

## The People Tell the Candidates

# Jobs, Rights the Big Issues



WHAT WAS DICK GREGORY READING IN THE SELMA NEWSPAPER?

## Dick Gregory

### MONTGOMERY SELMA

MONTGOMERY--Dick Gregory had Viet Nam on his mind when he hit the county Alabama Democratic Conference, Inc. dinner Saturday night:

"Saigon. That's like you and your wife running over to put out a fire in my house, and you find my wife and me fighting in the kitchen as the fire burns around us."

The tearing down and destroying of the American flag by Negro demonstrators in Cordele, Ga., last week reminded Gregory of a similar destruction of the American flag by demonstrators in Panama two years ago.

"And we sent down a bunch of high-level diplomats and offered to split the canal with them."

The Chicago humorist, who is running for mayor of his home city, compared the poor people's invasion of Greenville Air Force Base in Mississippi with what might happen overseas: "Imagine if poor people in Spain went on to our air base there. They'd be treated with kid gloves. In Mississippi Uncle Lyndon had them thrown out into the cold."

Gregory said Negroes have always demanded a lot from their leaders. "You've seen Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey on television, haven't you? They couldn't lead a Negro out of a paper bag," he said to the Democrats. "We demand more of our leaders. Always have."

"You gotta be clean when you lead Negroes."

After he had joked about the common charge that people involved in civil rights are communists, Gregory said, "I can't guarantee I won't overthrow the country but I know I won't give it to some other white cat across the Atlantic. I don't know what that makes me but it ain't no communist."

## Flowers Campaign Runs Aground in Port City

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--Richmond Flowers' campaign for governor broke into the open here this week. Flowers had been to Mobile earlier in the campaign, but those trips were mainly for private meetings with leading Negro and white supporters.

This time, he had a big integrated reception Monday night at a home in a white section of town.

Tuesday, campaign workers opened a headquarters in downtown Mobile and said they would open another office soon on Davis Avenue in the main Negro section of the city.

One of their first jobs will have to be undoing damage caused by Flowers' failure to appear at a rally in a Negro church Monday night, where about 200 people turned out expecting to see him.

Forty-five minutes after Flowers was supposed to appear, his campaign manager arrived and said a scheduling conflict made it impossible for Flowers to come.

Many people at the rally resented having come to hear Flowers and then finally hearing his campaign manager

instead. Flowers may lose a few votes because of it, but he has much bigger worries than this in Mobile.

One is that the turnout of Negro voters may be small compared to the rest of the state.

C. H. Montgomery, a Negro running for the state legislature, and Dr. W. L. Russell, a Negro dentist running for the school board, have conducted very quiet campaigns. Neither of them nor the candidates for other offices, except governor, have generated much enthusiasm yet upon Negro voters.

The second problem is that thousands of Negro workers are union members and the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO, has endorsed Carl Elliott for governor.

Isom Clemon, a union leader here, says he expects Negro union members and their wives to vote pretty solidly for Elliott. And George Dixon, president of the Negro dock workers union, says that

when organizers of Monday night's rally asked to have the rally in the union hall, he had to turn them down because they intended to have Flowers on the program.

## Negro Interviewers Press Politicians on \$\$ Problems

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

MONTGOMERY --Candidates who faced a Negro political group's interview committee here last weekend got a good idea what is worrying Negro voters in the state.

The big concern is money. First on everybody's list of questions for the politicians was "Will you use the influence of your office to employ Negroes in all categories and all levels...?"

The representatives let the candidates know that Negroes are worried about what are usually called "bread and butter issues."

The interview committee of SCLC's Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations wanted to know about jobs, and improving the state's economy, and guaranteeing minimum wage, and fair employment.

"They wanted to know how the candidates intended to beef up the economy of the state," said one man present at the private meeting.

One person asked about development of Alabama's natural waterways to bring more business through the state; another wanted to know why Alabama didn't have research facilities and "brain trusts" like other states. Somebody complained about telephone costs.

Some of the candidates weren't ready for all of this, said a committeemember. "Perhaps the white candidates were expecting more questions from Negroes about civil rights."

To be sure, enforcement of the feder-



al civil rights laws and voter registration were very much on the minds of the confederation interviewers, and there were questions on these subjects. One candidate was asked what he would do to get rid of the Ku Klux Klan.

But more and better jobs were the prime concern. A question about appointing Negroes to state jobs was asked of every candidate.

And they asked the candidates for governor--only Richmond Flowers and Jim Folsom were there Saturday--about Negro state troopers, Negro judges, Negro members of state commissions, and full desegregation of the Alabama National Guard.

"Those candidates knew when they saw you they weren't looking at a bunch of fools," SCLC's Hosea Williams said to the people after the politicians had left.

### Say 'Tree-grow'

MONTGOMERY --Some of the candidates who appeared before the interview committee of the Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations last Saturday were caught saying "nigra" or "nigger."

When that happened, which was often, somebody would jump up from the audience and straighten the man out.

Usually it was Hosea Williams of SCLC who would say, "Look, you can say 'tree' and you can say 'grow.' Now say 'tree-grow' and 'Ne-gro.'"

## 90% WORRY ABOUT RACE, SECRET POLL FINDS

MONTGOMERY--What are the problems white people think they face this election year? To no one's surprise, about nine out of ten think that "race and civil rights" is the biggest problem facing Alabama.

White women think about racial issues more than white men, and they tend to be more moderate. Women are less concerned than men about the federal government and about state's rights. They are more concerned than men about demonstrations and violence and about civil rights workers.

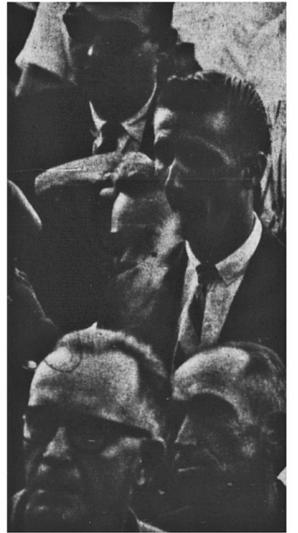
Beyond the race issue, nearly seven out of ten white voters in Alabama feel that beefing up the economy is also a big problem they face. After that, 41 per cent of the women and 28 per cent of the men are worried about schools.

These are the results of a private survey taken in January in Alabama by a national polling company for one of the major candidates.

The conclusion of the professional pollster: "Race... is on the mind of nearly every white voter, but the voice of moderation can be heard and economic problems and education are also very important issues to the white voters of the state."

The polling people advised the candidate that a politician who can "run on race will attract a lot of attention and sympathy but the candidate who runs on the economic problems of the state and education will be talking to just as many people and many of them will be the same."

Voters who like a candidate's stand on either race or education-economics but not his stand on both issues would be "faced with a very difficult decision" in



the privacy of the voting booth, the candidate was told.

The poll showed that about one-fourth of the white people in the state think the federal government should keep out of matters of segregation. Twelve per cent said, "Keep civil rights workers out and stop demonstrations." One out of ten opposed any integration.

Twelve per cent of the white folks favored moderation; integration is inevitable, they said.

The candidate was told that the number of people questioned who hold segregationist views of one sort or another totals 61 per cent of all white voters. Twenty-six per cent of the white voters held what would generally be called "moderate" or integrationist views.

Six per cent of all the women and two per cent of the men told the poll-takers that they thought continuation of Governor George C. Wallace's policies was their number-one concern.

In general, men proved to be more concerned than women with pocketbook issues. About a fifth of the men wanted to see more industry come to Alabama and this, they said, was the greatest need of the state.

Nearly 40 per cent of the women, compared to 23 per cent of the men, said more and better teachers, equipment, schools and pupil transportation are important problems facing voters.

