

NEW SOUTH

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VIOLENCE

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

Margaret Long, whose "Strictly Subjective" usually appears in this space, has been on vacation.

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AT A TIME WHEN many are optimistic and self-congratulatory about the very genuine progress that is being made in southern race relations, this issue of *New South* is concerned with the terrible.

As long as the conditions which have created lawlessness exist, race relations progress—and indeed, all social progress in the true sense—is periled. This is not alarmist sentiment.

What, we asked ourselves, was the warning of Watts to the South? And what out of the South's travail can be known that might help prevent further Watts-type riots in the nation?

Out of the latter question rose consideration of that other tradition of lawlessness, unchecked killing and terrorism against Negroes and white civil rights workers in the South. And that leads to the potential of jungle lawlessness of armed bands of white terrorists facing armed defense units of Negroes in the Black Belt.

The conditions which have created white racist murderousness and the conditions which set off a ghetto riot of rampaging destruction are probably not at their essence greatly different. They are the conditions with which the poverty program and other efforts are battling. Law enforcement, lacking and thereby encouraging the white racist lawlessness, and inept or oppressive and thereby contributing to the riot lawlessness, is a basic problem.

Much that civilization means is involved in the difficult dictum that somehow we must see lawlessness, even murder, in the individual human being with compassion. But this dictum does not apply to a society. The only answer to murderousness in society is that it be scotched, or else, there is no civilization. We continue to struggle. It is late into the evening of our day of grace.

The Fire That Time

By Samuel Adams

Director of Research, Southern Regional Council

THE FIERCE HOT FIRES annealing and tempering the South's racism always have held the danger that they could burn out of control.

In 1959, James Baldwin, in "Nobody Knows My Name: A Letter From the South," wrote: "When a race riot occurs in Atlanta, it will not spread merely to Birmingham, for example . . . The trouble will spread to every metropolitan center in the nation which has a significant Negro population . . . It is because the nation, the entire nation, has spent a hundred years avoiding the question of the place of the black man in it."

Since Baldwin wrote that, of course, the nation has almost obsessively considered the question, and has made a great effort to find an honorable answer. Much of the reason for this is that instead of a race riot spreading out of the South, there came the nonviolent movement, spreading across the region relentlessly and prodding both the conscience and the pragmatism of America.

Nevertheless, with a good portion of the substantive goals of the nonviolent movement now written into federal legislation, Negro discontent and anger is, if not larger, more volatile, more outer-directed than back when Baldwin talked of a riot in terms of *when* it comes, not *if*. Ironically, it is in the North and the Far West that the riots have occurred, and a plausible question is whether they will spread to the South.

The lessons from the rioting that has occurred outside the South make it clear that violence is not due solely to

race troubles. In Los Angeles, there were elements of a class war; the hopeless class rose in arms against the controlling class. The warring provided an opportunity for the have-nots to take much of what they needed and an abundance of what they did not need without getting caught. But racism was a factor, too.

While only small sparks like a traffic arrest were needed to ignite the blaze in the Watts ghetto of Los Angeles, backlogs of injustice and discontent were main ingredients. The fire this time found combustion in such facts as:

Only five of the 205 policemen hired to serve Watts are Negro, despite the fact that Watts is 98 per cent Negro.

The Watts ghetto (part of the North Compton-Watts-Avalon-Florence area where 277,960 people live) has Negroes living on top of each other with 27.2 people per acre compared with the Los Angeles County average of 7.4.

Two-thirds of the adults in Watts have less than a high school education and one in every eight is illiterate.

Parents of nearly 30 per cent of the youths under 18 are divorced, and the school drop-out rate in Watts is more than two times the city as a whole. Almost two-thirds of those who enter seventh grade will drop out before finishing.

Watts harbors 400 parolees from the California Youth Authority, and the area's incidence of crime in one three-month period, according to police, was above 1,000, including 87 robberies.

The County Welfare Planning Council reported that 87 per cent of the

houses in the Watts-Willowbrook area were built before 1939, and 17 to 22 per cent are deteriorated or dilapidated.

Watts is the home of many refugees from Mississippi and elsewhere in the South who came to California looking for hope they did not find and jobs for which they were not trained.

Squabbling Los Angeles officials refused to plan a federally-supported anti-poverty program until after the riot and reacted negatively to involving poor people in any war against poverty.

The adult unemployment rate is 34 per cent, and 66 per cent of the total population is on some sort of welfare.

On joblessness and hopelessness turn the main problems. A better job was the dream of thousands of Negroes who migrated to Los Angeles and found themselves trapped, jobless in Watts. Many obviously agree with the Watts resident who, when asked about Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, "I Have a Dream," said: "Hell, we don't need no damn dreams; WE WANT JOBS."

Many of the jobless came from southern farms where they at least could eke out a living from the land. How many of those from Mississippi now find themselves unable to earn enough to send money back home to pay the \$250 school fee that the state is, in an anti-desegregation move, requiring of school children who do not live with their natural parents or legal guardians? Some of the southern fugitives living in Watts simply get liquored up and forget the past and present troubles.

Generally, those moving from the South to such areas as Watts fall into three classes: The talented 7 per cent of the Negro population who went in search of jobs not then open to them in the South, a mass of unskilled Negroes

who went to join relatives or friends who had moved, and more than a few who were forced to leave on orders of lawmen or others or who abandoned their families in the face of economic problems that seemed hopeless. If they are different from the Negroes who remained in the South, perhaps the difference lies in their lower propensity for accommodation.

