

Montgomery Sparked a Revolution--King

By the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.



THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

ATLANTA--An Athenian historian, long ago, furnished a key to understanding the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 in terms of its meaning for the continuing Negro revolution.

Thucydides, that eminent student of the human saga, touched upon lasting truth in his funeral speech for Pericles when he said, "The secret of happiness is freedom, and the secret of freedom, courage."

Yes, we are now embarked upon a momentous movement for civil rights, a radical refurbishing of the former racist caste order of America. This movement has been labelled the Negro revolution. It is truly a revolution, but a revolution which can only be fully understood when looked upon in the light of history--and in the light of the fires of freedom which flickered then burned brightly in Montgomery, the "Cradle of the Confederacy."

The words of Thucydides are not unlike the ringing proclamations of Thomas Jefferson and other Founding Fathers of this nation in their immortal phrasing of the Declaration of Independence, which asserted that all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among them being the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

However, there is a certain hollow-ness to the ring of liberty's bell as sounded by many of the early American champions of democracy. This is because in their fundamental declarations

of law, rights and governmental power, they ignored the Negro or excluded him from the main body politic of "We the People."

Such exclusion is easily discerned, for example, in the constitutional clause sanctifying chattel slavery by supporting the right of recovery of fugitive slaves who crossed state lines.

Many of the American patriots further demonstrated their shortcomings, blindnesses and hypocrisies by denying life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to the bevy of black slaves they maintained on their plantation grounds.

Similar dreary ambiguities and somber hypocrisies have characterized most white Americans from the days of

the slavery epoch on through the ensuing century of segregation. Yet, for the black American one abiding hope and dream spanned the dark era of slavery's reign and the dreary days in which segregation held sway.

That hope and dream, nurtured deep in the bosoms of dark-skinned Americans, was that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" would become a reality for them, too.

Over the years many factors kept some small hope alive that the dream of democracy might come true at last. Among them were the Emancipation Proclamation; the great war amend-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE)

Rosa Parks Remembers Dec. 1, 1955

By Mrs. Rosa Parks

DETROIT, Mich. -- We mark an anniversary, but hardly a celebration.

The bus boycott has been called the event that spread the struggle for freedom to the masses of people, who were considered to be apathetic before that.

I am not overly fond of being reminded of my role in this event. It is possible that it would have happened without me. There would have been another person.



MRS. ROSA PARKS

The memories of those of us who lived through that period in the South aren't always pleasant.

To ride the bus was always unhappy and uncomfortable for us.

During the 1940s, we were constantly harassed on the bus. I had seen others being told to move from their seats. To witness this happening to someone else is humiliating enough, but it is worse when it happens to you.

I remember that day ten years ago

More Boycott Stories

Pages 2, 4, 5

when I left work at Montgomery Fair and got on the bus. After the bus had gone three blocks, the driver told me to get up.

I just didn't want to. I was tired, and there were other people there just as able, I imagine, to stand as I was.

I do not remember being afraid when I was arrested. My lawyer, Fred Gray, handled the case and made a test of the law.

After my arrest, of course, I was called upon to be present at several meetings during the protest in Montgomery, and for years afterward around the country.

There has been quite a bit of change in my life since Dec. 1, 1955.

When I lived in Alabama, I knew segregation when it was legally enforced.

I now live in Detroit, a large Northern city where segregation is practiced by those who care to do so. There is no segregation in public places, but segregation in housing is most noticeable.

It is hard to say which society is better, when there is something wrong with each of them.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. I, NO. 22

Weekend Edition: Dec. 11-12, 1965

TEN CENTS

All-White Juries Convict Whites In Brewster, Liuzzo Death Cases

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

Everyone in Anniston seemed to know in advance that the all-white jury would free Hubert Damon Strange, a white man accused of murdering a Negro foundry worker.

After all, it had been ten years since an Alabama jury had convicted a white man of murdering a Negro. (The judge in that case was George C. Wallace, now governor; the jury foreman was Al Lingo, until recently head of the Alabama state troopers.)

Hours before the Anniston verdict was announced, Strange's lawyer, J.B. Stoner, said there would be a victory celebration. Local Negroes ran off 2,000 leaflets calling a mass meeting to protest the verdict.

But the acquittal that everyone expected never came.

After more than nine hours of deliberation, the jury sentenced Strange to 10 years in prison for second-degree murder in the night-rider slaying of Willie Brewster last July.

And less than 24 hours after Strange's conviction, an all-white federal jury in Montgomery found three Ku Klux Klansmen guilty of conspiracy in the death of a white civil rights worker. All three were sentenced to 10-year prison terms.

This, too, was a surprise conviction. An all-white Lowndes County jury had already acquitted one of the defendants, Colie Leroy Wilkins, of murdering Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, the rights volunteer.

Had Alabama justice changed completely in a week? Was segregated justice a thing of the past?

A number of people seemed to think so.

"It proves that the jury system will work," said one Anniston Chamber of Commerce official.

Editorial writers across the state agreed. A typical one in Birmingham hoped the convictions would "relieve some of the pressure for more laws making all 'civil rights' crimes federal offenses."

But there appeared to be little likelihood that the pressure would ease. The Anniston and Montgomery cases simply did not settle the basic questions. They had been billed as clear-cut tests of Alabama's system of justice. They weren't.

The issues they did raise were so confused that civil rights leaders differed among themselves about what had actually been proved.

In Anniston, for example, it was almost impossible to say what part race played in the final decision.

Defense attorney Stoner, an executive of the violently anti-Negro National States Rights Party, made only a few racist appeals to the jury. He carefully avoided using the word "nigger," and it slipped out only once:

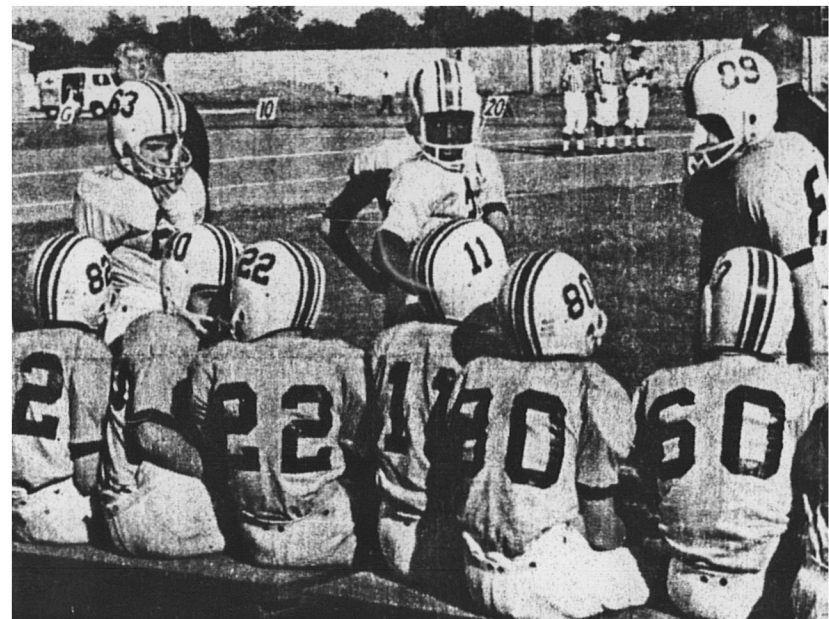
"None of the niggers saw him do it," Aside from its racism, that remark said a lot about the case against Strange. No one testified that he saw Strange murder Brewster. A single witness, who faced four felony charges of his own, said Strange talked about the murder afterwards.

So there was a way out for the jurors, if they wanted to set the white defendant free. But they didn't take it.

"We did not consider the race element at all," said the jury foreman, B.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO)

Mobile Toy Bowl Fans Cheer Something New



RONALD HORNER AND HIS TEAMMATES

MOBILE--In the first quarter, the two all-star teams stopped each other cold, as 110-pound defensive tackles smashed through the line to smother 105-pound quarterbacks.

It was the annual Toy Bowl game, attended by 5,000 football fans last Sunday at Hartwell Field. Both the Catholic league and the City Recreation Department fielded all-star teams of seventh- and eighth-grade boys.

The first period was a hard-played stand-off. But in the second quarter, the Catholic team took a City punt midway in its own territory and began moving, a few yards on each play.

On the Catholic bench, the players sensed something starting, and they wanted to keep it going.

"Horner! Horner!" they shouted. "Give it to Horner!"

Ronald Horner, a 107-pound halfback, hadn't carried the ball many times in the

game, and hadn't picked up many yards when he did. But the other Catholic backs hadn't gained much, either.

The quarterback decided it was Horner's turn to try again. Horner took the hand-off on the Catholic 45-yard line, slanted off tackle and burst into City territory. Two defenders grabbed him, but he squirmed loose, cut to the right and tore down the sideline.