## Sen. Gilchrist In Tuscaloosa

BY DAPHNA SIMPSON

TUSCALOOSA--It seemed very much like a big family reunion.

The Jetz, a rock 'n' roll band of youngsters with Beatle haircuts, played a loud and tuneful song called "Double Shot."

Men in suits and women in well-tailored clothes wandered about talking and laughing.

A two-year old performed the twist amid TV cables.

An old man passed out a sample ballot advertising a local candidate.

And State Senator Bob Gilchrist walked through the crowd of perhaps 75 people shaking hands.

The rally took place Monday at Gilchrist's headquarters, and when Gilchrist stepped onto the porch to make his speech, enthusiastic applause broke out.

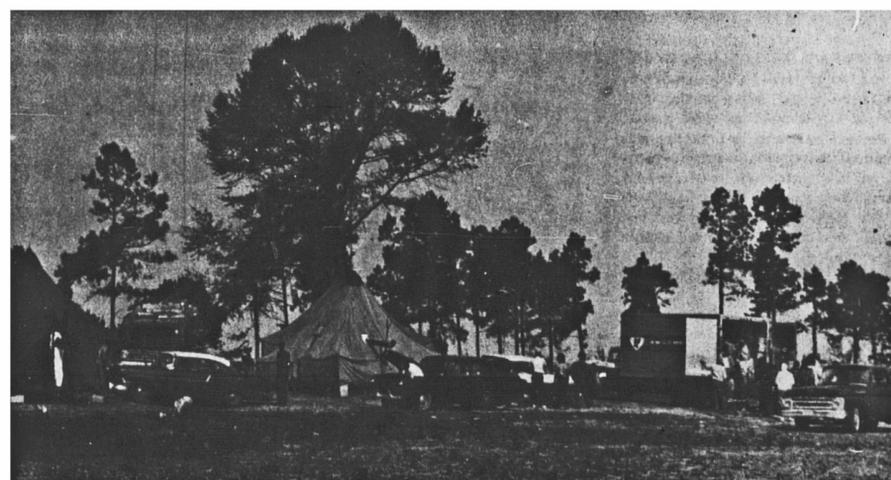
"The last three administrations have borrowed money for highways and spent every penny. Political favors have been paid out of your taxes to build state highways. If I am elected, I will call in the best people in their fields for the highway department--and not choose somebody because they are a member of the Ku Klux Klan."

Applause. "My mother taught school after my father died. I can remember having to buy groceries on credit because the \$65 a month she made was not enough.

"For 12 years I have worked for higher salaries for teachers in the state of Alabama. I will continue to work for

### Former Lowndes Residents Send Food

## Folks Up North Remember



BY LARRY FREUDIGER  
LOWNDESBORO--Farmers in this Black Belt county, which has received national attention as the first Southern movement for independent Negro politics, have been receiving help from their black brothers who have moved North.

The Michigan Lowndes County Christian Movement has been sending \$100 a month to the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights and last week shipped more than a ton of food and clothing collected in the ghettos of Detroit, Mich.

Last Saturday trucks unloaded part of the food at the tent city settlement on U. S. Highway 80 (above).

The Michigan organization was begun by Simon P. Owens, a former Lowndes

County resident now living in Detroit, and William Cosby, an active member of the Lowndes County movement and the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

Owens visited his old home county last year and found that the struggle to survive was as urgent as the struggle for freedom. He found that those who work are mostly farm laborers receiving around \$3 a day.

For about 1500 families, support comes from one parent, who is a farm laborer.

Tenant farmers are no better off, as their monthly returns from the landowners average between \$30 and \$40 a month.

And since January almost 60 families have been evicted from land they have

farmed for generations. Most of them say the evictions are due to activities with the freedom movement.

Most of the homeless families have been able to move in with friends or relatives, and four families have moved into the group of tents known as Freedom City.

There are no jobs to be had for these people, and their only support comes from individual donations and the Michigan people.

The Michigan group has been sending money since July. Last month it got a Detroit minister to announce on his Sunday radio program that food and clothing were being collected for Lowndes County.

The 2300 pounds of supplies were shipped free by the teamsters union,

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 5)

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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## Editorial Opinion

### Have a Seat, Hosea

The thousands of newly registered voters in the state need an institution to help them develop a quick political education and to watch out for their interests at election time. Thus, the Confederation of Alabama's Political Organizations was born.

Its members are closer than anybody else to the people with the greatest needs in this state. New to politics but quick to learn, from the small towns and rural areas, the confederation members truly represent these newly registered voters.

Any candidate who faced the confederation's interviews last Saturday must have known that the representatives there knew the needs of the people.

The new confederation has succeeded thus far thanks to the organizational talents of SCLC's Hosea Williams.

But Williams said at the March 5 meeting when the group was forming that it was going to be run by its elected representatives, not by SCLC, and not by Hosea Williams.

COAPO, a refreshing venture in American politics, would fail if it became a one-man show.

More than a month has passed, and Williams is still a-yellin' and a-hollerin' at COAPO meetings. He is setting the rules, and putting in indirect plugs for candidates. Williams' secretary keeps all the records of the confederation.

The Rev. T. Y. Rogers of Tuscaloosa and Lonnie L. Brown of Wilcox County are the elected leaders of COAPO, and it is their responsibility to run the confederation. Williams is not an officer of the organization.

It is time for Hosea Williams to take a seat on the sidelines. But give him a hand as he goes, folks.

### No Show

There are several things Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. can do, but one thing he cannot do is be in two places at once.

People at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who should know better, have a way of promising the appearance of Dr. King when there is not the slightest chance that the man can appear.

It is bad manners for SCLC to promise Dr. King for a speech when they know that his schedule will not permit it. And it is an insult to the people of a community to have them fill a meeting place with the idea they are going to hear Dr. King, when there is only a slight chance they really will hear him.

After a while, people are not going to believe all those advance notices about a speech by Dr. King. And there may come a time when Dr. King DOES show up, but the disbelieving people will have stayed home. And then everybody will be mad.

## Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

We, the local people here in Birmingham, Ala., could not all afford an education, but there's one thing we are proud of. We will not in no means go downtown to sip tea and eat cookies with the white man to fool us or make us think he loves us. We are not the Uncle Tom type of people.

These preacher teachers is nothing but flunkers for the city white people. We don't want the white folks good words spoken to us, but we want our freedom and a chance just as they do. We are tired of so many so-called to be for us, and working the poor unlearned people here in Birmingham.

We give the teachers a job to teach our children and pay their salary too, because if it wasn't for black women birthing black children they sure would not supply enough children to have a job. Ph. D.'s and B. S.'s did not get out and help get freedom bells ringing for the poor and needy.

We went from door to door when you all were too high and lifted up to go. We are not going to follow the colored lawyers here, who are NAACP workers who do business under the table or across the table. We want leaders who won't sell us out to the white man parties.

We have more than 30,000 to go and vote; that's all you all did. We have been sold down the drain all our life by Ph. D.'s, B. S.'s, and Mr. and Mrs. Brains. We have brains enough to not be afraid to tell the white man we want to be free.

We can go and present our own self, we no longer need Mr. and Mrs. Brains here in Birmingham to speak for us. We speak to the board of education. We need a man like Hosea Williams in Birmingham to teach us anyhow, what to do.

We are not afraid of people. We never have had a chance. We have been robbed of our rights by our own people. We need people to lead who don't worry about the dollars before we start to

working, we never would have got nothing here in Birmingham without Dr. Martin L. King sending his staff workers here.

We want Hosea Williams to direct our people here in the Magic City. We need Hosea, we don't have a teacher or lawyers here to come to the people. They are too big to meet the little people.

