifed through Virginia and the Carolinas narrowed and stopped. It was three o'clock in the morning and bitterly cold. We found it difficult to believe that we were actually back in the south. But in a twinkling of an eye our brave, clean highway became a backwoods Georgia road, deep in cracker country, and we knew we were home. . .

Incongruously, we came upon an all night truck stop, mid-way to nowhere. There appeared to be no sign over the door, and I went in to get coffee to go. Too late, I discovered that hatred hadn't advertised---perhaps the sign had blown off in a storm. When I ordered the coffee, all other voices stopped. I turned from cold stares and fixed my gaze on a sign over the counter. "ALL CASH RECEIVED FROM SALE TO NIGGERS WILL BE SENT DIRECTLY TO THE UNITED KLAN OF AMERICA." I read it again and again, nausea rising swiftly and savagely as the suspicious counter boy spilled coffee over the cup. It was lousy coffee. But worse

than chicory was the taste of black men's blood. It was cheap. Only 25 cents. At least Judas went for 30. . .

(While in Selma, Daniels worshipped at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, a white church. He often brought Negroes with him on Sunday, and was not popular with the white members of the congregation.) . . . We had parked the car at the Church. The rector had not been there, so we had strolled a block or two to the office of an attorney whom we had met at St. Paul's and encountered several times since. This time our visit was more cordial. We had given him and his wife a copy of "My People is the Earth" for Easter, and I think they were deeply touched. This time he was less suspicious, less defensive, less insistent that we "get the hell out of town." We had talked this time of the Gospel, of what a white moderate could do when he discovered that the White Citizen's Council wasn't all powerful, of certain changes in the school system that the grapevine said might be forthcoming.

The faith of the Church

We left his office in a spirit of something very much like friendship. Something having to do with human hearts, something like the faith of the Church had been explored and shared with a white man in the black belt. We gave thanks to the One Whom we had besought as we stepped across the threshold of his office, and quietly savored the Glory of God as we strolled back to the car.

We stopped for a light, and a man got out of his

car and approached us. He was dressed in a business suit and looked respectable--this was not a redneck, so we could relax. He stopped in front of us, inspecting us from head to toe. His eyes paused for a moment at our ESCRU buttons and the collar. Then he spoke, very quietly.

"Are you the scum that's been going to the Episcopal Church?" With a single voice we answered, "The scum, sir?" "Scum," he returned, "S-C-U-M. That's what you are--you and the nigger trash you bring with you."

We replied as gently as we could, "We can spell sir. We're sorry you feel that way." He turned contemptuously on his heel, and we crossed our street sadly.



Yet it was funny--riotously, hilariously, hideously funny! We laughed all the way back home--at the man, at his cruelty, at his stupidity, at our cleverness, at the success with which we had suavely maintained the "Christian posture." And then, though we have not talked about it, we both felt a little dirty. Maybe the Incarnate God was truly present in that man's need and asking us for something better than a smirk. (I started to say "More truly human than a smirk. . ." but I don't know about that.

We are beginning to believe deeply in original sin: theirs and ours.)

The judge ...a racist

The Judge, an Episcopalian and a racist waited for us to finish a nervous introduction. We had encountered him only too often in his capacity as head usher, and we knew our man. Now that we sat in his elegantly appointed office in the Dallas County Courthouse, we were terrified. We knew what this man could do, and what we had not seen ourselves we had heard from our friends among the high school kids. We concluded with something more or less coherent about the situation in St. Paul's.

He began, "You, Jonathan and Judy, will always be welcome in St. Paul's." We smiled appreciatively. "But," he continued, "the nigger trash you bring with you will never be accepted in St. Paul's."

We thought for an instant about the beautiful kids we take with us every Sunday. Especially about Helen, the eldest daughter in the first family who had opened their home and hearts to us, a lovely, gentle, gracious girl who planned to enter nurse's training when she is graduated from high school this June. She must be one of the sweetest, prettiest girls in creation. Then anger rose in us--a feeling akin, I suppose, to the feeling of a white man for the sanctity of southern womanhood. Helen, trash? We should have left his office then, for we were no longer free men. . .

