

Who Did What to Whom in Phenix City?

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

PHENIX CITY--"That darn nigger preacher," shouted the small man in the witness chair, glaring around the Russell County courtroom.

"He stomped on me with Army boots. He skinned my shin and busted my kneecap. If I hadn't got treatment, by golly, I'd be in the cemetery."

The small man rolled up his pants leg and bared a bony knee to County Court Judge Jacob Perdue. The judge stood up and peered down at it. The small man's neck began to get red.

"I seen the time when a nigger like that would get his head shot off," said Clifford C. Ferrell, the man in the witness chair.

The Rev. Bobby L. Upshaw, the man Ferrell was talking about, looked almost as if he hadn't heard all the noise. When it was time for him to take the witness stand in his own defense, he spoke quietly.

"I didn't do nothing wrong," he said. "I'm a man of the Lord, and I'm telling the truth about this."

A few minutes later Judge Perdue found Upshaw guilty of assault and battery against Ferrell. The judge fined the minister \$25 and court costs.

But Upshaw didn't pay. Instead, he signed an appeal bond to take his case to the circuit court.

"I'm not going to pay," he said. "I didn't do it."

Upshaw is a Baptist preacher with four churches in four counties. He brings the Gospel to people in Gold Hill, Lee County; Notasulga, Macon County; Blue Springs, Barbour County; and Enon, Bullock County.

But he didn't expect the court to take his word for what happened on the last Sunday in April. He brought his wife, her brother, and a friend along to testify that he wasn't there when Ferrell was beaten up.

Ferrell told the court that he went to the Upshaws' home in Seale that Sunday morning to put up "For Rent" signs.

He said the Upshaws had not paid him any rent since they moved in 16 months ago, and he was tired of waiting for it.

But the Upshaws said they hadn't paid any rent because they owned the house. Mrs. Upshaw showed the judge her deed to the property.

"I was digging the post hole when they come at me," Ferrell claimed. He said Upshaw, his wife, and her brother "had it all arranged to get me."

But Mrs. Upshaw told the story differently. She said she was the one who hit Ferrell. "He told my brother to make me go in the house," she said. "Then he hit him. My brother was drunk and didn't hit back, but I did."

Mrs. Upshaw said Ferrell grabbed a pitchfork and hit her with it once before she snatched it away. She said

she then threw it down and hit Ferrell "three or four times" with his spade.

"My husband didn't get there until Mr. Ferrell was on the ground," Mrs. Upshaw said. "He said, 'I'll have to hurt you if you hit my wife when she's pregnant.' I was five months pregnant then. But my husband never hit Mr. Ferrell because Mr. Ferrell went away."

Ferrell claimed that Upshaw, not Mrs. Upshaw, was the person who threw him to the ground. The judge apparently agreed with him.

Although Ferrell also charged assault and battery against Mrs. Upshaw's brother, Rosene Tarver, the court dismissed that case for lack of evidence.

The only testimony Ferrell gave against Tarver was that Tarver wouldn't pick up Ferrell's hat.

"I was wearing a brand-new hat that day," said Ferrell. "We had this skirmish and it came off. I said to him,



THE REV. AND MRS. BOBBY L. UPSHAW
"Pick up my hat," They said, "Get your hat yourself."
For a moment, Ferrell looked more puzzled than angry. "My brand-new hat was on the ground," he said, "and he didn't get it up when I told him to."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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WEEKEND EDITION: MAY 14-15, 1966

TEN CENTS

Rights Staff Studies Vote 'By the Sea'

FROGMORE, S. C.--This beach town on the Atlantic Ocean was a sheriff's nightmare this past week.

The South Carolina resort was crawling with civil rights workers--85 of them.

There wasn't much time for swimming, most of the workers complained.

The 85 field staff workers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from Alabama and other Southern states were called to a four-day conference to talk about the Alabama primary election and to decide, "What now?"

The only thing definitely decided was that SCLC would make a big push for the run-off election May 31. Further decisions are up to the president of SCLC, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Dr. King was not at the Frogmore conference, but he was to receive recommendations from the group. His top assistant, the Rev. Andrew Young, was there to give a pep talk. Hosea Williams, SCLC's director of voter registration and political education, led the meeting.

"We examined our actions in Alabama," said Benjamin Van Clarke, SCLC worker in Birmingham. "We talked about action up to the run-off. We talked about mistakes by the staff. We know political action is new to us and we made mistakes."

"There were mistakes on the part of voters and there was cheating."

There was talk at the conference of withdrawing SCLC's top guns in Alabama and devoting more attention to the Chicago movement.

Several staff members argued for SCLC to stay in Alabama at least until the November general election.

--And In B'ham, Afterthoughts

BIRMINGHAM--For members of Birmingham's oldest civil rights group, the May 3 primary had meant hope for dramatic changes in the city's racial situation.

Hosea Williams, of SCLC, had told them again and again, "Baby, you get your hands on that ballot and you won't have to be demonstrating all the time for Negro firemen and that sort of thing."

But last Monday, at the weekly meeting of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, speakers were back to talking about demonstrations, police brutality, and how "we've got to get some Negroes into some of these positions."

Mostly, they blamed election officials for what happened May 3. They said that there should have been more voting machines in Negro areas and more help for Negro illiterates.

The Rev. Edward Gardner, first vice-president of the Christian Movement, got the most applause from the 350 Negroes at the meeting when he said that part of the reason that Negro candidates and Attorney General Richmond Flowers didn't do very well was that, "You got a lot of Negroes who want this thing to stay the same old way."

Gardner promised the discouraged members of his group that things weren't going to stay the same. "We've gotten more integration under George Wallace than any other governor," he said. "We've gotten half under him, and we'll get the other half under his wife."



THE MAN ABOVE WAS NOT A CANDIDATE IN ALABAMA'S DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY MAY 3, BUT HE SHOWED A GREAT INTEREST IN THE RESULTS. THREE DAYS BEFORE THE VOTING, HE TRAVELED AROUND THE STATE SHAKING HANDS AND URGING PEOPLE TO VOTE--BUT HE WASN'T

RUNNING FOR ANYTHING. HE SPENT TUESDAY NIGHT WATCHING THE ELECTION RETURNS ON TELEVISION IN HIS ROOM IN THE THOMAS JEFFERSON HOTEL IN BIRMINGHAM. AND THE DAY AFTER, HE MET THE PRESS AND TALKED ABOUT THE RESULTS. PHOTO BY JIM PEPPLER

Coleman's Trial Set For Fall in Lowndes

HAYNEVILLE--Thomas L. Coleman, who was cleared last fall of the killing of a civil rights worker, still faces charges of wounding another civil rights worker in the same shooting.

Coleman's trial has been put off at least until next fall. It was originally scheduled for Monday, but the presiding judge, T. Werth Thagard, ordered the trial postponed until next fall. He acted at the request of Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers, who said that the victim, the Rev. Richard Morrisroe, is still in ill health in Chicago and is unable to appear in Lowndes County for the trial.

Judge Thagard refused an identical request by Flowers last September when Coleman was on trial for manslaughter in the killing of Jonathan M. Daniels, a theology student from New Hampshire who was with Morrisroe during the shooting.

At the time of the September trial, Morrisroe was in a Chicago hospital. He is now recovering in Chicago from gunshot wounds, but he is no longer hospitalized.

Thagard said last year that the fact that the state's key witness could not appear was not grounds for delaying the trial.

Unlike last time, Coleman will probably face a jury with Negroes on it. A federal court earlier this year ordered Lowndes County to fill its juries on a racial basis roughly the same as its population--80 per cent Negro, 20 per cent white.

Negroes have previously served on grand juries in Lowndes County--as a matter of fact, Negroes were on the grand jury that indicted Coleman for manslaughter in the Daniels killing. But, according to all witnesses in federal court, no Negro has ever served on regular trial jury duty in Hayneville.

Coleman, a member of a well-known Lowndes family and a part-time deputy sheriff, is charged with assault and battery in the shooting of Morrisroe August 20 outside the Cash Store in Hayneville.

