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**Photographs  
by James H. Pepler**



# Two Selma Seniors: Separate But Equal?

BY DAVID M. GORDON

SELMA--Jerry and Fred, two high school seniors in Selma, are very similar in a lot of ways.

Both of them are quite intelligent, and both study hard; they rank in the top 10% of their class. Both come from stable family backgrounds, and both plan to enter college next year. Both participate in a few extra-curricular activities.

In fact, the only major difference between the two students is that Jerry is white and Fred is Negro.

Jerry goes to Albert G. Parrish High School, where he is finishing his 12th year in all-white public school. Fred goes to R.B. Hudson High School, the fourth all-Negro school he has attended.

As Fred and Jerry get ready for college next year, both of them--and anyone else who has bothered to look--would agree that Jerry's years in all-white schools have given him a better education than Fred has received in Negro schools.

Even Selma Superintendent of Schools Joe Pickard says, "A student graduating from Parrish certainly would be able to be more successful in college than a student from Hudson."

Now that more and more Negroes are going to previously all-white schools, it is important to ask why and in what ways Jerry is "better-educated."

In many ways, the two boys have received the same education. They have both taken all the standard college preparatory courses. This year their programs of study are almost exactly the same.

Jerry expects to attend the University of Alabama next year and Fred will be going to Tuskegee Institute. Both feel that they will be able to handle college work.

"I feel quite well-prepared," Fred says. "I've studied, taken straight college prep courses, and got pretty good grades."

"In the last three years," echoes Jerry, "I've really learned a lot. In many of my courses, we're taught so we'll be able to work college material."

## Jerry Learned to Think

Jerry and Fred have learned many of the same facts from many of the same courses. But Jerry's teachers have taught him to think about what he is learning while Fred's teachers have only taught facts.

Take, for instance, the writing assignments that each will be given in 12th grade English this year.

Fred says he will be given "a lot of writing work" for the first time in four years of high school English. The papers will not be long. Fred's class will practice writing up Hudson's football games and writing letters of application to colleges. The students may be asked to write a simple autobiography.

Jerry says his class will be asked--"if we are good"--to write a ten-page term paper. The paper may be on the themes or meaning of a novel or about a particular author. The students will have to do a good deal of reading and thinking on their own.

The kinds of tests Jerry and Fred were given in their respective eleventh-grade American history courses show the same kind of difference.

Fred was always given quizzes on the facts of American history. The only times he was ever asked to write an essay were on the two final exams at the end of each semester.

Most of the questions on the tests Jerry was

given asked him to discuss what he had learned. He would be asked, for instance, to write an essay on the major causes of the Civil War, discussing the positions of the North and South and the relationships of the war to the years directly preceding it.

Because of this difference Jerry and Fred have quite different attitudes toward their school work.

Fred has not been taught that what he learns in school can be interesting and important to him.

"I'm interested in most of my courses this year," Fred says. "I've got to be because most of them are hard to me."

Jerry looks at it differently. He feels it is important to learn his courses so that he can begin to have a better understanding of the world he lives in.

"I get pretty interested in my work," he says, "and I try to make sure I understand it fully. I can read a science magazine and not know anything about the facts in an article, but I still try to have a general idea of what they're talking about."

The reasons that Jerry has been taught to think more deeply than Fred lie in differences between the two schools, not between the two boys.

Neither student is much of a "bookworm." Fred speaks for both of them when he says, "I'm going to college simply because I can't do anything unless I do."

Fred himself feels that poor equipment, more than anything else, has held him back. "They send all the better equipment over to Parrish," he says.

Despite what Fred says, it seems doubtful that poor equipment explains the difference between his and Jerry's education.

In almost every respect Hudson's equipment and facilities are slightly worse than those of Parrish. But the differences are simply not that great.

As far as books go, Hudson students now receive most of the same books that Parrish students do. Where they are given different books, the differences are sometimes to the Negroes' advantage.

This year's chemistry and physics books, for instance, are probably better at Hudson than at Parrish, simply because the Hudson science department made a better choice of textbooks.

Parrish chemistry students have better and more lab equipment, but Hudson's better course probably makes up for that.

Parrish has a beautifully modern, three-set language laboratory. Hudson's language teachers have only a single tape-recorder console with eight earphones to help their students hear and speak foreign languages.

Jerry does not look at facilities. He credits his teachers with the quality of education at Parrish. "The biggest part of it is due to the teachers," he says. "You knew you had to do the work, but at the same time, you didn't feel you were being forced."

