

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

ROOM 622, FRANK LEU BUILDING
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36104
PHONE: (205) 262-3572

THE SOUTHERN COURIER is published weekly by a non-profit, non-share education 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, Alabama.

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Vol. II, No. 17

April 23-24, 1966

Editorial Opinion

The Anvil

A very important election is upon us. Many people have worked hard and some have died to make this and future elections ones in which all the people will speak.

Although thousands of Negroes in Alabama are now qualified to vote, they will be participating in an election process that is stacked against them.

In Dallas and Lowndes counties, Negroes who want to select local candidates who best respond to their needs (in an independent third party) will be prevented by law from casting primary ballots for Democratic nominees to important state and district offices. In most counties in Alabama, Negroes will have to choose among candidates whom Negroes had nothing to do with selecting for the primary ballot. And in just about all counties, Negroes will vote under rules they had no hand in making, with election officials selected from outside the Negro community, and in polling places convenient to white neighborhoods.

Still, among the candidates for state-wide office and for several county positions, there are very clear choices for Alabama's new voters. In other words, be sure to vote. Make your choices on the basis of what you have seen and heard about the candidates and on the basis of endorsements from local leaders you respect. Remember that the choice in the end is yours, and you do not have to vote the way you have said you were going to vote. No one can control your vote if you make up your own mind.

Beyond that, the best advice for voters comes from Charles Morgan, an attorney from Atlanta, who spoke this month to a meeting of Negro Democrats:

"Politics does offer one road to the settlement of racial problems. The solution itself does not lie in politics but it is from the political anvil that the sparks of change will fly. There must be not merely more jobs for Negroes, there must be more jobs, period. There must be not merely the betterment of the lives of middle-class Negroes and whites. There must be a total revamping of the social structure, so that there is no underprivileged class, be it Negro or white. Government can make these changes, and government is politics. . . ."

"You must constantly press for the registration of poor Negroes, for as you have lately seen, the first rule of politics is simple mathematics. And almost all politicians can count. You must train and develop poll watchers and vote counters. You must never wed yourself to a particular political party. You may go steady but marriage is out. . . ."

"But regardless of the means you use to your political ends, you have much to add to the flavor of political life in the South and nation. For it is you largely who are responsible for the war on poverty; it is you who are largely responsible for a review of our economic policies regarding unemployment and our taking the role of welfare in our society and a guaranteed annual income. You have suffered more than most Americans and you must not forget that suffering, for today you recognize national problems as yet unrecognized by other Americans."

Brewton Nominates 15

BREWTON--About 200 Negroes met Monday night in the First Street Siloam Baptist Church here and discussed two of the three big things on people's minds now in Negro sections of town.

One was the formation of a bi-racial commission. Fifteen people were nominated by the group. The mayor of Brewton will choose the Negro members of the commission from this list of 15.

The mayor has not decided how many Negroes and whites will be on the commission altogether. When he decides on the total, he will appoint Negroes to about 40 per cent of the seats. This is the percentage of Negroes in the Brewton area.

The second item on the agenda was the election. No Negroes are running for office in Escambia County, but the group wants to make the white candidates feel the Negro vote.

"We've got to get together with the people in Atmore," said one lady. Atmore is the other main town in the county.

S. C. Cheatham was named head of a committee to contact the people in Atmore.

The third thing on people's minds is the shooting last Saturday of 29-year-old Peter Hanks by a policeman in Brewton. Hanks, a Negro, was taken to a hospital in Mobile with bullet wounds

in the leg and stomach. Will Harvey, head of the civic group that called Monday's meeting, said the facts of the case are still unclear. He wants to wait for a full investigation before deciding what to do.

After talking to the wounded man in the hospital, Mobile Negro leader J. L. LeFlore said he would file a complaint with the U. S. Justice Department in Washington.



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



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- Ability
- Experience
- Integrity

**What Happened 99 Years Ago
When Negroes Had the Vote**

BY GAIL FALK

Next Tuesday in Alabama thousands of Negroes will be voting for the first time, and Negroes will be running for offices that have always been held by whites.