We need to talk to the preachers who spend all their time in the pulpit preaching and not teaching the people. We pay them plenty money, that's all for them to live high up over the poor peoples. The Lord said "the poor would be with us always."

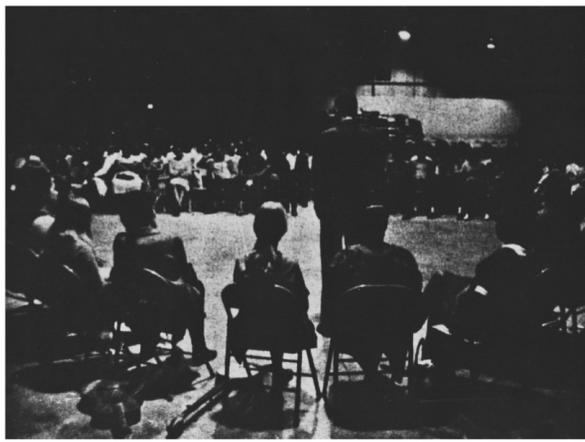
Mrs. Julia Smith  
Birmingham, Ala.

### Wilcox Urges Pupils Not to Transfer

CAMDEN--The federal government has filed a suit against the Wilcox County Board of Education calling for an end to school segregation.

Federal courts usually rule that students must be allowed to attend any school they want to. So just in case Wilcox is ordered to come up with a "freedom of choice" plan, the board has already passed out an information sheet for parents. It reads:

"In an effort to prevent the destruction of the school system of Wilcox County as we know it and realizing what is best, we are asking that you promote and encourage your children to continue in the school in which they are now attending. In our honest opinion, integration or desegregation is not good for education; it is against sound educational principles and works to the disadvantage and to the detriment of both races. It is our further opinion that in all this controversy the person who has invariably suffered is the child."



## First They Listened,

SELMA--Before the music started in Orrville the other night, first there was speaking. And more speaking.

After two hours of speeches, the band started in and the young people started

to dance. Even the SNCC workers had a good time.

SNCC's Julian Bond (above, left) was there, and he spoke about Negro votes. There is no point in voting for white

### Students May Work With Poor Whites

ATLANTA, Ga.--A two-year-old group of Southern college students has made informal plans to set up projects that would try to organize poor white people in the South.

Up to now, the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), which held a conference here last weekend, has been a service and educational organization providing contact between the civil rights movement and white Southern students. Most of SSOC's members are white.

Students at the conference said that they thought poor white communities in the South shared the same kinds of economic problems that Negroes have. Stokely Carmichael of the Alabama Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) told the students about SNCC's work and about the building of the Independent Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

SNCC has long urged SSOC to work with poor whites in ways similar to SNCC's work among Negroes.

### A.W. Todd Campaigning

## A Half Hour of Soup, Crackers, and Politics

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA--"I'm against outside agitators and inside agitators," said A. W. Todd, the state's only agriculture commissioner and one of ten Democratic candidates for governor. He tore open a cellophane bag of oyster crackers.

"The first thing I'm going to do as governor is set up a bi-racial committee to work out our problems inside Alabama," he tilted the open cracker bag over his bowl of vegetable soup.

"The streets aren't the place to solve our problems. Neither are the courts. I'm not going to carry the first case to court. We've lost every single one of real importance."

He sprinkled the crackers into his soup. Not too many crackers, and not too few. It was a middle-of-the-road sort of sprinkle.

"The place to settle our differences is around a conference table in the governor's office," he said. "The South will solve its racial problems sooner than the North if we use our own energies and talents to solve them."

It was half an hour past warm, sunny noon on Tuesday. The agriculture commissioner had just stumped into Lee County after a frustrating morning in Phenix City.

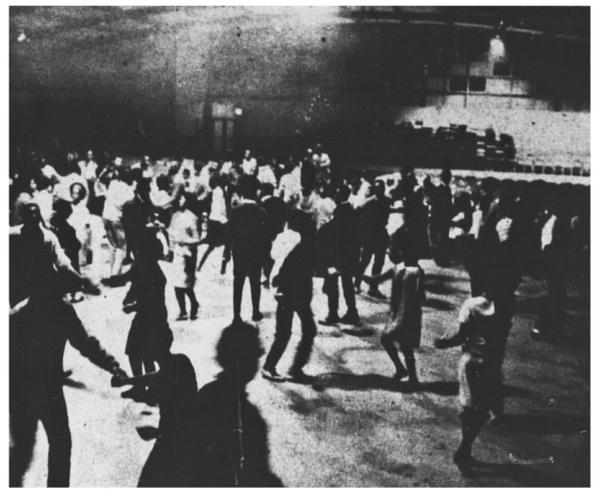
"Some of those cars had a Patterson sticker on one bumper and a Wallace on the other," sighed a weary Todd supporter. But Todd himself didn't seem very upset about it.

In Opelika, he walked briskly in and out of a dozen stores, shaking every free hand he could find. But when he entered a small cafe, he took off his hat and sat down to eat. For dinner he had soup, crackers, and politics.

"A bi-racial committee has worked in Birmingham," he said, between sponfuls. "It will work for the whole state. Whites, Negroes, Jews, Italians,



A. W. TODD



## Then They Danced

politicians who won't vote for the needs of the Negro people, Bond said. The young representative-elect to the Georgian legislature warned against white politicians who will come in and shake the Negro's hand around election time and then go away for another four years.

"We are our own best representatives," Bond said. A. D. Smith, temporary vice president of the Dallas County Independent Voters Organization, took a shot at educated Negroes who forget the people who sacrificed to gain them their education.

Samson Crum, the first Negro candidate for sheriff in Dallas County, also spoke at the voters organization rally and dance. He told why he decided to run for sheriff: "People were afraid to

run for office. They'd volunteer and then withdraw at the last minute."

And Clarence Williams, chairman of the voters organization, said a few words, explaining the political aims of the group.

"People say this is black democracy and that that's bad. But how could black democracy be any worse for us than the white democracy we've been living under for the last 100 years?"

John Hulett, president of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization spoke about the aims of the black panther party, and then Stokely Carmichael of Alabama SNCC made a speech.

By 10:30 p.m., it was time to dance.

## GILCHRIST IN TUSCALOOSA

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

this, and I will build an educational system in Alabama that is second to none."

Applause. "I'm tired of reading in the newspapers about demonstrations.

"I'm tired of reading about what's wrong with America, because there's a lot that's right about America.

"And I want to work for a government in Alabama that's for the good of America. Lying in the streets detracts from the dignity of the human being. The United States doesn't need this. I want to build Alabama for the United States of America."

Applause.

"It is more important to know the philosophy of government of a candidate than his campaign promises. That way, you can know how the man you elect will act in any given situation."

Applause. Senator Gilchrist once more walked through the crowd shaking hands as the band played more rock. People lingered to talk to friends.

As two women were leaving, one asked, "Well, who are you going to vote for?"

"I don't know," shrugged her companion. "But that Senator Bob sure is a nice young man."



A SCENE FROM THE CONCLUSION OF "HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE"

BY MARY MOULTRIE

The National Educational Television network (ETV) has produced a nine-program series called "History of the Negro People."

Due to the make-up of this series, there is much doubt that it will be shown in the South.

The films have been available since last year, but Alabama's educational television network has still not decided whether to show them. For this reason, here is a brief summarized profile of the programs, and their significance.

The first show deals with the Heritage of the Negro, the first knowledge of his existence, and an exploration of his little-known past through art, sculpture, and present-day pageantry which should reflect the old cultures.

The second in the series explores the Southern way of life for the Negro and the white, with interviews from members of both races.

The third program, Slavery, gives a portrait of life in chains, based on actual testimonies of former slaves.