But Fred says, "I don't think it was the teachers' fault that I didn't learn more than I did."

The teachers at Hudson are quite good, for the most part. In some fields, they are better trained than the Parrish teachers. The chemistry teacher at Hudson has a master's degree from Penn State; the Parrish chemistry teacher has only a B.A.

## No One Is Interested

The differences in background and interest of Negro and white high school students go further in explaining Fred's poorer education than any particular features of the schools.

Fred could think of only two students in his class at Hudson who, he would say, are truly interested in school.

"If everybody had been interested," he says, "I think the teachers would have put forth more effort. I think the teachers felt everybody was satisfied."

"Most of our parents don't stress studying," he continued. "We weren't taught to study in grade school and most of the students just weren't as interested as they should have been."

Teachers don't feel like working hard to teach a good course when the students don't seem to care. And, because teachers do not make the work interesting or demanding, students who haven't learned outside of school to think about what they study, never do learn.

The situation at Parrish couldn't be more different. Jerry says that a majority of the students wouldn't choose to attend school if they weren't forced to. But he also says that most of the students in his classes are "interested in and curious about their work."

Last year, for instance, Jerry belonged to an informal science club to work on experiments. The club was entirely voluntary. "We just got together because we wanted to," Jerry said.

Fred says he has never heard of such a thing at Hudson.

A majority of Jerry's class--65 per cent--are preparing to go to college next year. Only about 35 per cent of Fred's fellow seniors will go on to college. That extra 30 per cent makes a big difference in how important school work seems.

The difference between an education at Parrish and an education at Hudson cannot easily be described by counting dollars in the budget or teachers' degrees or the number of bunsen burners in the lab.

But, as Jerry and Fred get ready for college, Jerry seems much more prepared for the kind of thought that a college requires.

The separate schools of Selma still are not equal.



## Negro Farmers Must Use the Vote Well To Win in This Fall's ASCS Elections

BY EDWARD M. RUDD

It's been said time and time again that getting the vote is only half the battle for Negroes.

The vote won't do you any good, Negroes are told, unless you know how to use it--and you do use it.

Nowhere is there better proof of this statement than in the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections right here in Alabama.

Negroes have been able to vote in these elections for years. Many have voted. But there is not a single Negro in any elected ASCS position in the state.

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service is the part of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in charge of price support, crop allotment and conservation.

In every county there is an ASCS committee made up of local farmers. This committee is in charge of carrying out programs of the ASCS in the county.

The ASCS committee divides up the county's crop allotments. It tells each farmer how many acres of cotton, peanuts or tobacco he may grow. It decides which farmers will get conservation assistance, and it decides how much aid each farmer will get. It decides rights of ownership to produce when there is a dispute.

These decisions--how much cotton a farmer may plant, how much federal aid a farmer will receive, who owns the crop--are very important to farmers. Often, the ASCS county committee has the power to decide how much money a farmer will earn in a year.

And so the choice of the ASCS county committee is important to every farmer, Negro and white. It is important that each farmer have a voice in the choice and a chance to choose a committeeman he trusts to be fair.

Elections for ASCS committeemen are held in the fall. Sometime this October every farming person will get a ballot through the mail to select the ASCS committeeman for his community.

The state ASCS committee, which is a federally appointed body, goes to great lengths to insure that every eligible farmer is put on the election mailing list, according to W.L. Farmer, assistant to the state ASCS chairman.

To reach every farmer in the state, the ASCS sends up airplanes to take photographs of all the farm areas in the state. Then ASCS men on the ground mark off every farm plot which shows up on the photographs and visit the farmer or sharecropper who works it.



"We end up visiting every farmer in the state," says Farmer.

The ASCS representative who visits the farmer makes sure, according to Farmer, that the name of every man he visits is on the mailing list for the community elections.

Negro farmers receive ballots just as white farmers do. "I've gotten one of those ASCS ballots in the mail for over five years now," said a young Negro landowner in Lowndes County.

Although Negroes have been sent ballots regularly for several years, the county committees are controlled now--as they always have been--by white plantation owners.

"I started voting," said the same Lowndes farmer, "but it was always the same kind of people on the ballot."

The largest landowners in the county have traditionally been the county committeemen.

SNCC worker Chris Wiley claims that many big landowners channel ASCS benefits and resources onto their own farms.

"It's not a matter of black and white," he says, "but of economics."

In Hale County, he points out, the large landowners get an average cotton allotment of 39 acres, while the smaller and poorer Negro farmers get, on the average, less than nine acres.

