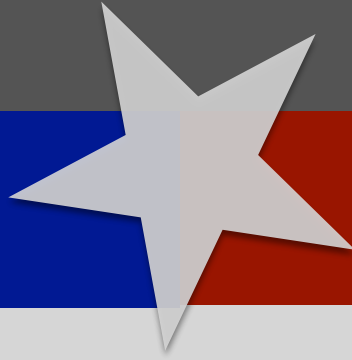
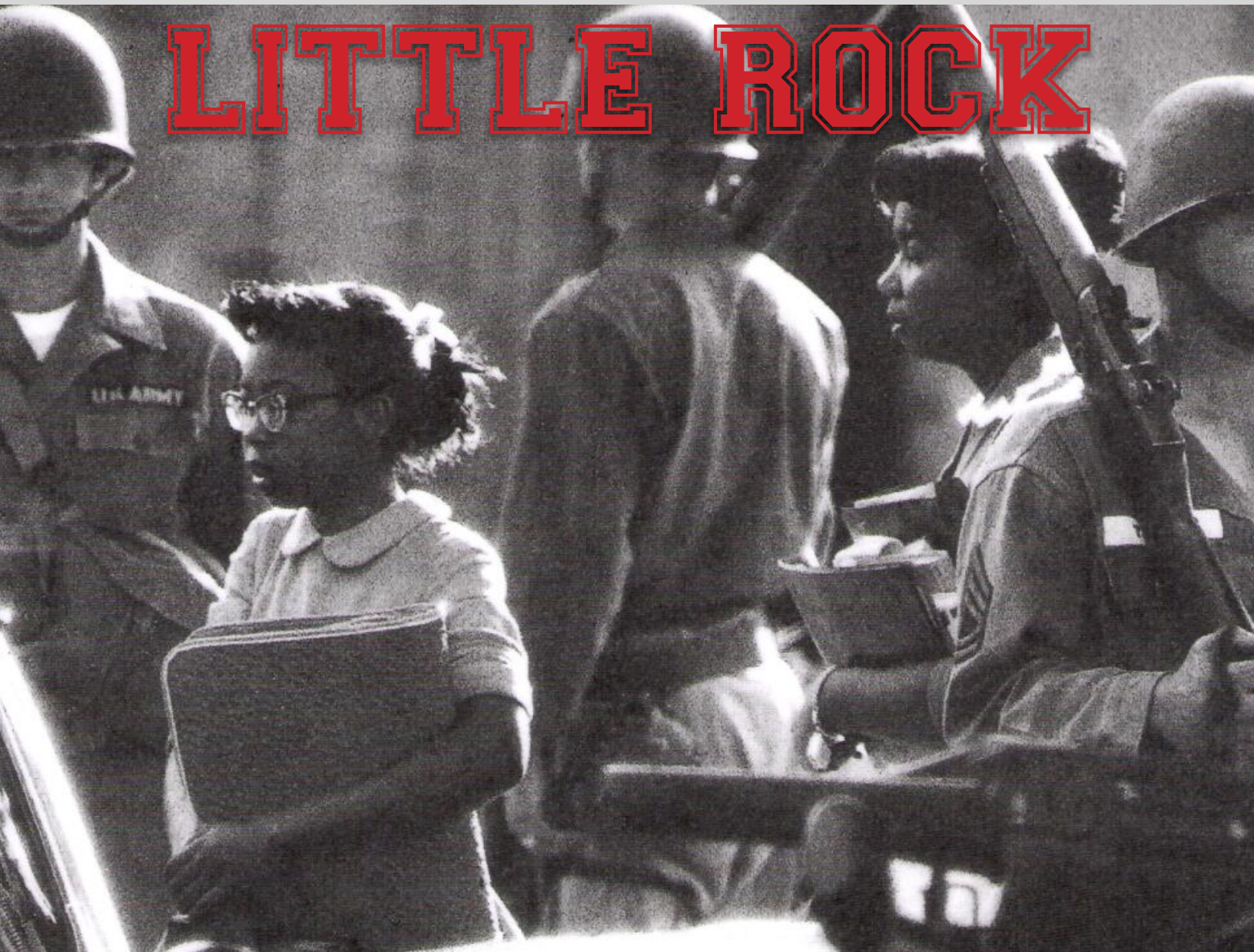


Presidential Series  
Field Trip Enhancement Program



# DESEGREGATING LITTLE ROCK



Presented by the  
Eisenhower Foundation  
in cooperation with  
The Eisenhower Presidential Library



## INTRODUCTION

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down the unanimous, landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that rocked the nation to its core by proclaiming “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” The established doctrine of “separate but equal” in public education was rejected, ending 60 years of legal separation of the races in public schools. The ramifications for the Jim Crow South were staggering and, for some, unthinkable.

After the Supreme Court ruled that integration of public education would proceed “with all deliberate speed,” the Little Rock, Arkansas, Board of Education adopted their superintendent’s plan, which called for a minimal amount of integration to be phased in gradually over the next six years. When the plan was made public, and patrons realized that racial integration would begin with the school district’s youngest students, the outcry from the white parents forced the school board to rethink their decision. Upon further reconsideration, the school board announced that integration would begin with Little Rock’s Central High School in the fall of 1957.

President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower is forced to react when Orval Faubus, Governor of Arkansas, orders state National Guard troops to defy federal law and stop nine African-American students from attending Central High. Through simulations and primary sources, this program brings to life the pivotal events from the historical 1956-57 school year in Little Rock, Arkansas.

## OBJECTIVES

- Students will gain knowledge of the characteristics and value of primary sources.
- Students will learn how citizens in the South reacted to *Brown v. Board of Education* which determined segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional.

- Students will explore the leadership of the historic figures involved in the civil rights issues that played out in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957.
- By portraying various leaders, the students will examine primary source documents to make their own decision about what action needs to be taken by President Eisenhower.
- Students will practice their own leadership skills as they address President Eisenhower and justify their recommendation.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This program was produced in September 2013 by Ike EDucation and the Eisenhower Foundation:

Robin Black, writer  
Donna Reynolds, writer  
Emily Miller, editor  
Mitzi Gose, editor

It is an adaptation of the *Five Star Leaders: Little Rock Crisis* developed by Kim Barbieri and the Eisenhower Foundation in 2007.

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**TARGET AUDIENCE:** Grades 11-12

**TIME REQUIREMENT:** 2 Hours, minimum

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# Applicable Standards

Common Core State Standards		
Grades 11-12	RI - Reading Informative Text	1, 4, 7, 8,
	WHST - Writing	1A, 1B, 1C, 7
	SL - Speaking and Listening	1A, 1B, 1C, 1D, 2, 3, 4
	RH - History/Social Studies	1, 2, 3, 7

For more detail on each of these standards, go to [www.corestandards.org/ELA-Literacy/](http://www.corestandards.org/ELA-Literacy/).

Nat'l. Curriculum Standards for Social Studies		
High School	Culture	Theme 1
	Time, Continuity, and Change	Theme 2
	Individual Development and Identity	Theme 4
	Individuals, Groups, and Institutions	Theme 5
	Power, Authority, and Governance	Theme 6
	Civic Ideals and Practices	Theme 10

For more detail on each of these standards, go to [www.socialstudies.org/standards](http://www.socialstudies.org/standards).

Kansas Standards for History, Government, and Social Studies			
High School	U.S. History: International Experience to Present	Civil Rights & Social Change	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
	United States Government	The Role of the Citizen: Civic Values, Politics, and Government; Human and Civil Rights in American Democracy	1, 2, 3, 4, 5

For more detail on each of these standards, go to [www.ksde.org](http://www.ksde.org).

# Lesson Overview

1. Prepare for this lesson by preprinting the following pages and files:
  - Team Summaries, pages 5-6. Print one per team or student, teacher discretion.
  - Name Tags, pages 7-11. Print one copy of the name tags. Cut out each of these name tags.
  - Biography Cards File, pages 12-43. Print one copy of the biography cards double-sided so the name and photo appears on one side and “In their words” appears on the opposite side. Cut biography cards apart.
  - Presidential Options and Document Analysis Form, pages 44-45. Make double-sided copies, one per student.
  - Primary Source Document Files, print one set per team:
    - Civil Rights Activists Team - pages 47, 51-76
    - Federal Team - pages 48, 77-93
    - Southern Leaders Team - pages 49, 94-128

This program can ideally accommodate up to 32 students and requires at least two hours to complete.