They will be voting because of new laws--passed during the administration of a Southern President named Johnson--calling for federal officials to register all qualified voters over 21 years of age and to make sure that elections in the South are run fairly.

Exactly the same thing happened in Alabama 99 years ago.

The President then was Andrew Johnson, not Lyndon; the new legislation was the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, not the Voting Rights Act of 1965; and most of the new voters had been slaves all their lives.

When the Civil War ended in 1865, government in Alabama, as in all the other Southern states, was completely disorganized.

Many people thought Southerners who had fought on the Confederate side in the war should not be permitted to hold office in the new government.

But President Johnson, who believed in states rights, wanted to give the white Southerners a chance. He said he would pardon former Confederates who were willing to take an oath of loyalty to the United States.

And so the new legislature, which met in Montgomery in 1865, was made up of the same kind of men who had been in power before the Civil War. The most

powerful members were conservative plantation owners from the Black Belt. The first proposal to permit recently freed Negroes to vote in Alabama was made in this all-white government of former Confederates--and it was introduced by the representative from Lowndes County.

In 1866 many Black Belt plantation owners favored Negro suffrage because their counties had large Negro populations.

They were sure they could control the Negro vote. And the large number of votes would give them more power in the state legislature.

But before the bill could become law, Southern legislatures had passed some other laws which angered Northerners so much that they dissolved the state governments.

The Southern states refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. And they seemed to be setting up a new legalized kind of slavery by a series of laws that were named the "black codes."

"A very strict vagrancy law set fines for stubborn servants and laborers who didn't go to work, and an apprenticeship law allowed jailing minors who would not work for their masters.

People in the North began to say they had fought the Civil War for nothing, and early in 1867 Congress passed three Reconstruction Acts.

These laws abolished state government in all the Southern states and put the U. S. Army in charge.

Military commanders were given the job of registering voters and holding elections for a new government. They were told to register all Negro males

21 years and over but no white people who had been officers in the Confederate Government or Army.

A board of registrars made up of two

white men and one Negro was put in charge of each of 42 election districts in Alabama.

Since the white men had to take an oath saying they had not been on the Confederate side in the war, most white Alabamians were excluded and many of the registrars came from the North. These registrars gave speeches and passed out leaflets so the freedmen would know what registration was all about. The registrars had a transportation budget so that they could travel around and tell Negroes about their rights.

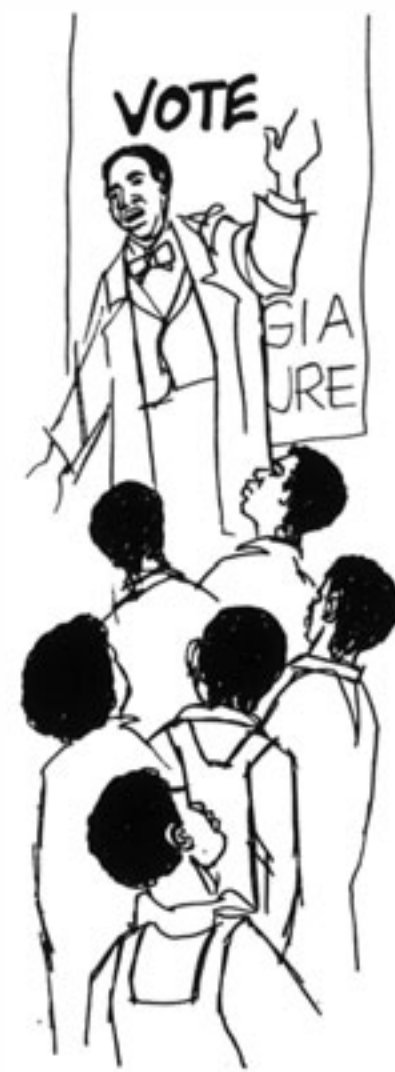
On the whole, the registrars did their job thoroughly, and by October 1867 official records showed 104,418 Negroes registered.

Some white candidates started acting the way many are acting this year in the face of large Negro registration. One white Montgomerian reported in disgust that the candidate for sheriff "went out to a Negro baptizing about five miles from town, took a bottle of whiskey, that the Negroes drank first, and then drank."

