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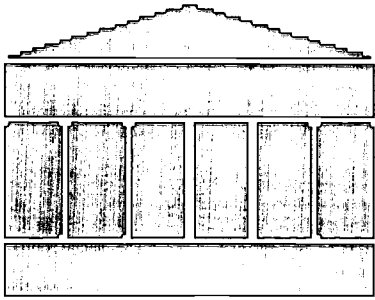
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## ABSTRACT

This teaching unit, "Civil Rights Movement," is the tenth in a series of 10 units about Alabama state history, part of a project designed to help teachers integrate the use of primary source materials into their classrooms. Although the units are designed to augment the study of Alabama, they are useful in the study of U.S. history, world history, and the social studies in general. Each unit contains background information for the teacher and consists of several lessons. Lessons contain learning objectives, suggested activities, and documents. This unit is divided into seven sections: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "Lesson 1: Riding the Bus Taking a Stand" (seven primary source documents); (3) "Lesson 2: Opinions of the Public" (five primary source documents); (4) "Lesson 3: Birmingham 1963" (six primary source documents); (5) "Lesson 4: Marching for Justice Selma to Montgomery: (five primary source documents); (6) "Lesson 5: Voting Rights" (three primary source documents); and (7) "General Guidelines for Analyzing a Document." (BT)

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## Using Primary Sources in the Classroom

# Civil Rights Movement Unit

SO 035 011

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This project is designed to help teachers more easily integrate the use of primary source materials into their classrooms. Each unit contains background information for the teacher and is made up of several lessons. The lessons contain learning objectives, suggested activities, and documents. Documents are reproduced in the original form and transcribed when necessary. Primary source materials may be printed and reproduced for classroom use. Lessons can be used without modification, adapted for specific class use, or entire new lessons and activities may be created based on the primary source materials provided.

## **Project Description**

This project is designed to help teachers more easily integrate the use of primary source materials into their classrooms. It consists of teaching units on Alabama history organized in ten chronological/subject areas:

- Creek War, 1813-1814
- Settlement
- Slavery
- Civil War
- Reconstruction
- 1901 Constitution
- World War I
- Depression/New Deal
- World War II
- Civil Rights Movement

While these units cover some of the most critical and significant periods in Alabama history, the selected lessons are meant to be representative rather than comprehensive. These units were designed to augment the study of Alabama, yet they are useful in the study of the United States, the world, and the social studies in general. The documents can also be used to supplement the study of other curriculums.

Each unit contains background information for the teacher and is made up of several lessons. The lessons contain learning objectives, suggested activities, and documents. Documents are reproduced in the original form and transcribed when necessary. Primary source materials may be printed and reproduced for classroom use. Lessons can be used without modification, adapted for specific class use, or entire new lessons and activities may be created based on the primary source materials provided.

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## **Purpose of the Project**

The 1992 Alabama Social Studies Course of Studies emphasized the use of primary source documents to "enrich the social studies program and enable students to visualize and empathize with people of other times and places." These documents help students vividly understand the feelings and actions of Jeremiah Austill at the Canoe Fight of 1813, of riders on the first integrated buses in Montgomery at the conclusion of the famous bus boycott, of women nursing wounded Civil War soldiers, and of destitute Alabama families during the Depression. These documents enrich the study of Alabama history and the study of all civilizations.

The Alabama Department of Archives and History is the official repository for Alabama government documents and holds many of the most important books, documents, visual materials and artifacts that document the history of Alabama and the South. The purpose of this project is to bring those materials to students, and to organize them in such a way that teachers can easily utilize them in the classroom.

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# Using Primary Sources in the Classroom: Civil Rights Movement Unit

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## Introduction to the Civil Rights Movement Unit

Many of the major events which defined the modern Civil Rights Movement in America took place in Alabama during the 1950s and 1960s. Concerted efforts to guarantee African Americans equal access to public and private transportation, schools, voting booths, economic opportunities, and housing caused tremendous social turmoil all over the South, where legal discrimination against black Americans was most pronounced.

From Alabama emerged two of the leading figures in the struggle. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. came to prominence here as a spokesman for African Americans seeking equality, while Governor George C. Wallace became the symbol for white resistance to racial integration. Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, Birmingham, and Selma all figured prominently in the contest between the two views these leaders represented.

Boycotts, demonstrations, and protest marches by Civil Rights activists provoked sometimes violent responses from whites determined to resist integration. This, in turn, focused national attention to Alabama, leading to a series of federal court orders and congressional legislation to guarantee black Americans equality under the law.

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# Lesson 1: Riding the Bus - Taking a Stand

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## 1. Background information for teachers:

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a black seamstress, was arrested for refusing to obey a Montgomery bus driver's order to give her seat up for a boarding white passenger as required by city ordinance. Such municipal and state laws designed to separate the races were common in the South at the time. These segregation codes were increasingly onerous to African Americans, especially after the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka* struck down legal barriers to school integration in 1954. Outrage in Montgomery's black community over the arrest of Rosa Parks sparked a boycott against the city's bus line -- the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the beginning of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

Working closely with a long-active African-American leadership extant in Montgomery, Atlanta-born Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. <<http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/>> emerged as the president of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) which organized the boycott. As the MIA's demands expanded beyond more flexibility in bus seating to include more equal access to other municipal services, racial tensions increased during the standoff. Preaching a course of non-violence, Dr. King was convinced that the cause could be won through a combination of dignified behavior and economic pressure on the part of the protesters.

The Boycott ended in December 1956 < [http://seattletimes.nwsources.com/mlk/movement/PT/Rosa\\_Parks\\_1956.html](http://seattletimes.nwsources.com/mlk/movement/PT/Rosa_Parks_1956.html)>, over a year after it began, when the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the desegregation of buses in Montgomery.

NOTE: For additional information regarding the Montgomery Bus Boycott, see Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson*; edited, with a foreword by David J. Garrow. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, c. 1987, and

The Montgomery Bus Boycott Page  
<http://socsci.colorado.edu/~jonesem/montgomery.html>

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## 2. Learning objectives:

Upon completion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Identify the policy of segregation which existed in Alabama.

2. Define the legal idea of being "separate but equal."
  3. Define and describe an editorial.
  4. Discuss the impact of social unrest and inequality upon economic development.
  5. Describe Dr. King's theory of non-violence and its impact upon the Civil Rights Movement.
- 

### 3. Suggested Activities:

1. Make copies of Documents 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 for the students.
2. Read Document 1, Sec. 10 - 11 aloud. Have the class discuss city laws and Mrs. Parks' arrest on December 1, 1955.  
(According to police reports from the time period, Rosa Parks was charged with violating Sec. 11.)
3. Allow the students to read Document 3.
4. As a class, list the requests for changes as reported in Document 3.
5. Allow the students to read Document 4. After having read Document 4, tell the students that these items were presented to the Montgomery City Council in 1955 prior to the Montgomery Bus Boycott.
6. What similarities and differences can be found between the requests presented in Document 3 and those presented in Document 4?
7. Show the students an overhead transparency of Document 5. Ask the students why they believe Mr. Diamond took this position. What kinds of conclusions can be drawn about other businesses and economic investments in Alabama during this time period?
8. Allow the students to read Document 6.
  - a. What is the stand of the editor?
  - b. Is the issue being discussed desegregation of buses or is the issue the dismissal of the "separate but equal" policy for every situation?
9. Allow the students to read Document 7. After reading the document, discuss with students their opinions concerning the suggestions. Point out

the pattern of nonviolence that Dr. King used as a part of the Civil Rights Movement. Why was nonviolence an important issue to Dr. King?

10. Ask each student to make a list of rules for riding a school bus or for working together in a classroom.
11. With the students' assistance, make a class list of rules for riding a school bus or for working together in a classroom.
12. Give each student a copy of Document 7.
13. Ask the students to mark those suggestions which match the class list for riding a school bus or for working together in a classroom.
14. Ask the students the following questions:
  - a. Which of these rules deal with politeness and courtesy?
  - b. Why do you think that good manners would be important during a situation like this?
  - c. Why are good manners and courtesy important to all people?

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#### DOCUMENTS: INSERT/SCAN:

**Document 1.** *Code of the City of Montgomery, Alabama.* Charlottesville: Michie City Publishing Co., 1952. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson1/doc1.html>

**Document 2.** *Montgomery Advertiser* article, 12/06/55, Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General File, Bus Boycott, SG6945, folder 305b. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson1/doc2.html>

**Document 3.** *Montgomery Advertiser* article, 12/9/55, Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General File, Bus Boycott, SG6945, folder 305b. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson1/doc3.html>

Document 4. "Negroes' Most Urgent Needs," Inez Jessie Baskin Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson1/doc4.html>

Document 5. "Western Union Telegram: Diamond Brothers," Judge Eugene Carter Papers, Box 11, folder1. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson1/doc5.html>

Document 6. *Montgomery Advertiser* editorial, 4/26/56. Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General File, Bus Boycott, SG6945, folder 305b. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson1/doc6.html>

Document 7. "Integrated Bus Suggestions," Inez Jessie Baskin Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson1/doc7.html>

**Sec. 10. Separation of races—Required.**

Every person operating a bus line in the city shall provide equal but separate accommodations for white people and negroes on his buses, by requiring the employees in charge thereof to assign passengers seats on the vehicles under their charge in such manner as to separate the white people from the negroes, where there are both white and negroes on the same car; provided, however, that negro nurses having in charge white children or sick or infirm white persons, may be assigned seats among white people.

Nothing in this section shall be construed as prohibiting the operators of such bus lines from separating the races by means of separate vehicles if they see fit. (Code 1938, §§ 608, 606.)

**Sec. 11. Same—Powers of persons in charge of vehicle; passengers to obey directions.**

Any employee in charge of a bus operated in the city shall have the powers of a police officer of the city while in actual charge of any bus, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the preceding section, and it shall be unlawful for any passenger to refuse or fail to take a seat among those assigned to the race to which he belongs, at the request of any such employee in charge, if there is such a seat vacant. (Code 1938, § 604.)

**Sec. 12. Failure to carry passengers.**

It shall be unlawful for any person operating a bus line in the city to refuse, without sufficient excuse, to carry any passenger; provided, that no driver of a bus shall be required to carry any passenger who is intoxicated or disorderly, or who is afflicted with any contagious or infectious disease, or who refuses to pay in advance the fare required, or who for any other reason deemed satisfactory by the recorder should be excluded. (Code 1938, § 699.)

**Sec. 13. Smoking.**

It shall be unlawful for any person to smoke a cigar, pipe or cigarette upon any bus in the city; provided, however, that

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Document 1: Code of the City of Montgomery, Alabama. Charlottesville: Michie City Publishing Co., 1952. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 1.

smoking may be permitted in vehicles provided for that purpose and set apart therefor by the person operating the bus line. (Code 1938, § 443.)

**Sec. 14. Failure to pay fare.<sup>6</sup>**

It shall be unlawful for any person, with the intent to defraud the operator of a bus line, to ride or attempt to ride upon any bus in the city without the payment of the fare charged for such service. (Code 1938, § 600.)

**CHAPTER 7.**

**CEMETERIES AND BURIALS.<sup>7</sup>**

**Article I. In General.**

- § 1. Cemeteries to be supervised; powers and duties of sextons.
- § 2. Register of burials and map to be kept.
- § 3. Maintenance of graves and vaults.
- § 4. All work to be performed under supervision of sexton.
- § 5. How graves to be dug and filled.
- § 6. Construction of vaults.
- § 7. Duties of undertakers as to graves and vaults.
- § 8. Graves to be marked.
- § 9. Monument foundations.
- § 10. Construction of concrete slabs on graves.
- § 11. Arca used for burial not to be used for additional burials.
- § 12. Persons erecting monuments, etc., or constructing vaults to be licensed.
- § 13. Prohibited acts; unlawful entries.
- § 14. Injuries to property or planting.
- § 15. All burials to be in established cemeteries.
- § 16. Notice of proposed interment to be given.
- § 17. Interments in nighttime.
- § 18. Violations of state law.

<sup>6</sup> For state law as to riding buses without paying fare, see Ala. Code 1940, Tit. 48, § 462.

<sup>7</sup> For power of city to own and regulate cemeteries, see Ala. Code 1940, Tit. 37, §§ 478-480. As to burial companies, see Ala. Code 1940, Tit. 10, §§ 124-132. As to location and extensions of cemeteries, see Ala. Code 1940, Tit. 22, § 88. As to duty of city to bury certain dead, see Ala. Code 1940, Tit. 44, § 17. As to interments generally, see Ala. Code 1940, Tit. 22, §§ 22-40, Tit. 14, §§ 114, 115. As to unlawful removal of bodies from graves, see Ala. Code 1940, Tit. 14, §§ 108-111.