APPROXIMATE  
TIME REQUIRED:

2. To begin the lesson assign each student a character, and give each his/her name tag and corresponding biography. Their TEAM assignment will be on the biography card (Civil Rights Activists, Federal, or Southern Leaders). Have students assemble into their teams. Give each team a “Team Summary” and direct them to become acquainted with their team’s role.

5 MINUTES

3. Show Segment #1 from *Eyes on the Prize*.  
See page 46 for information on how to obtain the videos.

10 MINUTES

Facilitator introduction prior to this video segment: The first day of the 1957-58 school year is fast approaching in Little Rock, Arkansas. The school district’s integration plan is in place. Nine African American students are preparing to enter all-white Central High School for the first time.

4. Facilitator overview of the lesson: We are going to explore the leadership of the historic figures involved in the civil rights issues that played out in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. The capstone of today’s activities will be a press conference. Each of the three teams will present a recommendation for a plan of action to President Eisenhower: Civil Rights Activists, Southern Leaders, and Federal Team. All teams will take questions from the audience. President Eisenhower will make a decision and he, along with the other members of the Federal team, will take questions.

5 MINUTES

Instruct students that they will have three opportunities to get the kind of information needed to be effective in the press conference: film footage like they just watched; the biographies of the people involved; and the primary source documents they will be analyzing later in this lesson.

5. Direct students to read the biography cards and share some insights about each character within the teams.

5 MINUTES

6. Next, have each team member introduce his/her character’s name, title and one quote from the biography card to the rest of the group.

10 MINUTES

7. Show Segment #2 from *Eyes on the Prize*. See page 46 for information on how to obtain these videos.

5 MINUTES

Facilitator introduction prior to video: For 18 days the Arkansas National Guard remains in place at Central High School. Federal Judge Davies finally orders Governor Orval Faibus to stop interfering with the integration process on September 20th. Governor Faibus removes the National Guard troops from the school, and the Little Rock Nine prepare to re-enter Central High School on Monday, September 23rd.

8. Direct students to review the Primary Document Analysis sheet (page 45) and the four possible options from which President Eisenhower can choose in order to solve the crisis at Central High School (page 44). Inform students that — as they are reading their team’s documents — each student should use the analysis sheet to record their findings. Each should choose an option or combination of options and be prepared to justify their decision. Encourage the teams to discuss their findings, and expect each team member to share at the final session.

45 MINUTES

Direct students to their team’s set of primary documents. Each student should pick at least one to analyze. (Primary source document files begin on page 46.)

9. Reassemble in an auditorium or classroom with a table where each team can be seated. Teams will present in this order: Civil Rights Activists; Southern Leaders; Federal Team. Each team needs to select a captain to begin the presentation. The captain will present their findings and make a recommendation to President Eisenhower as to which option would be the best. Then, all other members take a turn doing the same. After each team is finished, they may field questions from the rest of the group. At this time, the facilitator may want to challenge the team with some questions if none are being offered by the students.

30 MINUTES

Example:

- Civil Rights Activists: Why would you put black students at risk?
- Southern Leaders: What do you fear will happen if the schools are integrated?
- Federal Team: Explain your vision for our country as we move forward with integration?

After the Federal Team has spoken, President Eisenhower will summarize the facts and recommendations and then conclude with a decision.

11. The final activity is to view the video showing the actual events in Little Rock to see what option President Eisenhower used.

5 MINUTES

Segment #3 from *Eyes on the Prize*. See page 46 for information on how to obtain these videos.

12. To culminate the lesson, encourage discussion:

- the events viewed in the video
- civil rights issues still being addressed today
- how leadership qualities were demonstrated
- power of the Constitution, (Amendment 14)

10 MINUTES

“Mob rule cannot be allowed to override the decisions of our courts.”

-Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1957

# Team Summaries

## Federal Team

President Eisenhower's goal is to find a way to uphold federal court decisions while maintaining the peace. The goal of the Federal team is to advise President Eisenhower on the issues surrounding the *Brown v. Board* decision and the events unfolding in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Focus questions:

- What has happened before this crisis in Little Rock, triggered by *Brown v. Board*?
- What is President Eisenhower being criticized for? By whom?
- Does President Eisenhower have the power to intervene if rioting/resistance goes beyond the ability of local officials to control it?
- Does President Eisenhower have the power to intervene if local officials refuse to implement desegregation?

Members of the Federal Team are:

- Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States
- Sherman Adams, Assistant to the President
- E. Frederick Morrow, Administrative Officer, White House
- Herbert Brownell, Attorney General of the United States
- Ronald N. Davies, Judge, U.S. District Court
- Val Washington, Director of Minorities, Republican National Committee
- James "Jim" Hagerty, Press Secretary, White House
- Maxwell Rabb, Secretary to the Cabinet
- Andrew Goodpaster,\* Staff Secretary, White House

## Southern Leaders Team

There is a broad range of opinions amongst these Southern Leaders about both the Supreme Court ruling on *Brown v. Board* and how (and if) that ruling impacts public schools in Little Rock. The majority of the members of this team want to maintain the status quo which is segregated schools. The members of this team hold a wide range of opinions about why that should be and how to ensure the schools remain segregated. Your team's interpretation of the constitutional separation of powers (federal vs. state) puts you at odds with much of the country.

Focus questions:

- Who says you have to comply with *Brown v. Board*?
- Is there a legal right that Governor Faubus can point to if he chooses not to comply with the Supreme Court's ruling in this case?
- Does Amendment 10 of the U.S. Constitution apply?
- Could anything convince you that schools should be integrated?
- How might *Brown v. Board* and integration of public schools be a threat to Southern culture?

Members of the Southern Leaders Team are:

- Eugene "Gene" Smith, Asst. Chief of Police, Little Rock
- Virgil T. Blossom, Supt. of Schools, Little Rock, Arkansas
- Orval E. Faubus, Governor, Arkansas
- Elizabeth Huckaby, Vice-Principal for Girls, Central High School

\*Suggested characters to eliminate if there are not 32 students.

- Woodrow Mann, Mayor, Little Rock, Arkansas
- Jess W. Matthews, Principal, Central High School
- Richard Russell, U.S. Senator, Georgia
- James Eastland,\* U.S. Senator, Mississippi
- James Eison,\* Student, Central High School
- James “Jimmy” Byrnes, Governor, South Carolina
- John Stennis, U.S. Senator, Mississippi

### Civil Rights Activists Team

This team is made up of high-profile members of the NAACP (*National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* - pronounced “N double A C P”), prominent lawyers, the students who will come to be known as the Little Rock Nine, and other ardent civil rights supporters. It has taken years of hard work to achieve the historic Supreme Court ruling *Brown v. Board*. The NAACP staff, led by attorney Thurgood Marshall, settled on this strategy: No more will we fight the battle over “equal” while accepting “separate.” A citizen’s right to an equal education cannot be fulfilled in a separate system.

Focus questions:

- What gives the Little Rock Nine the right to go to Central High School?
- What strategies are communities using to comply, or not comply, with the court order to desegregate public schools?
- What does your team see as President Eisenhower’s role in the integration of public schools?
- Do you feel personally threatened as you carry out this work in Little Rock?

Members of the Civil Rights Activists Team are:

- Elizabeth Eckford, Student, Central High School
- Minnijean Brown, Student, Central High School
- Ernest Green, Student, Central High School
- Gloria Ray, Student, Central High School
- Melba Pattillo, Student, Central High School
- Terrence Roberts, Student, Central High School
- Carlotta Walls, Student, Central High School
- Jackie Robinson, NAACP Board Member
- Wiley Austin Branton, Attorney, NAACP
- Dr. Louisa Holt,\* Professor of Psychology, University of Kansas
- Thurgood Marshall, Attorney, NAACP
- Daisy Bates, President, Arkansas NAACP

September 9, 1957:  
President Eisenhower signs the Civil Rights Act of 1957 in his office at the naval base in Newport, Rhode Island.  
Photo courtesy of the Eisenhower Presidential Archives.