Morrisroe, Daniels, and several other civil rights workers had just been released from jail. They had been arrested a week earlier at a demonstration in Ft. Deposit, a town in the southern part of the county that had previously not known civil rights activity.

A federal court later declared that the charges on which the group was arrested were illegal. That order came two days after Coleman was found not guilty of manslaughter by an all-white jury in Hayneville.

Losing Negroes Protest Greene County Election

BY DAPHNA SIMPSON

EUTAW--"Some funny things happened. They've used every trick in the book, and we lost."

The Rev. Thomas E. Gilmore looked tired as he spoke of the election. In 24 hours the plans he had made had been ruined and now he had no plans at all. Gilmore, who ran for sheriff of

Greene County, lost to the present sheriff, Bill Lee, by 297 votes. The final count was 2,246 for Lee, 1,949 votes for Gilmore.

Gilmore believes that the results of all the races in the county look suspicious. He and another Negro, the Rev. Percy McShan, who ran for tax assessor, both lost. Mrs. Alberta Branch (for tax collector) and the Rev. Peter J. Kirksey (for the school board) will be

in the May 31 run-off. The Rev. Woodson Lewis Jr. won a seat on the Democratic county executive committee.

The fact that Lewis won looked suspect. If Greene County Negroes disliked Gilmore enough to vote against him and the other candidates, it doesn't seem likely that they would elect Lewis, a friend of Gilmore's, the Negro candidates said.

SCLC is filing a protest with the U. S. Justice Department, claiming unfair voting procedures. Gilmore has been working closely with Paul and Pat Bokulich, SCLC field workers in Greene County.

The Bokulichs believe that they have enough evidence to demand an investigation. Poll watchers and individual voters are supplying information on the "funny things."

In several boxes, it was noted that some white people who had moved out of the county years ago and whose names were not on the published voting lists came to the polls. Many cars without-out-of-county license plates were parked outside the polling places, according to SCLC.

SCLC's protest reported that some employers "suggested" to their Negro help that they should vote for Mrs. Wallace and Sheriff Lee.

One man reportedly sent his Negro trucker to Chicago to pick up a shipment on the night of May 2. He remarked that he guessed he would have to have a reason to send the trucker to Chicago on the night of May 30.

A woman who voted for the first time was asked by an election official whether she had ever voted before, SCLC said.

"No," she replied. The man said, "You want to vote for Wallace, don't you?"

"I guess so." "You want to vote for Bill Lee too," "Yes," she whispered.

The people who could not read or write were not always given a choice of which person assisted them in marking their ballots.

"These are just a few of the grievances and complaints. Each incident is minor in itself, but there seems to be too many minor incidents," Gilmore said.

But Gilmore doesn't have much hope for a re-vote. He says that the Justice Department is already convinced that the voting was handled fairly.

Will Gilmore retire from politics? "I'm tired. Maybe in the city election in two years I'll pick someone to run for office. It probably won't be me, though. Man, politics really takes it out of you."

"What we'll do is start a credit union here and get federal farm loans. We'll build up our own money in the Negro community and we'll be independent so we won't have to mess with those white crackers."

What he won't do is run on the independent black panther party ticket, although last week he had planned to do so. "We'll be facing the same crooks and the same cheating. There's no sense in it," he said.

The deadline for signing for the black panther was last Monday at midnight. As for his immediate plans, Gilmore left Monday for the SCLC retreat in South Carolina.

"All I want to do now is getaway and sleep. And rest. And stop thinking." A little of the old Gilmore came back when he grinned and added, "And I think I'll get drunk!"

A Legal Battle Ahead For Baker and Clark

SELMA--Has Wilson Baker won the Democratic nomination for sheriff of Dallas County? Or must he face Sheriff Jim Clark in a run-off race?

The answer to those questions will be temporarily supplied by a U. S. district court judge next Monday when he hears a suit brought by the U. S. Justice Department against the Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee.

In the suit the Justice Department has complained to federal Judge Daniel H. Thomas of Mobile that 1,504 people were deprived of their vote by the county committee when it threw out the six boxes that contained their ballots.

Of the 1,504 votes, 1,412 were cast for former Selma Police Chief Wilson Baker--enough votes to elect Baker, supported by Dallas County Negroes as the "lesser of two evils," without a run-off race against Clark, who still sports a "Never" button.

The Justice Department said, furthermore, that the county committee failed to follow Alabama election laws

when it threw out the six boxes that contained the votes in question.

Alabama election law states that the county committee must formally and publicly announce the results of an election before the results may be challenged. The Dallas County committee failed to do so, the Justice Department said.

The Justice Department asked Judge Thomas to rule that the county executive committee must formally declare a winner in the race before anybody does any challenging of the results.

But, whatever Judge Thomas decides, the question of whether to count the 1,504 votes or throw them out--of whether Baker and Clark must meet each other in a run-off--will be decided by the county committee.

And the county committee has already said it found the six boxes containing the disputed votes to be "infected with irregularities."

If the county committee stands by its decision to throw out the six boxes and to declare a run-off, there is still an avenue of appeal for former Police Chief Baker.

Baker may within ten days after a final decision by the county committee take his case to the State Democratic Executive Committee.

If the state committee doesn't find good cause for throwing out the disputed votes, it could overrule the county committee.

And should the county committee reverse its stand and count the disputed votes, Clark may take his challenge to the state committee.

In any event the final decision in a challenged election has always rested with the State Democratic Executive Committee and in the case of the 1966 Democratic primary election in Dallas County it might well rest there again.

In the meantime the six boxes that contain the votes that started all the trouble are being watched by federal voting observers.

Ladies Day

DENVER, Colorado--The national convention of the League of Women Voters decided last week that the organization should study "equality of opportunity."

The ladies from some of the Southern states said they were all for that but asked that the study be called "human resources." The convention agreed to change the wording.

Mrs. J. F. Dollard, president of the Huntsville League of Women Voters, explained the reason for the change at the meeting. "I don't think I have to explain that 'human resources' is much easier to work for in Alabama."

Spring is Here



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Editorial Opinion

Questions

The "What happened?" that was on everyone's lips May 4 has now changed to "What now?"

"What happened?" is as clear as the difference between black and white. That's what happened.

"What now?" is not as clear. One thing is clear. There are questions to ask. No answers. And the questions you ask depend on where you live and who you are.

"Were we robbed, and will we be robbed again?"

"How do you elect candidates who respond to Negroes' needs if you don't have a Negro majority? How do you elect 'em even if you DO have a Negro majority?"

"When you are faced with a choice of two bad guys, what do you do?"

"Is there such a thing as a Negro bloc vote now--a Negro bloc vote that can be delivered?"

"When can you expect results from the power of the vote? Next month? Next year? Ten years from now?"

"Were mistakes made? If mistakes are corrected, will things at the ballot box change?"

"Why the ballot box? Why not the streets? The courts? The schools? The pocketbook?"

"Where do we go from here? More voter registration? School desegregation? Law suits? Juries? Poverty program? Planning for next time?"

"Why bother at all?"

"Why not junk the system? How do you solve radical problems without radical means?"

"Why not make life miserable for the winners? Why be good losers?"

"Why not build on what we got? Why not 'wait 'til next year'?"

Only questions after an election, no answers. No one in civil rights ever really thought the struggle would be short or easy.

Charges Dismissed

BIRMINGHAM--The Jefferson County Grand Jury decided last week not to indict a white man charged with shooting five Negroes during a demonstration at the Liberty Super Market here Feb.

25. The shooting led to several demonstrations. Emory Warren McGowan was cleared of five counts of assault with intent to murder.

Read All About It! Negro Voters And Mrs. Wallace Make Big News

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

Alabama's new Negro voters made front-page news in newspapers throughout the nation last week. They shared the spotlight with Mrs. Lurleen Wallace's triumph in the primary election.

Reporters, cameramen, and engineers from television and radio networks were all over the state on election day. Most of them spent the day watching Negroes go to the polls in rural counties. The election was the leading story on the TV news programs Tuesday and Wednesday nights.