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Document 1: Code of the City of Montgomery, Alabama. Charlottesville: Michie City Publishing Co., 1952. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 2

# 5,000 At Meeting Outline Boycott; Bullet Clips Bus

By JOE AZBELL  
Advertiser City Editor

An estimated 5,000 Lyons-singing Negroes packed the First Street Baptist Church to its outer doors and spilled over into three streets blocking traffic last night as they voted to conduct a social boycott against the buses of the Montgomery City Lines Inc.

Montgomery, E. L. Bradley, manager of the Montgomery City Lines, reported that a bus driven by driver H. S. Jones was apparently hit on the front with a .45 caliber rifle in the Negro Washington Park area.

A city official said the bullet hit the front of the bus and being in a condition of detour from which it was not.

**ENFORCE LAW**  
The Montgomery manager also indicated a previous statement that the bus could not violate the law on segregation of bus passengers and that he would continue to require all of his drivers to enforce the law. "If they don't, the drivers can be fined or removed," he said.

Bradley, who reported on the incident, said that a Negro man and woman who were on the bus at the time of the shooting were arrested and taken to the city jail.

In a resolution passed at the meeting by the Negroes with a 95 per cent vote, the resolution said that the "segregation of citizens" who ride and operate them.

The resolution, among other things, stated that "citizens of Montgomery" have been intimidated, embarrassed and coerced while riding the public conveyances and that it is the duty of the citizens to resist such actions.

It also declared that a "deliberate and concerted effort" was being made to prevent the Montgomery City Lines from providing a separate and equal bus service for the Negroes.

The resolution also stated that the "segregation of citizens" who ride and operate them.

## FROM PARKS CASE

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## CITY FINANCE

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MTGY ADVERTISER

DEC 6 1955

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Document 2: Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General File, Bus Boycott, SG6945, folder 305b. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 1.



Remember we are  
fighting for justice  
Do Not Ride A  
Bus Today

### NEGRO BOYCOTT POSTER

This is one of the posters which city policemen yesterday removed from bus stop posts as Negroes staged a boycott against the Montgomery City Lines over arrest of a Negro woman on a transportation segregation charge. The poster states: "Remember we are fighting for a cause. Do not ride a bus today."

Several thousand Negroes use the buses on a normal day.

Fellow cars and motorcycles followed the buses periodically to prevent trouble after Sellers said some Negroes reported they were threatened with violence if they rode buses yesterday.

The circulars distributed in Negro residential districts Saturday urging the boycott yesterday in protest to the arrest of Rosa Parks were not signed. The Rev. A. W. Wilson, pastor of the Negro church where the meeting was to be held, said he would not disclose "under any circumstances" the names of those who asked permission to use the church for the meeting.

Ministers of various churches led the meeting last night.

Earlier, Bagley had issued a statement saying the bus company "is sorry if anyone expects us to be exempt from any state or city law."

In the Rosa Parks case yesterday, the city was prepared to offer testimony from 11 witnesses. Only three, Blake and two women passengers testified. One of the women said there was an empty seat where Rosa Parks could have sat if she had moved to the rear.

As the boycott started yesterday morning, Negroes stood on downtown street corners waiting for rides or piled into taxicabs. Many walked two or three miles to work in the crisp cold weather.

Most Negro children walked to school and there was a relay auto pickup system operating throughout most of the day.

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Document 2: Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General File, Bus Boycott, SG6945, folder 305b. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 2.

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE



## 4-HOUR HUDDLE

# Bus Boycott Conference Fails To Find Solution

By TOM JOHNSON

Montgomery Negroes will continue to boycott city buses until a "satisfactory" seating arrangement is devised, a spokesman told officials of City Bus Lines yesterday.

The Rev. M. L. King, speaking for a delegation that conferred with bus lines officials four hours, proposed that bus patrons be seated on a "first come—first served" basis with no sections reserved for either race.

Negroes would continue to seat from the rear and whites from the front, he said, but there would be no reassignment of seats once the buses were loaded.

### 2 OTHER CONDITIONS

He laid down two other conditions sought by Negroes: More courteous treatment and the hiring of Negro drivers on routes "predominantly" Negro.

"On all but the "courtesy" proposal, Atty. Jack Crenshaw, counsel for the bus lines, demurred.

He said it would be impossible to accept the proposed seating arrangement "in view of the segregation law" and, he added, the company has no intentions of hiring Negro drivers.

"We do not contemplate and have no intentions of hiring Negro drivers," said Crenshaw. "The time is not right in Montgomery, but who can say what will happen in 10 years."

One of the delegation replied: "We don't mean 10 years we mean this year."

King, who is pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, em-

phasized the group was not trying to change the segregation law.

### BETTER ACCOMMODATIONS

"We are merely trying to peacefully obtain better accommodations for Negroes," he said.

Commenting on reports of violence, King said most of his race deprecates such acts as much as anyone and promised to report "anyone we know to be guilty."

But, he added, the boycott will continue "until something is done."

J. H. Bagley, manager of the bus line, was asked if this statement would cause the company to reduce its service immediately. He replied

"We will continue to provide service adequate to the public needs."

He added that service has already been curtailed on some routes but declined to name them.

A Negro attorney, Fred D. Gray, questioned whether the state law applied to city bus lines and urged that a ruling be obtained from the attorney general.

Mayor W. A. Gayle later said the City Commission had not decided whether to seek the ruling.

Crenshaw told the protesting delegation the bus company would do everything possible to serve its passengers but could not "change the law."

He said the company would mark every other bus "special" on the Washington Park-South Jackson Street runs and transport only Negroes. They could still use the regular buses which run at seven and one-half minute intervals.

The boycott grew out of the arrest last week of Rosa Parks, a seamstress who refused to move to the rear of a crowded city bus. She was fined \$14 in Recorder's Court.

Several instances of violence have been reported.

Four city buses have been fired on. But Police Chief G. J. Ruppenthal said there was "no evidence to date" of any connection between the incidents and the boycott.

Two Negro houses including the home of Policeman A. G. Worthy, were hit by shotgun blasts Wednesday night but no one was reported hurt.

Document 3: Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General File, Bus Boycott, SG6945, folder 305b. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama

*Handwritten note at top of page:*  
I have no formal answer.

**NEGROES' MOST URGENT NEEDS**

FOLLOWING ARE A FEW OF THE MOST URGENT NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE. IMMEDIATE ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN EACH OF THESE. WHAT IS YOUR STAND TOWARD THEM?

1. The present bus situation. Negroes have to stand over empty seats of city buses, because the first ten seats are reserved for whites who sometime never ride. We wish to fill the bus from the back toward the front until all the seats are taken. This is done in Atlanta, Georgia, Mobile, Alabama and in most of our larger southern cities.
  2. Negro Representation on the Parks and Recreation Board. Our parks are in a deplorable condition. We have protested, yet nothing has been toward improving them. Juvenile delinquency continues to increase. In many instances these children are not responsible. The city is. Nobody knows better than Negroes what their needs are. *See Bill*  
*12-11-60*
  3. Sub-division for housing. Just recently a project for a subdivision for Negroes was presented before the City Commission for approval. Protests from whites and other objections prevented the development. There is no section wherein Negroes can expand to build decent homes. What of Lincoln Heights?
  4. Jobs for qualified Negroes. Certain civil service jobs are not open to Negroes, yet many are qualified. Negroes need jobs commensurate with their training. Everybody can not teach.
  5. Negro representation on all boards affecting Negroes. Negroes are taxpayers; they are property owners or renters. They constitute about fifty percent of the city's population. Many boards determine their destinies without any kind of representation whatsoever. Only Negroes are qualified to represent themselves adequately and properly.
  6. Congested areas, with inadequate or no fireplugs. Fire hazards are inviting.
  7. Lack of sewage disposals makes it necessary to resort to out-door privies, which is a health hazard.
  8. Narrow streets, lack of curbing, unpaved streets in some sections. Immediate action should be taken on this traffic hazard.
- Gentlemen, what is your stand on these issues? What will you do to improve these undemocratic practices? Your stand on these issues will enable us to better decide on whom we shall cast our ballot in the March election.

*Others requested*

Very truly yours,  
Montgomery Negroes

Document 4: Inez Jessie Baskin Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

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CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, President

SYMBOLS

- DL Day Letter
- NL Night Letter
- LT International Letter Telegram

1201

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

NSA267 PA254

(17) 55

P TR088 PD=WUX TRENTON NJER 26 213PME=

APR 26 PM 1 27

CIRCUIT COURT JUDGE EUGENE CARTER=

MONTGOMERY ALA=

HAVE CANCELLED PLANS FOR BUILDING IN ALADANA, 150,000 SQ  
FT MANUFACTURING SPACE UPON CONVICTION OF REV MARTIN  
LUTHER KING JR=

DIAMOND BROTHERS SOL DIAMOND VICE PRES TREASURER=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Document 5: Judge Eugene Carter Papers, Box 11, folder1. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

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## What Did Th Supreme Court Actually Rule?

**IT NOW** appears that Montgomery City Lines, acting presumably on instructions from the parent National City Lines, may have acted with unbecomingly, unnecessary haste in ordering drivers here to disregard city and state segregation laws.

Second-look appraisals of what the court actually meant in its Monday ruling leave considerable doubt that the court intended to abolish segregation on intrastate transportation. Since the court seemed to leave standing the decision by the U.S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals that "We do not think the separate but equal doctrine can any longer be regarded as a correct statement of the law," wise services and most newspapers jumped to the conclusion that bus segregation had gone the way of school segregation.

The very brevity of the Supreme Court's ruling, however, should have generated some doubt that the court was laying down a broad new principle of law. Also, the court knows the turmoil existing in the South today resulting from the school ruling, and the justices could hardly be unmindful of the consequences of another exacerbating ruling at this critical time.

★  
**IT IS** idle to argue that the Supreme Court simply rules on the law without regard to what happens. The court has found it expedient often before to employ the proverbial law's delay, and might very well have done so in the bus case if the court has any feeling at all for social consequences of its actions. And we cannot believe the court is totally devoid of such feelings.

The Associated Press, which said categorically Monday that the Supreme Court had ended segregation on intrastate transportation, hedged yesterday with the following:

WASHINGTON, April 25 (AP)—Government lawyers were divided today on what the Supreme Court meant by its cryptic action Monday in a case challenging race segregation on intrastate buses.

The Court's brief order refusing to review a lower court decision was widely interpreted at the time as ending segregation on any form of public transportation. But some lawyers reviewing the case said the high court could have acted on narrow, technical grounds.

The Supreme Court almost never elaborates on its orders. No explanation could be obtained from it today as to just what it meant.

*According to legal opinion here and in Washington, the court might have simply declined to consider a matter which had not been through final judgment in the lower courts.*

★  
**IF THIS** is true, the bus company has painted itself into a corner, announcing that it will not defend segregation although, as the AP story indicates, laws requiring separation of the races on intrastate transportation may remain intact. In any event, National City Lines would have been well advised to have waited until its attorneys had time to weigh the effect of the court's ruling.

But if the bus company is guilty of haste, the Supreme Court is guilty of vagueness and the nation's press, perhaps, of conclusion-jumping — none of which has helped an already sorrowful situation.

Special File — Library  
Department of Archives and History  
Montgomery, Alabama

**MTG. ADVERTISE**

APR 26 1956

Document 6: Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General File, Bus Boycott, SG6945, folder 305b. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

September 19, 1956

INTEGRATED BUS SUGGESTIONS

This is a historic week because segregation on buses has now been declared unconstitutional. Within a few days the Supreme Court Mandate will reach Montgomery and you will be re-boarding integrated buses. This places upon us all a tremendous responsibility of maintaining, in face of what could be some unpleasantness, a calm and loving dignity befitting good citizens and members of our Race. If there is violence in word or deed it must not be our people who commit it.

For your help and convenience the following suggestions are made. Will you read, study and memorize them so that our non-violent determination may not be endangered. First, some general suggestions:

1. Not all white people are opposed to integrated buses. Accept goodwill on the part of many.
2. The whole bus is now for the use of all people. Take a vacant seat.
3. Pray for guidance and commit yourself to complete non-violence in word and action as you enter the bus.
4. Demonstrate the calm dignity of our Montgomery people in your actions.
5. In all things observe ordinary rules of courtesy and good behavior.
6. Remember that this is not a victory for Negroes alone, but for all Montgomery and the South. Do not boast! Do not brag!
7. Be quiet but friendly; proud, but not arrogant; joyous, but not boisterous.
8. Be loving enough to absorb evil and understanding enough to turn an enemy into a friend.