September 24, 1957:  
President Eisenhower has a special broadcast on the crisis at Little Rock.  
Photo courtesy of the Eisenhower Presidential Archives.



\*Suggested characters to eliminate if there are not 32 students.

# Name Tags & Biography Cards

The following pages contain the name tags and biography cards that correspond with the characters that students will assume in this lesson.

The name tags are formatted to print on Avery brand, White Adhesive Flexible Name Badge Labels, 2 1/3" x 3 3/8". Or, they could be printed and cut to fit inside top-load name badge holders, hanging-style, 3" x 4". Each student should wear his/her character's name tag during the Little Rock program in order for them to better adapt to their character and other students will be able to identify who's who.

The biography cards are printed double-sided and cut in half so that each student receives the card that provides some information about their character and therefore better understands his/her approach to the situation in Little Rock.





**Eugene “Gene” Smith**

Assistant Chief of Police, Little Rock

*Southern Leaders Team*

**Orval E. Faubus**

Governor of Arkansas

*Southern Leaders Team*

**Woodrow Mann**

Mayor, City of Little Rock

*Southern Leaders Team*

**Richard Russell**

U.S. Senator, Georgia

*Southern Leaders Team*

**James Eison**

Central High School Student

*Southern Leaders Team*

**John Stennis**

U.S. Senator, Mississippi

*Southern Leaders Team*

**Virgil T. Blossom**

Superintendent of Schools  
Little Rock, Arkansas

*Southern Leaders Team*

**Elizabeth Huckaby**

Vice-Principal for Girls,  
Central High School

*Southern Leaders Team*

**Jess W. Matthews**  
Principal, Central High School

*Southern Leaders  
Team*

**James Eastland**  
U.S. Senator, Mississippi

*Southern Leaders  
Team*

**Elizabeth Eckford**  
Student  
Civil Rights Activists  
Team

**Ernest Green**  
Student  
Civil Rights Activists  
Team

**Gloria Ray**  
Student  
Civil Rights Activists  
Team

**Melba Patillo**  
Student  
Civil Rights Activists  
Team

**Terrence Roberts**  
Student  
Civil Rights Activists  
Team

**Carlotta Walls**  
Student  
Civil Rights Activists  
Team

**Minnijean Brown**  
**Student**  
Civil Rights Activists  
Team

**Jackie Robinson**  
**NAACP Board Member**  
Civil Rights Activists  
Team

**Dr. Louisa Holt**  
Professor of Psychology  
University of Kansas  
Civil Rights Activists  
Team

**Thurgood Marshall**  
**Attorney, NAACP**  
Civil Rights Activists  
Team

**Daisy Bates**  
President, Arkansas NAACP  
*Civil Rights Activists*  
*Team*

**Wiley Austin Branton**  
NAACP Attorney  
*Civil Rights Activists*  
*Team*

**Sherman Adams**  
Assistant to the President  
  
*Federal Team*

**Dwight D.  
Eisenhower**  
President of the United States  
*Federal Team*

**E. Frederic Morrow**

Administrative Officer, White  
House  
*Federal Team*

**Herbert Brownell**

Attorney General of the United  
States  
*Federal Team*

**Ronald N. Davies**

Judge, U.S. District Court  
*Federal Team*

**Val Washington**

Director of Minorities  
Republican National Committee  
*Federal Team*

**James “Jim”**

**Hagerty**

Press Secretary, White House  
*Federal Team*

**Andrew Goodpaster**

White House Staff Secretary  
*Federal Team*

**James “Jimmy” Byrnes**

Governor of South Carolina  
Former U.S. Representative, U.S. Senator  
and Supreme Court Justice

*Southern Leaders  
Team*

**Maxwell Rabb**

Secretary to the Cabinet

*Federal Team*

*Civil Rights Activist*

# Elizabeth Eckford

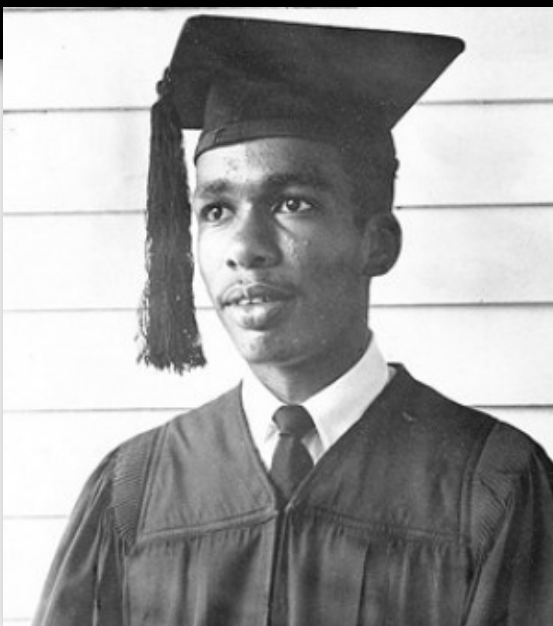


Little Rock Nine Member

- ✓ Excellent academic student with goal of going to college
- ✓ Knew that what was available to white students was more than, and better than, what was available in her school
- ✓ On September 4, 1957, Elizabeth and eight other African American students attempted to enter Little Rock Central High School, a school that previously had only accepted white children.

*Civil Rights Activist*

# Ernest Green



Little Rock Nine Member

- ✓ Excellent student with goal of attending college and saw Central High School as a good place to prepare
- ✓ Was the only one of the Little Rock Nine to graduate from Central High School since he was a senior
- ✓ Mother and aunt were schoolteachers

## In Elizabeth's own words...

"The night...when the governor went on television and announced that he had called out the Arkansas National Guard, I thought he had done this to insure the protection of all the students. We did not have a telephone. So, inevitably, we were not contacted to let us know that Daisy Bates of NAACP



had arranged for some ministers to accompany the students in a group. And so it was I that arrived alone...I walked up to the guard who had let the white students in...he raised his bayonet and then the other guards moved in and they raised their bayonets... I turned around and the crowd came toward me. They moved closer and closer. Somebody started yelling, 'Lynch her! Lynch her!'"

## In Ernest's own words...

"Little Rock at that time was segregated buses, movie theaters, [and] restaurants, and Jim Crow activity was prevalent."

"It was the 1954 Supreme Court decision that sort of spurred me to want to change things...In early August, the newspapers ran the names of the nine of us who were going to Central. And I'll never forget what happened when I went to work the next day."

"This young guy, he was about my age, his folks were members of the country club where I worked as a towel boy, and he came up to me and said, 'You seem like a nice fellow. Why is it you want to destroy our relationship?' For the first time it hit me that going there was not going to be as simple as I thought..."

*Civil Rights Activist*

## Gloria Ray



Little Rock Nine Member

- ✓ Gloria's father was laboratory assistant to George Washington Carver, studied under Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute and spent his career working for the U.S. Department of Agriculture
- ✓ Her grandfather was a former slave
- ✓ Gloria's mother also graduated from Tuskegee Institute and worked for the state of Arkansas as a sociologist

*Civil Rights Activist*

## Melba Pattillo



Little Rock Nine Member

- ✓ Raised in a family that had a deep belief that education was a ticket to a better life
- ✓ Very aware of what she was not allowed to do because she was not white: eat at lunch counter at the five-and-dime store, go to a movie unless she sat in the balcony, ride the merry-go-round at Fair Park, or go to the city auditorium to hear Elvis Presley

## In Gloria's own words...

"My father and mother both...their lives were dedicated to educating the black community and to honoring the members of the black community who had gone before us to make it possible to get [an] education. I...had a feeling that...you could be whatever you wanted to be, just get the education and I got that from my parents. They were like, 'Tina, you got to go for that education; without it, no dreams are possible really.' "

"I didn't realize I was growing up in a segregated society...I knew that at Blast department store, there were fountains for colored and for white...that when I went to the movie house, we sat in the balcony...segregation was such a long word."