White people complained that federal officials weren't just registering people, they were telling them to vote Republican.

They said their tenants treated registration like a celebration and took several days off from work when they were needed in the fields. One white man complained his maid wouldn't milk the cow after she (the maid) had gotten the vote.

But what they really didn't like was the feeling they were losing control of the Negro vote. The Ku Klux Klan appeared (CONTINUED ON PAGE FOUR, Col. 5)



**Alabama will have more years of Violence.
Unless you elect the only man who can
possibly win. GILCHRIST**



The time has come. The time to end this era of turmoil. It is time for Bob Gilchrist. The one hope for a new Alabama.

Gilchrist is the man. Just think about it a minute. Who besides this dynamic young Senator can make the run-off, and then go on to win it? Personalities aside, it becomes a matter of simple arithmetic. Richmond Flowers could not win. For he would receive the bloc vote and few others. Carl Elliott could not win. His association with Lyndon Johnson and the Federal Government would cause his defeat in a run-off election.

No other candidate, besides Gilchrist, has the record, the support, or the momentum to make the run-off, close ranks, and go on to victory. Gilchrist can do this. With your support, Gilchrist will win. Win, and then bring a new day of peace and dignity that will usher in progress never dreamed possible for Alabama. With Gilchrist as your Governor,

highways will be built and completed. Not just abruptly ending at nowhere.

Gilchrist, a champion of education, will not rest until Alabama outstrips the South, outdistances the nation. Industry will swarm to an Alabama with a stable, conservative, responsible government--industry bringing with it the good jobs our young people have been leaving Alabama to get.

Clean, conservative government cannot help but make increased funds available for all state services. More dollars for our needy elderly people, faced as they are by rising costs and grimly inadequate assistance.

If you believe in a Space Age Alabama, elect Gilchrist. If you want a man with programs to help our young people, elect Gilchrist. Get behind Gilchrist and get accelerated industrial development, completed highways and waterways, all in an Alabama living up to its potential. LET'S GO, ALABAMA.



**Elect
BOB
GILCHRIST
GOVERNOR**



CITIZENS OF BARBOUR COUNTY LISTEN TO CANDIDATE DURING POLITICAL RALLY



REV. LIONA LANGFORD, PERRY COUNTY CANDIDATE



REV. NED WILLIAMS, BARBOUR COUNTY CANDIDATE

Negro Voters and Negro Candidates Add

New Faces in Alabama Politics



PARTISAN ENDORSES THOMAS REED AT EUFAULA RALLY



PATT DAVIS, PERRY CO, SHERIFF CANDIDATE, SHOWS BALLOT TO NEW VOTER



CITIZEN LISTENS TO CANDIDATE CAMPAIGN ON TOWN SQUARE IN TUSKEGEE

THREE WOMEN LISTEN TO NEGRO CANDIDATES SPEAK IN SELMA RALLY

Photographs by Jim Pepler



MONEY BEING COLLECTED AT SELMA POLITICAL RALLY SPONSORED BY DALLAS COUNTY VOTERS LEAGUE



MRS. JESSIE GUZMAN, CANDIDATE FOR STATE REP., MEETS BARBOUR CO. VOTERS

Attorney General, Lieutenant Governor

In Other State Races

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

In different ways, two state offices-- lieutenant governor and attorney general-- can be stepping-stones to the Governor's Mansion.

The lieutenant governor takes over if anything happens to the governor--if the governor dies or is unable to perform his duties.

The attorney general, on the other hand, has a good chance of being elected governor some day. At least, most of the recent attorneys general have thought so.

MacDonald Gallion, attorney general under former Governor John Patterson, ran for governor in 1962, but finished fourth in the primary. Now Gallion is

running for attorney general again. Gallion, of Montgomery, is opposing Guy Sparks of Anniston in the race to be the state's top legal officer and the man who represents Alabama officials in the courtroom.

In the past, Gallion was a key figure in cleaning up Phenix City, which used



GALLION



SPARKS

'Insider' and 'Outsider' Seek State School Post

BIRMINGHAM--The race for Democratic nomination for state superintendent of education is one of the most polite of the campaign, but the two candidates have made clear there is a difference between them.