Newsweek magazine this week carried a colored picture of Governor and Mrs. Wallace on its cover. Inside, Newsweek said, "The night was the Wallace's--but the day belonged to the new voter."

The magazine reported, "The mere existence of the Negro vote--and of a candidate who dared the heresy of courting it--polarized Alabama politics on racial lines and drove whites into the Wallace column."

It reported a white bloc vote for Mrs. Wallace and a Negro bloc vote against Mrs. Wallace and against "those whites they most mistrust." However, News-

Trooper Clear

COLUMBIANA--A state police corporal has been cleared of charges in the killing of a Negro man who was being held prisoner in the police chief's office in Alabaster, a nearby town.

Nathan Johnson Jr., 34 years of age, was shot to death Sunday after his arrest on charges of drunken driving. Shelby County Coroner Bill Thompson said the shots were fired by State Trooper J. B. Fowler after Johnson attacked the officer.

Fowler was cleared last year of the killing of another Negro in Marion. The death of Jimmy Lee Jackson in Marion Feb. 18, 1965, was one of the events that led to the Selma-to-Montgomery march a month later. On Feb. 18 state troopers broke up a civil rights demonstration in Marion and entered the Mack Cafe, where many Negroes had fled.

Jackson, his mother, and his grandfather were in the cafe. A state trooper admitted shooting Jackson, but the trooper was not identified as Fowler for more than seven months after the killing.



week said, Negroes, where they held heavy majorities, chose to keep white officials who are not as harsh as Wallace and Sheriff Jim Clark of Dallas County.

The New York Times, the newspaper read by all the important government and business leaders in the northeast United States, had two reporters covering election news.

The Times found the Negro vote and the Wallace victory front-page news Wednesday morning. On Thursday, the paper devoted the left side of its front page to a story saying, "SPLIT NEGRO VOTE IN ALABAMA EASES FEARS OF WHITE."

There was a front-page picture of Fred D. Gray, run-off candidate for the House of Representatives from Macon, Bullock and Barbour counties, being congratulated by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and others. On Page 30, Gray was selected as the Times' daily "Man in the News" and called "a voice for Negroes."

The main New York story said white voters in Alabama were no longer worried about a black takeover in mostly Negro counties.

In its editorial opinion that day, the Times said, "The fact of overwhelming importance about Alabama's primary was its peacefulness. For the first time since Reconstruction. Negroes voted in

large numbers, and there was no violence or disorder."

Election of Mrs. Wallace in November, the Times said, "will mean another four years of negative, backward-looking Government under the domination of her husband."

"The Alabama whites voted... to try to escape reality for another four years."

The Times' editorial said that the election proved that moderation would no longer do in Alabama. Richmond Flowers won more votes than the moderates, it said, and this means that the candidate who openly campaigns for racial equality is right "politically as well as morally."

The Times congratulated Negroes for going to the polls and said, "Their beginning on May 3, 1966, will be remembered long after the Wallaces have faded into oblivion."

The Los Angeles Times sent a Negro reporter from the West Coast and white reporters from its Atlanta and Washington offices to report the election. After it was over, the Los Angeles paper said editorially, "The enfranchisement of Southern Negroes overshadows the deplorable fact that white voters made their state a laughingstock by choosing Mrs. Lurleen Wallace..."

It said there was "two-edged bigotry" in Alabama and blasted organizers

of the independent black panther party as "black racists."

Life magazine had campaign pictures of the Rev. Thomas E. Gilmore, Walter J. Calhoun, and Pat J. Davis, all Black Belt sheriff candidates, and called the scene "NEW FACE OF POLITICS IN ALABAMA."

On the next page, Life showed the Wallaces meeting voters and said, "IN THE GOVERNOR'S RACE, LURLEEN SWEEPS ON TOWARD A WALLACE DYNASTY."

The Detroit Free Press called it "DAY OF JUBILEE IN ALABAMA" and described Negroes in Wilcox County, going to vote "dressed in their Sunday best" and "chatting with their friends."

Many papers and magazines had photos of long lines of black voters outside The Sugar Shack in Wilcox County.

The National Catholic Reporter, a weekly paper published in Kansas City, Missouri, had across the top of its front page a story about a Negro woman in Wetumpka who voted for the first time.

Alabama's election and the new Negro vote made front-page news all week in the Baltimore Sun. The paper carried results of Negroes' races for local and state offices, along with an account of voting experiences and complaints in several Black Belt communities. It made brief mention of the Lowndes (CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 3)

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

The article in your paper was entitled "Flowers Talks of Flags and Votes." I thought the article was very good about what all he said about Lurleen Wallace. I don't like going against her or anything but I don't think that she is ready for the governor's chair yet, because of what is happening in Alabama now.

You see, she will get nervous and goof everything up, like George did for himself when he went up North.

I noticed in that section what Flowers said, what Wallace said. He said that Wallace said if a fence was built around Alabama, Alabamians could survive on her own. And Flowers said, by contrast, today we are dependent on each other or sister states. We cannot prosper separate. I think that that is right what he said. I know that you know that Alabama is a poverty stricken area so how can she manage alone? I know she can't.

P.S. We take The Southern Courier every week. I think that it produces good information. And I shall continue to read your paper every week.

Jewel Walker, Age 15 Midway, Ala.

To the Editor:

Four more years and six more months of hell I ask you not to sell your vote I even told you not to Now Wallace has the seat again So four more years and six more months of hell

Segregation is started again Oh Wallace come off of it Don't you know we as Negroes ain't no fools He's not going to do anything for us but just give us Four more years and six more months of hell

One of these mornings It won't be long Lurleen's going to wake up and say George boy, who is governor, you or me? You ain't doing anything but giving those Negroes Four more years and six more months of hell

Sandra Norris, 14, Greenville, Ala.

To the Editor:

Lurleen is elected for governor. And the Negroes of Butler County don't think it's fair to have a woman to run for governor, although we know that George Wallace would take the chair again.

The Negroes in Butler County voted for Flowers and the end of Wallace. The reason why Flowers wasn't elected was because the Negroes from different counties sold their vote. And as Dr. King can say, "Do not sell your vote to anyone for anything."

The day that Dr. King came to Butler County, after he had left, Negroes sold their votes for a sack of flour and sold their votes for \$5.50 and also \$15. And also, Negroes sold their votes for a pair of shoes. And also, on Wednesday morning, Negroes were mad because Wallace won for governor.

At the coming election in November, Wallace will still be governor on account of Negroes. If Negroes were together, they would have a lot more in common, but since Negroes are not together, they will never have nothing in common. Only way Negroes can win is together.

Emmitt Knight, Age 17 Greenville, Ala.

To the Editor:

I just got my subscription to The Southern Courier for my birthday, April 7, and I am so excited. I just had to write and tell you.

I'm in Rutgers Law School now, in New Jersey, which is pretty dry work but I hope to be a civil rights lawyer when I get out. Your paper is my main inspiration lately and I'll tell you why...

Many white people in civil rights think they have to help the Negroes, sort of like playing God. White people, myself included, should realize that, as the Negroes gain equality, America will be healthier--economically and psychologically--including the whites.

The whites have skills to teach Negroes because of the white's greater experience in education and government. But the big lesson that the Negroes are teaching whites (which is often overlooked) is RESOLUTION.

I will give some examples from the Courier dated April 23-24.

Now take Mrs. Pearl Moorner, tenant farmer, when she got around the guards,

at the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty meeting in Washington, and took Vice-President Humphrey's hand and told him the truth. How many people have that much resolution?

Many Americans grab as much as they can for themselves and are happy if they snatch up more than their share. That's called selfish greed.

But take the Ladies Local No. 1 for Equal Pay for Domestic Workers and Others. Here are 35 Negro maids who are demanding higher pay for themselves and standing up for all maids. Furthermore they are demanding only their fair share and no more.

If you have RESOLUTION you believe three things.

- (1) You are out for your own share. (2) But it is a fair share, which is worked for and not hogged. (3) You are out for the whole group too.

Of course it is easier for a white man to snatch a hog's share but then he is alone without love, without right, except for some loner trying to snake the money.