Now for some specific suggestions:

1. The bus driver is in charge of the bus and has been instructed to obey the law. Assume that he will cooperate in helping you occupy any vacant seat.
2. Do not deliberately sit by a white person, unless there is no other seat.
3. In sitting down by a person, white or colored, say "May I" or "Pardon me" as you sit. This is a common courtesy.
4. If cursed, do not curse back. If pushed, do not push back.
  - If struck, do not strike back, but evidence love and goodwill at all times.
5. In case of an incident, talk as little as possible, and always in a quiet tone. Do not get up from your seat! Report all serious incidents to the bus driver.
6. For the first few days try to get on the bus with a friend in whose non-violence you have confidence. You can uphold one another by a glance or a prayer.
7. If another person is being molested, do not arise to go to his defense, but pray for the oppressor and use moral and spiritual force to carry on the struggle for justice.
8. According to your own ability and personality, do not be afraid to experiment with new and creative techniques for achieving reconciliation and social change.
9. If you feel you cannot take it, walk for another week or two. We have confidence in our people. GOD BLESS YOU ALL.

THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION  
THE REV. H. L. KING, JR., PRESIDENT  
THE REV. W. J. POWELL, SECRETARY

Document 7: Inez Jessie Baskin Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

## Lesson 2: The Opinions of the Public

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### 1. Background information for teachers:

George Corley Wallace was elected Governor of Alabama in the November elections of 1962. Blaming an earlier, 1958 defeat for the same office on his failure to exploit the racial fears of white voters, Wallace based his successful 1962 campaign on pledges to resist the federal government's efforts to force integration upon Alabama.

Scheduled to take office in January of 1963, Wallace became the focal point for both those who supported and opposed integration during a period of tremendous racial turmoil and violence. Justifying his segregationist stance on the need to preserve "states' rights" in the face of federal tyranny, Governor Wallace's pronouncements like "*Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!*" in his first inaugural address < [http://www.archives.state.al.us/govs\\_list/inauguralspeech.html](http://www.archives.state.al.us/govs_list/inauguralspeech.html) > and his actions like the symbolic "stand in the schoolhouse door" < [http://www.archives.state.al.us/govs\\_list/schooldoor.html](http://www.archives.state.al.us/govs_list/schooldoor.html) > to block integration at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa in June of 1963 tended to fuel the flames of racial discord and brought the critical eyes of the rest of the world down on Alabama.

George Wallace would go on to run startlingly strong campaigns for president of the U.S. in 1964, 1968 and 1972, and was elected to the Alabama Governor's office again in 1970, 1974 and 1982. The documents in this lesson are letters sent to Wallace right after his election in 1962 and in 1963 during the time of the stand in the school house door and Birmingham demonstrations. They represent the divergent views of Alabamians on these important issues and the response of the Governor to his constituents.

---

### 2. Learning objectives:

Upon completion of this activity, students should be able to:

1. Discuss the importance of America's constitutional right to free speech.
  2. Discuss the difficulty of dealing with public opinion as an elected official.
  3. Identify the importance of public discussion and the election process.
  4. Identify some of the key issues facing Governor Wallace in 1962-1963 and the divergent opinions of Alabama citizens on these issues.
-



3. Suggested activity:
    1. Provide each student with copies of Documents 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.
    2. Allow the students to discuss the similarities and the differences found in the opinions voiced in the letters. Be sure that the students classify the letters as individuals, groups, businesses, organizations, etc. (Point out the handwritten comment on the top of the letter from the Tuskegee Institute Young Democrats Club: "Do Not Reply.")
    3. Ask each student to determine the point of view of the author of each letter.
    4. Ask students the following questions:
      - a. How would you feel about re-electing an official who would not reply to a letter written to him/her by you?
      - b. Is an election a reflection of public opinion? Why or why not?
      - c. What can an elected official do to communicate his/her concern for his/her constituents?
    5. Students should choose one letter and write a response to it as if they were the governor of Alabama.
- 

## DOCUMENTS:

**Document 1.** "Pine Grove Methodist Church letter, 11/04/62," Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 1. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson2/doc1.html>

**Document 2.** "Central Methodist Church letter, 11/16/62," Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 2. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson2/doc2.html>

**Document 3.** "Lucian Lentz letter, 11/17/62," Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 1. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson2/doc3.html>

**Document 4.** "Tuskegee Institute Young Democrats Club letter, 10/--/63," Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 4.

Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson2/doc4.html>

**Document 5.** "Northrop Laboratories letter, 05/23/65," Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 3. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson2/doc5.html>



# Pine Grove - Ebenezer Methodist Charge

JERRY A. TANTON, MINISTER

STAR ROUTE

Carson, Alabama  
November 4, 1962

Governor-Elect George C. Wallace  
Clayton, Alabama

Dear Mr. Wallace:

The congregation of the Pine Grove Methodist Church voted unanimously today to write you this letter.

We are aware of your grave responsibilities and formative influence in the area of race relations in this state. We are praying for you daily as you face what seems to us to be one of the most serious problems ever confronted by an Alabama Governor.

We urge you to begin immediately a program of preparation which will prevent lawlessness, discord, violence, and bloodshed. Every public statement you make is setting the tone for what is to come. We do not believe that inflammatory and rebellious statements provide the type preparation we need.


Our church is vitally concerned about what happens in the next few months at the University of Alabama, where we have four students, and at Auburn University, where we have three students. We strongly urge you to dismiss any ideas concerning the closing of any school! We plead with you to use reasonable governance and the courts to resist integration...not force! While we do not approve integrated schools, we abhor the idea of repeating the present Mississippi crisis in Alabama.

We have faith that the school officials and students can and will handle peaceably the situation which is to arise...if only a peaceful attitude is created by state leaders and private citizens...and if outside agitators are not allowed on the campuses.

We are firm in our conviction that a workable solution to this problem and your own political future depend upon a peaceful approach. We urge you to seek the interested support of the thousands of men and women who are praying and working for law, order, and good will among all the people of our state.

Sincerely,

  
Jerry A. Tanton, Pastor

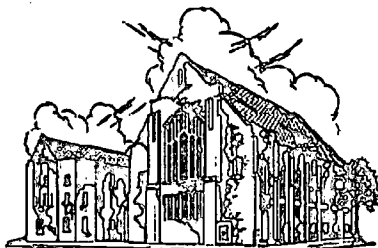
  
C. K. Granada  
Church Lay Leader

Document 1: "Pine Grove Methodist Church letter, 11/04/62," Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 1. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

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# Central Methodist Church

John Rutland  
Pastor



JACKSON AT 6TH AVE., S. E.  
Decatur, Alabama

November 16, 1962

Honorable George Wallace  
Governor-elect of Alabama  
Bell Building  
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Wallace:

The people of Decatur and many of your friends all over the State are encouraged by the strong statements you have made of late. We are glad to know that you are going to keep the KKK out of Tuscaloosa when the Negro student is enrolled.

Most of us share your objections to the Federal Government's stand on de-segregation. We also share your desire to avoid violence and anarchy. We believe that you, as a Christian, as a Methodist, and as an American citizen will graciously accept the orders of The United States Courts.

We Alabama Democrats see some things about our great national party that we do not like. However, we are Americans first. We know that ours is the party which is strongest for freedom and justice for all - regardless of race, creed, or economic station.

I congratulate you on your determination to keep law and order in a situation that you and thousands of other Alabamians despise. I am not surprised at the courageous action on your part. A man who has served as Superintendent of a Methodist Sunday School can not but believe in the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God.

It is far more important that we remember our vows of Baptism and Church membership than to seek popularity in a time of deep distress. The stand you are taking now may cause some of your more reactionary friends alarm. Thank God you have the courage to follow Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Thankfully and Prayerfully,

John Rutland

JR:vhd

**Document 2: "Central Methodist Church letter, 11/16/62," Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 2. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.**

45 Sunset Drive  
Anniston, Ala.  
November 17, 1962

The Hon. George C. Wallace  
Bell Building  
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Judge Wallace:

On several occasions I have had the pleasure of discussing governmental issues with you. I liked your hustling approach to obtaining new industry for our state. I appreciated your sympathetic understanding of the Aid to Dependent Children problem. And I admired your fair-minded appraisal of the Right to Work law.

During your campaign, however, I was distressed to note your extreme stand on the desegregation issue. I did not approve of your statement to the effect that you would "stand on the schoolhouse steps and block the path of any Negro trying to register at a white institution." I therefore consulted our close mutual friend, Fred Merrill, who assured me that from conversations with you, he learned that this type of campaign talk was merely a vote-getting gimmick, and that you would in actuality follow a sensible, moderate course of action when the time came.

More recently, I have been alarmed to read of your reiteration of such incendiary sentiments. I am writing to implore you to break your campaign promise, which seems to me designed only to lead to rabble rousing and violence. I do not think that anyone should try to hold you to this utterance, in the light of the Mississippi tragedy.

Surely even the Ku Klux Klan must now see the futility of trying to fight the might of the entire federal government. Let us carry out the law of the land with courage and dignity, little as we may agree with it. Thousands will be looking to you for leadership whenever the integration threat is raised. Please, please give them an example of quiet moderation.

Since many newspapers which supported you have called upon you to moderate your segregation stand, I would like to suggest that you enlist their aid to avoid violence. Challenge them to play down any stories of Negro registrations at state schools, relegating such information to small squibs on the interior pages of the papers, rather than screaming it out in banner headlines.

Much as I admire your approach to many, many issues in our state, and convinced as I am of your personal integrity, if you have any part in turning Alabama into another Mississippi when the same issues arise here, I shall oppose any further political steps you may every try to take.

Sincerely yours,

*Lucian S. Lentz*

(Mrs. Lucian Lentz)

Document 3: "Lucian Lentz letter, 11/17/62," Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 1. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

*File  
do not  
Reply  
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RECEIVED  
OCT 15 1963  
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

Tuskegee Institute Young  
Democrats Club  
Huntington Hall, Room 114  
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

The Honorable George Wallace  
Governor Of Alabama  
State Capitol  
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Governor:

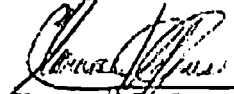
The present social climate in Birmingham, Alabama has fomented the chaos out of which has precipitated the criminal and hideous destruction of the very lives of four American children (one decapitated) who were endeavoring to exercise an essential inalienable right guaranteed by Article I of the Constitution of the United States - the freedom to worship. This climate is not peculiar to Birmingham - a city of uncontrolled lawlessness; it has permeated the State of Alabama, evidencing itself through racial beatings and rioting.

Democracy and the Democratic Party, you yourself a member, proclaim as a preachment individual worth and the protection of the minority; nonetheless, the Democratic power politics in Alabama is incongruent with its preachment. It has become quite palpable that Alabama is failing miserably to insure domestic tranquility".

Viewing the grave situation soberly, the Young Democrats Club of Tuskegee Institute urges you as state executive to provoke more immediate legal action relative to the elimination of racial disorder and the establishment of peace in Alabama.

Very truly yours,

Tuskegee Institute Young Democrats Club

  
Clarence J. Jones  
President

CJJ:ejp

Document 4: " Tuskegee Institute Young Democrats Club letter, 10/--/63," Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 4. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

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A Division of Northrop Corporation  
Huntsville District Office, 1322 Memorial Parkway, S.W.  
Holiday Office Center, Huntsville, Alabama 35894-448

**NORTHROP SPACE LABORATORIES**

Office of the Manager

PERSONAL

23 May 1963

RECEIVED

MAY 27 1963

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

Governor George C. Wallace  
Governor's Mansion  
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Governor Wallace:

It was a pleasure to have the opportunity to meet you personally last night while you were in Huntsville. It was also reassuring to hear your affirmation of your belief in the free enterprise system and your assurance of a cooperative welcome to new industries coming to Alabama.

One of the tasks which we in the Aerospace Industry must face in building sizable operations in Huntsville is to lure experienced people from their present location, and, as you are well aware, this means luring them from California to Huntsville. One of the difficulties which I have encountered is that the image of Alabama to the uninformed non-resident is not good because of the racial problem which is currently receiving so much attention outside of our State. As an illustration, on the day following publication of your inaugural address in Los Angeles, two engineers with graduate degrees who had agreed to move to Huntsville changed their minds with the explanation that "they didn't want to get into a racial mess such as occurred in Mississippi".

In this morning's mail I received the enclosed clipping from the Los Angeles Times which is further evidence of the extent to which Alabama's national image is being distorted. You are certainly entitled to your opinions, which you have often publicly stated, and I fully recognize your obligations as the Chief Executive of the State. It has been said by a philosopher wiser than I that, "one cannot by reason change another from conclusions which he has reached without reason", and I will not attempt to do so. May I suggest, however, as a representative of the Aerospace Industry and a resident of Alabama, by choice, that this problem be handled within the laws of our Nation and

**Document 5: "Northrop Laboratories letter, 05/23/65, Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 3. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama", page 1.**

**NORTHROP SPACE LABORATORIES**

Office of the Manager

Page 2

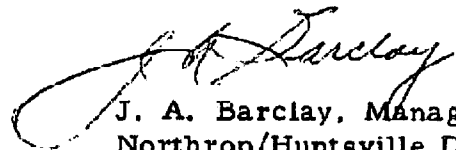
with the dignity and wisdom which the citizens of Alabama have a right to expect from their Chief Executive. I offer for your review the following well known prayer:

"Lord, give me the courage to change the things which ought to be changed, the serenity to accept those things which cannot be changed, and the wisdom to distinguish one from the other."