It's a race between an "insider" and an "outsider."

Ernest Stone, superintendent of schools in Jacksonville in northeast Alabama, expects the support of most of Alabama's professional teacher groups.

A 53-year-old veteran of three decades in Alabama education, Stone is a personal friend of the current state superintendent, Austin Meadows. Like most of the state school superintendents in the past, he has previously worked his way up to president of the Alabama Education Association.

Donald Horne, 32, is the outsider trying to bypass the traditional apprenticeship in the AEA. Superintendent of Cullman City Schools in north Alabama, he was formerly head of the University of Alabama's mental retardation program planning, after a few years teaching experience in Georgia.

"The old guard has had a strangle hold on the State Department of Education for the past 16 or 20 years," Horne has been telling his audiences. "School systems all over Alabama have suffered, creativity has been stifled and



HORNE



STONE

progress has been too slow in comparison with other states."

Stone is promising to "forcefully promote quality education in Alabama," including "a strong program of teaching Americanism and moral standards." Both he and Horne promise higher teachers' salaries.

"Teachers' salaries in Alabama are only about \$5,100 per year, while the national average is \$6,500," Horne says. "I don't see how we can continue to be number one in football and on the bottom in education."

The two candidates have made about the same promises, with Horne putting a little more emphasis on educational programs and Stone leaning towards increasing teachers' pay and benefits.

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to be a center of organized crime. He also fought the loan-shark (high-interest loan) racket.

The 53-year-old Gallion has claimed credit for the legal actions that barred the NAACP and CORE from operating in Alabama.

Sparks, 38, was state Commissioner of Revenue from 1961 to 1963, the youngest man ever appointed to the job. Like Gallion, he fought against high-interest loan practices.

Sparks has said he "will avoid the intrigues of politics and concentrate upon the hard work" of the office.

The Speaker of the Alabama House of Representatives, two state senators, and a Huntsville lawyer are running for lieutenant governor in the Democratic primary.

House Speaker Albert Brewer, 37, of Decatur, has been a member of the House since he was 25. A dedicated supporter of Governor Wallace, he got many of the governor's favorite bills through the House.

State Senator John Tyson, 37, of Mobile, was one of the 14 senators who helped defeat Wallace's attempt to succeed himself in office. The other state senator in the race, 44-year-old Neil Metcalf of Geneva, was on military duty during the succession fight.

But in the past, Metcalf, like Tyson, has fought against Wallace.

The fourth candidate, John Reynolds, 44, says he's running "as a Democrat who feels that Alabama ought to rejoin the union."

There will be a gospel singing jubilee at the Houston Hill City Recreation Community Center. Featuring the Flying Clouds, the Wandering Pilgrims, the Golden Echoes, the Spiritual Travelers. This program is being sponsored by the Montgomery Community Development Organization. Prizes will be given away. Time will be May 6, 1966, at 7:30 p.m. Donation 75¢. The general public is invited. Mr. Frank Tate, Pres.; Mr. Leon Ross, Exec. V. Pres.

New Rights Law for Tuskegee?

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--The City Council this week resolved to outlaw "any form of discrimination based on race" in the city of Tuskegee.

The councilmen pledged themselves to pass a sweeping ordinance or series of ordinances that would go far beyond federal civil rights legislation.

Nothing was ruled out. The council directed its attorney to investigate every legal means of ending racial discrimination, and told him to get help from lawyers "familiar with civil rights."

J. Allan Parker, a white member of the bi-racial council, made the suggestion on which the council acted. Parker said he envisioned laws that would cover "much more than employment and services."

The Rev. K. L. Buford, a Negro councilman, said the council would look into "every matter, even housing and religion." Neither is covered by present federal laws.

"Every time something comes up, there's too much pressure or no pressure," said Parker. "Things are pretty quiet now. It's time for some preventive maintenance."

"Last week a patient at a local hospital needed to go to Birmingham. No ambulance service would carry him there because of his color. The hospital isn't going to push it."

"But we should. We should not have that condition in Tuskegee. If we don't solve anything else, we must solve it."