I conclude that lately the Negroes in the Movement are changing the American Ideal from rugged individualism (selfishness) to resolution. This is the lesson and inspiration I gain from your newspaper. It is the new social philosophy of America.

The students at Trinity Gardens High School create resolution in their sculpture. Example, "Ruby" (below).

Eric Walgren Newark, N.J.



Mississippi Self-Portrait On TV

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--NBC-TV this month showed a "news special" called "Mississippi: A Self Portrait." Advance news said the program was about white Mississippians' views of the changes in the state during the last few years. But the magazine TV Guide said the program gave "reaction to the Negro's struggle from people on both sides."

In a Mobile home, a few people, Negro and white, were watching the program. Here are what they said about it and a few other people's comments on the program:

"What's this show suppose to be about, man? The paper said it was a self portrait of white Mississippi."

"Then how come that title says 'Mississippi: A Self Portrait'? Why doesn't it say 'White Mississippi: A Self Portrait'?"

"You don't need to say white Mississippi. Everybody knows Mississippi is



white." "But Mississippi is almost half Negro."

"Niggers is invisible." "Hey, look at those churches!" The camera was showing some of the 38 Negro churches burned down in the summer of 1964, then it moved to a Klan rally. "Isn't that brother Shelton there in the dark glasses?"

"It sure is," said one of the men angrily.

Nobody said anything else while the Klan rally was on, or right after it, while a group of leading white people in Greenwood, Miss., talked about race relations in their city.

But some of the viewers laughed when the white men said things were coming along pretty well in Greenwood.

Then the camera switched to a Negro grocer in Greenwood, who also waits on tables at a white restaurant in town. The announcer said most white people in Greenwood think of the waiter as a hap-

py, hard-working Negro. But the Greenwood people had seen only what the waiter let them see. He showed the TV viewers another side--the inside--by going through his "happy waiter" routine but breaking in often to tell his real feelings about it.

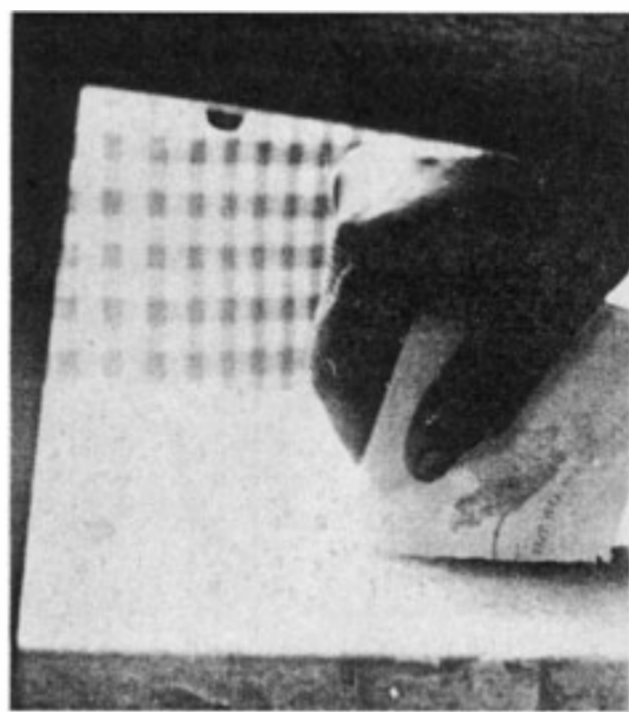
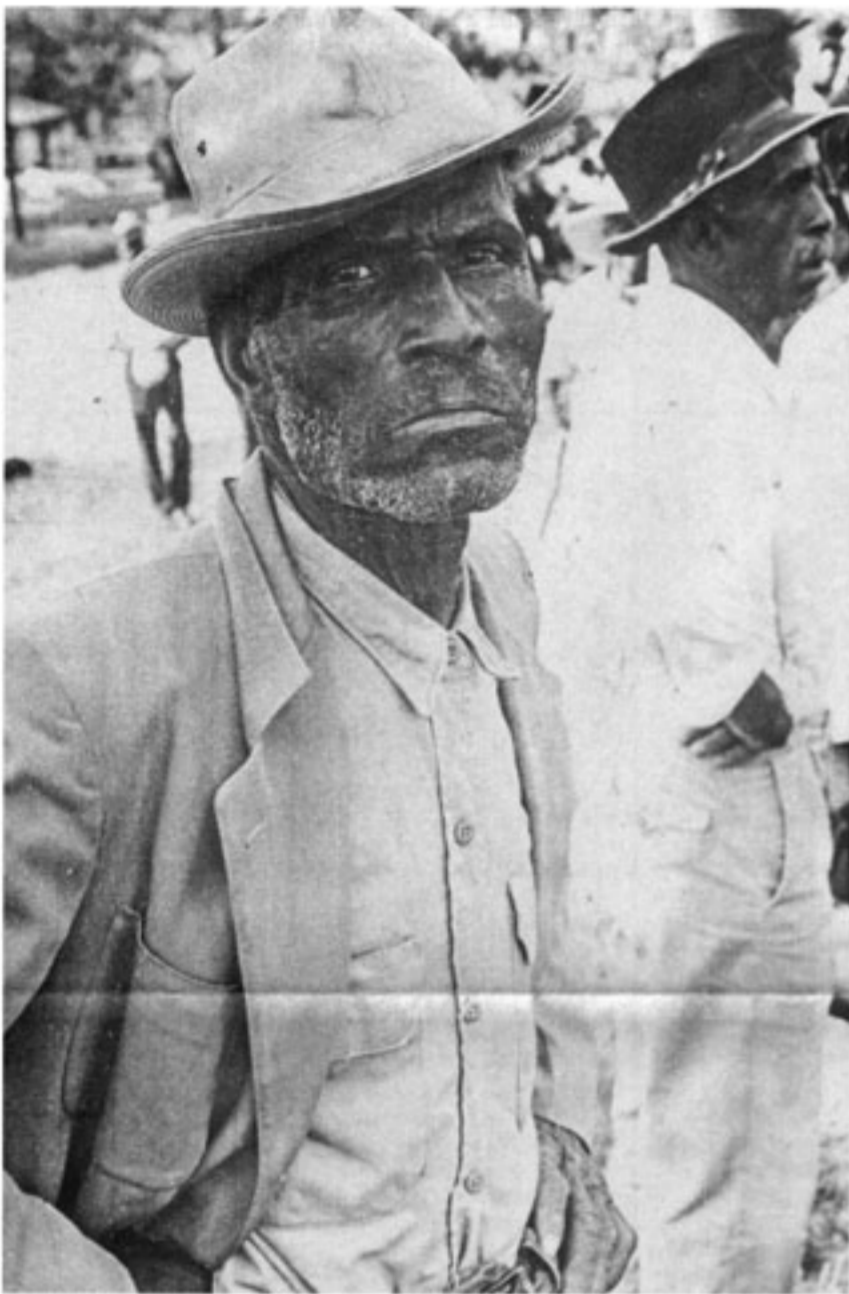
His feelings were things like, "You gotta keep smilin', no matter how much they boss you and call you nigger. That's the trick. . . . The meaner the man, the more you smile. . . . I'm doin' it so my children can have an education. . . . No matter how much it hurts on the inside, you gotta keep smilin' all the time."

"That waiter was great! It was just like a minstrel show, but he sure told the truth," said one of the viewers. "He ought to be on Broadway." "He may have to be on Broadway. Those white folks in Greenwood are watchin' this show too."