Nobody else touched Horner, until his own teammates caught up with him in the end zone and threw their arms around him, while the thousands of Catholic fans stood and cheered.

Nothing like it had ever happened before in Mobile--or, probably, anywhere else in the Deep South, except in professional games.

For Horner was a Negro, and all his happy teammates--and unhappy opponents--were white.

If any of the Catholic players or fans

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

Eutaw Demonstrators Change Their Tactics

BY JAMES P. WILLSE

EUTAW--"There will be no peace and tranquility in Greene County until every Negro has his freedom, justice and human dignity," the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. told an audience overflowing the First Baptist Church here Tuesday.

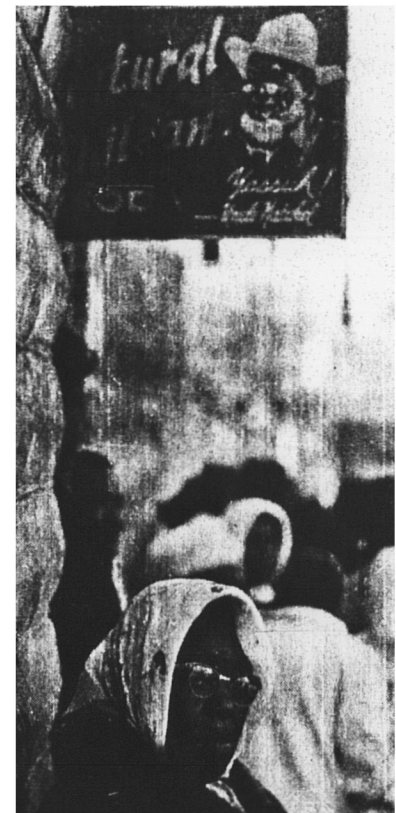
But until a week ago, the SCLC-led demonstrations against segregated justice in Eutaw, while not tranquil, were rather peaceful. Each day a line of Negroes marched the half-mile from the church to the Greene County courthouse without opposition or incident.

Then the marchers changed their destination. On Dec. 1, a group of about 40 parents and children attempted to march to the all-white Greene County High School. They were stopped two blocks from the school by Sheriff Bill Lee and County Solicitor Ralph Banks Jr.

Sheriff Lee told march leader Hosea Williams, "If you try to take these people to the school, somebody's going to get hurt."

A group of about 30 white men, identified by a city official as members of the Ku Klux Klan, stood across the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE)



EUTAW, ALABAMA

Dr. King Sweeps Through the Black Belt

"I've been waiting to see him for so long," said an elderly Negro woman in Eutaw. "He's just all right!"

"He's a man not to be forgotten soon," said an old Negro man.

They were two of the hundreds of people who crammed churches and meeting places Monday and Tuesday to see and hear the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

In a whirlwind "People to People" tour of Alabama, Dr. King visited Greenville, Jackson, York, Eutaw and Selma.

Along the way, he had a first-hand experience with the system of justice he criticized in his speeches. On Tuesday, state police stopped three cars in Dr. King's caravan for speeding on the way to Selma. In a Greensboro court, the Rev. Andrew Young, who had been driving the car carrying Dr. King, was fined \$75. Two other SCLC staffers were fined \$50 each.

Dr. King told his Selma audience about the arrests when he talked about segregated justice in Alabama.

"Everywhere we went, it was a white situation," he said. "If we had been white men who were not civil rights workers, we would have been fined \$15 or \$25."

Dr. King got off on the wrong foot in Jackson, when he began, "I can't tell you how pleased I am to come to Clarke County, to the community of York." Actually, York was his next stop.

Some of Dr. King's advisers looked sick, but no one else seemed to mind.

Besides segregated justice, Dr. King's other major concerns were voter registration and the War on Poverty.

In Eutaw, he recited figures showing that Negro registration in Greene County had jumped from 513 last June to more than 3,000 now.

"With the ballot in your hand, you can now change conditions," he said. "Within a few months in this county, Negroes will be in seats of power."

"We're going to change Alabama," Dr. King said in Jackson. "We're going to see that Mr. George Wallace will have to shut his mouth in the future."

Unless Negroes take the lead in anti-poverty programs, he said in Eutaw, "the War on Poverty can become a war against the poor."

In Greenville on Tuesday, the day after Dr. King was there, demonstrators collided with police as they attempted to march to the Butler County courthouse.

Twenty-five marchers were tear-gassed, and they said they were clubbed, kicked and beaten by police. No serious injuries were reported, but marchers said the Rev. Samuel Wells was taken to a hospital for examination.

City Attorney Elisha Poole said two tear-gas grenades were used to disperse what police called "an unruly mob of Negroes." He said Mr. Wells was pushed down by officers, but he denied that the minister was clubbed.

In Luverne, police halted marchers trying to march to the Crenshaw County courthouse.



FREEDOM SONGS AT MASS MEETING IN GREENVILLE

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

Room 622, Frank Leu Building
 Montgomery, Ala. 36104
 Phone: (205) 262-3572

THE SOUTHERN COURIER is published weekly by the Southern Educational Conference, Inc., a non-profit, non-share educational corporation, for the study and dissemination of accurate information about events and affairs in the field of human relations.

Price: 10¢ per copy, \$5 per year in the South, \$10 per year elsewhere in the U.S., patron subscription \$25 per year, used to defray the costs of printing and publication. Second-class postage paid at Montgomery, Ala.

President: Robert E. Smith
 Editor: Michael S. Lottman
 Executive Editor: Gail Falk
 Photo Editor: James H. Peppier

Vol. I, No. 22

Dec. 11-12, 1965

Editorial Opinion

Only the Beginning

In two days last week, all-white juries in Anniston and Montgomery convicted white men of crimes against a Negro and a civil rights worker. Perhaps these convictions were the first signs that Alabama might some day have a fair and impartial system of justice.

But there is still much to be done before we can be proud of our state and federal courts. If last week's convictions mean anything, they mean that equal justice is possible in an Alabama courtroom. Some day, though, equal justice must not be just a possibility. It must be a regular daily occurrence.

Trials based on civil rights killings get most of the publicity in Alabama and the rest of the country. But these cases are really a side issue in the fight against segregated justice. The real question is what happens every day to Negroes accused of crimes, and to Negro plaintiffs and defendants in civil cases.



Negroes have a right to participate in the legal system that now accuses, tries and sentences them. But Negroes did not serve on the juries in Anniston and Montgomery, and they are not any more likely than before to serve on juries in other cases.

Last week's convictions do not mean that the battle has been won. They mean that it has finally begun. And the sooner it is won, the better for all Alabamians. The present emotional climate in the state makes it almost impossible for anyone, white or Negro, to get a fair trial in any case with racial overtones.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

Permit me to clarify my position in an article reported in your edition of Nov. 27, 1965.

The article was constructed to imply, perhaps, that I condone the actions of the "Afro-American" movement. This is a completely misleading implication.

During the month of October, a great deal of distasteful and annoying Communist literature was placed at various places on our campus. Up to this time, I do not know who was responsible for this distribution. It is a general assumption, however, that the "Afro-American" group was responsible for the action.

Your interviewer quotes me as saying "If this (literature) is representative of the group, I could not condone it." This, indeed, is the correct reproduction of my statement. However, the remaining portion of the article seemingly is designed to imply that I support the movement.

In view of this, I sincerely hope that your interviewer was erroneously misled by our telephone conversation, and that it is not a deliberate attempt on our part to embarrass me through journalistic tricks.

Never during the interview of Nov. 21, 1965, did I make any statements which would lead one to believe that I support violence in defense of such a militant group as the Ku Klux Klan. This is utterly ridiculous, absurd, and stupid.

In a second quotation, your interviewer quotes me as saying "I must denounce the literature, BUT NOT THE GROUP, their purpose, aims, and objectives. I really must remain neutral."

To the Editor:

Will two vocational schools be necessary for Montgomery County?

Separate but equal schools are unconstitutional. Segregated schools have been falling away ever since the Supreme Court decision in 1954.

Now, the state of Alabama, in the midst of rapid change, finds it necessary to build two identical vocational schools in the same city, less than 10 miles apart.

If the new vocational school for Negroes is to the John Patterson school for whites what Booker T. Washington High School is to Lanier High School, please stop construction right now.

Montgomery cannot afford the kind of thinking that makes a Negro doctor or a white doctor. A Negro mechanic

or a white mechanic. A black governor or a white governor. What Montgomery needs and seemingly can afford would be a mature situation for a good mechanic, an outstanding doctor and a governor with foresight.

