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The impact of education, socio-economic status, and self-conflict on out-of-state participants in Selma, Alabama Movement Dissent, March, 1965

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THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, AND
SELF-CONCEPT ON OUT-OF-STATE PARTICIPANTS IN
SELMA, ALABAMA MOVEMENT DISSENT, MARCH, 1965

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION,
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY

JUANITA TERRY WILLIAMS

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JUNE 1967

Bx P.201

DEDICATION

TO

MY HUSBAND - HOSEA

FOR HIS INSPIRATION, ENCOURAGEMENT,

and ENDURANCE

TO

MY FIVE CHILDREN

BARBARA, ELIZABETH, HOSEA II,

ANDREA, AND YOLANDA,

TO

MY MOTHER - ELIZABETH

J.T.W.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer is deeply grateful to Dr. Laurence E. Boyd, School of Education, Atlanta University, for his valuable assistance and patience and to Dr. Horace Bond, School of Education, Atlanta University, for his initial suggestions and interest.

Further, the writer is deeply indebted and expresses genuine gratefulness to the multitude of men, women, and children who took part in the Selma to Montgomery March, together with the law enforcement officers and camp-followers whose participation provided the well-springs of data for this research.

Again, the writer is appreciative of the interest and indulgence of her friend and typist, Mrs. Venice A. Nash.

J.T.W.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Rationale

State Patrolmen, army soldiers and city policemen waited all along the route looking first one way and then another. Helicopters circled the area protectively. Yet, all wondered--all hoped--all prayed.

At long last, the marshals began the lineup. Dr. King, Rev. Abernathy, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Hosea L. Williams, two elderly Rabbi, several nuns, priests, ministers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, students, and "just people." All of us joined together from all over the world to symbolize the inequality and injustice of our present system of local government and to point out, there is strength in unity if the cause is just.

One report was that there were 10,000 marchers, but, there was no way of actually counting the total number of participants. Some marchers left the ranks at intervals and many others joined in, even leaving their automobiles parked along the route. Right or wrong, good or bad, this began the four-day march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, March 21, 1965.

Progress has been advanced by non-conformists. The people who were dissatisfied with the status-quo took the initiative and worked, fought, bled, and died to make this world a better place for the underprivileged and minority groups.

Society has always had its non-conforming individuals and groups. Throughout history, our civilization has had groups that singly dissented from something and they were always the exponents of societal change or provoked by some type of malfunction in the social order. America, herself, was founded on protest because she resisted being ruled by England with taxation without representation as we see from the following excerpt:

March 5, 1770 came a more serious affair. . . at the first shot Crispus Attucks, a mulatto, was slain and subsequently four others were killed and six were wounded. . . a bill to repeal all the duties imposed by the Townsend acts, save that on tea, which was kept to maintain the rights of parliament.¹

However, the continuing and thickening storm broke:

On the night of December 16, 1773, . . . 342 chests of tea were emptied into the water. . . as a means of protest.²

This led to the freedom of the colonies against England's rule in 1777.

There is very little mention in our present history books concerning the Negro in dissent movements before the mid-1940's, but,

¹John Spencer Bassett, A Short History of the United States 1492 - 1938 (3rd ed.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), p. 172.

²Ibid.

they had also been important factors in the ageless struggle between freedom and the absence of it. They had been the nation's constant reminders of the imperfection of its social order and the immorality of its human relationship. They had witnessed a nation dedicated to liberty move toward the brink of destruction in the struggle to settle the question of freedom. . . and compromise its position in the family of nations because of its inability to face squarely the problem of freedom for all at home.¹

From this we realize that there is no actual beginning to the Negro's participation in this fight for freedom. We can, however, assert that the beginning was rooted in Africa where slave revolts were common aboard ship,

through the West Indies (resulting in the independence of the island of San Domingo), in the plantations South and even in the North, prior to the Civil War.²

It is interesting to note that immediately succeeding the Civil War, Negroes shared in holding public office as long as federal troops were stationed throughout the South. However, when federal troops were withdrawn (approximately 1876), Negroes began to lose most of their hard-earned rights.

Labor, too, has had its rightful share of dissent movements as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. states:

Less than a century ago, the laborer had no rights, little or no respect, and led a

¹John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 589.

²Martin Oppenheimer and George Laken, A Manual for Direct Action (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), p. 3.

a life which was socially submerged and barren.¹

Negroes, being almost entirely a working people, have shouldered the burden of this movement in labor and are now sharing the rewards for their efforts.

A special feature of the present dissent movement is its universal quality. Every social stratum is involved - lower, middle, and upper class. Every age - children, teenagers, adults, and senior citizens. The whole nation was startled by the Montgomery, Alabama bus protest in 1956, chiefly because every Negro rallied to the cause and allied himself in the movement with firm discipline. The same occurred in the Albany, Georgia movement; Savannah, Georgia movement; St. Augustine, Florida movement; Louisiana movement; and now the Selma, Alabama movement; to mention only a few.

This does not mean that a new method has evolved that will substitute for litigation and legislation. Certainly, we must continue to work through the courts and legislative channels. But, those who adhere to the method of non-violent direct action recognize that legislation and court orders tend only to declare rights; they can never totally deliver them. Only when people themselves unite and begin to act are rights on paper given life-blood in practice.

Evolution of the Problem

My family and I arrived in Selma, Alabama on a beautiful Sunday morning. The sedate little city looked just like any other small

¹Martin Luther King, Jr., "We Shall Overcome," Industrial Union Department AFL-CIO (Spring, 1962 ed.), p. 19.

town. You could imagine hearing music in the background as you rode along viewing the neatly-kept houses on streets that were, sometimes lined with trees, and other times noticeably bare of trees, but still inexplicably well-cared for.

"We saw the White residents going to church unaware, or seemingly unmindful, of what was going on around them."¹

We crossed over into the Negro neighborhood! There was no need for anyone to say that this was the Negro neighborhood. Anyone could identify the small, unpainted, closely-built houses that are so typical of Negro neighborhoods everywhere in America. Poverty, depression, hopelessness, and despair are all evident here. These are the unfortunates the legion of the disadvantaged, underprivileged, and deprived who are leading and supporting this entire civil rights protest movement. These are the neighborhoods that produced most of the youngsters who are not afraid and not ashamed to demonstrate for their freedom and our freedom.

People, people, people - black, white, yellow, and brown - were mingling about the assembly area which took in an entire square. A church was at one end of the block and another church was at the other end. Both sides of this block were lined with housing projects. Some of these people hurried busily in one direction or another, while others stood or walked aimlessly about, seemingly not knowing what to

¹"Civil Rights," Time, Vol. 85, No. 12 (March 19, 1965), p. 23.

do but wait, substantiating Buddha's saying, "the greatest prayer is patience."¹

Directly in front of this writer, in the line of march, were two nuns. They were like guiding angels of protection in their all-black habits, stepping spryly and smiling reassuringly at everyone. They seemed to never tire and their strength and stamina radiated back and forth among those close around them. Why were they here and what was on their minds? Can their philosophy be as Richard F. Wolfe wrote in his poem Worth?

It is not what the world gives me
In honor, praise or gold.
It is what I do give to the world,
So others do unfold.

If by my work through life, I can
Another soul unfold
Then, I have done what cannot be
Made good by praise or gold.

One tiny thought in tiny word
May give a great one birth,
And, if that thought was caused by me
I lived a life of worth.²

Walking beside this writer was a white man with only one leg who hobbled on crutches. He was a muscular man and evidently heavy on his one leg, but, he was determined to walk all the way. Why? Perspiration streamed down his face and the redness of sunburn showed through the strained frown on his brow. With every thump, thump of his crutch on the uneven, gravelled highway, a pain would shoot through

¹Buddha, "First," Leaves of Gold (Williamsport, Pennsylvania: Coslett Publishing Company, 1960), p. 190.

²Richard F. Wolfe, "Worth," Leaves of Gold (Williamsport, Pennsylvania: Coslett Publishing Company, 1960), p. 10.

this writer as she shared his torture and marvelled at his courage.

All along the route were individuals and groups of people waving cheering, and offering prayers for the marchers. Little children, dirty and forlorn, stood with their families in front of weather-beaten, broken-down farm houses. They looked at the demonstrators in amazement deciding whether to wave or not. Finally, a little brown hand would rise hesitatingly and slowly, small brown fingers would flutter, and a faint smile would emerge through trembling lips. What did this march mean to them? What lay behind those brown-black eyes of disillusionment? What thoughts ran through those minds that could be potential geniuses; if given the proper nourishment of education, health, and motivation?

Abram J. Ryan expressed the hopelessness of so many in his poem, "The Rosary of My Tears":

Some reason their age by years,
Some measure their life by art;
But some tell their days by the flow of tears,
And their lives by the moans of their heart.

.....

For the young are oft-times old
Though their brows be bright and fair;
While their blood beats warm,
Their hearts are cold,
O'er them the spring - but winter is there.¹

We stopped briefly in front of the Negro school. It is inconceivable that the building used for ~~the~~ school could be permitted

¹Abram J. Ryan, "The Rosary of My Tears," Leaves of Gold (Williamsport, Pennsylvania: Coslett Publishing Company, 1960), p. 17.

to even house cattle. The small building, about the size of a very small church building, may have once been shingled, but now, barely one-tenth of the outside walls were covered. Windows were broken, slabs were blown or torn off almost the entire roof. There was very little yard space and all of it was hard, red mud.

In contrast to the Negro school, the white school that we passed on the March was a large red brick building with spacious landscaped frontage and a large play area to the side and in the rear of the building. This was separate, but equal, education - Alabama-style. Our northern and eastern immigrants stared!

The interest to engage in this research grew out of the facts mentioned above and on the preceding pages of this discourse.

Contribution to Educational Research

The writer sincerely anticipates this study will motivate others to do similar research so that the true meaning of the "dissent movement" in America will be divulged and the myths suppressed.

The fact that people from all over America (from every social, educational, and professional level) participated in this movement, leads the world to realize that this is a new era. Progress is slowly, but steadily, being made, without war, in America. However, we are cognizant of the fact that our struggle for freedom is part of a world-wide struggle for freedom as we watch developments in Asia and Africa with rapt attention and listen as Dr. King exclaims:

On these vast prodigious continents dwell two-thirds of the world's peoples who have been

exploited economically, dominated politically, segregated and humiliated as Negroes in America.¹

The "dissent movement" has influenced the minds and conscious of many northern and southern whites who have joined in this revolution. Why?

It is the desire of the writer to answer some of the questions pertaining to the persons who participated and their reasons for participating in the Selma Dissent March, but the writer hopes to inspire others to seek, through research, answers as to why people participate in dissent movements.

Statement of the Problem

The problem involved in this research was to determine the impact of education, socio-economic status, and self-concept on the out-of-state participants in the Selma, Alabama Movement Dissent, March, 1965. Further, the problem was to compare the educational, vocational, socio-economic status, and self-concept of the male and female participants in varying age brackets along with their acceptance of menial jobs during the march.

Purpose of the Study

The overall purpose of this study was to identify and describe the play of socio-economic factors and psychologic-imagery which characterized the participants of the Selma to Montgomery March of 1965.

¹Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Address given at Golden Anniversary Conference of National Urban League," New York City, September 6, 1960.

The specific purposes of this research are characterized as follows:

1. To formulate whatever implications for educational theory and practice as may be derived from the analysis and interpretation of the data.
2. To ascertain the similarities between, or differences in, participants as to;
 - a. the educational level
 - b. the socio-economic status
 - c. the geographical locations of their residences
 - d. their professional status
3. To compare the self-concept views of the participants.
4. To determine the sex and age level (when possible) of the participants.
5. To compare the proportion of participants from different geographical locations.
6. To determine to what extent the visitors participated by securing their "job descriptions" for the march.
7. To ascertain the various educational, political, social, civic, labor, etc., groups represented at the march.

Definition of Terms

Significant terms used in this study are defined below:

1. "Dissent" - refers to protest against existing practices.
2. "Self-Concept" - refers to how anyone pictures and/or judges himself.
3. "March" - refers to orderly group participation by walking to a pre-determined destination in protest against an individual or custom.
4. "Movement" - refers to a series of organized activities by people working concertedly toward some goal.

Limitation of the Study

This study was limited to the out-of-state participants in the Selma to Montgomery, Alabama March who were in Selma for six days or more. These dates would include some days prior to, during, and after the actual March to Montgomery. Race has been excluded purposely from the questionnaire. The writer is aware of numerous factors that may influence the obtained results of this particular study; therefore, the findings were interpreted and conclusions formulated within the frame-of-reference of this knowledge.

Locale and Period of the Study

The data for this research were collected during the period, March 19-28, 1965 in Selma, Alabama as the writer shared in the momentous "Selma to Montgomery, Alabama March for Freedom, Equality, and the Right to Register and Vote."

After many years of slavery, pain, and death at the hands of the white segregationists and murderers of Alabama, the Negroes there felt that the time had come for them to stand up and demand their constitutional and God-given right to be free.

Selma, the tiny spark that lit the flames for this fiery dissent movement, is a relatively small city of 29,500 people. Of that number, 15,100 are Negroes and 14,400 are white. Ironically, the voting rolls prior to the March were 99 per cent white and one per cent Negro. These statistics, and the expressed opposition of the white population led by Sheriff James Clark and his mounted, club-swinging posse of deputy volunteers (mostly proclaimed Klu Klux Klansmen), caused Selma to be

the first city to have the Federal Government file a voting rights' suit against it.

Several attempts were made by the Negroes to register, but Sheriff Clark was always lying in wait for his prey and would literally spring upon his victims and attempt to devour them. The Negroes were driven away or arrested repeatedly and the few that were able to reach the registration office were confronted with complicated applications to fill out and ridiculous literacy tests that would be impossible to pass.

The violent murder of Jimmie Lee Jackson during a protest demonstration brought new determination and strength to the people of Marion (where Jackson was shot in the stomach by a state trooper) and to the people of Selma. The "Bloody Sunday March" was organized and the tragic confrontation that stirred the conscious of America and the world was enacted.

This writer feels that the background information given is exigent for explaining the climate that prevailed during this study.

Description of the Subjects

The subjects involved in this study were Negroes and whites from all parts of the United States and Canada who journeyed to Selma, Alabama during the week preceding the March 25, 1965 triumphal entry into Montgomery, Alabama. Because of the scope of this study, only the individuals who arrived several days before March 25, 1965 and who remained through March 27, 1965 were included.

Description of Instrument/Materials

The instrument and materials used in this research were:

1. Questionnaire on the geographical, socio-economic backgrounds, participation in organizations, and personal reactions towards the significance of the "Selma to Montgomery March."
2. Personal and personnel records and files from the office of the Director of the "March."
3. Newspapers, articles, pictures, and reports pertinent to the "March."

The Questionnaire.--This basic questionnaire-instrument was designed to gather the following types of data: the age and sex; the states, counties, and towns from whence the marchers came; the occupational and socio-economic status of the marchers; the schools from whence came the children and youth participants; the background of participants in social, civic, and political organizations; and the opinions of the marchers as to what they deemed to be significant aspects, results, and premises of the "Selma-Montgomery March."

During the rush and maelstrom of organizing and implementing a gigantic monumental structure such as the Selma to Montgomery March, it was impossible, as well as undesirable, to impose a lengthy questionnaire on the participants. The only alternative, therefore, was to design a very short form that could be filled out in the various committee meetings where other discussions were going on. In many instances a long sheet was passed around and the participants were asked to fill in the information in a chart-form. This information was later cut into individual strips and attached to the questionnaire.

It was stressed throughout the survey that profound thought be given to the answers under the item "Personal Reactions (Reasons for joining March, Impression of March situation in Selma and/or people, Reactions to your actual participation)."

Sampling.--For this study a systematic random sampling was taken from the total number (2,078) of responses that were turned into the director's office. This writer first drew a number (6) from a deck of cards and used this as her starting point for selecting every tenth questionnaire from the unassembled forms turned in. One hundred ninety-seven questionnaires remained after ten were rejected because:

1. Writing was illegible
2. Duplications were found
3. Information was insufficient

An additional thirty-nine questionnaires were set aside because the individuals were residents of Alabama, and, because of the purpose of this research could not be included.

The final one hundred fifty-eight questionnaires were then listed alphabetically on a sheet of paper and coded by numbering from 1 - 158, respectively. These code numbers were henceforth used instead of the names because:

1. The code number was shorter than using the name
2. The code numbers suppressed any chance of recognition and/or partiality being shown.
3. The code number effected privacy for the individual.

Information chart.--A large chart (see Appendix I-J) was designed by the writer to portray the following information pertaining to each individual simultaneously; Name Code Number Assessed, Age, Organization/College Represented, City and State Represented, Sex, Occupation/

profession, Job Assignment Performed, and Reaction to 'March'!

Columns for "Reactions" were coded A through L so as to indicate more than one type of response and to indicate two or more responses in those cases where the reaction pattern contained not one reaction but two or more different reactions.

For example - Reaction A states, the participant felt his presence was necessary to satisfy self-respect. Reaction I states, the participant believes the "March" here will help improve conditions for Negroes in the North. (Whenever, more than one reaction was expressed, more than one alphabet was listed under "Reactions" by the individual's name.)

Method of Research

The Descriptive-Survey method of research - employing the techniques of the questionnaire, observations, informal interviews, and documentary materials - was used to collect the data needed for this research because of its appropriateness for the fulfillment of the purpose of this study.

Research Procedure

The research procedure used in this study was as follows:

1. Permission to conduct this study was secured from the proper authorities.
2. The related literature pertinent to the research was surveyed, summarized, abstracted, and is presented in the finished thesis copy.
3. The questionnaire on selected socio-economic factors characteristic of the participants of Selma-Montgomery March was designed and validated under the direction of staff members of the School of Education, Atlanta University.

4. The questionnaires were distributed, collected, and checked for fullness and accuracy of response against the documentary materials secured from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference files.
5. The data from the questionnaires, interviews, observations, and official records were assembled and are presented in proper figures, tables, graphs, and charts which were analyzed and interpreted.
6. Comparisons on selected socio-economic patterns of the subjects were made and treated graphically and tabular wherever the data yielded to graphical analysis or tabular portrayal.
7. The findings, conclusions, implications, and recommendations were drawn from the analysis of data collected and are presented in Chapter IV of this thesis.

Survey of Related Literature

Literature, pertaining to the Negro dissent movement in America and to the Selma dissent movement in particular, is so abundant that the writer had to search through a vast amount of material trying to avoid duplications and repetitions; but seeking unique ideas, expressions, experiences, and narrations that would enhance the effectiveness and value of this research.

The historians, educators, sociologists, psychologists, writers and orators are all agreed that Negroes are now ready to claim their rightful heritage - freedom and equality. The most encouraging element of this "readiness" is the huge number of whites who are giving their support (physically, mentally, financially, and legislatively). It is with these individuals that this research is primarily concerned.

Selma, Alabama was not the first city to sound-the-alarm for aid. There were marches in Montgomery, Alabama; Albany, Georgia; Savannah, Georgia; St. Augustine, Florida; Danville, Virginia; Atlanta, Georgia

and many, many other cities. The only one that equalled the one in Selma was the March in Washington, D. C., in 1963, when, as Lerone Bennett, Jr. relates:

They came, these people from points all over America, and several overseas; they assembled in Washington on the grassy slopes of the Washington Monument and walked about a mile to Lincoln Monument where they said with their bodies that the Negro had been waiting for 100 years and 240 days and that he was still not free and that 100 years and 241 days were too long to wait.¹

And, as it was stated in "Time" magazine:

Despite great gains in the past decade, the American Negro is still often denied the most basic right of citizenship under constitutional government - the right to vote.²

Therefore, Ralph McGill expounds,

If local people do not act in support of law, of decency, and of what is moral and right, then, they leave a vacuum. It will not remain empty.³

The present movement encompasses this vacuum, thus allowing local people, far and near, the opportunity to support laws of decency and justice.

Barnes and Ruedi explain simply and clearly that:

The modern community movement is an intelligent attempt to devise means by which the educational, recreational, social, economic, political, and artistic forces in the community may be correlated so that all members of the group so far as

¹Lerone Bennett, Jr., The Day They Marched (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1963), pp. 3-4.

²"Civil Rights," Time, Vol. 85, No. 12 (March 19, 1965), p. 23.

³Ralph McGill, "Appeal to the Best People," Atlanta Constitution, Vol. 97, No. 253 (April 12, 1965), p. 1.

possible, will be able to adjust and express themselves satisfactorily.¹

This is all that the March was trying to do in Selma; therefore, Selma conducted a modern community movement.

Objectively viewing the problem as it exists today, we can understand why the white people of Selma, Alabama and the other Selma's feel as they do. Since man's earliest association in groups, the social structure has been in a process of development. And, because man has not changed biologically for thousands of years, the basic drives

Organic

Social

Need for food, water	Desire to be with others of
Need for air	one's own age and background
Need for sleep	Desire to be like other
Need for elimination	members of one's group
Need for sex	Desire to work with others
	for a common goal
	Desire to acquire possessions
	Desire to establish a home ²

have always been present. The development of the same human needs evolved from the same fundamental drives and only the manner in which they are satisfied differs from period to period.

Barnes and Ruedi give us the following account of how the present social structure was initiated as a result of modifications of the past:

In the beginning, man probably did not deliberately plan how he would satisfy his needs. His methods

¹Harry Elmer Barnes and Oreen M. Ruedi, The American Way of Life (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942), pp. 63-64.

²Frieda K. Merry and Ralph V. Merry, The First Two Decades of Life, 2d ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), pp. 356-357.

were mostly trial-and-error. If one method proved fairly satisfactory, it was repeated, taken up by others in the group, and eventually became a habit. As time went on, these habits became folkways, or group customs. Folkways, repeated in the same way by a group, receive conscious group sanction. Whatever the group sanctions becomes right for the group and is enforced by group authority. . . .

The folkways become ways of right living for the group. When the elements of truth and right in the folkways are extended into doctrines of group welfare, the folkways take on new significance. They gradually extend their influence over man and society and become mores. The mores are folkways supported by the standards set by the group. . . . When certain rules, regulations, and procedures are set up to insure their operation, they become social institutions.¹

We can understand why certain conditions exist but at the same time abhor their continued existence, especially when all indications point to the fact that there is only one element in our social structure that clings desperately to past mores.

The slanderous taunts coming from the white spectators along the March route; the attitude of the city policemen, the state patrol, and the white soldiers, all give impetus to the words of Arnold Rose when he explains:

The lower-class whites have been the popular strength behind Negro disfranchisement and are the audience to which the 'nigger-baiting' political demagogue of the South appeals. They create the popular pressure upon Southern courts to deny Negroes equal justice.

. . .The unfriendly attitudes on the part of the lower-class whites become especially detrimental to the Negroes since upper and

¹Barnes and Ruedi, loc. cit.

middle-class whites are inclined to let them have their way.¹

We have no alternative as a people who believe in non-violence, brotherly love and turning the other cheek, but to accept the hypothesis that this segment of the white community that refuses to accept social change as a part of our culture and of the world's pattern of growth is insecure and should be pitied as broken shells on the beaches of time.

Woodruff tells us that:

Security is a state that is characterized by good adjustment. It is possible because the individual has patterns of behavior that successfully resolve the problems he faces and bring him regularly back to a state of relatively adequate satisfaction of his needs. As long as his behavior patterns are adequate to meet his situation he will feel secure even though he is constantly moving into and out of states of need with their temporary unadjustment.²

It is hard to pity a sore thumb that continues to throb and pain so you begin to seek a home-remedy. When this doesn't help, you seek advice from your physician.

Woodruff goes on to explain how to effect change successfully:

Since habits are learned through function, rather than through structure, as in the case of characteristics, . . .they may be influenced by deliberate effort to change them. . . .Habits often appear to be hard to change, because they are continually being reinforced by the effects

¹Arnold Rose, The Negro in America (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1962), p. 200.

²Asahel D. Woodruff, The Psychology of Teaching 3rd ed. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1951), p. 212.

they produce, which keeps the individual from going through the labor of hunting for other actions that produce the same effects. If a specific habit is consistently prevented from occurring and a substitute activity consistently used with satisfaction, the old habit will disappear and a new one take its place.¹

One of the main problems existing between the races as they seek to mingle as one is the fact that:

Many Negroes do not know (though they often think they do) how whites behave toward one another; and just when a white has completely forgotten he is dealing with a colored person, his Negro friend often jars him into race consciousness by accusations of 'special treatment.'²

John Howard Griffin, who passed as a Negro and white man interchangeably in the same community, contributed a great deal of insight into the prevalent enigma, but Griffin admitted that his experiences were limited because he could not "feel" as Negroes really feel because he knew that he could wash the black from his body and return to his white community. Griffin expresses his reactions in the following excerpt:

As in everything else, the atmosphere of a place is entirely different for Negro and white. The Negro sees and reacts differently, not because he is Negro, but because he is suppressed.³

¹Ibid., pp. 59-60.

²Sarah Patton Boyle, For Human Beings Only (New York: The Seabury Press, 1964), p. 94.

³John Howard Griffin, Black Like Me (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1960), p. 107.

Griffin continues,

The Negro, the South, these are details. The real story is the universal one of men who destroy the souls and bodies of other men (and, in the process destroy themselves) for reasons neither really understands. It is the story of the persecuted, the defrauded, the feared and detested. I could have been a Jew in Germany, a Mexican in a number of states, or a member of any 'inferior' group. Only the details would have differed, the story would be the same.¹

The Northern whites who rallied to the cause and came anxiously to participate in the dissent movement, proved Arnold Rose's statement that:

The white man worries about the Negro problem, too, . . . however, even in those Northern states with few Negroes, the Negro problem is always present, . . . and almost nobody is without opinions on it. Opinions vary.

The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart . . . It is there that the decisive struggle goes on.²

In the July 8, 1965 issue of the Atlanta Daily World newspaper, there was an article entitled "Jews, Negroes Have Collective identity." This article revealed that more than half the white COFO workers in Mississippi during the summer of 1964 were Jews and continues by saying:

the two white victims in last summer's triple civil rights slayings in that state were Jews. Better than 60% of lawyers handling civil rights cases are Jews . . . and some 70% of

¹Ibid., preface.

²Rose, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

students engaged in legal research for civil rights are also Jews.¹

Although race and ethnic group were excluded from the questionnaire employed for this research, the writer postulates that Jews were also predominate in the Selma March.

Many of the white participants were disappointed at the reception they received from Negroes when they journeyed to Selma, Alabama to join the March. Sarah Patton Boyle tells a little story of a white student who sought desperately to make friends with a Negro student who rebuffed his proffered friendship. In the following quotation "He" refers to the white boy as Mrs. Boyle relates:

He was unattractive because of the eager-beaver ardor which often attends such an aim; such ardor, while valuable when applied to abstract causes, is distasteful when focused on oneself. He was frightening because a healthy relationship must be based on congeniality. When an ulterior motive is introduced, a sense of being more a quarry than a person results.

If we wish a particular colored brother to grasp the hand we offer; it must be crystal clear that we offer it primarily, not because he is colored, but because there is something about him personally to which we feel akin.²

Mrs. Boyle is a white woman who has devoted a great deal of her time toward fostering better understandings between the races. Her books and articles will be utilized by this writer to gain insight into the reactions of liberal whites to the non-violent

¹Atlanta Daily World, "Jews, Negroes Have Collective Identity," July 8, 1965.

²Boyle, loc. cit., 32.

demonstrative approach to the freedom movement.

In trying to place subjects in an approximate socio-economic level, the writer will have to combine criteria borrowed from various sources and make substitutions for the data needed for the ISC (Index of Status Characteristics) that may not be available. For an example of the type of substitutions that may be needed or the kind of suppositions that might be necessary, Havighurst asserts:

Youth from upper-middle-class families are likely to go to college even though they have only average ability, while youth from lower-class families have less chance of entering college, even when they have high ability. It is clear that social class as well as intelligence determines who shall finish high school and who shall go to college.¹

Again, the writer may find it necessary to utilize one of Havighurst's postulations as criteria for estimating the occupational level and/or source of income of some of the subjects if the information gathered is vague, he states:

. . . socioeconomic factors are highly correlated with social class placement. Although there are many individual exceptions, upper-class people are generally the most wealthy, and lower-class people, the least wealthy; upper-status people are engaged in one set of occupations and lower-status people in another; middle-class people live in bigger and more comfortable houses than do lower-class people; and upper and middle-class people have more education than do lower-class people.²

¹Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Newgarten, Society and Education 2d ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1962), p. 233.

²Ibid., p. 31.

The writer does not wish to manifest any depreciatory outlook toward placing the subjects into a socio-economic plane but, as stated in the Method of Research for this study, data will be collected by employing questionnaires, observations, interviews, and documentary evidences. It is conceivable that the desired information on each subject may be unattainable and it is also likely that the affirmation of Packard that follows will exist in many instances:

Quite a few people do not fit neatly into any of these horizontal identifications. They are in between the major bulges of class, or their characteristics make them hard to place. This is particularly true of many intellectuals, who tend to have high-class tastes and educations with incomes that do not match. Further, they value non-conformity and so develop their own ways of snooting. Perhaps they get a hide-away in Fire Island or Mayorca.¹

The writer has chosen three status characteristics as a basis for estimating the socio-economic status of the subjects in this research, they are:

- I. Prestige Rank for Occupations compiled by McCall.²
- II. Source of Income Classification by Warner.³

¹Vance Packard, The Status Seekers (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1959), p. 44.

²Ibid., p. 111.

³Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1960), pp. 139-142.

III. Educational Classification by Warner.¹

These classifications will be listed separately with their corresponding ratings of 1 (highest) through 7 (lowest) in tabular form with explanations for each rating. Succeeding these classifications will be three other tables, namely:

IV. Weights for Computation of ISC by Warner.²

V. Steps for Computation by writer.

VI. Social-Class Equivalentents for ISC Ratings by Warner.³

To elucidate the adaptation of these scales for this study, or for any other, Warner states:

The specific classifications used here were designed for a particular community; certain modifications might be necessary in other communities. . . . However, while there might be a change in the range allowed within any category, the general method of classification and the framework developed here will have general use and can be applied to all communities.⁴

The general philosophy underlying the non-violent attitudes of the Negro participants of the March are expressed in Baldwin's phraseology:

It doesn't matter any longer what you do to me; you can put me in jail, you can kill me. By the time I was seventeen, you'd done everything that you can to me. The problem

¹Ibid., p. 154.