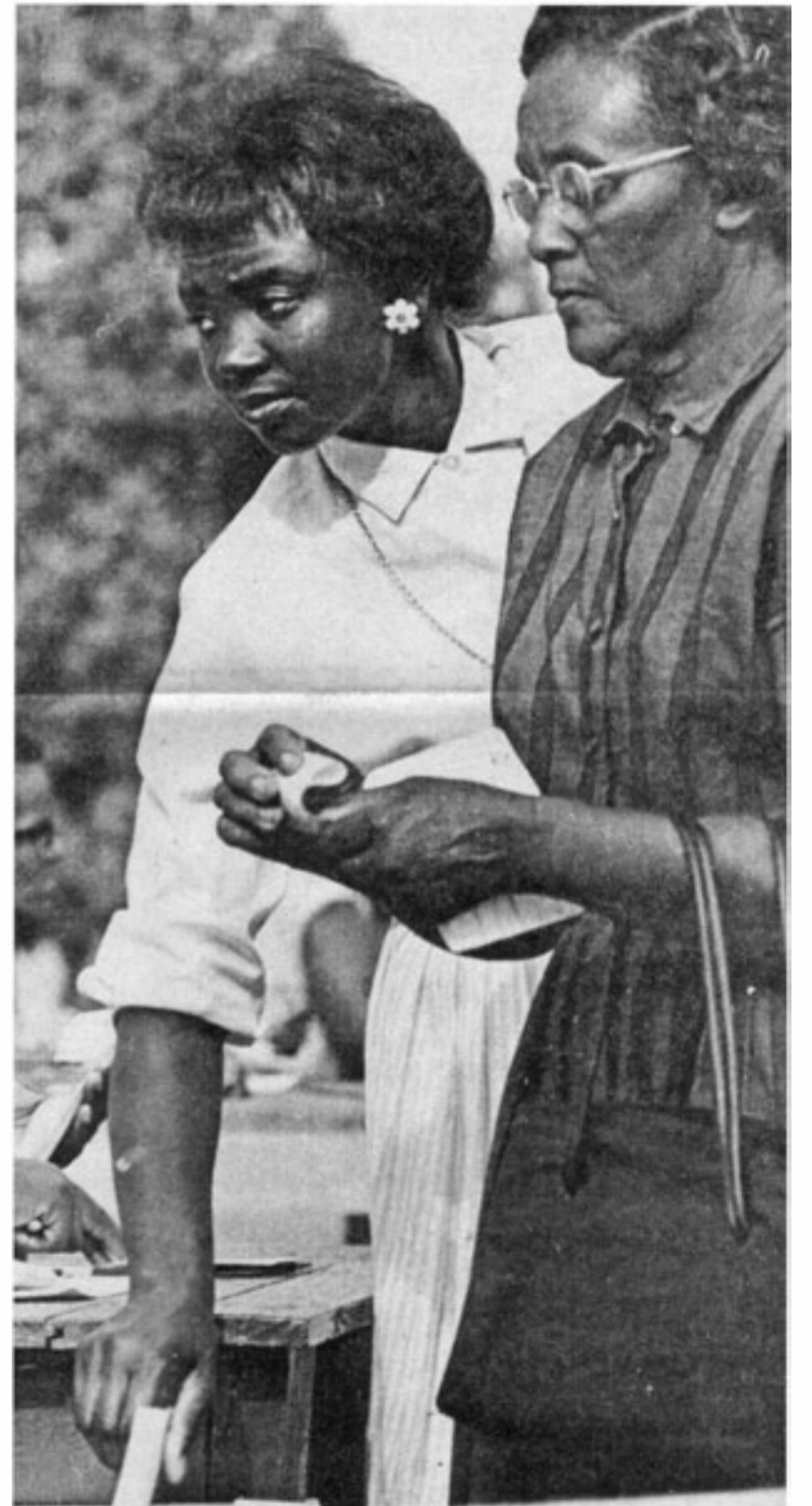
Then the program moved on to a plan- (CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

The Same Tuesday, But A Different Election

Photographs by Jim Pepler



The Lowndes County Freedom Organization's Mass Meeting to Elect Black Panther Candidates



Low Marks for Alabama's School System

BY GAIL FALK

MONTGOMERY--Students aren't the only ones to get report cards. Schools get them too. A school's card is called an accreditation report.

This report, written by people who are supposed to be experts in education, tells whether a school is giving its students a good opportunity to learn.

High schools in Alabama can be accredited by the State Department of Education and by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

Most high schools have state accreditation. This means they have met a long list of standards set up by the State Board of Education covering student-teacher ratio, qualification of teachers, courses taught, equipment, location and size of school, length of school year, and library size. For example:

There must be at least one teacher for every 30 students in a school.

No teacher should have more than 40 students in a class or teach more than six classes a day.

The school should be open at least 175 days a year. Students who are absent more than 20 of those days should not be promoted.

Every classroom must have 25 square feet of floor space per pupil.

Science rooms should have running water, electric outlets, gas, fire protection, and enough equipment to do experiments.

It's up to the local school administration to ask the state to make an accreditation report. First the principal and teachers must go through a long self-evaluation. Then they are visited by a committee of several officials from other schools. The committee spends several days checking to see whether the school measures up to state standards.

After its investigation the committee writes the "report card." It decides whether the school should "pass"--wheth-

er it should be accredited. J. C. Blair, state director of secondary education, says a school may be accredited even if it does not meet every one of the standards so long as it meets the most important ones, which concern qualification of teachers, and number of students per teacher.

In its report the committee describes the strengths and weaknesses of the school. Usually it gives recommendations for improvement. Parents who want to know what the accreditation committee has said about their school should be permitted to read the report if they ask their principal or superintendent.

The procedure for granting Southern Association accreditation is about the same, but the standards are stricter. Only

about 35 per cent of the schools in the 11 southern states have Southern Association accreditation.

Raymond Wilson, the association's executive secretary, explains his group's accreditation is meant to be a "plus-sage"--to show that a school is better than average.

The Southern Association, for example, requires one teacher for every 25 pupils; it requires that the principal have a master's degree and that the school hire a guidance counselor and a part-time secretary. The state guidelines recommend a library budget of \$1.50 per pupil; Southern Association recommends \$2.50.

In the past students from non-accredited high schools had a hard time getting into college, and admissions require-

ments at some Alabama colleges are still stricter for students from these schools.

Alabama State, for instance, admits conditionally students from schools without state accreditation. That means they must get a C average or above in their freshman year.

Out-of-state colleges are usually more interested in Southern Association membership. Wilson said the Southern Association is "very regularly written by schools such as Michigan State and UCLA" asking whether the association has accredited a particular high school from which a student has applied.

Few colleges, however, would turn down a student just because he had gone to a non-accredited high school. Accreditation is just one factor considered along with a student's college board scores, interview, extra-curricular activities, and school record.

If, as Blair says, accreditation is to be used as a yardstick for how good a learning situation schools provide, the measurements show that Alabama schools have room for growth.

Just over 24 per cent of the state's schools are accredited by the Southern Association. Alabama ranks ninth among the 11 Southern states in percentage of accredited schools, according to Wilson. Only Texas, because of its many small schools, and Mississippi are lower.

The state's Education Directory shows that nearly 28 per cent of the Negro schools are not state accredited while fewer than three and a half per cent of the white schools have failed to meet State Board of Education requirements.

Some people say the number of Negro schools failing to meet accreditation standards would be even higher if investigation committees judged Negro schools as strictly as white schools. Blair denied this. "Our staff people visit these schools, Negro and white, right across the board," he said. "The standards are the same."

Blair said that standards for accreditation are tougher for newly built schools. Requirements are stiffer now than they were a few years back, Blair said. Thus, a new Negro school would have to meet rougher standards for accreditation than an old white one, he said.



Will Martin Give Voters A Choice or an Echo?

Congressman Wants to Move From One Capitol to Another

BY LAURA GODOFKY

WASHINGTON -- Will Republican Congressman James D. Martin of Gadsden offer Alabama voters a choice or an echo when he runs for governor this fall?

That's the question a lot of people have been asking since the Democrats nominated Mrs. George C. Wallace to seek a second gubernatorial term for her husband.

Although Martin hasn't been officially nominated, he is almost certain to be the Alabama Republican Party's choice at its convention this summer. The party's best vote-getter, in 1962 he nearly became the state's first Republican U.S. senator since Reconstruction.

This fall he will be trying to become the state's first Republican governor in 100 years. What is he offering the voters?

"Clean and competitive government," said Martin. "My victory will bring two-party government into the South."

With two parties, Martin said, there will be a chance to debate issues. He didn't say which issues. But he said there hasn't been any open debate under one-party, Democratic rule.