"I suspected something was pretty bad with it though when they lynched a man and hung him outside our church on Ninth Street..."

## In Melba's own words...

"I thought about all those times I'd gone past Central High [School], wanting to go inside...I reasoned that if schools were open to my people, I would also get access to other opportunities I had been denied, like...sitting on the first floor of the movie theater..."

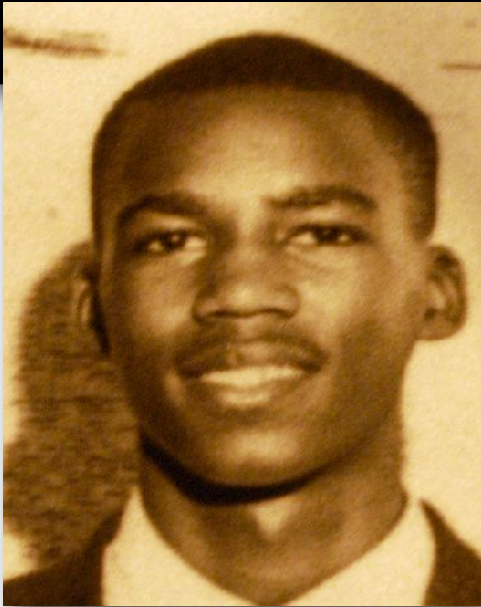
"Growing up I lived the primer of racial discrimination. Every single day, every moment of every day of your life when you're young, something happens. You're different. It's like a brand new instructor hitting you with new rules every day. Every time this happens to you, it dawns on you slowly how you're going to be living your life as a second-class citizen."

"The humiliating expectation and traditions of segregation creep over you, slowly stealing a teaspoon of your self-esteem each day."



*Civil Rights Activist*

## Terrence Roberts



Little Rock Nine Member

- ✓ Believed the cause was just (integration of schools) and firmly grounded in the newly changed legal framework that outlawed segregated schools
- ✓ Aware that hundreds of people before him had given their lives for the cause of equality
- ✓ "Get your education" were the words Terrence heard most often while growing up

*Civil Rights Activist*

## Carlotta Walls



Little Rock Nine Member

- ✓ Quiet, competitive, athletic, honor roll student
- ✓ Was well aware of the cultural rules imposed on African Americans in Little Rock
- ✓ Knew her high school was separate and NOT equal

## In Terrance's own words...

"Governor Faubus's decision to call out the Arkansas National Guard to keep me and eight other black students from attending Little Rock's Central High in 1957 was a personal affront. I loved school and wanted nothing more than to start my junior year with the least amount of fanfare..."

"I can still hear the roar of the mob when I recall that first day: the ear-splitting yells, the racist epithets, the mean-spirited remarks - it all comes back as if it were happening anew. In the midst of all that turmoil I was outwardly calm, but inside I was a bundle of frightened nerves, wondering if I would live to see tomorrow."

"I [chose] to be one of the first black students at Central High because it seemed so necessary to change the way black people were treated in Little Rock. Socially, culturally, politically, and - until 1954 - legally, we were locked out of the mainstream of life. Racial oppression was like a lead blanket thrown over the heads of black people, weighing us down and making it extremely difficult to manage even the basic tasks of daily existence."

## In Carlotta's own words...

"I knew how important it [the Brown decision] was. It was in our Weekly Reader in the sixth grade. It was reinforced in my elementary school and my church and my community. I knew what it meant - exactly..."

"I was supposed to go there [Central High School]. I passed it every day on the way to junior high school. I played baseball with the white kids all summer long. It seemed like a natural progression to go to school with them. No one expected all this."

"I knew it was important, but I didn't know what it would become. I knew it was a step in the right direction. But I credit my parents for having those dreams - for having dreams and grasping opportunity."

*Civil Rights Activist*

# Minnijean Brown



Little Rock Nine Member

- ✓ Chose to sign up to integrate Central High School, did not expect mobs
- ✓ "Our lawyer told us this is a constitutional conflict."
- ✓ "People make choices. There was no script for this event. some chose to treat us the way they did and some people chose to sit by and do nothing."

*Civil Rights Activist*

# Jackie Robinson



NAACP Board Member

- ✓ Served in the segregated U.S. Army during World War II
- ✓ First black baseball player in the Major Leagues since 1889
- ✓ Member of the NAACP Board (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)

## In Minnijean's own words...

"I figured, I'm a nice person. Once they [white students at Central] get to know me, they'll see I'm okay. We'll be friends..."

"...we lived in the segregated society of Little Rock, Arkansas, Jim Crow South. The rules were: You have to know your place. You drink out of the colored water fountains. We had just gotten maybe to the front of the bus."

"I was fascinated by the fact that many of them [the mob outside Central] were women. And they were screaming - I love it - 'Integration is Communism,' 'Go back to Africa'...and it just really got very loud and sounded very scary. So that's my great memory of Central High, is the fear."

## In Jackie's own words...

"I was sitting in the audience at the Summit Meeting of Negro Leaders yesterday when you [President Eisenhower] said we must have patience. On hearing you say this, I felt like standing up and saying, 'Oh, no! Not again.'"

"I respectfully remind you sir, that we have been the most patient of all people. When you said we must have self-respect, I wondered how we could have self-respect and remain patient considering the treatment accorded us through the years."

"17 million Negroes cannot do as you suggest and wait for the hearts of men to change. We want to enjoy now the rights that we feel we are entitled to as Americans. This we cannot do unless we pursue aggressively goals which all other Americans achieved over 150 years ago."

"As the chief executive of our nation, I respectfully suggest that you unwittingly crush the spirit of freedom in Negroes by constantly urging forbearance and give hope to those pro-segregation leaders like Governor Faubus who would take from us even those freedoms we now enjoy."

*Civil Rights Activists*

# Dr. Louisa Holt



Professor of Psychology,  
University of Kansas

- ✓ Ph.D. from Radcliffe College in sociology
- ✓ Faculty member at University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas
- ✓ Expert witness in *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka*

*Federal*

# Sherman Adams



Assistant to the President

- ✓ Gatekeeper to the Oval Office (position today is Chief of Staff)
- ✓ Actively investigated complaints of federal delays in integration
- ✓ Ensured that African Americans were appointed to a number of government jobs

## In Louisa's own words...

Excerpt from Trial Testimony

"The fact that it [segregation] is enforced, that it is legal, I think, has more importance than the mere fact of segregation by itself does because this gives logical and official sanction to a policy which inevitably is interpreted both by white people and by negroes as denoting the inferiority of the negro group."

"...A sense of inferiority must always affect one's motivation for learning since it affects the feeling one has of oneself as a person...or an ego identity...That sense of ego identity is built up on the basis of attitudes that are expressed toward a person by others who are important. First the parents and then teachers, other people in the community whether they are older or one's own peers."

"It is other people's reactions to one's self which most basically affects the conception of one's self that one has. If these attitudes that are reflected back and then internalized or projected, are unfavorable ones, then one develops a sense of one's own self as an inferior being."

"...I feel that when segregation exists, it's not something - although it may seem to be such - that is directed against people for what they are. It is directed against them on the basis of who their parents are, since that is the definition which, according to sociologists and social psychologists analysis of this matter, that is used in determining who shall go to a segregated school, a negro school or a white school; it is not simply skin color."

## In Sherman's own words...

"When Little Rock came into the news as the scene of a disturbance over plans to desegregate its schools, I could not help recalling Eisenhower's appearance in that capital city of Arkansas on September 3, 1952, during his first presidential campaign. The arrangements had been made with the usual precautions that we followed in the South, with the rally being staged outdoors where the segregation questions could not mess things up."