She didn't like white people

(For most of his time in Selma, Daniels lived with a Negro family.)

. . . When we moved in with our present family, we knew where Bunnie's mother stood. A few nights before she had told us politely, but emphatically that she didn't like white people--any white people. She knew from countless experiences that they couldn't be trusted. Until very recently, she would not have allowed white people to stay in her home. Though saddened, we were grateful for her honesty and told her so. We also told her that though we would understand if she didn't believe us, we had begun to love her and her family deeply. By the night we moved in, her reserve had almost disappeared. She was wonderfully hospitable to us, notwithstanding the suspicion she must still have felt,

We spent an evening with. . . (them) at the Elk's Club. Late in the evening a black nationalist approached her. "What are you doing here with them?" he asked. "They're white people."

Much to our surprise and perhaps a little to her own, she answered, "Jon and Judy are my friends. They're staying in my home. I'll pick my own friends, and nobody'll tell me otherwise." The name for that. . . is miracle. . . .

This is the stuff of which our life is made. There are moments of joy and moments of sorrow. Almost imperceptibly, some men grow in grace. Some men don't. . .

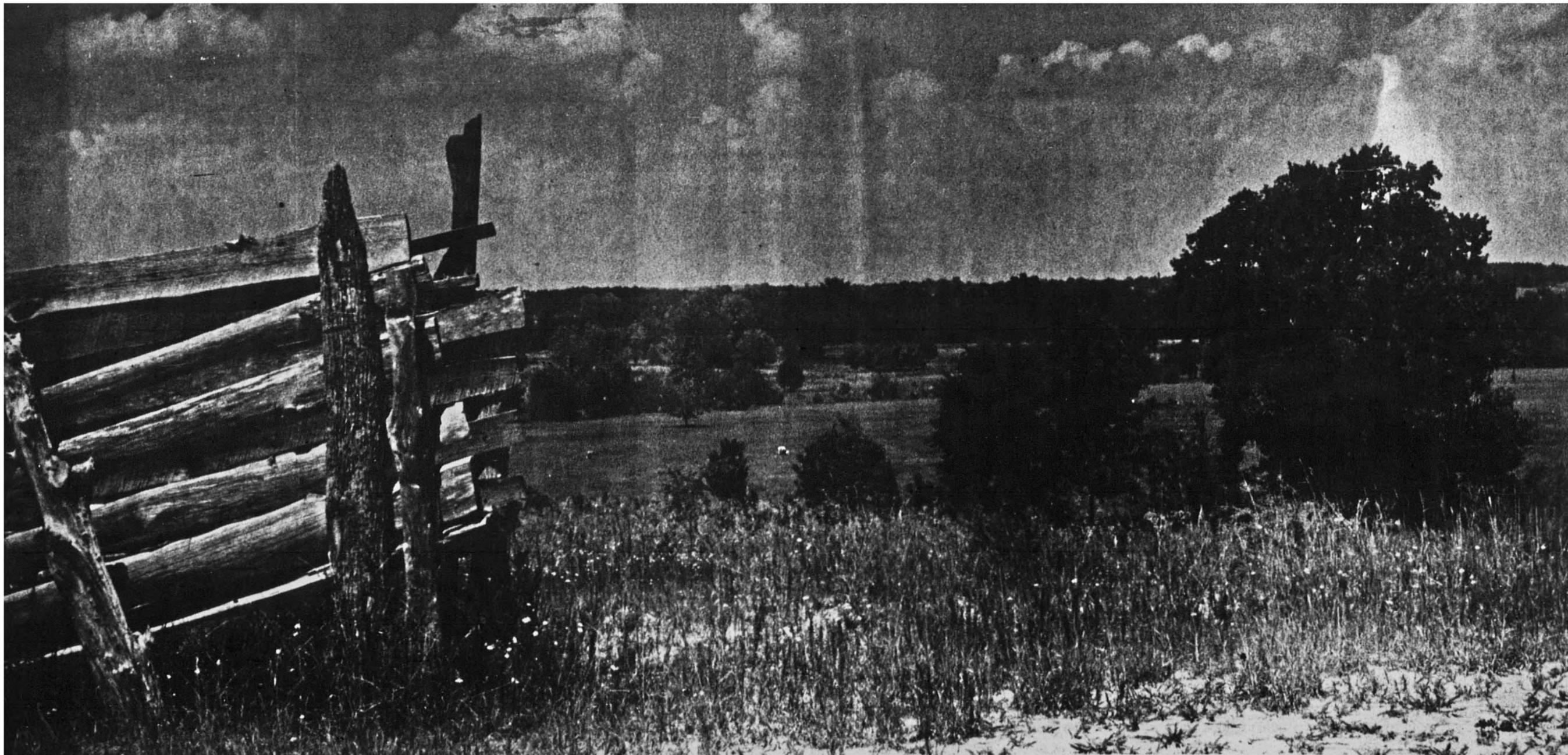
. . . There are good men here, just as there are bad men. There are competent leaders and a bungler here and there. We have activists who risk their lives to confront a people with the challenge of freedom and a nation with its conscience. We have neutralists who cautiously seek to calm troubled waters. We have the men about the work of reconciliation who are willing to reflect upon the cost and pay it.