²Ibid., p. 124.

³Ibid., p. 41.

⁴Ibid., p. 158.

now is how are you going to save yourselves.¹

As you think back and try to remember the many white liberals who have struggled to help Negroes gain their rightful share of liberty, equality, and justice, the words of Baldwin ring loud and clear. Were they really striving to save themselves? How will we ever know?

Baldwin continues with the ensuing remarks:

What white people have to do is try to find out in their own hearts why it was necessary to have a nigger in the first place. Because I'm not a nigger, I am a man, but if you think I'm a nigger, it means you need it. The question you got to ask yourself - the white population has got to ask itself, North and South, because it's one country and for a Negro there's no difference in the way they castrate you, but the fact of the castration is the American fact. If I'm not the nigger here and if you invented him - you, the white people, invented him, then you've got to find out why. And the future of the country depends on that. Whether or not it's about to ask that question.²

On the other hand, we have the views of the deceased Malcolm X who said in his conversation with Kenneth B. Clark in 1962:

White people follow King. White people pay King. White people subsidize King. White people support King. But the masses of black people don't support Martin Luther King. King is the best weapon that the white man, who wants to brutalize Negroes, has ever gotten in this country, because he is setting up a situation where, when the white man wants to

¹Kenneth B. Clark, The Negro Protest (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), preface.

²Ibid., p. 13.

attack Negroes, they can't defend themselves, because King has put this foolish philosophy out - you're not supposed to fight or you're not supposed to defend yourself.¹

Dr. King, however, expresses optimism in his discussion with Clark in the same book as he makes the following statements:

I think the aroused conscious of many, many white people all over the country, the growing awareness of religious institutions that they have not done their job, and the determination of the Negro himself, and the growing industrialization in the South - all of these things, I believe - will cojoin to make it possible for us to move on toward the goal of integration.²

Thomas Merton delves deeper into the problem as he attempts to analyze the issue and explain the purpose of non-violent protest:

The purpose of non-violent protest, in its deepest and most spiritual dimensions, is then to awaken the conscience of the white man to the awful reality of his injustice and of his sin, so that he will be able to see that the Negro problem is really a w h i t e problem: that the cancer of injustice and hate, which is eating white society and is only partly manifested in racial segregation with all its consequences is rooted in the heart of the white man himself.³

Perry C. Daugherty elaborates on the social changes that have taken place in Alabama since 1957 as he proudly claims that the

¹Ibid., p. 26.

²Ibid., p. 45.

³Thomas Merton, "The Black Revolution," (Menlo Park, California: Laymen's Press, 1963), p. 1.

Negro made his most significant stride toward freedom in Alabama.¹

Clyde W. Franklyn disagrees somewhat as he makes a comparison of the social movements in Montgomery, Alabama and Albany, Georgia. Franklyn asserts that Albany, Georgia is the most controversial city in America and the non-violent direct action movement there has accomplished what the Emancipation Proclamation did not accomplish in 1863 -- the Negro had a freed body but not a freed soul; wherein now he has a freed soul if not a totally free body.²

Then, as our own President Lyndon B. Johnson exclaims:

It is wrong - deadly wrong - to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote. And, we have already waited 100 years and more . . . the time for waiting is gone!³

The writer hypothesizes that the reactions of the white Northerners who came to Selma, Alabama to participate in the March can be summed up as one of the marchers exclaimed:

God! I never thought the South was like this. I absolutely believed we were making progress and that passage of the Civil Right's Bill last year was all we needed. Now I'm confused and bitter, ashamed that I have waited so long to investigate for myself.⁴

¹Perry Clifford Daugherty, "Social Change in a Southern Boon Town Community" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Atlanta University, 1957).

²Clyde Williams Franklyn, "A Comparison of Two Social Movements in Two Southern Cities: Montgomery, Alabama and Albany, Georgia" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Atlanta University, 1962).

³"The Nation Surges to Join the Negro on His March," Life, Vol. 58, No. 12 (March 26, 1965), p. 32.

⁴Simeon Booker, "50,000 March on Montgomery," Ebony, Vol. 20, No. 7 (May, 1965), p. 60.

Summary of Related Literature

Literature pertaining to the Negro dissent movement in America and to the Selma dissent movement in particular is varied in its abundancy.

Writers such as Lerone Bennett, Jr.; James Baldwin; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; and Simeon Booker, assert that freedom of the black man is 100 years overdue in America.

At the same time, Sarah Patton Boyle and John Howard Griffin try to appease the circumstances by declaring that whites are as cruel to each other as they are to Negroes and that "the real story is the universal one of men who destroy the souls and bodies of other men (and, in the process destroy themselves) for reasons neither understand."

Ralph McGill urges local white people of decency to act, Arnold Rose proclaims that the white man does worry about the Negro problem and offers as proof the hundreds who rally to dissent marches, while Asahel D. Woodruff theorizes that "security is a state that is characterized by good adjustment. . . possible because the individual has patterns of behavior that successfully resolve the problems he face. . . ."

Literature on identifying and classifying individuals as to their socio-economic status was vague and incongruous. Vance Packard declares (and this writer agrees) that "quite a few people do not fit neatly into any of these horizontal identifications. They are in between. . . ." Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Newgarten agree that "social class as well as intelligence determines who shall finish

high school and who shall go to college." However, Lloyd Warner has devised a procedure for the measurement of social status and while the specific classifications portrayed in his book were designed for a particular community, Warner states, "the general method of classification and the framework developed here will have general use and can be applied to all communities."

Thinking deeply about the conflict in America, Baldwin philosophies that the white man has done all the cruel deeds that he possibly can to the black man and challenges the white man to now save himself. Kenneth Clark brings two veteran civil rights workers to verbal combat when the deceased Malcolm X accuses Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., of being followed, paid, subsidized, and supported by white people which makes him a tool for their brutalities to Negroes. However, Dr. King theorizes that the guilty conscious of the white man and the determination of the Negro will bring results peaceably.

Thomas Merton analyzes the issue and explains that the purpose of non-violent protests is to awaken the conscious of the white man and cause him to realize that this is also a white problem and that the cancerous hate and injustices directed at Negroes is but a subterfuge.

Our own President Lyndon B. Johnson exclaims, ". . . the time for waiting is gone!"

CHAPTER II

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA - I

Introductory Statement

The central purpose of this chapter is to present, analyze, and interpret the data devised from the questionnaire, interviews, and records used in the study of the phenomenal "Selma to Montgomery March." These data are organized around the following categories or areas of emphasis, to wit: a) the age and sex of the participants, b) the geographical background of the participants, c) the occupational status of the participants, d) the socio-economic status of the participants, e) the organizational affiliation of the participants, f) the schools attended by the children and youth participants, and, g) the personal reactions towards the "March" by the participants. The data collected were assembled in appropriate tables and/or charts as follows:

1. There are five tables (1-6) which are distributions of the geographical backgrounds of the subjects.
2. There are two tables (7 and 11) which are distributions of the occupational status of the subjects.
3. There is one table (8), a distribution of schools attended by the children and youth of the March.
4. There is one table (9), a distribution of the organizational affiliations of the Marchers.
5. There is one table (10), a distribution of job assignments of the participants.

6. There is one table (11), a distribution of the socio-economic status of the participants.
7. There are two tables (13-14), a distribution of the personal opinion-reactions toward the March as expressed by participants.

The graphical presentation of these data are presented in a series of twelve maps and/or charts which portray the data.

Sex and Age Level of Participants

Sex Distribution

From personal observation, this writer had theorized there were equal, or similar, numbers of male and female participants who journeyed to Selma, Alabama, to identify themselves with a "cause" to help free the Negro (and the white man) from the chains of hate, bigotry, and fear that enslave us both. However, this hypothesis was not substantiated by these data.

The sampling in Table 1, below, shows that 74 per cent of the participants were male and only 25.4 per cent were female, leaving .6 per cent who did not indicate their sex on the form submitted for this study.

The data obtained pose many questions such as: a) were more men than women willing to sacrifice their jobs and professional positions, if necessary, for the cause of justice? b) was there a general attitude of men "going to war" on foreign soil hoping that their home grounds will be kept safe for their families? c) were the talents of more men than women utilized on the varied committees and official staff groups making it more convenient for men to complete and return the questionnaire? d) did a fear of possible danger influence the low

percentage of females? e) are women more apathetic about freedom, justice, and equality in the world than men? If so, why?

TABLE 1
SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS IN
SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

Sex	Number	Per Cent
M	117	74.0
F	40	25.4
No Response	1	.6
Total	158	100.0

Age Distribution

The distribution of ages of the participants as shown on Table 2 was in accord with most expressed opinions. The highest percentages were within the age-range of 21-25 which was 29.1 per cent, and 16-20 which was 22.8 per cent, the next was 26-30 which shows 10.7 per cent, a sharp drop, and next ADULTS showing 10.1 per cent. The next highest ranges were 31-35, 8.2 per cent and 36-40 or 7.6 per cent. The remaining percentages were low as the age-range climbed. However, there were 5.8 per cent who did not indicate or report their age and were classified as "No Response" on the chart. A graphic picture (See Fig. 1, p. 36) shows this contrast vividly.

Sex and Age Distribution

The data on the sex and age of the 157 Selma to Montgomery Marchers are presented in Table 3, page 37, and Figure 2, page 38.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF THE AGE OF PARTICIPANTS IN
THE SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

Years	Number	Per Cent
Adults ^a	16	10.1
56 - 60	1	.6
51 - 55	2	1.2
46 - 50	2	1.2
41 - 45	4	2.5
36 - 40	12	7.6
31 - 35	13	8.2
26 - 30	17	10.7
21 - 25	46	29.1
16 - 20	36	22.8
No Response	9	5.8
Total	158	100.0

^aSixteen respondents indicated their ages by writing only "Adult."

The indicated ages of the 117 male marchers ranged from a low of 16 to a high of 55 years of age, with a mean age of 26 years. The indicated ages of the 40 female marchers ranged from a low of 16 to a high of 60 years of age, with a mean age of 25 years.

Six or 5.1 per cent of the male marchers fell within the 41-55 age range; whereas, only 2 or 5 per cent of the female marchers fell within the 41-55 age range. Twenty-one or 17.9 per cent and 4 or 10

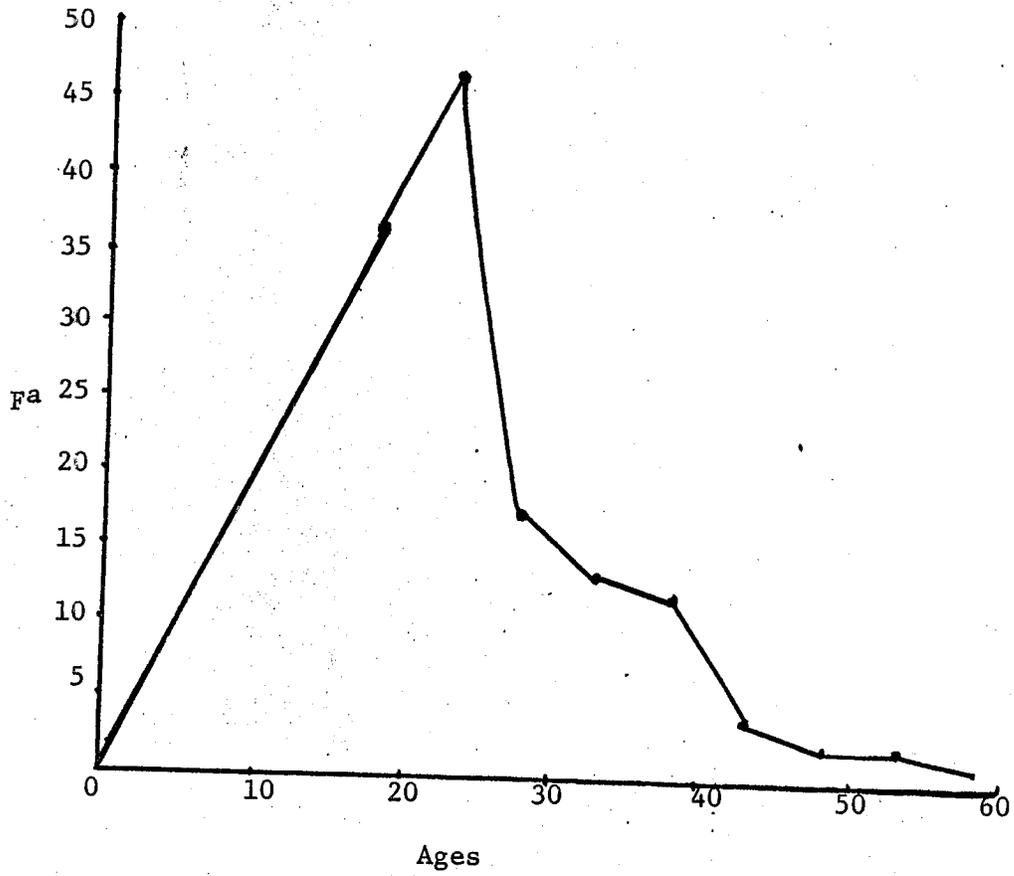


Fig. 1.--Distribution of the ages of the participants in the Selma to Montgomery March.

^aNumber of participants

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF AGE, BY SEX, OF PARTICIPANTS
IN THE SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

Years	Male		Female	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
56 - 60	0	0	1	2.5
51 - 55	2	1.7	0	0
46 - 50	2	1.7	0	0
41 - 45	2	1.7	2	5
36 - 40	10	8.5	2	5
31 - 35	11	9.4	2	5
26 - 30	15	12.8	2	5
21 - 25	36	30.8	10	25
16 - 20	21	17.9	15	37.5
Adult	13	11.1	2	5
No Response	5	4.3	4	10
Totals	117 ^a	99.9	40 ^a	100.0

^aSex Unknown - One adult accounts for the total number of participants being 157 instead of 158.

per cent of the male and female marchers, respectively, fell within the 31-40 age bracket. Fifty-one or 43.6 per cent and 12 or 30 per cent of the male and female marchers, respectively, fell within the 21-30 age bracket. Twenty-one or 17.9 per cent and 15 or 37.5 per cent of the male and female marchers, respectively, fell within the age range of 16-20 years.

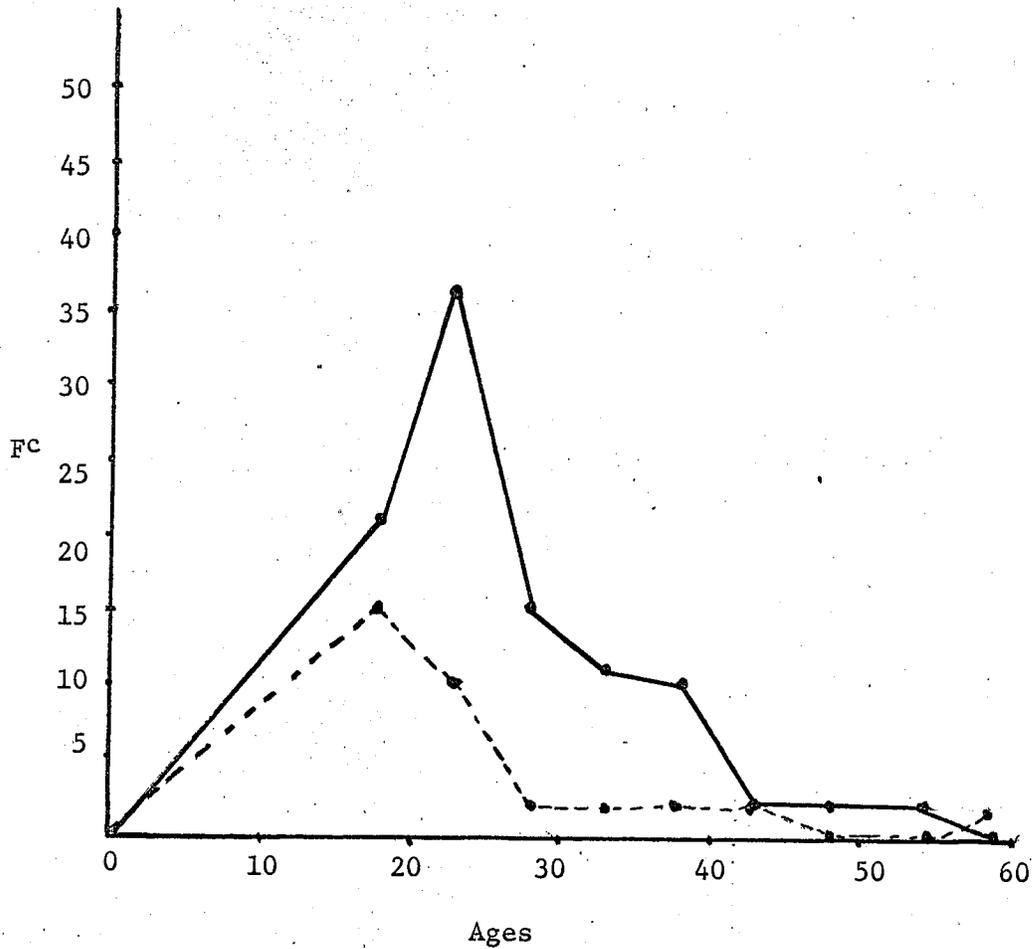


Fig. 2.--Distribution of age, by sex, of participants in Selma to Montgomery March.

a-----Female

b_____Male

cNumber of participants

For 5 or 4.3 per cent of the male marchers and 4 or 10 per cent of the female marchers, there was no specific age reported. Likewise, 13 or 11.1 per cent and 2 or 5 per cent of the male and female marchers, respectively, only reported as adults, without telling their exact ages in years.

None of the men reported being in the 56-60 age bracket; whereas, one woman indicated that she was between 56-60 years of age. Further, none of the women reported being within the 46-55 age range.

If the age brackets of 41 through 60 years, the "No response" age, and the age denoted simply as "adult" are combined; then, the data would appear to indicate that 20.5 per cent and 22.5 per cent of the men and women, respectively, were better than 40 years of age. Or, analyzed differently, 79.50 per cent and 77.50 per cent of the male and female marchers, respectively, were 40 years old or less.

Figure 2 illustrates the data in Table 3, which shows that the plotted ages indicate that male and female marchers tended to be similar in age-patterns. As groups, the female marchers (percentage-wise) tended to be older than male marchers, with the age-distribution for both being positively skewed.

A summary of the data might well be interpreted to indicate that the tendency towards youth and early adult years in the "Selma to Montgomery Marcher" was predicated on two factors: a) the rigors of outdoor life and marching called for physical stamina and full health and b) the "dissent look" at racial dilemma demanded the idealism, vision, and enthusiasm of those not burdened and beaten by years.

Geographical Location of Participants' Homes

Tables 4 and 5, pages 41 and 43; and Figures 3-10, pages 48-55, present the data on the geographical location of the homes of the Selma to Montgomery marchers with reference to areas of the country and according to sex, respectively.

Northern States

"Dam Yankies Go Home" was the repeated warning snarled at the marchers by the whites who stood all along the march-route shaking their fists, thumbing their noses, and shouting obscene insults. Substantiating their belief, the geographical locations of the homes of the marchers ranged from 6 or 3.8 per cent for participants outside of the continental United States to 65 or 41.2 per cent (nearly one-half) for participants from the Northern States.

Thirteen or 25 per cent of the states in the United States and Canada were included in the section "Northern States" but five states were not represented in this sampling; therefore, only eight states represented this 65 or 41.2 per cent. Minnesota, with 27 or 17 per cent and Illinois, with 25 or 16 per cent had the largest percentages for the Northern States and for the entire sampling.

Western States

The Western States encompassed 11 or 21.15 per cent of the total states but only three states were represented out of the 21.15 per cent; namely, California (22 or 13.9 per cent), Washington (5 or 3.2 per cent), and Oregon (2 or 1.3 per cent). These percentages caused the Western States to rank second highest with 29 or 18.4 per cent.

TABLE 4

THE PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN-DISTRIBUTION BY GEOGRAPHICAL
SECTIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE
SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

Geographical Section	Geographic Area		States & Canada		Per Cent Total
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
<u>Middle Atlantic States</u>	5	9.62			
New York			20	12.7	
New Jersey			2	1.3	
Pennsylvania			5	3.2	
Maryland			1	.6	
Delaware ^a			0	0	(17.8)
<u>New England States</u>	6	11.54			
Vermont ^a			0	0	
Maine ^a			0	0	
New Hampshire			1	.6	
Massachusetts			3	1.9	
Rhode Island			1	.6	
Connecticut			3	1.9	(5.0)
<u>Northern States</u>	13	25.00			
North Dakota ^a			0	0	
South Dakota ^a			0	0	
Nebraska ^a			0	0	
Kansas			1	.6	
Iowa			1	.6	
Missouri			1	.6	
Minnesota			27	17.0	
Wisconsin ^a			0	0	
Illinois			25	16.0	
Indiana			2	1.3	
Michigan			3	1.9	
Ohio			5	3.2	
West Virginia ^a			0	0	(41.2)
<u>Southern States and District of Columbia</u>	14	26.92			
Alabama ^b			-	-	
Arkansas			1	.6	
Florida			6	3.8	

TABLE 4--Continued

Geographical Section	Geographic Area		States & Canada		Per Cent Total
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Georgia			2	1.3	
Kentucky ^a			0	0	
Louisiana			1	.6	
Mississippi			4	2.5	
North Carolina ^a			0	0	
Oklahoma			1	.6	
South Carolina ^a			0	0	
Tennessee			1	.6	
Texas ^a			0	0	
Virginia ^a			0	0	
District of Columbia ^c			2	1.3	(11.3)
<u>Western States</u>	11	21.15			
New Mexico ^a			0	0	
Arizona ^a			0	0	
California			22	13.9	
Nevada ^a			0	0	
Oregon			2	1.3	
Washington			5	3.2	
Idaho ^a			0	0	
Utah ^a			0	0	
Wyoming ^a			0	0	
Montana ^a			0	0	
Colorado ^a			0	0	(18.4)
<u>Others</u>	3	5.77			
Hawaii ^a			0	0	
Alaska ^a			0	0	
(Canada) ^c			6	3.8	(3.8)
<u>No Response</u>			4	2.5	(2.5)
Totals	52	100	158	100	

^aNot represented in sampling

^bNot used because of purpose of this research

^cNot a state

TABLE 5

A GEOGRAPHICAL COMPARISON, BY SEX, OF THE PARTICIPANTS
IN THE SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

Home State	Male		Female	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Arkansas	1	.8	0	0
California	17	14.5	4	10.0
Canada ^a	5	4.3	1	2.5
Connecticut	3	2.6	0	0
Florida	4	3.4	2	5.0
Georgia	1	.8	1	2.5
Illinois	21	17.9	4	10.0
Indiana	1	.8	1	2.5
Iowa	1	.8	0	0
Kansas	1	.8	0	0
Louisiana	1	.8	0	0
Maryland	1	.8	0	0
Massachusetts	2	1.7	1	2.5
Michigan	3	2.6	0	0
Minnesota	18	15.5	9	22.5
Mississippi	3	2.6	1	2.5
Missouri	0	0	1	2.5
New Hampshire	1	.8	0	0
New Jersey	1	.8	1	2.5
New York	12	10.3	8	20.0
Ohio	4	3.4	1	2.5

TABLE 5--Continued

Home State	Male		Female	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Oklahoma	1	.8	0	0
Oregon	1	.8	1	2.5
Pennsylvania	1	.8	4	10.0
Rhode Island	1	.8	0	0
Tennessee	1	.8	0	0
Washington, D. C. ^a	2	1.7	0	0
Washington	5	4.3	0	0
No Response	4	3.4	0	0
Totals	117 ^b	99.4	40 ^b	100

^a Not a state

^b One person did not indicate sex.

Middle Atlantic States

The Middle Atlantic States included only 5 or 9.62 per cent of the total number of states and Canada, with one of those (Delaware) not participating. Yet, 28 or 17.8 per cent of the marchers were from this tiny section. New York had 20 or 12.7 per cent, Pennsylvania had 5 or 3.2 per cent, and New Jersey and Maryland had 2 or 1.3 per cent and 1 or .6 per cent, respectively.

Southern States

The number of "March" participants from the other geographical sections ranked as follows: Southern States and District of Columbia, 14 or 26.92 per cent of the total with seven states and Washington, D.C., participating, show 18 or 11.3 per cent; New England States, 6 or 11.54 per cent of the total and having four states represented, claims 8 or 5 per cent of the marchers' hometowns.

Canada

Canada, our northern neighbor, was represented by 6 or 3.8 per cent of the marchers.

Hawaii and Alaska

Hawaii and Alaska (our newest additions to the United States) were not represented in this sampling. However, four or 2.5 per cent of the total did not respond to this segment of the questionnaire.

Home State According to Sex

Table 5 represents the data on the home state locations of the Selma to Montgomery marchers according to sex.

Male.--The geographical location of the homes of the male participants ranked as follows: Illinois with 21 or 17.9 per cent, Minnesota with 18 or 15.5 per cent, and California with 17 or 14.5 per cent contributed 56 or 47.9 per cent of the male marchers in this study. New York (12 or 10.3 per cent), Canada and Washington State (5 or 4.3 per cent each), Florida and Ohio (4 or 3.4 per cent each) were next in order. Then, Connecticut, Michigan, and Mississippi with 3 or 2.6 per cent each and the remaining seventeen states showing 2 or

1.7 per cent and 1 or .8 per cent each.

There were 4 or 3.4 per cent of the males who did not respond to this query on the sample form.

Female.--The geographical location of the homes of the female participants in the Selma to Montgomery March revealed that the majority of females were from five states; namely, Minnesota (9 or 22.5 per cent), New York (8 or 20 per cent), California (4 or 10 per cent), Illinois (4 or 10 per cent), and Pennsylvania (4 or 10 per cent). The combined percentage of these states was 29 or 72.5 per cent.

Florida was represented by 2 or 5 per cent of the female participants and there were nine states with 1 or 2.5 per cent each. (See Table 5, page 43).

According to this sampling, thirteen of the states that had been represented by male participants did not include "any" female participants.

States Not Represented

Table 6, page 47, presents the data on the states from which came none of the participants in the Selma to Montgomery March. According to the table, there were twenty-three states that did not contribute any participants to the Selma to Montgomery March.

Regional Distribution of Participants of the "March" According to Spat-Maps

The number of the participants in the Selma to Montgomery March is graphically illustrated in the series of regional maps, Figures 3 through 10.

TABLE 6

LIST OF STATES NOT REPRESENTED IN SAMPLING OF PARTICIPANTS
IN THE SELMA/MONTGOMERY MARCH BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

Geographical Section	State
Middle Atlantic States	Delaware
New England States	Vermont Maine
Northern States	North Dakota South Dakota Nebraska Wisconsin West Virginia
Southern States	Kentucky North Carolina South Carolina Texas Virginia
Western States	New Mexico Arizona Nevada Idaho Utah Wyoming Montana Colorado
Others	Hawaii Alaska

Note:

Total number listed 23

The geographical sections (states) of the United States referred to in prior and subsequent descriptions and analyses are:

Figure Number

3. Canada, its position in relation to the United States.
4. The Percentage-Breakdown-Distribution by Geographical

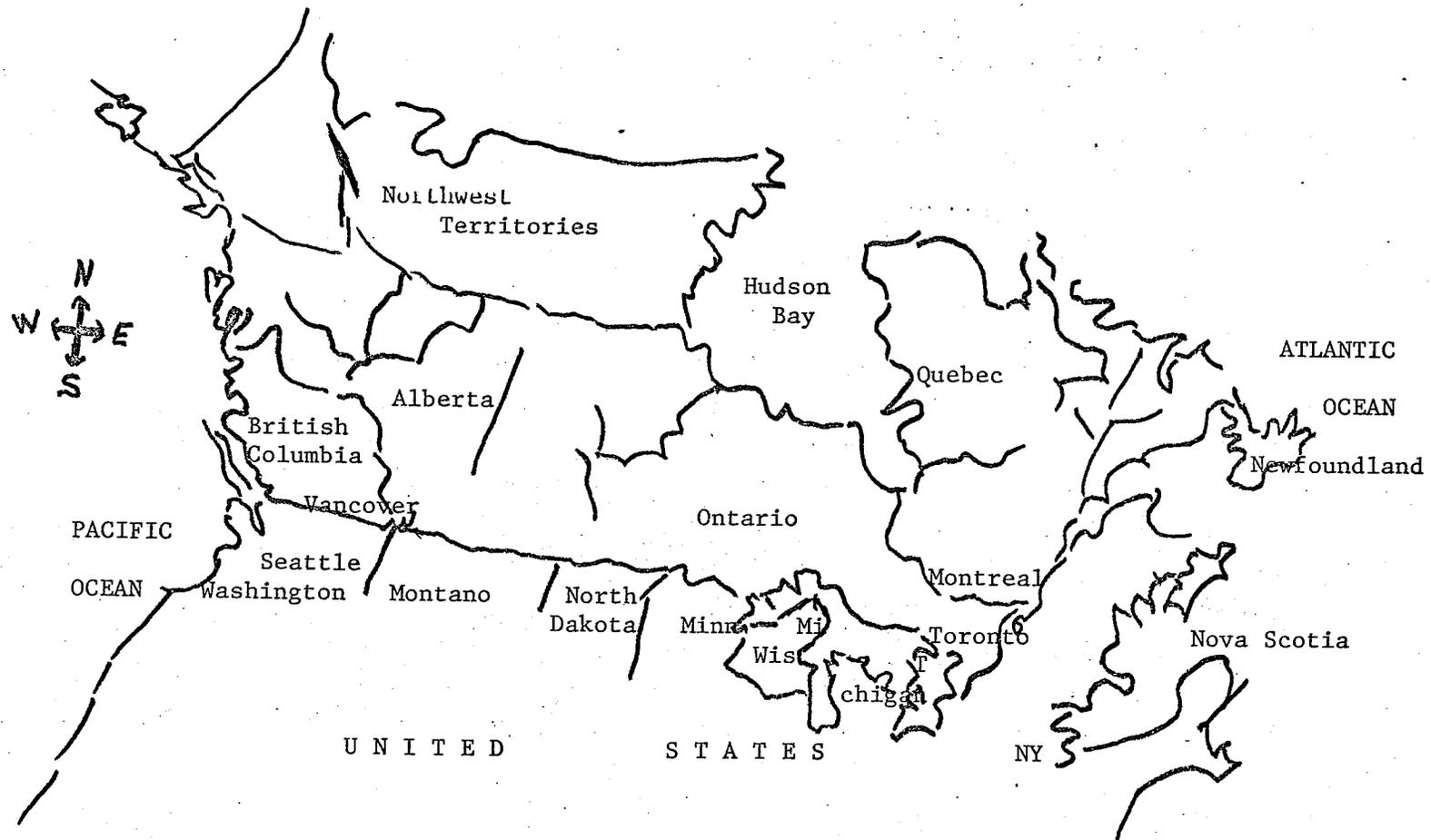


Fig. 3.--Map showing the relative position of Canada and the United States (Canada being north of the United States).