"Admitting poor farmers on the committees--and many of these would be Negroes--would divide the pie much differently," he says.

Even though they receive ballots, poor farmers are not now represented in most ASCS committees because the names of poor farmers never appear on the ballot.

The members of the local ASCS committee are in charge of nominating their own successors. And, as one civil rights worker put it, "they tend to keep it in the family."

Negroes in one rural farm community complained that the large landowners took turns serving as ASCS committeemen. This way, they said, the powerful whites stayed in control without one person piling up a suspiciously long term of office.

This fall there will be fresh names on the ASCS ballots of many Alabama communities. Civil rights workers have been canvassing farm-to-farm telling poor farmers that they can put their own names on the ballot.

One Negro farm owner in Lowndes County, who reads Department of Agriculture bulletins and has a freezer jammed full of vegetables to show for it, did not know that he could nominate



himself to his county committee. All he needs is the signature of six other eligible ASCS voters on a nominating petition.

This farmer said he was satisfied with his cotton allotment of 11 acres; it wouldn't pay him to grow more than that.

"But," he said, "some farmers I know who have six or seven children are given only four or five acres to plant. They like to farm and it's the only thing they know. I don't see how they can make it."

This young farmer is excited now that he knows he can be nominated for the ASCS elections. "Let the other farmers around here know I'm willing to run and do what I can for them," he said, already sounding like a politician.

To make doubly sure that Negroes get nominated to community committees this year, the U. S. Department of Agriculture has directed every county committee to draw up a slate of nominees that includes Negroes. There must be the same percentage of Negro nominees on the ballot as there are Negro farmers in the county.



In Lowndes County, for example, where Negroes are 80 per cent of the population, at least 80 per cent of the nominees will have to be Negroes.

Requiring that Negro names must appear on the ballot is a big step in the direction of insuring that Negroes will be represented on the ASCS county committees.

But it may not be the final step, SNCC worker Elmo Holder points out. Holder fears that white committeemen will nominate so many Negroes that they will split up the Negro vote.

"Then if the white folks stick together," he says, "they can still elect an all-white committee in spite of the Negro nominees."

In counties where there are more Negro candidates than there are ASCS positions, Holder thinks that Negroes should agree on a slate of candidates. The Negroes should vote as a bloc for these candidates, he says.

Then, at least in counties where a majority of those voting in the ASCS election are Negro, Negro candidates will have a good chance to win, he says.

As more and more Negroes are registered to vote, the lesson of the ASCS election is an important one.

It is not enough to be given the right to vote. It is not enough to put Negro names on the ballot.

Negroes must work and plan together if they want their vote to do them any good.





## Moore's Changes Name To the 'Friendly Store'

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

MONTGOMERY--This is a discussion overheard in a washeteria. The store it refers to is a Montgomery grocery that Negroes picketed and boycotted a few weeks ago, claiming that a store clerk had slapped a customer.

Mr. X: "Do you remember the incident concerning the little store on Cleveland Avenue and the woman who was hurt?"

Mr. Y: "Are you talking about Moore's Store?"

Mr. X: "Yes, Well, it isn't Moore's Store any more. It's named the Friendly Food Store."

Mrs. Z (a stout woman standing near one of the machines): "Why did they change the name? Don't they know that what has happened was so embedded in the minds of the people in the community that a mere changing of a name or management won't change some minds, especially mine?"

Mr. Y: "That's right, I heard they had a colored cashier, too."

Mrs. Z: "I don't care if she's green, I'll go to Selma first."

Picketing began at Moore's Store--now the Friendly Store--several weeks ago following a dispute between Mrs. Fannie Mae Grant and Cecil Nixon,

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former manager of Moore's. Mrs. Grant claimed that Nixon had failed to give her son change when he bought a box of soap. Nixon slapped Mrs. Grant and pushed her out of the store.

A number of picketers were arrested after the incident, and convicted of violating the city's anti-demonstration ordinance.

Negroes in the neighborhood boycotted Moore's, protesting Nixon's treatment of Mrs. Grant. Since most of the customers at Moore's were Negro, the store stood nearly empty for days.

About a week later, a sign appeared in the window of Moore's. It said that Nixon was no longer the manager.

Not long afterwards, a new sign replaced the "Moore's Store" sign in front of the store. The new sign said, "Friendly Store."

Mr. Roberts, the new store manager, said he decided to change the name when he took over. He said he wanted to let people know the grocery store was going to be friendly from now on.