But that difference might itself be a state of mind acquired from their new setting and the surface "freedom" of the northern and western states. This is illustrated by the action of a former Mississippi sharecropper who accepted with a respectful, "Yas, Suh," all the indignities dealt him back home, but after moving North poked a white man in the nose for letting slip a racial slur.

In the rest of the nation, in the South, would not surveys of the areas in cities where Negroes are jammed together, isolated, show much the same patterns that bred disaster in Watts?

For the jobless who've turned to stealing, policemen are the enemy. For those living by their wits or eking out existences through vice, the law is the enemy. He who wants in most ghettos and Negro slums has only to look and learn that "Whitey" owns the area; whites own most of the businesses and much of the real estate.

If you gamble, it's likely to be a white policeman breaking up your crap or skin game, or insisting on a slice of lottery profits. Nobody likes being arrested. And when the arresting officer is contemptuous and mean, Negroes in the South and throughout the nation equate him with images of the Bull Connors and Jim Clarks of Alabama and of Sheriff Lawrence Rainey and Deputy Cecil Price of Philadelphia, Mississippi.

The civil rights movement enables

southern Negroes to act out their antagonisms in nonviolent protests. Locally these were met with sometimes meaningful and sometimes meaningless concessions, the latter like the patting or kissing a baby where it hurts. (The naming of a biracial committee in St. Augustine, Florida, for example, has had no meaning to that city's poor race relations.)

The summer torches outside the South were lit where there was little or no organized civil rights movement. They were sparked by persons who have gained ostensibly nothing from recent civil rights breakthroughs.

Those who believe that Negro religion, alone, could cause the South to escape violent uprisings like those of the North and West seem to ignore the fact that there are hundreds of churches in Harlem and in Watts. But there also was discontent and rioting.

One cannot overemphasize the violence that slum living breeds into an individual's personality. The slum dweller generally settles his battles by physical power. He often directs his violence to other powerless people in the slums, and sometimes against whites who go to the slums on illicit missions. Occasionally he arises up against police whom he believes are constantly nettling him. There is no evidence that the southern slum dweller is appreciably different from the northern one in these respects.

The danger is greatest when hope goes. Discontent is most explosive when pent up and where local power-controllers deny its existence. Incidents which could serve as triggering devices occur frequently sometimes in cities which are considered quite liberal. Here are some little known examples:

ITEM: The day after the September 20, 1965, Parent-Teacher Association meeting at Atlanta's desegregated

Southwest High School, about 50 white teenagers threatened to drag a Negro boy from a bus because of heated words he and a white youth had exchanged the preceding day. The Negro calmly remained on the bus as the irate boys called him a "nigger," and a "yellow-bellied coward" for refusing to get off the bus and face them. Another Negro boy on the bus challenged the white boys crowding around the vehicle to meet them in recently integrated Peyton Forest. That did it. The whites tried to storm the crowded school bus. The driver pulled away amid catcalls and warnings that "the nigger better not come back to school tomorrow."

ITEM: Opposing Negro gangs in the sedate retirement city of St. Petersburg, Florida, in 1964 joined together against a common enemy after white toughs roughed up two Negro girls who sought service at a desegregated drive-in restaurant adjacent to a Negro slum community. Confrontations of whites and Negroes in mobs ranging up to about 600 threatened to erupt into open battle before the local police chief sought Negro help to forestall it. Although there were isolated instances of violence—rock throwing by Negroes at passing cars and some shooting into Negro homes—the control of Negro retaliation by pulling the involved gangs into organized activity turned the tide.

Those who wanted to meet the threat of violence with violence were not persons engaged in any organized civil rights activity. They had collected an arsenal of guns and were awaiting the word of their gang chief when a woman civil rights leader infiltrated their ranks and gained their respect. When the smoke cleared, the chief of police expressed his appreciation in a letter to her.

On October 2 at a statewide meeting

sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations to discuss voter registration, the meet-violence-with-violence attitude was described by some civil rights organization workers in attendance. They spoke bitterly in the wake of the acquittal of Deputy Sheriff Thomas Coleman, accused of slaying the Rev. Jonathan Daniels, a white Episcopal seminarian who had been aiding desegregation efforts.

After the main session of the meeting was over, at an informal discussion, with consultants from the federal government listening, the Negro civil rights workers were candid:

"Men are beaten time after time; nobody cares," said one, "but whenever somebody says 'riot,' the nation becomes concerned. We can feel something growing up under our feet. You hear 'get Whitey' in bars. Groups like this (interracial meeting) are needed because, very seriously, there's going to be more brutalizing and more killing." He made it clear he hoped violence from either race could be averted.

"How am I going to tell a lady to go down and register and get shot in the head? How do you protest? Get shot?" a young woman asked the U. S. Government consultants invited to the meeting. Several times, disillusionment with demonstrations was expressed; however, a civil rights worker who suggested demonstrations for more effective enforcement of the voter rights law was applauded. The discussion underscored how remarkable an achievement non-violence has been in the Negro revolution, and how much courage and sacrifice it has taken.