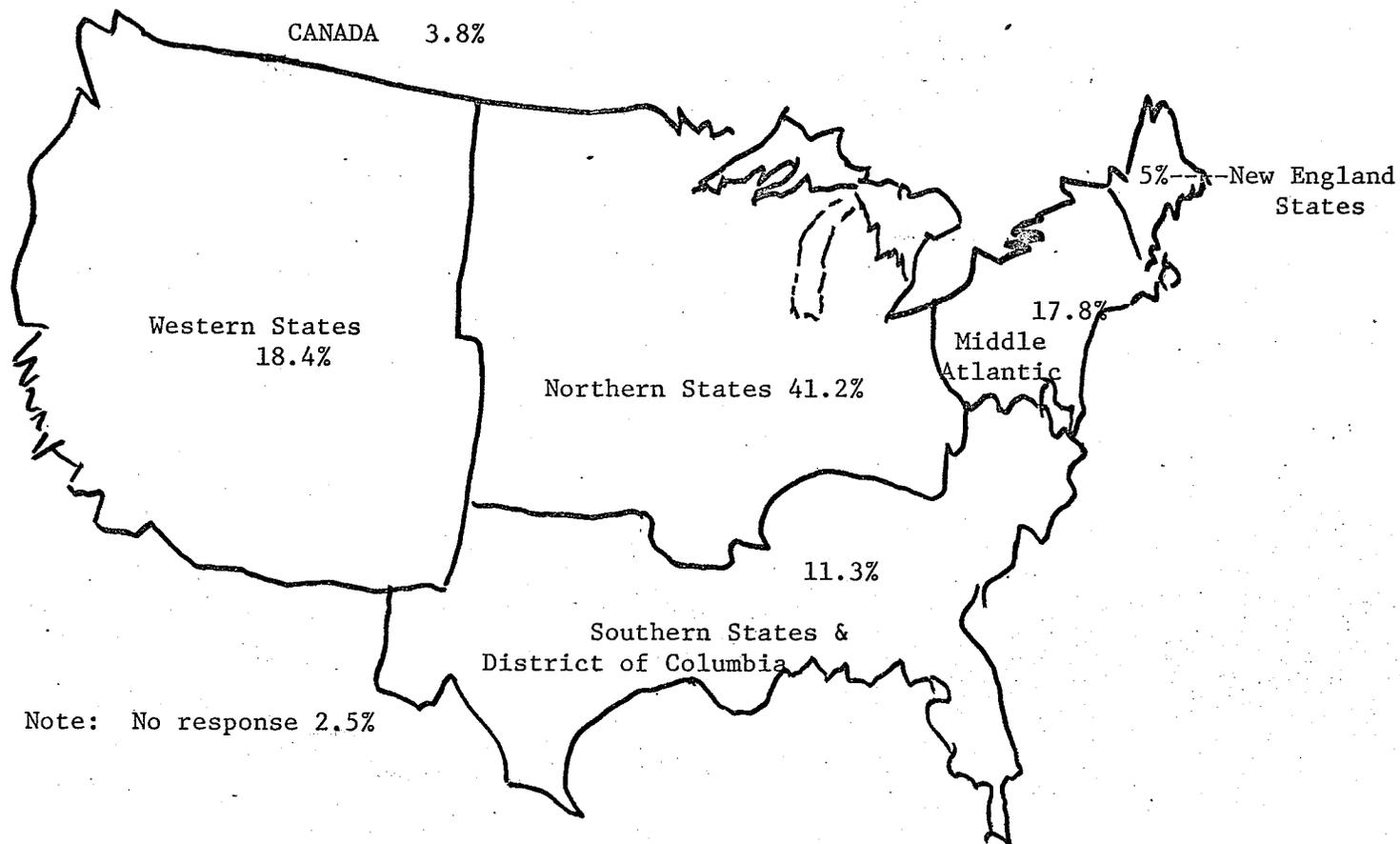


Fig. 4.--Map showing the percentage of Selma/Montgomery marchers from the different geographical regions of the United States.

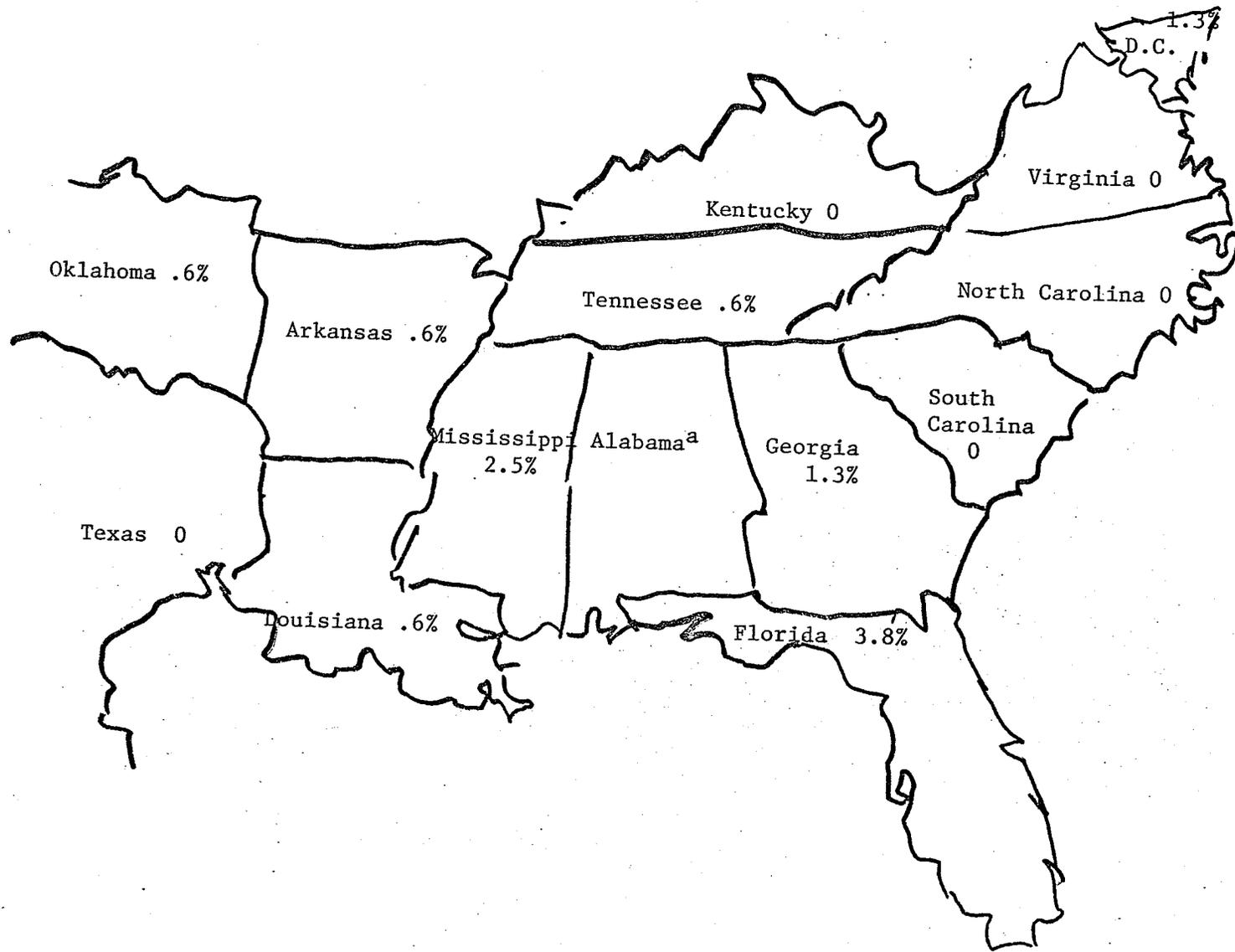


Fig. 5.--Map showing the percentage of Selma/Montgomery - marchers from the southern states of the United States.

^aCould not be used because of the purpose of the research.

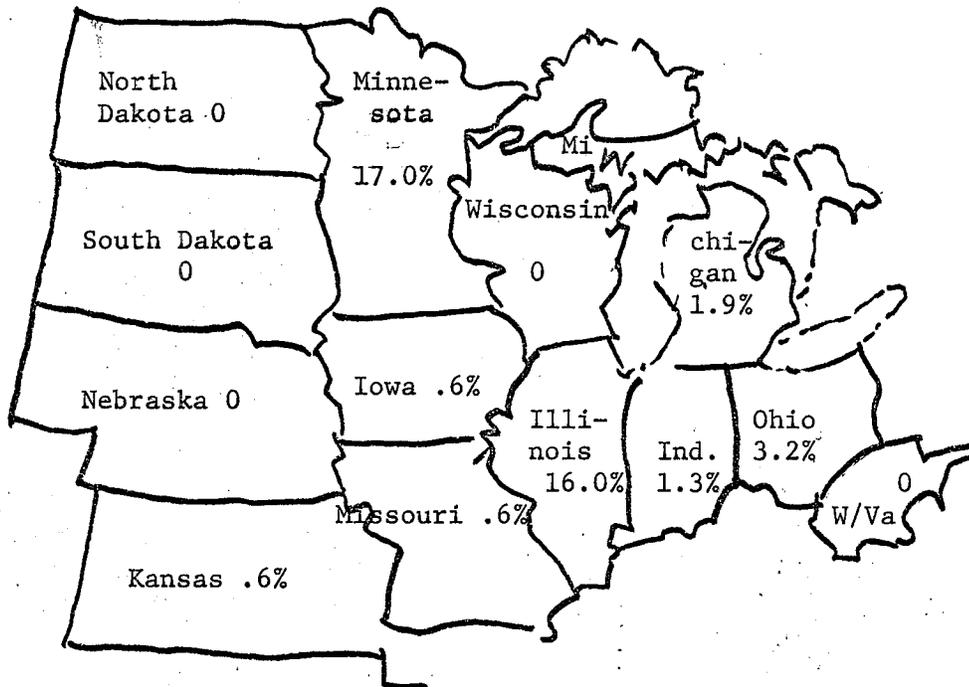


Fig. 6.--Map showing the percentage of Selma/Montgomery marchers from the northern states of the United States.

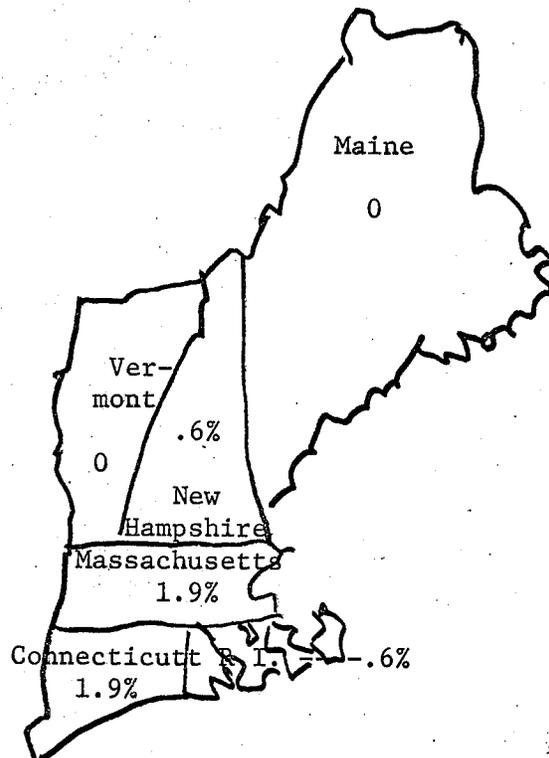


Fig. 7.--Map showing the percentage of Selma/Montgomery marchers from the New England States of the United States.

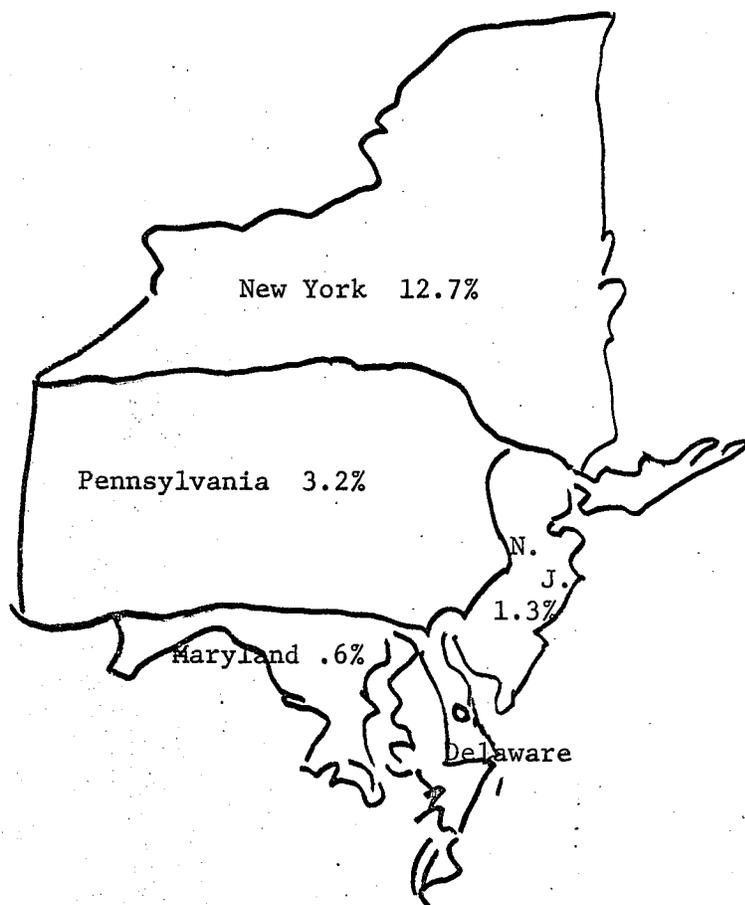


Fig. 8.--Map showing the percentage of Selma/Montgomery marchers from the Middle Atlantic States of the United States.



Fig. 9.--Map showing the percentage of Selma/Montgomery marchers from the western states of the United States.

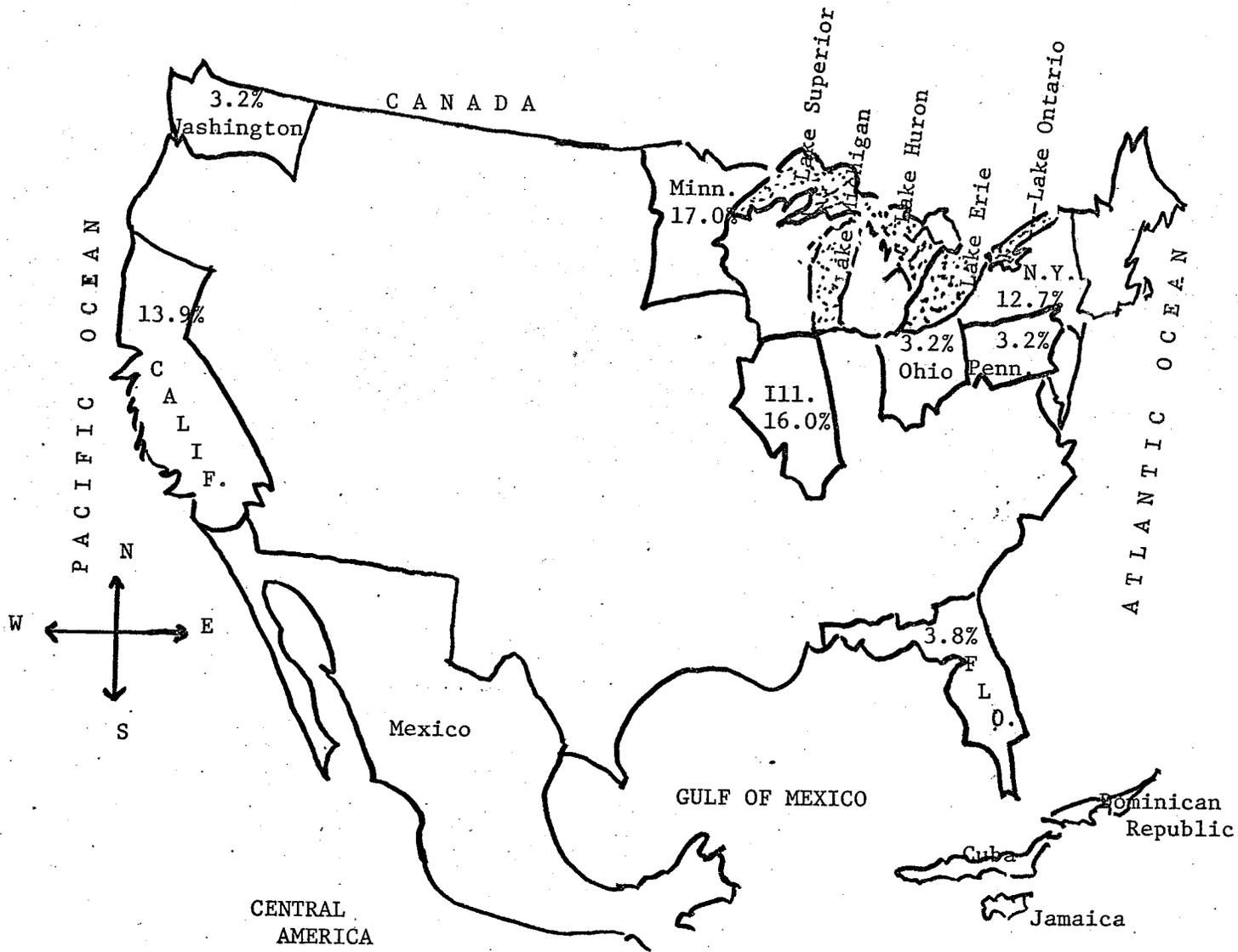


Fig. 10.--Map showing the states which provided the largest percentage of participants in the Selma/Montgomery March.

Sections of Representatives to the Selma/Montgomery
March

5. Southern Section of the United States
6. Northern Section of the United States
7. New England States Section of the United States
8. Middle Atlantic States Section of the United States
9. Western Section of the United States
10. States with the Largest Per Cents of Participants
in the Selma/Montgomery March

As can be observed from Figure 10, page 55, the states that were most highly represented by participants being in the "March" (Minnesota, Illinois, California, New York, Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Washington State) nearly framed our American Continent. Of course, another observation is that these states are bordered by Canada, our large lakes, or our oceans;

Minnesota by Lake Superior and on into Canada.

Illinois by Lake Michigan and on into Canada.

California by the Pacific Ocean.

New York by Lake Ontario and the Atlantic Ocean.

Florida by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico.

Ohio by Lake Erie and on into Canada.

Pennsylvania by the Atlantic Ocean.

Washington State by the Pacific Ocean and on into Canada.

The thought that comes to this writer's mind as a result of this exploration is that the immigration of people from

the Northern territory which is Canada and includes British Columbia, Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba;

the immigration of people from Central America which includes the West Indies, Cuba, Jamaica Bahama Islands, and Puerto Rico;

and the immigration of people from South America which includes Brazil, Argentina, Peru, and Venezuela

would cause these populations to be more sympathetic toward the causes

of Freedom and Justice and would inspire them to join in a "Dissent Movement" that intends to demonstrate the injustices of man to man.

Professional Status of Participants

The data on the different occupations in which the Selma to Montgomery marchers were found to be engaged are shown in Table 7, page 58.

The highest number (36%) of the participants were students and, unfortunately, the next highest per cent (30%) of participants did not list any occupation. The remainder of the distribution followed the expected trend, as follows: eleven percent (11%) of the participants were ministers, six per cent (6%) belonged to the medical profession, three per cent (3%) were civil rights' directors, two per cent (2%) were school teachers, two per cent (2%) were college professors, and the other occupations were represented by about one per cent (1%) or less than one per cent of the participants in the Selma to Montgomery March.

Educational Institutions Attended by the Student Participants

The name and location of the schools attended by the fifty-six students (36 per cent of the total participants surveyed) who participated in the Selma to Montgomery March and which were indicated in Table 7, are shown in Table 8, page 60.

As seen on Table 8, the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, Minnesota towered above all of the schools with official representatives participating in the March (with its 30.3 per cent) which was seventeen times or nine times, or six times larger than that of other

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS OF PARTICIPANTS
IN SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

Occupations	Number	Per Cent
Medical	8	6
General Practitioners		
Psychiatrist		
Technologists		
IBM Programmer	1	.6
Reporter	1	.6
Radio Operators	2	1
Civil Rights' Council Directors	4	3
Interviewer	1	.6
Editor	1	.6
Catholic Priest	1	.6
Ministers	17	10
Baptist		
Episcopalian		
Unitarian		
Public Relations Procurement Engineer	1	.6
School Teachers	3	2
Housewives (Episcopalian Ministers' Wives)	2	1
Rehabilitation Officer	1	.6
Assistant Director-Wesley Foundation	1	.6
Office Workers	2	1
Real Estate Broker	1	.6
Registered Nurses	2	1
College Professors	3	2
Economist	1	.6

TABLE 7--Continued

Occupations	Number	Per Cent
Photographer	1	.6
Pressman	1	.6
Students ^a	56	36
No Response ^b	47	30
Total	158	100

^aThe student breakdown (36% stated above) appears on Table 8, page 60, by school.

^bInformation omitted on completed questionnaire.

institutions attended by the student marchers.

A sharp drop to 5.3 per cent finds Stanford University, Stanford, California and Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida.

Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois; Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois; and Michigan State University, Lansing, Michigan yield 4.0 per cent each.

The remaining fourteen institutions show 1.7 per cent each with the exception of the 23 per cent who did not list the name or location of their school, but indicated that they were students.

Organizations Represented in the Selma to Montgomery March

The data on the differing and many organizations which were ascribed as being officially represented in the Selma to Montgomery March are presented in three ways below. First, there is the simple

TABLE 8

THE BREAKDOWN-BY-SCHOOLS OF THE THIRTY-SIX PERCENT OF
STUDENTS APPEARING ON TABLE 9

Names and Location of School	Students Attending	
	Number	Per Cent
University of Minnesota Minneapolis, Minnesota	17	30.3
Lake Forest College Lake Forest, Illinois	2	4.0
Stanford University Stanford, California	3	5.3
Yale Medical School New Haven, Connecticut	1	1.7
Bethune-Cookman College Daytona Beach, Florida	3	5.3
University of Waterloo Canada	1	1.7
Dartmouth College Hanover, New Hampshire	1	1.7
Committee of 100 CNVA Unknown	1	1.7
Toronto Peace Center Canada	1	1.7
Smith College Northhampton, Massachusetts	1	1.7
Northwestern University Evanston, Illinois	2	4.0
University of Santa Clara Santa Clara, California	1	1.7
University of Cincinnati Cincinnati, Ohio	1	1.7
Yale University New Haven, Connecticut	1	1.7

TABLE 8--Continued

Names and Location of School	Students Attending	
	Number	Per Cent
Yale Divinity School New Haven, Connecticut	1	1.7
Michigan State University Lansing, Michigan	2	4.0
Ohio University Athens, Ohio	1	1.7
Andover Newton Theological Seminary	1	1.7
University of California Berkeley, California	1	1.7
Berkeley F.S.M. Berkeley, California	1	1.7
Unknown	13	23
Total	56	100

^aThis percentage column represents the percentage totals of the column "Number."

listing of the categories or organizations, followed by a listing of the organization by name and number of representatives.

Second, Table 11 summarizes these data according to the categories of organizations with their respective total number and per cent of their representatives.

Third, Figure 11, a pie diagram, graphically portrays the per cent of representation for each of the categories of organizations.

In order to establish the organizations that were officially represented in the March, these categories were implemented for use in

this research:

Educational Organizations

Religious Organizations

Political Organizations

Professional Organizations

Civic Organizations

None (those persons not considered official representatives,
individual sympathizers)

A distribution of each percentage follows:

Educational Organizations (14%)	Number
Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois	2
Maculester College, St. Paul, Minnesota	4
Stanford University, Palo Alto, California	3
Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida	1
University of Washington, Seattle, Washington	1
University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada	1
Darthmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire	1
Yale Divinity School, Hunnington, L.I., New York	1
Smith College, Somerville, New Jersey	1
University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio	1
Ezra Styles College-Yale University, New Haven, Conn.	1
Andover Newton Theological Seminary, Boston, Mass.	1
University of Santa Clara, California	1
Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois	<u>2</u>
	22

Religious Organizations (17%)	Number
St. Paul Ministers & Students, Minnesota	1
St. Dorothy's Catholic Church, Chicago, Illinois	2
St. Cyprian Episcopal Church, California	2
Unitarian Universal Church, California	2
State Convention of National Baptist Church, Minn.	1
Unitarian Fellowship, Olympia, Washington	1
Church of Corvera, Hollywood, California	1
Campus Christian Association, Chicago, Illinois	2
United Church of Christ, Philadelphia, Pa.	1
The Christian Brothers of San Francisco, Calif.	1
New York and New England Provinces	
Anglican Church, Toronto, Ontario	1
United Church of Christ, Minneapolis, Minnesota	1
Episcopal Church of Los Angeles, California	1

Ecumenical Institute, Chicago, Illinois	2
Presbyterians In Christ, California	1
United Church in Japan, San Anselmo, California	1
St. Theresa Church (city and state omitted)	1
Garrett Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois	1
St. Peters A.M.E. & Council of Churches, Minn.	1
Sabothani Baptist Church, Minneapolis, Minn.	1
Episcopal Church, Tiyunga, California	1
Ministerial Council, Miami, Florida	<u>1</u>
	27

Political Organizations (2%)	Number
Harper Block Club of 68th Street, Chicago, Ill.	1
Toronto Peace Center, Ontario, Canada	1
International Longshoreman, New Orleans, La.	<u>1</u>
	3

Professional Organizations (2%)	Number
Yale Medical School, New Haven, Connecticut	1
Medical Organization, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	1
New York Press, New York City	<u>1</u>
	3

Civic Organizations (45%)	Number
Medical Committee for Human Rights, Miss. & Chi., Ill.	3
S.C.L.C., Atlanta, Georgia, Canada, Michigan, Arkansas	12
Selma ADHOC, Pullman, Washington	3
Evanston Non-Violent Action Council, Illinois	1
Committee of Concern, SCLC, Minnesota	10
Student Association Human Relations Committee, Minnesota	2
Students of Integration, University of Minnesota	3
SNCC, Chicago, New York City, (San Francisco) California, Mississippi	6
Berkeley Friends, California	3
CORE, Chicago, St. Petersburg, Florida, Brooklyn, Massachusetts, California	4
NAACP, Oklahoma, Detroit, Florida, St. Paul, Minn.	7
Committee of 100, CNVA, Ontario, Canada	7
Department of Social Responsibility, Detroit, Mich.	1
Methodist Student Movement, Ohio University	1
Catholic Council for Human Rights, Los Angeles, California	1
Non-Violent Action Committee, Los Angeles, Calif.	1
American Friends Service Committee, Chicago, Ill.	1
Catholic Action Federation, Chicago, Ill.	<u>1</u>
	72

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF CATEGORIES OF ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED
OFFICIALLY IN THE SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

Description of Organization	Number of Representatives	Percent of Total
Educational	22	14
Religious	27	17
Political	3	2
Professional	3	2
Civic	72	45
None ^a	31	20
Total	158	100

^aThese are individuals that were not official representatives of any organization.

According to Table 9 and Figure 11, the categories of organizations, their number and per cent, ranged from a low 3 or 2 per cent each for political and professional organizations to a high 72 or 45 per cent for civic organizations. Religious organizations indicated 27 or 17 per cent representation and educational organizations had 22 or 14 per cent representation.