I write this letter to you personally and in confidence, with the interests of the State of Alabama and its industrial growth in mind. Recognizing your heavy and diverse responsibilities, I trust that you will produce a climate which will distinguish Alabama as being as progressive in the social field as it is now known to be in the technical and space fields.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,



J. A. Barclay, Manager  
Northrop/Huntsville Dept.

JAB:cp  
Enclosure

**Document 5: "Northrop Laboratories letter, 05/23/65, Alabama Governor George Wallace Administrative files, SG12653, folder 3. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama", page 2**

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## Lesson 3: Birmingham 1963

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### 1. Background information for teachers:

By April of 1963, Birmingham, Alabama had become a national example of racial tension and strife. In the spring of 1962, city parks and public golf courses had been closed to prevent desegregation and the black community had attempted to protest racial activities by boycotting selected Birmingham merchants. In response, food that was appropriated for needy families had been cut by the city commissioners. City elections and demonstrations against segregation further separated the city racially for a year and produced a population that was both angry and afraid. On April 12, 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr. was sentenced to a nine-day jail term for his part in desegregation demonstrations. It was during this time that King wrote his essay, "Letter from the Birmingham Jail," < [http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/popular\\_requests/frequentdocs/birmingham.pdf](http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/popular_requests/frequentdocs/birmingham.pdf)> which described his concerns for the laws of America and his hope for justice for black Americans.

The national media publicized the powerful water hoses and the German shepherd police dogs that were used by the firemen and the policemen of Birmingham against demonstrators in May of 1963 as directed by police commissioner Eugene ("Bull") Connor. Despite the peaceful efforts of both the black and white leaders of the city, terror and violence had gripped Birmingham, Alabama while the world watched. The documents in this lesson include telegrams sent to or by Gov. Wallace concerning the events in Birmingham. The notarized statements from the Intercitizens Committee, Inc. provide a contrast to the official state government version of events in Birmingham. The Committee was formed in 1963 by Reverend J. L. Ware to attract middle class blacks to this movement.

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### 2. Learning objectives:

Upon completion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Analyze a written document for position of writer and content.
  2. Synthesize an historical position based upon document analysis.
  3. Understand the events of Birmingham in 1963 and the positions held by the individuals involved.
-



3. Suggested activities:

1. Make copies of Documents 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 for each student.
2. Ask the students to read each document.
3. After reading the documents, ask each student to choose one document and use the general suggestions for analyzing a written document. Have the students answer the questions about the document they chose and report their findings to the class.
4. Upon completion, give each student the following assignment:

You are the press secretary for the Governor of Alabama. You must write a press release to be sent to each newspaper, radio station and television station in Alabama which will explain what has happened in Birmingham. Consider all of the documents that you have read. What will you advise the Governor to tell the state?

---

DOCUMENTS:

**Document 1.** "Telegram from L.H. Foster 05/13/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 3, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson3/doc1.html>

**Document 2.** "Telegram from George Andrews 05/13/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 3, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson3/doc2.html>

**Document 3.** "Telegram from NBC News 05/16/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 6, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson3/doc3.html>

**Document 4.** "Telegram from Wallace to The President 05/13/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 3, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson3/doc4.html>

**Document 5.** "Telegram from Mayor Boutwell 05/28/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 5, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson3/doc5.html>



**Document 6.** "Documents on Human Rights in Alabama," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 6, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson3/doc6.html>

**CLASS OF SERVICE**  
This is a fact message unless the deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION

## TELEGRAM

**SYMBOLS**  
DL - Day Letter  
NL - Night Letter  
LT - International Letter Telegram

87-1201 (6-49)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination.

1210P CST MAY 13 63 NSA275  
NS TKAO10 PD TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE ALA 13 1146A CST  
THE HONORABLE GEORGE C WALLACE  
GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA MONTGOMERY ALA  
CURRENT TRAGEDIES IN BIRMINGHAM FOLLOW INEVITABLY THE MANY YEARS DURING WHICH NEGROES LIVING AND VISITING IN THAT CITY HAVE EXPERIENCED THE VIOLENCE OF PERSONAL INDIGNITIES AND THE ARBITRARY AND REPEATED DENIAL OF ALMOST EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE AS AMERICAN CITIZENS IN THE LIFE OF BIRMINGHAM. WE URGENTLY NEED YOUR LEADERSHIP TO HELP BRING A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING AND TO MAKE SECURE THE RIGHTS OF NEGROES TO LIVE, WORK, AND PARTICIPATE RESPONSIBLY IN CIVIC AFFAIRS. ANY EFFECTIVE ATTEMPT TO SETTLE THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES MUST DEAL FAIRLY WITH THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOR EVERY CITIZEN.  
AS THE GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA YOU HAVE A MAGNIFICENT OPPORTUNITY TO LEAD ALABAMAINS TO A NEW AND FINER HOUR OF HUMAN UNDERSTANDING  
BASED ON THE CHRISTIAN ETHIC AND THE ASSOCIATED RESPECT WHICH EVERY HUMAN BEING DESERVES  
L H FOSTER PRESIDENT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.  
(52).

Document 1: "Telegram from L.H. Foster, 05/13/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 3, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

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# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

BP-1201 (4-60)

**SYMBOLS**

DL Day Letter  
NL Night Letter  
IT International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination.

1239P OST MAY 13 63 NSA298

RB073 WE224 W BXA085 GOVT PU RX WASHINGTON DC 13 137P EDT

THE HONORABLE GEORGE C WALLACE, GOVERNOR

STATE OF ALABAMA MONTGOMERY ALA

REURTEL HAVE SENT THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

" PLEASE REMOVE TROOPS AND LET ME REPEAT MY TELEGRAM OF LAST WEEK BY ALL MEANS REMOVE MARTIN LUTHER KING FROM ALABAMA. IF HE IS REMOVED THERE WILL BE NO NEED FOR TRIIPS".

GEORGE ANDREWS MEMBER OF CONGRESS

(40).

Document 2: "Telegram from George Andrews, 05/13/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 3, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

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# WESTERN UNION

## TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, Proprietor

017-1201 (4-00)

**SYMBOLS**

DL = Day Letter  
 NL = Night Letter  
 LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination.

1032A CST MAY 16 63 NSA189  
 DEB071 DE NA162 PD WUX NEW YORK NY 16 1149A EDT  
 GOVERNOR GEORGE C WALLACE  
 MONTGOMERY ALA

RE YOUR TELEGRAM, NBC NEWS COVERAGE OF BIRMINGHAM SITUATION HAS BEEN ACCURATE AND UNBIASED. SPONSORS OF OUR NEWS PROGRAMS DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY WAY IN DETERMINATION OF CONTENT OF SUCH PROGRAMS. THAT IS RESPONSIBILITY OF NBC NEWS AND WE SEEK TO CARRY IT OUT CONSCIENTIOUSLY

WILLIAM R MCANDREW EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT NBC NEWS  
 (14).

Document 3: "Telegram from NBC News, 05/16/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 6, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

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Telefax

# WESTERN UNION

SENDING BLANK

Telefax



CALL LETTERS

PCT

CHARGE TO

PAID

Montgomery, Alabama - May 13, 1963

The President.  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

The statute you cite as authority for sending troops to the City of Birmingham even though invoked previously by you is in direct conflict with Art. 4, Section 4 of the Constitution of the United States which states that the U.S. shall guarantee to every state of the Union a republican form of government and which also provides that the U.S. can use its National Military forces to quell domestic violence only when requested to do so by the Legislature of that State or the Governor if the Legislature cannot be convened. Neither the Legislature or I, as Governor, has  
(end page one)

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD  
1269—IR 4-551

Telefax

# WESTERN UNION

SENDING BLANK

Telefax



CALL LETTERS

PCT

CHARGE TO

PAID (Page 2 - Kennedy)

requested you to send troops into the state to quell domestic violence.

The constituted authorities of the State of Alabama, City and County are able and have not failed or refused to suppress domestic violence which has occurred in the City of Birmingham. I refer you to Title 10, Section 393.

Our founding fathers in drafting Article 4, Section 4 of the Constitution expressly limited the central government in matters of domestic violence within a state. Neither the Congress of the United States nor you as the Chief Executive of the United States can violate this most basic constitutional guaranty.

You imply in your telegram that you will use federal troops to implement an alleged agreement worked out by "community leaders."  
(end page 2)

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD  
1269—IR 4-551

Document 4: "Telegram from Wallace to The President, 05/13/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 3, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 1.

Telefax

# WESTERN UNION

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Telefax



|              |     |           |                         |
|--------------|-----|-----------|-------------------------|
| CALL LETTERS | ECT | CHARGE TO | PAID (Page 3 - Kennedy) |
|--------------|-----|-----------|-------------------------|

We have heard and read much about the agreements entered into by this group of so-called negotiators but their activities have been cloaked in secrecy. With the exception of the Chairman, one Sydney Sayer, they have even refused to identify themselves. Apparently, from the actions you have taken, you know the identity of the members of this committee. I urge you to make public the names of the members of this committee, whom they represent and by what constitutional authority they have presumed to act.

Each of the lawfully constituted officials of the City of Birmingham, Jefferson County, and State of Alabama has publicly denied having any knowledge of any so-called agreement, and has unequivocally denied the authority of any group of white citizens to negotiate with the lawless mobsters who had been leading the negroes of Birmingham in weeks of violence and law breaking until this violence was put down by local and state law enforcement (end page 3)

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1209—(R 4-33)

Telefax

# WESTERN UNION

SENDING BLANK

Telefax



|              |     |           |                         |
|--------------|-----|-----------|-------------------------|
| CALL LETTERS | ECT | CHARGE TO | PAID (Page 4 - Kennedy) |
|--------------|-----|-----------|-------------------------|

officers.

There is no precedent for the use of federal National Military troops to enforce an alleged agreement by unauthorized, anonymous individuals working in secrecy without authority of any duly constituted officials.

In my judgment your duty is to guarantee the right of this State and the City of Birmingham to handle their own domestic affairs, and any intervention into the affairs of this State or the City of Birmingham, whether by the use of National Military troops or otherwise, is in direct violation of your constitutional obligation.

George C. Wallace  
Governor of Alabama

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1209—(R 4-33)

Document 4: "Telegram from Wallace to The President, 05/13/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 3, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 2.

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**CLASS OF SERVICE**

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# WESTERN UNION

## TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

07-1201 (4-60)

**SYMBOLS**

DL Day Letter

NL Night Letter

LY International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination.

**714P CST MAY 28 63 NSA447**

**NS BMA736 PD FAX BIRMINGHAM ALA 28 700P CST**

**HON GEORGE C WALLACE, GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA**

**GOVERNOR'S MANSION MONTGOMERY ALA**

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR TELEGRAM IN REFERENCE TO USE OF FORCES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA IN CONJUNCTION WITH LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER IN BIRMINGHAM. WE THANK YOU AND THE PERSONNEL UNDER YOUR DIRECTION WHICH HAVE RENDERED A VALUABLE AND NECESSARY SERVICE TO THIS CITY AND IT'S PEOPLE. AFTER CAREFUL CONSULTATION WITH CHIEF OF BIRMINGHAM POLICE, JAMIE MOORE, AND OTHER LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS AND AFTER OUR OWN INTESIVE APRaisal OF THE SITUATION WHICH NOW PREVAILS, IT IS OUR CONSIDERED BELIEF THAT WHILE PRESENT LAW ENFORCEMENT PROBLEMS ARE NORMAL, THE POTENTIAL OF VIOLENCE OR DISORDER REMAINS TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF THE PERSONNEL FROM THE DEPARTMENT**

**OF PUBLIC SAFETY OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA IS BOTH NECESSARY AND DESIRABLE. MAYOR BOUTWELL AND THE COUNCIL CONCUR IN THIS MESSAGE.**

**THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF BIRMINGHAM AND ALBERT BOUTWELL, MAYOR OF BIRMINGHAM.**

Document 5: "Telegram from Mayor Boutwell, 05/28/63," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 5, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

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DOCUMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN  
ALABAMA



THE INTER-CITIZENS COMMITTEE, INC.