"The greatest challenge facing Alabama is improving education at all levels," declared the would-be governor. He said he would be willing to accept federal aid for education. But he wants to untie some of the strings attached to it.

"The federal government should not try to dictate the use of its funds," Martin said. He criticized Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which allows the federal government to withhold funds from schools and projects that segregate whites and Negroes.

"It's un-American to keep back this money from children of both races who need and deserve a good education," Martin said.

The congressman said he would not discourage Negro children from entering white schools. But he would not close any all-Negro schools.

"I would go along with the Negro educators who don't want to abolish the fine Negro school system in Alabama," Martin said. "I don't think the federal government should make them close their schools."

He suggested that Negro youngsters might be glad to have the choice between white schools and Negro schools.

Martin said the most important step in improving Alabama education is to take the school system "out of politics." He would work to have the state superintendent of education chosen "on merit only" by a special committee of representatives from all over the state. A similar committee should choose a



CONGRESSMAN JAMES D. MARTIN OF GADSDEN WOULD LIKE TO TRADE HIS SEAT IN THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE CAPITOL BUILDING IN WASHINGTON FOR THE GOVERNOR'S CHAIR IN THE CAPITOL BUILDING IN MONTGOMERY.

state highway director "because of skill, knowledge, and ability, rather than some political position he holds," Martin said he believes officials chosen by such committees would carry out their jobs without bending under political pressures.

Pointing out that federal aid to highways began under a Republican President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Martin said he would welcome it and use it to improve roads around the state.

On the explosive issue of race relations, Martin came out against some major weapons in the civil rights struggle. He opposed demonstrations and boycotts.

"I don't think lawlessness on the streets is the way for Negroes to solve their problems," he said. "Riots in Watts and boycotts in Selma are not good."

"Boycotts are un-American. If whites decided to boycott Negroes, we would have a catastrophe."

"Ending riots would help improve the image of Negroes," he said. Instead of demonstrating, Negroes "like any other American" should work to reduce crime, get better educations and stop their children from dropping out of school, increase church attendance, get jobs, and become good employees.

"There are already many Negroes who don't demonstrate and who want to achieve these goals," said Martin. "I will be ready to help them."

One way Martin doesn't plan to help Negroes--or whites--is with the federal antipoverty program. "It hasn't done anything," charged the congressman. Instead, he said, he would work to expand industry throughout Alabama and bring into the state jobs that would help people improve their standard of living.

"I want to see people on payrolls rather than welfare rolls," he said.

But he claimed that it will be welfare rolls rather than payrolls under the Democratic Party.

"The Democratic Party has been trying to keep the South from expanding," he said. He explained that Democrats discourage industries from coming South by trying to repeal right-to-work laws and raise minimum wages.

"If these programs become law," he warned, "there will be fewer jobs for Alabamians." If the South stays the way it is, however, it will be "a better place to put industry."

Although Martin has begun to make noises like a candidate, he said he won't start campaigning officially until after the Republican convention in July. Then he will stump the state in search of what he predicts will be "an historic victory."

He said he wants the votes of "all people who think my program would be good for Alabama." And that, he added, includes Negroes who go along with his ideas.

A Police Court Judge Who 'Rocks the Boat'

Recorder's Judge Earl Langner Tries Birmingham Court Reform

BY DON GREGG

BIRMINGHAM -- "I've simply been trying to carry out my oath. I have tried to establish a system in my court that will uphold a defendant's constitutionally guaranteed rights," said Judge Earl Langner.

But a lot of people don't see Langner's job the way he does. A Birmingham policeman said, "He makes us look like a fool. We work hard to make an arrest, and he turns around and lets them go."

City Recorder's Judge Earl Langner has met resistance from cops, city officials, other judges, and many citizens since he began trying to bring social and judicial reform to the Birmingham court system.

Nobody expected him to rock the conservative boat when he was appointed a judge in 1963. His ten-year career as a young Birmingham lawyer didn't give any indications.

But Langner began to change his mind shortly after he took office. A friend said the judge started rethinking social issues after the shock of President Kennedy's assassination.

Langner himself said that, as a judge, he saw the inside working of the court system in a new light. He was dismayed by unequal treatment and the denial of people's constitutional rights.

He has tried to reform the courts by making them obey the law. He dismisses cases, for example, when policemen fail to obtain a search warrant before making an arrest or obtaining evidence from a private home.

"I do not blame the police for not obtaining search warrants," he said. "They have not been required to do so in the past, especially where Negro dwellings are involved."

"It is their superiors who are at fault, and this in turn is because the Birmingham judicial system does not function properly."

He said that Birmingham's courts tend to presume guilt rather than innocence. Policemen must act as arresting officer, witness, and prosecutor. Judges must act as prosecutor, defense counsel, and jury. Neither police nor judges can be impartial under this system, Langner said.

As a corrective measure, he suggested that the city hire attorneys to prosecute all cases. The American Bar Association last January issued a report on the Birmingham's Recorder's Court which suggested the same thing. The ABA recommended a total of 105 changes in Birmingham's court system. Many had been anticipated in practice by Langner. The judge urged the courts to follow them.

Asked if he expected any changes to be made, Judge Langner said, "I hope so, but realistically, this will not happen soon."

The judge tries to reform the criminals as well as the courts. He counsels young people who have gotten in trouble with the law and tries to rehabilitate alcoholics.

When a first offender comes before a city judge almost anywhere in the United States, he is almost certain to go away with a police record. The law doesn't care whether he is an arrogant crook or a confused child.

When a first offender between the ages of 16 and 20 comes before Judge Langner, his case is put off for 18 months while Langner counsels him.

If the boy behaves well, his case is dismissed. He does not have a police record, so he does not lose his voting rights and his opportunity to serve in the armed forces.

Even more important, Langner feels, a life of crime is prevented before it really begins. Instead of establishing a pattern of lawlessness, a young man can choose to keep a clear record and go on to some useful position in society.

Langner's reform programs have impressed some people. He received an award last year from the North American Judges Association for his deferred prosecution program for youths. He was elected 1966-67 president of the Alabama Municipal Judges Association.

But in his home town he hasn't made many friends. His reform programs have come to a standstill because of opposition from city officials.

Early in 1965 the flow of cases to his court was stopped. Now his court is empty almost every day. Without cases to hear, he cannot assign young men to his personal probation or send habitual alcoholics to his "alcoholic honor class."

"I asked why I stopped getting cases, but I was never told why," Judge Langner said.

Presiding Recorder's Judge Joseph J. Jasper said, "It's just a matter of procedure. Since about February of last year, all cases had to be assigned to the presiding judge. A majority of the defendants plead guilty, so I dispose of the cases myself."

If the defendant does not plead guilty, and his case is ready for trial, he is sent to Langner's court. When Jasper finishes the guilty pleas, he begins trying the innocent pleas.

On May 3 Langner lost the race for Jefferson County district attorney. The support of the Negro community apparently helped contribute to his defeat.

Langner was asked by a COAPO screening committee what his program as D. A. would be. He promised to try to end police brutality, and prosecute cases fairly regardless of race. He said he would use his influence to get more Negroes on juries and would seek to hire some qualified Negro assistant D. A.'s.

The screening committee session was confidential. No reporters were present. COAPO officials--and Langner--were stunned when the Birmingham News printed a story about the meeting.

"My chances in the D. A. race were damaged because the white community was alienated by the article," Langner said.

Langner's term as judge will expire in August, 1967. With politics apparently out of his future, he has no special plans. "I may go back into private law practice. I may not. I just don't know yet," he said.



JUDGE LANGNER AND HIS FAMILY

A White Editor Views Alabama's Negro Vote

BY MARY ELLEN GALE
TUSKEGEE--"I'm not sure I could have done it," the white man said approvingly to his Negro audience. "I'm not sure I could have been that wise."

The man was Neil O. Davis, editor of the Tuskegee News. His audience were members of the Tuskegee Civic association. He was talking about the May 3 election.