THROUGH THIS LETTER, I WISH TO MAKE IT EXPLICITLY CLEAR THAT I DO NOT SUPPORT VIOLENCE IN THE PURSUIT OF CIVIL RIGHTS, NEITHER DO I CONDONE THE VICIOUS COMMUNIST LITERATURE THAT WAS DISTRIBUTED ON OUR CAMPUS, IF THE GROUP IN QUESTION PURPORTS DESTRUCTIVE VIOLENCE AND IF IT IS THE PUBLISHER OR DISTRIBUTING AGENT OF THE LITERATURE, I DEPLORE AND CONDEMN THE "AFRO-AMERICAN" MOVEMENT. IF, HOWEVER, THIS IS NOT THE CASE, I ASK THAT ONE OF THEIR SO-CALLED "AGENTS" COME FORWARD AND MAKE THE POSITION OF THE MOVEMENT CLEAR.

I truly hope that this letter is reproduced in total and not fragmented at your discretion. This was the case, I am led to believe, in the telephone conversation with your interviewer. Another move of this nature could cause harm and injury to all concerned.

Thomas Figures, President
 Student Government Association
 Alabama State College
 Montgomery

or a white mechanic. A black governor or a white governor.

What Montgomery needs and seemingly can afford would be a mature situation for a good mechanic, an outstanding doctor and a governor with foresight.

(Name withheld)
 Montgomery

Military Integration

The 20th anniversary issue of EBONY Magazine said American troops in Vietnam constitute the "most integrated fighting force in U.S. history."

Approximately 8,000 Negroes are now serving in Vietnam now--eating, sleeping and fighting alongside white GIs.

Editors Run Into Trouble

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE -- The Hayneville trial of Collie Leroy Wilkins for the murder of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo was a "pure mockery of our system of justice."

That doesn't sound like a quotation from an editorial in a Mobile newspaper, but it is.

Another Mobile paper also blasted the Wilkins trial and the earlier trial of Thomas Coleman for the slaying of Jo-



HARRY WITTE

nathan Daniels in Hayneville.

"Juries there have decided it is no crime to kill a civil rights worker. The task for the juries was an easy one. They were not taking part in a trial. They were merely crowning the local heroes . . . (Their verdicts were) an invitation for further killings . . . And if the victim is the enemy, then it won't be murder, it won't even be manslaughter. RUN YOU NIGGERS, it is the will of the people."

A few thousand students read these papers at the young University of South Alabama and at old Spring Hill College, a Catholic school founded in 1830. Both papers appear on campus twice a month.

The issue of South Alabama's "Vanguard" that called the Wilkins trial "a mockery" also ran the first in a series of articles suggesting solutions for the state's racial problems.

The long article said, among other things, "Blaming Communism (or the federal government) for Alabama's problems merely provides a temporary escape from the real issue. The outdated 'Southern tradition' of segregation is the problem of Alabama."

This issue and later ones with similar articles drew angry responses from a few students. But most students didn't express any opinion--not to the Vanguard staff, at least. "They are too damned apathetic," explained Vanguard editor Bill Orrell.

A girl on campus gave the same explanation, in a slightly different way. "I don't read the paper," she said, "it's always so serious."

But the officials of the university read it. And they got upset at one issue in particular, which ridiculed Gov. George Wallace.

John P. Cummer, dean of students, says the Vanguard has the right to print almost anything it wants. But, he says, some things can hurt the school, which gets almost all its funds from the state legislature.

Cummer said university president Frederick Whiddon asked Orrell not to send copies of that issue to the Board of Trustees. The board members were all appointed by Gov. Wallace. Orrell said he did his best to comply with the president's request.

At Spring Hill College, "Springhillian" editor Harry Witte, who wrote the paper's editorial on the Hayneville trial, said, "Some people were really mad."

Father A. William Crandell, president of Spring Hill, said he agreed the trials were "a great embarrassment for Alabama," but feared the editorials might provoke violence. And he said he was also concerned about the college's finances.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)



BILL ORRELL

Four Found Guilty

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

L. Rigney. "We made up our minds to start with, that the race element did not enter into it."

But a local Negro leader was not convinced. The Rev. Quentus Reynolds, head of the Calhoun County Improvement Association, pointed out that Strange was given the lightest sentence possible for second-degree murder.

"If a Negro had murdered a white man, they would have given him the chair," said Mr. Reynolds.

A Negro attorney in Birmingham was more optimistic.

"There have always been white people on these juries who wanted to vote for conviction," he said. He said he thought that the current demonstrations against segregated justice--and national opinion--were beginning to make such jurors feel a little safer.

But a prominent civil rights attorney

Students Explain Gripes

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

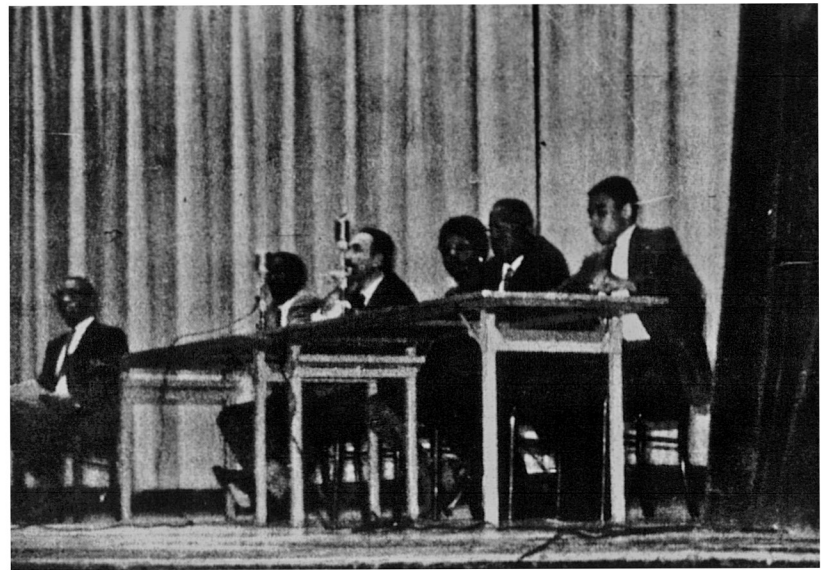
TUSKEGEE--"Our educational system is strangling us," a junior at Tuskegee Institute told an all-college meeting last week. "We're being told what and how to think."

"We demand a voice in the government of our college. We have a right to share in the decisions which effect us."

The student, George E. Davis, spoke to 2,000 students, faculty members and administrators who turned out for the meeting on "Student Unrest and Its Implications."

The session was called by the school administration after months of student discontent with the way things are at Tuskegee--from the way food is cooked to the way courses are taught.

Three weeks ago, the unrest flared into the open at an outdoor rally. Angry students marched on the home of the college president and other officials. Some students boycotted compulsory chapel. Some walked out of Sunday ves-



TUSKEGEE PANEL

pers services. Some dumped their full plates on to cafeteria trays to protest against the food.

The Institute Council issued a several-page, mimeographed document called "The Truth" to tell the rest of the students what it was all about. "The straw that broke the camel's back," said council president Miss Gwendolyn Patton, "was the administration's refusal to let the Supreme sing on campus." The rock 'n' roll group's concert, planned for Nov. 23, was cancelled by the administration despite student protest.

"But the issues are something more," Miss Patton said. "We want to be involved in governing the campus." Davis told the all-college meeting last Thursday that some administrators feel students are not responsible enough to make decisions.

But, he said, when students ask for responsibility, they are refused. "Then, when we protest or demonstrate, we are told we are not responsible."

"College is not a never-never land," Davis said. If students are not given responsibility, he asked, "are we truly prepared for hunger, war and competition?"

Paul L. Puryear, assistant professor of political science, spoke out strongly for student responsibility.

He reminded the audience that several hundred Tuskegee students marched on Montgomery last spring for Negro voting rights. "They went with no assurance of protection," he said, "but the students' courage has not always been matched by those in authority."

He praised the Tuskegee Institute Advancement League (TIAD), a militant student group, for understanding that "Tuskegee can never be a model community until the last traces of Southern decadence and incompetence are removed."

P. B. Phillips, dean of student affairs, conceded that the administration has made some mistakes. "We have put students on display for white trustees," he said. "We still act for students instead of letting them act for themselves."

"But students have made mistakes too," he said. "Student government has not been as responsible as it should be."

Phillips said students, faculty and administrators should work together to involve everyone in college government.

"We're a very good college on our way to greatness," he said. "But we won't get there unless we change the climate on our campus."

Taxi Riders Complain

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

MONTGOMERY--Cab drivers have had their chance to gripe. Now it's the customers' turn.

The leading pet peeve among people who ride cabs is the cabs themselves. Apparently, most drivers do their best with what they have.

But what they have are rattling old cars with dirty back seats. That's what two ladies at Holt and W. Jeff Davis said. "Some of the seats are just rags," said one woman. "The other day, I found pecan shells on the floor. The driver said he would clean them out at the end of the week."

In an informal survey, many people said they had no complaints about cab service.

Others, however, had a lot to complain about.

Norman Lumpkin, a Montgomery resident for three months, was interviewed as he crossed Bibb Street downtown.