Interestingly enough, for the category of "none" there were 31 or 20 per cent individuals who were not official representatives of any of the specified organizations. It would appear, therefore, that the "cause of human rights" signaled by the Selma to Montgomery March called forth dedicated individuals on their own - as well as

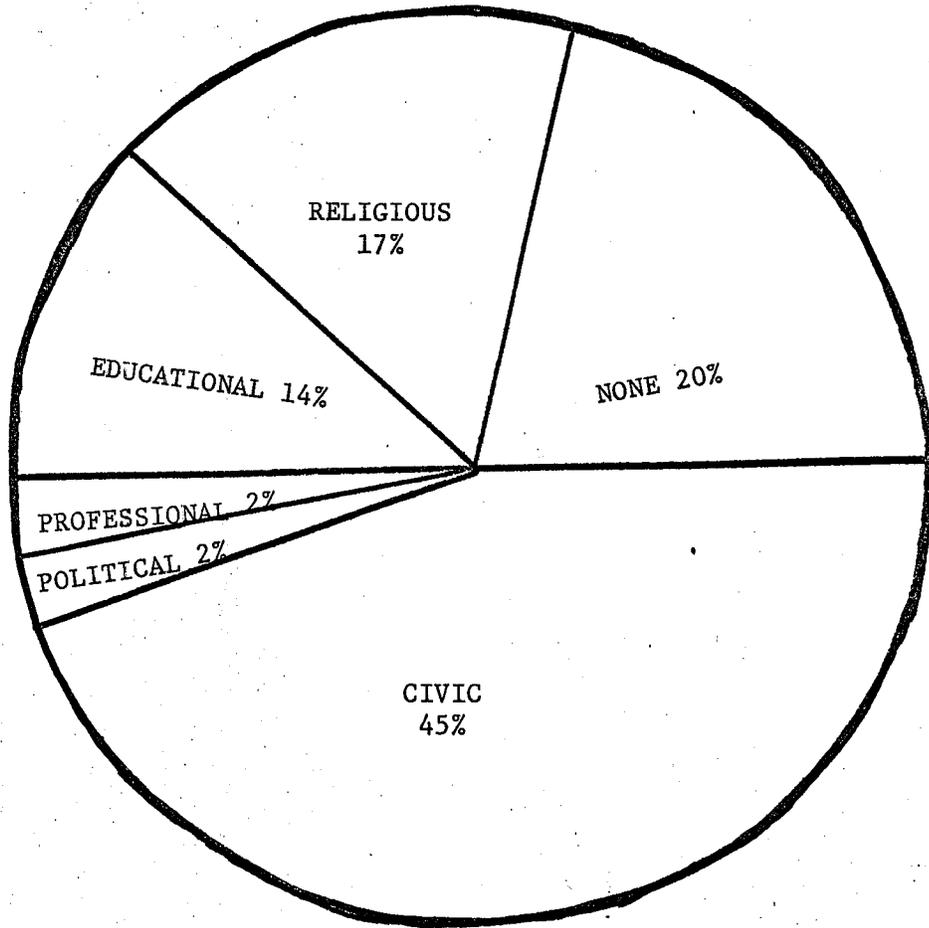


Fig. 11.--Distribution of categories of organizations represented officially in the Selma/Montgomery March.

organized groups - prompted to join the chorus dissent from the practices of human injustices.

Job Assignments Performed by
Participants in March

The Logistics Committee for the historic March on Montgomery planned a structure that was organized to the most minute detail.

This structure, relying on the varied experiences of its eight members and the director, was fashioned from the disciplines of army regimentation. Forms were designed for every conceivable purpose and committees were formed to supervise, even anticipated, functions.

March Committees

The following committees were staffed, and they functioned the period leading up to, during, and after the March:

1. Truck Service Committee
2. Medical Service, Housing, and Screening Committee
3. Housing and Medical Aid Committee
4. Medical Service and Camp Housing Committee
5. Equipment and Medical Service Committee
6. Transportation Committee
7. Press and Public Relations Committee
8. Marshals, Security, and Mass Entertainment Committee
9. Marshals for Patrol Committee
10. Food, Offices, and Funds Committee
11. Funds Committee
12. Mobile Unit Office Staff
13. Montgomery Office Staff

14. Field Staff
15. Selma Office Staff
16. Office Staff
17. Camp Set-Up Committee
18. Camp Break-Up Committee
19. Communications Committee
20. Survey Staff

These committees conceived and developed the job-assignments designed to take care of the many and varied logistic needs of the army of Selma to Montgomery Marchers. Table 10 presents the data on the number and per cent of the men and women who carried out the many job assignments necessary to the efficient and effective conduct of the Selma to Montgomery March.

The four committees with the largest number of members were: Tent crew, security, communications, and transportation. The medical staff was quite adequate with 11 members. It is surprising that so few participants were assigned to such committees or job-assignments as: radio operator, press, marshal, and housing. However, it should be explained that the tent crew had charge of housing for the marchers, since the tents were their homes during the March. The "housing" committee was responsible for locating people in the community who were willing to house the participants who did not camp-out. It should also be explained that the security committee was responsible for the protection of the marchers at the various campsites, the "marshals" accompanied the marchers as they walked--to keep the lines in order, distribute food, and attend to any emergency affecting the

marchers.

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION, BY SEX, OF JOB ASSIGNMENTS PERFORMED
BY PARTICIPANTS IN SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

Job Assignment	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Medical Staff	8	6.8	3	8	11	6.9
Montgomery Improvement Association	0	0	2	5	2	1.3
Transportation	10	8.5	0	0	10	6.3
Tent Crew	28	23.8	10	25	38	23.8
Security	22	18.7	1	2	23	14.5
Communications	21	17.9	3	8	24	15.1
Marshals	4	3.4	0	0	4	2.5
Truck Drivers	2	1.7	0	0	2	1.3
Logistics ^a	7	5.9	2	5	10	6.3
Marched only	1	.9	1	2	2	1.3
Kitchen Crew	1	.9	3	8	4	2.5
Housing	1	.9	2	5	3	1.9
Office-Clerical	0	0	5	13	5	3.2
Radio Operator	1	.9	0	0	1	.6
Press	2	1.7	0	0	2	1.3
Communication/ Marshal	1	.9	0	0	1	.6
No Response	8	6.8	8	19	16	10.1
Total	117	100	40	100	158	100

^aOne person in Logistics did not indicate his/her sex.

Comparison of Occupations with Job Assignments

Table 11 displays a comparison of occupations with the accepted job assignments. The main headings, numbered by Roman Numerals I through XVII, categorizes the Committees for the March, while the unlettered listings under each main heading denote the actual occupations of the participant.

Socio-Economic Status of Participants

Out of the 158 individuals in this sampling, 36 per cent were students (see Table 7, page 58) and 30 per cent did not give sufficient information so that the Index of Social Characteristics (I.S.C.) Rating could be applied. Therefore, the title on Table 12 and on Figure 12 reads "Of Those Classified." The breakdown follows:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Classified	54	34.18
Students	56	35.44
Information Insufficient to Classify	<u>48</u>	<u>30.38</u>
	158	100.00

Again, utilizing the term "Of Those Classified" this writer feels obligated to go into detail to explain how the percentages used for Table 12 and Figure 12 were computed.

Lloyd Warner's "Weights for Computation of I.S.C." (See Appendix I-B) taken from his book Social Class in America furnished the framework for this computation.

In Appendix I is an example of how substitutions were utilized to secure Weights for Computation of I.S.C. (see Appendix I-C) from the data collected for this research.

TABLE 11

COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS OF PARTICIPANTS IN SELMA
TO MONTGOMERY MARCH WITH JOB ASSIGNMENTS
PERFORMED DURING THE MARCH

Job Assignment	Occupations	Number	Percent
I. <u>Medical Staff</u>		11	7.0
	Medical Doctor		
	Registered Nurse		
	Technician		
	Psychiatrist		
	Professor		
	Medical Student		
II. <u>Montgomery Improvement Association (M.I.A.)</u>		2	1.3
	Student		
III. <u>Transportation</u>		10	6.3
	IBM Programmer		
	Unitarian Minister		
	Assistant Director, Unitarian Dept. of Social Responsibility		
	New York Pressman		
IV. <u>Tent Crew</u>		38	24.0
	Student		
	Minister		
	Clerical Worker		
	College Professor		
V. <u>Security</u>		23	14.6
	Catholic Father		
	SNCC Worker		
	Real Estate Broker		
	Student		
	Minister		
VI. <u>Communications</u>		24	15.2
	Reporter		
	Radio Operator		
	Student		

TABLE 11--Continued

Job Assignment	Occupations	Number	Percent
	Interviewer Photographer Public Relations Procurement Engineer Wife of Episcopal Seminarian Ministers SNCC Worker		
VII. <u>Marshal</u>		4	2.5
	Student Occupation Unknown		
VIII. <u>Truck Driver</u>		2	1.3
	Occupation Unknown		
IX. <u>Logistics</u>		10	6.3
	Editor Minister Rehabilitation Officer Student Teacher Economist		
X. <u>Marched Only</u>		2	1.3
	Student Occupation Unknown		
XI. <u>Kitchen Crew</u>		4	2.5
	Occupation Unknown Student		
XII. <u>Housing</u>		3	1.9
	Teacher Occupation Unknown Student		

TABLE 11--Continued

Job Assignment	Occupations	Number	Percent
XIII. <u>Office/Clerical</u>		5	3.2
	Students		
	Theology Student		
	College Student		
	Medical Student		
XIV. <u>Radio Operator</u>		1	.6
	Occupation Unknown		
XV. <u>Press</u>		2	1.3
	Students		
XVI. <u>Communication and Marshal</u>		1	.6
	Professional		
XVII. <u>March Job Assignment Unknown</u>		16	10.1
	Students		
	University Assistant Dir.		
	Teacher		
	Owner, Travel Agency		
	Wife of Episcopal Minister		
	College Professor		
Total		158	100.00

The "House Type" information was not secured at the time of the March; therefore, this area was expunged in accordance with Warner's statement:

If the data for any of the four ratings are not available, the proper weights for the other three ratings may be obtained from Table 5. Thus, if the ratings on occupation were missing, the other three ratings would be multiplied by 5, 4 and 3, respectively. The three products would then be

totaled to secure a 'weighted total' which would be comparable to that secured from four weighted products; this may also be any number from 12 to 84, inclusive.¹

"Education" was substituted for "Dwelling Area" because it was impossible to re-submit the questionnaires for additional information and complete this research on schedule. According to Warner, "Education can be substituted for the dwelling area when that information can be secured with less difficulty."²

The Prestige Rank (see Appendix I-D) compiled by McCall, as well as the Classification for Source of Income by Warner (see Appendix I-E) employ the numerical ratings of 1 - 7 with the "small" numerical values indicating high socio-economic status and the "large" numerical values indicating low socio-economic status.

Following is an example of the way each subject's product was formulated on the three status characteristics according to steps 1, 2, and 3 appearing under "Steps for Computation" below the example. A copy of the form used to compute the subject's rating appears in Appendix I-H along with a copy of Warner's "Social-Class Equivalents for I.S.C. Ratings (Appendix I-G) which was used to place each subject into a socio-economic class in line with the purposes stated in this research.

¹W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 124.

²Ibid., p. 154.

Example -

Characteristics	Rating		Weight	Product
Occupation	5	x	5	25
Source of Income	5	x	4	20
Education	6	x	3	<u>18</u>
				63

Steps for Computation¹

1. Rate the individual in question on the three status characteristics according to the rating scale.
2. Multiply these three ratings by their respective weights.
3. Total the three weighted ratings.

According to Table 12, the fifty-four classified March participants fell into five socio-economic classes. The number and per cent in each class was as follows:

Class 34 - 37, Indeterminate (either upper middle or lower middle), 32 or 59 per cent.

Class 25 - 33, Upper Middle Class, 12 or 22 per cent.

Class 38 - 50, Lower Middle Class, 7 or 13 per cent.

Class 18 - 22, Upper Class, 2 or 4 per cent.

Class 54 - 62, Upper Lower Class, 1 or 2 per cent.

As we see from Table 12 and Figure 12, a normal distribution curve was effected from the results of the data computed. However,

¹Ibid., p. 124.

TABLE 12

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE CLASSIFIED PERCENTAGE
OF PARTICIPANTS IN SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

Weighted Total Of Ratings	Social-Class Equivalent ^a	Number	Percent
12 - 17	Upper Class	0	0
18 - 22	Upper Class (probably with some possibility of Upper middle class)	2	4
23 - 24	Intermediate (either Upper or Middle Class)	0	0
25 - 33	Upper Middle Class	12	22
34 - 37	Indeterminate (either Upper Middle or Lower Middle Class)	32	59
38 - 50	Lower Middle Class	7	13
51 - 53	Indeterminate (either Lower Middle or Upper Lower Class)	0	0
54 - 62	Upper Lower Class	1	2
63 - 66	Indeterminate (either Upper-Lower or Lower Lower Class)	0	0
67 - 69	Lower Lower Class (probably with some possibility of Upper Lower Class)	0	0
70 - 84	Lower-Lower Class	0	0

^aIbid., p. 41.

because of the high peakedness of this particular curve, it is a leptokurtic curve.

Self-Concept Views of Participants In March

The most interesting facet of this research was reading the comments pertaining to the March made by the individual participants.

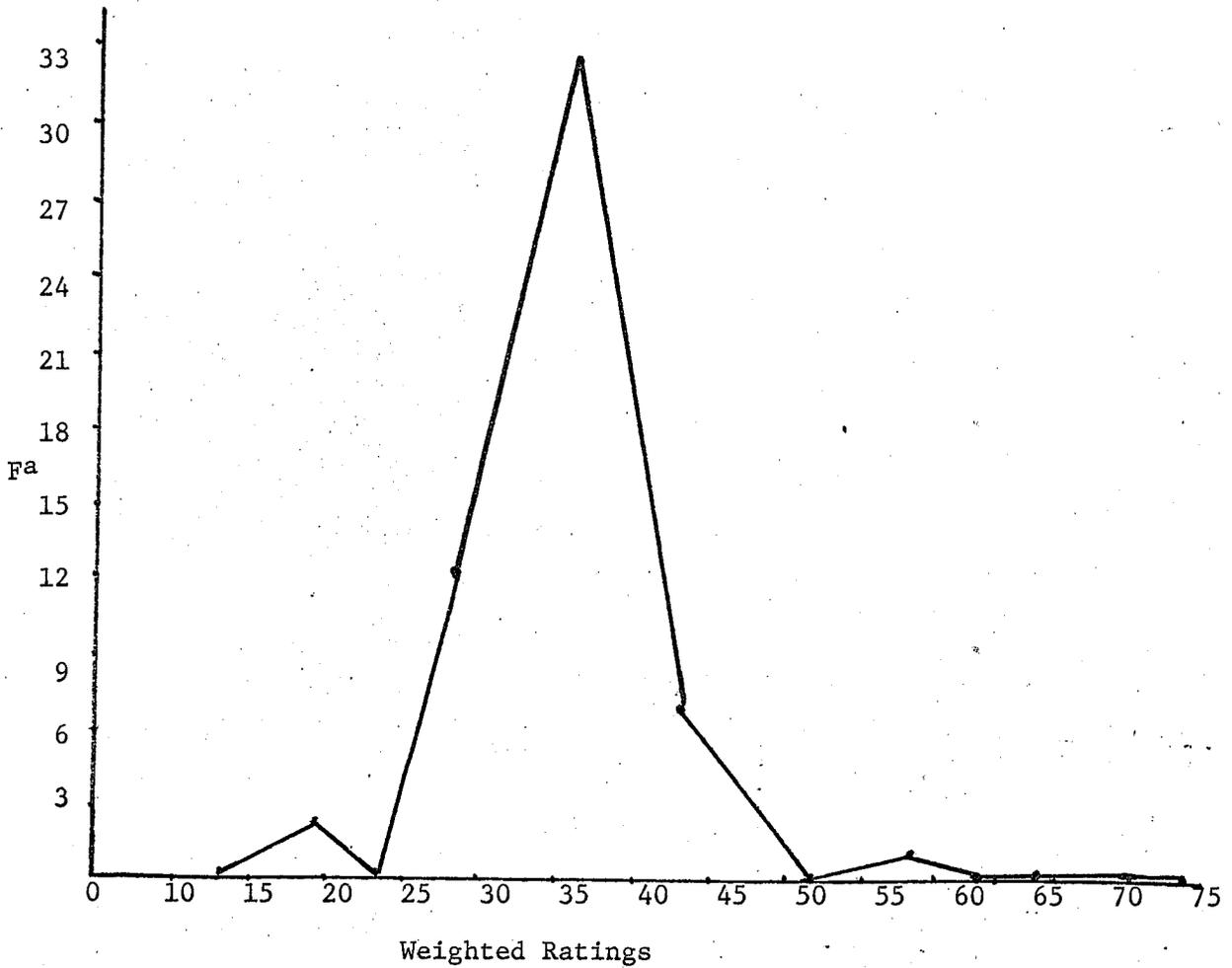


Fig. 12.--Distribution of socio-economic status of classified participants in Selma to Montgomery March.

^aFrequency

Having no photograph to associate with the varied responses, the writer found herself visualizing a person that she had met with a response that especially intrigued her.

In order to place the data into a functional pattern, the writer attempted to isolate the opinions in the following A - L pattern:

Number	Reaction
A	Felt presence was necessary to satisfy self-respect.
B	Felt March was effective.
C	March is interesting and heroic for world.
D	March gives inspiration to carry back to own community.
E	Believes March will change bad attitudes of whites toward Negroes.
F	Came to manifest solidarity.
G	Expresses shock at man's inhumanity to man.
H	Believes strongly in equal rights for all and pledges full support.
I	Believes March here in Selma will help in North.
J	Feels March is disorganized.
K	Concerned about Selma after the March.
L	Came because asked to come by "home organization" to represent it. Works in civil rights all the time.

This scheme was difficult because many expressions were long and involved. This writer, therefore, thought it expedient to include some of the expressions in their entirety so that the readers of this paper could appreciate them as she did. (See Appendix I and Chapter III.)

In Table 13 is presented the number and per cent of persons who responded in a particular manner to the Selma to Montgomery March and

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PERSONAL REACTIONS OF PARTICIPANTS
TO THE MARCH FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY

Number of the Reaction	Statements in Brief Form	Number	Percent
H	Believes strongly in equal rights for all and pledges support	14	8
A	Felt presence was necessary to satisfy self-respect	25	15
F	Manifest solidarity	10	5
L	Asked to come by home organization to represent it. Works in civil rights full time	12	6
D	Gives inspiration to carry back to own community	5	3
A,G,B	Self respect - Shocked at inhumanity - Feels march is very effective	2	1
A,I	Self respect - Believes march will help North		
E	Believes march will change bad attitudes of whites toward Negroes	4	2
C	March is interesting and heroic for world	4	2
A,C	Self respect - March & heroic for world	4	2
B	Feels march is very effective	8	5
G,B	Shocked at man's inhumanity to man - Feels march is very effective	2	1
F,D	Manifest solidarity - Inspiration to carry back to own community	3	2
A,H	Self respect - Believes strongly in equal rights for all and pledges support	4	2

TABLE 13--Continued

Number of the Reaction	Statements in Brief Form	Number	Percent
A,B,G,H	Self respect - March is effective - Shocked at inhumanity of man to man - Believes strongly in equal rights	1	1
B,H	March is effective - Believes strongly in equal rights and pledges support	1	1
K	Concerned about Selma after March!	2	1
G,I	Shocked at man's inhumanity - Believes march will help in North	1	1
B,A	Feels march is very effective - satisfy self-respect	5	3
G,H	Shocked at man's inhumanity - Believes strongly in equal rights and pledges support	2	1
G,D,F	Shock at inhumanity - Inspiration to carry home - manifest solidarity - Satisfy self respect	1	1
J,K	Feels march is disorganized - Con- cerned about Selma after march	1	1
I,J	Believes march here will help in North - Feels march is disorganized	1	1
B,C	Feels march is very effective - Interesting and heroic for world	1	1
G	Expresses shock of man's inhumanity to man.	5	3
G,K	Expresses shock of man's inhumanity - concerned about Selma after march	1	1
G,E	Shocked at man's inhumanity - Believes march will change bad atti- tude of whites	1	1
D,B	Gives inspiration to carry home - Feels march is very effective	1	1

TABLE 13--Continued

Number of the Reaction	Statements in Brief Form	Number	Percent
A,I	Satisfy self respect - was asked to come to represent group - works in civil rights full time	1	1
I	Feels march was disorganized	2	1
E,F,H	Believes march will change bad atti- tudes of whites - Manifest solidarity - Believes strongly in equal rights	1	1
D,A	Gives inspiration to carry home - Satisfy self respect	5	3
F,G	Manifest solidarity - Shocked at man's inhumanity	1	1
C,J	March is interesting and heroic for world - March is disorganized	1	1
G,D	Shocked at man's inhumanity - Gives inspiration to carry back home	1	1
F,A	Manifest solidarity - Satisfy self respect	1	1
K,A	Concerned about Selma after March - Satisfy self respect	1	1
A,H,C,D	Satisfy self respect - Believes strongly in equal rights - Feels march is heroic - inspiration to carry home	1	1
C,E	Interesting and heroic for world - Believes march will change bad atti- tudes of whites	1	1
B,F	March is effective - manifest solidarity	1	1
E,B	March will change bad attitudes of whites for Negroes - March is very effective	1	1

TABLE 13--Continued

Number of the Reaction	Statements in Brief Form	Number	Percent
D,H	Gives inspiration to carry back home - Believes strongly in equal rights - pledges support	1	1
B,L	March is effective - Come representing group - Works full time in civil rights	1	1
J,F	March is disorganized - manifest solidarity	1	1
L,C	Representing group - March is interesting and heroic for world - Satisfy self respect	1	1
-	No Response	14	8
Totals		158	100

Number of Different Reactions by Respondents

Table 13 presents the data on the number and per cent of the march participants who indicated one, two, three, and four different reactions, respectively.

Of the 158 March participants there were:

- a) 91 or 58 per cent who made a single reaction
- b) 47 or 30 per cent who made two different reactions
- c) 4 or 2 per cent who made three different reactions
- d) 2 or 1 per cent who made four different reactions
- e) 14 or 9 per cent did not respond to this section of the questionnaire.

The number and per cent of the individual and respective reactions ranged from a low of 4 or 1.9 per cent for the few who "felt the March was disorganized" to a high of 51 or 25 per cent for those who felt "their presence was necessary to satisfy self-respect" (see illustration below). The chief ranking of the remainder of the reactions followed thusly; 25 or 12.2 per cent stated "they believe strongly in equal rights for all and pledged their full support," 24 or 11.7 per cent stated "they felt the March was effective," 19 or 9.3 per cent reported "they came to manifest solidarity," 18 or 8.8 per cent reported the "March gives inspiration to carry back to their own community," and 18 or 8.8 per cent, again, "expressed shock at man's inhumanity to man."

Illustration:

Reaction Number	Statement of Reaction	Number	Percent
A	Felt presence was necessary to satisfy self-respect	51	25.0
B	Felt March was effective	24	11.7
C	March is interesting and heroic for world	13	6.3
D	March gives inspiration to carry back to own community	18	8.8
E	Believes March will change bad attitudes of whites toward Negroes	8	3.9
F	Came to manifest solidarity	19	9.3
G	Expresses shock at man's inhumanity to man	18	8.8
H	Believes strongly in equal rights for all and pledges support	25	12.2

Illustration--Continued

Reaction Number	Statement of Reaction	Number	Percent
I	Believes March here in Selma will help in North	5	2.4
J	Feels March is disorganized	4	1.9
K	Concerned about Selma after March	5	2.4
L	Came because asked to come by home organization as representative	15	7.3
Total		205	100.0

A summary of the data appears to indicate that the principal motivation for the individuals who participated in the Selma to Montgomery March was, as one 39 year old male from Minnesota expressed on his questionnaire, "As a member of the guilty American society, I must finally accept some responsibility and help to free myself."

Graphical Distribution of the Number and
Percent of the Different Reactions
by Respondents

Table 14 presents the geographical distribution - by per cent - of the respective reactions given by the marchers stating what the Selma to Montgomery March meant to them.

Canada.--Canada's 3.8 per cent of the 158 respondents expressed reactions as follows: 33.3 per cent "felt the March was effective," and the remainder - with 16.6 per cent each - stated "March was interesting and heroic for world and their presence was necessary for

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONAL REACTIONS OF PARTICIPANTS
IN THE SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH BY GEOGRAPHICAL
LOCATION OF THEIR HOMETOWNS

Reaction Number	Location/Personal Reaction	Percent
<u>Canada</u>		
A,C	March interesting and heroic for world Presence necessary for self-respect	16.6
B	March is effective	33.3
A	Presence necessary for self-respect	16.6
	No Response	16.6
E	March will change bad attitude of whites toward Negroes	16.6
		<u>100.0</u>
<u>Southern States</u>		
H	Believes strongly in equal rights, pledges support	11.1
F,D	Manifest solidarity - Inspiration to carry home	11.1
L	Works in civil rights all the time, represents group	16.6
B	March is effective	5.5
A	Self-respect	16.6
F	Manifests solidarity	22.2
A,H	Self-respect - Believes strongly in equal rights, pledges support	5.5
B,G,A	Shocked at man's inhumanity to man - March is effective - Self-respect	5.5

TABLE 14--Continued

Reaction Number	Location/Personal Reaction	Percent
L,C	Represents home organization, works in civil rights full-time - March is interesting and heroic for world	<u>5.5</u> 100.0
<u>Northern States</u>		
F,D	Manifest solidarity - Inspiration to carry home	1.5
H	Believes strongly in equal rights, pledges support	6.1
A,B,G,H	Self-respect - March is effective - Works in civil rights - Shocked at man's inhumanity	1.5
B,H	March is effective - Believes strongly in equal rights, pledges support	1.5
K	Concerned about Selma after March	3.0
A	Self-respect	14.0
G,I	Shocked at man's inhumanity to man Believes this march will help North	1.5
B	March is effective	8.0
B,A	March is effective - Self-respect	5.0
	No Response	8.0
D	Inspiration to carry home	6.1
G,H	Shocked at inhumanity - Believes in civil rights, pledges support	3.0
F	Manifest solidarity	5.0
L	Works in civil rights all the time, represents group	6.1
G,D,F	Shocked - Inspiration to carry home - Manifest solidarity	1.5

TABLE 14--Continued

Reaction Number	Location/Personal Reaction	Percent
C	March is interesting and heroic for world	3.0
J,K	March is interesting - Concerned about Selma after March	1.5
E	March will change bad attitude of whites for Negroes	1.5
I,J	Believes it will help North - Disorganized	1.5
G,K	Shocked - Concerned about Selma after March	1.5
G,E	Shocked - March will change bad attitudes of whites toward Negroes	1.5
D,B	Inspiration to carry home - March is effective	1.5
A,L	Self-respect - Works in civil rights all time, represents group	1.5
J,K	March disorganized - Concerned about Selma after March	1.5
E,F,H	Change attitude of whites - Manifest solidarity - Believes in civil rights	1.5
D,A	Inspiration to carry home - Self-respect	3.0
G	Shocked at man's inhumanity to man	5.0
F,G	Manifest solidarity - Shocked at man's inhumanity to man	1.5
A,H	Self-respect - Believes in civil rights	1.5
A,C	Self-respect - March is interesting and heroic	1.5
		<u>100.0</u>
<u>New England States</u>		
G,B	Shocked at man's inhumanity - March is effective	12.5

TABLE 14--Continued

Reaction Number	Location/Personal Reaction	Percent
H	Believes strongly in equal rights, pledges support	25.0
A,C	Self-respect - March is interesting and heroic for world	12.5
B,C	March is effective - Interesting and heroic for world	12.5
G	Shocked at man's inhumanity to man	12.5
C,J	March is disorganized - Interesting and heroic for world	12.5
A,D	Inspiration to carry home - self-respect	<u>12.5</u> 100.0
<u>Middle Atlantic States</u>		
B,G	March is effective - Shocked at man's inhumanity to man	3.5
H	Believes strongly in equal rights, pledges support	14.2
A	Self-respect	11.7
A,B	Self-respect - March is effective	14.2
G,D	Inspiration to carry home - Shocked at man's inhumanity to man	3.5
J	March disorganized	3.5
F,A	Manifest solidarity - Self-respect	3.5
A,D	Self-respect - Inspiration to carry home	3.5
	No Response	17.8
A,K	Concerned about Selma after March - Self-respect	3.5
A,H	Self-respect - Believes strongly in equal rights	7.0

TABLE 14--Continued

Reaction Number	Location/Personal Reaction	Percent
A,H,C,D	Self-respect - Believes in equal rights - Interesting and heroic - Inspiration	3.5
A,C	Self-respect - Interesting and heroic	3.5
B,F	March is effective - Manifests solidarity	3.5
G	Shocked at man's inhumanity to man	<u>3.5</u>
		100.0
<u>Western States</u>		
A	Self-respect	24.1
	No Response	10.3
F	Manifests solidarity	6.8
L	Works in civil rights, represents group	10.3
D	Inspiration to carry home	3.4
H	Believes strongly in equal rights, pledges support	6.8
A,G,B	Shocked at man's inhumanity - March is effective - Self-respect	3.4
A,I	Self-respect - March will help North	3.4
E	March will change bad attitudes of whites for Negroes	3.4
C	Interesting and heroic for world	10.3
C,E	Interesting and heroic - Change bad atti- tudes of whites for Negroes	3.4
E,B	March is effective - Change bad attitudes of whites for Negroes	3.4
D,H	Inspiration to carry home - Believes strongly in civil rights, pledges support	3.4

TABLE 14--Continued

Reaction Number	Location/Personal Reaction	Percent
B,L	Effective - Works in civil rights, represents group	3.4
A,D	Self-respect - Inspiration to carry home	<u>3.4</u>
		100.0

self-respect," "their presence was necessary for self-respect," "March will change bad attitude of whites toward Negroes," and 16.6 per cent did not respond to this query.

Southern States and District of Columbia.--The Southern States and the District of Columbia claimed 11.3 per cent of the participants. The highest percentage (22.2 per cent) stated that they came "to manifest solidarity" while the four lowest percentages (5.5 per cent each) expressed "March was effective," "their presence was necessary for self-respect because they believe strongly in equal rights for all and pledge their support," "they were shocked at man's inhumanity to man but the March was effective and they felt their presence was necessary for self-respect," and they "represented hometown civil rights organizations where they worked full-time and this March was interesting and heroic for the world." The remainder of the reactions for this section was; 16.6 per cent each who said "they work in civil rights organizations all the time and represent their group" also "they felt their presence was necessary for self-respect" and 11.1 per cent each who said "they came to manifest solidarity and felt March

would give them inspiration to carry home" also "they believe strongly in equal rights and pledge their support."

