



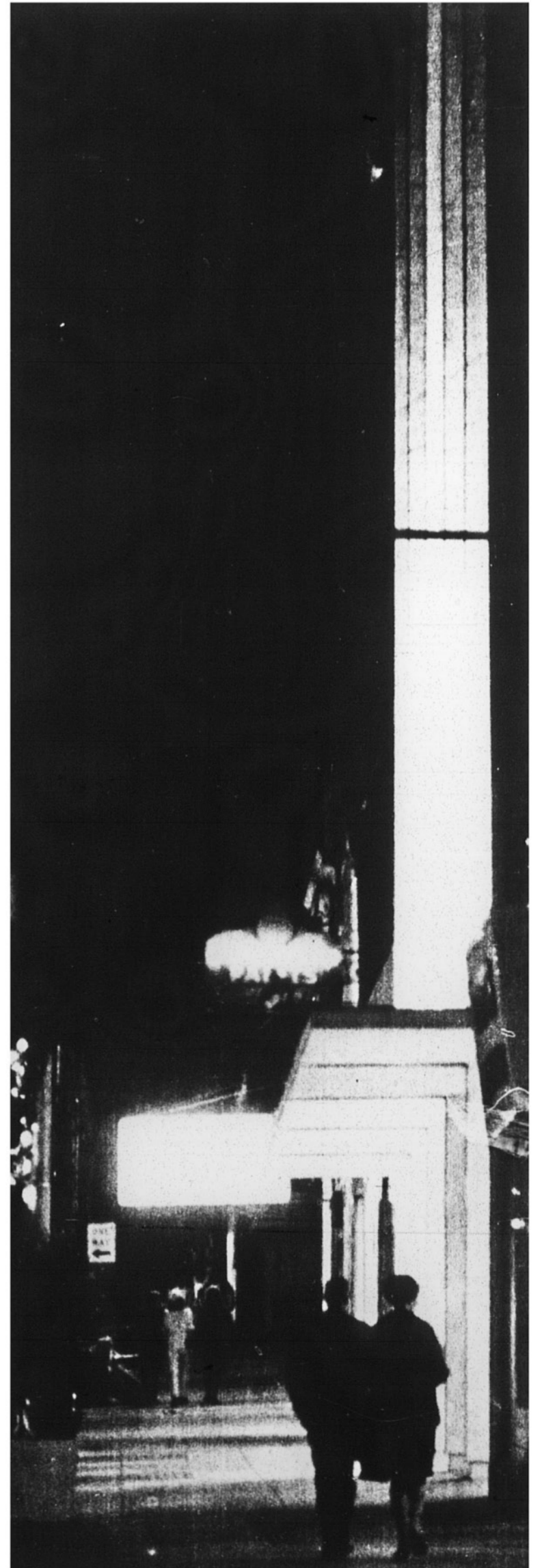
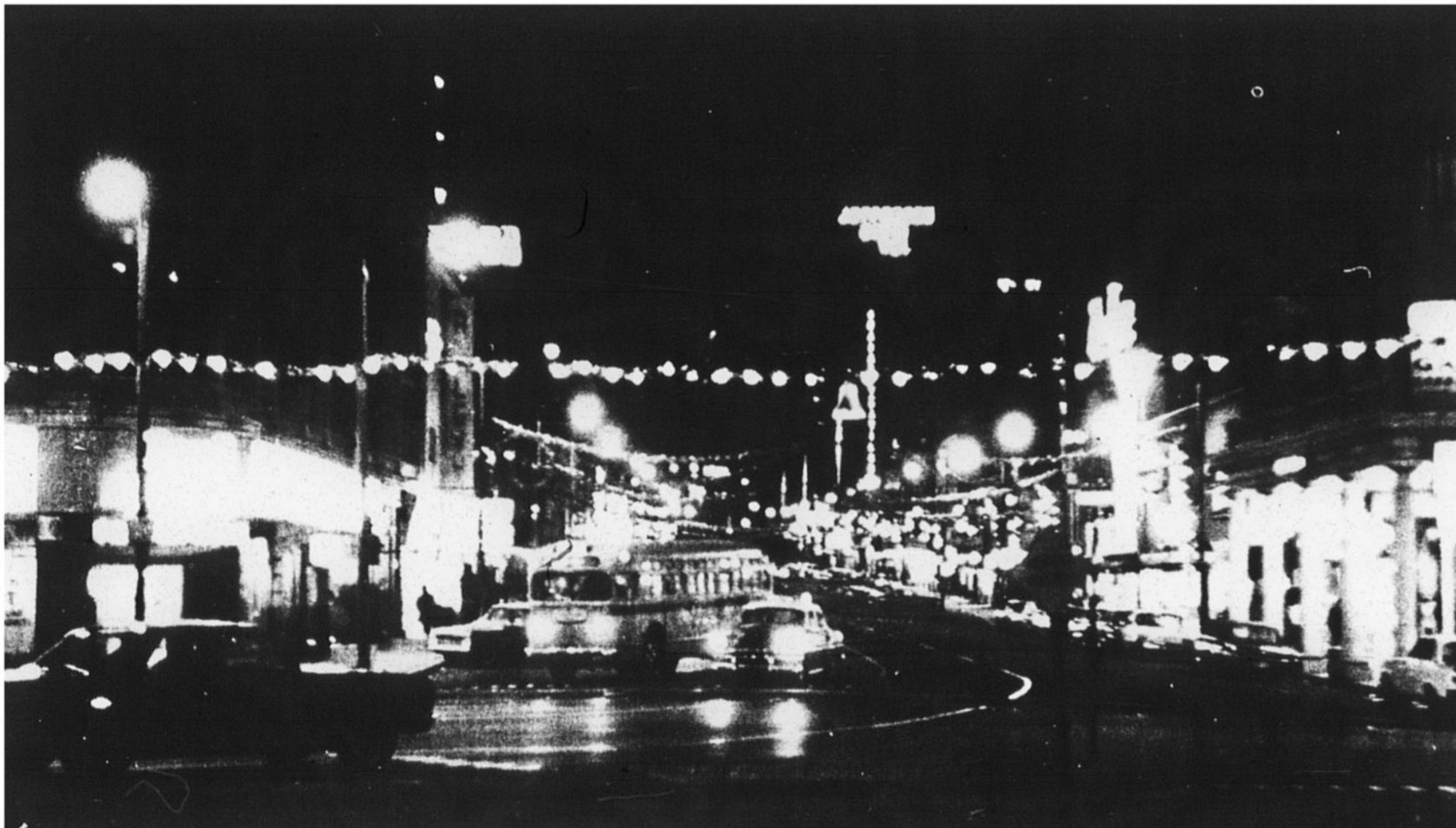