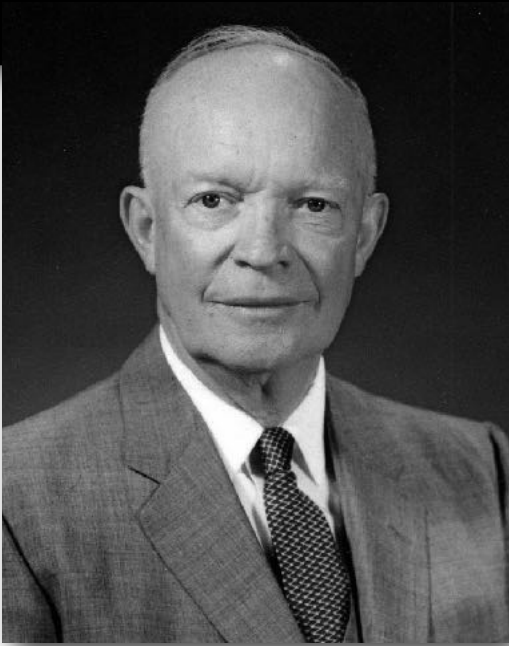
"In his talk, Eisenhower deplored the meddling of the government in affairs where it did not belong. The recent attempt of the Truman administration to get into the steel business had not been successful, he reminded his listeners."

"'Thank goodness for a Supreme Court!'" Eisenhower exclaimed and the people of Little Rock cheered and applauded..."

"Exactly five years later to the day, September 3, 1957, in defiance of the decision of that same Supreme Court, the Governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, stationed troops from the state's National Guard around Little Rock's Central High School. They were put there, the Governor explained, solely to preserve order. But their orders also were to prevent Negro children from entering the school to attend classes."

*Federal*

# Dwight D. Eisenhower



President of the United States

- ✓ Moved forcefully to not only fully integrate the armed services but also to eradicate all racial discrimination on military bases
- ✓ Used federal authority to end discrimination in the District of Columbia, doing away with segregation throughout the District
- ✓ Anywhere the authority of the federal government had principal or exclusive authority, Eisenhower acted without hesitation

*Civil Rights Activist*

# Thurgood Marshall



Attorney, NAACP

- ✓ Oversaw preparation of the cases known as *Brown v. Board*
- ✓ One of the lawyers who argued *Brown v. Board* before the Supreme Court
- ✓ Director of the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund



## In Dwight's own words...

"I want to make several things very clear in connection with the disgraceful occurrences of today at Central High School in the city of Little Rock. They are: The federal law and orders of a United States District Court, implementing that law, cannot be flouted with impunity by any individual, or any mob of extremists."

1. I will use the full power of the United States, including whatever force may be necessary to prevent any obstruction of the law and to carry out the orders of the Federal Court.
2. Of course, every right-thinking citizen will hope that the American sense of justice and fair play will prevail in this case. It will be a sad day for this country — at home and abroad — if school children can safely attend their classes only under the protection of armed guards.
3. I repeat my expressed confidence that the citizens of Little Rock and of Arkansas will respect the law and will not countenance violations of law and order by extremists."

## In Thurgood's own words...

"...the only way that this Court can decide this case in opposition to our position, is that there must be some reason which gives the state the right to make a classification that they can make in regard to nothing else, in regard to Negroes, and we submit the only way to arrive at that decision is to find that for some reason Negroes are inferior to all other human beings."

"Nobody will stand in the Court and urge that, and in order to arrive at the decision that they want us to arrive at, there would have to be some recognition of a reason why of all of the multitudinous groups of people in this country you have to single out Negroes and give them this separate treatment."

"It can't be because of slavery in the past, because there are very few groups in this country that haven't had slavery some place back in history of their groups. It can't be color because there are Negroes as white as the drifted snow, with blue eyes, and they are just as segregated as the colored man."

"The only thing it can be is an inherent determination that the people who were formerly in slavery, regardless of anything else, shall be kept as near that stage as is possible, and now is the time, we submit, that this Court should make it clear that that is not what our Constitution stands for."



*Southern Leaders*



Assistant Chief of Police,  
Little Rock

## Eugene "Gene" Smith

- ✓ Denounced by Arkansas Governor Faubus as an "integrationist" — bought and paid for to ensure that integration is carried out successfully
- ✓ Has put aside any personal beliefs about integration, considers upholding the law and preserving the peace of his city as a sacred duty
- ✓ Respected by co-workers as a capable, fair and disciplined law enforcement officer

*Southern Leaders*



Governor of Arkansas

## Orval E. Faubus

- ✓ Initially appeared to be willing to comply with the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board* and public schools were integrated in Fayetteville, Charleston and Hoxie
- ✓ During campaign for re-election as governor, ran as an opponent of forced integration and a supporter of local option in desegregation matters
- ✓ On August 29, 1957, Governor Faubus testified in court that school desegregation in Little Rock might lead to violence

## In Gene's own words...

"I don't consider myself a hard man. But I'm hard-headed where the law is concerned..."

"...there was a lot of profanity used toward the police department [outside Central High School]. People were saying that Negroes had better schools, why should they be there. There was talk of going inside and getting them out, talk and shouts, 'Let's go in and get the Negroes out of the school.'..."

"...they tried to break through our barricades several times, and one or two of them broke through, or three or four at a time, and would be pushed back...We noticed cars from out of town coming in...They were from Pine Bluff and Benton..."

## In Orval's own words...

"In view of the decisions I have made, I think it is well to review for the people of the State and the nation, some of the background in the tense situation which has now developed relative to the forcible integration of the public schools of Little Rock."

"We are now faced with a far different problem, and that is the forcible integration of the public schools of Little Rock against the overwhelming sentiment of the people of the area. This problem gives every evidence and indication that the attempt to integrate forcibly will bring about widespread disorder and violence..."

"I must state here, in all sincerity, it is my firm conviction that it will not be possible to restore or to maintain order and protect the lives and property of the citizens, if forcible integration is carried out tomorrow in the schools of this community."

*Federal*

## E. Frederic Morrow



Administrative Officer, White House

- ✓ *First African American to hold an executive assistant's position on a U.S. president's White House staff*
- ✓ *White House staff consulted with Morrow informally on civil rights matters*
- ✓ *Spoke candidly with President Eisenhower about race issues*

*Federal*

## Herbert Brownell



Attorney General of the U.S.

- ✓ *As head of the Justice Department, pushed hard for the appointment of progressive judges, especially in the South*
- ✓ *Delivered a strong criticism of the "separate but equal" doctrine of the Supreme Court's 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision when asked by the Supreme Court to provide an opinion on Brown v. Board*
- ✓ *Key author of the provisions of the first federal civil rights legislation in 90 years, the 1957 Civil Rights Act*

## In Frederic's own words...

"1954 marked the great year of decision in the United States on the matter of human rights. Out of Washington came decrees and edicts that restored to black folks some of the human dignity inherent in their birth, but denied them in daily living because of man's inhumanity to man. Out of Washington came the trumpeting of a new spiritual, moral, and political concept of the right of American Negroes to walk this land in dignity and in peace, unfettered by restricting bonds of race, color, or previous social condition."

"...This Administration's policy of moving the Negro up the ladder toward equal opportunity in American life is part of a blueprint charted many months before taking over the reins of government in 1953. It goes back to the hectic campaign days of 1952, when Dwight D. Eisenhower would sit in the private car of his campaign train and tell his aides and the party chiefs, the kind of government and atmosphere he envisioned for his country. And high on the list of his resolves was the fervent determination to eliminate from American life forever two kinds of citizenship."

"...The historic decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, eliminating segregation in public schools, is typical of the healthy climate-of-equality that prevails in the Eisenhower Administration."

## In Herbert's own words...

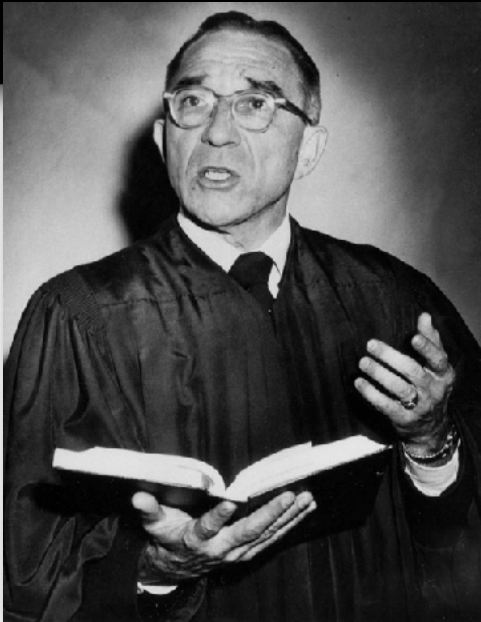
"A crisis of the magnitude that the situation in Little Rock has become has been expected by the Eisenhower Administration. We have increasingly realized that a clash of historic importance is inevitable between the President, who is required by the Constitution to enforce the law of the land, and political leaders in the South, who have announced their plan to resist the enforcement of the Brown decisions."