Parker indirectly reminded the council of Macon County's five-to-one Negro majority. "This is not anything any

ethnic group should object to," he said. "Not the majority or the minority. Two years from now, the minority may be glad it's on the books."

The council also authorized a team of investigators from the federal Community Relations Service to begin a study of the city police department.

The CRS representatives will be interviewing city officials, policemen, and citizens for another week before they report back to the city council.

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Candidate For House of Representatives No. 10

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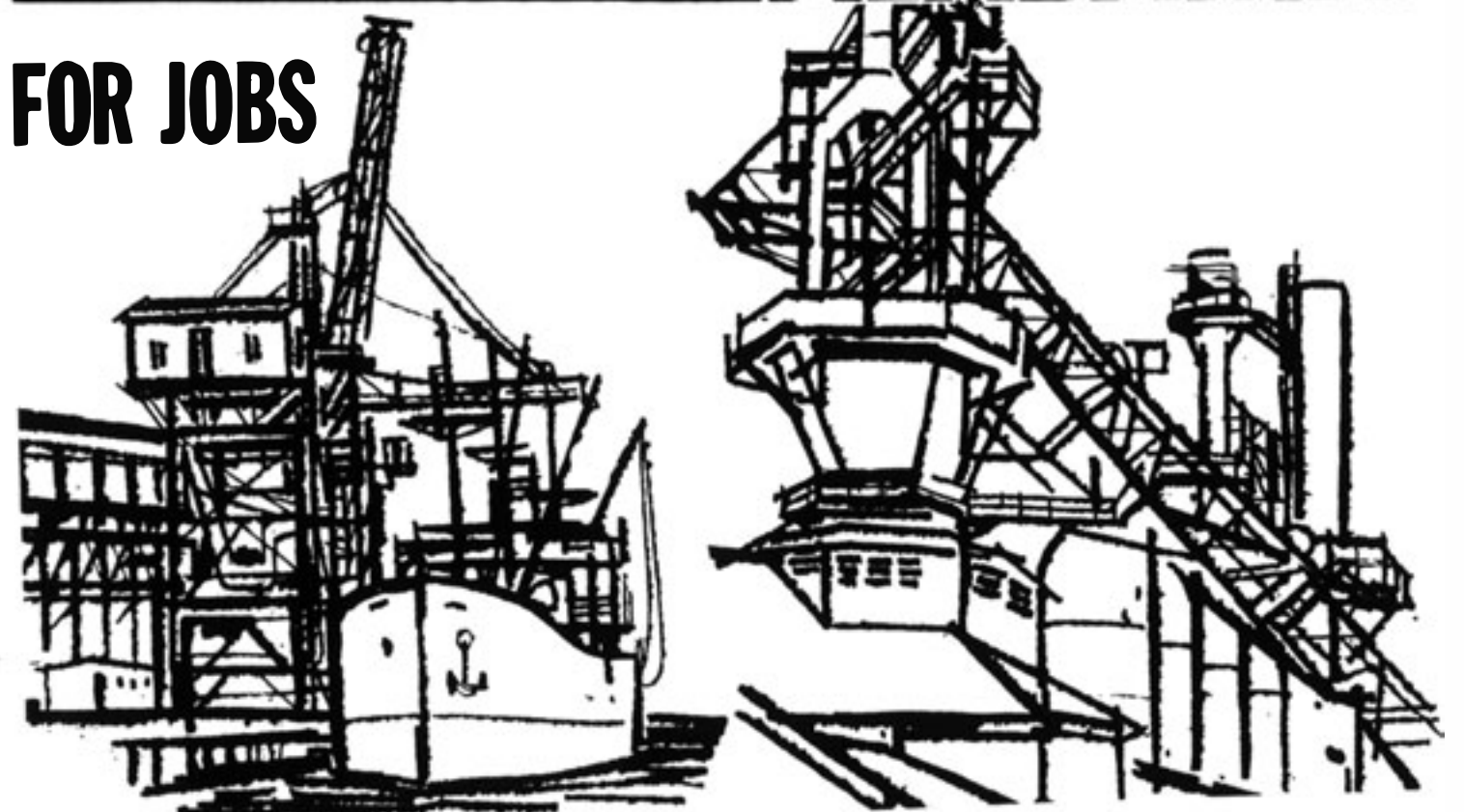
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- 48th in families with less than \$2500 income
- 47th in families with more than \$10,000 income
- 47th in spendable income—\$28 a week
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- A bi-racial Community Relations Bureau, in all cities To find new & better jobs for Negro Alabamians
- On-The-Job-Training Programs, in all cities— To open the door to advancement
- A Youth Opportunity Corps, both urban & rural— To teach new skills; to develop our resources; to put the energies of our young people to work