Part of the background there and of the current swell of Negro anger is the knowledge that in nearly a century, courts—while giving stiff sentences to Negroes for petty thefts—very seldom have convicted a white man on

a murder charge in the South for slaying a Negro.

In parts of the South, this lawlessness of terrorism has given rise to something quite different from the spectre of unorganized, incoherent violence of protest that stalks the city slums and ghettos. One of the potentials for violence in the South rests with a desperate segment of Negroes who are disillusioned over the powerlessness of federal, state, and local government to halt white terrorist violence against Negroes and, in recent years, their white sympathizers, and who are determined to protect themselves, taking the law by default in their own hands. Deacons for Defense and Justice in Louisiana and other armed self-defense units in other parts of the Black Belt are an ominous sign of the unwillingness of some Negroes to endure any longer terrorism unbridled by effective law enforcement.

There are many southern seeds of racial violence which could germinate summers more violent than those of 1963, 1964, and 1965. So far in the South, the violence has been almost entirely one-sided. Even in an explosion like that of Watts, the violence was against property rather than human life. (Of the 34 persons killed there, 27 were rioters or bystanders; only one of the other seven deaths has been attributed to rioters, and this one was accidental.) The action in Watts was for the most part spontaneous and not premeditated, whereas many of the civil rights killings appear to have been premeditated assassinations.

The sort of self-defense violence exemplified by the Deacons appeals more to those who have given up on all other means of satisfying primary, universal needs—the need for food, clothing, and shelter, and for social interaction with others who care. All

They Hated Policemen, Disliked School Teachers

MY KNOWLEDGE of the St. Petersburg gangs involved my wife, Elenora, who infiltrated their ranks the night after 600 people squared off spoiling for a fight. Police Chief Harold Smith asked for her help in reversing the trend toward violence. She was chosen because she successfully had led desegregation drives to open up theatres and public accommodations and had been leader of one of the community's most successful voter registration campaigns.

She was able to gain their confidence. A 16-year-old school dropout showed her a cache of crude guns. After a lot of wrangling, we got a promise from two key leaders to call off that night's action and give us a chance to get two teenage girls they felt were innocent released from jail. A mass meeting was announced for that weekend, and nightly meetings were held with the gang throughout the period of tension.

At the meetings the boys were able to act out their antagonisms. They

hated policemen, disliked school teachers, and were suspicious of us until we began to prove a genuine interest in their welfare. Other St. Petersburg leaders joined us and were of inestimable help.

The younger boys worshiped their gang leaders. They tried to dress and walk like them. Criteria for leadership included abilities to frustrate police, to talk back to the meanest cop, to be slick, to steal and get away by out-running or out-smarting the law, and to talk the special gang lingo.

In redirecting their activities, never did we talk in high platitudes. We discussed jobs denied them, teachers who misunderstood them, police who refused to come when they called to complain about whites shooting up their homes, a socio-economic system which ignored or mistreated them. We later were able to begin interpreting and suggesting positive things they might do to help themselves to better lives.

—SAMUEL ADAMS.

other needs are related, the power to vote and influence political decision-making on one level being only one of the methods of achieving primary goals.

To placate the discontent that leads to rioting means knowing the answer to a question often raised in the wake of rioting by southern whites: "What do they want?" The replies from the slums are simply, "We are cramped," "We are hungry," "We are cut off," "We are ignored."

The answers were reemphasized in late October by a 91-year-old invalid Negro in Green County, Georgia. A bright Sunday morning sun filtered

light through the roof of her shack; a flickering fire glowed in the fireplace. The woman was curled under five layers of cover. "I am cold, and the hard winter ain't come yet," she said. "When it rains, I get wet. They collect the rent but won't do nothing for this old house . . . The paper (cardboard ceiling on inside walls) stays damp when there's rain or snow. One day I pulled a piece off and the backside was covered with ice."

What the old lady didn't say was that she was lonely and that it seemed that few people really cared about her. She hadn't received a welfare check for several months. She poses no dan-

ger as a potential rioter. However, many resentful ones who have seen and shared this kind of suffering do pose such a threat.

The reply to the question of what do they want by the modern civil rights movement is much the same as it was in 1906, when the men of the Niagara Movement made their pilgrimage to the Harper's Ferry shrine. There, they repudiated Booker T. Washington's "future of the humble way" and in an historic "Address to the Country" demanded:

"First, we want full manhood suffrage and we want it now. Second we want discrimination in public accommodations to cease. Third, we proclaim the right of freemen to walk, talk and be with them that wish to be with us. Fourth, we want the laws enforced against the rich as well as the poor, against capitalist as well as laborer, against white as well as black. Fifth, we want our children educated."

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, though of tremendous importance, obviously haven't automatically stemmed the tide of Negro resentment. In one sense, it is as though the recent advances have stripped away many of the barriers that kept America from seeing the real place in which it had put the Negro; and more importantly, perhaps, that kept the Negro himself from seeing in full what has been and still is being done to him.

The *Amsterdam News* stated editorially recently: "The news that the Mayor of Bogalusa, Louisiana, is ready to 'negotiate' with Negro leaders in his community does more than anything else to illustrate the cleavage in black and white relations in the United States. Negotiate. Negotiate for what? For the right to be considered an American? Herein is revealed the cold sore of

America. Here in all its glaring inequities shows this country's Achilles Heel. Americans, because they are black, must 'negotiate' for their rights to be Americans, equal under the sun. And the really sad picture to arise out of the Bogalusa mayor's agreement to 'negotiate' with the Negroes is the fact that many people will consider this progress."