The fourth program is Brazil: The Vanishing Negro. It tells of a trend among dark Negroes to marry lighter-skinned Negroes in order to have children with lighter skin. And it shows Afro-Brazilian religious ceremonies, which reflect the African influences in the Brazilian culture.

Program five, Free at Last, traces the history of the American Negro from emancipation to the end of World War II, while the sixth serial, Omowale: The

Child Returns Home, deals with the American Negro who goes to Africa.

The seventh in the series, called New Mood, traces the impact of the new Negro militancy on both Negro and white Americans in the years since the momentous Supreme Court school decision of 1954.

Program eight is entitled Our Country, Too, and is an essay on the inner world of the American Negro, his values, his attitudes, and his impressions of life.

Program nine, which concludes the series, is The Future and the Negro. It is composed of discussions by distinguished persons in the fields of international relations, education, and civil rights.

The intention of this series is to give the public a good look at the Negro, and understand him in his natural habitat. And to settle the issue of whether the Negro has a history or not.

It is said that the Negro is a man without a past. With this attitude in mind, historians saw the need for extensive research and investigation. It is hoped that the lost history of a people will be restored for all time.

That is what the "History of the Negro People" series is all about.

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A free booklet with highlights and photographs from the series is available from National Educational Television, Department of Program Utilization, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019.

# A Rally In Selma

TEXT BY LARRY FREUDIGER PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES H. PEPPLER

SELMA--By the time Samson Crum, an independent candidate for sheriff, rose to address the crowd gathered to mark one year since the Selma to Montgomery march, people were beginning to get a little tired of standing in the hot sun.

The all-day event had attracted some 600 people at different times, and at times it seemed that what was being said on the platform was very nice but had little to do with the people of Selma who had showed up.

When Crum began to talk, there was little doubt that the people remembered well the ordeals of last year.

He wanted the people to know that they now held the power to determine their own future, and that the same men who beat them and tried to hold them back last year were now trying to get their votes.

Few in the crowd had been aware that Samson Crum was going to run for sheriff, but the response was immediate and enthusiastic.

He told them that the Democratic Party was out to swallow up the Negro vote and make it meaningless.

"If we have to answer to those politicians, scheming day and night, we'll be no better off than we were in 1964," Crum said.

The folks in the audience stopped talking to one another and began to respond.

He told of the battles of last year, and every time he mentioned the parts played by Jim Clark or Wilson Baker, the present Democratic sheriff candidates, he would look out at the crowd and say:

"But you're going to forget all that on May third,"

"No we won't," they shouted, "Never!"

"Jim Clark hasn't changed," he concluded, "and Wilson Baker's just a little bit smarter. That's the only difference."

Crum is the sheriff candidate of the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization, which sponsored the rally.

The organization was formed about six weeks ago by Dallas County SNCC and SCLC to run Negroes for public office independent of the Democratic Party.

The group will hold a mass meeting on May 3 to nominate candidates who will appear on the November ballot against whoever wins the Democratic primary.

Crum was followed by the Rev. Ernest M. Bradford, chairman of Dallas County SHAPE (Self-Help Against Poverty for Everyone).

He said that SHAPE had been formed by the Negro people themselves, in order that they might have representation in the war on poverty when federal money came to Dallas County.

But the white community in Selma set up a bi-racial committee, with Negro members who, SHAPE says, were hand-picked to be responsive to the whites.

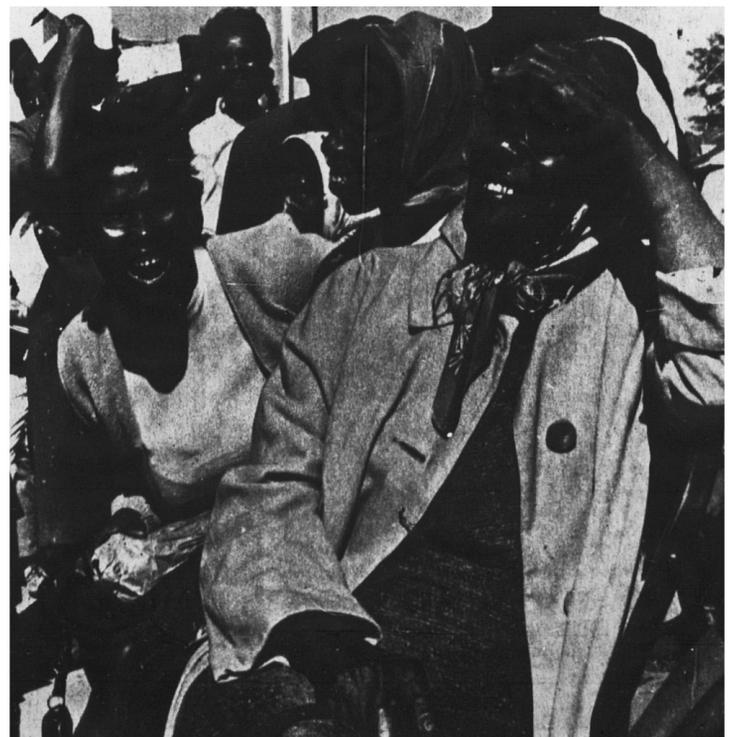
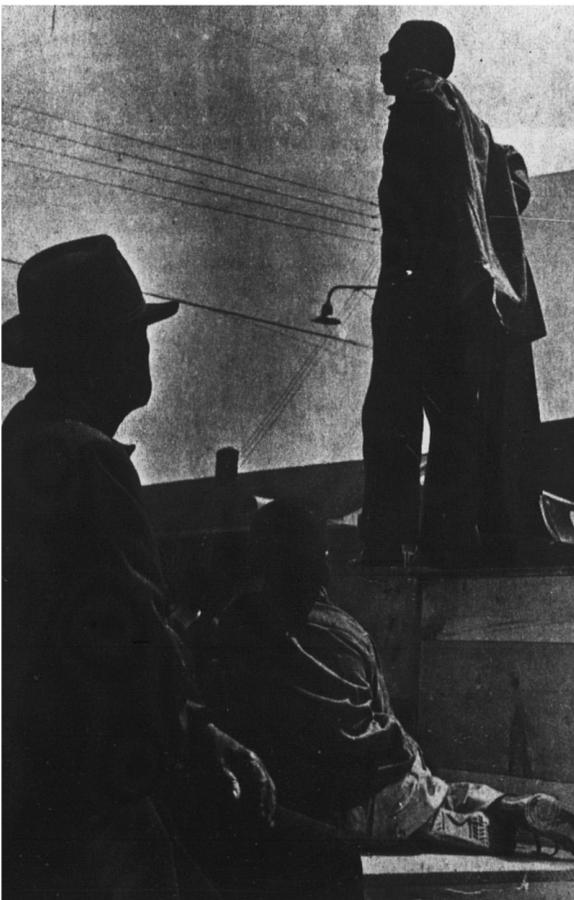
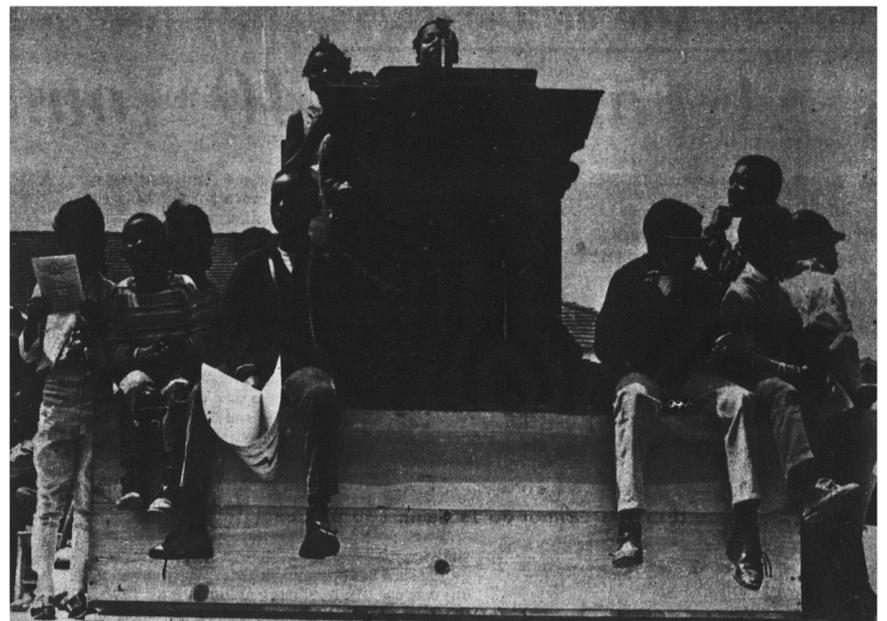
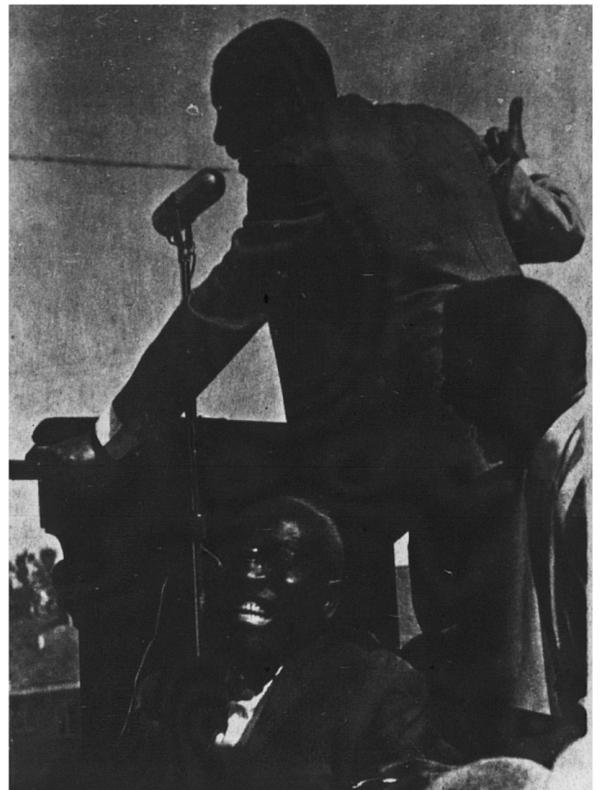
Mrs. Pearl Moorner then gave a brief but fiery message from the Dallas County Farmer Movement, a group of tenant farmers who have received eviction notices since complaining that their landlord was cheating them out of federal funds.