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Pd. Pol. Adv. by Dr. Paul R. Flowers, Dothan, Ala.

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ALBERT TURNER ON VOTE-GETTING TOUR

Voters Hard to Reach In County Like Perry

MARION--What does campaigning mean to a candidate for local office? For Pat J. Davis, candidate for sheriff in Perry County, it means traveling from one corner of the county to the other, talking to people, urging them to vote in the primary, instructing them on how to use a ballot. It is not an easy job.

A typical day starts at 8 a.m. in the morning with a meeting of Negro candidates for other offices and local leaders in the county.

On Tuesday and Thursday Davis teaches a class in voting instructions at 9:30 a.m. There is almost always a speech to make to explain why he feels that he is the best choice for sheriff. The rest of the day is usually taken up with talking to people in their homes, in their businesses, and on the streets.

There are about 3700 Negroes registered to vote in the county, many of whom have never voted before. There are about the same number of whites registered.

Perry is a rural county, and so the people are separated by miles of farmland. Many do not have cars of their own, and so the candidates must make plans to get the voters to the polls on election day.

And the candidates have to make sure that people voting for the first time and people who cannot read or write are taught not to mark their ballots wrong.

Running with Davis is his good friend, Albert Turner, who is state director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Turner, who lives in Marion, is running for nomination to the state House of Representatives in District 27, place 1, against two white candidates. His opponents are Roy A. Barnett of Marion and Ira D. Pruitt of Livingston, in Sumter County, a veteran at the state capitol in Montgomery.

The 27th District includes Perry, Sumter, and Marengo counties. Traveling much of the same country in his campaign is the Rev. F. N. Nixon, an NAACP civil rights leader in York, Sumter County. Mr. Nixon is running for place 2 in the same district against two white men.

For the first time, Negroes are also running in Marengo County (for tax assessor), for seven Perry offices besides sheriff, and for three Sumter County positions.



NIXON

In Mobile County

Few Issues, But Lots of Names

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--When voters here walk in to the booths Tuesday, they will be face-to-face with a list of 97 candidates running for 31 different offices. And where there are contests for Democratic ward committeemen's posts, the list will be 99 or 100 names long, with 32 offices.

It is not easy to decide which candidates to vote for on such a long ballot. And very few candidates have brought up any issues for voters to base their decisions on. Most campaigns in the county have attempted to publicize personalities, rather than issues.

This is true of the two Negroes running for major offices, as well as the whites.

Negro dentist Dr. W. L. Russell, a candidate for the school board, has not publicly discussed integration or the state of the county's Negro schools unless somebody brought it up in a meeting. When people have done this, Russell has side-stepped their questions.

When a reporter asked Russell's opinion on the original school board decision not to take federal funds for a summer-school program in low-income areas, Russell declined to comment.

Russell says, "The problems that face us are not because of incompetency on the part of the school board." Instead, he says, the problems are rather minor ones that can be corrected by administrative adjustments, "without extra taxation."

The other school board candidates have been saying roughly the same things.

Clarence H. Montgomery, a Negro running for one of the county's ten seats in the state House of Representatives, says he is "a candidate, not a Negro candidate."

He has centered his campaign on the same issues that the other House and Senate candidates are emphasizing: improvement of the State Docks, attracting new industry, bringing a larger share of state funds into Mobile County.

But these aren't really issues, because almost everybody here agrees on them.

There is one difference between Montgomery's campaign and the others. His white supporters have been quietly telling their friends that one Negro representative out of ten is not too much to ask for, in a county that is 35 per cent Negro.

Montgomery says, "This approach seems to be succeeding. We don't expect too much support from them, but we expect enough."