BOX 1443

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

REV. J. L. WARE  
PRESIDENT

REV. C. H. OLIVER  
SECRETARY

**Document 6: "Documents on Human Rights in Alabama," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 6, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 1.**

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Picture on cover shows Walter Gadsden (15) of 3114 Sixth Alley So. in Birmingham, Alabama. He has given to the Inter-Citizens Committee his own account of what happened. It is as follows:

"On Friday May 3, 1963, I was observing the demonstrators as they were coming out of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham. I was standing near the corner of 16th Street and 6th Avenue North. As I was going across the street an officer grabbed me and held me while he turned a dog on me. I was not one of the demonstrators. I was jailed and charged with parading without a permit."

*Walter Gadsden*  

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Walter Gadsden

Document 6: "Documents on Human Rights in Alabama," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 6, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 2.

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DOCUMENT NO. 33 ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALABAMA. ON THE USE OF POLICE DOGS DURING THE 1963 PALM SUNDAY DEMONSTRATIONS IN BIRMINGHAM.

My name is Eddie L. Bradford. I live at 612 No. 17th St. in Birmingham. On April 7, 1963 at around 4:00 in the afternoon, I was standing on the corner of 17th St. and 6th Ave. No. I was watching to see what was happening. Some cars had been stopped and I wanted to see why. I was not in the street, but there was a large crowd of people on the corner near where I was standing. Then policemen came and ordered everyone to move on. Two officers were sitting in a police car nearby with dogs in it. The people stayed around and I did too. Then the policemen called for the dogs.

They sicked the dog on me. The dog made a lunge toward my face but I blocked him with my left arm. At the same time I swung at the dog's neck with a small pen knife I had. I don't know whether I cut him or not, but I hope I did. Then I drew back to strike him again and the dog grabbed my thigh and bit me. When I drew back the second time, the policeman pulled the dog back and sicked him on someone else. The crowd scattered and I went away and got my dog bite treated. I was not arrested.

*Eddie L. Bradford*  
Eddie L. Bradford

My name is Raymond Coleman. I live at 712 No. 16th St. in Birmingham. I am 70 years of age.

On the afternoon of April 7, 1963, I went to town to eat. While on my way back home I came to the corner of 17th St. and 6th Ave. No. There was a large crowd of people there. Since I was on my way home, I would have to cross the street to go home. I heard the policemen tell the people to move back, but there was such a crowd that I could not move. They sicked the dog on me. The dog tore a piece out of my coat. Then the dog grabbed me under my arm from behind. The dog held on to me and it was painful. I kept pulling forward trying to get loose from the dog, but he kept holding me for what seemed to me to be a long time. After a while the policeman got him off. They did not arrest me.

I went to University Hospital for treatment. There were policemen there. One of them said some other dog bit me and I was saying it was the police's dog. I had to pay \$5.00 for a lockjaw shot.

*Raymond Coleman*  
Raymond Coleman

STATE OF ALABAMA     )  
                                  )  
COUNTY OF JEFFERSON )

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Eddie L. Bradford and Raymond Coleman, who depose and say that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of their knowledge:

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 19<sup>th</sup> day of April 1963.

*General R. Lee*  
NOTARY PUBLIC

Document 6: "Documents on Human Rights in Alabama," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 6, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 3.

DOCUMENT NO. 34 ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALABAMA. ON THE USE OF POLICE  
DOGS DURING THE 1963 PALM SUNDAY DEMONSTRATIONS IN BIRMINGHAM.  
RELATED BY LEROY ALLEN, (19) OF BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA.


My name is Leroy Allen. I live at 1002 30th St. No. in Birmingham. I have never been in jail before.

On Sunday, April 7, 1963 at around 5:30 P.M. I went to observe the demonstrations that were going on in Birmingham. I was with some friends who asked me to go with them to observe the demonstrations. At first I said I would not go because I might get in jail, but I decided to go. I was going to the Greyhound Bus Station anyway to take a bus to my job in Brewton, Alabama, and I was headed toward the bus station.

There was a crowd of people on the corner of 6th Ave. and 16th Street North. When I got about midway in the block, a policeman told everybody to get back. I got back, but I don't guess I was getting back fast enough. I heard Connor tell the policeman to sick the dog on me. I did not have a knife or a pipe or any weapon - nothing but my bare hands. The dog bit me behind first, then he bit me on the leg. The dog tried to get to my neck, but I blocked him with my arm, and he bit me on the arm. Then I grabbed the dog and threw him over my shoulder and began choking him and the dog started hollering. Then about four policemen took me off the dog, threw me on the ground and got on top of me. I struggled up, and about five more came, including police chief Jamie Moore, and they pinned me down to the ground, and while they held me on the ground another dog bit me on the arm. They handcuffed me and threw me in the paddy wagon. All the clothes I had on were badly torn. I was taken to the city jail.

At the jail the sergeant said they should take me to the hospital. They said I did not need to go to the hospital, but the sergeant insisted and they took me to Hillman Hospital where I received treatment. Then I was taken back to jail. I was charged with failure to obey an officer.

The following Wednesday while still in jail, I took sick and they took me to the hospital where I was examined. I was there about three hours. While there, as many as about 25 policemen came to look at me. Several of them said they wanted to see the man the dog bit so they could know me when they see me walking on the street or anywhere. They were trying to scare me but I was not afraid. I was taken back to jail and stayed until Saturday, April 12 when they released me. As soon as I returned to work, I was fired from my job. I have not yet been able to find another job.

  
Leroy Allen

STATE OF ALABAMA

COUNTY OF JEFFERSON

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Leroy Allen, who deposes and says that the foregoing statement is true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me  
this 27<sup>th</sup> day of April 1963.

  
NOTARY PUBLIC

My commission expires  
3/7/66

Document 6: "Documents on Human Rights in Alabama," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 6, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 4.



Leroy Allen being subdued by Birmingham policemen on Palm Sunday, 1963.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| GREYHOUND<br>519628   | Issued by <b>SOUTHERN GREYHOUND LINES</b>  |
|   | ISSUING CARRIER WILL BE RESPONSIBLE ONLY FOR TRANSPORTATION ON ITS OWN LINES, in accordance with tariff regulations and conditions, AND ASSUMES NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY ACTS OR OMISSIONS OF OTHERS OCCURRING WITHIN OR WITHOUT THE UNITED STATES except as imposed upon it with respect to baggage. Barring aboard vehicles operated in interstate or foreign commerce is without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin. |
| Yield<br>After  | <i>[Signature]</i><br>Bus President  |
| <b>IDENTIFICATION CHECK</b><br>Not good for passage or refund |  |
| Last Coupon<br>Issued to: <b>BREWTON, ALA.</b>                |  |

|                      |   |                           |
|----------------------|---|---------------------------|
| GREYHOUND<br>519628  | Issued by <b>SOUTHERN GREYHOUND LINES</b> | FOUND TRIP<br>NUMBER 1145 |
|                      | From <b>BIRMINGHAM, ALA.</b>              |                           |
|                      | To <b>BREWTON, ALA.</b>                   |                           |
|                      | VIA GREYHOUND LINES <i>1145</i>           |                           |
| VOID IF DETACHED     |   |                           |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 |   |                           |

*Leroy Allen*  
*A 14*

TECH  
 COFFEE BREWTON ALA.  
 APR = 5 63  
 BREWTON ALA.

TECH  
 COFFEE  
 APR = 5 63  
 BREWTON ALA.

Ticket to Brewton, Alabama purchased by Leroy Allen on April 5, 1963.

Document 6: "Documents on Human Rights in Alabama," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 6, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 5.

DOCUMENT NO. 37 ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALABAMA. RELATED BY TOMMIE HILL OF BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA.

My name is Tommie Hill. I live at 1712 No. 25th Avenue in Birmingham.

On Easter Sunday (April 14, 1963) in the late afternoon, I was standing near Thirgood C. M. E. Church watching what was going on. After the police had arrested some ministers and other persons, about three policemen grabbed me and one of them tried to hit me on the head with his stick, but I blocked the blow and tried to get across the street. As I was going across the street an officer standing in the street struck me hard on the shoulder with his stick. The blow was so hard that in about fifteen minutes I could barely lift my arm. I was not doing anything but watching, and I did not have any weapons on me. I saw some shattered glass, but I don't know how it happened. When the officer struck me on the arm, another one tripped me and I fell, scarring my knees and elbow.

They handcuffed me and took me to jail. I stayed in jail five days. When I was taken to jail they said I was charged with attempted murder, assault and battery, resisting arrest, inciting to riot, and parading without a permit, but I was not guilty of either. I understood later that the attempted murder charge was dropped. At the jail I was given a pill for my arm, but it did not do any good. After I got out I went to a doctor to have it treated.

Tommie Hill  
Tommie Hill

STATE OF ALABAMA  
COUNTY OF JEFFERSON

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Tommie Hill, who deposes and says that the foregoing statement is true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn to and subscribed to before me  
this 9th day of May, 1963.

Geneva R. Lee

NOTARY PUBLIC

My commission expires  
3/7/66.

Document 6: "Documents on Human Rights in Alabama," Alabama Governor Wallace Administrative files, SG12655, folder 6, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 6.

## Lesson 4: Marching for Justice - Selma to Montgomery

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### 1. Background information for teachers:

Despite a succession of federal court rulings designed to open the polls to African Americans in the 1960s, black Alabamians in huge numbers were not registered to vote due to the power of local voter registrars to erect obstacles. The problem was particularly acute in the Black Belt of the state, where whites feared losing political control when the black majority population gained the franchise. Selma, in the heart of the Black Belt, became a focus for black registration drives in the early 1960s and, in 1965, was chosen by African American Civil Rights leaders as the site from which to launch a march on Montgomery, the state capital, to dramatize the plight of the disfranchised.

The march of a few hundred protesters began on March 7, 1965. Governor George Wallace ordered local and state law enforcement personnel to block the march at the Edmund Pettus Bridge spanning the Alabama River on the way out of Selma. The resulting spectacle of uniformed law officers attacking peaceful demonstrators was witnessed by a horrified American public as "Bloody Sunday" on the nightly news. The "Selma to Montgomery March" was begun anew on March 21, with the marchers' ranks swelled by supporters from across the nation, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. who had been involved in the Selma protests since January but had not been there on "Bloody Sunday." Some 3,200 marchers left Selma on March 21st and as many as 25,000 took part in the final stretch up Montgomery's Dexter Avenue to the state Capitol four days later.

Emotions aroused over the events in Selma galvanized the U.S. Congress to pass, and President Lyndon B. Johnson to sign, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to supply federal overseers in the local voter registration process.

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### 2. Learning objectives:

Upon completion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Identify primary and secondary sources.
  2. Discuss the differences and similarities in time perspective concerning a historical event.
-

2. Suggested activity:
    1. Make copies of Documents 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 for each student.
    2. Discuss the differences between primary and secondary sources.
    3. Have the students read Documents 1, 2, 3 and 4.
    4. Ask the students the following questions:
      - a. What was the purpose of the march from Selma to Montgomery?
      - b. Why was the federal judge involved in the march?
      - c. What was the purpose of the resolution from the Alabama State Senate?
      - d. Why was the National Guard put on alert?
    5. Ask the students to read Document 5.
    6. On a sheet of paper, ask the students to compare and contrast the original newspaper accounts of the march with the description of the march after ten years.
    7. Have the students discuss current activities held to commemorate the Selma to Montgomery March.
- 

## DOCUMENTS:

**Document 1.** "*Birmingham News* article 03/24/65," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson4/doc1.html>

**Document 2.** "*Alabama Journal* article 03/23/65," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson4/doc2.html>

**Document 3.** "Alabama Senate Joint Resolution No. 28, 03/19/65," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama

Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson4/doc3.html>

**Document 4.** "*Birmingham News* article 03/22/65, Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson4/doc4.html>

**Document 5.** "*Mobile Press* article 03/02/75," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson4/doc5.html>

Additional photographs of the Selma to Montgomery March can be found in the Alabama Sovereignty Commission, Administrative files. They are on the web at [http://www.archives.state.al.us/cvl/cvl\\_rit1.html](http://www.archives.state.al.us/cvl/cvl_rit1.html)





**CIVIL RIGHTS PROTEST MARCH MOVES THROUGH STATE'S BLACK BELT**  
 ... Armed GI guard keeps watch as demonstrators walk in drizzle after heavy rain

News staff photo—James Martin

## Court's march order ends at Capitol

**BY DAN DUWE**  
 News staff writer  
**MONTGOMERY, March 24**—Civil rights demonstrators marching from Selma to Montgomery under a federal court order will be on their own when they reach the State Capitol Thursday.

The order by U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr. permits the 50-mile hike, but

stops short of approving plans for a demonstration on the capital steps, and for sending a delegation into the state building to seek audience with Gov. George C. Wallace.

Johnson's order enjoins Alabama officials from interfering with the march proposed in a plan filed with the court, "to the extent that said plan is presently approved by this court."

An opinion accompanying the order said the plan is reasonable "to the extent that it relates to a march along U. S. Highway 80 from Selma to Montgomery."