We are called to be saints

Perhaps at one time or another, the two of us are all of those. Sometimes we take to the streets, sometimes we yawn through interminable meetings, sometimes we talk with white men in their homes and offices. . . Sometimes we confront the posse, and sometimes we hold a child. Sometimes we stand with men who have learned to hate, and sometimes we must stand a little apart from them.

Our lives in Selma are filled with ambiguity, and in that we share with men everywhere. We are beginning to see the world as we never saw it before. We are truly in the world, and yet ultimately not of it. For through the bramble bush of doubt and fear and supposed success we are groping our way to the realization that above all else, we are called to be saints. That is the mission of the Church everywhere. And in this, Selma, Alabama is like all the world: it needs the life and witness of militant Saints!

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES H. PEPPLER





Northern Teams Powerful

High-school football fortunes may improve in Huntsville this year. But the really good teams, with fabulous winning traditions, are out in the surrounding counties.

Huntsville High had a 6-4 record last year, and should do as well this fall. Butler and Lee could also have respectable seasons. It should be easy for Lee to improve, since the General lost all nine of their games last year.

Council High, Huntsville's predominantly Negro school, had a 7-3 slate last fall, and Coach Adam Kellum is looking for an even better record this season.

In Madison County, Buckhorn and Sparkman survived graduation losses in pretty good shape.

Coach John Meadows is crying about Scottsboro's chances, but you have to remember that he has lost only nine games in six years with the Scotties. They look like the class of Jackson County.

Fort Payne, in DeKalb County lost 14 lettermen, but Coach Vernon Wells also has a powerful winning tradition--50 wins and 14 losses in seven years.

Russellville (Franklin County) has weight to spare, with Steve Wallace (280 lbs.), Billy Jackson (265), Roger Lovett (240) and Mike Willis (215) on the line.

In Morgan County, Hartselle (8-1-1 last year) and Falkville (7-1-1) look good again. Albertville and Arab should be the class of Marshall County.

Montgomery Champs Fade

MONTGOMERY--Last year Montgomery boasted both the white and Negro state champions, but lean year may follow green year in the capital city.

George Washington Carver took the Negro high school title in 1964 by winning nine, including the championship game against Cobb Avenue of Anniston, and tying one. The awesome Wolverine defense held the opposition to a grand total of eight points all year.

Coach John Fulgham lost some of his choicest beef by graduation, but the 1965 line is a hard-hitting group of boys, even if it is on the small side. Quick, strong offensive guard Richard Gilchrist is just what Fulgham needs to move his wide-open offense.

But there are other problems. Grant Lewis who blocks so well you'd never guess he can throw the ball 60 yards with accuracy, may not return to school this year. Lewis quarterbacked the offense all last season, but hasn't put on a uniform since.