"At the Justice Department we have engaged in 'contingency planning' in order not to be caught unprepared. The FBI undertook a survey of the southern states to determine whether local law enforcement officials were encountering difficulties with the White Citizens' Councils and whether sporadic rioting is being centrally directed."

"The report indicated that although some compliance with Brown had occurred in the year following the decision, opposition to desegregation is mounting. We began to plan our response to such a grave crisis."

*Federal*

## Ronald N. Davies



Judge, U.S. District Court

- ✓ 1930 graduated from Georgetown University School of Law
- ✓ World War II, achieved the rank of lieutenant colonel
- ✓ 1955 President Eisenhower appointed Davies as the U.S. District Court Judge for the District of North Dakota

*Federal*

## Val Washington

No Photo

Director of Minorities  
Republican National  
Committee

- ✓ Born in Indiana to James and Ella Washington
- ✓ Earned degrees from Indiana University School of Journalism and Business - member of African American fraternity Kappa Alpha Psi
- ✓ Assistant to chair of Republican National Committee, Herbert Brownell

## In Ronald's own words...

"It is very clear to this Court from the evidence and the testimony adduced upon the hearing today that the plan of integration adopted by the Little Rock School Board and approved by this Court and the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit has been thwarted by the Governor of Arkansas by the use of National Guard troops."

"It is equally demonstrable from the testimony here today that there would have been no violence in carrying out the plan of integration and that there has been no violence."

## More About Val...

In 1946, Washington became an aide to Herbert Brownell, chairman of the Republican National Committee. In this position, he assisted Brownell and his successors in raising support for the Republican Party among African American voters. He was active in the 1948 and 1952 Republican campaigns, and was a delegate from the First District of Illinois to the 1948 and 1952 Republican National Conventions.

Washington vigorously supports the civil rights stand of the Eisenhower administration and is quick to complain if the government does not move fast enough. When Howard Pyle, a White House staff member from the South, gave a speech saying the administration would not force civil rights on the South, Washington complained to Sherman Adams that it was discouraging to have all their hard work torn down by the unfortunate remarks of a member of the White House staff.

*Federal*

## James “Jim” Hagerty



Press Secretary, White House

- ✓ Press Secretary to President Eisenhower
- ✓ Instituted a weekly presidential press conference
- ✓ Political skills and judgment made him one of President Eisenhower's closest and most powerful advisors

*Civil Rights Activist*

## Daisy Bates



President, Arkansas NAACP

- ✓ Advisor and mentor to the nine black students known as the Little Rock Nine
- ✓ Participated in 1956 in the pre-trial proceedings of the federal court case, *Aaron v. Cooper*, which set the stage for the 1957 desegregation of Central High School
- ✓ Was recognized as the principal spokesperson for the forces pushing for school desegregation in Little Rock, in constant contact with NAACP leaders and in constant conflict with segregationists in Arkansas

## In Jim's own words...

"We also discussed with the President the question of the Supreme Court ruling [Brown v. Board], and he said that he would simply say the Supreme Court is the law of the land, that he had sworn to uphold the Constitution and he would do so in this case."

"The President is considerably concerned, as are all of us, on the effect of this ruling. There is a strong possibility that some of the Southern states will take steps to virtually cancel out their public education system and through legislative devices within their states place most of their schools on a 'private' school basis, giving state aid to such 'private' institutions."

"The President expressed the fear that such a plan if it were followed through would not only handicap Negro children but would work to the detriment of the so-called 'poor whites' in the South. The state we are particularly afraid of in this instance is Georgia under Governor Talmadge...."

## In Daisy's own words...

"Mr. [Dunbar] Ogden was a [white] Southerner whose roots lay deep in the old plantation tradition: his heritage was linked to the slave-owning South....The first time Mr. Ogden attracted my attention was when he was elected President of the Greater Little Rock Interracial Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance in June, 1957. It was this that led me to telephone and ask him to walk with the students to Central High School."

"When I talked to him that night, he was momentarily hesitant. 'If it's God's will, I'll be there.'...The next morning, when the children assembled to go to school, Mr. Ogden was there to walk with them. With him was his son David...."

"Only three ministers had come, and Mr. Ogden said somewhat apologetically, 'I'm very discouraged that I wasn't able to get more, but frankly, I had to pray for courage myself. All I could think of was a pop bottle hitting me on the back of the head.' "

"He never suspected that the white citizens of Little Rock would turn on him. He was, after all, a minister and a Southerner. But that day, when he saw the stored-up hate in the mob and their contorted faces, when he heard them screaming not only for the blood of the nine Negro children but for his and all connected with him, he realized how vicious was the system under which he had lived all his life."



## *Southern Leaders*

# Woodrow Mann



Mayor, City of Little Rock

- ✓ Elected mayor in 1955 as a reformer
- ✓ Installed a new integrated city bus system, overturned "Jim Crow" rules that had forced blacks to use cups at the City Hall water fountains, doubled the number of black policemen from two to four, and investigated the city fire department whose Chief said whites would not sleep in the same room as blacks
- ✓ Served in the U.S. Navy during WW II on the staff of Admiral Nimitz

## *Federal*

# Maxwell Rabb



Secretary to the Cabinet

- ✓ Harvard Law School graduate
- ✓ Helped to create the necessary mechanisms, procedures and organizations required to support President Eisenhower and civil rights
- ✓ Liaison for the President in many civil rights matters

## In Woodrow's own words...

Excerpts from Telegram to President Eisenhower

"The city police, together with the state police, made a valiant effort to control the mob today (Sept. 23<sup>rd</sup>) at Central High School. In the final analysis, it was deemed advisable by the officer on the ground and in charge to have the colored children removed to their homes for safety purposes."

"The mob that gathered was no spontaneous assembly. It was agitated, aroused, and assembled by a concerted plan of action."

"One of the principal agitators in the crowd was a man by the name of Jimmy Karam, who is a political and social intimate of Governor Faubus...Karam has a long record of experience in strike-breaking, and other activities such as he engaged in today..."

"If the Justice Department desires to enforce the orders of the federal court in regard to integration in this city, the city police will be available to lend such support as you may require."

## In Maxwell's own words...

"This is, I think, one of the great contributions of Eisenhower. The President decided that he would desegregate the city of Washington.

"...we had had first the Thompson Restaurant case, which had opened up this local activity. I came in to President Eisenhower and discussed this with him, the fact that it wasn't right, if we were cleaning house, to use his phrase, that we couldn't have the capital of the United States purged of segregation and that everyone in our capital should be treated in the same way."

"He liked that. That was exactly in line with his thinking....It began with that restaurant case, where Attorney General Brownell submitted a brief. It was a Department of Justice matter, but that was the first step."

"After that we figured that there were 84 separate actions required to desegregate Washington, the 'center of the world' and to make it a place where equality prevailed."

*Southern Leaders*

# Richard Russell



U.S. Senator, Georgia

- ✓ Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1931
- ✓ One of the authors of *The Southern Manifesto*
- ✓ Opposed and helped dilute the Civil Rights Act of 1957

*Southern Leaders*

# James Eison



Central High School Student

- ✓ Both his paternal and maternal great-grandparents were slave owners
- ✓ Only child — father worked for the Army Corps of Engineers, mother was a former teacher and then a business owner
- ✓ His father, Colonel Eison, warned his son, "Desegregation is coming whether you like it or not. It's coming."