"I know one driver who hasn't taken a bath since I've been here," he said. "When you ride a cab," said Lump-

kin, "you have to expect that it might break down."

"That happened to me last week, and I found myself riding back to town from the end of the Mobile Highway on the back of a truck."

"They can't decide how much to charge," claimed a young lady downtown. "Some charge by the carload, others by the number of people."

"It once cost me one price to go downtown, and another price to go back home."

"And some of those drivers can be pretty fresh," said a female companion. "One of them asked me, 'Is your husband married?' What kind of question is that?"

Which One?

MONTGOMERY--A secretary at Maxwell Air Force Base this week was heard to say:

"Montgomery wants us to send an honor guard next week. They are having a flag-raising ceremony on the Capitol grounds. . . . I imagine it's the American one."

Douglas Recalls Boycott In Sermon of the Week

BY GAIL FALK

MONTGOMERY -- "Ten years ago something happened to the Negroes of this community. They paused and took a look at the situation around them. What they saw made them take on new dignity," the Rev. Jesse Douglas said last Sunday.

He was speaking at the tenth anniversary celebration of the founding of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

"On Dec. 5, 1955, our finest Negro civic leaders and ministers came together and formed the Montgomery Improvement Association," he said.

Most of the people gathered in the Ross Street Christian Church had worked hard for the MIA in its early days. They nodded as he recounted the story of Mrs. Rosa Parks' refusal to yield her seat on a Montgomery bus. Most of them could have told the story themselves.

Mr. Douglas recalled that "what started out to be a one-day protest started a boycott that lasted over a year."

When Mr. Douglas said, "The MIA may well be considered the mother of the protest movement of the 20th Century," some of the people looked proud and answered, "Yes, brother." They liked to think back to their courage in the boycott and the victory they won. That was the moment when they had made history.

But for some of the other people, the 1955 protest had been only the first battle of a long war against segregation. They listened more carefully to Mr. Douglas' conclusion:

"The dark veil of injustice that once

covered our land is now being lifted. But if it is to be completely lifted," he said, "there must be more effort--both by the federal government and you and I."

All the people listened to Miss Joyce Thomas and Miss Constance Smith, two high school seniors who were small children at the time of the boycott. The two girls explained the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. "The Negro has been handed the weapon with which to win the battle," said Miss Smith, "if only he would use it."

And then the people heard the same message from Mrs. A.W. West, who thought of the ten years since 1955 as "ten years of tears and struggle."

"It just means so much to have the privilege of working for freedom for the future generations," she said. "Let's not fall down."



BY MARY MOULTRIE

For the young at heart, this is the season of fantas, happiness and holiday specials on TV.

SUNDAY, DEC. 12

HALLMARK HALL OF FAME--This week's highlight is "Amahl and the Night Visitors" on NBC. The story tells how the Three Wise Men, while searching for the birthplace of the new-born Christ Child, wander to the poor and humble dwelling of the crippled shepherd boy, Amahl, and his mother. Told in beautiful song, this is truly an unforgettable version of "The Night Visitors," 5:30 p.m. Channel 10 in Mobile, Channel 13 in Birmingham and Channel 15 in Florence. (At 2:30 p.m. on Channel 12 in Montgomery.)

TUESDAY, DEC. 14

YOUNG PEOPLE'S CONCERT -- Leonard Bernstein turns the spotlight on "The Sound of an Orchestra," as he conducts and comments on the New York Philharmonic Orchestra's second concert of the season, 6:30 p.m. Channel 3 in Columbus, Ga., Channel 5 in Mobile, Channel 19 in Huntsville and Channel 20 in Montgomery.

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 15

I HEAR MUSIC--Educational TV presents a program of Christmas music, performed by the Shades Valley High

School vocal ensemble, 5:30 p.m. Channel 2 in Andalusia, Channel 7 in Anniston, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville and Channel 26 in Montgomery.

THURSDAY, DEC. 16

THE EARLY SHOW--"Alice in Wonderland," the familiar story of a white rabbit and the curiosity of a little girl, namely Alice. For all the kiddies. Be sure to tune in and go along with Alice through all the adventures and wonders of Wonderland, 3:30 p.m. Channel 20 in Montgomery.

FRIDAY, DEC. 17

MR. MAGOO'S CHRISTMAS CAROL --Mr. Magoo, the nearsighted cartoon character, stars in his version of Charles Dickens' "A Christmas Carol." Magoo is perfectly cast as Ebenezer Scrooge, the old crab who finds out what Christmas is all about, 6:30 p.m. Channel 10 in Mobile, Channel 12 in Montgomery, Channel 13 in Birmingham and Channel 15 in Florence.

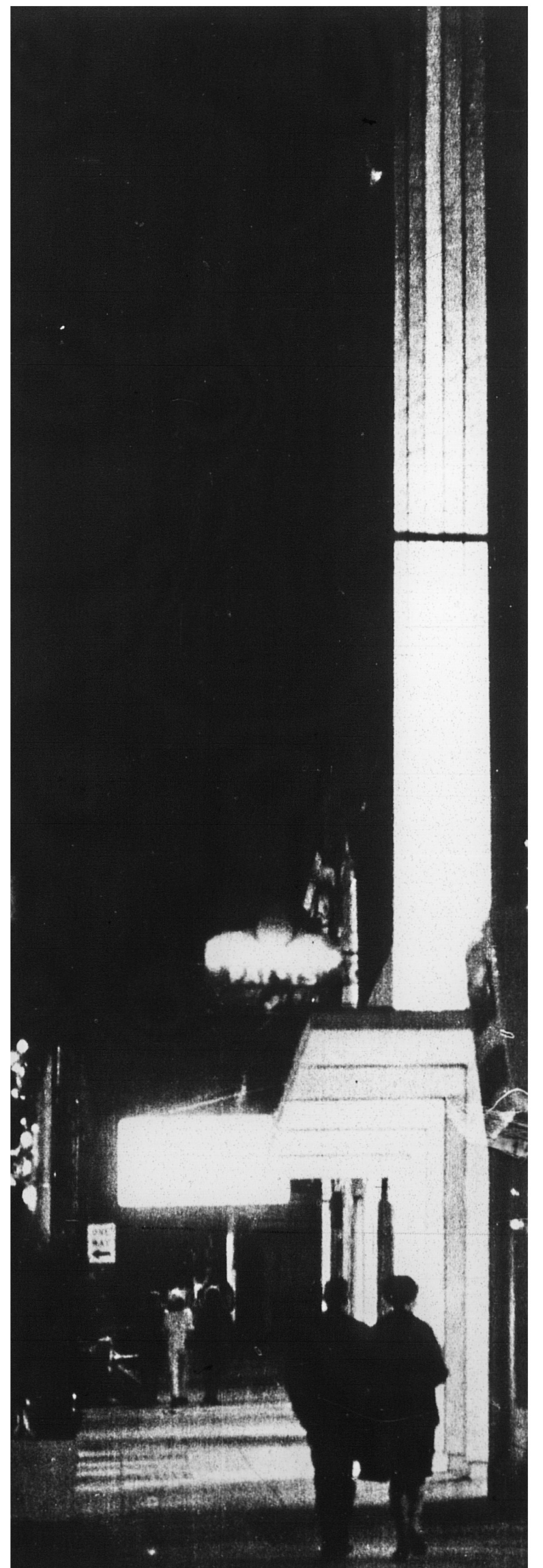
SING ALONG WITH MITCH--Christmas scenes of the Nativity, Charles Dickens' time and the present day. Sing along with Mitch Miller, Leslie Uggams and others, 7:30 p.m. Channel 10 in Mobile, Channel 12 in Montgomery, Channel 13 in Birmingham and Channel 15 in Florence.



The Capital City at Night

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JAMES H. PEPLER

Take a walk in downtown Montgomery some night. . . . look in all the store windows decorated for Christmas have a cup of coffee at an all-night diner go dancing at a night club with a swinging band or just wander through the streets if it's late enough, the only thing you'll hear is your footsteps.



She Simply Refused to Leave Her Seat



BY SCOTT DE GARMO

MONTGOMERY--On Dec. 1, 1955, a 42-year-old Negro seamstress, Mrs. Rosa Parks, boarded a crowded Cleveland Avenue bus in downtown Montgomery. It was late in the afternoon and Mrs. Parks was returning home from her job at Montgomery Fair department store. As she took her seat, she had no reason to foresee the 13-month drama that was to begin in a few moments.

As soon as the bus was full, the driver ordered Mrs. Parks and three other Negroes to leave their seats so white passengers could sit down. In Montgomery, such shifting of seats was a daily occurrence and the request caused no comment from whites or Negroes.

But what followed was to cause a series of explosions--both of bombs and of myths--that changed Montgomery forever and unified the city's 50,000 Negroes as nothing before or since has been able to do. They were explosions that profoundly affected the civil rights movement in America and the career of its main spokesman. In their wake, the Supreme Court ended a legal era in race relations that had begun 60 years earlier.