The new laws, offers of city officials to negotiate and other concessions forced by the civil rights movement are too often, still, thought of as favors granted to Negroes. Consequently, when there are riots people wonder why. Donald S. Harrington, white minister of the Community Church of New York, answers in his church bulletin:

"When you're passed by continually, disregarded, treated as invisible, why wouldn't you riot if only to call attention to yourself? A New York *Herald Tribune* letter writer states that in 1863 there were terrible riots in New York by poverty stricken Irish. These riots were triggered by the Conscription Act which permitted well-to-do citizens to hire substitutes for the Union Army, while requiring poor men to fight and die. Poverty, miserable housing and racial prejudice were at the root of the seething discontent of the Irish residents of New York's slums."

The irony is that discontent becomes more intense once the inertia is removed and some progress is attained. It is something like a hungry lion who suddenly awakes to the smell of food but finds himself chained and blind. The new manifestations of Negro anger are in part an expression of frustration from disqualifications of the slum dweller as he attempts to take advantage of new opportunities.

Negro leaders Whitney Young, Jr.,

(Continued on page 10)

Self Respect in the Alley

By Bill Beardslee

THE GHETTO in Atlanta: You walk with a policeman on his beat. A woman comes down the street swearing at the teenagers who, she says, tried to rape her. Maybe they did, but she must be locked up anyway, because she is drunk and unable to take care of herself. He walks fast on the beat, breaking up trouble before it starts, breaking up groups of people. He comes down hard and quickly on people who are drunk and swearing, backing up his words with the threat of arrest. The alleys often are between empty houses with broken windows, and the path between the houses on the hill is between two high walls of grass. He talks about the trouble spots that these places are and about how the city should tear the houses down. He tries to give the people a break and does not like to lock them up. Two men come racing down the street, one chasing the other. The lead man trips and falls on the sidewalk, and the other, seeing the policeman, turns and walks away very quickly. It was a fight about a woman, and one of the men had a knife. The other: "I knocked him down once and I'll knock him down again. I am mad. There ain't no harm in saying 'hey' to a man's girl friend. I wish he'd come and I would knock him down again. I started to run when someone shouted that he had a blade." He keeps shaking his fist and breaking into the conversation. The man with

the knife is long gone, and there is nothing else to do but let this one go.

The policeman spends a lot of time in the stores, passing the time of day with the shopkeepers, who are friendly. He has to keep moving and anticipating all the night.

* * *

"You've only got one time to die." The men in overalls and dirty shirts, the corner loungers, are inconspicuous downtown as they watch the police and the Klan prepare for the civil rights marchers. The Klan is ready to forcibly block the path of the march. Fortunately, the marchers take another route. The loungers return to the ghetto, taking home their weapons.

* * *

I see a young boy in the evenings who can't seem to be quiet in a group. When I am alone with him, he talks and talks about the fights he has been in, the kids he has beaten up. He says he can beat grown men three times his size. Two of his older brothers have been killed in fights, one with a shotgun, one with a knife. He has four younger siblings. His mother keeps discipline in her house with a switch, because that's the only way to do it. And yet, she is a wonderful person, warm and friendly, very hard working. She reads, and she takes sewing in night school. We talk in the evenings when I pick the boy up or bring him home. She doesn't like to gossip and she can see that many others are in a worse situation than she is. She tells

Mr. Beardslee, a student at Haverford College, worked in the Southern Regional Council Research Department during the summer, and spent much of his free time working with residents of Vine City, a low-income Negro area in Atlanta, on various of their civic projects.

me about the funeral of a friend and how sad it was.

* * *

There is no barrier against violence here—at least not the way there is in most communities.

The man in the ghetto is pushed to the wall; he has very little that he can take pride in. He, like anyone else, must be able to respect himself. No other thing to fall back on, he fights when he is challenged. His willingness to fight is the reflection of the desperate need to respect himself. The ghetto leaves this as the only way for many men.

That is why the key to Los Angeles is in the terror that we feel, and not in the world of complex causes and solutions, necessary as it may sometimes be to think that way. There is a desper-

ate cry, an appeal, that has to be heard. Human beings calling for self-respect. I do not mean that the pillaging and killing gave the rioters self-respect. I mean that what drove them on was the fact that they felt they could get self-respect in no other way. Blind fury, hopelessness, and utter contempt for others were expressed in the rioting.

The only way to meet terror is to understand that the people in the ghettos are human beings, who must be able to respect themselves. A love corresponding and answering the terror, balancing it, is the only way to approach. That is precisely what was absent in L. A. and what is absent in many other ghettos. One must first learn deeply and honestly to respect the people in the ghetto, and only then begin to plan a program, or to talk about causes.

The Fire That Time

(Continued from page 8)

executive director of the National Urban League, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., both have called for special effort on behalf of Negroes to remedy the economic and employment problems compounded by centuries of under-education and under-employment. Such special effort, supported by government and private agencies and businesses, would be like a sort of domestic Marshall Plan and would be promoted not as preferential treatment but as payments on a debt to a people whose slave forebears without pay helped to build America's wealth.