Northern States.--The Northern States' 41.2 per cent of the 158 respondents ranged from a low of 1.5 per cent each for seventeen various combinations of the twelve reactions listed on page 77 to a high of 14 per cent who stated they felt their presence was necessary to satisfy self-respect. Of the seventeen with 1.5 per cent, there was 1 with a single reaction, 13 with two reactions each, 2 with three reactions each, and 1 with four reactions. The reactions that occurred repeatedly in these combinations were as follows:

Most frequently;

"Expressed shock at man's inhumanity to man"

In equal numbers,

- a) "Felt presence was necessary for self-respect"
- b) "Get inspiration to carry back home"
- c) "To manifest solidarity"
- d) "Believes strongly in equal rights and pledges full support"
- e) "Felt March was disorganized"

The chief motivation expressed by the remainder of the respondents was they "believe strongly in equal rights and pledge unrelenting support by continuing to work in the civil rights groups they came to Selma to represent."

New England States.--The New England States were represented by 5 per cent of the March participants. The reaction expressed most often by this group (25.5 per cent) was "they believe strongly in equal rights and pledge their full support." The next response that

occurred frequently was "the March was interesting and heroic for the world."

None of these participants voiced a belief that this March would "help change the bad attitudes of whites toward Negroes," "that the Selma March would help in the North," "that they came because they were asked to represent home organizations," nor did they state "they were concerned about Selma after the March."

Middle Atlantic States.--The Middle Atlantic States' 17.8 per cent of the March participants responded in the following manner: 14.2 per cent stated they "believe strongly in equal rights and pledge their support," 14.2 per cent said they "came to satisfy self-respect and the March was effective," and 10.7 per cent had one reaction only they "felt their presence was necessary to satisfy self-respect." The remainder of the respondents' reactions from this section was distributed equally (3.5 per cent each) for ten varied combinations of the reactions listed on page 77, except for 7 per cent who stated "they believe strongly in equal rights and felt their presence was necessary to satisfy self-respect."

Western States.--The Western States were represented by the second highest percentage (18.4 per cent) of the March participants. The per cent of the individual and respective reaction for this section ranged from a high of 24.1 per cent, who stated "they felt their presence was necessary to satisfy self-respect" down to nine - 3.4 per cent each - combinations of ten of the reactions on page 77.

The remainder of the reactions was stated as follows: 10.3 per cent each "works in civil rights regularly, therefore, came to repre-

sent their group," and "felt March was interesting and heroic for the world"; and 6.8 per cent each "came to manifest solidarity," "believes strongly in equal rights and pledges full support."

The participants from the Western States who were on the March did not indicate "they felt the March was disorganized" or "they were concerned about Selma after the March" as some other sections had expressed.

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA - II

Saga of the Selma-Montgomery March

Prelude

This chapter of the March report attempts to give a comprehensive and detailed narration and description of the organization for the activities during, and the psychologic climate which prevailed among the men, women, and youth who participated in, the historic Selma to Montgomery March. This March was an upsurge of the freedom effort of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.) and all Americans who love freedom.

Before the March - The Gathering Storm

Motivation ignites the spark that
causes the fires of achieve-
ment to burn --

J.T.W.

A Spark is Kindled

The long lines of Negro and white marchers that approached the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, Sunday, March 7, 1965, were noticeably apprehensive; yet, peacefully defiant as they bore the burdens of many generations on their shoulders and offered their bodies as human sacrifices. Evidently they felt this was a small

price to pay for the freedom of all mankind; for they must have believed as Hosea Williams believes, "Unless the Negro is freed, there can be no freedom for the white man."

Their apprehensions on this beautiful Sunday were well-founded. There had been many other Sundays in Alabama when the terrible cries of black men, women, and children had resounded against the stone walls of segregation and the cold hearts of Selma's white population as the threat of death hovered over Alabama day and night.

It was a Sunday morning, September 15, 1963, that the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama was bombed as Sunday School classes were being held. This explosion murdered four innocent children (Cynthia Wesley-14, Carol Robertson-14, Denise McNair-11, and Addie Mae Collins-14), blasted the face of Jesus Christ from a stained glass window in the church, and "transmitted a shock wave of horrified indignation around the world."

Soon after these heinous murders were committed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.) adopted a "five-point plan" all-out assault on Alabama segregation. The reason for this decision being coined by Ed. Clayton of the S.C.L.C. staff,

Birmingham has the kind of cancer that has made bombing a popular pasttime, a lightly-regarded pursuit that has account for 50 blasts since the end of World War II without a single solution.

. . .there is no cure for cancer, Worse, there is not even hope for cancer that has been allowed to rot and fester for 92 years - or since Birmingham was born.¹

¹Ed. Clayton, "Birmingham Bombing Points Up a City with a Sick Soul," S.C.L.C. Newsletter, II (October, 1963), 1.

The movement in Alabama spreaded until it finally reached Selma. Selma was a small, typically-southern city of about 29,500 people (14,400 white and 15,100 Negroes) where Negroes "knew their place" and were resigned to their fate. Selma symbolized the stately, white mistress of a huge plantation during the Scarlot O'Hara days, too beautiful and too proud to change. Four years after the Federal Government filed its first voting rights suit in Selma (voting rolls were 99 per cent white and one per cent Negro) the Negroes were still not registered to vote.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his S.C.L.C. forces preached and prayed with the people in Selma until finally a flicker of hope sprang alive in their hearts. This flicker grew to a flame that spread, destroying the fears of more than 100 years, and the men, women, and children of Selma began marching in protest. Marching against the injustice, segregation, and disenfranchisement of the Negroes in Selma. Marching against Sheriff Jim Clark and his club-swinging, mounted posse of volunteer deputies (Klu Klux Klansmen) who were always there to arrest them -- more than 2,100 were arrested in less than seven weeks. The fire burned on as day after day Clark's brutalities added more and more fuel. Jimmie Lee Jackson, one of about 400 Negro demonstrators, was shot in the stomach in Marion, Alabama. Jackson lived only long enough to name his murderer, a state trooper.¹

¹"The Nation," Time, March 19, 1965, p. 23.

The news of the bombings, deaths, and brutalities in Alabama brought many sympathizers to join the ranks of this non-violent army of determined marchers. The suffering and bloodshed continued with no relief in view. In desperation, it was decided that some means would have to be devised to make America, at least Washington, aware of the harassment Negroes were experiencing trying to register to vote; a right afforded every American by the Constitution of the United States.

It was agreed that a "March" from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery would help point up Selma's grievances, and all of the other Selma's throughout the south. After this decision was announced, King exclaimed, "I can't promise you that it won't get your house bombed. I can't promise you won't get scarred up a bit. But we must stand up for what is right."

Bloody Sunday at the Edmund Pettus Bridge

The echoes from Dr. King's words were still resounding as the final preparations were made for the March from Selma to the state capitol. During the intervening hours it was suggested that Dr. King should not lead, nor participate in, this March because of the risks involved. Hosea L. Williams, dynamic executive of S.C.L.C. and John Lewis, militant leader of SNCC agreed to take over the lead positions.

On March 7, 1965 approximately 700 marchers left from Brown Chapel on Sylvan Street in Selma, Alabama against Governor Wallace's decree that the March could not take place. Walking two abreast, some swinging bedrolls in their hands and others with rolled sleeping bags strapped to their backs, they made their way down Broad Street toward

the Edmund Pettus Bridge. This bridge, now a legendary symbol of victory, to Negroes, crosses the Alabama River and leads out of Selma on to Highway 80. Highway 80 runs through Lowndes County and into Montgomery; the destination of the intended March.

From the high-point on the Edmund Pettus Bridge, the front lines of marchers could view the sixty or more state policemen who were blocking the four-lanes of Highway 80. Colonel Al Lingo, a staunch segregationist and the leader of the Alabama Highway Patrol, stood with his patrols. These law officers were bedecked with helmets, gas masks, billy sticks, and guns. Sheriff Jim Clark (Dallas County) and his posse (KKK volunteers) stood on the sidelines. These law officers had been attacking the black people of Selma continuously before and after the voter registration drive began. Riding horses, carrying bull whips, electric cattle prods, and billy sticks, they would charge into unarmed groups of Negroes and white sympathizers, run them down to the ground and beat them unmercifully where they fell. Charging back and forth, they would pursue the fleeing men, women, or children down from porches and out from behind trees so they could take proper aim with their weapons and horses.

The line of marchers was stopped about 100 yards from the human baracade when a voice bellowed through a bullhorn,

You will not be allowed to go any further. Turn around and go back to your church. You have two minutes to disperse!

Time seemed suspended in mid-air as the marchers stood facing the troopers--their heads held high, their eyes looking into the eyes of their oppressors--seconds silently ticked away.

Then the voice blared again,

"TROOPERS, FORWARD!"

The officers moved in unison forming a single line of strength as they pushed and shoved the marchers back toward the bridge; intentionally stepping on those who fell. As the marchers were forced out of line and began to scatter in all directions, the patrolmen became murderously ruthless, swinging their clubs against the heads, backs, and bodies of the defenseless demonstrators.

Sheriff Clark and his mounted posse joined the ranks of the law officers and plunged into action as the white townspeople standing by cheered, laughed, and clapped urging them on.

The men, women, and children were stumbling and crawling back across the bridge bleeding and screaming when one marcher hollered, "TEAR GAS!", as the familiar sound of canisters being fired was heard. The air was soon penetrated with gas fumes as more and more tear gas bombs were hurled at the marchers.

The horse-mounted law officers continued chasing the marchers back to the church leaving the prostrate bodies of those who could no longer flee lying where they had fallen, dazed and wounded beneath the blanket of gas fumes that hovered menacingly above them.

An Awakening America

After the television and radio stations broadcasted news of the carnage on the Edmund Pettus Bridge, demonstrations sprang up all across the country as Americans expressed their shock and indignation that such a deplorable, ghastly thing could happen in the United States in the year of our Lord 1965.

People began crowding into Selma, Alabama to help in any way they could. From Atlanta, Dr. King angrily declared,

"I am now compelled to lead another March from Selma to Montgomery, as a matter of conscience and as an attempt to further arouse the deepest concern of the nation.

Another March was held March 9, 1965 led by Dr. King and a host of Negro and white clergymen who had rushed to Selma to offer their assistance and condolences. This time there were at least 1,500 marchers.

As before, they were met by the wall of state troopers who were lined across the highway. As before, the voice on the bullhorn warned,

This March cannot continue. It is not conducive to the safety of this group or the motoring public.

After some hesitation, Dr. King instructed the marchers to kneel for prayer which was led by Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy. Then Dr. King led the 1,500 participants back to the church. It was revealed later that United States District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., had issued an order for Dr. King to wait until he could act on an injunction to prohibit the state troopers and the Dallas County police from interfering with the marchers.

S.C.L.C.'s decision to abide by the order of the federal court was unrewarded. That Tuesday night, March 9, 1965, several white men attacked Rev. James Reeb and two other white clergymen as they passed a white restaurant in Selma. As the assailants called "Hey nigger, wanta be a real nigger?", one of the ministers (Rev. Orloff Miller of Boston, Mass.) looked back in time to see the heckler swing back a

club and bring it crashing down on Rev. Reeb's unsuspecting skull. Quickly, the other murderers sprang upon the other two ministers, (Rev. Miller and Rev. Clarke Olsen of Berkeley, California) knocking them down and kicking them furiously. The whites in the restaurant looked on approvingly and did nothing to stop the melee or to aid the trio after the attack. After they had stumbled for two or three blocks, they found help and were carried to the hospital in Birmingham. It was too late for Rev. Reeb; he died two days later. President Lyndon B. Johnson was besieged with telegrams and calls urging that federal troops be dispatched to Alabama to protect the Negroes and whites from further violence and murder. At the same time, a court battle was going on in Alabama as Judge Johnson heard the complaints and accusations from S.C.L.C. witnesses and lawyers and the defense of same from Selma's lawyers and witnesses.

Judge Johnson listened to both sides of the argument and finally, on March 16, 1965 restrained Governor George Wallace and his law officers from interfering with the proposed March. President Johnson federalized the Alabama National Guard and ordered United States soldiers, commanded by Brigadier General James Wright, to fully protect the demonstrators as they embarked on the now-famous Selma to Montgomery March.

Organization and Logistics for
the March to Montgomery

ACTIONS without purpose,
waste human potentials --

J.T.W.

Birth of the Organizational Patterns

The 1965 Selma to Montgomery March was by no means a haphazard, spontaneous event. The organization and planning alone of every minute detail connected with this mammoth undertaking could fill a sizeable volume.

The beginning chapters would reveal that the "Bloody Sunday" March on March 7, 1965 was organized as an outgrowth of many smaller Marches. The basic pattern was the same. There were leaders, marchers, scouts, marshals, security guards, communication dispatchers, ministers, and legal advisers. The difference, of course, was in the number of participants.

The giant task of structuring and directing this undertaking was turned over to the department of Voter Registration and Political Education's head, Hosea L. Williams, whose wide-range experience and master skills would be put-to-test as never before. Following is an excellent reporting of the vigorous schedule required of the Logistic's Committee (with minor additions and deletions by this writer) which was handed in to the Director's office as a part of the evaluation of the March.

The Logistic Pattern Emerges

On March 17, 1965 at 4:00 p.m. the Director, Hosea L. Williams was notified by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, that he was desirous of said March taking place Saturday, March 26, 1965 because of an order given by District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson of Montgomery. Judge Johnson's

court order stated that the March from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama could take place anytime between Friday, March 19 and Monday, March 22.

Hosea Williams informed Dr. King that Sunday, March 21 would be the earliest possible date the logistics of such a March could be perfected. It was, therefore, agreed that Sunday, March 21, 1965, would be the beginning date of the March on Montgomery.

Realizing the difficulties involved in perfecting an effective March within the given time, the Director, immediately began to lay out the logistics on paper. A complete tentative program had been laid out on paper by 10:00 p.m. that same day, Wednesday, March 17, 1965.

The next problem was personnel. At this time a mass meeting was going on in Brown A.M.E. Chapel in Selma, Alabama located across the street from a housing project development where Hosea Williams was working. Williams made the following plea for personnel at the close of the Mass meeting,

Dr. King has decided to lead a March to Montgomery, Alabama from Selma, Alabama beginning at 9:30 a.m., Sunday, March 21, 1965. The Logistics Committee is in dire need of personnel with formal training and experience in the following categories: portable latrines, water tanks, bath trucks, garbage trucks, medical service, camp housing, parade marshals, campsite security guards, food, office administration, finance, transportation, communications, press, public relations, electricity, and the screening of marchers.

The Logistics Committee.--The following persons immediately offered their services forming the Logistics Committee for the March:

Willie Bolden, Savannah, Georgia, four year veteran of the United States Armed Services with experience as bivouacking and service units.

Dave Duncan, Chicago, Illinois, an employee of the Urban Training Center.

Kenneth Murdock, Chicago, Illinois, an employee of the Urban Training Center.

Ivanhoe Donaldson, Field worker for Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Morris Samuels, Episcopalian Clergyman of Los Angeles, California.

Miss Kit Havice, one of the peace walkers who walked from Toronto, Canada to Quantanamo, Cuba.

Fred Martin, mathematician from Canada.

Miss Evelyn Williams of Selma, Alabama.

Allen Lingo, field employee of Southern Christian Leadership Conference from Texas.

Meetings of the committee.--A meeting was called for 1:00 a.m. that night, March 17, 1965 (morning). At this meeting, the Director presented his logistic plans for moving thousands of freedom fighters from Selma to Montgomery. The proposed plans were critically analysed by the eight volunteers whose personalities were as strong as (or stronger than) Williams.

By 4:00 a.m. the group had agreed upon personnel structure and scheduled its second meeting for 7:30 a.m., March 18, 1965, the following morning. It was agreed in this meeting that each person would recruit additional experienced workers for the 7:30 a.m. meeting and bring in suggestions as to how to begin effecting the logistics of the March by 10:00 a.m. - the same day - Thursday, March 18, 1965.

At the 7:30 a.m. meeting held Thursday, March 18, the following assignments were made: Allen Lingo, Coordinator; Willie Bolden, latrines, bath trucks, and garbage detail; David Duncan, medical

services, housing, and screening; Kenneth Murdock, transportation, communications, press and publicity; Ivanhoe Donaldson, mass meetings, entertainment, marshals and security; Fred Martin and Beth Lipszey, finance; Louise Hermev (Yale Divinity School) and Shirley Mesher (San Francisco), press and public relations; Morty Schiff, communications and electricity; Frank Serracco, marshals; Rev. Morris Samuels, security; Kit Havice, food; Myrle Rouss, Montgomery Office; Evelyn Williams, Selma Office; and Louise Hermev, Mobile Unit Office. Also at this meeting, the Director requested that each chairman prepare a detailed budget and list the responsibilities designated to their assistant chairmen and all personnel on their committee. This information was to be presented, in writing, at an 11:45 p.m. meeting that same day, Thursday, March 18, 1965.

Mr. Willie Bolden was assigned 50 Ministers, Rabbis, Priests, and Fathers for his committee. Mr. Dave Duncan had received the assurance of Rev. Aaron Wells, chairman of the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) that all medical needs would be met. Duncan had also made calls to several other cities in order to locate the largest tents for housing. He found that Doraville, Georgia had the largest tents for housing and although they were not sufficient, they had to be used. Mr. Kenneth Murdock had gotten commitments from experienced press and public relations people throughout the country. He had secured a total of 28 trucks, one train, 33 buses and hundreds of cars to meet the transportation needs. Mr. Morty Schiff was at that time in flight to New York City to borrow more than \$10,000.00 worth of

electrical equipment. Miss Kit Havice had acquired the services of a food specialist from one of the largest food exchanges. Mr. Fred Martin had been given the "Go Ahead" signal from Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Treasurer of S.C.L.C. to the tune of \$15,000.00.

The completed list of volunteers assigned to the Logistics Committee is included so that the readers will know the calibre of people that were in charge of the varied and complex structures that contributed to the effectiveness of the March. The training and experience of these persons had a great impact on the quality of the organizational scheme.

Name	From	Logistic Com. Office Held
Allen Lingo	S.C.L.C. Staff	Coordinator
Hoseal Williams	S.C.L.C. Staff	Director
William Bolden	S.C.L.C. Staff	Truck Service
William Burbick	Ecumenical Institute Chicago, Illinois	Truck Service Assistant
Dave Duncan	Urban Training Center Chicago, Illinois	Medical, housing, and screening
Robert Fishel	Ecumenical Institute Chicago, Illinois	Housing and Medical aid
Mark Harrington	St. Louis Presbytery Ferguson, Missouri	Medical, Housing and equipment
Rev. Ernest Bradford	Northern Heights Presbyterian Church Selma, Alabama	Medical Services, Camp Housing
David Scott	Ecumenical Institute, Chicago, Illinois	
Charles Fager	S.C.L.C. Staff	
Kenneth Murdock	Urban Training Center Chicago, Illinois	Transportation
Thomas Bissinger	New York City	Transportation
Morty Schiff	S.N.C.C. -New York City	Electrician
Shirley Mesher	C.O.R.E. San Francisco, Calif.	Press and Public Relations
Ivanhoe Donaldson	S.N.C.C.-Atlanta, Ga.	Marshals, Security Mass Entertainment
Frank Serracco	S.N.C.C. Selma, Alabama	Marshals

Name	From	Logistic Com. Office Held
Rev. Morris Samuels	Los Angeles Episcopal Diocese, California	Marshals, Security, Mass Entertainment
Kit Havice	F.O.R., Albany, Ga.	Food, Offices, Funds
Mrs. Kittie Jones	F.O.R., Chicago, Illinois	Food, Offices, Funds
Fred Martin	Professor, Toronto, Canada	Funds
Louise M. Hermev	Seminary and Allegheny Conference and Math Ch.	Mobile Unit, Office
Myrle Rouse	Los Angeles Episcopal Diocese, California	Montgomery Office
Susanna Holder	Los Angeles Episcopal Diocese	Selma Office
Jim Beaston	S.N.C.C.	Field Staff
John Linkus	S.N.C.C.	Field Staff
Alonzo West	Dallas County Voters League, Selma, Ala.	Field Staff
Mary Vorela	S.N.C.C.	Field Staff
Bob Kay	Tucson, Arizona	Field Staff
Bob Beech	National Council of Churches, Mississippi	Field Staff
Dorothy McMahan	Yale Divinity School	Office
Jeanne Lewis	Smith College Student New Jersey	Office
Marvin Lare	St. Pands Methodist Church, California	Field
Elmo Holer, Jr.	Evansville, Indiana	Field
Beth Livezey	S.C.L.C.	Funds
Frank Fuller	Ecumenical Institute Chicago, Illinois	Camp Set Up Office
Evelyn E. Williams	S.C.L.C., Selma, Ala.	Office
Gerry Fabrikant	S.C.L.C., New York City	Office
Dave Maston	Episcopal Church & C.O.R.E. Affiliation	Communications
Kathy Arkins	United Church of Christ Miami, Florida	Office Office

Each chairman's report was so gratifying that the working momentum of the Logistics Committee was thrown into rocketry. The next meeting was called for 7:00 a.m. Friday, March 19, 1965. In this meeting it was decided that the Director should get a car for each committee chairman and Morty Schiff would be responsible for installing a radio in each car so they could communicate with each

other, the Selma office, the Mobile Unit office (that traveled along with the marchers), and with the Montgomery office (preparing to receive the marchers at the termination of the March.)

For convenience in purchasing the needed materials, equipment, and securing services, each chairman was furnished a telephone credit card number. Long distance calls were made throughout America to locate the needed services, materials, and equipment when it was discovered that the local businesses had joined together to "refuse to sell" to the marchers.

Coordination of Selma with the Montgomery Offices. --The next logistics committee meeting was called for that night (March 20, 1965) at 1:00 a.m. However, at 8:00 a.m. (Friday, March 19) a conference telephone call was held between Hosea Williams, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Rev. Andrew J. Young, Rev. Walter Fauntroy, Mr. Bayard Rustin, Rev. James Bevel, and Rev. C. T. Vivian. The purposes -- (1) to get a progress report from the logistics committee, (2) to discuss the problems, and (3) to get advice from Bayard, Rustin and Rev. Walter Fauntroy, who had been the key coordinators for the "March on Washington" in 1963.

It was reported that after Judge Johnson's order concerning the March, the Federal Government was willing to accept its responsibility of protection to the Marchers.

Hosea Williams agreed that Rev. Fauntroy should fly down to Montgomery, Alabama immediately and begin coordinating the Montgomery activities with Mr. Myrle Rouss who was at this time the only full-time worker in the Montgomery office. Thus, Mr. Rouss, an executive

of the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles, California, the staff for S.C.L.C. in Montgomery, and the Montgomery Improvement Association became a part of this coordinated effort. The basic needs for the Montgomery office and the March were outlined and the plans were executed Saturday, March 20 and Sunday, March 21, 1965. By Tuesday evening, March 22, thousands of meals were prepared for the influx of marchers on Wednesday and Thursday (March 23 and March 24) and the executive staff had begun to arrive at the base office in Selma and the operation was merged.

Inter-Communications for the Marchers

Welcome to Montgomery

A "Welcome to the March on Montgomery" sheet was handed the participants as they nervously emerged from planes, busses, trains, and automobiles during the week of the March. (see sample below)

SAMPLE:

WELCOME TO THE MARCH ON MONTGOMERY!

This is a significant witness in the lives of many, many people. Our mutual efforts in this march will create an unforgettable impact on the conscience of a nation.

WEDNESDAY, March 24, 1965

All persons arriving on Wednesday will be transported to the City of St. Jude, a large Catholic complex in the southwest sector of Montgomery, on Highway #80. Orientation sessions will be held there for all newcomers; information about housing, food, schedules, security regulations, and events will be given. All groups arriving in their own transportation should proceed directly to St. Jude; groups and individuals arriving commercially will be provided shuttle bus service from all terminals directly to St. Jude. Where time and distance permits, newcomers will be given the opportunity to join the marchers who are now approximately 10 miles from Montgomery.

Encampment for the marchers will be at St. Jude where they are expected to arrive in late afternoon. Newcomers are urged to join. Limited food service (bag suppers) will be available for those who do not have their own food.

A gigantic FREEDOM RALLY at St. Jude will conclude Wednesday's activities. Harry Belafonte will present an evening of entertainment and protest featuring more than thirty international writers, entertainers, and musicians. Among those to appear will be Sammy Davis, Jr., Frank Sinatra, James Baldwin, Mahalia Jackson, Joan Baez, Dick Gregory, Shelley Winters, and many others.

Housing arrangements for those staying in Montgomery on Wednesday are being processed through the sponsoring organizations. Housing assignments will be given at St. Jude's throughout the day.

THURSDAY, March 25, 1965

Thursday is VICTORY DAY. Marchers encamped at St. Jude will assemble between 7:00 AM and 9:00 AM. The March on the Capitol begins at 9:00 AM, with citizens of Montgomery joining the march at various points along the route through the city. The March will culminate at the Capitol at approximately 12:30 PM where the formal program featuring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other leaders of the sponsoring organizations will be featured.

The program at the Capitol is expected to end at 3:00 PM. All participants are urged to disperse with as much efficiency and speed as possible. Chartered busses will be boarded at Patterson Field, about three blocks Northeast of the Capitol. Stragglers must not remain in the city.

We invite our many friends and supporters across the nation to join us in making this dramatic event a symbol of our unrelenting efforts to achieve justice and dignity for each man.

Drives to participation.--The wording of this greeting "Welcome to Montgomery" was purposely cheerful, but at the same time it warned against any impetuous wandering away from the group. For many, this southward voyage had been extremely frightening; for they experienced hostility, verbal abuse, and threats from southern whites for the first time. The following expressions, made by participants, reveal their emotions concerning the March:

Garry LeLonde, 18

Male - Student

Minneapolis, Minn.

Advance Camp crew

Find it hard to express my feelings toward the city of Selma or my emotions towards the people of the south, My fear of retaliation at various bus depots was supreme because of the fact that we represented civil rights workers coming from the North. The feeling of fear seems to be of paramount importance to me and most of my friends.

Cynthia Foote

Female - Adult

Cambridge, Mass.

SCLC, Tentman

It gave me a very strange sensation to have police force and militia against me here in America.

Rev. Thomas H. Rogers

Male - Minister

Hastings, Minnesota

Tentman

The whole thing is almost unbelievable. I came to observe, to identify myself with the cause of human freedom. I sympathize with the cause of human freedom/with the cause of the Negro community, but I pity the soul-sickness of the whites. I still can't believe that this could happen in America.

Kathleen Donaghue

Female - Student

Minneapolis, Minn.

This is my first experience with actual segregation and I cannot believe it. How people can deny other Americans the basic human rights is nauseating. I've seen people with scars and bruises and I still can't believe it. The M.P.'s look like such nice guys. It's too bad they're twisted. A friend and I helped move some beans from one church to another. Now, I found out that he might be killed because he was seen with a white girl. What a wonderful country....and what lovely people.

Dr. Joseph Lenzo

Male - Doctor

Highland Pk., Michigan

Working Selma, First Aid and Camp

Professional evaluation of white attitudes in South, "They're pretty damn sick" He continued, "No respect for law and order. Police don't recognize rights of anyone except the power structure. Average whites have allowed crazy elements to take over. The law is only a tool in the hands of those in power." Dr. Lenzo also noted that "some" violence can come if integration is not allowed to work.

Dr. William P. Weiss
 Male - Doctor
 Bethesda, Md.
 Taking care of sick.

It's real new for a white Northerner to walk down the street at night and be afraid of any whites and relieved when he sees a Negro. Every time you'd see a white man you had an anxiety reaction. In Selma we have a wild collection of people, including Beats and Preachers. This is the first thing since the 30's that can inspire youth.

Accounting Forms and Directions

Personal and/or organization information.--It was requested that out-of-state participants complete the following forms:

1. Personal Information Sheet
 2. Organization Information Sheet
- (See Appendix II for complete form)

These forms supplied the director's office with such information as; name, address, telephone number (local and permanent), nearest relative's address and phone numbers, organization represented, occupation, the choice of participation, etc.

Instruction and activity sheets.--The staff volunteers for each committee were given specific instructions sheets such as the ones in Appendix II, C - F.

These forms contained the plane, bus, and train schedules for the week beginning March 20, 1965 through March 27, 1965. This information was necessary so that persons on the transportation committee could meet the individuals and escort them to the Selma or Montgomery headquarters.

Also, forms were issued that furnished the respective committee members with the detailed program for the day-by-day activities planned for the week of the March. The plans included a map of the St. Jude

Campsite where the performers; Sammy Davis, Jr., Mahalia Jackson, Odetta, Dick Gregory, Bobby Darin, Chod Mitchell Trio, Harry Belafonte, Tony Bennett, Nina Simone, Nipsi Russell, Billy Eckstine, Alan King, and George Kirby were scheduled to appear (See sample leaflet (typed) in Appendix II-G).

Requisition and petty cash forms.--Requisition forms for money, food, materials, clothing, medical supplies, etc. had to be submitted to the proper committee chairman and if the requisition called for cash purchases to be made by the individual making the request a Petty Cash Voucher had to be submitted also. (See samples in Appendix II-H and I)

Telephone message forms.--Telephone messages that came through any of the six or more offices were recorded on forms and radioed and/or dispatched to the sound truck or traveling office. In case of an emergency, the scouts would relay the message to the marshals by 2-way radio and the individual would be summoned. (See Appendix II-J for a copy of the form)

The aforementioned descriptions and examples of the organizational structure of the March are but a sampling of the many forms and plans utilized for the Selma to Montgomery March. The locale of the Selma - Montgomery March is shown in the sketch of the March (Figure 13, p. 113).