What happened was that Mrs. Parks simply refused to leave her seat. She was promptly arrested and charged with violation of the city's segregation ordinance. Her trial was set for four days later, Monday, Dec. 5.

The bus segregation ordinance was an especially flagrant reminder of white supremacy. Not only was the bus driver empowered to order Negro riders to give up their seats to whites; he was also permitted to reserve the first four seats in the bus exclusively for whites. Thus Negroes, who made up 75 per cent of the bus company's patrons, were often forced to stand over empty seats. Witnesses later testified that drivers regularly had shouted such orders as "niggers, get back," and had insulted men and women with names like "black cows."

Occasionally, Negro riders were ordered to reboard the bus by the back door after paying their fares. In the midst of this ritual the bus was likely to drive off, leaving the would-be rider standing on the curb. One Negro man is said to have been shot to death by a policeman after he demanded his fare returned and another was dragged some distance when his leg caught in the door.

E. D. Nixon spoke for most Montgomery Negroes when he said after Mrs. Parks' arrest, "We have taken this type of thing too long." Word of the incident spread through the Negro community Thursday night. Nixon conferred with members of the Women's Political Council and agreed to push a plan for a mass boycott of the city buses. Friday night some 40 people, representing a broad cross-section of the Negro community, met and agreed to publicize the plan for staying off the buses until after Mrs. Parks' trial. By the next afternoon the machinery of the protest was shifting into high gear. Thousands of leaflets urging a mass boycott were circulating through the Negro sections of town and the plan was spreading rapidly by word of mouth.

The 18 Negro taxi companies, with about 210 taxis, agreed to carry Negro

passengers for 10 cents a ride. The Negro ministers of Montgomery agreed to endorse the one-day boycott from their pulpits on Sunday.

Over the weekend, the Montgomery Advertiser revealed the plan in a front-page story that re-printed one of the leaflets in full. The story alerted many Negroes who had not heard of the boycott idea previously. By Sunday night, practically every Negro in Montgomery knew of the plan to stay off the buses.

On Monday, the day of Mrs. Parks' trial, a Negro minister reported a "miracle." Virtually all of the 17,500 Negroes who rode the buses twice daily were hitch-hiking, riding mules or cheerfully walking to work. And as they walked, they shattered a prevailing myth that Negroes in America could never organize and implement an effective mass protest.

Also on Monday, Mrs. Parks was fined \$10 and court costs for violating the city's segregation ordinance. Previously, defendants had been dismissed or charged with disorderly conduct. This was the first clear-cut chance to challenge the segregation law.

The conviction also served as an impetus to continue the boycott. That evening a huge crowd gathered at the Holt Street Baptist Church to decide whether to go back to the buses. Loudspeakers were set up outside for the three or four thousand people who spilled out of the auditorium and into several blocks before the church.

The main speaker was the 27-year-old Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church and largely unknown outside his congregation. With television cameras shooting from all sides, the young minister walked to the pulpit and onto the stage of history.

"If you will protest courageously," said Dr. King in his closing statement, "and yet with dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written in future generations, the historians will have to pause and say, 'There lived a great people--a black people--who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization.'"



THE REV. H. H. HUBBARD ADDRESSES A MASS MEETING AT THE HEIGHT OF THE BOYCOTT

is our challenge and our overwhelming responsibility." The meeting then voted unanimously to stay off the buses until conditions were changed.

The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was organized as a committee to coordinate the boycott. Dr. King was elected president.

Whites as well as blacks were later to state that the Negroes of Montgomery lived up to the responsibility Dr. King had set before them. During the first week of the protest there were perhaps five reports of attacks on buses with shots or bricks. But on Dec. 14, the Alabama Journal reported "No New Violence Cases," and throughout the 382-day protest there was a sharp and steady decrease in Negro crime in all areas.

This is excluding, of course, the scores of people arrested and fined solely for the purpose of stopping the boycott.

In February, the county grand jury indicted 115 people, including Dr. King, for violation of a 1921 anti-boycott law. The protest cost the Montgomery City Lines \$750,000, despite some fare increases and the halting of service in most Negro districts.

But the economic motivations of the boycott were secondary at best. It was more than anything a social, moral and religious protest.

The indictments and later arrests of 90 protest leaders caused heated outcries all over the country. Four days after the indictments were handed down, the White House responded to demands to protect the protesters by asking Congress to create a special Civil Rights Commission.

After Dr. King's trial in March--he was fined \$500--donations began coming in from as far away as Tokyo. Negroes at the trial wore crosses with the words, "Father, forgive them," and a week later, prayers were said for the protesters in thousands of churches.

The protest was religiously motivated from the start, but it was first publicly linked to the philosophy of passive resistance in an unusual way. In a letter to the Montgomery Advertiser, a local white librarian, Miss Juliette Morgan, pointed out the movement's resemblance to Gandhi's non-violent protest in India. Her interest in the protest quickly made Miss Morgan the target of threats and harassment by segregationists. Rejected and condemned, she died in the summer of 1957.

By then, the tactic of non-violent resistance had become strongly identified with the Montgomery protest. "People

who had never heard of the little brown saint of India," says Dr. King, "were now saying his name with an air of familiarity."

Under the influence of Dr. King and other Negro ministers of Montgomery, outbreaks of violence were avoided in the most tension-filled crises. On the night of Jan. 30, King's house was bombed while his wife and baby girl were inside. Several hundred angry Negroes, many of whom were armed, gathered outside the house. Dr. King calmed them, and implored them to remain non-violent.

Two nights later, a stick of dynamite exploded in front of the home of E. D. Nixon. More bombings followed.

But outright violence was not the only weapon directed against the boycott. Early in the protest the taxi drivers were ordered to charge the minimum fare instead of just 10 cents, and the Negroes' request for a jitney permit was denied.

Negroes responded by organizing an elaborate carpool system. Numerous dispatch and transport stations were set up, and housewives and ministers arose at 5 a.m. to begin ferrying people to work. With donations pouring in, a fleet of about 20 new station wagons was purchased.

In the meantime, attempts by the Negro leaders to negotiate with the bus company and the city officials had stalemated. The Negroes' demands were surprisingly modest. They asked for courteous treatment, and for seating on a first-come, first-served basis with Negroes seating from the rear. As a bargaining point, they asked for Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes. Initially, no attack was made on the segregation law.

Yet the city fathers and the attorney for the Montgomery City Lines, Jack Crenshaw, adamantly opposed any change. In the second month of the boy-

whelmily to "stay off the buses until they treat us right." Not only did they end the legend that "Negroes can't organize anything but a crap game;" they also proved they could hold out. And, they completely destroyed the myth that Negroes acquiesced in the segregation system unless agitated by radicals and out-siders.

"This ain't a preachers' movement," speakers would declare at mass meetings, this is YOUR movement," and there would be wild shrieks of affirmation. At one meeting, over 3,000 men and women voted to continue the boycott against the recommendations of a respected leader.

In the mornings and evenings seemingly endless streams of walkers filled the sidewalks of Montgomery. Some walked as far as 12 miles.

To many, walking was a symbolic act. One elderly woman once waved on a driver offering a ride. "I'm not walking for myself," she explained, "I'm walking for my children and grandchildren."

Another old woman who declined a lift expressed the feelings of many when she said, "For a long time my soul has been tired. Now my feet is tired, but my soul is at rest."

Despite the determination, it looked as if the mayor's "get-tough" policy and the numerous fines and arrests to harass Negro drivers might end the protest after all.

But in May, Negro legal leaders launched an assault on the city and state public transport segregation laws. On June 5, a federal court declared the laws unconstitutional. The ruling was immediately appealed to the Supreme Court.

While a decision was pending, Montgomery began legal action against the Negroes' carpool.

On Nov. 13, "the darkest hour just before dawn," Dr. King waited in Circuit Court for the ruling on the carpool.

People were certain the court would declare the arrangement illegal. If the carpool were stopped the boycott would be forced to an end in its 12th month.

During a brief recess, the courtroom began to stir with excitement. A reporter walked up to Mr. King and handed him a news release. It read:

"The United States Supreme Court today affirmed a decision of a special three-judge U.S. District Court in de-

clare the arrangement illegal. If the carpool were stopped the boycott would be forced to an end in its 12th month.

During a brief recess, the courtroom began to stir with excitement. A reporter walked up to Mr. King and handed him a news release. It read:

"The United States Supreme Court today affirmed a decision of a special three-judge U.S. District Court in de-

'Boycott? What Boycott?'

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

MONTGOMERY--The bus boycott, among other things, was a great joke Negro people played on their white neighbors.

The great sport that year was "bus-watching."

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. later told about his jubilation the first day of the protest when he drove around looking at all the empty buses.

For weeks after that, folks would watch empty buses go by.