"The Negro showed remarkable prudence and restraint in resisting the temptation to sweep it all," Davis said. "He was more discerning than the white man expected. At the local level, the Negro chose the candidates he deemed most qualified, regardless of race."

Although Macon County's Negro majority succeeded in failing to elect any Negro to office without a run-off, the newspaper editor didn't limit his praise so close to home.

He cited the sheriff's races in Greene and Wilcox counties--where Negroes challenged white officeholders and lost--as the best examples of what he meant.

"The Negro voters could have unseated the white sheriffs," Davis said. "They must have thought the incumbents the best men in the race."

"They delivered an important message. If you were sheriff, wouldn't you begin to equate political success with fairness and justice for all?"

Most of the audience at the Sunday meeting murmured as if to say they would. But not everyone agreed.

Some questioners wondered aloud whether electoral defeat for Negro candidates was really a moral victory for Negro voters. After Davis praised Negroes for flocking to the ballot boxes, a Tuskegee Institute professor stood up to challenge his figures.

"The turnout in Macon County wasn't 80 per cent," said James Henderson. "If Negro voters turned out anywhere, it should have been here where there's no intimidation."

"I as a poll watcher was aware that many whites voted twice by Negro proxy," Henderson added. "If Negroes in Greene and Wilcox had voted their sole conviction, the results might have been different."

Another professor, Brian Weinstein, suggested that Negro majorities ran the risk of overlooking qualified Negro candidates in trying to keep some whites in office.

"It would be political suicide for the Negro to do other than resist the temptation to take it all," Davis replied.

"I'm thankful Macon County spurned the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee who pleaded go it alone," he said. "That the black panther didn't grow beyond the bounds of Lowndes County to any extent is a sign of political responsibility among the voters."

But Davis, whose newspaper supported former Congressman Carl Elliott, admitted that the election returns weren't all good. He said he was disappointed by the white bloc vote for Mrs. George C. Wallace and the Negro bloc vote for Richmond Flowers.

"The choice should not be made on the race issue alone," he said.

He urged Negro voters not to despair over the similarities between Mrs. Wallace and the likely Republican nominee, Congressman James D. Martin.

"Martin can't outstep Wallace. His only hope is offering something with a reasonable, realistic 20th century flavor in the area of human rights."

"Mrs. Wallace got 400,000 votes. By November there will be a million votes up for grabs. If it's close both sides will want to talk to representatives of the Negro electorate."

The newspaper editor had another, long-range hope to hold out. "In voting freely, in nominating a few Negroes to office," he said, "you have started on the venture of democratic self-government. That will be remembered long after the Wallaces have faded into oblivion."

Mobile Fire Department: The Fire Chief Meets the Press

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--The fire department here has decided to let its one Negro company inspect white homes for fire hazards. When the Negro company--21, located in the Magazine Point section of town--started home inspections a few weeks ago, it was instructed to stay out of the white neighborhoods in its area.

Under a city-wide home inspection program, each company has been assigned an area to inspect around its station. The firemen go to each house in the area, offer to check it for fire hazards, and suggest corrections if they find any hazards.

The program is completely voluntary. Residents are not required to let the firemen in.

A big map in fire department headquarters shows the areas assigned to each company. There are two white neighborhoods in company 21's area.

When a newspaper reporter asked Mobile Fire Chief C. Dan Sirmon if company 21 had been told not to inspect the homes in the white neighborhoods, he said, "I'm not going to answer a question like that. . . . We're getting along fine in the fire department. You're just tryin' to stir up trouble."

But Sirmon said that he had issued no order for the Negro firemen to stay out of the white neighborhoods. The reporter asked if company 21 had received any suggestions or recommendations, rather than an official order, about staying out of the white neighborhoods.

Sirmon did not answer the question. Instead, he offered to let the reporter come back the next afternoon and look at all the department's records on the home inspection program. "We have nothing to hide," said Sirmon.

But when the reporter returned the next day, Sirmon would not let him look at the records. Instead, Sirmon called company 21 and company one and told the men on duty to come to his office.

Company one, Mobile's oldest, was organized by Creoles in the early 1800's before a city fire department existed. Membership in the company has traditionally passed down through Creole families since then. Creoles are light-skinned people of white, Negro and Indian ancestry.

When the men arrived, Chief Sirmon asked them if they had received any orders not to inspect white residences in their areas. They said, "No."

He asked them if they were inspecting all the residences in their areas. They said, "Yes."

He asked if they had ever been mistreated by the fire department. They said, "No."

Then the reporter asked a few questions about the inspection program and got similar answers.

"That should satisfy you about how we run our department," Sirmon said to the reporter. Sirmon gave the firemen and the reporter copies of a memorandum he had written just before the meeting.

The memo said, "I expect you to inspect all residences and industrial plants in the area assigned to you. . . ."

"That's true about us inspecting all residences," said a fireman from company 21 later the same day. "It's been true since this afternoon. That big pow-wow downtown wasn't the first one today. It was the second. The first one was at the station, about an hour before the one downtown."

The meeting at the station covered routine matters, but at the end of it, "They read the order that we were to inspect all houses," said another fireman.

The first firemen said the original order not to inspect the white houses had been given to the men a few weeks earlier in a similar meeting. But it wasn't followed up with an official memorandum or anything else on paper, as the second order was.

"This was something they wouldn't put on paper," one of the men explained. The other said, "They were real smart about it. They told one man, who told another. And it finally got down to us."

"They might get my job for telling you about this," said one of the men. "That's why no one would speak up at that meeting downtown. But I don't like what they were tryin' to do to us,"

The Eyes of Texas Are on Demopolis

BY LARRY FREUDIGER

DEMOPOLIS -- Ten white students from the University of Texas spent their Easter vacation in this Marengo County town preparing for a county-wide educational project this summer.

This is believed to be the first civil rights project in the South organized entirely by Southern white students and the first to try to operate with the blessing of the local white power structure.

They brought with them more than 1000 books collected in Austin, Texas, for the Demopolis Public Library, which is now integrated.

The books will be given to the library with the understanding that books dealing with civil rights and Negro history will not be rejected.

The students do not yet know whether the library will accept this condition; if it refuses, the group plans to use the books to set up a freedom library in the Negro district.

The primary purpose of the summer project will be to provide background in basic high school subjects for those students who will be attending newly integrated high schools and those planning to go on to college.

The group plans to place two people in each of about six towns, teaching basic English and algebra, and tutoring students with particular problems. They will also have one man giving classes in American Negro history throughout the county.

The project was organized at the University of Texas by Dick Revis, a student there who worked last summer on voter registration with Marengo County SCLC.

Think and Grin

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

RIDDLES IN RHYME
(Look for answers below)

ound as a biscuit, busy as a bee,
Prettiest little thing you ever did see.

A household, a roomful,
Can't catch a spoonful.

What is deep as a house
And round as a cup,
And all the king's horses
Can't draw it up?

The mother of men was a lady whose name
Read backward or forward, is always the same.

Four jolly men sat down to play
And played all night till break of day;
They played for cash and not for fun,
With separate scores for everyone,
Yet when they came to square accounts,
They all had made quite fair amounts.
Can you this paradox explain?
If no one lost, how could all gain?

I'm the name of a country, and strange, you'll declare.
If you cut off my head, why, I am still there.
Take away my tail, but nought you will gain,
For e'en though you do, I still will remain.
What country am I?

ANSWERS
1. A watch.
2. Smoke.
3. A well.
4. Eve.
5. The four players were musicians in a dance orchestra.
6. SIAM. Cut off its head -- S -- and I AM is still there. Then, take away A and M and I still remains.

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Mobile Fire Chief C. Dan Sirmon, center, is seen here with a reporter during a news conference. Sirmon is wearing a dark suit and tie. The reporter is on the right, partially visible, holding a microphone. They are standing in front of a building with a brick facade.