# The Capital City at Night

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JAMES H. PEPPLER

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.





# 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

# 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.

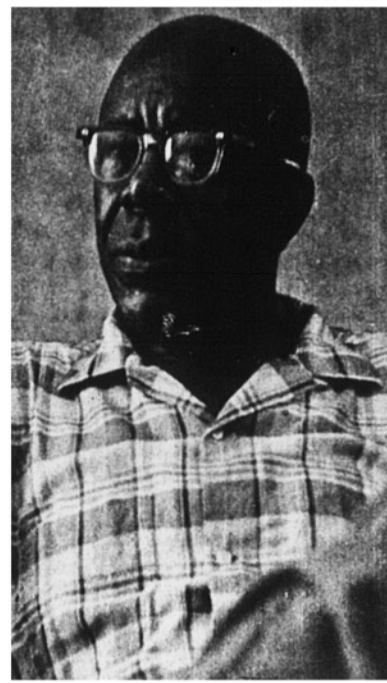
It was not until the fall of 1964 that all-white Montgomery schools admitted their first handful of Negro students.

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,"

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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."

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## 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.

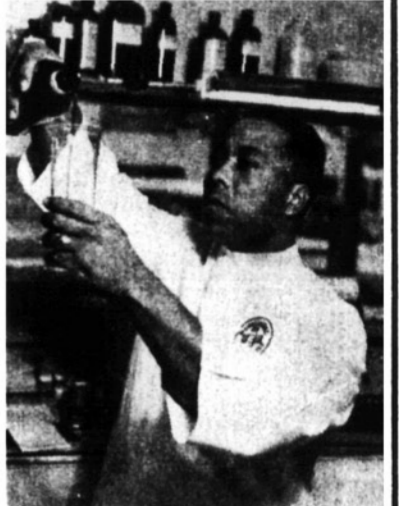
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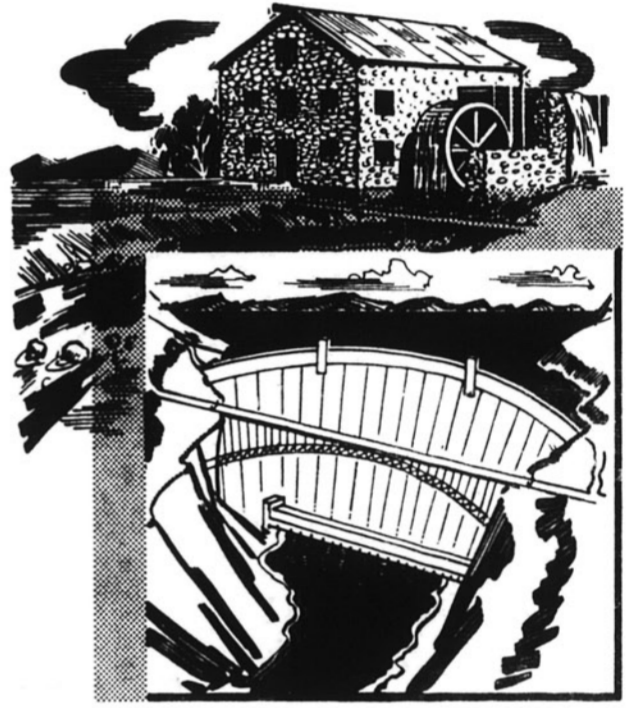
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## Student Editors

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

Witte wanted to run an article on integration of the student dormitories, but held off when Father Crandell opposed it. Classes were integrated in 1952; the dorms, last summer.

Father Hilton Rivet, dean of students, said Spring Hill had already lost a lot of financial support in Mobile because of integration at the college. He said he and the president thought an article about integrating the dorms would make things even worse.

Tim Sweeney, editor of the Springhillian last spring, said, "Crandell said that if we printed anything about integration of the dorms, the newspaper would cease to exist."

Father Crandell denied ever making such a threat, but said it might have come from someone else in the administration.

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