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## Reapportionment

MONTGOMERY--With the prompting of Gov. George Wallace and the threat of court intervention, the Alabama Senate and House passed plans last week to reapportion themselves.

The Senate reapportioned the Senate and the House reapportioned the House. The House reapportioned the Senate and the Senate reapportioned the House.

But the plans that were passed by the Senate were different from the plans passed by the House. Now a committee must work out a compromise that both houses will accept.

Many senators objected to the idea of a committee compromise.

"I would just as soon see the three-judge (federal) panel reapportion us, rather than four of five House members," said Sen. H. B. Taylor, of Butler County.

Under the Senate plan, only one senatorial district would have a majority of Negroes over 21. The House plan creates three Black Belt districts in which the majority of eligible voters would be Negro.

The Senate and House can either accept or reject the committee report, but they cannot make any change in it.

Two rulings by the Alabama Supreme Court made the passage of reapportion-

ment plans easier.

The court ruled that the "one man, one vote" decision of the U. S. Supreme Court should be followed, instead of the Alabama state constitution.

The state court also ruled that the reapportionment plans would not have to be constitutional amendments, as long as the number of congressmen in each house remained the same. A bill passed by a simple majority in the House and Senate will be enough.

## Troy Integration

TROY--Negro students peacefully integrated two out of three all-white schools here Sept. 7. They were the first of their race to enter white schools in Pike County.

Seven Negroes enrolled at Charles Henderson High in Troy. Deloris Crawford, Jack Paul, Ernest Paul and Henry Gillis entered 12th grade. George Crawford, Elijah Gillis and James Wilson enrolled in tenth grade.

Six Negro students entered sixth grade at Elm Street Junior High School in Troy. They were Cynthia Hardiman, Larry Dix, Octavia Dix, Sandra Dix, Betty Sue Shy and Ester Williams.

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## Ozark Eleven Defeats Luverne, 12-6, On Fourth-Quarter TD Run

BY ROBERT LEE STRINGER

LUVERNE--The Woodford Avenue High Hawks of Luverne lost to the D.A. Smith Tigers of Ozark, 12 to 6, in the high school game of the week last Friday.

As the game began in Woodford Stadium, the Tigers and Hawks ran neck and neck, competing for a touchdown.

With only 2 1/2 minutes left in the second quarter, the Tigers' right end sped down the field hugging a completed pass for the first touchdown of the game.

During the third quarter, the Hawks' quarterback twice ran through the Tigers' "standing army" for a gain of approximately 30 yards. Albert Powell, left end, sped on for some 12 1/2 yards or more, before finally being downed by a roaring Tiger halfback.

In the fourth quarter, the Tigers' quarterback sped around the left end of the Hawks' blockade for the second touchdown of the game.

With the score now 12 to 0, the odds

were in the Tigers' favor. Then Hawk right end John Barber received a bullet pass from quarterback James Johnson, and ran an uninterrupted 13 1/2 yards for a touchdown.

The game ended with the Tigers on top, 12 to 6.



## 350 Teachers Displaced

NASHVILLE, Tenn.--No Alabama Negro teachers lost their jobs as a result of school desegregation, according to an unofficial survey by the Southern Education Reporting Service.

SERS said Alabama was one of five Southern states that reported no instances of Negro teacher displacement. The others were Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

However, the survey said, there were reports from all these states that teachers were displaced for involvement in other civil rights activities.

According to SERS, about 350 teaching jobs formerly held by Negroes were wiped out this fall in 17 Southern states. The survey said all but about 100 of the 350 displaced Negro teachers got new jobs, most of them on desegregated facilities.

The 350 jobs were eliminated, SERS said, because school desegregation reduced enrollment in all-Negro schools or caused them to close.

Negro teachers complained of being fired, not being re-hired, being forced

to retire or being assigned to jobs of lesser importance, the survey said.

SERS said it was difficult to get accurate figures on teacher displacement. Some school officials and dismissed teachers didn't want to discuss the matter, SERS said, and complete information was not always available.

In some cases, the reporting service said, it was hard to tell the difference between a "dismissal" and a "resignation."

### Coleman Case

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Perdue, who questioned some of these witnesses, said he felt they "presented the case in an open manner" to the grand jury.

"I didn't see anything in the testimony that would lead people to think one thing or another. The people told it as they saw it. We had all parties represented -- we had all the evidence," he said.

Joyce Bally, 19, of Fort Deposit, said she was not given a subpoena ordering her to appear until the afternoon of the hearing. She was standing next to Father Morrisroe when he was shot.