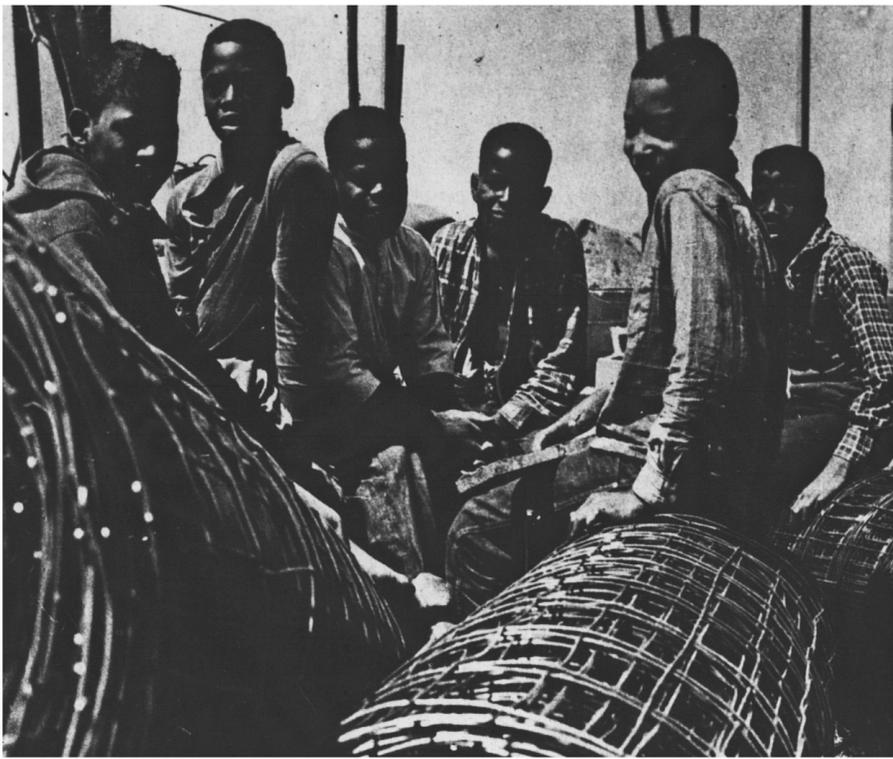
"They told some of us to move back in December, but we ain't moved yet and we don't intend to move," she said.

"We're gonna march right into town, and ain't no Jim Clark gonna turn us around."

At this point comedian Dick Gregory arrived from Chicago and joked about the Dallas County Voters League and ministers who are now urging Negroes to vote for Wilson Baker.

He glanced over at Brown's Chapel and said, "Someone just asked me if I was going to Easter services, but it's getting so you don't know which church to go to any more."

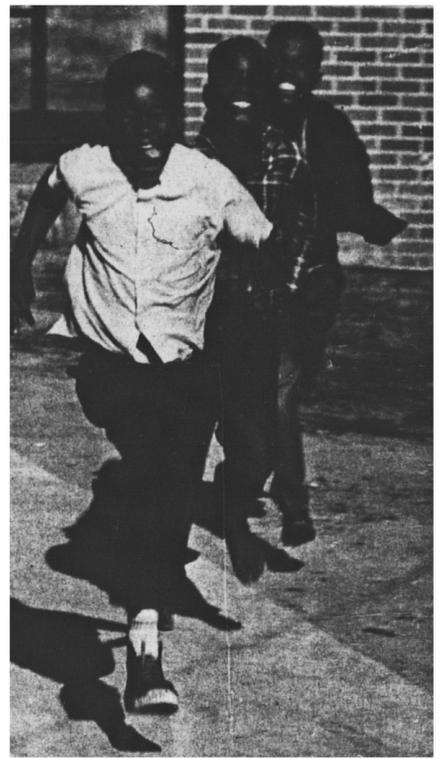




A FEW MILES FROM MONTGOMERY, OUR LADY OF FATIMA CHAPEL AND SCHOOL IS THE ONLY ORPHANAGE IN ALABAMA THAT CARES FOR NEGRO TEEN-AGERS--AND IT ACCEPTS ONLY BOYS.



FATHER MICHAEL CASWELL, A CATHOLIC PRIEST, FOUNDED OUR LADY OF FATIMA 16 YEARS AGO WITH LOTS OF FAITH BUT NOT MUCH MONEY. THE HOME STARTED SMALL AND GREW SLOWLY.



*They All Live at 'Our Lady'*

*A Family of 40 Young Boys*

BY LARRY FREUDIGER

MONTGOMERY -- A small clump of buildings stands a little way back from the Atlanta Highway several miles out of Montgomery.

The cars whiz by. The drivers don't know there is anything unusual to see.

But the little clump of buildings is the only orphanage in the state for teen-aged Negro boys. Our Lady of Fatima Chapel and School for Boys is home for some 40 youngsters, aged about 10 to 18.