## In Richard's own words...

Excerpt from the Southern Manifesto

*"The unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law."*

*... "In the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896 the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the States provided separate but equal facilities. This decision has been followed in many other cases. It is notable that the Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, a former President of the United States, unanimously declared in 1927 in Lum v. Rice that the 'separate but equal' principle is 'within the discretion of the State in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment.' "*

*"This interpretation, restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the States and confirmed their habits, traditions, and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and commonsense, for parents should not be deprived by Government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children."*

## In James' own words...

*"Mother didn't say much. I do know she didn't believe in [integration], but there was no racist thing said."*

*"...I remember being in the 10-cent stores and would pick things up, and mother would say, 'Put that back. Every Negro in Little Rock's touched it.'"*

*"...their values were so different than ours or your better whites. For example, we used to laugh about it ... a black could get him a Cadillac and some fancy clothes, they thought they had it made. Then you'd go down to the black part of town, and there were these fancy Cadillacs, and the house would be just falling down...that's the difference in value."*

*"It was said that the black community trotted out its cream of the crop...the general rumor was that they were forced to be there and they didn't want to go."*

*"What I'm getting at here is that your Southern people...the [blacks] that worked for you and that you had close connection with, you liked and loved as individuals — not as a race."*

*Southern Leaders*

# John Stennis



U.S. Senator, Mississippi

- ✓ Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1947
- ✓ Ardent supporter of segregation
- ✓ Supported filibuster tactics to block passage of the Voting Rights Act

*Southern Leaders*

# Virgil T. Blossom



Superintendent of Little Rock Schools

- ✓ Hired as superintendent in 1953 and advised the Little Rock School Board that it was time to plan for integration of the city's schools - the school board did not act
- ✓ On 1955 led efforts to develop the school district's integration plan, dubbed the "Blossom Plan"
- ✓ Oversaw the process for selecting candidates from those African American students who volunteered to integrate Central High School, based on high grades, personality, attitude, and psychological fitness for the task

## In John's own words...

"The unfortunate situation concerning our schools, which can rapidly and steadily worsen, presents the most serious and the gravest domestic crisis of this century. I am convinced we have not yet made clear to you [President Eisenhower] the strong and almost unanimous sentiment prevailing among the mothers and fathers of the South against enforced integration of our schools. This applies to both white and colored parents."

"Nor have we made clear to you what will be the ultimate and fatal consequences of enforced integration. This is no longer a question merely of civil rights, not a question of state's rights. The real issue at stake is the survival of our public schools."

..."Traditions and customs for a pattern of separate social and civic activities between the races have been handed down from mother to daughter, from father to son. This pattern has afforded generations of peaceful and harmonious cooperation among the people of the two races. These traditions cannot be erased by court orders, not swept aside by force."

## In Virgil's own words...

"My own feeling is that the [Supreme] Court's decision should have been delayed until a later date. But, once the decision was handed down, I firmly believed in respect for, and honest compliance with, the law of the land."

"I would like to make it very clear that the people of Little Rock generally are opposed to the principle of the Supreme Court decision on school integration. They want to avoid integration if that is legally possible and, if not, they want a minimum of integration."

"The decision may be legally and morally right, parents frequently tell me, 'But the Court should have delayed it until conditions are more favorable in the South.' The decision came twenty-five years too soon."

*Southern Leaders*



Vice-Principal for Girls, Central High School

# Elizabeth Huckaby

- ✓ Chairperson of Central High School's faculty committee responsible for preparing the white student body for integration
- ✓ Responsible for assisting and protecting the six female African American students during the school day
- ✓ Believes prejudice of any kind is morally wrong and is considered a racial moderate

*Southern Leaders*



Principal, Central High School

# Jess W. Matthews

- ✓ Graduated from Kansas State Teachers College at Pittsburg (now Pittsburg State University), where he lettered in football all four years
- ✓ Hired in 1946 as principal at Little Rock High School, later renamed Central High School
- ✓ Disbanded the high school's fraternities and sororities in 1949, as incompatible with the purpose of public education and the principle of equality

## In Elizabeth's own words...

"I went out in the main office - we had those youngsters [the Little Rock Nine] in Mr. Matthews' office out of sight, but there was quite a group formed outside the door. They knew that the Negroes were there. One of the boys reached fro the door, to pull the door open, and I said, 'You can't come in here.' "

"He said, 'I wanta get those niggers.' "

"I said, 'Boy, this is a school.' Now, why I said that, I don't know, because that doesn't mean a thing, but it seemed to work. And I wouldn't let anybody in that door, you know."

"By that time Mr. Matthews [principal] came in, and Mr. Matthews got the coaches and everybody, and we were clearing the halls, and he was telling them, 'You don't have to stay at school, you can go if you want to, but you can't stay around out there. Either go to class or go home.'"

## In Jess' own words...

"How will you, as a student, as a student leader at Central High School meet the challenge of the coming days? I have been proud of our student body during the three tense weeks since September 3. I am counting on the same steady, dependable, courteous, and friendly spirit that has always been characteristic of students at Central in the days ahead."

"I believe in young people; in their respect for their government and for the law; in their ability to adjust to changing times and customs; in their keeping their eyes toward the future rather than the past..."

"I believe in their concern for their education, for their school progress, for making a good record. That is why I believe you can meet the challenge quietly, courteously, and with honor for yourself and for our school."



*Southern Leaders*

# James Eastland



U.S. Senator, Mississippi

- ✓ Backed the 1948 presidential campaign of the state's rights candidate, Senator Strom Thurmond, instead of fellow Democrat, President Truman
- ✓ Chairman of the U.S. Senate's Judiciary Committee, appointed several conservative southerners to the subcommittee that handled civil rights to ensure little would be done on civil rights legislation
- ✓ One of over a hundred Southern congressmen and senators who signed a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles," better known as the Southern Manifesto, pledging to resist integration

*Southern Leaders*

# James "Jimmy" Byrnes



Governor of South Carolina

Former U.S. Representative,  
U.S. Senator and Supreme Court Justice

- ✓ Elected governor of South Carolina in 1950 on a platform of state's rights, segregation and opposition to expanding the federal government
- ✓ Realized that Marshall had a good case because many black schools in South Carolina were greatly inferior to white schools, raised taxes and implemented a plan to provide black students with equal facilities and services
- ✓ Visited President Eisenhower twice in 1953 to express concern over possible consequences of integration

## In James' own words...

"If the Southern states are picked off one by one under the damnable doctrine of gradualism, I don't know if we can hold out or not."

"...this doctrine of the separation of the races has been involved over many years by both races. It's not something that one race has imposed on another race. It's not a badge of inferiority, or superiority."

"It's found, throughout the years, you have more harmony and the races can make more progress under a system of separate."

## In Jimmy's own words...

"In 1896 in a case known as Plessy v. Ferguson, involving a statute providing for segregation of the races on railroad trains, the United States Supreme Court held that a statute providing for separate but equal facilities was not in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Thereafter, the Supreme Court in several cases involving schools upheld this doctrine."

"Relying upon the stability of the law of the land, and upon the guarantee of State sovereignty in the Federal Constitution, the people of the South invested hundreds of millions of dollars in separate schools for the races. Under this segregated school system, the Southern Negro made greater progress than any other body of Negro people in the history of the world."

"The people of the South are law-abiding. They do not talk or even think of armed resistance. They realize the United States Government has the power to enforce a decision of the Supreme Court. But they believe the decision will close many schools, and think that the Court that ignored the Constitution and rendered the decision should assume the responsibility for its enforcement."

*Civil Rights Activists*

# Wiley Austin Branton



NAACP Attorney

- ✓ Experiences in World War II and realities of segregation served as catalyst for civil rights activism and membership in National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
- ✓ 1948 efforts to increase African American voting rights resulted in a conviction for violating an Arkansas ordinance aimed at restricting their voting
- ✓ Branton and Marshall were instrumental in Judge Davies order to Governor Faubus to cease his attempts to block integration at Central High School

*Federal*

# Andrew Goodpaster



White House Staff Secretary

- ✓ Born in Illinois, graduated from West Point in 1939
- ✓ Ph.D. in International Relations from Princeton
- ✓ Staff assistant to General Eisenhower at NATO and Staff Secretary and Defense Liaison Officer to President Eisenhower

## **In Wiley's own words...**

"In Washington, you know, after May 17, 1954, decision, the city of Washington was one of the first Southern, or border cities to go ahead and integrate the public school system. They did it practically overnight."