THE OPINION also notes that the final day of the march Thursday "will be from the western part of Montgomery to the State Capitol."

However, the federal judge's opinion makes no mention of the final phase of the plan, which calls for a mass meeting in front of the capitol "as well as on the capitol steps."

The opinion also fails to mention a section of the plan which specifies that "not more than 20 persons will enter the capitol building and proceed to the governor's office."

JOHNSON concluded by denying all relief sought by the plaintiffs except when he had specifically referred to in his opinion.

The judge also pointed out that his opinion "is not intended to declare or adjudicate the rights of citizens to assemble, petition or protest within the City of Selma, the City of Montgomery or any other municipal area."

The exercise of such rights, he said, must be determined

in each instance "according to the facts and circumstances presented."

In dealing with recent civil rights demonstrations, the City of Montgomery has consistently granted permits when notified in advance, and can be expected to allow a mass meeting in front of the capitol Thursday. However, unless state officials change their policy, demonstrators will be barred from the capitol grounds.

MAR 24 1965

B'HAM NEWS

WAR 24

Source: Birmingham News article 03/24/65," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

# Wet Marchers Pass Halfway Point

TRICKEM, Ala. (AP) — Three hundred leg-weary marchers, dampened by rain, tramped past the half-way point of their 50-mile right-to-vote pilgrimage today after Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. left the march.

King temporarily gave up command of the three day old highway march to catch a plane to Cleveland, Ohio, and a program in his honor. He planned to return Wednesday or Thursday.

By noon today the marchers had traveled nearly 30 miles. That left about 20 miles more to Montgomery where thousands will join the final march to the state capitol Thursday.

Several hundred battle-ready National Guardsmen, called up by presidential order, and army regulars patrolled the highway.

The pace slowed today. The plan was to cover 11 miles, compared to the 17 miles traveled yesterday.

A light rain fell as the march-

ers broke camp in a pasture at 8 a.m. (CST).

State troopers arrested the Rev. James Bevel, one of King's staff, on a speeding charge near Selma. Bevel signed his \$100 bond. He said he was travelling 65 to 75 miles per hour in a 60-M.P.H. zone.

Taking King's place at the head of the line were John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Albert Turner, a Negro leader from Marion; Attorney Charles Rangle of New York; George Fowler of the New York Commission on Human Rights; and Norman Houston, a Los Angeles NAACP officer.

The number will increase for the final leg of the 50-mile trek into Montgomery, when the highway becomes four lanes again. By order of the judge, the marchers must reach the Capitol building by 4 p.m. Thursday.

The 300 marchers were al-

most to the halfway point when they bedded down under big tents in a pasture near the Big Swamp of Lowndes County, a fertile land dotted with heads of white-faced Hereford and Black Angus cattle.

The pasture is owned by Roco Steele, a Negro store owner. She had a brisk business in the store selling odds and ends to the marchers after they completed the second day of their five-day walk.

The path ahead for today along the two-lane highway includes deep water on both sides of the road for a mile and a half. This is the Big Swamp.

Along this portion there are five bridges. On the last bridge a blind curve goes into a steep hill and then another blind curve.

The shoulder is no more than four to six feet wide.

Although Lowndes County was described by one Negro minister. (See RAIN, Page 2)

MAR 23 1965

ALA JOURNAL

Document 2: "Alabama Journal article 03/23/65, " Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 1.

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## RAIN

ter as "worse than hell," the only trouble encountered by the

### FROM PAGE 1

marchers so far has been foot blisters. They walked 17 miles Monday and plan to cover 20 today.

While they marched, there were these other developments on the racial scene:

In Washington, Senate leaders said if President Johnson's voting rights bill — aimed at solving Negro grievances — is not passed by April 15, senators will forfeit their Easter recess. Johnson continues to follow progress of the march.

In Cleveland, Ohio, NAACP leaders launch a prospective nation-wide drive against alleged discrimination on federal building projects, vowing to shut down construction of Cleveland's \$32-million federal office building if necessary.

At Independence, Mo., former President Harry S. Truman termed "silly" the Selma-Montgomery march. "They can't accomplish a darned thing," he said. "All they want is to attract attention."

The leader of the march to Montgomery, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was joined Monday by his wife.

At one rest stop, King said that his feet were bothering him. He put on an extra pair of socks.

"My feet don't feel so good either," Mrs. King said.

An Army Jeep moved along ahead of the marchers on the highway. It carried a large yellow sign: "Caution. Marchers ahead. Keep right."

Federalized Guardsmen and Army troops accompanied the marchers. At nightfall they ringed the camp again.

King, and the other marchers, also saw billboards showing him at a former interracial school in Tennessee. The caption reads: "Martin Luther King at Communist training school."

King called the billboards an attempt to smear the civil rights movement. He said he believes the billboards refer to the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, which was closed several years ago.

Ned Touchdown, secretary of the Citizens Council of Louisiana, Inc., said his group plans to put up 807 of the billboards throughout the United States.

Other segregationist feelings were expressed on yellow leaflets showered on the marchers by a light airplane. The leaflets called on white citizens to join "Operation Bn," described as "selective hiring, firing, buying, selling."

The leaflets said: "Unemployed agitator sends to agitator."

Document 2: "Alabama Journal article 03/23/65," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 2.

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State of Alabama



Act No. 47 Special Session 1965  
Senate Joint Resolution No. 28

By Messrs. James E. Horton, Jr., Bob Gilchrist, Harlan G. Allen, Roscoe O. Roberts, Jr., Clayton Carter, George Hawkins, A. C. Shelton, Bill Nichols, Julian Lowe, Ernest C. Harnaby, Wm. C. McCain, Robert T. Wilson, Lawrence Dumas, B. G. Robison, Jr., J. T. McDow, Roland Cooper, H. B. Taylor, H. P. James, Albert H. Evans, Jr., E. O. Eddins, L. W. Brannan, Jr., L. D. Bentley, Jr., Neil Metcalf, James S. Clark, W. Ray Lolley, Ed Roynolds, Joseph W. Smith, Vaughan Hill Robison, Kenneth Hammond, Walter C. Gluhan, W. E. Oden, Charles A. Montgomery, John M. Tyson, Charles Mathews, Charles H. Adams and James B. Allen, Lieutenant Governor.

*WHEREAS, after a period of ten weeks of continued agitation and demonstrations, led by and directed by outsiders, a march by these agitators and demonstrators from Selma to Montgomery has been sanctioned by order of the Federal Court;*

*WHEREAS, this march and the incidental activities of the agitators and demonstrators will place unusual and extreme demands on all law enforcement agencies of our State;*

*WHEREAS, one of the purposes of demonstrations, agitation and of this very march is to foment local disorder and strife among our citizens;*

*WHEREAS, the tension created could result in violence and bloodshed;*

*WHEREAS, by the maintenance of law and order in Alabama we can best show to the world that Alabamians are a law abiding and peace loving people, amply able to solve every domestic problem by reasonable discussion and by the regular processes of government and in the courts;*

*WHEREAS, our Governor has called upon every citizen to stay at home, away from the route of march and places where the demonstrators will go;*

**NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE, THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONCURRING,** that we hereby join the Governor of Alabama in calling upon every loyal citizen of the State, of every race, color, creed or persuasion, to stay at home or at his regular place of business—as far removed from the line of march and demonstrations as is possible—until the risk of regrettable incidents which might occur in an atmosphere charged with tension has ceased. Let every one of our citizens act with the utmost restraint.

Approved March 19, 1965  
Time 2:38 P. M.

Handwritten signature of James B. Allen.

President and Presiding Officer of the Senate

Handwritten signature of George C. Wallace.

Governor of Alabama

Handwritten signature of Allen P. Burton.

Speaker of the House of Representatives

Document 3: "Alabama Senate Joint Resolution No. 28, 03/19/65," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

## SINGING MISSING

# First day marked with odd quietness

BY JACK HOPPER  
News staff writer  
EN ROUTE TO MONTGOMERY, March 22—"They hate to go and I do too, but we've got to go."

This statement by Amelia Boynton, a Selma Negro leader and among those who pushed for authorization of the march in federal court, seemed to epitomize the general attitude of the 3,285 civil rights demonstrators as the 56-mile trek to Montgomery got under way.

It was a subdued manner that marked the first day of the historic march. Most of the marchers were quiet, not singing in their customary manner. A lot of stragglers fell out of the procession shortly after getting under way.

They came from every section of the country to participate. Many came because of their dedication to furthering integration. But many came out of curiosity. When questioned, some couldn't tell you why they were here.

An 82-year-old Negro man, Cager Lee, the grandfather of a fatally injured Jimmy Jackson Lee, who died of injuries suffered in a brief act of violence in Marion Feb. 13, led the marchers at the start of the trip. He marched beside Martin Luther King.

LINUS PAULING JR., a psychiatrist in Honolulu and son of Nobel Prize Winner Linus Pauling, led six Hawaiians here to participate in the trek. They brought a sign reading: "Hawaii knows integration works."

Why did he fly all the way from Hawaii to walk 50 miles? "We feel we have something to demonstrate to Southerners about the races getting along together. Many races live together in Hawaii."

Another of the group from Hawaii, Glenn Izutsu, is president of the student body at the University of Hawaii. His classmates paid his expenses to come to Alabama to march in the civil rights movement.

The group brought leis for Martin Luther King and some of the other leaders.

Jim Leather of Saginaw, Mich., is making the entire trip on crutches. He lost a leg shortly after birth but says "with God's grace I will make the walk."

He said he was one of 23 "outsiders" chosen by leaders to make the entire journey. "I came here to march in freedom in Selma, Ala., and in Saginaw, Mich.," he emphasized. "Here the Negro can't vote, and at home they have been denied equal housing and educational

facilities to give her name was pushing a baby carriage in the middle of the group. The baby couldn't have been more than six months old.

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Brink of Anchorage, Alaska, were parked on the side of the road during the first day of the march and "will probably join on the last day."

Brink, who is a professor at Alaska Methodist University, said he was here to participate "in one of the greatest moments of democracy. It is sad that this point was reached before basic democratic rights could be achieved. It is also sad that the impetus had to come from the federal government instead of Alabama."

A good-looking blonde from Menlo Park, Calif., said, when asked why she was marching, "I want to check the situation over." She said she came with three college friends.

One young white marcher, possibly 17 years old, was heard yelling for his friend, "Let's get on the other side of the street, the television cameras are on." With that, they made a dash in front of Martin Luther King and the other leaders.

Spectators lined the streets during the first day, some yelled insults at the marchers, most of them talking to themselves.

ONE WOMAN spectator, Mrs. Jimmy Wallico of Selma, said, "I think it is terrible we are using this money for the march when our boys are fighting with outdated weapons in Viet Nam."

The first day's march was completely disorganized. The demonstrators agreed before the march to occupy only one lane of the four-lane highway. This hasn't materialized. They are taking one complete side of the highway. The second was to have been reserved for the news media.

Federal troops are stationed about every 100 yards along highway, not interfering in any way with the march.

After crossing Edmund Pettus Bridge, the march organizers began asking the crowd to speed up their pace. They started three hours late and had to make 7.3 miles before reaching their camp.

The marchers actually ran for a short distance, only then to slow to a creeping pace.

After only one hour on the highway, several demonstrators began asking for water and food. Two rest stops were made during the first two miles of the journey.

Traffic on Highway 80, head-

ed west through Selma, was allowed to a standstill several times because of newsmen and law enforcement creeping in automobiles.

THREE CARS, painted with signs such as "I hate niggers," "Go Home, King," "Meridian, Miss., Hates Negroes," and "Veterans of Oxford," caused some commotion. Newsmen went across the highway to talk to the segregationists, again blocking traffic. Military police finally broke up the crowd, and told newsmen to get back across the highway.

The marchers were dressed in a wide variety of colors, but the dark ones prevailed.

Business suits and levis, smart looking dresses and faded slacks. The spike heels of some marchers caused them to be among the first to drop out. Others wore old shoes that were not for marching.

Topcoats, jackets and heavy sweaters were being shed as the temperature began rising.

Many of the marchers carried bedrolls and canned food stoves even though food was to be served at the camp grounds.

Continually, throughout the march were Army helicopters scouting the area on all four sides of the march.

Several helicopters were occupied by television cameras.

There was little tension in the air, in sharp contrast to the two previous attempts to make the 56-mile march.

## Priest decries degree given to Ellender

OKLAHOMA CITY (AP) — An honorary doctor of laws degree awarded Sen. Alton J. Ellender, D-La., by Oklahoma City University last week drew added fire Sunday on the steps of the state Capitol.

More than 100 students and clergymen, both Negro and white, assembled at the Capitol to demonstrate support for the civil-rights march from Selma, Ala., to Montgomery.