It is also the life work of Father Michael Caswell. "There just wasn't any place for these boys," he said. So, in 1949, he set about raising funds. The following year he opened one small building, and the home was on its way.

Although that was 16 years ago, there still is no

center in Alabama where orphaned, teen-aged Negro girls can find a home. But two Catholic orphanages in Mobile were integrated not long ago, and now take boys and girls of both races up to about age 10 or 12.

Our Lady of Fatima Chapel and School receives no federal or state funds. Father Caswell is not supported by any particular Catholic order. As a result, the home has to send financial appeals all over the United States every year.

The boys now live in a college-type dormitory which was built a piece at a time over four years as money slowly trickled in. And the home is building a gymnasium. Father Caswell hopes it will be finished in another year.

Books are not a very big problem. Catholic schools have been quite eager to give their old books to the home. Father Caswell said that Montgomery's military people have been very helpful in donating books to the school.

The staff has grown to ten, but Father Caswell is the only one who lives there full time.

The boys come from all over the state, and from many different backgrounds. Many are referred there through churches, but most are sent by welfare workers from the Department of Pensions and Securities.

Father Caswell said he tries to take only boys who need a home, but don't need special help. The school has no facilities to deal with juvenile delinquents or retarded children.

"Occasionally we do get boys who are retarded, and it's a real problem, as we aren't equipped to help them," he said.

The boys' daily life is as informal and homelike as possible.

They have few formal programs to attend, other than school. On a free afternoon, they often pile in to a car and drive to Montgomery for a movie or a baseball game. Or they stay home and organize a game of marbles on a patch of dirt.

The staff buys the food and supplies, but the boys themselves do all the cooking and laundry. They also keep the yard in order.

Many boys have learned carpentry, plumbing, painting, and other job skills from having to maintain the home.

The boys also raise some farm animals for sale. It's not unusual for a couple of curious pigs to keep the boys company while they do the chores or play games.

In the early years of Our Lady the boys were sent to school at St. Jude's, way out on the opposite end of Montgomery.



But classrooms were eventually added to the original small building. The boys now attend all their classes right there.

Father Caswell expects the school to become accredited soon, although it is not graded before the seventh grade, and is very short on teachers.

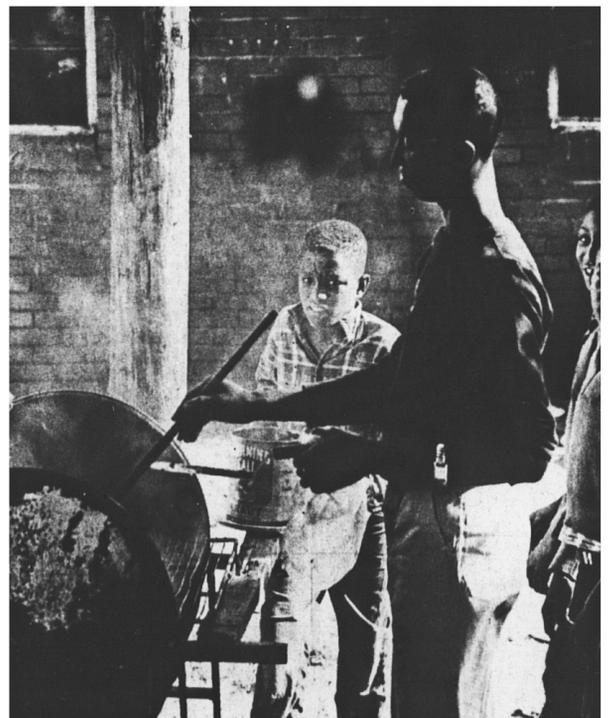
Since the boys arrive with many different backgrounds, they are placed in classes grouped by ability until they are ready to enter the seventh grade.

To make the most of the few teachers, the school gives classes like algebra and geometry only every other year. Two or three grades take the same class at once.

Two volunteers now tutor students who need special help in certain subjects. Father Caswell said he is always on the lookout for more teachers and volunteers.



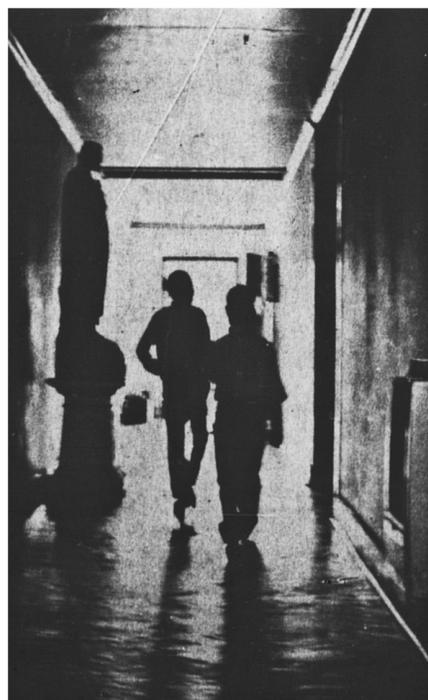
TIME OFF TO PLAY WITH A TURTLE (UPSIDE DOWN)



THE BOYS DO THEIR OWN COOKING AND LAUNDRY



CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND MILITARY GROUPS GAVE OLD BOOKS TO THE LIBRARY



THE GROTTA IS A PEACEFUL PLACE FOR PRAYING, THINKING, OR JUST SITTING

# Election Year: Nitty-Gritty, SNFF, GROW, and 'This Has Been'

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

The increased Negro vote and the role of civil rights groups in the election have their effect on Alabama's political sideshow.

In Tuscaloosa County somebody went



IN MOBILE

around pasting signs on all the billboard pictures of Carl Elliott so that it looks as if the candidate is wearing a necktie saying NEVER.

The trick in Macon County is to put a bumper sticker on a traffic sign so that it reads STOP--WALLACE.

The sign in front of the new vocational school in Montgomery has a PATTERSON sticker on top of the governor's name.

A black panther, symbol of the independent Black Belt party, was pasted on a window in the Macon County Courthouse, but it didn't stay there for long.

For years, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has been hearing speakers talk about "getting down to the nitty-gritty." For last year's voter registration, SNCC printed up yellow bumper stickers saying NITTY-GRITTY IS COMING. . . Now the signs say NITTY-GRITTY IS HERE.

In Selma there is a campaign in Negro neighborhoods to vote for Wilson Baker as "the lesser of two evils," which is a different election pitch. And in Birmingham the SCLC office changed a campaign poster to read ALL LINGO FOR POLICE BRUTALITY. In one of the more interesting radio ads of the campaign, former State Public Safety Director Lingo is heard on Birmingham's mostly Negro radio station, to the accompaniment of soap opera music, saying the job of sheriff is a tough one, a job for a man ten feet tall, and Al Lingo is such a man.

Former Governor James E. Folsom is handing out leaflets with a large picture of Big Jim and with large lettering, THIS HAS BEEN. Inside, you see that "This has been" is the beginning of a sentence about Folsom's platform--the Bill of Rights.

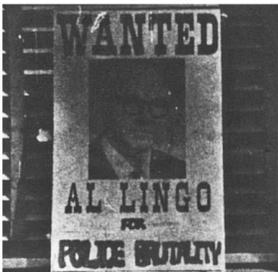
Political groups have picked up the civil rights groups' habit of using initials to tell their story.

The group of whites who hang around Gene Crutcher's Bookshop in Birmingham and trade anti-Wallace remarks display GROW bumper stickers. GROW stands for Get Rid of Wallace.

In Tuscaloosa, young people have formed a club called SNFF--Students and Negroes For Flowers.