Realization of the purpose.--The purpose and objectives of the March were realized to a greater extent than anticipated. The purpose being to demonstrate to the world that more than 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation was signed into law, the Negro is not free

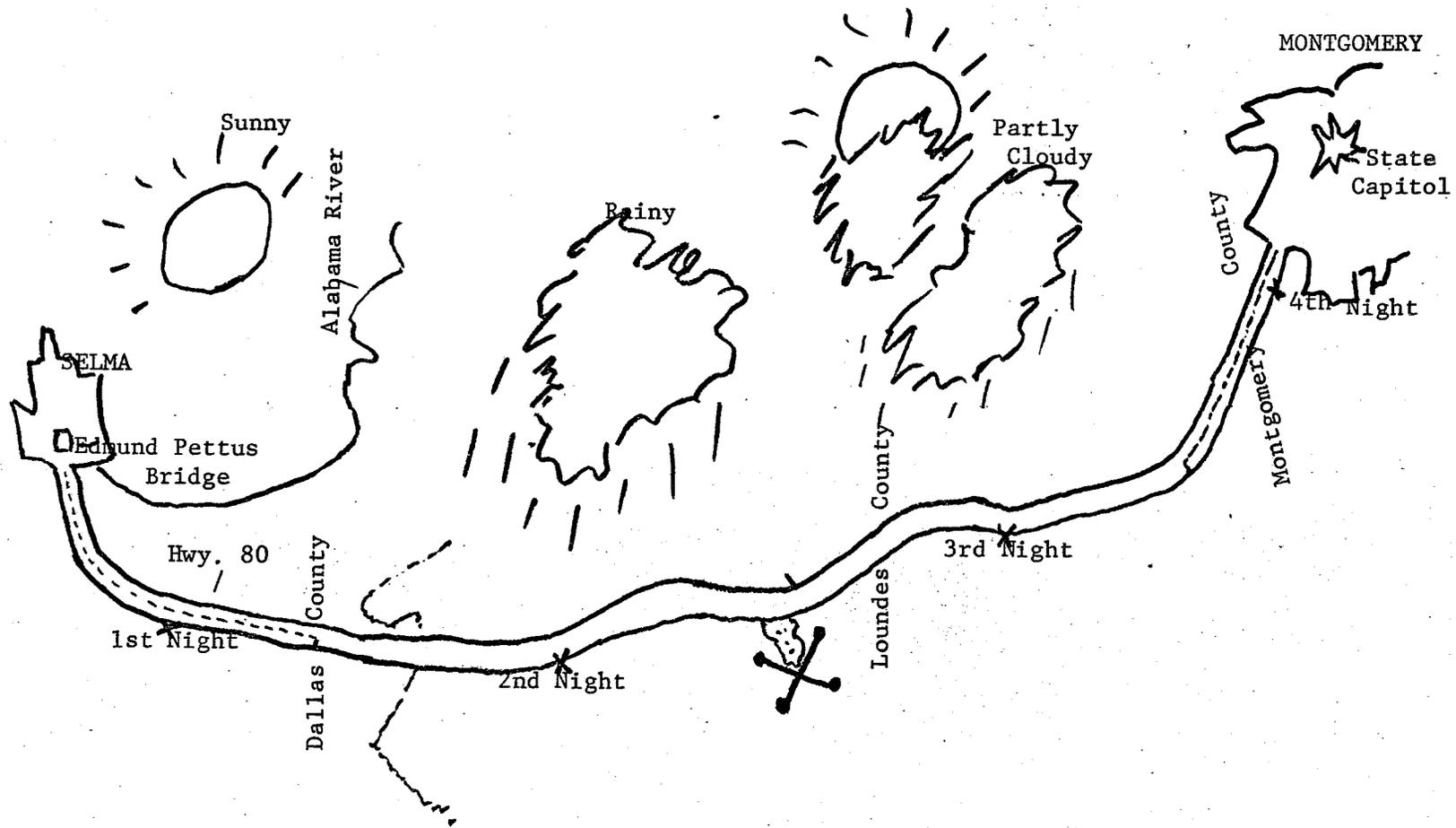


Fig. 13.--Drawing of the March route showing the campsites and the point where Mrs. Luizzo was murdered.

in these United States. The foremost objective being to involve as many people as possible from all over the world so that they could experience first-hand the injustices, cruelties, and segregational patterns that still hold the black man in slavery. Proof of the effectiveness of the March lies in the psychologic-climate that prevailed as revealed by the succeeding emotional and aesthetic reactions of the participants as expressed in the quotes below.

Paul F. Kleyanan
Male - Student
Mpls., Minn.
Communications staff and
Advanced camp crew

Although the preliminary picture is one of confusion, the organization is quite efficient. The local people are extremely helpful to all of the out-state workers. Several persons from Selma have walked up and extended their hands to me with no more reason than to say 'hello' and 'we're glad to have you.' This sort of thing counteracts the couple of incidents of hatred I've encountered and makes me more than glad I came.

Susan Stanich Abrams
Female
Minneapolis, Minn.
Tent worker

Impressed with the sincerity of the outsiders here, but most with the sincerity and hospitality of the local people. Did not think it possible to feel part of a group, and especially not so quickly. The dynamic, creative force of the movement is emotionally satisfying and when combined with a morally-right cause, is a complete and beautiful thing. Of course it hasn't sunk in yet.

Lonnie O. Adkins
Male
St. Paul, Minn.
tent man

As a member of the guilty american society, I must finally accept some responsibility and help to free myself. I have observed determination, denial and total sacrifice on the part of the freedom walkers.... the unyielding hate of the local whites....supremacy at the cost of decency.

Richard Laurence
Male
Chicago, Illinois
Represented Campus Christian Association

'One can't stand around and watch one's brothers treated inhumanly without becoming inhuman myself.'

John C. Thomas

Male

Mound, Minn.

Univ. of Minn. Student Assoc. Human Relations Commission

Tent crew

I am amazed and favorable impressed by the fine caliber of people (and their number) who have come down here to work. I notice in the local whites a kind of generalized hostility to any Northerners that changes only in degree from person to person. Just as I am impressed with the caliber of people, so the area newspapers seem impressed with leftists--thus, in their minds, communist infiltration of the movement.

Ted Messeret

Male

Minneapolis, Minn.

Univ. of Minn.: Students for Integration

Observation tents, march, chartered bus

Here you have something like 500 (at least) people wanting to do something and bored at sitting around and doing nothing, and the only thing you do with them is feed them. SCLC must be rich! Surely you could have utilized this potential somehow. Aren't there some homes that need fixing up? I would have loved to help!

Burt Wallrich

Male

San Francisco

Radio Operator (occupation)

Because I couldn't set on my bottom any longer.

Ahurus Jackson

Male

Staunton, Na.

Andover Newton Theological School, SCLC Boston

Very impressive...I am particularly impressed with the attempts to organize the rural communities. More must be done about political education for people here. I was jailed and threatened to be beaten by a cop when we went to the white neighborhood. The greatest thing is the opportunity to see the courage and determination of so many local people. Although apathy is also noticeable among too many.

Rev. Leonard R. Mitchell

Male

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dr. of Youth, Minn. State Convention of National Baptist churches

Camp housing and logistics, Communications, press

As a Negro, after the shock of the state of martial law that exists in Selma, especially by seeing the lack of concern by the Federalized Alabama National Guard Troopers. I found that the decrepid housing

that existed even exceeded the most horrible picture that existed in the mind. I do not feel that any non-Southerner can ever fully describe his or her experiences in Selma and be believed. Even though I considered by self a seasoned veteran of Human Rights Wars in Nashville, Knoxville, Birmingham, etc. I felt like a raw recruit here in Selma.

Eugene White
Male - Student
Lake, Ill.
Tent man

I feel that the problem that we are confronted with here in the U.S. can not be solved until everyone has equal opportunity, the right to vote, and an education with which to evaluate the events that occur in the world today. I find that the people in Selma are full of spirit, especially the children and they are determined to overcome the supression that they have been subject to.

Rev. Harold G. Freeman
Male
Hastings, Minn.
Committee of concern of the Twin Cities
Tent maker

My motivation was to become personally involved with this long-overdue battle. I also wish to take as much of the atmosphere and need to my people and help interpret the needs of the Negro. I firmly believe we are not a free country as long as these conditions are allowed to exist. The mood of compassion for the 'sick' white people is overwhelming and we owe our thanks to the Negro for his non-violence. This locked in hatred of the white was shown to us in Nashville, Tennessee and in Birmingham in the bus depots.

The March route into Montgomery was issued to the proper March personnel and State and Federal Troop personnel. The wording was:

Route of the march in Montgomery.--

Marchers will enter the city following Route 80 until it becomes Fairview Avenue and continue on Fairview to Oak Street turning North on Oak Street to Jeff Davis Avenue; then East on Jeff Davis to Holt Street; then North on Holt to Mobile Street; then on Mobile to Montgomery; then Northeast on Montgomery to Court Square; then up Dexter Avenue to the Capitol. The March in the city will be in the streets.

At the same time this March route was circulated the following telegram was sent to Governor Wallace:

TEXT OF TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR WALLACE

HONORABLE GEORGE C. WALLACE
Governor of Alabama

Dear Governor Wallace:

On Thursday, March 25, 1965 at 1:30 PM a group of Alabama citizens representing lovers of democracy, will arrive at the State Capitol and at your office. They are desirous of presenting to you a petition.

We respectfully request that you receive this delegation.

Signed

Fred D. Gray
Attorney for the Petitioners

Outstanding march participants.---There were many outstanding people that journeyed to Selma, the St. Jude Campsite, and to Montgomery who were not mentioned in magazines, newspapers, etc. This writer does not wish to give the impression that these individuals were any more important than either of the other thousands of marchers whose names are unknown, except to their families and friends. However, because of the subject of this research "The Impact of Education, Socio-Economic Status, and Self-Concept on Out-of-State Participants in Selma, Alabama Movement Dissent March, 1965," it is paramount to name some of the dignitaries that took an active part in the March.

The list includes:

Dr. Harry B. Gibson, District Superintendent, Methodist Church of Chicago

Mr. Merlyn Northfelt, District Superintendent of Rockford, Illinois. - Methodist Informant stated that in Methodist Hierarchy these positions are comparable to that of Cardinals and Bishops, they are the top men in the Methodist Church in the Chicago area - over all other ministers.

Rev. Lynwood Stevenson, President of Woodlawn, an important Civic Organization.

Rev. David D. Readye, Dist. Superintendent of the Chicago AME Church.

Cleve McDowell - the second Negro to attend Ole Miss. - University of Mississippi.

Important leaders of the United Auto Workers such as: James Wright, International Representative.

Same for United Packing House Workers - top representatives.

A number of Civil Right leaders such as the executive Director of 'Home, Inc.' Couldn't remember his name. HOME is Home Opportunities Made Equal,

Alderman Leon Depres, leading alderman of the City of Chicago, white, independent, supports Civil Rights

Alderman Charles Chew, Democrat, also an important sponsor of the flight.

MARCH ON MONTGOMERY

VIP LIST ARRIVALS

MARCH 24

Chicago, Illinois' Civic Liberty League

A. R. Leaf	S. Freeman
Wm. L. Lambert	Rev. Edmond Blair
Rev. M. W. Sall	Rev. Elmer L. Fowler
Rev. H. B. Brady	Rev. W. N. Wordlow
Rev. M. Qynes	

NORTHERN ILLINOIS MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION OF THE CHURCH OF GOD, CHICAGO

Rev. Claude S. Wyatt

UNITED PACKINGHOUSE FOOD AND ALLIED WORKERS AFL-CIO DIST. 1

Leon Rice

FREE SONS OF ISRAEL

Edward V. Morand

Fr. John Carroll
Catholic Institute for Blind

Rev. Robert Brown
Stanford, Calif.

Rev. Harvey Cox
SCLC

Dr. Jack Mendelsohn
Boston, Mass.

Rev. Tex Sample
Mass. Council of Churches

Mr. & Mrs. Robert Allen
Union, N. J.
New Jersey Society for
Integration & Equality in
Education

Frank Ramsey
Milton, Mass.

James Amory
International Garment Workers
Lancaster, Pa.

John Betcher
National Education
Baltimore, Md.

Robert Gist
Screen Actor's Guild

Gary Merrill
Movie Star

Steven Marlo
Screen Actor Guild

Dr. Pyron McMillan
Moderator - Presbyterian
Synod California

Professor Russell Moran
U. of Illinois
Champaign, Illinois

Robert Noble M.D.
Lakeville, Conn.

Marc Swartz
New Haven, Connecticut

Harvey Zorbaugh
National Ed. Association

The Saga of the Researcher's Diary Written
During the Selma - Montgomery March

The subsequent pages contain excerpts from the writer's personal diary of the Selma to Montgomery March. It is hoped that the inclusion of these narrations will enhance the reader's understanding and appreciation of the thousands of people who participated in and contributed to this memorable event that according to Bruce Galphin,

had far greater symbolic punch than any other previous civil rights crisis.

There is a sense of history being made - part of it tangible, in the form of the voting rights bill the President has sent to Congress, part

of it an intangible sense that this is a turning point: the end of an era, or the beginning of one, depending on how you view it.¹

Moreover, this writer is attempting to denounce the accusations by Representative William L. Dickinson, 1965 Republican from Alabama and the professed witnesses such as Kenneth Lawrence and an "un-named" reporter in Robert M. Mikell's book *Selma*, that sex orgies and drunkenness were prevalent during the Selma demonstrations.

At the same time, this writer feels compelled to commend Captain Wilson Baker, 1965 Public Safety Director of Selma, Alabama who was reported in the *Atlanta Inquirer*, May 15, 1965, as insisting,

. . . he knows of no 'sex pictures' made during the recent Selma-to-Montgomery racial march. . . . he was present during at least 95 percent of the time when street confrontations between racial demonstrators and officers took place in Selma preceding the actual march. . . . he did not witness the type of immorality described in charges before congress by Rep. William Dickinson. . . . we have no film and have never had any, nor do we know where there is any.

First Day of the March

The City of Selma.--My family arrived in Selma, Alabama on a beautiful Sunday morning. The sedate little city looked just like any other small town. You could imagine hearing music in the background as you went along. We passed nicely-kept houses on streets of trees, but all were immaculately neat. We saw the white residents going to church unaware, or seemingly unmindful, of what was going

¹Bruce Galphin, "American Historians View the Significance of Selma." Atlanta Constitution (March 25, 1965).

on about them.

We crossed over into the Negro neighborhood. There was no need for anyone to say that this was the Negro neighborhood. Anyone could identify the small, unpainted, closely-knit houses that are so typical of Negro neighborhoods everywhere in America. Poverty, depression, hopelessness and despair are all evident. These are the unfortunates who are leading and supporting this present civil rights protest movement. These are the neighborhoods that produce the youngsters who are not afraid and not ashamed to march and demonstrate for freedom. On their shoulders, ragged and burdened with the trials of living, rests the hope of the so-called middle class society of Negroes who wait patiently for the door to be opened and then hurry in to enjoy the fruits from the labor of the people they never even speak to.

An ungrateful man is like a hog under a
tree eating acorns, but never looking up to
see where they come from.

..Timothy Dexter

When we reached the area where all of the preparation had been organized for this great March, we were enthralled over the activity going on. People, people, people - black, white, yellow and brown were mingling about the entire area which took in a whole block.

One church was at one end of the block and another at the other end. Both sides of this block were lined with housing projects. Some of these people hurried busily in one direction or another while others stood or walked aimlessly about not knowing what to do, but wait. We, as a people, have been endowed with great patience. We

are accustomed to waiting!

Buddha says,

the greatest prayer is patience.

The march begins.--King (Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.), was supposed to have arrived here in Selma at 9:45 A.M., but since the crowd was not as large as he anticipated and hoped for, he deliberately held up the March which was to have begun at 10:00 A.M. until more participants arrived.

The crowd of approximately 4,500 or more mingled about anxiously and questioningly. This delay was a great imposition upon these faithful, yet skeptical followers. To have to endure this idleness was torture, especially in lieu of not knowing what lay ahead.

State patrolmen, army soldiers, and city policemen waited along the route looking first one way and then another. Helicopters circled the area protectively. Yet, all wondered - all hoped - all prayed!

At long last, the marshals began the line-up. Dr. King, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Five Elderly Rabbi, several Nuns, many Priests, Ministers, and the director of the March, Hosea L. Williams and his co-workers were in the lead with their families.

United States Flag bearers were spaced significantly throughout the lines because a rebel flag is still hanging atop the capitol in Montgomery, Alabama in 1965 and that is our destination, the state capitol.

One report was that there were 10,000 marchers, but there is no way of actually counting the total number of participants. Some marchers left the ranks at intervals and many, many others joined in, leaving

their automobiles parked along the way.

The first stop was after the marchers had crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge. This is the point where the marchers had been beaten, gassed, cow prodded and chased back two weeks before, March 7, 1965, when Hosea L. Williams and John Lewis were attempting to lead a much smaller group in a protest demonstration. This is also the same spot where Dr. King was turned back March 9, 1965, when he had again attempted the Demonstration March.

First rest period and lunch.--Our first rest period was called for 15 minutes on the highway. Along the embankment, utility trucks served sandwiches, soft drinks, cookies, and candy.

Soldiers on jeeps patrolled the ditches and the march marshals walked up and down among the group to see that everyone remained together. Spotters went into the bushes and even across the railroad tracks that ran directly in front of the resting marchers.

Helicopters hovered low circling the highway above and directly behind the relaxing marchers as state and city policemen parked nearby with motors running.

No one was allowed to stray away from the crowd. As far down the highway as the human eye could see, people were sitting and standing on the embankment talking and laughing as though this was a picnic or social gathering. But, beneath the outward folly lurked memories that caused hearts to flutter and throats to become dry at the thought of what could lie ahead.

A group of youngsters assembled to sing freedom songs to ease the anxieties. They sang and clapped during the entire rest period....

(See words to songs in Appendix II-K)

'I Woke Up This Morning With My Mind,
Stayed on Freedom'

'I'm on My Way to Freedom Land'

'Everywhere I go, I'm Gonna Let It Shine'

'We shall Overcome'

It took a few minutes to get lined up again and be on our way, feeling better. (??)

There were people all along the way who waved and clapped. There were other people (white) who made faces, hollered profane words and phrases like "Nigger Lovers" - "Black Bastards" - "Black Scum" - "Communists" and all of the other familiar welcomes.

We smiled and we greeted them with "Don't holler - Follow"

Second rest period.--The second rest period was across from Craig Air Force Base. Singing, clapping, happy and rejoicing, we took to the hillside.

No refreshments were issued at this time; only resting and stimulation for our "then-weary" souls by singing. We watched the photographers take pictures of Dr. King and the other celebrities as we sat in the midst of the youngsters who sang the well-known freedom songs of the movement.

'All Over Washington, I'm Gonna Let It Shine'
'Tell Governor Wallace, I'm Gonna Let It Shine'
'Freedom! Freedom! Now! Now!
'What Side Are You On?'
'I Wonder Can You Hear the Freedom Bells,
Toiling, Way Over Yonder
'Have You Been to the Polls? Certainly Lord!

Third rest period.--The third rest period was quite different from the others. There was no gaiety and very little singing this time.

Marchers were noticeably tired.

Dr. King and his colleagues were no where in sight now because this writer had gotten pushed far back in line as we scrambled to line up after rest periods. We can see a huddle not too far away and this writer presumes that Dr. King is over there surrounded by photographers, bodyguards, newsmen, etc.

Hosea Williams was still, very actively, moving back and forth among the line. Smiling reassuringly to the tired - but - spirited throng. His voice could be heard clearly leading freedom songs and shouting greetings from one to another of the marchers.

We were surrounded by state patrolmen, military policemen in jeeps, photographers on horseback, and about fifty to seventy-five plains-clothesmen in cars as we turned off the highway. Negro and white spectators stood side by side (in their respective groups) watching, some waved and some shouted the usual hate remarks that were directed more at the white participants than at the black. It was very obvious that more hate flared in the eyes of the white spectators against the white. They seemed to forget just how much they hated Negroes in their rage against the white marchers - who gave when they could have received!

It is not what the world gives me
In Honor, praise or gold;
It is what I do give the world,
So others do unfold.

If by my work through life I can
Another soul unfold,
Then I have done what cannot be
Made good, by praise or gold.

One tiny thought in tiny word
May give a great one birth,

And, if that thought was caused by me,
I lived a life of worth.

----Richard F. Wolfe

First night: its challenges.--Two very large tents and two smaller tents were centered on the field. They were surrounded by trucks carrying toilets for men and women, Mobile Office Trailer, the First Aid Trailer and other trucks used for hauling camp equipment and workers, staff cars, and an unaccountable number of security (radio equipped cars. Inside one of the large tents, the exhausted marchers slumped down on their coats and blankets while in the other large tent, youngsters kept up a continuous round of singing, clapping, and shouting.

In one of the small tents, the newsmen and reporters held a news conference with Dr. King and the other dignitaries. The other small tent was the improvised kitchen.

After the news conference, photographers moved among the campers snapping pictures, asking questions, and taking notes while outside food was being served to the long lines of campers. Slowly the non-camping marchers began leaving for their respective designations (mostly back to Selma).

Hub-bub among campers was evident as the weary, sore, and aching marchers awoke after sleeping on blankets, blown-up mattresses, in sleeping bags (homemade and storebought), or lying sleeplessly awake throughout the night.

All during the night, first one thing and then another occurred to disallow sleep or rest for these soldiers. One slight, though obvious, predicament caused most of the turmoil. NO ONE MARKED THE TENTS

WOMEN (for women) and MEN (for men) thinking it understood that the sexes would be separate. The Nuns, Priests, and older people were disturbed to the point of hysteria that the youngsters had prepared to bed down in any available space in both tents.

Hosea, the director, was summoned to restore tranquility to the bedlam and mark the tents but by this time, many were wide awake and unable to fall asleep.

The younger set sang freedom songs and played boisterously until late in the night, then they fell asleep exhausted after making sleep impossible for most of the adults.

It was extremely cold and damp. Little warmth was received from the two heaters which insisted on cutting off periodically. Indeed, this was a sacrifice after walking most of the day.

Second Day of the March

Terrible Lowndes County.--The morning sun peered down cautiously offering brightness but little warmth. However, with the anticipation of a new day approaching, spirits began to rise and by the time of actual departure (around 8:00 A.M.) stepping was spry and singing was loud and clear. We had almost forgotten that we were headed for Lowndes County, the most feared county in this part of Alabama because of the brutal and inhumane treatment repeatedly imposed on Negroes by the policemen and Klu Klux Klan in that area.

Second rest period.--After the second rest period, the March was halted and the succeeding announcement was made: "We must now cut our marching line down to a 300 accurate count," Rev. Andrew Young informed the large gathering,

"County officials will only allow 300 marchers to pass through Lowndes County for security reasons."

Deciding who would be allowed to continue marching took about forty-five minutes or an hour. The following groups were formed: First - the marchers from Marion assembled together making Group #1; the marchers from Selma made Group #2; and the out-of-towners made up Group #3. Persons were then selected from each group. It was explained by Rev. Young that it was very important to keep a propoortunate number of white participants in the lines because,

We are in this movement together, what helps one group, helps us all, we are; in fact, all one.

Rev. Young's words reminded this writer of Goethe's saying,

I find the great thing in this world is,
not so much where we stand, as in what
direction we are moving.

The final 300.--We were then told to march three abreast, making certain to stay in line and remain on the left side of the white line that divided this narrow stretch of highway in half.

Included in the 300 marchers chosen was a 65 year old woman from Atlanta who has been active in the movement for civil liberties since the early thirties, beginning with the Scottsboro Case and the National Textile Workers' Strike. Her son, who is blind, marches also, led by a Negro settlement-house worker from Boston. She has another son, also blind, and lives with them in a sharecropper's shack. Her husband became involved in civil rights many years ago after helping a sick Negro boy. She continued the work after his death, and has been jailed six times because of it.

The line of march, which will end tonight with the group camped 22 miles from Selma, is predominantly composed of people from the four oppressed counties surrounding Selma: Fifteen from Maringo, 21 from Wilcox, 89 from Perry, and 148 from Dallas County. The marchers will pass Larry's Auto Shop, which has a history of being a gathering place for the more violent elements of the Klu Klux Klan in Lowndes County. The security arrangements for the March have been beefed up today because of the danger involved in this particular area. The oak trees grow thicket-like close to the road, and while it would be difficult for a marksman to escape, it would not be difficult for a person to try to endanger the marchers in some way.

Tension was high among the "now-small" group of marchers. This writer marched on the fifth row from the front line where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy were in the lead positions.

Directly in front of me were two Nuns. They were like guiding angels of protection in their all-black habits, stepping spryly, smiling sweetly and encouragingly to everyone. They seemed to never tire and their strength and stamina radiated back and forth among those close around them.

Walking beside our trio was one of the physicians for the March clutching his medicine bag in his right hand and displaying his white armband with the symbolic Red Cross standing out sharp and clear on his left arm.

Looking up at the beautiful blue of the skies with their floating white clouds that seemed to be enveloping the loud hum of the helicopters, this writer searched her memory for words that would calm the

storm that was raging within her body. The words of Hood began to focus in her mind,

The decisive man walks by the light of his own judgement; he has made up his mind; and, having done so, henceforth, action is before him. He cannot bear to sit amidst unrealized speculation; to him speculation is only valuable that it may be resolved into living and doing.¹

First rest in Lowndes County and lunch.--Our first rest period in Lowndes County was on the gravelled shoulder of the highway. Behind us was a wooded area which was speckled with the brown drab of the military patrols who searched constantly for any evidence of bombs or unwanted visitors.

Dr. King was protectively surrounded by security agents, reporters and photographers, and "just people" who for some reason or another wanted to be close to "their leader."

We were issued bags containing a tuna sandwich, a jelly and peanut butter sandwich, an apple, a candy bar and offered either cold chocolate or water to drink.

For some "known" reason no one seemed hungry but we all forced down at least one sandwich and either the apple or candy bar, gulping down as much water or chocolate as they would allow us.

Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.²

¹Paxton Hood, "Decision," Leaves of Gold (Williamsport, Pennsylvania: Coslett Publishing Co., 1960), p. 12.

²Ibid., Henry W. Longfellow, "Patience," p. 12.

So, we resumed our March through Lowndes County. This writer was somehow placed further back in line this time (about tenth back from the front). This time there was a white man from Saginaw, Michigan in front of us who had only one leg and hobbled on crutches. He was a muscular man and heavy on his one leg. Perspiration ran down his face profusely and the redness of sunburn showed through the strain on his brow. With every thump, thump of his crutches on the uneven gravelled highway, pains shot through this writer's body as she shared his torture and marveled at his courage. Several times he had to get out of the line, but then he would somehow catch up and absorb his space before us.

Suffering overcomes the minds inertia,
develops the thinking powers, opens up
a new world, and drives the soul to action.¹

Second rest in Lowndes County.--The second rest period was welcomed! Tired bodies fell to the ground and aching feet throbbed as constantly as the rhythm of regular heartbeats.

A car stopped above the line of resters and we were delighted to see Coretta Scott King (Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.) join our line. She was serene and beautiful as always and went about hugging and shaking hands with old and new acquaintances. As she joined her husband, reporters and photographers convulged upon the small area where they sat on logs, to ask questions and snap pictures. This time we were surrounded by a beautiful pasture in front and wooded area to the rear.

¹Ibid., Anthony Evans, "Suffering," p. 13.

All along the route were individuals or groups of people waving, cheering and offering prayers for the marchers. Little children, dirty and forlorn, stood with their families in front of weather-beaten, broken-down farm shells. They looked in amazement deciding rather to wave back or not. Finally, a little hand would rise hesitatingly and slowly and small, brown fingers would flutter as a slight smile came through trembling lips.

What lay behind these brown-black eyes of disillusionment, what thoughts ran through these minds that could be potential geniuses if given the proper nourishment of education, health, and motivation. Abram J. Ryan must have known such children when he wrote "The Rosary of My Tears,"

Some reason their age by years,
Some measure their life by art;
But some tell their days by the
 flow of their tears,
And their lives by the moans
 of their heart.

.....

For the young are oft-times old,
Though their brows be bright and fair;
While their blood beats warm,
 their hearts are cold,
O'er them, the spring - but
 winter is there.

.....

Reporters and photographers were alert; at every opportunity they went out to these observers, asking questions, jotting notes and taking pictures. What did they do with this information and with these pictures?

Again all of our observers were not friendly. We passed white farmhouses too. Most of them were freshly painted and neatly landscaped or surrounded by pastures with fat, healthy-looking cows and bulls that lazily looked up, their faces as expressionless as their white owners who stared. Some of the whites who stood silently by and a few of the Negroes spoke with their eyes. As our eyes met theirs seemed to shoot hate out like bullets from a soldier's gun and try as we would to melt the icy stare of hate, only a few showed any sign of weakening or communication of spirit.

WHEN I can look you face to face
 Without the hurt, the fear.
 WHEN I can touch your rosy hand
 Without the inward smear.
 WHEN I can raise my eyes to yours
 Without the hate, the leer.
 THEN all the sufferings of the past,
 are past, and integration is here!

... J. T. Williams

Softly from the back of the line we heard the familiar ring of "We Love Everybody, We Love Everybody, We Love Everybody in our Hearts" joining in softly as the music reached us, we repeated "We Love Everybody, We Love Everybody, We Love Everybody in our Hearts." These words were carried back and forth from the back of the line to the front and back down again very softly and very ardently. We needed this song and its meaning as much as our audience did.

Only God in Heaven knows, but this writer believes that

many hearts met, unknowingly for the moment,
 but the memory will be recalled in quiet solitude
 just as sunshine is recalled during the bitter
 cold of winter.

... J. T. Williams

For this long, long day the director and his committees were organized to the peak of efficiency. The water truck was always near and an assembly line scheme was used to pass out the water and receive the used cups so that no litter would be left on the highway.

The trucks carrying the portable toilets were stationed in convenient spots so that no time would be lost with long lines forming for these facilities.

Third rest in Lowndes County.---The next rest pause was a quiet one. There was not very much conversation. Everyone was tired and happy to have the opportunity to relax by this time. Dr. King's clique retired to a shaded area across the highway from where we were. A cruising U. S. Air Force helicopter hovered directly in front of us with the double propellers going around and around. Soon an army helicopter joined the Air Force helicopter, the two of them creating a noisy disturbance that contrasted the peaceful silence of this repose.

We had two split-second meetings. The first was at a cross-road where a large group had gathered waiting for the marchers. Dr. King stopped to shake hands with members of the group and we sang verses of two freedom songs with the crowd. Certainly these people will long remember having met Dr. King and the marchers personally. The second meeting was near the dilapidated Negro school building.