They heard the Rev. Robert McDole of Corpus Christi Roman Catholic church take the university to task for honoring "in a formal way a man representing the racism eating away at the heart of America."

Public award of the degree was canceled when students rebelled because of Ellender's avowed intention to fight President Johnson's proposed voting-rights bill.

opportunities."

Joe Young, a blind man from Atlanta, said this march is the greatest thing of the century. He said he was raised with Negro children and that he could not understand why Southerners were denying them equal rights.

ROBERT GLADNICK of Miami, Fla., is manager of two locals of the International Ladies' Garment Union. When asked why he was wearing a Canadian sergeant's uniform, he said, "This is the same battle as World War II."

One Negro woman who re-

**Document 4: Birmingham News article 3/22/65,  
Alabama Department of Archives and History Public  
Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights  
- Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406,  
Alabama Department of Archives and History,  
Montgomery, Alabama.**

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# Selma's 'bloody Sunday'

By ORBIE L. MEDDERS  
SELMA, Ala. (UPI)—A vanguard of about 525 blacks converged on the Edmund Pettus Bridge 10 years ago to begin a march to Montgomery to protest the denial of voting rights to Negroes in Selma. Awaiting them on the span which crosses the Alabama

River were around 200 state troopers and sheriff's deputies under orders from Gov. George C. Wallace to block their march to the state capitol 66 miles away. A few minutes later, the troopers and deputies, some of them on horseback, attacked the approaching procession with teargas, whips and night-sticks.

It happened on March 7, 1965. Today, black and white people in Selma still call it "bloody Sunday."

The marchers threw bricks and bottles but they were no match for the law enforcement officers. Seventeen blacks went to hospitals and 67 other marchers received emergency first aid treatment.

Wallace defended the attack as an act in the interest of public safety. Two days after the clash, President Johnson issued a statement denouncing the "brutality" on the bridge.

Many blacks and whites in Selma claim the incident on the Edmund Pettus Bridge hastened the passage of the voting rights act by Congress in August of that year.

"If they had only let that group march to Montgomery there would not have been a voting rights bill signed into law, not when it was," said Frederick D. Reese, a march leader.

The passage of the act cleared many barriers to black voter registration, and the number of blacks on voting rolls in the South more than doubled, increasing in 11 southern states from 1.4 million in 1970 to 3.5 million in 1971.

In Selma and surrounding Dallas County the number jumped from 300 in 1965 to 12,000 in 1975.

The increased voting strength helped elect blacks to public offices that had been held exclusively by whites since reconstruction. Blacks now occupy three southern congressional seats, dozens of positions in southern state legislatures and city halls and several sheriff's offices.

Ten years ago, blacks could not win election to public offices in Selma. Reese, a leader of dozens of voter registration marches, ran for city council in 1964 and lost by a wide margin.

Today, Reese, 45, is one of five blacks elected in 1972 to an 11-member city council.

"I feel that we have made some progress," Reese said. "It's far from what we'd like to see, but we have to be fair about it—progress has been made."

Change came slowly. In 1968, three years after the voting rights act, blacks were unable to unseat whites in the city government. Some black candidates faced harassment and many blacks became convinced the civil rights movement had failed to improve their lives.

Joseph T. Smitherman, 45, Selma's white mayor since 1964, believes many black persons thought the voting rights act "meant they would have a pretty white house, like the white man, and two cars. It left them in frustration."

Because black voters re-

main in the minority, there is little chance for a Negro to win the mayor's office or gain control of the council.

"Whites have not gotten to the point where they would vote for a black man" said black city council member Edwin L. Moss.

Reese said election returns indicate some whites have voted for black candidates, and he thinks the number will increase as whites watch the performance of blacks in official positions and as members of both races work together on public projects. "You cannot legislate love," Reese said. "but you can legislate an act that would put you in a better position to love. This (voting rights act) gave a real opportunity for understanding of both races."

"I don't want to give you the impression that everything is rosy here because it is not," Reese said. "But we have a handle on it."

The political gains won by blacks have not solved all the problems faced by Negroes in Selma.

"Even with some of the political strength we have gained, we've got to get some economic strength," Moss said. "People in the rural areas, even if all of them could vote, there would be many instances where they would go to the voting box and because of their economic dependency they are going to be reluctant to vote against some guy out there who has the power to crash their job or take the food out of their mouth."

Moss, 59, represents much

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MAR 2 1975

Document 5: "Mobile Press article 3/2/75," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 1.

# recalled after 10 years

of the economic strength of the black community in Selma.

He owns a supermarket, runs the business section of a Catholic Mission and heads a credit union with \$800,000 of deposit—all from blacks.

"If you get you some money, you don't have to ask for anything," Moss said. "Really, that is the power. People respect me because I control pretty close to a million dollars."

Few blacks in Selma have the economic strength of Moss, and they must consolidate their political power to be heard. Moss thinks that can be done with "house to house, day by day work" to register the remaining 3,000 eligible black voters in the county.

Moss said the voter registration methods used at the peak of the civil rights movement, 10 years ago—mass meetings and marches—fail to draw out the unregistered black voters.

"People are tired of mass meetings," Moss said. "It's just a thing of the past. It died with Martin Luther King."

In the first hours after the clash on the bridge, Reese was not as certain about progress as he is now.

"There was a big question in my mind whether non-violence would really prevail in Selma," Reese said. "I knew if it wouldn't, we were in big trouble."

When the marchers returned to Browns Chapel AME Church after the clash, Reese said he stood before the group and read from the Bible and prayed.

"I have never seen so much hate on the faces of people I have known all my life, loving people," he said. "I never felt where my scripture and prayer meant nothing except that day."

King, who was in Atlanta, called "for those people who wished to come present their bodies and themselves to help in Selma," Reese said.

"When the call went out that night, people started

coming into Selma," he said. "That was one of the most exhilarating, one of the most encouraging acts that I had ever witnessed."

"When those people came in," he said, "that saved non-violence."

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Document 5: "Mobile Press article 3/2/75," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Civil Rights - Selma to Montgomery March, SG6948, folder 406, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, page 2.

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## Lesson 5: Voting Rights

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### 1. Background information for teachers:

From its beginnings into the 1960s, Alabama virtually had denied the right to vote to African Americans. The Civil War freed them from slavery and a succession of amendments to the U.S. Constitution in the Reconstruction Era conferred citizenship and the franchise upon them. However, physical and economic intimidation exercised by politically powerful white Alabamians often restricted African Americans through the end of the 19th century.

Suffrage provisions adopted in the 1901 state Constitution effectively disfranchised the vast majority of black Alabamians, as well as large segments of the poor white population. A dizzying array of property, literacy and poll tax requirements operated to deny African Americans the vote throughout the first half of the 20th century. Even as federal court rulings in the 1960s struck down these voting barriers one by one, local registrars in many areas continued to employ whatever tactics they felt were necessary to impede black registration. The Selma to Montgomery March of March 1965 brought national attention to the continuing problem encouraging the U.S. Congress to pass, and President Lyndon B. Johnson to sign, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (August 6). It provided federal (rather than local) examiners to register voters in counties where less than 50 percent of adults were registered in 1964.

The percentage of registered voters among the total population, both black and white, increased enormously in consequence and changed the political landscape of Alabama.

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### 2. Learning objectives:

Upon completion of this activity, students should be able to:

1. Use a map with population data to develop hypotheses concerning the distribution of political power in Alabama in 1962, 1964 and 1965.
  2. Define and discuss the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- 

### 3. Suggested activities:

1. Make copies of Document 1.
2. After studying the map, ask the students to look for the following:

- a. How many counties had a majority of White voters?
  - b. How many counties had a majority of African American voters?
  - c. Using the map, what kinds of information can one gather about the population of Alabama?
3. On August 6, 1965, the Voting Rights Act was signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Ask students to use reference materials, textbooks or computer information in order to find a description of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. (Reminder: This law provided for federal examiners to register voters in counties where less than 50 percent of adults were registered in 1964.)
  4. Place a copy of Chart 1 on an overhead projector.
  5. Ask the students to use this information and compare it with their answer for 2 C above. Where had these new voters been?
  6. Provide the students with copies of Documents 2 and 3.
  7. Using TWO (2) blank Alabama maps (attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/mapact.html>) and the information found in Documents 2 and 3, ask the students to record the difference between the registered voters of 1964 and 1965 on one of the maps. On the second map, ask the students to shade or color the counties which had an increase in black voters from the 1962 map and the 1965 newspaper list.
  8. Ask the students to write a paragraph with the conclusions that they have drawn from the maps.
- 

## DOCUMENTS:

**Document 1.** "1962 Breakdown of White and Negro Voters" map, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, map L-11. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson5/doc1.html>

**Document 2.** "*Birmingham News* article 10/02/66," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Voter Registration, SG6993, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson5/doc2.html>

**Document 3.** "*Birmingham News* article 11/06/66, Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Negro Registration and Voting, SG6975, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Attached and on the web at <http://www.archives.state.al.us/teacher/rights/lesson5/doc3.html>

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## Chart 1- Registered Black Voters by 1965 in Alabama

| County  | Number |
|---------|--------|
| Dallas  | 6,000  |
| Perry   | 2,460  |
| Lowndes | 1,496  |
| Wilcox  | 3,201  |

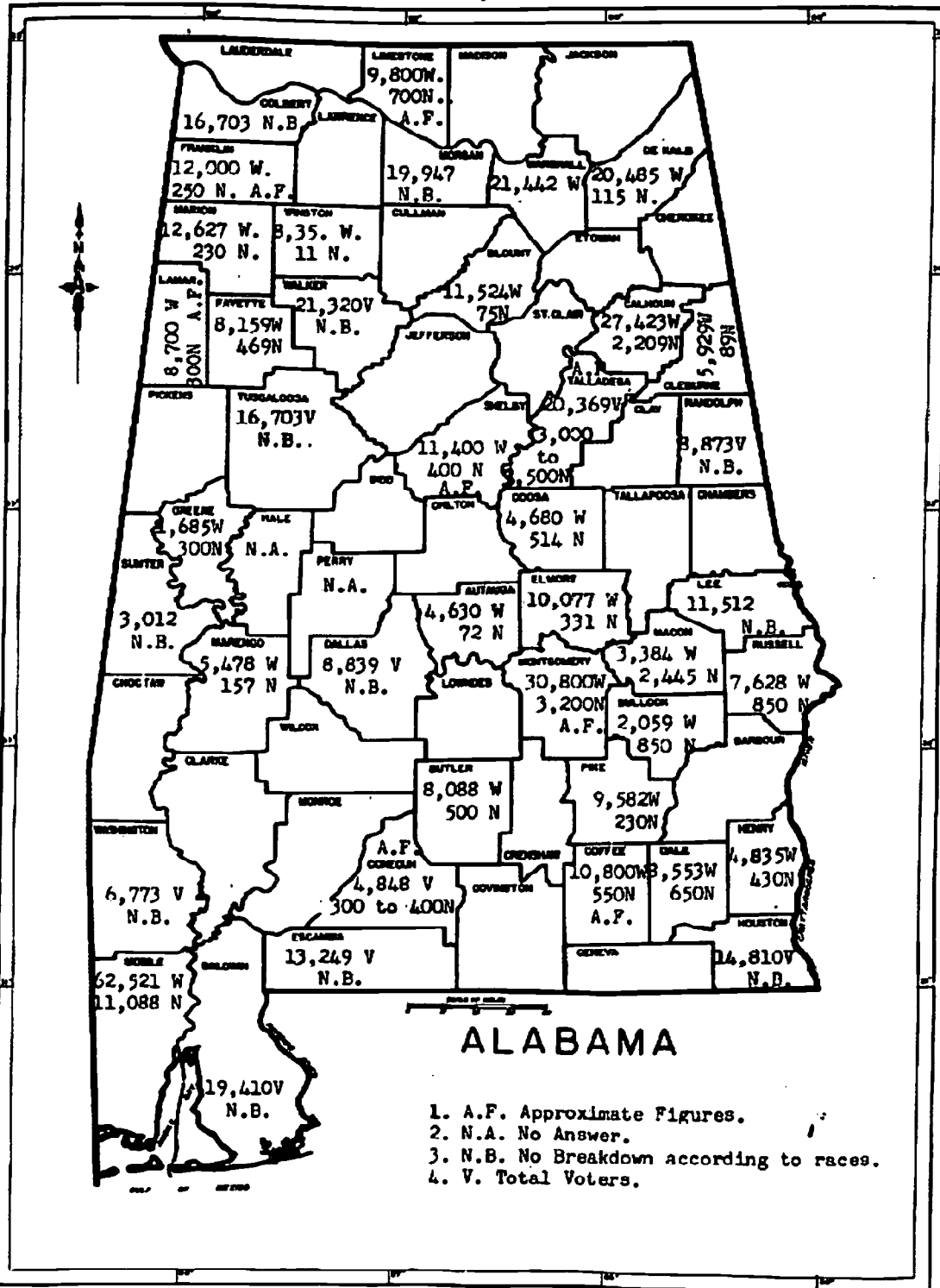
Overall black registration between 1960 and 1965 increased from 66,000 to 113,000.