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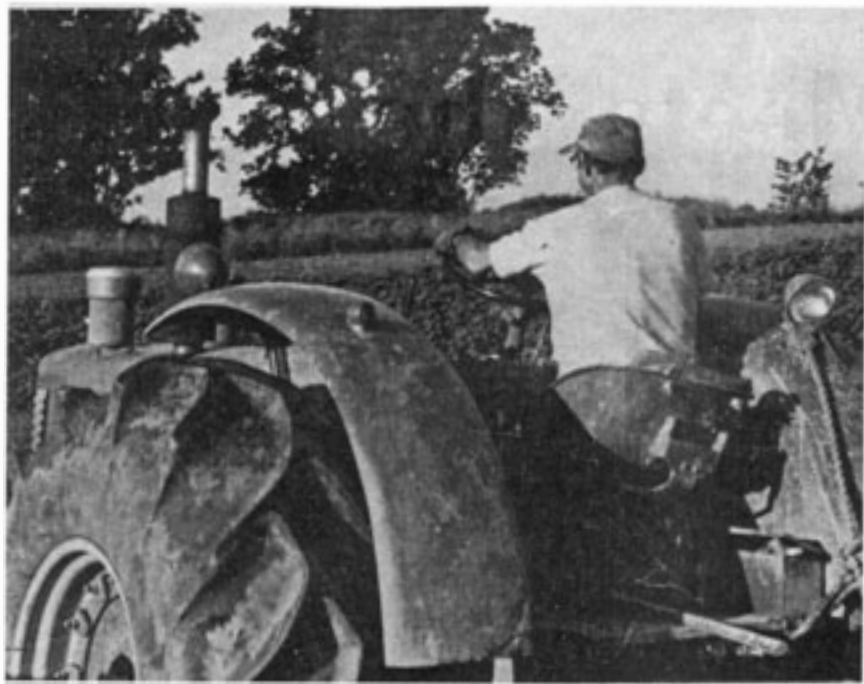
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Mississippi Self-Portrait

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)
tation owner in the Delta area outside Greenwood.

He insisted on showing the cameramen the homes of a "good tenant" and a "bad tenant" on his place.

The good tenant's home was well-kept, the kitchen was full of food, the family was well-dressed, and the man of the house said, "Yessir yessir yessir," as often as possible while the owner was showing the cameramen around.

The viewers laughed. "And you'd better keep sayin' yessir," one added. "I help 'em out in the winter," the owner said, "I pay their medical bills. I give 'em whatever they need."

"That's right," said one of the men watching. "You give 'em everything except a salary that they could live their own life on."

Then the cameras moved to the bad tenant's place. A teen-aged girl in the tenant's family watched while the owner showed how run-down the house was. "Look at that girl! She hates that man," somebody said.

"Mother doesn't seem to."

"The girl's been to school. She knows somethin'."

"Let that cracker keep talkin'. He's crucifyin' himself."

The program moved on to Governor Paul Johnson, to a well-educated, moderate plantation owner, to white people in a Greenville restaurant talking hopefully about race relations and the state's future. It showed a Jackson doctor who heads a group of people raising money to rebuild the burned-down Negro churches. Hodding Carter Jr., publisher of the liberal Greenville Delta-Dem-

ocrat, came on twice, talking optimistically both times.

"There's something wrong with this program. Where's Aaron Henry, and Charles Evers, and the SNCC people in Greenwood? Why aren't they on there, telling the other side?"

"They showed the Klan rally and the burned churches."

"Yeah, but now, at the end, they're showin' the white moderates and these people rebuildin' the churches."

"People are gonna think Mississippi's doin' fine by the time this program's over."

"It looks like Hodding Carter's view of Mississippi is the one they want you to believe."

"That's the trouble. If things get hot over there this summer, everybody in the country who believes this program will blame the Negroes for bustin' up a good thing."

"Look at that!"

The final scene of the hour-long program had just come on. Three boys--two Negro and one white--were fishing together from the bank of the Mississippi. They were casting their lines out and reeling them in, casting and reeling.

"Those Negro kids don't have fishing poles. All they've got is sticks."

"And they don't have any lines on those sticks! They don't have any reels. They're just reelin' in the air!"

"What a fake. The whole show was a fake. That's NBC for you."

"No, it wasn't all a fake."

"When they ended with a fake scene like that, it means they'll do anything to prove their point. Why can't they tell the story the way it is!"

How Did Mobile Negroes Vote?

Only Two Win Full Bloc

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--The Wallace landslide buried the Negro vote in state-wide races on the Mobile County ballot. But the Negro vote was the difference between victory and defeat in many local races, even though thousands of registered Negroes did not go to the polls and even though the ones who went didn't vote in a solid bloc.

No one knows what per cent of the registered Negroes actually voted. The official voting list was integrated this year. Negro leaders and the U. S. Attorney here estimate that Negro registration in the county is at least 25,000.

If this estimate is accurate, then less than half of the registered Negroes voted. Returns from the county's Negro areas indicate a total of about 12,000 Negro votes in the nearly 70,000 cast.

This is less than 20 per cent of the total vote. But before the election and

after it, the Negro vote was one of the main concerns of politicians around the county.

In races for Congress, four places in the state House of Representatives, district attorney, judge of general sessions, and the county school board, the Negro vote determined who won or who got into the run-off.

This happened despite the biggest cracking of the bloc vote that anyone can remember. "We've never been split up like this before," said one veteran of local political battles, as he watched the votes being counted in ward 10, the largest Negro ward.

Few people who had been following the campaign were surprised. Even the people who took just a quick look could see what was going to happen.

Hosea Williams of SCLC flew into Mobile on a chartered plane from Atlanta the night before the election. "You're



C.H. MONTGOMERY'S CAMPAIGN PLAN: DID IT WORK?

about as confused a bunch of people as I've ever seen in my life," he told a large crowd at a Negro church in Prichard.

At least six different sample ballots were circulating in the Negro sections of the county. Some of them recommended Flowers for governor, some Elliott, because the state labor council had endorsed him.

Flowers got about 80 per cent of the Negro vote, Elliott about 15 per cent.

The splits were bigger in some local races, especially district attorney. The Non-Partisan Voters League sample ballot, which has the largest distribution and most influence in the county, endorsed Carl Booth, the incumbent. Most of the other ballots went for Peter Palughi, Booth's only opponent.

Palughi won about 30 per cent of the Negro vote, but Booth's 70 per cent was enough to win the nomination.

Only the two Negroes on the ballot got

Not a Chance

MOBILE--Willis Pollard, a Negro running for county executive committee, must have known he didn't have much of a chance May 3. The name of his opponent was Lurline George.

ing, "U. S. ACTS TO GIVE BAKER SELMA VICTORY."

Roscoe Drummond, who writes a column for the New York Herald-Tribune and several other papers, thought that it was good that Negroes in Green and Wilcox counties chose to keep long-time white sheriffs instead of nominating young Negroes for the job.

The Atlanta Constitution called Mrs. Wallace's victory the leading national news story of the week.

The Augusta Chronicle, on the eastern edge of Georgia, carried an account of George Wallace on election day "talking to the folks back home" in Clayton. Next to a picture of Wallace was that same picture of Negro folks waiting in line outside The Sugar Shack.

WHAT NEWSPAPERS SAID

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

County independent party meeting in Hayneville, as did many papers.

Time, a leading national weekly news magazine, said at the end of its Alabama story that several "able Negro candidates" came out of the primary. Time named Fred D. Gray and Lucius D. Amerson of Tuskegee, C. H. Montgomery of Mobile, and the Rev. Henry McCaskill of Greensboro.

"Clearly," Time said at the end, "as much as Alabamians might want to hold back history, even George for once could not do it."

The Chicago Daily News said in its editorial, "ALABAMA AIN'T READY." Its editorial cartoon showed a Negro starting out on an endless "Alabama Road."

The Chicago Tribune carried a front-page picture May 4 showing Negroes voting in Selma with "little privacy."

The Wall Street Journal, the daily paper read by important businessmen around the country said, "Most civil rights leaders saw the results as proof that racism is a long way from dead in Dixie and that Negroes have far to go before they'll play a prominent role in Southern politics."

The Washington Post, the paper read by government officials in the nation's capital, carried front-page stories about the Alabama voting and, in Friday's edition, had a lead headline say-

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