Montgomery Mayor W. A. Gayle was aware of this, and he lost his temper:

"The Negroes are laughing at white people behind their backs and they think it is very funny and amusing that whites who are opposed to the Negro boycott will act as chauffeurs to Negroes who are boycotting the buses."

Angry white housewives shot back, if that was the way the mayor felt, he could come out and do the washing and cooking himself.

Each morning thousands of Negroes were seen walking to town, and at night thousands were seen walking home.

But, if a white person asked about the boycott, the reply was often, "Boycott? What boycott?"

"It got to be a big joke," recalls Nelson Malden of Montgomery.

"You would hear someone yell, 'Hey, boy, you goin' cross town?' The driver would yell back, 'Yeah, jump in!'"

"And guys would come running from all directions and jump in for a ride cross town."

The protest united the Negro community. But unity did not come easily at first; boycott leaders tried everything to spread word of the planned boycott.

"Still," Mrs. J. R. Carr remembers, "there must have been those who did not see a newspaper that weekend, or listen to the radio, or hear about the boycott in church or from a neighbor."



"But when Monday came, those who knew nothing of the protest saw only empty buses followed by two policemen on motorcycles. They sensed something was wrong, so they stayed off the buses and walked."

Dr. King said in his book on the boycott, "Stride Toward Freedom," there were "mutually accepted misunderstandings" between white employers and their Negro servants.

"Isn't this bus boycott terrible," he quotes one wealthy employer as saying.

"Yes, ma'am, it sure is," responded her old domestic, "and I just told all my young'uns that this kind of thing is white folks' business and we just stay off the buses till they get this whole thing settled."

The white folks may not have thought it was their business, but they seemed to blunder into the hands of Negro leadership.

claring Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional."

The Supreme Court had just reversed the 59-year-old "separate but equal" ruling, as it applied to public transportation. The Court had already declared segregated school unconstitutional in its historic decision of May, 1954; but "separate but equal" had remained the rule for local transportation in the South.

Later that day, the Circuit Court granted the city of Montgomery an injunction to halt the carpool on the grounds it was a "public nuisance," and a "private enterprise."

The next evening, Nov. 14, 8,000 Negro men and women met at two churches and voted to end the protest officially but to stay off the buses until the mandatory desegregation order arrived from Washington.

Later that night, the Ku Klux Klan rode. But instead of being met with dark and shuttered houses, the Klansmen saw Negroes standing on lighted porches with their doors open. And a small Negro boy was seen warming his hands by a burning cross.

Finally, on Dec. 20, 1956--385 days after Mrs. Parks' arrest--a greatly transformed Negro community returned quietly to the buses.

There was more than one white citizen who predicted the new day would mean an end to public transportation in the South, or who rode the buses standing up because "I would rather die and go to hell than sit behind a nigger." But a few whites, wanting to give the day a full meaning, made a point of sitting in the rear of the bus.

There was evidence that the old order had not just given up, however. By predicting integration would result in violence, the city fathers probably helped account for the new wave of bombings that hit Montgomery in Jan., 1957. And two white men who had confessed to bombing four Negro churches and two Negro homes were acquitted, to the cheers of a packed courtroom.

It has been said that the mass boycott proved nothing, that the whole matter was resolved in the courts and that the outcome would have been the same without a public protest.

But what was on trial in the Montgomery protest was more than a segregation law or even a Supreme Court ruling. In a sense, the entire nation was on trial: the boycott was a test of America's loyalty to its birthright and ideals. As a petition for a redress for grievances, it was wholly within the American tradition; because it was a new kind of protest, it added something to that tradition.

Even if the Montgomery protest had eventually been crushed, it would still have been a victory; for knowledge once given, it is said, cannot be taken away. In those historic 382 days the Negroes of Montgomery learned they could effectively exert their economic power and exercise their right to bargain as equals. More importantly, they learned of the hidden resources within themselves. "We came to see," said Dr. King, "that, in the long run, it is more honorable to walk in dignity than ride in humiliation."



HOLT STREET BAPTIST CHURCH--SCENE OF THE FIRST MASS MEETING

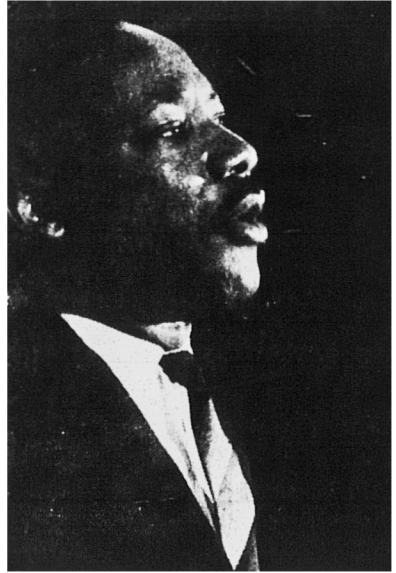
Montgomery Produced Courageous New Negro

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

ments to the Constitution, Amendments 13, 14 and 15; the long and arduous succession of legal victories, spearheaded by the NAACP, culminating in the great school segregation decision of the United States Supreme Court of 1954.

In addition, there were extra-legal developments which helped to set the climate for the realization of some measure of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for Negroes.

Despite all these revolutionary forces and conditions, there was yet one factor missing as the year 1955 waned. The looming race-relations revolution



DR. KING

lacked a spark, the imaginative spark, the spark of challenge, of protest, of courage that would set fire once and for all to the tall timbers of racial intolerance which had dammed up freedom's road.

In Thucydides' terminology, what was needed was courage if freedom were to be won. Courage manifested in concert, courage in a collective sense, was needed. While there had been solo voices in the Negro community crying out against segregation, conditions of fear and apathy had made it difficult to develop a mass chorus.

This, then, is the meaning of Montgomery to me. Montgomery marked the first flash of organized, sustained, mass action and nonviolent revolt against the Southern way of life. In Montgomery, there emerged courageous and collective challenge to and protest against the American order, which promised so much for all while perpetuating indignities, humiliations and brutalizations on the oppressed minority.

Montgomery marked the psychological turning point for the American Negro in his struggle against segregation. The revolution birthed in Montgomery was unlike the isolated, futile and violent slave revolts. It was also unlike the many sporadic incidents of revolt against segregation by individuals, resisting in their own way the forces of oppression pinning them down.

In Montgomery, all across the board, at one and the same time, the rank and file rose up and revolted, by refusing to ride the buses. By walking instead, and by brilliant use of car pools and improvising, the boycotters sustained their revolt all the way to victory.

Also, Montgomery contributed a new weapon to the Negro revolution. This was the social tool of nonviolent resistance. It was a weapon first applied on the American scene and in a collective way in Montgomery.

In that city, too, it was honed well for future use. It proved of powerful utility in overcoming segregationist local laws and societal practice, imprisonment, bombings, economic reprisals and countless other forms of harassment and intimidation.

Nonviolence blended the ethics of Jesus, the philosophies of Hegel and Thoreau, with the technique of Gandhi. This

amalgam of philosophy and practice proved to be an excellent way to attack the inadequacies existing in the American social system.

It was effective in that it had a way of disarming the opponent, it exposed his moral defenses, it weakened his morale and at the same time it worked on his conscience.

It also provided a method for the Negroes to struggle to secure moral ends through a moral means. Thus, it provided a creative force through which men could channelize their discontent.

Ultimately, victory in Montgomery came with the United States Supreme Court's decision in December of 1956, which outlawed discriminatory seating in buses of local common carriers.

However, in a real sense, the victory had already come to the boycotters, who had proven to themselves, the community and the world, that Negroes could join in concert and sustain collective action against segregation, carrying it through until the desired objective was reached.

In conclusion, then, Montgomery gave forth for all the world to see, a courageous new Negro. He emerged, etched in sharpest relief, a person whom whites had to confront and even grudgingly respect, and one whom Negroes admired and, then, emulated.

He had thrust off his stagnant passivity and deadening complacency, and emerged with a new sense of dignity and destiny. The Montgomery Negro had acquired a new sense of somebodyness and self-respect, and had a new determination to achieve freedom and human dignity no matter what the cost.

In the phrasing of a President who later was to give significant support to the movement which blazed forth 10 years ago, Montgomery has projected an image of its colored citizenry which is a profile in courage.

The Montgomery Negro, with his new sense of somebodyness, has, for America's sake and soul, and for his brothers' freedom, passed on the torch he carried so well, and now the flames of freedom burn all across the terrain of America.

Eutaw Demonstrations

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE) street. Some held baseball bats, and occasionally one called out, "Let them go, Bill."

After an hour's wait, the marchers turned around.

The following day, the marchers again tried to reach the school, and were again stopped by police. Finally, last Friday, the Greene County school board got Circuit Judge Emmett Hildreth to issue an order forbidding demonstrations at or near county public schools.