An important first step must be reforms in the South's system of dual justice. The reforms are urgently needed to impede white lawlessness against Negroes, a prerequisite to real enforcement of legislation intended to

improve the welfare and insure the constitutional rights of minorities, including those of the slums.

Some positive work for coping with the problems of slums and ghettos, North and South, already has been started. Among the approaches are a variety of programs instituted under the Johnson administration's War on Poverty, and the community work of private agencies. Starting point for many of these programs has been concern with the structure of the family and the social disintegration of the slum community.

In seeing and wrestling with problems of humanity in the ghetto, the anti-poverty work helps to dissipate violent resentments bred by basic needs for psychological and physical security. The movement toward goals, when seen and clearly understood by de-

(Continued on back cover)

Am I My Brother's Keeper?

By Helen Howard

AM I MY BROTHER'S keeper? I have to be. The poor people, who live just above the welfare and relief, have to live by that old saying, "I can see farther over the mountain than the man who is standing atop of it." We know and see the problems, because we *have* to live so close to them. We know that we have a sense of responsibility, and we (some of us) have tried to instill some of the ambitions we could not realize into our children. Some of us feel that the entire situation is just hopeless, and it would be easier to just forget the whole thing, and live each day as it comes.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have to be. Have you ever tried to send two children to college? At the same time? Well, I have, and most of the time I prayed during the day as I worked, and cried and prayed at night when I went to bed.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have to be. We (the poor) know what the "nitty-gritty" poor is like. The "nitty-gritty" poor is the hopeless and bleakness we have to face night and day. You, the so-called middle class, and the rich, cannot begin to know how much harder we have to work, and still not accomplish a thing. How much braver we are, to withstand the hardships that are forced upon us. Did you know that the suicide rates among us, the poor people, are far less than those of the middle class or rich people? Sure we fight, curse, cut, shoot

and kill each other, but this is just another way for us to try to release some of the pressures of our everyday living.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have to be. When we apply for aid from the relief or the welfare, we get turned down. Why? Because we make *too much money*, so they say, or our husbands haven't been gone three months, or we haven't starved to death or been put outdoors yet. When we try to better ourselves, and apply for government jobs like the E.O.A., we get turned down because of our "poor credit ratings," or "our previous jail records." They expect us to have lived a spotless life, but how can we, living in places like these? We have to rob Peter to pay Paul, then we get undesirable credit ratings. We have to steal sometimes to keep the family from starving to death. We make the same mistakes other people make, but ours are held against us. You, who have never had to experience this, cannot begin to imagine what this hell is really like. You, middle class or rich people, can't know how hard it is to have to accept this fate; you can't imagine what we people who are just above the welfare and relief have to do just to try to meet some (not all) of our daily obligations. We try to make it, honestly we do; it's not a case of being "lazy" or not wanting things for ourselves, no matter what you have heard or what you may think. We do have dreams. We do have ambitions.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have
(Continued on back cover)

Mrs. Howard is a resident of Vine City in Atlanta, a low income Negro section. She is a housewife, and sometimes does domestic work.

Some Race Related Deaths in the United States

(1955-1965)

These are cases involving violent death between the races in the South. The list is of course not complete; it is not restricted to cases involving civil rights. It is compiled from newspaper accounts, and in some instances, where cooperation could be obtained, reports from officials.

1965

- Freddie Lee Thomas (N) 9-3-65** Near Greenwood, Miss. Body found on highway. Thomas' half brother claimed victim was slain to deter voter registration efforts. Coroner's inquest ruled hit-and-run accident. No arrests.
- Thad Christian (N) 8-28-65** Near Anniston, Ala. Allegedly shot by white man while fishing. Suspect charged with murder in arrest warrant.
- Perry Smau (N) 8-27-65** Greensboro, Ala. The 87-year-old victim had voiced opposition to demonstrations. He was beaten and tongue cut out. Civil Rights groups denied complicity. Two Negro suspects in custody, one indicted on murder charge. Victim was robbed of \$26.
- Arthur James Hill (N) 8-20-65** Villa Rica, Ga. Shot during argument with whites. One white suspect held for grand jury action on voluntary manslaughter charge.
- Jonathan M. Daniels (W) 8-20-65** Hayneville, Ala. Episcopal seminarian slain after release from jail for civil rights demonstration. White man, member of prominent family, accused of shootings that killed Daniels and wounded a Catholic priest.
- 8-22-65** Suspect Tom L. Coleman, arraigned for murder and assault with intent to kill; jailed for 11 hours, released on bonds of \$10,000 and \$2,500. Grand jury brought indictment for manslaughter, and assault and battery. Defendant acquitted of manslaughter charge.
- Johnny Queen (N) 8-8-65** Fayette, Miss. White off-duty constable named in the pistol slaying, which was not connected with any arrest.
- Andrew Whatley Jr. (W) 7-29-65** Americus, Ga. Shot from passing car during racial disturbance. Two Negro men indicted by grand jury as murder suspects.
- Robert Wilder (N) 7-18-65** Ruston, La. White policeman accused in pistol slaying. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide.
- Willie Brewster (N) 7-15-65** Anniston, Ala. Shot while driving home from work. Three white men indicted by grand jury on murder charges. Shooting climaxed a week of anti-Negro rallies by National States Rights Party. One of the men, Hubert Damon Strange, was convicted of second degree murder and given a ten (10) year prison sentence. All-white jury. The other two, Johnny Ira DeFries and Lewis Blevins, still face murder charges.
- James Waymers (N) 7-10-65** Allendale, S. C. White man charged with murder in shotgun slaying. Area was scene of recent civil rights demonstrations. Accused acquitted Oct. 21, 1965, after entering a plea of self-defense.
- O'Neal Moore (N) 6-2-65** Bogalusa, La. Victim was one of city's first two Negro deputy sheriffs and was shot by a white man while walking beat in Negro community. Suspect charged with murder, released on bail.
- Frederick L. Humphrey (W) 3-26-65** Hattiesburg, Miss. Shot after the victim, a constable, stopped car of Negro suspect during racial unrest. Murder charge pending.
- Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo (W) 3-25-65** Shot on Hwy. 80 between Selma and Montgomery, Ala. Detroit housewife returning to Montgomery to transport civil rights marchers. Three klansmen charged with murder.
- 10-2-65** Collie Leroy Wilkins tried for murder. Jury hung. Mistrial declared.
- 10-19-65** In a second trial Wilkins acquitted. Charges still pending against other two suspects, William O. Eaton and Eugene Thomas. All three received 10 year sentences for conspiracy to violate Federal civil rights statute. Bond set at \$10,000. The three will appeal. All-white jury.
- Rev. James Reeb (W) 3-12-65** Selma, Ala. Four white men accused in bludgeon death of white civil rights sympathizer; three indicted on murder charges. Three defendants acquitted.
- Jimmie Lee Jackson (N) 2-18-65** Marion, Ala. Slain by white state trooper as victim, according to witnesses, tried to shield his mother from beating during demonstration. No arrest. Grand jury cleared trooper, identified only by surname.