Second night: an evening of entertainment.---When the green tops of the campsite came into view, we were afraid we were seeing a mirage.

We camped that night in "Steele's Field," several acres of land owned by Mrs. Rosie Steele, 78 year old Negro widow. Mrs. Steele, after hearing President Lyndon B. Johnson say that the marchers had a right to demonstrate, to march, and most of all to vote, took a position in spite of the threats that she had received. Her memorable words being,

At first I didn't think it amounted to much - I guess I've lived too long and just didn't think things would change - until I heard the president's speech the other night. I knew he was my president too.

. . .It don't matter about trouble - we've had troubles ever since we've been born. When they came to me and asked me if they could use my land I felt I couldn't afford to turn them down. If the President can take a stand, I guess I can too. . . .

I don't know, I almost feel like I might live long enough to vote myself.¹

This part of the March was marred by only one incident. Last night as the group was turning into the campsite, four Alabama white teenagers attacked John Napper, a student from San Francisco Theological Seminary, who had stepped from one of the staff cars for a moment. One of the teenagers hit him in the face but he was only slightly injured.

After supper (2 slices of tomatoes, kidney beans, a slice of white bread or a package of 2-double saltine crackers, peaches and cherries, and coffee or water) the weary travelers were hurled from their reclining positions and called "Center Front" for a mass meeting.

¹Afro-American Newspaper, April 3, 1965, p. 1.

A stage was improvised on the back of one of the large trucks with three other trucks forming a semi-circle across the back and on either side. Microphones were placed a-top two crossed poles about the length of a broom stick and held sturdy by tape and bandage strips. A huge search light was placed at each corner; a perfect stage setting!

Then came the entertainment! The beginning was fine; a young man with a guitar began leading freedom songs and the audience joined in enthusiastically, singing and clapping their hands as their bodies swayed from side to side.

'What do ya want?' the leader hollered.
 'Freedom' the audience answered in unison.
 'When?' (leader) 'Now!' (audience)

Followed by the songs,

'Everybody Wants Freedom'
 'I Love Everybody'
 'Keep Your Eyes on The Prize - Hold On'

Then another guitarist joined and the two took turns leading the songs, but as usual, when the newsmen and cameras decided to record and take pictures of the 'show', a group of about 12 or more youngsters went up on the stage to join in leading the songs. Their voices were bad, they sang off key, their clothing was dirty and wrinkled and the boys wore mangled hats or twisted caps. This, however, was their chance to take the spotlight and have their pictures snapped. No one interfered.

Later, an S.C.L.C. official came out and gave about a ten minute talk after which a minister was called to offer prayer. We ended this episode by joining hands and singing "We Shall Overcome" as the

darkness of the night brought into view millions of stars that glittered in the skies above us and the soft breezes carried the message of the song upward and outward to, only God knows where.

Peering into the future.--Standing there in the group but her thoughts apart from the activities going on, this writer looked around. The audience was about evenly divided, black and white, but the faces, lifted and lighted in participation with the occasion, were all the same. Eyes that were saddened by disillusionments, disappointments, and insecurities; were, shining with hope and anticipation for a brighter today, not tomorrow, TODAY. This was a very nostalgic moment and the unrestrained tears dropped slowly down her cheeks, this writer tried to envision each person. What was he thinking now? Where is she from? Why did she come to Alabama? What kind of family was he from?

As this writer thought of the big question mark that seemed to cover the faces of the individuals, she prayed, earnestly and fervently,

God, please, please don't let this all be for nought.
 You said ask and it will be given. You said, Ye are
 your brother's keeper, and You said Love your enemies
 and pray for those that despitefully use you.
 Oh, Lord, hear these your children.

These are your children, though they are somewhat different. But who knows but that this is their mission in life. Most of them are really misfits in society as a whole for some reason or the other. Their faces, manner of dress, behavior, attitudes, personalities, intellect, beliefs, and ideals are unique and obviously aloof from the Accepted mores and folkways of society. They will not

accept things as they are, they strive on, and are nourished by, change. These individuals are everywhere, in every branch and level of the socio-economic, religious, and educational ladder. Thank God for them!

The Third Day of the March

Tuesday, March 23, 1965.--We awoke this morning after a nice warm night to find cloudy skies and rain. But, the March went on as usual, after a late start while marchers were issued rain caps and rain coats (until the supply was exhausted). Spirits were high and steps lively as the showers poured down. It was as though the rain washed out the old spirit of tiredness and brought an extra glow of freshness to the spirits and souls, renewing the faith for victory in our hearts.

First rest - The first rest area was very wooded. Dead limbs hung from dying trees giving the ghostly appearance of an area that has been abandoned except for the snakes and spiders that continue to lurk in the shadows. The ground under these dying trees was becoming soft as the rain tripped down slowly making little paths around and about the marshy area. Grey moss, swayed by the soft windy breezes that were stirring, hung from the trees in thick batches while now and then a spring flowed moodily beneath a shabby bridge.

Occasionally we passed a farm, spreaded peacefully amidst grassy earth or cultivated land being plowed by a lone Negro who was too afraid or too apathetic to wave back to the marchers. For them, it is too late! Or is it?

Third Campsite.--This rainy March stopped a little after the noon hour at the campsite for that day. A much heavier guard was placed around the band of 300 marchers. We were not able to determine why there was so much uneasiness today but soldiers, state patrolmen, and security guards completely surrounded the group in great numbers. No one was allowed to enter the procession after it started. Even the staff-numbered cars that had been delayed at the campsite could not claim their positions in the March nor were they allowed to drive too closely behind the walking participants. These cars were by-waved on far beyond the campsite and made to park, not knowing how or when they would be allowed to join their fellow freedom fighters.

The usual groups of soldiers were spaced up and down the highway and byway and the entrance to the campsite was completely lined with troops and tanks as helicopters circled around and around.

Only 17 miles to go, the walk for today ended at approximately 2:30 p.m. If only it were true that Freedom and Equality are only 17 miles away. How many of us would be anxious to crawl on our bellies like a snake to make those 17 miles?

By Wednesday, the toll of outdoor sleeping on Alabama's hard ground and the agonizing pain of blister-sore feet was mirrored on the faces of our 300 marchers. It was harder to get up and get started but the inspiration for today was that in a little while the other marchers, who had been waiting for these two days through Lowndes County to pass, would rejoin the ranks. Another inspiration booster

was that tonight thousands would be coming to the campsite at St. Jude's Catholic Hospital to witness an array of top entertainers (See Appendix II-G) who were donating their time and money by entertaining people in this March from Selma to Montgomery.

The March was short again today. We reached the double-line two-way highway leading to St. Jude and on to Montgomery where old acquaintances were renewed and new acquaintances made.

Holiday spirit at St. Jude.--Our arrival in St. Jude was like a holiday. People were gathered all along the street and many followed the procession to the campsite where we were all met by chartered busses, cars, and people from every part of the United States including Hawaii, Canada, Japan and probably many other countries.

John T. Faris phrased the occasion beautifully when he wrote,

This, then, is Christianity: to smooth the
barriers and get next to your fellowman.

The beauty of people unified against injustice, bigotry, and discrimination cannot be described adequately.

It had rained again a part of the day and the earth was muddy, damp, and cold. Cars were getting stuck everywhere and some people had discarded their shoes altogether and were trudging about through the slimy mud or walking slowly as the weight of their mud-clogged shoes made steps more and more difficult. Yet, we smiled at one another from our hearts because we knew that the tender light of heaven was in the eyes of those here. Rev. Richard Lawrence, from the Campus Christian Association in Chicago, Illinois, who worked

with the tent crew expressed his feelings thusly,

I am personally overwhelmed by this eminent operation and delighted to serve significantly somewhere in this great chain of effort. My spirits were bolstered every time I'd look up and see Gary Merrill (a movie star who worked and walked all the way) doing more than I was. It's a great place. Every kind of man and woman is here - a parable of the kingdom, perhaps!

It was truly wonderful to be free to love and be loved, to be friendly and have friendship returned, to share a common goal with so many people. This must be the way heaven will be!

GOD GAVE US A GLIMPSE OF HEAVEN

We lived a lifetime in four days in March.
The parable is very clear to me.
The seed was first planted, fathered by God,
Then nourished from within SCLC.
The embryo grew through discomfort and fear,
Prematurely erupted, the birth pains began,
That Sunday on the Edmund Pettus Bridge,
When the suffering and bloodshed, brought forth
man.

We lived a lifetime in four days in March.
The memories are very dear to me.
With one goal in mind, working side by side,
All day and all night for no fee,
These strangers, these races, these religions, et al,
American Democracy was living here.
The world should take heed as to how it was done
Then, the heaven we glimpsed will be near.

We lived a lifetime in four days in March.
A journey made to rid the world of hate.
Our faces charred and drawn, limping, striving on,
Toward those waiting at St. Jude's gate.
The people - all busy, all friendly, all kind,
T'was heaven on earth, a dream that came true,
A memory to recall when in need or in doubt,
That's why God gave us this view.

We lived a lifetime in four days in March.
 The experience was worth more than gold.
 The fears, the cheers, the taunting, hating
 jeers,
 Were a part of Christ's journey retold,
 To love in return for hate, to forgive in
 your heart,
 Ever faithful to the cause of liberty,
 To offer one's life is a very small sacrifice,
 Toward the dream of all men being free.

J.T.W.

In reality this was not the end of the March from Selma to Montgomery. But this writer felt as a part of the 300 marchers who made the entire journey, it was the climax to an event that directly influenced the inclusion of the new Civil Right's Voting Law into the Constitution of the United States. The remaining events were marred by disappointment and disillusionment when Governor George Wallace refused to meet with the delegation from the "March" after the huge throng (100,000) reached the capitol building.

Then uncertainty and confusion resulted when the protection of the federalized troops and army personnel was bluntly withdrawn from the demonstrators as soon as the meeting at the capitol had ended. This left the thousands of out-of-city participants stranded and alone. Then a barrier was set up around the entire area of the capitol separating the demonstrators and forcing them to wander for blocks before they could find the church where they were to meet for transportation back to Selma or to bus stations, train stations, airport or the hundreds of private cars that had been parked along the route into Montgomery.

Finally, tragedy and death, as the Klu Klux Klansmen and bigots began crawling out of their sewers to resume where they had left off on Bloody Sunday. Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a white, female marcher from Detroit, Michigan, was shot in the head twice dying instantly, as she was returning to Montgomery in her car to help bring the people who were stranded in Montgomery back to Selma.

This writer feels that the preceding incidents are the continuing tragedies that have plagued the Negro and other minority groups since before the days of Jesus Christ. How and when the end to these atrocities will be written is in the plan of our Father in Heaven.

It is not our task to question,
 But to labor hard and wait,
 For even though the days be many,
 They are numbered and He's never late.

J.T.W.

Now, as in the past, the life and death of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, teaches christians that they must understand their brother's actions even when those actions are directed against them - to destroy them mentally and physically.

--To love in return for hate, to forgive in
 your heart; ever faithful to the cause of
 liberty.
 To offer one's own life is a very small
 sacrifice;
 Toward the dream of all men being free.

J.T.W.

"It was then, as it is now, the desire of man to utterly destroy that which he fears most," said Rev. John L. Davis.¹ The white man subconsciously fears the Negro for many and varied reasons and because of this fear he is determined to keep the black man mentally suppressed and physically oppressed in the hope that his manhood will remain dormant forever. The fear that the white man has for the Negro is more evident when the white female is involved in any association with the Negro male no matter how meaningless the association is.

In Robert M. Mikell's book, Selma, are excellent examples of how this fear of the Negro has caused the white man to become mentally and physically blind to reality. His "blue eyes" have been trained to prejudge actions and distorte views to conform with his ignorance and bigotry. A typical example of this practice is the many lies that were printed in Mikell's book such as the one quoted below:

During one of the night camps, a white girl from a northern state told me that she had come south for the purpose of getting pregnant by a southern Negro. Also, there was a pregnant, unmarried, white girl found in the back seat with a Negro man.²

So acute is the fear the white man has that the Negro male is sexually superior to the white male that Dr. William H. Masters and Mrs. Virginia E. Johnson of St. Louis, Missouri worked twelve years on a detailed study of "sexual stimuli and responses." They studied

¹Rev. John L. Davis, "Arrest, Trial and Conviction of Jesus," Atlanta Daily World, March 23, 1967, p. 1.

²Robert M. Mikell, Selma (Charlotte, N. C.: Citadel Press, 1965), p. 88.

382 women and 312 men during sexual intercourse by the use of movie cameras, electronic equipment and personal observations. The title of their book is Human Sexual Response and it was written primarily to be studied by members of the medical profession to aid them in their treatment of sexual inadequacies and furnish data on "physiological reactions of bodily organs during sexual intercourse."¹

These authors concluded that there were no differences in the responses of Negroes and whites; thus, opening the way to remove one of the largest stumbling blocks in the racial dilemma today.

Francis Ward offers the succeeding reaction:

This finding that Negroes have no superior sexuality makes a lie of centuries of distortion by whites who built the Negro male into a ravaging animal with a voracious sex appetite for every white female in sight. This deeply ingrained misconception also pictured the Negro female as a short-skirted, morally-loose feline whose No. 1 preoccupation was sexual pleasure.²

Fears imprison the heart and mind of Negroes just as fears cloud the vision of white men. The fears, however, are as different as the causes. The Negro's fears are not the result of fallacies and suppositions but the result of a long history of "purges, persecutions, prosecutions, and promises." Fears that were nourished by the blood of thousands of enslaved black men, women, and children when George Moses Horton wrote,

¹Francis Ward, "Negroes Studied During Sex Act," Jet, Vol. XXX, No. 6 (May 19, 1966), p. 49.

²Ibid., pp. 46-47.

Alas! and am I born for this,
 To wear this slavish chain?
 Deprived of all created bliss,
 Through hardship, toil and pain!

Oh, Heaven! and is there no relief
 This side the silent grave--
 To soothe the pain-to quell the grief
 And anguish of a slave?

to the fears that Dorothy Sterling expresses in her book for children entitled Mary Jane. The fictional character, Mary Jane, was the first Negro to enter Wilson High School and the writer describes the experience thusly,

The second day at Wilson was a little better than the first. Now that she knew what to expect, Mary Jane concentrated on not listening to the shouts and screams. She marched up the steps with her head high, as if she were sniffing pies in Heaven. She marched up the steps like Joan of Arc and the Mary Jane who had said she was going to school to get an education, not to socialize.¹

Lines of communication and understanding are improving gradually between the races. This writer hesitates to say between black and white because she agrees with Richard Wright in his book, White Man Listen, when he answers the question "What is a White Man?" Mr. Wright explains that there is no such race of human beings as white people neither scientifically nor biologically. The term is a distinct image in the minds of Asian-African people evolving from the historical or sociological point of view. Actually,

¹Dorothy Sterling, Mary Jane (New York; Scholastic Book Services, 1959), p. 60.

a 'white man' is a man with blue eyes, a white skin, and blond hair, and that 'white man' wishes fervently that his eyes remain forever blue, his skin forever white, and his hair forever blond, and he wishes this for his children and his children's children.¹

The objectives of the civil rights organizations today and the purposes of the demonstrations such as the Selma to Montgomery March are our way of opening the eyes of the white man to the fact that the inalienable rights; life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are not his alone merely because his eyes are blue.

The Program for the climax of the March from Selma to Montgomery, the Petition that was finally delivered to Governor George Wallace, and an Approximate Financial Recapitulation of the March, are found in Appendix II-L, M, and N., respectively.

¹Richard Wright, White Man Listen (New York: Anchor Books, 1964), p. 15.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introductory Statement

The problem involved in this study was to ascertain the impact of educational status, socio-economic status, and self-concept on the out-of-state persons who participated in the Selma to Montgomery Dis-sent March of March, 1965.

As life is action and passion,
it is required of a man that
he should share the passion and
action of his time, at the peril
of being judged not to have lived.--

Oliver Wendall Holmes, Jr.

The sentiments of the out-of-state participants in the Selma to Montgomery March reflect benevolent acquiescence to the above quotation. The astounding acts of unselfish, unrewarded, indefatigable love and brotherhood, witnessed by this writer while gathering primary data for this research, can never be recounted. How does one describe; "fears subdued by a lingering glance, hopes renewed when shoulders barely touch, suffering eased by an earnest smile, and self-confidence exalted by being accepted as 'one in the number'."

The statistics and facts presented in Chapter II and Chapter III are presented in the belief that they will quell and discredit many of the unsavory, minute narrations that have been magnified out of all

proportions by the writers who were not a part of, nor sympathetic to, the Movement.

It is in this frame-of-reference that this research was conducted to classify the participants; educationally, professionally, socially, and spiritually.

Recapitulation of Theoretical Frame-of-Reference

Purpose of the Study

The major purpose of this research was to analyze the attitudes of the out-of-state participants in the "March" against their varied backgrounds.

The specific purposes were:

1. To compare participants by their,
 - a. educational level
 - b. socio-economic status
 - c. geographical locations of their home towns.
 - d. professional station
2. To point out the self-concepts expressed by the subjects.
3. To ascertain the sex and age level of the subjects.
4. To show the geographical distribution of the traveler's home towns.
5. To determine what job assignments were performed by the subjects during the March.
6. To portray the groups that were represented officially by the out-of-state marchers.

Definition of Terms

The terms used throughout this research are defined below:

1. "Dissent" - referred to protest against existing practices.

2. "Self-Concept" - referred to how a person visualizes and judges himself.
3. "March" - referred to orderly group participation by walking to a pre-determined destination to protest against something or someone.
4. "Movement" - referred to a series of planned activities by persons working diligently toward a common purpose.

Limitation of the Problem

The research was limited to the active out-of-state participants in the Selma to Montgomery March who arrived several days before March 25, 1965, remained through March 27, 1965, and participated in the study by supplying the desired information on the questionnaire and/or through informal interviews.

Recapitulation of Research Design

Locale of the Study

The primary data for this research were collected during the Selma, Alabama March to Montgomery, March 19-28, 1965, from the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and from documentary materials collected and compiled by the writer. The data were compiled and analyzed in Atlanta, Georgia during the year following the March (1965-66).

Period of the Study

This study was conducted during the year, 1965-66, beginning in Selma, Alabama and terminating in Atlanta, Georgia, May 20, 1966.

Method of Research

The Descriptive-Survey method of research was utilized, using the technique of the questionnaire and the informal interview, because it was an appropriate requisite to the fulfillment of the purpose of this research.

Subjects

The subjects of this study were the Negroes and whites from all parts of the United States and Canada who traveled to Selma, Alabama to participate in the March. They arrived by March 19, 1965, and remained through March 27, 1965, completed the questionnaire requested, and were chosen in the systematic random sampling taken by the writer.

Instrument/Questionnaire

A specifically (unstructured) designed questionnaire containing completion items that would require short, direct responses, was utilized to collect the data pertaining to this research. This instrument was short because of the element of time and maelstrom which prevailed during the week of the "March." A copy of this instrument appears in Appendix I-A.

Criterion of Reliability

The criteria of the reliability of the data collected were the accuracy and authenticity of the responses to the questionnaire items, together with that of the documentary materials collected, and the objectivity of the observations made by the writer.

Procedure

The procedural steps employed in this study were: (a) permission to conduct the study was secured; (b) related literature was reviewed; (c) questionnaire was constructed; (d) copies of questionnaire distributed to participants in the March; (e) informal interviews were conducted; (f) data were analyzed and assembled in tabular and graphic form; and (g) findings, conclusions, implications, and recommendations derived from the analysis and interpretations of the data are presented in Chapter IV.

Summary of Related Literature

It is anticipated that the following items will justifiably represent a summation of literature that is pertinent to this study:

1. Freedom of the black man is 100 years overdue in America.
2. Negroes do not realize that whites are cruel to one another and unknowingly destroy themselves by seeking to destroy the souls and bodies of other men for reasons they don't understand.
3. Local white people, who are decent, should come out of their complacent shells and speak out on issues.
4. Whites do worry about the Negro problem. Evidence of this fact is the thousands who rally to the dissent movements.
5. Security is a state characterized by good adjustment when an individual can or cannot successfully resolve his problems.
6. Social class, as well as intelligence, determines who shall finish high school and who goes to college.
7. The white man has done all the cruel deeds he can possibly do to the black man, he must now save himself.
8. The guilty conscious of the white man and the determination of the Negro will bring the desired results to this dissent movement.

9. The purpose of non-violent protests is to awaken the conscious of the nation and cause people to realize that there is also a white problem and the cancerous hate and injustices directed at Negroes is only a subterfuge.
10. The time for waiting is gone!

Summary of Findings

The findings, which are the results of the analysis of the responses of the participants in the Selma, Alabama March to specific statements regarding their personal backgrounds and attitudes, are summarized in the following paragraphs:

Sex Distribution of Participants

Table 1

The frequencies and percentages portrayed in the responses revealed that: 74%, or 117, of the participants were male, 25%, or 40, were female and .6%, or 1, sex unknown (omitted on the questionnaire).

Distribution of the Age of Participants in the Selma to Montgomery March

Table 2

The frequencies and percentages portrayed in the responses revealed the following: Adults, 10.1%, or 16; ages fifty-six to sixty only .6%, or 1; ages fifty-one to fifty-five yielded 1.2%, or 2; ages forty-six to fifty also 1.2%, or 2; ages forty-one to forty-five, 2.5% (4); ages thirty-six to forty, 7.6%, or 12; steadily climbing, ages thirty-one to thirty-five yielded 8.2%, or 13; ages twenty-six to thirty yielded 10.7%, or 17; climbing higher, ages twenty-one to

twenty-five jump to 29.1%, or 46 (the highest); ages sixteen to twenty show 22.8%, or 36; and ages unknown 5.8% or 9.

Distribution of Age, by Sex, of Participants in
Selma to Montgomery March

Table 3

The frequencies and percentages portrayed in the responses revealed the following: Ages fifty-six to sixty, male 0 - female 2.5%, or 1; ages fifty-one to fifty-five, male 1.7%, or 2 - female 0; ages forty-six to fifty, male 1.7%, or 2 - female 0; ages forty-one to forty-five, male 1.7%, or 2 - female 5%, or 2; ages thirty-six to forty, male 8.5%, or 10 - female 5%, or 2; ages thirty-one to thirty-five, male 9.4%, or 11 - female 5%, or 2; ages twenty-six to thirty, male 12.8%, or 15 - female 5%, or 2; ages twenty-one to twenty-five, male 30.8%, or 36 - female 25%, or 10; ages sixteen to twenty, male 17.9%, or 21 - female 37.5%, or 15; adults, male 11.1%, or 13 - female 5%, or 2; and no response, male 4.3%, or 5 - female 10%, or 4; sex unknown - 1 adult.

Geographical Distribution of Participants
in Selma to Montgomery March

Tables 4-6

The frequencies and percentages portrayed in the responses reveal that 41.2% of the participants journeyed from Northern states, 18.4% from Western states, 17.8% from the Middle Atlantic states, 11.3% from Southern states and District of Columbia, and 5% from the New England States. Three point eight percent (3.8%) were from Canada and 2.5% did not respond.

Occupations of Participants in
Selma to Montgomery March

Tables 7-8

The frequencies and percentages portrayed in the responses reveal that the highest number, 36%, were students; 30% did not list occupations; 10% were ministers; 6% belonged to the medical profession; 3% were civil rights directors; 2% were school teachers; 2% were college professors; 1% radio operators; 1% wives of episcopal ministers; 1% registered nurses; 1% office workers, and the remainder were: IBM Programmer, Reporter, Interviewer, Editor, Catholic Priest, Public Relations Officer, Rehabilitation Officer, Assistant Director Wesley Foundation, Real Estate Broker, Economist, Photographer, and Pressman.

Distribution of Categories of Organizations
Represented Officially in Selma to
Montgomery March

Table 9

The frequencies and percentages portrayed in the responses reveal that 22, or 14% of the organizations sending representatives were Educational; 27, or 17% were Religious; 3, or 2% were Political; 3, or 2% were Professional; 72, or 45% were Civic; and 31, or 20% did not indicate that they represented any organization, but came as individuals.

Job Assignments Performed by Participants
in Selma to Montgomery March by Sex

Tables 10-11

The frequencies and percentages portrayed in the responses reveal that the medical staff utilized the services of 6.8% of the

males and 8% of the females; Montgomery Improvement Association (local organization) 0 males, but 5% of the females; transportation committee used 8.5% males - 0 females; tent crew 23.8% males - 25% of the females; security 18.7% males - 2% females; communications 17.9% males - 8% females; marshals 3.4% males - 0 females; truck drivers 1.7% males - 0 females; logistics committee 5.9% males - 5% females; kitchen crew .9% males - 8% females; housing .9% males - 5% females; office (clerical) 0 males - 13% females; radio operators .9% males - 0 females; press office 1.7% males - 0 females; communications/marshal males .9% - females 0; marched only, male .9% - females 2%; and job assignment not listed on the questionnaire, male 6.8% - female 19%.

Socio-Economic Status of the Classified
Percentage of Participants in
Selma to Montgomery March

Table 12

The frequencies and percentages portrayed in the responses reveal that a normal distribution was graphically displayed for the socio-economic status of the participants. The percentages are as follows: Upper Upper Class 0, Upper Class 4%, Upper Middle Class 22%, Middle Class 59%, Lower Middle Class 13%, Upper Lower Class 2%, Lower Class 0, and Lower Lower Class 0.

Personal Reactions of Participants to the
Selma to Montgomery March by
Geographical Locations

Tables 13-14

Canada.--The frequencies and percentages portrayed in the responses reveal that the 3.8 per cent of the total sampling that

traveled from Canada expressed they came because they felt they had to in order to maintain self-respect. "The March," they continued, "was interesting, heroic, and effective and should help change the bad attitude of whites toward Negroes."

Southern States.--The 11.3% from the Southern States and District of Columbia remarked they came mostly to manifest solidarity because many of them already worked in civil rights groups at home. These respondents stated that to maintain self-respect and affirm their belief and support for obtaining equal rights compelled them to participate in this heroic gesture. A few felt that the "March" was effective and some expressed shock at man's inhumanity to man.

Northern States.--The 41.2% who journeyed from the Northern States expressed that they experienced an "inner-drive" to come. They felt strongly about civil rights and presented their bodies as evidence of their support in the hope that this "March" would help conditions in the North by being an inspiration that would help change the bad attitude of whites toward Negroes.

Many from this pilgrimage were concerned about Selma after the "March" because, although the "March" was effective, a few felt that it was disorganized.

Some expressed shock at the inhumanity of man for man and pledged they would constantly work in civil rights organizations. A small percentage did not respond to this query.

New England States.--The 5% from the New England States believed strongly in equal rights and pledged their full support. Equal numbers responded that they were shocked at man's inhumanity to man, felt the

"March" was effective, and participated to maintain self-respect; but, thought the "March" was disorganized. However, they expressed they were inspired to do more when they returned home.

Middle Atlantic States.--Of the 17.8% from the Middle Atlantic States, the majority did not respond to this query. Equal percentages expressed their strong belief in equal rights, felt the "March" was effective, and said that they came to maintain their own self-respect.

The remaining respondents were equally inspired to do better when they returned home, concerned about Selma after the "March," shocked at man's inhumanity to man, felt the "March" was disorganized, and affirmed their belief that the "March" was interesting and heroic.

Western States.--The 18.4% from the Western States, overwhelmingly expounded that they were bound to participate to retain self-respect. Similar numbers were representatives of a civil rights group back home and found the "March" interesting and heroic for the world's impression of America. The rest expressed their desire to portray solidarity and pledged their support.

"The March," they wrote, "would inspire them to go home and help change the bad attitudes of whites toward Negroes throughout the Western States and on into the Northern States." A small percentage did not respond to this segment of the inquiry.

City and State Omitted.--The remaining 2% that responded to this portion of the questionnaire failed to list their city and state, but they revealed strongly that they came to maintain their self-respect and felt the "March" was interesting and heroic for the world. They also expressed their desire to manifest solidarity by their presence in

Selma, Alabama.

Conclusions

The analysis and interpretation of the data collected for this research seem to warrant the following conclusions:

1. The physical rigors, stamina, and fortitude which attend the movement of large numbers of persons would appear to attract a greater number of male than female participants in any dissent march, especially was this so with the Selma to Montgomery March.
2. The Selma to Montgomery March was the prime provocative in awakening America to the need for social action in the area of civil rights.
3. There was intense dedication and fortitude of the participants who came from all sections of the country.
4. The Selma to Montgomery March called forth many dedicated individuals who did not officially represent any organization to join in the chorus dissent from practices of human injustices.
5. The Selma to Montgomery March revealed that the Negro had the capacity for logistic skill in moving and providing for large multitudes of individuals.
6. The essential ingredients for a successful dissent march was proved to be inherent and manifest in the skill for pooling the training and experiences of professional and non-professional, skilled and unskilled, men, women, and youth; along with detailed planning and organization which allowed individuals to perform according to their ability and interest effecting dedicated dependable workers.
7. The subjects performed the job-assignments on the March that reflected their individual professional training and experience.
8. As revealed by the responses, the participants were sincere in their efforts to lend their talents

and training to aid the cause of justice and equal rights for all men.

9. The impact of the education, professional training, occupational experiences, and socio-economic background of the participants was manifested in every area connected with the March. The impact was denoted especially in the detailed planning and organization of the March, professional performance and attitudes of the persons in positions of authority, and the religious demeanor of the participants.

Implications

The data presented in this thesis seem to justify the following implications for educational theory and practice:

1. The tendency toward overt physical activity in youth and early adult years can be interpreted to indicate that the rigors of outdoor life and marching called for physical stamina and full health.
2. The "dissent look" at racial dilemma might have called forth and demanded the idealism, vision, and enthusiasm of those not burdened and beaten by years.
3. It would appear that the emergency of the movement for civil freedom and equal opportunity for all as it was overtly expressed, had its greatest appeal to the younger generation of Americans both black and white; for the bulk of the participants in the Selma to Montgomery March were youth and adults in their younger years.
4. The challenge to openly do something about the cause of freedom tended to call forth and/or challenge more male than female; although, the enthusiasm and sacrifices of the female were no less in depth and scope than that of their male companions.
5. The challenge to work for freedom and to be actively engaged in freedom's army apparently had an appeal for Americans from all sections of the country for sizeable percentages of participants came from all geographical areas of the United States; although, the northern section contributed the largest percentage of participants.