Perdue said he understood Miss Bally did not appear at the hearing because she thought she would be in some danger.

"That's absolutely uncalled for," he said.

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## A Paper for the People Read

The SOUTHERN COURIER is an independent newspaper. Our only responsibility is to our readers, the people of Alabama. And our chief concern is the crucial problems that confront Alabamians. We hope to provide accurate information about these problems, and to supply a means of communication for the people who are trying to solve them.

The SOUTHERN COURIER is independent of its advertisers, of politicians, of dogma, and of any particular group or organization. We will point out merits and demerits wherever we find them, treating whites and Negroes alike.

There are certain basic principles in which this newspaper believes. We believe that all men are entitled to the equal protection of the laws and to equal justice in the courts. We believe that all men are entitled to equal educational opportunities. We believe that the interests of all people are best served by a democratic system of government--and this means that all men, regardless of race, color, or creed, are entitled to the right to vote.

With these principles in mind, the SOUTHERN COURIER cannot ignore the fact that most of Alabama's Negroes are denied these basic equalities. Therefore we will publish information to help erase the injustices of segregation and prejudice.

Another major problem that Alabamians face is the change from a rural to an industrial economy. Such a change is painful, especially for those citizens who are forced to leave the land but cannot find their rightful place in the offices and factories of the cities. This, too is a problem which the SOUTHERN COURIER will examine.

Education and politics are also under new pressures in Alabama. While the state is trying to expand and improve its school system, only 101 Alabama Negroes attend school with whites. In politics, the state is beginning to show signs of two-party activity. This change also deserves our attention.

While the SOUTHERN COURIER tries to fulfill its responsibilities to its readers, we hope that you, the reader, will feel a responsibility towards us. This is a new paper, experimental in many ways. And part of the experiment is to create a newspaper that responds to the needs of its readers.

If you have ideas and criticisms that will help us produce a better paper, by all means write us a letter or tell your suggestion to your local SOUTHERN COURIER reporter or representative. If you know of a story that should be reported, let us know about it. Our only purpose is to serve you, and only you can tell us if we're doing the job.

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EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

MONDAY, JULY 19, 1965

**Eugene Patterson**

*An Admirable New Newspaper*



A group of college students led by Harvard's Peter Cummings came South this summer to put out a weekly newspaper (at 68 Electric Ave. NW, Atlanta). They brought a hard discipline instead of easy conclusions and so their first issue of The Southern Courier will bore and disappoint those conditioned readers who take their civil rights nourishment from hallelujah pamphlets or hate sheets.

But their beginning is both admirable and remarkable. They actually are trying to see the racial revolution whole. They are writing it dispassionately and well. They are not trying to thread up a magazine or television story line, or race newspapers to the stereotyped crises. They are simply moving around, primarily in Alabama, and writing down what they see.

They have a good ear. "Tear out a sheet of paper from this book, Annie," (said a voting registrar in Mergeno County).

"The 'Annie' made her glance up quickly. She started to speak but changed her mind. The registration went slowly on."

They let these things fall naturally into their stories, as naturally as any Southerner who is used to it. "Sheriff T. Wilmer Shields admitted using tear gas on his prisoners (inside the Linden, Ala., jail). 'I only used one or two squirts--just enough for them to raise hell about it,' the sheriff said."

They withhold judgments and leave it to readers to have their own feelings about the Lord's Day scene outside the Baptist church in Tuskegee: "On July 4, Miss Altonia Baker, 20, was slapped a number of times by a woman from the congregation" with whom she had tried to worship.

There was the quote from an elderly Negro, Miss Julia Knott, after a cotton-dusting airplane sprayed civil rights demonstrators standing in front of the First Baptist Church in Eutaw, Ala. The spray burned her skin "real bitter," she said.

Such scenes are reported incidentally. Those who see nothing newsworthy about this way of life can read right over them because they aren't pointed up by accusing fingers. These kids are simply reporting.

And David R. Underhill's report on the strike of cotton choppers in the Mississippi Delta is perhaps the best balanced thing yet written about it. He knows that even if the Negroes win the strike they will, "in the long run, probably be no better off." Machines are replacing them anyway.

But the planters don't like the suddenness of the change. "A union and \$1.25 per hour would turn the plantations into farms, the bosses into employers, and the darkies into independent men." And most of the Negroes hesitate "because they, like the planters, are afraid to lose their way of life. It shelters them from responsibilities that independent men must accept. It (the union) secure poverty. A union is asking them to take the risk of being free men."