If Fulgham has to look for new field general, Alabama will have to look for a new champion.

Lanier was the best of the state's white teams last year, winning nine and losing only the season's final to cross-town rival Lee. Gone from the squad is the heart of the offense, all-everything halfback Richmond Flowers. Gone also are 34 of his classmates.

Coach Bobb Wilson has a tough rebuilding job to do. By the end of the season, he may have something to show for it. But for a while at least, Lanier will take its licks.

Mike Kelly and Pete Wilson will share quarterbacking duties for the Panthers. Both have good arms. Sophomore halfback Jimmy Lowder and fullback Danny Speigner, a converted tackle, may be the surprises of the running corps.

Lee should field the best team in town. Whether it will be good enough for a title, only ten Friday nights can tell. The Generals are small, but they make up for that with speed and experience. Halfback Paul Scott is the only sophomore on the 50-man squad.

But Lee lacks a super-star. Right now, Tommy Traylor, Ralph Hamn and Buddy McClinton are taking turns at the quarterback slot. If coach Tom Jones can't decide among the three-boys, you know he's not too excited by any one of them.

Vigor Tops in Mobile

MOBILE--Vigor High of Prichard is the team to beat in this area. The Wolf Pack has 19 lettermen returning, and Coach Glen Yancey should improve on his lifetime 92-33-4 record.

Vigor quarterback Scott Hunter completed 75 of 142 passes last year, for 1107 yards and 14 touchdowns. He's back for more.

The big game in Mobile will pit Vigor against Murphy on Oct. 8. Murphy's Golden Pathners have been so-so in recent years.

Last year, Mobile County Training School won the Negro city championship. But Blount High, the heaviest and roughest team in the area, is favored this season. Williamson High School is always

strong, with its strategy patterned on the great Grambling College battle plans.

Central High will be a contender, and Trinity Garden, with its razzle-dazzle quarterback offense, should become a power to be reckoned with.

Out in Clarke County, A.L. Martin High of Thomasville looks like one of the top teams in the state. It should go undefeated this year, as it did last fall.

The Harper High Tigers, from Jackson, will be the biggest team in Clarke County. The Clarke County Training School Lions will be a threat for the county championship, but the Lions from Coffeeville probably can't match A.L. Martin.

In Grove Hill, Willson Hall High School should give its enthusiastic fans some big surprises this fall.



Cox, Weeks Sparkle

BIRMINGHAM--West End and Banks will fight it out for top honors in Birmingham's Big Six. West End's Ricky Cox, a 190-lb. right halfback, is the fastest back in the city. Guard Allan Girardeau is Banks' star.

In the Jefferson County Athletic Association, Birmingham's five Negro schools will be hard pressed by their suburban neighbors. In the city, Western and Carver should fight it out for top rating.

However, the outstanding Negro player in the area belongs to Carver High of Bessemer. He is Marvin Weeks, a quarterback who completed 12 of 15 passes last year for five touchdowns.

Westfield, last year's JCAA kings, and Carver of Bessemer are the favorites for the T.B. Bowl on Thanksgiving, the battle for the Negro championship.

Abrams High, under new coach Ocie Brown, may pull a big surprise. Stars are triple-threat halfback Larry Bell and giant tackle Arthur May. But Brown says his youthful squad may be a year away.

Brighton has 60 football candidates, but only 15 returnees. Guard Bernard Matthews and end Rollie Hall are the standouts. Hooper City is on the way up, says Coach Heywood Jones. End Leonard Fritz and quarterback Johnny Whitten excel.

Among Jefferson County white high schools, West Jefferson has no quantity (only 18 squad members) but plenty of quality, especially big fullback Ken Buzbee.

McAdory has 13 front-liners back, while E.B. Erwin of Center Point will field two platoons in its first full season. Bessemer High has 21 lettermen, led by two speedsters, big Bobby LaFrance and little Larry Kimbrell.