6. Among the participants of the Selma to Montgomery March, students and professional individuals appeared to be the Americans most concerned in the cause of social action and the cause of freedom.
7. A diversified educational background with some particular area of specialization, was evidently the qualifications of the individuals who volunteered and worked on the variegated committees that functioned so effectively for the March.
8. People of different races and with various educational, professional, and social training have a tendency to complement and reinforce one another when they work together freely.
9. Detailed organization and step-by-step planning appear to be the significant factors contributing to the unexcelled success of the Selma to Montgomery March.

Recommendations

The findings, conclusions, and implications of this study seem to justify the following recommendations:

1. That a concerted, consistent, and sincere effort be made on the part of our educational, professional, and religious leaders to attack more of the many evils that exist in our society today. The Selma to Montgomery March, which resulted in the 1963 Voting Rights Law, should be only a beginning.
2. That Government, business educational institutions, and society as a whole, realize that people are people and we can successfully live and work together as long as we respect ourselves first, thereby respecting others.
3. That the brotherhood of man be taught and emphasized as a part of our heritage in civics, history, government, reading, etc., textbooks beginning in nursery school.

4. That because of the tremendous impact education, professional training, occupational experiences, and socio-economic backgrounds had on the effectiveness of the March relative to the logistic skills displayed, the unselfish cooperation of the participants, and the religious and moral demeanor exemplified throughout; each of us must put forth every effort imaginable to upgrade the masses.
5. That the government, schools, churches, and organizations seek out persons in each community to work out the problems of that community with the residents there and that this individual be paid to work full-time in his or her community as a liaison person between his/her area and the appropriate helping-agency.
 - A) For such a liaison-person, education, alone, should not determine the qualifications of this person for this task.
 - B) For the success of such a project in human engineering, it is imperative that two-way communication exists between this person and the residents in the area, as well as, two-way communication between him/her and the agency offering services.
6. That a separate and distinct course(s) in Negro History, along with the other histories, be included in the curriculum of all of our schools.
 - A) In this connection it is to be noted that our present textbooks have camouflaged the contributions made by our great Negro leaders by failing to mention that they were black or by failing to give credit to Negroes for their recorded accomplishments. Black children, as well as white children, need to know the part their fathers played in making the world the beautiful place it is today.

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McCormick, Gwendolyn F. "Social Class as a Factor in Intelligence
and Personality Development." Unpublished Master's thesis,
Atlanta University, 1960.

VITA

Juanita Terry Williams

Education -

B.S. Degree, Savannah State College, Savannah, Georgia (Elementary Education), 1957; Certificate of Certification for Elementary School Librarian, Savannah State College, Savannah, Georgia, Summer, 1961; M.A. Degree in Administration, Atlanta University School of Education, Atlanta, Georgia, 1967.

Experience -

Stenographer, Citizens Trust Company Bank, Atlanta, Georgia, 1948-1951; Secretary/Student, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia, 1951-1954; Secretary/Student, Savannah State College, Savannah, Georgia, 1954-1957; Teacher, Frank W. Spencer Elementary School, Savannah, Georgia, 1957-1960; Proprietor, Public Service Agency, Savannah, Georgia, 1960-1965.

Personal Information -

Married to Hosea Lorenzo Williams, Research Chemist with USDA and Director of Voter Registration, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Mother of five children: Barbarajeanne (19), Elizabeth LaCenia (15), Hosea Lorenzo, II (12), Andrea Jerome (10), and Yolanda Felicia (6).

Memberships -

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Savannah, Georgia; Alpha Kappa Mu Honor Society, Savannah, Georgia; Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia; Church of the Masters Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia; Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Confederation of Dekalb County's Community Organizations; and other civic organizations.

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

PARTICIPANTS OF SELMA, ALABAMA MARCH FOR VOTER REGISTRATION

(Please fill out in detail)

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

ADDRESS: _____ MALE: _____ FEMALE: _____

_____ AGE: _____

EDUCATIONAL STATUS: _____

PROFESSIONAL STATUS: _____

REPRESENTATIVE OF: _____

RESPONSIBILITY ASSUMED IN "MARCH"

PERSONAL REACTIONS: (Reasons for joining march, impression of situation in Selma and/or people, reactions to your actual participation)

(continue on back of sheet)

APPENDIX B

WEIGHTS FOR COMPUTATION OF I.S.C.¹

Status Characteristic	Weights to be used if all Ratings Available	Weights to be used if Ratings on One Characteristic Missing			
		Occupation Missing	Source of Income Missing	House Type Missing	Dwelling Area Missing
Occupation	4	-	5	5	5
Source of Income	3	5	-	4	4
House Type	3	4	4	-	3
Dwelling Area	2	3	3	3	-

¹W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 124.

APPENDIX C

WEIGHTS FOR COMPUTATION OF I.S.C.

(Showing Permissible Substitutions)

Status Characteristics Used in Index	Weights to be used if Rating on One Characteristic is Missing			
	Occupation Missing	Source of Income Missing	**House Type Missing	*Education Missing
Occupation	-	5	5	5
Source of Income	5	-	4	4
House Type	4	4	-	3
*Education	3	3	3	-

*Substituted Education for Dwelling Area

**Weights for Computation Used in this Study

APPENDIX D

McCALL'S RANK PRESTIGE FOR OCCUPATIONS¹

Highest-status group

Licensed architects	Federal judge
Medical specialist	Law partner in prestige firm
Executives, top level, large national concern	Flag-rank military officers
Stock brokers	Bishop, D.D.

Second-status group

General medical practitioner	Downtown lawyer
Editor of newspaper	Colonel or Navy captain
Top-level executive, local firm	College professor, prestige school
City or county judge	

Third-status group

Bank cashier	Junior executive
Department-store buyer	High-school teacher
Professor, small or municipal college	Minister (D.D.) from sectarian school
Advertising copy writer	Office supervisor

Fourth-status group

Bank clerk	Factory foreman
Carpenter, small contractor	Insurance salesman
Clerk, prestige store	Chain-store manager
Dental technician	Staff sergeant
Railroad engineer	Office secretary
Grade-school teacher	

Fifth-status group

Auto mechanic	Hotel desk clerk
Barber	Telephone lineman
Bartender	Mail clerk
Carpenter, employed	Corporal
Grocery clerk	Policeman
Crane operator	Truck driver
Skilled factory worker	

McCall's Rank Prestige for Occupations¹--Continued

Sixth-status group

Taxi driver	Stock clerk
Semi-skilled factory worker	Waitress
Gas-station attendant	Watchman
Plumber's helper	Riveter
Spotter, dry cleaning	

Lowest-status group

Hod carrier	Gardener
Dishwasher	Janitor
Domestic servant	Coal miner, laborer
Scrub woman	Street cleaner

¹Vance Packard, The Status Seekers (New York: David McKay Company, 1959), p. 111.

APPENDIX E

CLASSIFICATION FOR SOURCE OF INCOME¹

Inherited Wealth - Families were so classified who lived on money made by a previous generation (savings, investments, or business enterprises inherited from an earlier generation).

Earned Wealth - Families or individuals were so classified if they lived on savings or investments earned by the present generation (interest from capital that has amassed enough money so that the person does not need to work).

Profits and Fees - Money paid to professional men for services and advice (also royalties).

Salary - Regular income for services monthly or yearly and commission-type salaries paid salesmen.

Wages - Distinguished from salary; amount is determined by hourly rate and is usually paid daily or weekly.

Private Relief - Includes money paid by friends, relatives, clubs, churches, associations, etc., to prevent the people receiving this from seeking public relief and having their names revealed publicly as recipients.

Public Relief and Non-Respectable Income - Includes money received from a government agency or semi-public charity organization that is authorized to reveal names. Includes income from illegal occupations; gambling, prostitution, and bootlegging.

¹W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1960), p. 139.

APPENDIX F

CLASSIFICATION FOR EDUCATION¹

1. Professional or graduate school.
2. College education (1 to 4 years).
3. High school graduate.
4. One to three years of high school.
5. Grammar school graduate (finished 8th grade).
6. Four to seven years of school.
7. Zero to three years of school.

¹Ibid., p. 154.

APPENDIX G

SOCIAL-CLASS EQUIVALENTS FOR I.S.C. RATINGS¹

Weighted Total of Ratings	Social-Class Equivalents
12 - 17	Upper class
18 - 22	Upper class, probably, with some possibility of Upper-Middle class
23 - 24	Intermediate: either Upper or Upper-Middle class
25 - 33	Upper-Middle class
34 - 37	Indeterminate: either Upper-Middle or Lower- Middle class
38 - 50	Lower-Middle class
51 - 53	Indeterminate: either Lower-Middle or Upper- Lower class
54 - 62	Upper-Lower class
63 - 66	Indeterminate: either Upper-Lower or Lower- Lower class
67 - 69	Lower-Lower class probably, with some possi- bility of Upper-Lower class
70 - 84	Lower-Lower class

¹Ibid., p. 41.

APPENDIX H

*NUMBER _____

TABLE

SECURING THE WEIGHTED TOTALS

Characteristics	Rating	Weight	Product
Occupation	X	5	
Source of Income	X	4	
Education	X	3	
		Weighted Total	

*Each individual in this sampling has been given a number for future references.

Steps for Computation -

1. Rate the individual in question on the three status characteristics according to the rating scale.
2. Multiply these three ratings by their respective weight.
3. Total the three weighted ratings.
4. Read the social-class equivalents for I.S.C. Ratings on TABLE .

Personal Reactions to the March--Continued

Our people in Minnesota will never believe what is happening here. I have a difficult time believing what my own eyes are seeing.

Male

Age - 37

From - Minnesota

Being a college professor, I wanted to see Selma University. To do that I had to leave an area designated relatively safe. The craning necks and hate stares of the local whites, plus several incidents we learned about made my little venture into a most uncomfortable experience. The last time I felt like that was years ago in the occupied Europe.

Male

Age - 23

From - Iowa

I came to Alabama out of curiosity and concern ... concern for the equal treatment of Negroes in America. I have been profoundly impressed by the non-violent reaction of the Negroes to the violence of many whites here, such as verbal abuse, terrorism and intimidation. It seems that they embody the maxim to "love your enemies." I have also been impressed by the lack of communication between the southern whites and the Negroes in their struggle to end injustice. It appears that this problem stems from the intransigence of the southern white and predisposes the revolution to violence rather than moderation.

APPENDIX J

FORM USED FOR COMPILING STATISTICS IN CHAPTER II

Code Number (Name)	Age	Organization Represented and/or College Represented	Home City & State	Sex	Occupation	Job Assignment	Reaction Number(s)	Accuracy Check
158								
157								
156								



APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II-B

MARCH ON MONTGOMERY

INFORMATION SHEET

March Program Committee
March Public Relations Section

1. Name or other identification of group
2. Names of group spokesmen--approximately four (4) per hundred members
3. Names of V.I.P's: While we realize that all who join the March are V.I.P's, we are interested in obtaining the names of leaders of organizations who are participating--whether they represent their organizations or are marching as individuals--Presidents, Bishops, Mayors, Moderators of Presbyteries, etc.
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 - 5.
 - 6.
 - 7.
 - 8.
 - 9.
 - 10.

APPENDIX II-C

MARCH TO MONTGOMERY STAFF

ARRIVALS

1. If you are not certain, do not give advice. Inquire instead.
2. Don't send anyone to Selma.
3. Do not instruct individuals to come to the church unless they are to assist the staff.
4. Large parties must fill out standard form. Each such group must have a coordinator who is responsible for the group. Only the coordinator should go to the information booths at arrival centers.

TRANSPORTATION

1. Selma to Montgomery (via Airport, Bus Station, Dexter Ave. Church) and Montgomery to Selma (Same Stops)
Buses leaving each city simultaneously
7 AM 3 PM
9 AM 6 PM
12 NOON 9 PM
2. Transportation will be provided into Montgomery from mass meeting Wednesday night.
3. On Thursday, chartered buses should wait for marchers at Patterson Field (Dexter and Hall).
4. After march, shuttle bus will be available for trips to airport and train station.

HOUSING

1. Contact Jill Foreman, c/o MIA
716 Dorsey
265-3364
Take shuttle bus to bus station.
Take Negro cab from there.
2. Wednesday night: marchers should bring own bedding and food if they intend to camp with the march.

PROGRAM

1. Wednesday arrivals - Join march at air base next to airport where a staging area is located. Shuttle buses will be provided from there.

March to Montgomery Staff--Continued

2. Wednesday night - MASS MEETING at St. Jude.
3. Thursday - March leaves St. Jude at 9 AM. Local people may also join at Holt and Stone.

APPENDIX II-D

TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE

MASTER TRAVEL SCHEDULE

AIRPLANES				RAILROAD
Time	Number	Name	From	
5:00 AM	104 95	Cooper Village Independents SCLC Episcopal	New York Boston	5:30
6:00	110 - 40 44 24	National Council Churches Episcopal Church Kansas City Interfaith Council Central Airline Charter	Los Angeles Los Angeles Kansas City Syracuse Youngstown, Ohio	7:05
7:30	90 three flights 400 78	Eastern Charter ADA --	Philadelphia Philadelphia, Wash. New York, Chicago, Washington	8:20
8:30	six flights 150 each	Church and Race	St. Louis	
9:00	two flights 99 and 114	Church Council	New York	9:05
10:00				10:15

APPENDIX II-E

NOTES ON MATERIAL FOR FACT SHEET TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO GROUP LEADERS AT EIGHT INFORMATION POINTS

Overview: People will come in to town at various points on Wednesday morning. We will transport them to St. Judes to be oriented. Orientation will include information about housing, food, schedule, security regulations, etc. Housing assignments will be given out after the orientation. Persons will be shuttled to St. Judes all day until the cut-off time of 3 PM after which time they will be kept at St. Judes. Where time permits, persons will be shuttled out to meet with the marchers at assembly points and return with the marchers to St. Judes. Orientation and housing assignments will continue in the afternoon until the dinner hours and the evening program. After the program transportation will be provided to get groups to their housing assignments.

Fact Sheet: I. What you're here for--a brief statement or paragraph of orientation

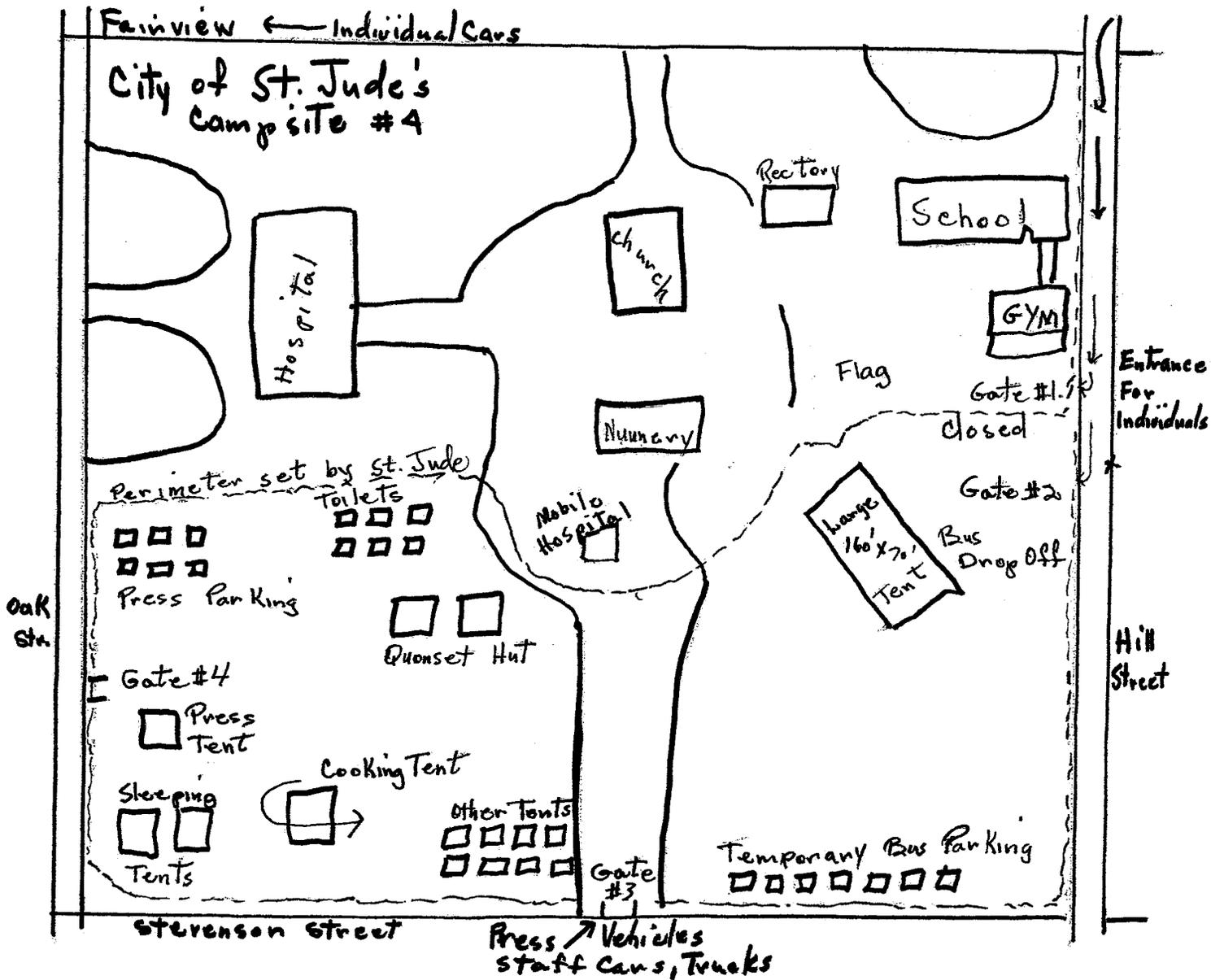
II. Schedule

Wednesday

- a. Travel to City of St. Jude--buses are in front of the terminal.
- b. Orientation at City of St. Judes
- c. Housing assignments received
- d. Join the line of march.
- e. March ends at St. Judes.
- f. Supper
- g. 8:00 PM - Freedom Rally at St. Judes

Thursday

- a. 7:00-9:00 AM Assembly at St. Judes.
- b. 9:00 AM The March on the Capitol begins.
- c. 9:00 AM The March of the citizens of Montgomery begins.
- d. 12:30 PM Formal program at the Capitol begins.
- e. 3:00 PM Conclusion of program
- f. Prompt dispersal is requested of all participants.
- g. Board your chartered buses and shuttle buses at Patterson Field.



APPENDIX II-G

HEAR AMERICA'S GREATEST

E N T E R T A I N E R S

AT A

GIGANTIC PRE-MARCH

FREEDOM RALLY

TO WELCOME FREEDOM MARCHERS

COME TO CITY OF ST. JUDE

WEDNESDAY MARCH 24 - 8:00 P.M.

SEE!!!

Sammy Davis, Jr.
Mahalia Jackson
Odetta
Dick Gregory
Bobby Darin
Chad Mitchell Trio

HEAR!!!

Harry Belafonte
Tony Bennett
Nina Simone
Nipsi Russell
Billy Eckstine
Alan King
George Kirby

APPENDIX II-H

REQUISITION FORM

NO. _____

MARCH ON MONTGOMERY
SELMA OFFICE (874-7331)

DATE _____

TIME _____

YOUR NAME _____ PHONE _____

PURPOSE:

QUAN.	ITEM DESIRED	COST

AUTHORIZED BY _____

Total Exp.

FUNDS RECEIVED BY _____

APPENDIX II-I

PETTY CASH VOUCHER

Date _____

Amount requested _____

By whom _____

Is money requested in lieu money spent by _____ ?

For what _____

What date was money spent? _____

Do receipts support request? _____

If so, staple them to the voucher. If not this voucher must be signed by Project Director.

Recorded by _____

Approved by _____

Date _____

This voucher must be filled out in duplicate and must be signed.

APPENDIX II-J

PHONE MESSAGE FORM

MESSAGE FOR:

TIME REC'D _____

DATE _____

CALL BACK _____ WILL CALL BACK _____ MESSAGE ONLY _____

CALLER:

PHONE _____

ADDRESS:

Rec'd by: _____

APPENDIX II-K

FREEDOM SONGS SUNG ON MARCH

We Shall Overcome

We shall overcome, we shall overcome,
We shall overcome some-day.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,
We shall overcome some-day.

We are not afraid, we are not afraid,
We are not afraid to-day.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe
We shall overcome some-day.

We are not alone, we are not alone,
We are not alone to-day.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,
We shall overcome some-day.

The truth will make us free . . .

We'll walk hand in hand . . .

The Lord will see us through . . .

Black and white together . . .

(*the last two lines are identical throughout)

* * *

This Little Light of Mine

This little light of mine, I'm gon-na let it shine.
Oh, this little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine.
Oh, this little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine
Let it shine, let it shine, let it shine.

We've got the light of freedom, we're gonna let it shine . . .

Deep down in the South, we're gonna let it shine . . .

Everywhere I go, I'm gonna let it shine . . .

All in the jail house, I'm gonna let it shine . . .

Down in Atlanta, Georgia, I'm gonna let it shine . . .

(*the same words are repeated throughout each stanza)

* * *

Woke Up This Morning With My
Mind on Freedom

Woke up this morning with my mind, stayed on freedom.
Woke up this morning with my mind, stayed on freedom.
Woke up this morning with my mind, stayed on freedom.
Hal-le-lu, hal-le-lu, hal-le-lu -- jah.

Walk, walk - walk, walk - walk, walk
With my mind on freedom
Walk, walk - walk, walk - walk, walk
With my mind on freedom

Ain't no harm to keep your mind, stayed on freedom.
Ain't no harm to keep your mind, stayed on freedom.
Ain't no harm to keep your mind, stayed on freedom.
Hal-le-lu, hal-le-lu, hal-le-lu -- jah.

Walking and talking with my mind, stayed on freedom . . .

Singing and praying with my mind, stayed on freedom . . .

(*Repeat throughout as in the first two stanzas.)

* * *

Keep Your Eyes on the Prize

Paul and Silas, bound in jail, had no money to go their bail,
Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on - hold on.

Hold on, hold -- on, keep your eyes on the prize
Hold on (Hold on).

Freedom's name is mighty sweet, soon one day we're gonna meet.
Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on - hold on.

Got my hand on the Gospel plow, I wouldn't take nothing
for my journey now.
Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on - hold on.

The only thing we did wrong, stayed in the wilderness a
day too long.
Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on - hold on.

But the one thing we did right, was the day we started
to fight.

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on - hold on.

We've met jail and violence too, but God's love has seen
us through.

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on - hold on.

Haven't been to heaven but I've been told, streets up
there are paved with gold.

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on - hold on.

* * *

Which Side Are You On?

Verse

Come all you freedom lovers, and listen while I tell,
Of how the freedom riders came to Jackson to dwell.

Chorus

Oh, which side are you on, boys, which side are you on,
(every-body) Which side are you on, boys, which side
are you on.

My daddy was a freedom fighter and I'm a freedom son.
I'll stick right with this struggle until the battle's won.

Don't Tom for Uncle Charlie, don't listen to his lies.
'Cause black folks haven't got a chance until they
organize.

They say in Hinds County, no neutrals have they met.
You're either for the Freedom Ride or you 'tom' for
Ross Barnett.

Oh people can you stand it, tell me how you can.
Will you be an Uncle Tom or will you be a man?

* * *

Certainly Lord!

Well, have you been to the jail? Certainly Lord.
Well, have you been to the jail? Certainly Lord.
Well, have you been to the jail? Certainly Lord.
Certainly, certainly, certainly, Lord.

Well, did they give you thirty days?

Well, did you serve your time?

Well, will you fight for freedom?

Well, will you tell it to the world?

Well, will you tell it to the judge?

(*Repeat throughout as in the first stanza)

* * *

I'm On My Way to the Freedom Land

I'm on my way - to Freedom Land,
I'm on my way - to Freedom Land,
I'm on my way - to Freedom Land,
I'm on my way, Great God, I'm on my way.

I'll ask my brother to come and go with me,
I'll ask my brother to come and go with me,
I'll ask my brother to come and go with me,
I'm on my way, Great God, I'm on my way.

If he can't go, I'm gonna go anyhow,
If he can't go, I'm gonna go anyhow,
If he can't go, I'm gonna go anyhow,
I'm on my way, Great God, I'm on my way.

If you can't go, don't hinder me,
If you can't go, don't hinder me,
If you can't go, don't hinder me,
I'm on my way, Great God, I'm on my way.

If you can't go, let your children go,
If you can't go, let your children go,
If you can't go, let your children go,
I'm on my way, Great God, I'm on my way.

* * *

Oh, Freedom!

Oh---Freedom, Oh---Freedom, Oh---Freedom over me
(over me), And before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried
in my grave - and go home to my Lord and be Free.

No---segregation, No---segregation, No---segregation
over me (over me), And before I'll be a slave, I'll
be buried in my grave - and go home to my Lord and
be Free.

No more weeping . . .

No more shouting . . .

No burning churches . . .

No more jail house . . .

No more jim crow . . .

(*Repeat as in first two stanzas.)

APPENDIX II-1

**PROGRAM
MARCH ON MONTGOMERY**

Thursday, March 25, 1965

- 11:30 AM Entertainment**
- 12:30 PM Presentation of marchers**
- 12:35 PM Remarks by Chairman, Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy**
- 12:45 PM Invocation--Dr. Theodore Gill**
- 12:50 PM Old Testament Reading**
- 12:55 PM New Testament Reading**
- 1:00 PM Greeting from March Director Hosea Williams**
- 1:10 PM Report from Tuscaloosa--The Reverend TY Rogers**
- 1:15 PM Report from Marion--Albert Turner**
- 1:20 PM Report from Birmingham--Dr. Fred L. Shuttlesworth**
- 1:25 PM Report from Selma--The Rev. F. F. Reese, Chairman, Dallas County Voters League**
- 1:30 PM Response of the Movement--The Reverend James Bevel**
- 1:40 PM The World Looks at Alabama--Dr. Ralph Bunche, Undersecretary of the United Nations**
- 1:45 PM Reading of the Petition to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama--The Rev. Andrew J. Young**
- EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT**
- 1:50 PM Dr. A. Phillip Randolph, President Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO**
- 2:00 PM Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**
- 2:05 PM James Farmer, National Chairman, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**

APPENDIX II-L

PROGRAM
MARCH ON MONTGOMERY

Thursday, March 25, 1965

- 11:30 AM Entertainment
- 12:30 PM Presentation of marchers
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- EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT
- 1:50 PM Dr. A. Phillip Randolph, President Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO
- 2:00 PM Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
- 2:05 PM James Farmer, National Chairman, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

- 2:10 PM John Lewis, Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee
- 2:15 PM Whitney J. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban
League
- 2:20 PM Address by The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
- 2:35 PM "WE SHALL OVERCOME"

NOTE: There will also be a presentation by the Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania City Council of a replica of the Liberty
Bell.

APPENDIX II-M

PETITION

TO THE HONORABLE GEORGE C. WALLACE, issue of God, citizen of the United States and Governor of the State of Alabama

We as citizens of Alabama, citizens of many states in our United States and as citizens of several foreign countries, come praying the blessing of God upon you and the many responsibilities that are yours to discharge.

We come petitioning to join us, in spirit and in truth, in what is history's and America's movement toward "The Great Society": A nation of justice where none shall prey upon the weakness of others; a nation of plenty where greed and poverty shall be done away; a nation of brotherhood where success is founded upon service, and never given for nobleness alone.

We have come to represent the Negro citizens of Alabama and Freedom loving people from all over the United States and the world. We have come not only five days and fifty miles, but we have come from three centuries of suffering and hardship. We have come to you, the Governor of Alabama, to declare that we must have our Freedom NOW. We must have the Right to Vote; we must have equal protection of the law and an end to police brutality.

When the course of human events so denies citizens of this nation of the right to vote, a right to adequate education, an opportunity to earn sufficient income; but when legal channels for real change are both slow and costly, a people must turn to the rights provided by the First Amendment to the Constitution. We must appeal to the seat of government with the only peaceful and non-violent resources at our command: our physical presence and the moral power of our souls. Thus we present our bodies with this petition as a living testimony to the fact that we are deliberately denied the right to vote and constantly abused and brutalized by so called law officers in this State.

We are here because for over 100 years now our constitutionally guaranteed right to vote has been abridged.

We are here because State troopers killed Jimmie Lee Jackson, because the psychotic climate of this state produced the men who savagely attacked and killed.

We call upon you, Governor Wallace to declare your faith in the American creed; to declare your belief in the words of the declaration

of independence, that, all men are created equal.

We call upon you to establish democracy in Alabama, by taking the steps necessary to assure the registration of every citizen of voting age and of sound mind, by voiding the poll tax in state elections, by opening the registration books at times which are convenient to working people--such as nights and Saturdays, by encouraging the cooperation of county officials in the democratic process, and by appointment of Negro citizens to boards and agencies of the state in policy making positions.

We call upon you to put an end to police brutality and to assure the protection of the law to black and white citizens alike.

We call upon you to work to end the climate of violence and hatred which persists in this State by denouncing all who would use violence in the propagation of their beliefs, and by avoiding the perpetuation of racism through official statements and political addresses.

APPENDIX II-N

FINANCIAL RECAPITULATION
SELMA MARCH

HOSEA L. WILLIAMS

April 14, 1965

Cash Received	\$21,911.76
Cash Spent	22,881.90
Overspent Cash Receipts	970.14
Bills Due	2,100.73
Balance Owed	2,100.73
Total Spent	\$22,881.90
Bills Due	2,100.73
Total Receipts	24,982.63
Total Cost	<u>\$24,982.63</u>