Then last Saturday, the demonstrators began holding night marches.

Monday night's march was stopped by police. County Solicitor Banks said this was done to "protect the lives" of the marchers.

Mrs. Julia Washington, of Forkland, was injured during the Saturday night

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

HAVE US MAIL THIS SPECIAL ISSUE TO A FRIEND

Send 15¢ to THE SOUTHERN COURIER Room 622, Frank Leu Bldg. 79 Commerce St. Montgomery, Alabama 36104

What's Happened Since 1955 ?

BY SCOTT DE GARMO

MONTGOMERY -- Ask a Negro old-timer here about Montgomery's progress in civil rights, and you're likely to hear something like this:

"Well, ten years ago we had this bus boycott, and things have been getting better ever since. The boycott was a glorious event. It caused the Negro to be reborn."

A Negro teen-ager, on the other hand, might tell you:

"Things aren't quite as bad as before the Civil Rights Act was passed. Now we can sit at lunch counters with whites, and go to movies where we want. But the schools aren't so good, and most Negroes still have low-class jobs."

What has happened in Montgomery since the boycott is at once remarkable and disappointing.

In the city that was once the Cradle of the Confederacy, you can see Negroes and whites eating at the same counters in department stores and bus stations, Negro and white waitresses work side by side in a few places.

And in a city that was once characterized by the defeat and degradation of its Negro citizens, Negroes now walk the streets with more pride and self-assurance than in almost any other city in the Deep South.

In some stores, white clerks will say "Mrs. Brown" and "Mr. Jones," when only a short time ago it was "Annie" and "Hey, boy."

But to point out how far Montgomery has come in ten years is only to become painfully aware of how much further it has to go.

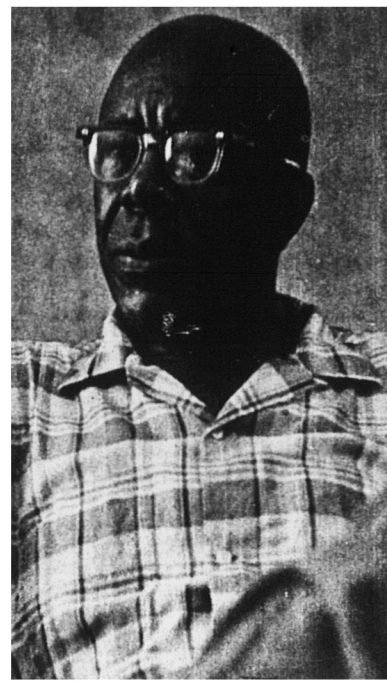
It was not until the fall of 1964 that all-white Montgomery schools admitted their first handful of Negro students.

And it was not until the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964 that Negroes were able to take advantage of public accommodations and, in a few cases, jobs in formerly segregated types of work.

As in 1955, there is still not a single Negro in public office in the city or county of Montgomery. But the new Voting Rights Act could change this in the near future.

What labor movement there is in the area is still largely segregated--a condition, many say, that pulls down wages for white and black alike.

Since the boycott, the Montgomery Improvement Association has tried to work in other areas. The MIA has had some success in getting employment



E. D. NIXON

opportunities for Negroes, but many feel it has lost its hold on the community.

"The Negroes of Montgomery need an organization like the Urban League that can handle problems in new areas,"

Patronize Courier Advertisers

Eddie's Seat Cover Mobile

Complete Auto Upholstery

Covers made in our truck At your business or home

EDDIE GATSON

Phone 787-3661 Birmingham

march. Doctors at Tuscaloosa's Druid City Hospital at first said she had been shot in the leg, but additional examination indicated that the wound was not from a bullet.

Hear the **TOP 14** on **1400 Radio** WJLD--WJLN-FM in Birmingham

ANNOUNCING AN **Open House** AT **St. Elizabeth Catholic Church** SE LMA 2 to 4 p.m. **Sunday, Dec. 19** SEE . . . a complete display of sacred Vessels, Vestments, and Altar Appointments. LEARN . . . about the Confessional, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and other Catholic devotions. ENJOY . . . Christmas Carols and choir music. VIEW . . . the Christmas Crib. BRING . . . the whole family for an experience you'll always remember. No admission or charge of any kind. **Everyone Is Welcome!**

said a Negro college instructor.

Negro leader E. D. Nixon also said there was a need for a new approach. "We are too complacent," he said. "We are satisfied with little things. The right to be free means you've got to do something every day."

Some Montgomery whites also think the Negro is not doing enough to help himself.

A white newsman asked, "Why don't these niggers get out and start using the restaurants and movie theaters more often, now that they've raised so much hell about it? I don't mind sitting next to a nigger. Hell, I wouldn't even notice, probably."

Eighteen-year-old Barbara Williams, a Negro high school student, tells other Negroes to expand the boundaries of their lives. She is working toward a climate in which she can "go anywhere I want without feeling inferior."

Young people like her don't have much tolerance for their elders' "take it slow" approach. "They feel that white people are going to have to get used to treating them as equals."

The biggest change in Montgomery since the boycott is probably something that can't be measured--the new attitude Negroes have about themselves.

"We began doing things we would never have thought of doing before," said Mrs. J. R. Carr, a civic worker. "People began to buy homes and try to make something of themselves. We have learned that there is more to life than just existence."

RED BELL CAFE AND POOLROOM Entertainment as you like it. 138 Monroe St. Montgomery, Ala.

FOOD SPECIALS B&P Super Market The People's Store Griffin Ave. at Broad St.--Selma, Ala.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION On Its Tenth Anniversary

ADAMS SERVICE STATION 1031 W. Jeff Davis 262-9801 GAS AND OIL

MALDEN BROTHERS BARBER SHOP 407 South Jackson 262-9249 Nelson and Spurgeon Malden

ORIGINAL QUEEN SERVICE CAB CO. 1011 W. Jeff Davis 262-9257 24 Hrs., Ready and Prompt

GUARANTEE DRY CLEANERS 914 Highland Ave. 262-0112 Pick-Up and Delivery

SUN-MOON Cleaners & Launderers 866 Oak St. 262-9227 861 E. Grove St. 264-9248 527 N. Decatur 262-3559

DABNEY'S AUTO REPAIR 1129 Highland Avenue 264-9270 Tune-Up, Brakes, Motor Overhauling

BROWN BEAUTY BAKERY 2042 Mill Street Phillip McNeal, Proprietor

WILLIE'S BEAUTY & BARBER SHOP 907 Highland Avenue Rev. Willie Williams, Prop. Specializing In Processing

MAY'S GROCERY & MARKET NO. 1 1515 O'Connell St. **MAY'S CITIZENS' GROCERY NO. 2** 917 Highland Avenue

COLLEGE SANDWICH SHOP Thurman and South Jackson Across from Ala. State Campus

Space Covers Next 7 cacheted covers commemorating only the major U. S. space achievements for \$5.00 advance deposit. SPACE CRAFT COVERS, P.O. Box 2290, Huntington, W. Va. 25724, U.S.A.

Special! Reduced price on wig service If your wig needs tinting, thinning, cleaning, or just that personality style, bring it to Olivia's. For the latest in beauty service try our new Bel-Chiffon permanent. Your service is always personal. For an appointment phone 262-8753.

OLIVIA'S BEAUTY SHOP 1007 SOUTH HOLT STREET MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

A Big Joke in Mobile

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE -- On the agenda when the Mobile County School Board met Wednesday was a resolution from the Mobile NAACP requesting that a Negro be appointed associate superintendent of schools.

The board didn't take any official action, except to ask Cranford H. Burns, superintendent of schools, to write the NAACP a short letter and enclose a copy of the board's standard policies for filling such vacancies.

But some board members did indicate what their feelings might be if a qualified Negro applies.

"Keep the letter as short as you can,

Negro Stars In Toy Bowl Game

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

didn't like seeing Horner on the team, they never showed it. By the end of the game, they all must have been glad he was there.

His touchdown was the only one Catholic scored in the game, which ended in a 6-6 tie. He made two other long runs, caught a pass and threw a couple. The Catholic team gained 178 yards in the game, and Horner accounted for well over half of that total.

Horner was in the game because his regular-season team, from Heart of Mary School, had been in the Catholic league this fall, and he had played well enough to make the all-star squad.

Father Victor Henken, head of Catholic youth activities in Mobile, said that when he came here four years ago, Heart of Mary and other Catholic schools for Negroes "didn't have any organized sports at all."

The white Catholic schools had been playing each other in many sports for many years.

So Father Henken started leagues among the Negro schools. They played only each other for the first two years, he said, because they needed some experience.

A few months ago, Heart of Mary moved into the regular football league, and another Negro school entered teams in the girls' volleyball league.

Some white parents protested, but most did not. There were incidents at games during the season, but no one seems worried about them, especially since the all-star game.