Parrish Looks Good

SELMA--Parrish High of Selma has nine men back from last year's rugged 7-3 squad. Parrish could be as good, or better, in 1965.

One player said Parrish had "a lot of good backs. That's our strongest point."

Among the good backs are offensive halfback Wayne Vardaman, halfback Scotty Looney, quarterback Neal Clary, fullback Marvin Jones and hard-running sophomore Charles Pauley.

Hudson High, Selma's Negro school, may have a tough season ahead. Several of last year's stars did not return, and the team will have to go with an inexperienced lineup.

In south Alabama, Dothan looks good among the white schools. Fourteen lettermen return from last fall's fine 9-1 Eagle squad. Henderson High of Troy, Moundville in Hale County, Demopolis, and the Luverne Tigers will also be tough.

Hayneville is working on a 25-game winning streak, and Linden is undefeated in 32 contests.

Among the Negro schools, Carver of Eutaw may equal last year's performance, when the Steers tied one game and won all the rest. George Roscoe, who plays tackle and fullback, and fullback Johnny Young should star for Carver.

The Hale County Training School Trojans, with a young squad, are aiming for a .500 season.

John Robert Barber, a left end, should lead Luverne's Woodford Avenue High to a good season. Quarterback Charlie Street is described as "a smart guy, uses a great deal of strategy--kind of a fast guy."

Demopolis' Blue Devils could go undefeated, but they'll have a hard time getting past Hudson High in their first game.

The Blue Devils have a transportation problem, since they don't have any buses this year and have to go to their games in private cars. If they can get to the games, they'll win them.

Fall Means Football

BY PHILIP P. ARDERY

To lots of us, September means football.

All of a sudden, weekends bring something extra. The girls in our daydreams wear cheerleading uniforms. When nobody's watching, we drop back into imaginary pockets, stiff-arm make-believe linemen, and spin long, high, invisible spirals.

At Montgomery's George Washington Carver High, the game arrived for real one day late last month, when 80 hopefuls put on the pads.

"Sure as you've got any guts, we'll find a place for you," growled coach John Fulgham, and all 80 set out to prove they belonged.

When the first day was over, the boys had scratches, bruises and a great feeling of satisfaction.

Football is taken seriously wherever it's played. At Carver, you might think nothing else mattered.

Last year the school was state AAA champion, the best of the Negro teams. This year, the boys aim to stay on top.

"Who's best in the world?" yells coach Fulgham.

"Carver!" chant 80 voices.

"What champs?"

"City champs, state champs!"

"Fight for it?"

"Yeah!"

"Do or die?"

"Yeah!"

And on it goes. People care at Carver. The coaches work the players hard. Everybody hustles.

Hundreds of spectators crowd the practice field every day. Most are kids who horse around on the sidelines, imitating every move of the older boys. They arrive before practice starts, and ride away on their bikes long after the last, lumbering lineman has trudged off to the showers.

Pretty teen-age girls skip up to the field late in the afternoon, after cheerleading drills, to catch an eyeful of what they're cheering about. Later still come the fathers, dressed in work clothes. They drive straight from their jobs to check on junior's progress.

Then there are the stars from the past. Some wear their old Carver game jerseys. Those who won scholarships display their college sweatshirts--Arkansas A&M, Kentucky State and others.

Reeltown, South Girard Lead East

East Alabama is loaded with good teams and great players.

Little Reeltown, for instance, has two All-Staters in Tommy Dillard, a halfback, and Lamar Griggs, who plays linebacker, end and fullback.

In one game last year, Dillard gained 317 yards rushing and scored five touchdowns. On the season, he had 18 TD's.

There is a great winning tradition at Lanett, but the Panthers slipped to a 6-4 record last year. They have a great one-two punch in Larry Tomlin and Kenny Smith.

Opelika's Bulldogs hope to improve on their 7-3 slate of 1964. George Wallace of

Clayton, also 7-3 last year, may have trouble going any higher.

Other tough ones are Auburn, Woodland and Smith's Station, to name just a few. Buddy Lott of Smith's Station, a center, is one of the state's best linemen.