Both he and Russell must get a lot of white votes to win, and both their campaigns reflect this fact.

Many Negroes are displeased at Montgomery's and Russell's failure to speak out firmly about things the legis-

lature and the school board need to do for Negroes. But most of these people say they will vote for the two Negro candidates anyway.

In the contests for sheriff and district attorney, there are real clashes over issues.

Challengers Glenn Dismukes and Norman Firth charge Sheriff Ray Bridges with not doing enough to stop organized crime and "shinny" (moonshine) operations in the county. Bridges, who is running for re-election, says he's doing his job right and will continue to.

Peter J. Palughi, a 36-year-old lawyer, is running for district attorney against Carl Booth, who has held the job for 23 years.

Many Negro leaders supported Booth when Palughi ran against him un-

successfully four years ago. This year, Palughi is campaigning actively for the Negro vote, and many Negroes have supported him, regardless of what the leaders say.

Palughi has accused Booth of being too hard on Negroes accused of crimes against white people, and too soft on Negroes accused of crimes against other Negroes.

Palughi has cited the Nathaniel Taylor case, among others. Booth's office brought Taylor to trial last year for the murder of a prominent white woman, and asked for the death penalty. The judge threw the case out of court because there wasn't enough evidence against Taylor.

Booth says his office treats Negroes and whites the same.

Speech Trouble in Bay Minette

BAY MINETTE -- Monday night in Baldwin County, candidates came out in large numbers to face large numbers of Negro voters for the first time.

Candidates have sought Negro votes in previous elections, but Monday they did it in a big public meeting at Douglasville High School on the outskirts of Bay Minette.

About 150 people attended the meeting, which was set up by the Douglasville Civic Club. Leroy Bryant, the principal of the school, is also the head of the Civic Club.

Fourteen white candidates came to the meeting to ask for votes and answer questions. Most of the questions were about improving the roads in Negro sections of the county.

But one question was about pronunciation. Sheriff Taylor Wilkins is running unopposed for re-election, but he came to the meeting anyway. While he was speaking, Lawrence Stevens, a young man from the Stockton area, stood up and walked to the front of the room carrying a piece of paper.

Stevens had written N-E-G-R-O on

the paper. He waved it at the sheriff and the other candidates, and asked them why they had trouble pronouncing the word correctly.

The sheriff said he thought he was saying it right, so the problem must be in the microphone.

At the end of the meeting, Bryant said it had been a success, although some words were "mispronounced."

But some people thought it was too early to tell whether the meeting was successful. One lady said as she was going out that candidates in Baldwin County had made promises to Negroes before, but "very little progress" came out of the promises.

She said things will have to wait and see whether people will be different this time.

'Better Think a Long, Long Time'

SUNFLOWER--"You better think a long, long time before you send any little two-by-four peckerwoods up to Montgomery to mess things up for you," shouted the candidate. He wasn't a Negro candidate trying to blast white opponents.

He was just an old politician answering two younger men who are challenging him for his seat in the state House of Representatives.

The listeners, about 100 Negroes and 30 whites at Sunflower Junior High Tuesday night, weren't sure whether to chuckle or gasp at Representative J. Emmett Wood's words. They did some of both.

Candidates for other offices gave the type of speech that could have been given at a political rally anywhere in rural America. They talked about roads, about keeping their young people from moving to the big cities, and about keeping the big cities from out-voting them in the legislature.

Just one candidate talked clearly about civil rights. The others only hinted about it. Robert Dearmon, running for sheriff of Washington County, said he would enforce the civil rights acts and school integration.

Marching in the Rain

TUSCALOOSA--Even though rain beat down on umbrellas and bare heads and lots of muddy water swirled underfoot, the sound of voices blended to make an unpleasant day seem like picnic weather.

About 75 people marched the dozen or so blocks from St. John's Church to the city board of education offices in protest of school conditions in Tuscaloosa.

The march, headed by the Rev. T. Y. Rogers of the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee, grew out of an incident at integrated Tuscaloosa High School about two months ago, when the cafeteria's Negro workers walked out.