Ollie W. Shelby (N) 1-22-65

Jackson, Miss. White sheriff's deputy accused of shooting 18-year-old Negro in prison. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide.

1964

Frank Morris (N) 12-10-64

Ferriday, La. Died of burns suffered when his shoe repair shop was fired by arsonists in area of racial unrest. No arrests.

Frank Andrews (N) 11-28-64

Lisman, Ala. Choctaw County. Shot in back by white sheriff's deputy. County solicitor said victim was attacking another deputy. No arrests.

Charles Sammie Marrow, Jr. (N)
10-29-64

Chattanooga, Tenn. Shot in back by a white man reportedly "to protect an attractive white waitress in a downtown restaurant." Acquitted in criminal court.

Hubert Orsby (N) 9-9-64

Near Pickens, Miss. Body of 14-year-old youth found in Big Black River wearing CORE T-shirt. Coroner's jury ruled death by accidental drowning.

James Andrew Miller (N) 8-30-64

Jackson, Ga. Shot by white man during racial flare-up. Victim had been beaten by whites a few days prior to shooting. Coroner's jury ruled slaying a case of self-defense. Shooting suspect cleared.

Billy Wayne Wallace (W) 8-9-64

Dallas, Tex. Shot during racial row in city park. Two Negroes arrested. One indicted for murder with court action pending; the other suspect was no-billed by the grand jury on same charge.

Charles E. Moore (N) 7-12-64
Henry Hezekiah Dee (N)

Meadville, Miss., near Tullulah, La. Both bodies mutilated. Recovered from Mississippi River. Had been missing since May 2, 1964. Charges against two white men dismissed without prejudice Jan. 12, 1965. Prosecution said lacked enough evidence.

Lemuel Penn (N) 7-11-64

Near Colbert, Ga. Victim was Washington, D. C., educator. Shot by whites while returning from Army reserve duty at Fort Benning, Ga. Four Klansmen arrested; three indicted for murder; two tried and acquitted. Federal indictments against six white men charging conspiracy to deprive Penn of civil rights dismissed in district court, appealed to U. S. Supreme Court.

James E. Chaney (N) 6-21-64
Andrew Goodman (W)
Michael H. Schwerner (W)

Philadelphia, Miss. Three civil rights workers slain after their release from jail. 21 white men arrested, charges dismissed by U. S. Commissioner. Federal grand jury later indicted 18 white men on felony and misdemeanor charges of conspiring to violate the victims' civil rights. Federal judge voided felony charges against 17. Misdemeanor charges pending. Justice Department is appealing the rulings. Trial of the 18th suspect pending in federal court in Atlanta.

Mrs. Johnnie Mae Chappell (N)
3-23-64

Jacksonville, Fla. Shot while walking along street during racial unrest. Young white man sentenced to 10 years in the shooting.

Louis Allen (N) 2-1-64

Liberty, Miss. Civil rights worker slain some time after testifying against a white man charged with killing another Negro. No arrests.

1963

William Kinard (W) 10-18-63

St. Augustine, Fla. Victim slain as he and two other whites drove with shotgun through Negro area. Two Negroes arrested on murder charges. Court action pending.

E. B. Bryant (W) 10-18-63

Jackson, Miss. White gas station attendant slain after squirting water from hose on Negro drinking from "white" fountain. Negro suspect charged with murder, sentenced to life imprisonment.

Virgil Ware (N) 9-15-63

Birmingham, Ala. Thirteen-year-old youth killed by two white teen-agers while riding his bicycle in suburban area following downtown church bombing. Defendants received probated seven-month sentences and a stern lecture on second-degree manslaughter charges.