IN HUNTSVILLE



IN BIRMINGHAM



IN MOBILE



IN BIRMINGHAM



IN HUNTSVILLE

# White Candidates Sweat it Out Facing the Negro Voters

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

OPELIKA -- "I don't know what you want me to say," said Charles W. Gilmer, one of the 39 white men running for office in Lee County.

He looked around the Greater Peace Baptist Church at 75 members of the Lee County Voters League, an all-Negro group. He looked at three other candidates, sitting together in a front pew. He shrugged and spread his hands.

"There isn't much I can promise you," he said. "As tax collector I won't have any political influence." "We don't want you or anyone to promise us anything," replied Dr. Frank E. Steele, Opelika's only Negro physician and a vocal member of the voters league. "The day of promises is past. We want good government. We haven't been getting good government. Do you agree?"

Gilmer swallowed but he didn't hesitate. "I certainly do," he said. "I'm with you 100 per cent." Then he sat down.

A little man with gray hair and a soft voice took his place. "I'll do my best to bring surplus food in to the county," said Roy W. Broach, a candidate for county commissioner. The audience

applauded. Broach spoke a little louder. "The county already works nigras on the job," he said. That was as far as he got.

"Who?" shouted several men and women. "They work who?"

"Let me hear you say that again," said the Rev. A. L. Wilson, president of the voters league. But Dr. Steele spoke first.

"This man can't speak as well as some," he said. "But he isn't going to say 'nigger.' If a college-trained person says 'nigra,' that's the end of him. But someone without education, that's different." The audience became quiet again.

C. G. Littleton, an insurance salesman and ambulance operator, promised to be a conscientious coroner. "We grew up together," he added. "I hope you feel toward me as I do toward you."

A man promptly questioned how Littleton feels toward Negroes.

"I was at an accident four years ago when a policeman called for an ambulance," the man said. "The person on the phone asked, 'What race is the victim?' Was that you?"

Littleton said it wasn't. "I'll go as quick for Negro as for white. I serve all the people."

The last politician in line was the most outspoken. He was also the only one with any experience.

## Democrat Rules Change Upsets Negro Candidates

MONTGOMERY -- An unexpected change in the rules has upset Negro Democrats' plans to get representation on the county executive committee here.

Five days before the qualification deadline for candidates, the Democratic Executive Committee, which is all white, voted to change its rules so that committee hopefuls run at large in the whole county, instead of from a precinct.

In other words, a person who wants to get on the committee must be one of the top 23 vote getters in the whole county, instead of defeating one or two opponents in his own neighborhood.

Negro voting workers say this makes it more difficult for a Negro to be elected. Montgomery County has about 42,000 whites registered, and slightly more than half that number of Negroes registered.

And, the Negro political leaders say, the rules were made so late that no Negroes who are well known throughout Montgomery County filed as candidates.

There are three Negroes running for the committee, and Negro voters have been grumbling about one or more of them.

Only one showed up at a dinner of the Negro Democratic bigwigs last Satur-

day night. He was Alvin A. Holmes, assistant registrar at Alabama State College.

Sam Nash, a farmer in Spriggs, and Arthur J. Elmore, a teacher from Montgomery, are the other two candidates.

Attorney Solomon S. Seay Jr. of Montgomery said he would challenge the rules in federal court. "Our argument will be similar to the one in the Bullock County case. This rules change was intended to keep Negroes from getting elected. It violates the purpose of the Voting Rights Act of 1965," Seay said.

Robert B. Stewart, chairman of the Montgomery County Democratic Executive Committee, would not give a reason for the rules change.

He said the members of the 23-member committee voted for the change. It was announced Feb. 25, the Friday before the Tuesday filing deadline for candidates.

Montgomery has one other Negro running for county office. He is the Rev. Jesse L. Douglas, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the civic group started during the bus boycott in 1955. Mr. Douglas is running for the school board.

"I don't ever intend to dodge any issue of any type in any way at any time," said Judge C. S. Whittelsey of the Lee County Common Pleas Court, a candidate for re-election. "If you can find a man with a better record than mine for impartiality, elect him."

Dr. Steele asked the judge why he hadn't given the county Democratic Executive Committee a voters league list of Negro poll watchers.

"I don't plan to lose friends in one place to win them in another," Whittelsey replied. "That's not good politics, doctor."

"He's honest, I like that much about him," said Mr. Wilson after the candidates had left the meeting. "But there's a difference between being honest and being fair."

Only the four candidates came to the voters league meeting. But Mr. Wilson said the other 35 had been invited. He also said they probably won't be invited again.

"If they want our votes, they should come when we ask them--not when they get ready," he explained. "We've got other work to do now. We've got to organize 3,500 voters."

Those 3,500 Negro voters are less than 25 per cent of the total in Lee County. They can't show their strength by voting for a Negro candidate, because there aren't any Negro candidates. But league leaders hope to produce a bloc vote for league-endorsed candidates. The selections will be announced later this month.

"We're like an embryo," said Dr. Steele at the end of the meeting. "We're just starting--we're waiting to be born. But we have stirred people up."

"This is one time when we have to follow the leader. When the league says vote for somebody, vote for him even if you hate his guts."



**VOTE FOR Otis Pinkard for Tax Collector Macon County Democratic Primary May 3 (Pd. Pol. Adv. by Otis Pinkard, Tuskegee, Alabama)**

## An Honor for Voter Registration

TROY--Just about every county has its person, usually a lady, who takes on the job of getting people registered to vote.

The job involves long hours of carrying people to the courthouse, standing



MRS. JOHNNIE M. WARREN

around taking down names and addresses, and endless battling to get information from the registrars. And there is no pay, of course.

In Pike County, the lady who has taken that job was honored this week as "Woman of the Year" of Gamma Lambda Chapter, Iota Phi Lambda sorority. Mrs. Johnnie M. Warren of Troy received the community service award for her work in political action.

Registration workers like Mrs. Warren have a problem either getting courthouse clerks to register people or getting the people to the courthouse. And sometimes there are both problems.

Mrs. Warren said that her greatest problem was getting people to the courthouse on the days of registration.

"Since the Voting Rights Act was passed," she said, "we have had no trouble from the registrars." As a matter of fact Mrs. Warren now has the people at the courthouse calling her to notify her of extra registration days.

When the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's SCOPE project came to Troy last summer there were about 520 Negroes registered in Pike County. SCOPE set up the Pike County Voters

League, and Mrs. Warren was named president. Now there are more than 2,000 Negroes registered, Mrs. Warren said.

She and her husband, Ed, parents of two children, took time off to carry people to the courthouse in their own car.

"Sometimes you have to fight for yourself. Sometimes I couldn't sleep at night because it seemed we weren't getting anywhere."

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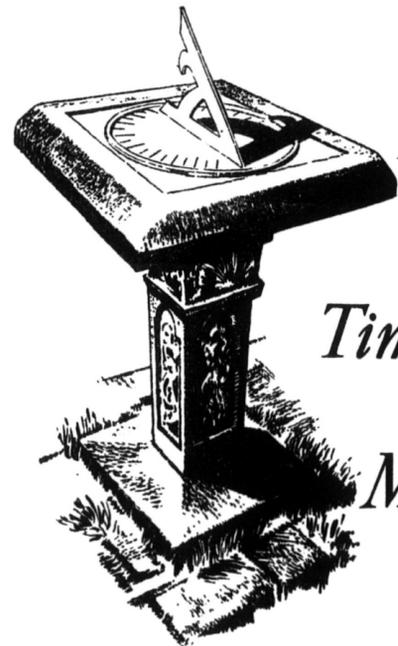
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# No More Open Season in Bullock U.S. Official Not Hopeful About Race Relations

## THAT'S CAMPAIGN PROMISE OF CANDIDATE FOR SHERIFF

BY MARY ELLEN GALE  
 INDIAN CREEK -- "If you kill a bird out of season, somebody's gonna get you for it," said H. O. Williams, the first Negro to run for Bullock County sheriff in at least 100 years.