Source: William Warren Rogers, Robert David Ward, Leah Rawls Atkins and Wayne Flynt, *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994), p. 565



Color  
the  
Map

1962.  
 Breakdown of White & Negro Voters.  
 Probate Judge's Answer to Questionnaire  
 From Secretary of State.



Document 1: "1962 Breakdown of White and Negro Voters" map, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, map L-11.

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# Voter lists up by 31% after federal drive

BY HUGH W. SPARROW  
News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Oct. 1—The addition of more than 150,000 Negroes to the voting lists by federal registrars after passage of the 1965 federal voting law raised the Alabama qualified voter total from 1,057,477 in 1964 to 1,302,753 in 1966.

This is shown by totals based on official voting lists for 1966 in the 67 Alabama counties and reported to the office of secretary of state by the probate judges.

It was an over-all gain of more than 31 per cent which affected the voter totals of virtually all counties, but especially the urban counties of Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery and Black Belt counties where the increases invariably were more than 100 per cent.

JEFFERSON'S total increased from 100,000 to 233,000.

In 1964, the number of Negro voters in the state as a whole was estimated at about 96,000. The total is now estimated at 250,000.

Jefferson had about 130,000 white and 24,000 Negro voters on the voting list just two years ago. The estimated total in Alabama's largest county is between 100,000 and 170,000 white and between 55,000 and 65,000 Negro voters.

Mobile had about 59,000 white and 13,000 Negro voters in 1964.

That county's voter total now is 114,103, with the ratio between white and Negro voters probably narrowed down to some extent.

In Montgomery County, where federal registrars and federal judges ordered wholesale registration of Negroes, registration increased from 49,000 to 68,000, of which more than 9,000 are Negroes.

The accompanying table shows county voter totals in 1964 and 1966.

| County      | Qualified Voters |         |
|-------------|------------------|---------|
|             | Last Primary     | Primary |
| Autauga ... | 5,385            | 9,215   |
| Baldwin ... | 20,383           | 18,230  |
| Barbour ... | 8,133            | 11,500  |

|               |         |         |
|---------------|---------|---------|
| Bibb .....    | 6,292   | 7,913   |
| Blount .....  | 11,000  | 14,249  |
| Bulluck ..... | 3,732   | 5,886   |
| Butler .....  | 8,980   | 9,660   |
| Calhoun ..... | 30,316  | 39,003  |
| Chamber ...   | 10,000  | 12,900  |
| Cherokee ...  | 8,032   | 9,011   |
| Chilton ..... | 8,459   | 10,643  |
| Choctaw ..... | 4,028   | 6,394   |
| Clarke .....  | 8,877   | 12,523  |
| Clay .....    | 7,709   | 8,872   |
| Cleburne ...  | 0,184   | 7,739   |
| Coffee .....  | 9,560   | 12,182  |
| Colbert ..... | 18,800  | 22,800  |
| Conoeh .....  | 5,233   | 7,023   |
| Coosa .....   | 3,231   | 6,210   |
| Covington ..  | 14,000  | 17,000  |
| Crenshaw ..   | 6,174   | 8,082   |
| Cullman ...   | 20,200  | 22,676  |
| Dale .....    | 8,800   | 12,600  |
| Dallas .....  | 8,437   | 22,941  |
| DeKalb .....  | 22,630  | 24,200  |
| Elmore .....  | 11,350  | 16,131  |
| Escambia ..   | 13,763  | 17,373  |
| Etowah .....  | 28,671  | 44,827  |
| Fayette ..... | 8,459   | 10,300  |
| Franklin ...  | 13,791  | 14,710  |
| Geneva .....  | 9,765   | 11,293  |
| Greene .....  | 2,392   | 6,300   |
| Hale .....    | 4,123   | 9,000   |
| Henry .....   | 5,444   | 8,367   |
| Houston ..... | 19,109  | 29,159  |
| Jackson ...   | 19,719  | 14,042  |
| Jefferson ... | 100,000 | 233,000 |
| Lamar .....   | 9,246   | 19,486  |
| Lauderdale .. | 20,367  | 21,474  |
| Lawrence ...  | 11,000  | 16,199  |
| Lee .....     | 11,248  | 13,762  |
| Limestone ... | 12,223  | 13,370  |
| Lowndes ...   | 2,323   | 8,292   |
| Macon .....   | 7,111   | 11,000  |
| Madison ...   | 35,469  | 61,509  |
| Marengo ...   | 6,455   | 19,055  |
| Marion .....  | 17,628  | 19,388  |
| Marshall ...  | 23,000  | 26,019  |
| Mobile .....  | 62,712  | 114,103 |
| Monroe .....  | 7,293   | 10,000  |
| Montgomery .. | 49,100  | 68,000  |
| Morgan .....  | 21,901  | 27,249  |
| Perry .....   | 4,000   | 9,030   |
| Pickens ..... | 7,124   | 9,093   |
| Pike .....    | 9,772   | 13,227  |
| Randolph ...  | 10,249  | 11,245  |
| Russell ..... | 10,942  | 15,533  |
| Shelby .....  | 13,642  | 15,299  |
| St. Clair ... | 9,588   | 12,118  |
| Sumter .....  | 3,942   | 7,826   |
| Talladega ..  | 21,611  | 30,600  |
| Tallapoosa .. | 13,000  | 14,222  |
| Tuscaloosa .. | 33,782  | 38,395  |
| Walker .....  | 23,062  | 27,630  |
| Washington .. | 7,105   | 9,003   |
| Wilcox .....  | 3,050   | 6,453   |
| Winston ..... | 10,145  | 10,589  |

*Voter list*

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Document 2:  
"Birmingham News article 10/02/66," Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Voter Registration, SG6993, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

BIRMINGHAM NEWS

OCT 2 1966



# Negro voter may cast deciding ballot Tuesday

BY JAMES CHISUM, News staff writer  
Alabama's more than 241,386 Negro voters could decide political life or death for any one of the state's three gubernatorial candidates Tuesday.

But too many factors which can't be examined in advance make even a qualified prediction of the effect of the "Negro" vote impossible. These factors include:

—The size of the vote. The 241,386 figure is impressive, but it could be cut sharply if many Negroes decided simply to refuse to make a choice. The number of white voters who participate also would have a bearing on the weight of the Negro votes.

—THE NATURE of the white vote. If an overwhelming majority chose one of the candidates, even a Negro vote close to the 241,386 figure would have little effect, probably deciding only which candidate came in second.

—The unanimity and control of Negro leaders. At this point, known Negro leaders apparently don't agree on which choice would benefit their people more. This could lead to a three-way split of the available Negro votes. However, this might be offset if Negro voters simply don't follow the advice of their leaders and make the choice for themselves.

To make the Negro vote effective, Negro leaders must battle a widespread feeling that their people have no choice in the election except to vote for a segregationist or throw their vote away on an independent who has no chance to win.

POINTING OUT the massive effort to get Negroes registered, Dr. John Nixon, president of the Alabama NAACP council, said "We've been working nearly 50 years to get them registered . . . We definitely want them out."

Using current estimates, Negro voters in full strength would have about one vote in four if white voters go to the polls in full strength. But if 250,000 of the approximately one million white voters stay away from the polls, Negro votes would be about one in three.

In this case a unified Negro vote easily could decide the outcome of the election if white voters came to the polls in light numbers and split three ways among the candidates.

The Negro vote could bring the election into an extremely close contest if the independent candidate, Dr. Carl Ray Robinson, were largely ignored and one of the other candidates got only two out of three white votes.

The Negro vote could make the candidate less favored by whites a close contender — and perhaps give him the election.

BUT THE most unpredictable factor in the Negro vote is its unanimity. Negro leaders are unified — at least in public — only in a desire to wield the power available to them by getting out the vote.

Alabama's largest Negro political organization, the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council, is backing Mrs. Lurleen Wallace, reportedly as a means of aiding the national Democratic Party. Leaders of the organization predict 85 per cent of Jefferson County's approximate 62,392 registered Negro voters will follow its recommendations and will help influence Negro voters elsewhere in the state.

But the Alabama Coordination Association for Registration and Voting, headed by Dr. Gordon Rogers Jr. of Anniston, reportedly has failed to agree on a gubernatorial candidate, though it has picked a slate of lesser candidates.

IT ALSO HAS been reported that the Confederation of Political Organizations, a group associated with the NAACP, couldn't agree on a candidate.

Dr. Nixon, however, says cryptically "We think one of the candidates has a good chance."

He also concedes that he believes Mrs. Wallace, as a stand-in for her husband, should be defeated, though he admits that the general opinion among Negro voters at the grass roots is that both Martin and Wallace are cut from the same segregationist cloth.

Dr. Nixon believes the power of the Negro vote will be most apparent in Birmingham, Mobile and Montgomery, where he says more than 100,000 Negroes are registered. He estimates that 250,000 to 300,000 Negro voters are registered in the state.

This figure is slightly higher than the latest estimate of 249,347, made by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, or the earlier 241,386 estimate of the council.

Approximately 1,187,075 white voters are registered, the Council estimated last summer.

| COUNTY     | WHITE     | NEGRO   |
|------------|-----------|---------|
| Autauga    | 6,933     | 3,388   |
| Baldwin    | 19,692    | 1,242   |
| Barbour    | 6,523     | 3,668   |
| Bibb       | 8,057     | 623     |
| Blount     | 12,709    | 140     |
| Bullock    | 3,323     | 1,187   |
| Butler     | 7,550     | 1,903   |
| Calhoun    | 55,478    | 4,464   |
| Chambers   | 11,589    | 1,439   |
| Cherokee   | 9,531     | 423     |
| Chilton    | 10,906    | 747     |
| Choctaw    | 5,893     | 5,024   |
| Clarke     | 10,386    | 2,054   |
| Clay       | 5,534     | 399     |
| Cleburne   | 7,493     | 139     |
| Coffee     | 11,384    | 1,003   |
| Colbert    | 20,509    | 2,518   |
| Conecuh    | 9,529     | 2,094   |
| Cook       | 5,978     | 950     |
| Covington  | 10,488    | 1,010   |
| Crenshaw   | 6,459     | 1,313   |
| Cullman    | 24,622    | 123     |
| Dale       | 11,538    | 1,414   |
| Dallas     | 12,787    | 10,512  |
| DeKalb     | 36,680    | 317     |
| Elmore     | 16,710    | 2,512   |
| Escambia   | 15,531    | 1,825   |
| Etowah     | 41,820    | 4,120   |
| Fayette    | 6,141     | 684     |
| Franklin   | 13,010    | 725     |
| Geneva     | 10,521    | 583     |
| Greene     | 2,001     | 3,827   |
| Hale       | 4,515     | 4,096   |
| Henry      | 6,029     | 1,450   |
| Houston    | 15,904    | 1,513   |
| Jackson    | 18,526    | 639     |
| Jefferson  | 176,087   | 63,932  |
| Lamar      | 6,937     | 507     |
| Lauderdale | 18,494    | 1,339   |
| Lawrence   | 14,731    | 1,315   |
| Lee        | 13,470    | 2,518   |
| Limestone  | 14,379    | 1,378   |
| Lowndes    | 2,823     | 2,758   |
| Macon      | 4,997     | 7,130   |
| Madison    | 41,333    | 3,183   |
| Madison    | 7,288     | 5,790   |
| Marion     | 10,418    | 207     |
| Marion     | 17,174    | 150     |
| Marshall   | 107,453   | 24,794  |
| Mobile     | 7,542     | 2,497   |
| Monroe     | 43,314    | 10,268  |
| Montgomery | 25,741    | 1,194   |
| Morgan     | 5,493     | 2,347   |
| Perry      | 7,407     | 1,717   |
| Pickens    | 11,788    | 3,150   |
| Pike       | 10,330    | 1,182   |
| Randolph   | 12,682    | 3,032   |
| Russell    | 11,044    | 906     |
| St. Clair  | 12,908    | 983     |
| Shelby     | 9,775     | 9,328   |
| Sumter     | 21,389    | 3,400   |
| Talladega  | 17,807    | 1,318   |
| Tallapoosa | 29,649    | 5,707   |
| Tuscaloosa | 28,855    | 1,277   |
| Walker     | 7,690     | 1,509   |
| Washington | 8,659     | 2,763   |
| Wilcox     | 11,179    | 40      |
| Winston    | 11,179    | 40      |
| TOTALS     | 1,187,075 | 241,386 |

Document 3: "Birmingham News article 11/06/66, Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files - General Files, Negro Registration and Voting, SG6975, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.



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