South Girard of Phenix City looks like the best among the Negro schools. South Girard has plenty of tough competition, though.

Tuskegee High, Lanier of Lanett, Darden of Opelika and Drake of Auburn should all field high-class teams.

Mount Olive, in Seale, also looks good this season.



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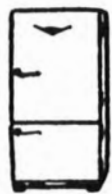
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Community Reports

Birmingham

BIRMINGHAM--A ravenous fire tore out the heart of Birmingham's railroad warehouse district Aug. 26.

Investigators believe the fire was deliberately set.

Fire Chief John Swindle was among 21 firefighters injured during the blaze.

Firemen said the flames "roared like a freight train" in minutes through a block-long cluster of old warehouses. Then the fire leaped an alley and attacked buildings on Morris Avenue, one block from the center of the city.

Gasoline was ignited in two or three places, investigators believe.

More than 300 firemen poured hundreds of thousands of tons of water on the fire.

The blaze began in the vacant L&N storage house on Railroad Avenue at 2:45 p.m. Two hours later it was under control, but firemen worked until late in the night.

Thousands of spectators watched from behind police lines and from tall buildings. The heat downtown jumped from 92 degrees to well over 100 in minutes.

Sounds of buildings cracking and then falling mingled with sirens. At least 20 automobiles were abandoned to the flames.

In adjoining railroad yards, engines scuttled in and out, hauling long strings of freight and tank cars to safety. Birmingham's air, usually rated as the equivalent of four packs of cigarettes per day, stayed smoky for hours.

Swindle said the fire produced more flames than any other in the city's history.

Greensboro

BY O.B. GREEN

GREENSBORO--A white man's car hit a two-year-old girl Monday on Ward Street in Greensboro.

One young Negro boy said that the man ran him into a ditch on the same street. The man was driving at a high rate of speed and applied the brakes approximately 20 yards before he hit the child. The mother came out of the house and grabbed the child in her arms. She took her back into the house.

According to witnesses, the man said, "That nigger ain't hurt," smiled, and drove off.

The child had several skinned places on her arms and legs and one big bruise on her forehead.

One neighbor of the Negro woman said that she saw the man, but she couldn't identify him because it all happened so fast. Witnesses said the car was a 1964 Chevrolet. They gave police the license number.

But police later said the license number belonged to a 1956 Ford station wagon, not a Chevrolet.

tory.

And for a while, Birmingham residents completely forgot about their usual topic of conversation, Negroes and whites worked together in trying to rescue property from the path of the fire. (There are no Negro firemen.)

A little boy in a red knit shirt said, "This is the biggest thing that's happened since they turned the hoses on those people."

Opelika

BY KITTY PAYNE

OPELIKA--Sixty-six people were arrested in Opelika Wednesday afternoon for "parading without a permit" as they began a march to the county courthouse to demand more voter registration days in Lee County. The march was sponsored by the Auburn Freedom League and the Tuskegee Institute Advancement League.

Mrs. Willie Jackson was sadly disappointed Aug. 23, when she was refused the right to register as a voter at the Lee County Courthouse in Opelika.

Gray-haired Mrs. Jackson explained that she was turned away because she was unsure of the exact year that she was born, although she knew that her birthday falls on Aug. 20, and that she is about 76 years old.

Almost 100 other Lee County citizens registered to vote Aug. 23, but 39 were waiting in line when the registrars closed the office at 4 p.m.

Fairhope

FAIRHOPE--About 30 parents met in the Twin Beach Baptist Church here Monday to plan a protest against Baldwin County's method of desegregation in the public schools.

The superintendent of schools sent a letter to parents with children in the first through fourth grade, telling them that their children could attend any elementary school in the county.

The trouble was, the letter didn't arrive until two days before school started.

One man said that a few selected Negro families had received their letters many days before everybody else. "We've got too many Uncle Toms over here, and everybody here knows it," he added.

J.L. LeFlore of Mobile said, "It's quite clear to us that the board did not act in good faith." And then he explained the legal steps that Baldwin County parents might take. The parents agreed, and legal proceedings against the school board are beginning.