The women employees were asked about a sandwich that was missing, and were threatened with having their purses searched. The women walked out minutes before students were to arrive for lunch.

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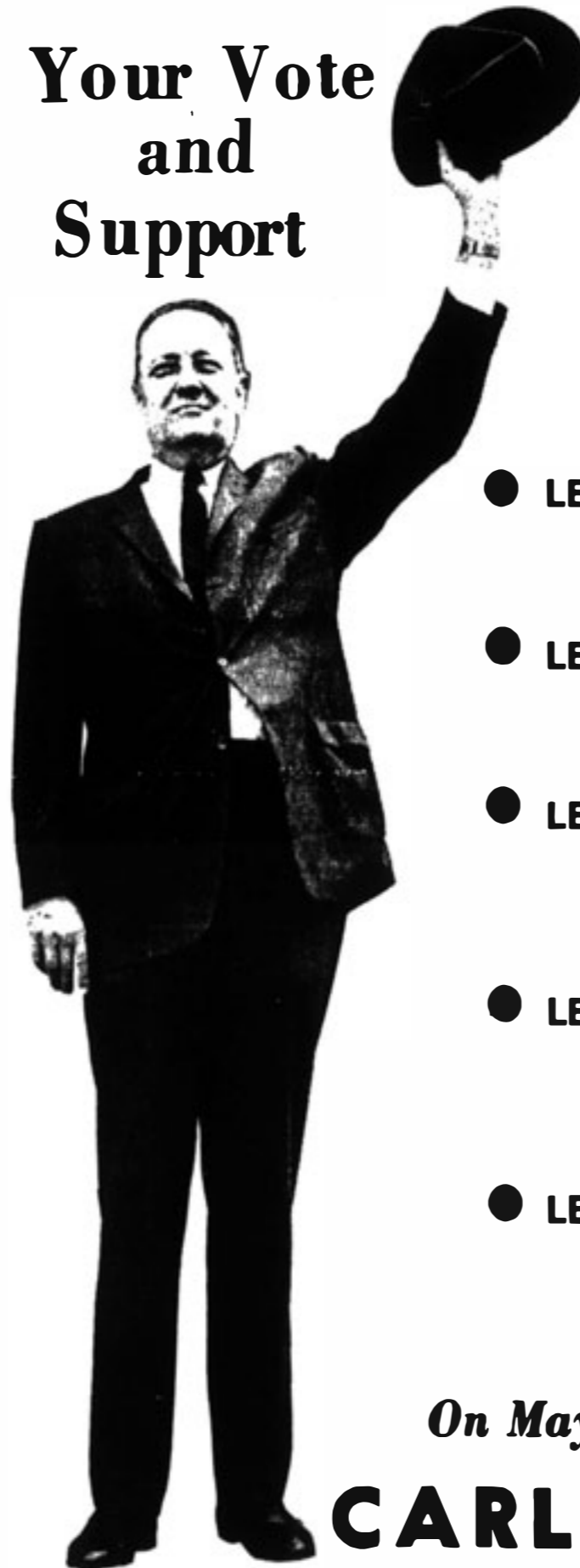
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- Improved COUNSELING and GUIDANCE
- Improved HEALTH SERVICES
- Elimination of OVERCROWDED SCHOOLS
- Elimination of OVERCROWDED BUSES
- Improved COMMUNICATION between BOARD and PUBLIC

All voters of Macon County should support A. J. SCAVELLA for a position on the MACON COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION because he knows that the schools of this County do not give children the type of education needed in this modern day and age.

(Pd. Pol. Adv. by A. J. Scavella, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama)

Your Vote and Support



... will help make Carl Elliott's 5-Point Program for Alabama Progress a reality for you, and for all the people of our great state!

- LEADERSHIP to improve education in Alabama
- LEADERSHIP to bring new industry to Alabama
- LEADERSHIP for law, justice, and racial peace in Alabama
- LEADERSHIP to solve the problems of Alabama's aged, sick and poor
- LEADERSHIP to speed up highway and waterway construction in Alabama

On May 3 . . . Vote for

CARL ELLIOTT

(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Friends of Carl Elliott, Carl Elliott Jr., chairman)