"There's a season on birds. But there's no season on us. The white man can come and beat you up whenever he feels like it."

His audience, 75 people sitting on hard wooden benches in Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, burst into applause.

"Just a few years ago we had three white candidates sitting right up there," said Williams. He pointed to a row of chairs behind the altar.

"They made us a lot of promises. They said they were going to treat everybody equal. Well, does anyone know of any white person who's been beaten or kicked? But we got a man here with us tonight to tell us what happens to Negroes."

Williams swung around and looked at a man sitting behind him. But the man didn't look up. He just sat, looking sadly down at the floor. So Williams went on.

"They say the vote changes things," he said. "It does. Now that we got a majority, the white people want to shake your hand. They'll even call you 'Mr.' But you take a rattlesnake and cut his tail off--he don't rattle no more but he'll still bite you."

Everybody laughed and clapped. But Williams wasn't through.

"One night some of these Uncle Toms are gonna sneak in to your house and say, 'Don't vote for Red Williams. It's not time.' And the white man's gonna come and say he's been good to y'all. You know what he means by that?"

"When I was a boy, I only had to go to school four and a half or five months every year. But the white boys down the street went for nine months. Now they say Negroes don't have enough education. How could you have any?"

## DICK GREGORY

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

to take the lesser of two evils. "But even if he takes the week-end prostitute, he's still married to a whore."

(In Montgomery later, Gregory advised Negroes, when white politicians approach them, "Take that dough, take that bread." Then, he said, "On election day pull the switch on 'em." Gregory told Negroes to vote for the opponent of the man who offers money or to vote for no one. "Nothing scares a politician more than people stayin' away from the polls.")

Gregory, raised in a poor family in Chicago, is now one of the highest paid entertainers in the country. He has been active in civil rights work in his home town and in the South, and runs a foundation to fight juvenile crime.

He told the people to watch for tricks everywhere. He said a lot of people talk about love of country and regret the violence in Watts.

"But you know, when George Washington and his bunch of hoodlums told Mama England they weren't gonna pay taxes and went and dumped Daddy's tea in Boston Harbor, that was Watts. "Once you understand where the trick

is, you can trick the trick."

Although he never mentioned names, he made it quite clear that his remarks about a double-cross had been directed at the Dallas County Voters League and its president, the Rev. F. D. Reese. He held up a copy of the Selma Times-Journal, which had a front-page newspaper story on Mr. Reese's attack on the independent freedom organizations.

"Kind of makes you wonder when a Negro leader gets on the front page up there with all those white folks.

"And the funny thing is that right next to it there's a picture of Jesus on the cross.

"You know, they denied him too." "Watch out for those preachers, Captain'll double-cross you with the Bible when it's his rent gotta be paid.

"And when you go to church try doin' a little more listening and a little less hollering. You might find out when you're hollering old preacher's just moving his lips."

He ended by promising the people he would keep in touch and return sometime before the May primary election. "I think I'll come down then and talk some names."



RUFUS C. HUFFMAN  
 Running for tax assessor

Most of the people on the benches murmured and nodded their heads. But Williams said he was looking for something besides nods and murmurs. He was looking for votes. He said he wanted to see all 3,400 Negro voters in Bullock County at the polls May 3, to outvote the 2,300 registered whites.

After Williams finished, Jessie L. Coleman, the sad-looking man, spoke for a few minutes. He said he went to sleep in his car along the highway a few nights earlier.

"The next I knew anything," he said, "someone was hitting me. My face was bleeding. There were four or five policemen. They took me to jail. They said I was resisting arrest. How could I resist five with my bare hands?"

The people in the audience looked angry. Wilbon Thomas, head of the Midway NAACP branch, told them he hoped they were as angry as they looked. He said that was why the meeting was being held in their small church ten miles south of Union Springs.

"This freedom course is going from town to town to stir the communities up," he said. "We want your attention. We want you to know that the men here are fully qualified for office. They have the courage to run. They have the background and training. And they're each one of us."

Williams, who owns a TV repair shop, has two opponents in the race for sheriff. One of them, C. M. Blue Jr., already holds the job. He claims he has the support of "all the people, colored and white." The third candidate is R. E. Newman, a retired city policeman.

Rufus C. Huffman, a Negro teacher, is running for tax assessor against two



HENRY O. WILLIAMS  
 Running for sheriff

white men. He told the freedom course that the tax assessor's job is "the most important in the county."

"More land has been taken from our people through the probate judge's office and tax assessor's office than any other way," Huffman said. "They've been charging us the maximum rate and charging themselves the lowest.

"Why are Negroes seeking office?" he asked. "Why has the white man held office all these years? This is our great opportunity to correct the mess the white man has created.

"But we're not going to abuse him. Though he's been cruel to us, we'll be kind to him. The best way to destroy an enemy is to make him into a friend."

One other candidate spoke to the freedom course at Mt. Calvary Church last week. He was Thomas Reed, one of two Negroes running for Place No. 1 in the 31st House District (Macon, Bullock, and Barbour counties).

After each of the candidates talked, 25 students from Merritt High School in Midway sang freedom songs. They sang special words, urging people to vote for Williams, Huffman, Reed, and Fred Gray, a Negro attorney running for Place No. 2 in the 31st House District.

"There's not a thing in the world we can do without you," Williams told the audience on behalf of all the candidates. "Unless you come out and vote as our conscience dictates, we haven't got a chance.

"Don't vote as the white man tells you. Don't hand your ballot back to him and let him read it. Don't let anybody buy you off or scare you off."

"The ballot is power," said Huffman. "But if we don't use it, we'll lose it."

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--"It's very difficult to be optimistic about the race problem in America," according to Ben Holman, of the federal Community Relations Service.

Holman sees some optimistic signs in the area of race relations that he knows best, the work of the Community Relations Service. This agency is to help communities settle racial problems quietly.

"Our view is that if this problem is going to be solved, it won't be solved through laws or in the courts, but in the local communities. We've had a long string of successes in the South. And we've been well received where we have gone in the South."

But Holman, a Negro, found little reason for optimism in other areas of race relations. He said that the country "is accepting changes in almost every part of our life, except race relations. . . . This nation still seems to be on a course of resisting racial change, of accepting just barely enough to get by."

The result is that "the masses of Negroes in most cities have advanced only slightly compared to the rest of the population. And the gap is widening, North and South. . . . In almost every city, almost all the Negroes live in one section and that section is a true ghetto."

Holman said Negroes who once were "willing to believe that the ideals of American democracy would be reached" are now beginning to doubt this in large numbers.

MEDICARE  
 WASHINGTON -- The deadline for people over 65 years of age to sign up for the government's doctor bill insurance has been extended to May 31.

They are doubting that integration will really come, he said. They are saying, "What is so great about this white man's middle class life that I should break my neck trying to achieve it." And they are beginning to question Christianity, "a religion that preaches one thing and practices another."

In these circumstances, "gradualism won't work," Holman argued.

He said bi-racial commissions are a form of gradualism that doesn't work because "the wrong Negroes are often on them."

"Watts is a good example. They had a commission there, but the people on it were surprised when the riots broke out and were absolutely helpless to do anything about it."

Not even the vote will work, Holman said, although "many people believe the battle is over, since the Negro can vote."

Holman said the solution would have to come through individuals and private groups working "to banish racism and segregation from our communities" and through government doing equally "radical and drastic things to save our country from what it's heading for at the present time."

He suggested "massive relocation of Negroes throughout metropolitan areas, taking them out of slums and putting them in middle class neighborhoods."

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