Grove Hill

BY CURTIS HOUSE

GROVE HILL--On Aug. 16, about 300 Negroes went to Grove Hill to register.

The office opened at 9 a.m. and closed at 3 p.m. There were only 107 registered.

At 3 p.m. the sheriff told the Negroes that it was time to close. He said they should go home or somewhere else, but leave the courthouse.

The Negroes refused to leave. The sheriff told the Negroes to go on home and come back next month.

John Davis, one of the civil rights leaders said, "Stay where you are." The Negroes stayed.

The sheriff arrested Davis for disorderly conduct and put him under a \$200 bond.

After hearing of Davis' arrest, the people who were there decided they wouldn't leave without him. They filed into the courthouse and telephoned the sheriff that they didn't want "Southern justice" here.

The people refused to leave until they were threatened with tear gas. Even after that, some refused to leave and had to be shoved.

More than 100 lingered around the courthouse, staging a light demonstration until Davis was released.

Marion

BY PATT DAVIS

MARION--Many Negroes started shopping this week at Goldblatt's dry goods store and the Yellow Front grocery store for the first time since last February.

Marion Negroes had been boycotting these stores, as well as most of the other white-owned stores in town, because they did not hire Negroes or did not pay Negro employees the minimum wage.

Last week Goldblatt's hired a Negro clerk.

The manager of the Yellow Front grocery store agreed to hire three Negroes--two to start work at the beginning of this week and a third to start as a stock clerk a week later.

He agreed to pay them \$1.25 an hour and time-and-a-half for overtime.

Negro leaders said the boycott would continue against the other white-owned stores in Marion until they, too, hire Negroes in jobs that rate at least the minimum wage.

Employers Want Experience

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

ter jobs in large numbers until they begin "creating jobs for themselves" by owning and operating their own businesses and factories.

Then, he said, they can get the experience necessary to work for anybody.

Problems in Lowndes County

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

sident of the Dallas County Voters League. In Demopolis, DeWitt said, the biggest problem in getting the number of students required for the schools was "a general apathy in the white community."

"Back in June," he said, "there was a lot of interest in such a school, but the sentiment is a little bit dormant right now."

In Marion, where Marion Academy will be starting on schedule, fewer students have enrolled than the directors had hoped.

The problem, according to L.G. Walker, county superintendent of public schools, has been "a widespread belief in the community that the school is just not practical from a financial standpoint."

The difficulties in establishing a private school in Lowndes County have been slightly different, according to Ray D. Bass, president of the school foundation. "We just don't know how many parents

Liberty Amendment

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

mined-looking Women for Constitutional Government and men representing various rightist organizations.

The "Liberty Amendment" is an emotional resolution that seeks repeal of the federal income tax, among other things.

Most of the senators knew the amendment was ridiculous, Senator George Hawkins, of Etowah County, said the amendment favored "destroying your country."

"You are not going to give in to this, I think you have more integrity," he said.

But the House had "given in" and passed the resolution by a voice vote, and the motion to bring the Liberty Amendment to the Senate floor passed by a strong majority.

If a vote on the resolution had been recorded, it would have passed the Senate.

But Lt. Gov. James B. Allen decreed an end to a mid-morning filibuster over the resolution and postponed discussion until 7 p.m.

By that time a behind-the-scenes agreement had been made, and the amendment was quickly killed in a voice vote. Since it was a voice vote, nobody knows how anybody voted.

Senator Hawkins said he was indignant that conservative smear newspapers "could intimidate this august body." But if no one had thought of the voice vote, that's exactly what would have happened.

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The SOUTHERN COURIER is an independent newspaper. Our only responsibility is to our readers, the people of Alabama. And our chief concern is the crucial problems that confront Alabamians. We hope to provide accurate information about these problems, and to supply a means of communication for the people who are trying to solve them.

The SOUTHERN COURIER is independent of its advertisers, of politicians, of dogma, and of any particular group or organization. We will point out merits and demerits wherever we find them, treating whites and Negroes alike.