Johnny Robinson (N) 9-15-63

Birmingham, Ala. Killed by police after church bombing and rioting. No arrests.

Denise McNair (N), age 11, 9-15-63
Addie Mae Collins (N) age 14
Cynthia Wesley (N), age 14
Carol Robertson (N), age 14

Birmingham, Ala. Killed while attending Sunday School by exploding bomb at church where civil rights rallies were held. No arrests.

John L. Coley (N) 9-4-63

Birmingham, Ala. Suffered fatal wounds from shotgun pellets during rioting after a race bombing. No arrests.

Andrew Lee Anderson (N) 7-17-63

Near Marion, Ark. Slain by group of white citizens and sheriff's deputies after white woman said he had molested her 8-year-old daughter. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. No arrests.

- Medgar W. Evers (N) 6-12-63** Jackson, Miss. Shot in back as he arrived home from civil rights rally. He was field secretary for NAACP. White man tried twice, but hung juries brought mistrials. Accused Byron de le Beckwith now free.
- Frank G. Link (W) 6-7-63** Lexington, N. C. Killed during rioting. Three Negroes convicted—one sentenced to serve four to seven years for second-degree murder, and two sentenced to six-month terms on charges of engaging in a riot.
- William L. Moore (W) 4-23-63** Near Attalla, Ala. Mailman from Baltimore, Md., making one-man protest march across Alabama slain by bullet. Grand jury failed to indict white suspect.
- 1962**
- Paul Guihard (W) 10-30-62**
Ray Gunter (W) Oxford, Miss. Guihard (news reporter from France) and Gunter (local TV repairman) slain during white rioting over admission of James Meredith to University of Mississippi. No arrests.
- Leroy Parks (W) 9-6-62** Dallas, Ga. Victim was among masked nightriders calling on a Negro woman who was charged in the slaying. Coroner's jury ruled shooting justifiable homicide. Suspect moved North after release from jail.
- Cpl. Roman Duckworth Jr. (N) 4-9-62** Taylorsville, Miss. Shot by white policeman when the Negro refused to move to rear of interstate bus. No arrests.
- 1961**
- Eli Brumfield (N) 10-31-61** McComb, Miss. Shot by policeman during racial unrest. No arrests.
- Herbert Lee (N) 9-25-61** Liberty, Miss. Civil rights worker shot by a white state legislator. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide.
- Frank Coleman Dumas (W) 6-1-61** Shot to death in his home. Preston Cobb, Jr., 15 year old Negro, found guilty of murder Aug. 16, 1961, and sentenced to die. Case retried, ending in sentence to life imprisonment. Motion for new trial pending.
- 1960**
- William Nance (N) 8-27-60** Near Winchester, Tenn. Body found in Lakeview Lake with slugs from three different guns and weighted with large rock. No arrests.
- Albert Pitts (N) 7-23-60**
David Pitts (N)
Ernest McPharland (N)
Marshall A. Johns (N) Monroe, La. White employer arrested, then released in the shooting of five of his employees; four died. Victims accused of making threats. Records of Dist. Court, Parish of Ouachita, Monroe, La., reveal that no bill of indictment or information was ever filed.
- Mrs. Mattie Greene (N) 5-20-60** Ringgold, Ga. Died under falling debris when her home was dynamited. No arrests.
- 1959**
- William Roy Prather (N) 11-1-59** Corinth, Miss. The 15-year-old boy was killed in anti-Negro "Halloween prank." Eight white youths charged with the slaying, six of whom were turned over to juvenile court. One indicted on manslaughter charge.
- Tommy Dwight (N) 6-13-59** Dalton, Ga. Four white men fired supposedly over the heads of a group of Negroes intending to "scare" them, but four fatal buckshots hit the 11-year-old victim. The four were indicted on charges of involuntary manslaughter. Charges reduced to misdemeanor and three of the men sentenced to serve one year. One of these permitted to serve the year outside jail.
- Jonas Causey (N) 5-10-59** Clarksdale, Miss. NAACP requested investigation and action against 15 policemen accused of the slaying. No arrests.
- Mack Charles Parker (N) 4-25-59** Poplarville, Miss. Abducted from unguarded jail cell and shot to death. No arrests.
- 1958**
- James Henry Ellison (N) 9-20-58** Chattanooga, Tenn. Shot from a passing car occupied by two white couples. No arrests.
- Ernest Hunter (N) 9-13-58** St. Mary's, Ga. Slain while in jail. White policeman accused of shooting reported that he and victim engaged in a struggle. No arrests.
- Joe Franklin Jeter Sr. (N) 9-13-58** Atlanta, Ga. Shot by white policeman who said victim was resisting arrest. Grand jury returned "no bills" on three charges.