Father Charles McOscar at Heart of Mary said integration will continue with winter and spring sports this year, and may extend to high school varsity sports within two or three years.

Dr. Burns," said the board vice president Arthur F. Smith Jr. "They want conversation so they can tear it apart."

Two or three hours later, as the last business was finished, discussion turned to football.

Somebody told a story about a recent game. Then Smith said, "I have one. After the game, one of the (winning) players went up to one of the (losing) players and said, 'Even though we won, we've got some problems. We've got a coach that talks like a nigger.'"

"That's nothing," answered the (losing) player. "We've got a coach that acts like one."

Smith and some of the other people in the small room laughed heartily at the "joke." Others laughed politely. And some didn't laugh at all.

Board member Charles McNeil looked at Smith with a smile, but spoke seriously:

"That was awful, Arthur. Just awful."

Group in Birmingham Investigates Hospitals

BY ROBIN KAUFMAN

BIRMINGHAM--Several months ago, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) told people here that it wasn't able to check whether every hospital was complying with the desegregation requirements of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

So the Birmingham Council of Human Relations (BCHR) started its own survey to see how desegregation is going in hospitals that receive federal funds.

Inter-racial teams of interviewers tried to make appointments with the chief administrator of each local hospital, and to fill out questionnaires provided by the state Council on Human Relations.

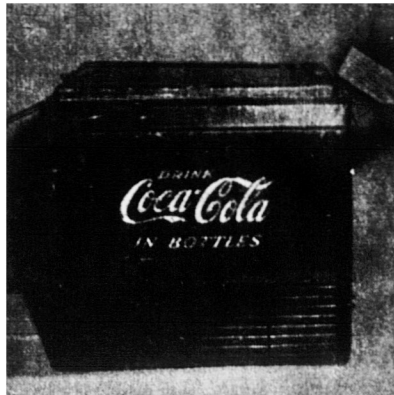
In addition, the survey teams attempted to talk with patients and employees, to see how much desegregation these people thought there was.

In most cases, the administrators would not talk to the Birmingham Council, and the questionnaires had to be filled out on the basis of observation.

At one hospital, St. Vincent's, there appeared to be recent progress. The St. Vincent's administrator said he had been interviewed by HEW officials. Although at first the hospital was not integrated, he said, it is now.

Talks with employees and patients showed this was true, said Mrs. Peggy Rupe, chairman of the BCHR hospital-investigating committee.

Under Arrest



MONTGOMERY--On election day in 1960, MIA volunteers were counting Negro voters at each polling place, to the obvious annoyance of some Montgomery policemen. At Hammer Hall, the police didn't want to cause a boycott-type reaction by arresting the MIA workers. So they arrested their drink box instead. This cooler was carried down to the police station and tagged as a lost article.

Camp Hill Case Settled

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

DADEVILLE--A white police chief and a Negro woman took their differences to Tallapoosa County Court this week, and everybody came out smiling.

Camp Hill Police Chief Joe F. McManus arrested the woman, Mrs. Bertha Godfrey of Camp Hill, last October. He charged her with interfering with his investigation of an auto accident in which she was hurt.

But the charges were dismissed Monday by Probate Judge Woodrow Barnes, after a private conference with Mrs. Godfrey, Chief McManus, and the lawyers for both sides. The friendly settlement was reached just 40 minutes after the case was called for trial.

"I've been knowing you all my life," Judge Barnes said to Mrs. Godfrey after the witnesses had been sworn. "Can't we settle this thing?"

"Your honor," replied Mrs. Godfrey's lawyer, Mrs. Ruth Sullivan, "this woman hasn't done anything wrong." Then the judge called the private conference.

Judge Barnes said everyone was able to agree because "one party was about as much to blame as the other." But County Solicitor Charles R. Adair, Jr., said no one admitted any blame.

"We just reached a decision the best way to handle it was to talk it out," he said. "I think we did a fine job."

Mrs. Godfrey gave a different explanation for the out-of-court settlement. She said the judge urged both sides to avoid the publicity of a trial.

"He was afraid it might stir up race problems," she said. She quoted the judge as saying he wanted Negroes and whites in Tallapoosa County to live "like brothers and sisters."

"At first they wanted me to plead guilty," Mrs. Godfrey said. "But Mrs. Sullivan said unless the charges were dismissed, we would go to trial."

Mrs. Godfrey, who came to court with five witnesses to McManus' one, said she had agreed not to bring any charges against the police chief for arresting her unjustly.

"I was glad to compromise," she said, "if they're going to treat Negro women right, I just wanted to show them you don't push women around, especially not because of color."

McManus arrested Mrs. Godfrey on Oct. 21, shortly after an elderly white woman's auto struck the back of Mrs.

Godfrey's car. Mrs. Godfrey said the police chief told her the accident was her fault, and ordered her to stand against a wall.

"I was bruised and shaken up. I said, 'Just because I'm a Negro woman you want to treat me like this,'" Mrs. Godfrey recalled. She said the police chief replied:

"If you know you're a nigger woman, why don't you act like one?"

"I asked if it would be too much to have a state trooper in to investigate," she said. "Then he arrested me. When I asked why, he said, 'For interfering and asking questions.'"

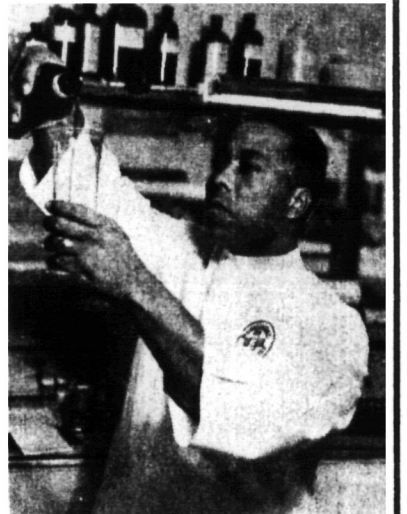
McManus declined to comment on the incident.

POOLE'S PHARMACY

1019 W. Jeff Davis

Where Montgomery residents go for prescriptions, cosmetics, sundries, sick room supplies

8 a.m. to 9 p.m. weekdays
9 a.m. to 2 p.m. Sundays
265-7097



"DOC" JOHN M. POOLE JR.



TIMES HAVE CHANGED, BUT...

the old-fashioned qualities of dependability and thrift still guide us here.

MAKE OUR BANK YOUR FINANCIAL HEADQUARTERS!

ALABAMA EXCHANGE BANK

Member Federal Reserve System and Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

P.O. Box 728

Tuskegee, Alabama

X-Cel will pay 1% to Churches, PTA and non-profit organizations - minimum \$500.00 cashiers receipts

X-CEL Super Stores Inc.

We reserve the right to limit quantities. Prices good Dec. 8 thru Dec. 14, 1965
We accept food stamps.

X-Cel Bonus Coupon No. 4
Jim Dandy

MEAL 5 lb bag 19c
(Plain or Self-Rising)
With Coupon and \$5 purchase

X-TRA LARGE WESSON OIL
59c

U. S. CHOICE BEEF

T-BONE STEAK 99c lb.
BONELESS STEW 69c lb.
ZEIGLERS BACON 79c lb.
CENTER CUT HAM .. 89c lb.

FROZEN FOOD

9 oz. Mr. G Krinkle Cue
POTATOES 10c
10 oz. Tennessee Chopped
TURNIPS 2 for 27c

XMAS PAPER | Purchase your Xmas Gaudies at your friendly X-Cel Stores
6 rolls 69c
3 rolls 39c

Flat Maine
SARDINES 10c

KIDS COME SEE SANTA CLAUS

Listen to the X-Cel Hour every Sunday 10:00 to 10:30 A.M. On WJLD X-Cel Super Stores, 400 Second Ave. North, Birmingham, Ala. Ph. 323-2291 Shopping With X-Cel Builds A Better Birmingham

PRODUCE

Trophy Brand Cello Nuts
ENGLISH WALNUTS 3 oz. 39c
BRAZILS 3 1/2 oz. 49c
PECAN HALVES 4 oz. 49c
Salted Jumbo
PEANUTS 7 oz. 29c
Fancy Yellow Ripe
BANANAS 10c lb.
Good Sweet Fla.
ORANGES loose 29c doz.
Fla.
TANGERINES 39c doz.
No. 1 Idaho
POTATOES poly bag 5 lbs. 39c

XMAS TOYS

WHEELBARROW \$2.61
WAGON \$4.80
SCAT CAR \$6.88
DEFENDER DAN \$9.98
PIANO \$6.98

SMART SANTAS

Give a Full-Year

Subscription to

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

\$5 per year mailed in the South
\$10 per year mailed in the North
\$25 per year patron subscription

MAIL TO:
THE SOUTHERN COURIER
Room 622, Frank Leu Bldg.
79 Commerce St.
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Send the SOUTHERN COURIER as a gift to:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

Enclose check or money order.

Compliments of _____