There are certain basic principles in which this newspaper believes. We believe that all men are entitled to the equal protection of the laws and to equal justice in the courts. We believe that all men are entitled to equal educational opportunities. We believe that the interests of all people are best served by a democratic system of government--and this means that all men, regardless of race, color, or creed, are entitled to the right to vote.

With these principles in mind, the SOUTHERN COURIER cannot ignore the fact that most of Alabama's Negroes are denied these basic equalities. Therefore we will publish information to help erase the injustices of segregation and prejudice.

Another major problem that Alabamians face is the change from a rural to an industrial economy. Such a change is painful, especially for those citizens who are forced to leave the land but cannot find their rightful place in the offices and factories of the cities. This, too is a problem which the SOUTHERN COURIER will examine.

Education and politics are also under new pressures in Alabama. While the state is trying to expand and improve its school system, only 101 Alabama Negroes attend school with whites. In politics, the state is beginning to show signs of two-party activity. This change also deserves our attention.

While the SOUTHERN COURIER tries to fulfill its responsibilities to its readers, we hope that you, the reader, will feel a responsibility towards us. This is a new paper, experimental in many ways. And part of the experiment is to create a newspaper that responds to the needs of its readers.

If you have ideas and criticisms that will help us produce a better paper, by all means write us a letter or tell your suggestion to your local SOUTHERN COURIER reporter or representative. If you know of a story that should be reported, let us know about it. Our only purpose is to serve you, and only you can tell us if we're doing the job.

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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 98 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH MCGILL, Publisher



EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

MONDAY, JULY 19, 1965

Eugene Patterson



An Admirable
New Newspaper

A group of college students led by Harvard's Peter Cummings came South this summer to put out a weekly newspaper (at 68 Electric Ave. NW, Atlanta). They brought a hard discipline instead of easy conclusions and so their first issue of The Southern Courier will bore and disappoint those conditioned readers who take their civil rights nourishment from hallelujah pamphlets or hate sheets.

But their beginning is both admirable and remarkable. They actually are trying to see the racial revolution whole. They are writing it dispassionately and well. They are not trying to thread up a magazine or television story line, or race newspapers to the stereotyped crises. They are simply moving around, primarily in Alabama, and writing down what they see.

They have a good ear. "Tear out a sheet of paper from this book, Annie," said a voting registrar in Margeno County.

"The 'Annie' made her glance up quickly. She started to speak but changed her mind. The registration went slowly on."

They let these things fall naturally into their stories, as naturally as any Southerner who is used to it. "Sheriff T. Wilmer Shields admitted using tear gas on his prisoners (inside the Linden, Ala., jail). 'I only used one or two squirts--just enough for them to raise hell about it,' the sheriff said."

They withhold judgments and leave it to readers to have their own feelings about the Lord's Day scene outside the Baptist church in Tuskegee: "On July 4, Miss Altonia Baker, 20, was slapped a number of times by a woman from the congregation" with whom she had tried to worship.

There was the quote from an elderly Negro, Miss Julia Knott, after a cotton-dusting airplane sprayed civil rights demonstrators standing in front of the First Baptist Church in Eutaw, Ala. The spray burned her skin "real bitter," she said.

Such scenes are reported incidentally. Those who see nothing newsworthy about this way of life can read right over them because they aren't pointed up by accusing fingers. These kids are simply reporting.

And David R. Underhill's report on the strike of cotton choppers in the Mississippi Delta is perhaps the best balanced thing yet written about it. He knows that even if the Negroes win the strike they will, "in the long run, probably be no better off." Machines are replacing them anyway.

But the planters don't like the suddenness of the change. "A union and \$1.25 per hour would turn the plantations into farms, the bosses into employers, and the darkies into independent men." And most of the Negroes hesitate "because they, like the planters, are afraid to lose their way of life . . . It shelters them from responsibilities that independent men must accept . . . It is to secure poverty . . . A union . . . is asking them to take the risk of 'being free men.'"