- Richard Lillard (N) 7-26-58** Nashville, Tenn. Died after a beating in local workhouse by three white guards. They were indicted on murder charges on Aug. 15, 1958. Each was acquitted on Jan. 16, 1959.
- Woodrow Wilson Daniels (N) 7-1-58** Water Valley, Miss. Died of brain injury nine days after beating. White sheriff acquitted of manslaughter charge.
- Willie Countryman (N) 5-25-58** Dawson, Ga. Shot in his backyard by white policeman. Federal grand jury failed to indict the policeman, who had been accused in another death one month earlier.
- John Larry Bolden (N) 5-3-58** Chattanooga, Tenn. The 15-year-old boy was shot by white policeman. No court action.
- James Brazier (N) 4-25-58** Dawson, Ga. Victim died a few days after beating at hands of white policemen. Federal grand jury refused to indict four accused officers.
- George Love (N) 1-8-58** Ruleville, Miss. Killed by 25-man posse. No arrests.
- 1957
- Willie V. Dunigan (N) 11-18-57** Lomax, Ala. Shot by sheriff's deputies outside his home. Deputies were looking for person(s) who earlier wounded another deputy. No arrests.
- Charles Brown (N) 6-25-57** Near Yazoo City, Miss. White man charged with shooting the victim, a young airman, who was visiting at the home of the suspect's sister.
- James Hollis (N) 2-3-57** Griffin, Ga. The 17-year-old boy was slain and a white housewife wounded by husband who found them together partially clothed in his home. A grand jury failed to indict the husband.
- 1956
- Mrs. Maybelle Mahone (N) 12-5-56** Near Molena, Ga. Shot by white man for "sassing" him. The 71-year-old suspect was first given a life sentence on a murder charge, Aug 1, 1957, but was found "not guilty for reasons of insanity" the following March 21, 1958.
- Mrs. Bessie McDowell (N) 6-14-56** Andalusia, Ala. Killed by white father and son, who were indicted on first and second degree murder counts.
- Rev. C. H. Baldwin (N) 4-22-56** Near Huntsville, Ala. Victim struck by heavy rock. White man convicted of second-degree manslaughter, sentenced to 12 months at hard labor.
- Dr. Thomas H. Brewer (N) 2-18-56** Columbus, Ga. Prominent physician and NAACP leader shot by white man. Grand jury refused to indict.
- Milton Russell (N) 1-21-56** Belzoni, Miss. Burned to death in his home. Whites suspected of foul play. No arrests.
- Richard King (N) 1-6-56** Eufaula, Ala. White man given life sentence for pistol slaying. He was later paroled, violated his parole and "might be back in prison," according to Barbour County's court clerk.
- Edward Duckworth (N) 1-56** Raleigh, Miss. White man reportedly admitted the shooting but claimed self defense. Suspect died of heart ailment while awaiting grand jury action.
- 1955
- James E. Evanston (N) 12-24-55** Near Drew, Miss. Body of school principal found in Long Lake with neck broken and no water in lungs to indicate drowning. Negro press called it civil rights slaying. Death officially ruled suicide.
- Clinton Melton (N) 12-3-55** Glendora, Miss. White suspect was indicted on a murder charge and later acquitted.
- John Earl Reese (N) 10-22-55** Near Longview, Tex. The 16-year-old boy died of injuries from shotgun blast into cafe from a moving car. Two whites indicted for murder, one given a five year suspended sentence.
- Emmett Till (N) 8-28-55** LeFlore County, Miss. The 14-year-old boy from Chicago was slain after "smart-alec" talk to a Mississippi white woman. Body found in a river, beaten and shot. Two white men indicted for murder and acquitted.
- Lamar Smith (N) 8-17-55** Brookhaven, Miss. Victim was shot down on lawn of county courthouse in broad daylight. A grand jury failed to indict three accused white men.
- Rev. George W. Lee (N) 5-7-55** Belzoni, Miss. Killed by a shotgun blast from a car carrying several whites. No arrests.

NEW SOUTH

My Brother's Keeper

(Continued from page 11)

to be. You wonder who sells the liquor and who writes the numbers? We do. The poor people who can't find jobs that pay enough to feed us, we, the poor people, who have ambitions and refuse to be pushed down any farther than we already are, we, the poor people, who have ambitions for our children, and are trying every way we know how, even by "Hook or crook" to make it. Many of our Negro doctors, lawyers, nurses, school teachers, and professional people have become what they are because their parents did all these things to make the world a better place for them and possibly for their children.

When I was a little girl, I used to sit and watch the stars at night, and I would wonder what the future held for me. Nothing, I guess. But I am trying to make the future hold much, much more for my children.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have to be. Middle class and rich people take things for granted, things that we would call heaven, your nice painted walls for instance, while we, as I heard a little boy say, "Lay down in bed at

night, look through the ceiling and see shooting stars." You have your nice wall to wall carpets, while we have our little 9 by 12 linoleums, that will not cover half of the floor, and will wear out before long because of the awful floors that they cover.

Am I my brother's keeper? I have to be. I see all these things going on around me, things like selling liquor, writing numbers, boys gambling on the street corners, and transient houses. No . . . I don't and I won't call the police to these people, because the people who are doing these things are the people with ambitions, the people who are making a better life for themselves, and their family. These are the people who will be able to send their children to colleges, who will be able to pay their bills, buy their homes and move to a higher economical, as well as social status. These are the people who want to and will get a little respect. This is why I am. Why I have to be my brother's keeper.

The Fire That Time

(Continued from page 10)

prived people, tends to keep the community from violent revolts. The bottom segments of society must be moved along if the middle and upper portions are not to trip up in their sprint toward the American dream.

The greatest danger to progress lies in the prevalent thinking that the problems of racial justice may now be forgotten because certain laws were passed. Racial discrimination and the inequities and poverty facing slum dwellers must be kept in the center of the attention of America. The mere avoidance of violent revolts is the most base of reasons why we must act to solve these problems.