"I don't think it [integration] is beyond solution. You're going to have these transition periods in any situation."

"...I think that we need to do all that we can to keep children in school, and I don't think anything ought to be done to get kids out of school."

## **More About Andrew...**

"Andy" Goodpaster has played an important, albeit, behind-the-scenes, role during the crisis in Little Rock. His is a "liaison" role between the White House, and civilian and military officials of the army. Goodpaster receives messages from the Secretary of the Army and various Army officers providing details on possible troop movements, timing of movements, incidents, and the like. His position requires that he keeps detailed notes and, in addition, he edits drafts of communications, including those from the Secretary of the Army to Senator Richard Russell in response to some of Russell's allegations regarding the school integration crisis. Therefore, Goodpaster is acutely aware of the political impact of various communications and actions. He excels at crisis management and is a record-keeper for the events surrounding Little Rock. Consequently, his records constitute a key source of documentation on the evolving crisis.

# Document Analysis

Student's Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Character being played: \_\_\_\_\_

1. What type of primary document did you analyze?

Letter      Memo      Telegram      Report      Diary      Interview      Other: \_\_\_\_\_

2. If possible, identify the following:

Name or Title: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

From: \_\_\_\_\_ To: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Pull out three facts obtained from this primary document.

- I.
- II.
- III.

4. How do you, as your character, feel about the facts above and how do they affect your situation?

5. What do you, as your character, want President Eisenhower to do about the crisis unfolding in Little Rock and why?

Hidden Hand

Bully Pulpit

Ceasefire

Federal Intervention

6. What information can you provide to President Eisenhower to help him make the decision that is in your character's best interest? Remember, you must legally justify this decision.

# Presidential Options

## **Hidden Hand:**

Do nothing publicly. Make it privately clear to Governor Faubus that he has one last chance to remedy this situation.

## **Bully Pulpit:\***

Bring public pressure to bear on Governor Faubus and the citizens of Arkansas. Publicly insist that Governor Faubus carry out the constitutional duties of his office and uphold the U.S. Constitution.

## **Ceasefire:**

Declare a national “cooling off” period in order to facilitate a de-escalation of tensions, resistance and violence. How long would that “cooling off” period be? What would be the next step?

## **Federal Intervention:**

Order in federal troops to restore order and to carry out the Supreme Court’s *Brown v. Board* ruling. All options for state and/or local solutions have been exhausted. Open defiance of the laws and rule by mob violence cannot be tolerated if there is to be life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in a free society.

\*This term was coined by President Theodore Roosevelt, who referred to the American presidency as a “bully pulpit,” by which he meant a terrific platform from which one could persuasively advocate an agenda.



# VideoClips

The landmark series *Eyes on the Prize*, produced by Blackside and first broadcast in 1987, is a fourteen-hour television documentary series about the Civil Rights Movement. It was aired by PBS as part of their series *American Experience*. The first season, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years 1954–1964* consisted of six episodes, which premiered on January 21, 1987. The second season, *Eyes on the Prize II: America at the Racial Crossroads 1965–1985*, consisted of eight episodes, which aired on January 15, 1990.

The segments used in this lesson are contained in the first season (1987):

- Episode one, “Awakenings (1954-1956)” directed by Judith Vecchione, written by Steve Fayer, and originally aired on January 21, 1987.
- Episode 2, “Fighting Back (1957-1962)” directed by Judith Vecchione, written by Steve Fayer, and originally aired on January 28, 1987.

The full DVD can be purchased online at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/>. This site is also a wonderful resource for teaching about America’s Civil Rights Movement.

Another option is to view the episodes on You Tube at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bi\\_WX0rOwzM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bi_WX0rOwzM). The title is “PBS American Experience & Eyes on the Prize Part 1, Awakenings Part 2, Fighting Back.” It was posted by Dotson Johnston on July 16, 2015.

- **Segment #1 runs from 55:07 to 1:05:54.**
- **Segment #2 runs from 1:05:55 to 1:11:14.**
- **Segment #3 runs from 1:11:15 to 1:23:37.**



# Primary Documents

## Civil Rights Activists Team Documents

page

- 51** Press Release. Statement by President Eisenhower at the U.S. Naval Base, Newport, Rhode Island. September 23, 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 52-53** Press Release. Proclamation 3204: Obstruction of Justice in the State of Arkansas. By the President of the United States of America. September 23, 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 54** Reminiscences of Lee Johnson. 2005. Page 7. The Oral History collection of the National Park Service, Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site.
- 55** Letter. E.F. Morrow from Roy Wilkins. December 2, 1955. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 56** Emery, Jane. "Can You Meet the Challenge?" *Tiger*. September 19, 1957. (The *Tiger* was the student newspaper at Little Rock Central High School that was published every two weeks.)
- 57-58** Speech by Roy Wilkins. February 3, 1955. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.\*
- 59-61** Telegram. Woodrow Wilson Mann, Mayor of Little Rock, to President Eisenhower. September 23, 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 62-63** Telegram. Woodrow Wilson Mann to President Eisenhower. September 24, 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 64-68** Trial Testimony in *Brown et al. v Board of Education of Topeka*: Louisa Holt. United States District Court of Kansas.
- 69-74** Book excerpt. Bates, Daisy. From *The Long Shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2014.
- 75** Press Release by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. August 30, 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 76** Memo. Sept. 24, 1957. "List of Needs to Function Successfully with Negro Students." by Jess W. Matthews, principal of Little Rock Central High School.

\*This document included in this lesson is a recreated version of the nearly illegible original. Notations are provided when portions were deleted to provide a more manageable length for students.



## Federal Team Documents

**page**

- 77** Diary excerpt. Notes dictated by the President on October 8, 1957, concerning visit of Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas to Little Rock on September 14, 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 78** Memorandum. For Jim Hagerty. Dictated by Andy Goodpaster, after conferring by telephone with Governor Adams. September 19, 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 52-53** Press Release. Proclamation 3204: Obstruction of Justice in the State of Arkansas. By the President of the United States of America. September 23, 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 79-80** Letter. James F. Byrnes to Governor Faubus. "Personal and Confidential." December 1, 1953. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.\*
- 81** Telephone Calls. September 20, 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 82** List. "Administration Accomplishments: Civil Rights." January 7, 1954. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.\*
- 83** Letter. Val J. Washington to President Eisenhower. July 28, 1955. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.\*
- 84-85** Letter. President Eisenhower to Val J. Washington. August 1, 1955. Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.\*
- 86-88** Letter. President Eisenhower to Swede Hazlett. July 22, 1957. Eisenhower Presidential Library.\*
- 89** Handwritten notes by President Eisenhower on decision to send troops to Little Rock. September 1957. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 90-93** Summary of FBI Report in Little Rock, Arkansas. September 13, 1957.

\*This document included in this lesson is a recreated version of the nearly illegible original. Notations are provided when portions were deleted to provide a more manageable length for students.

## Southern Leaders Documents

page

- 94-95** Letter. Robert F. Kennon to President Eisenhower. November 20, 1953. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 96** Article. Matthews, J.W. "Principal's Message: Character, Citizenship Lead to Student Success." *The Tiger*. (Little Rock Central High School's school newspaper) September 19, 1957.
- 97** Letter. James Byrnes to President Eisenhower. November 20, 1953. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 98-99** Resolution S.R. No. 20 by Senators Hollis of 24th, Neel of 7th and Overby of the 33rd. Eisenhower Presidential Library.\*
- 100-110** Book excerpt. Blossom, Virgil. *It HAS Happened Here*. New York: Harper, 1959.
- 111-113** Telegram. Woodrow Wilson Mann (Mayor of Little Rock) to President Eisenhower. September 23, 1957. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 114-115** Telegram. Woodrow Wilson Mann to President Eisenhower. September 24, 1957. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 116-119** Article. Byrnes, James F. "Johnson Drafted for Governor." *Arkansas Faith*. May, 1956.
- 120** Proclamation. "To all to whom these presents shall come — Greetings." State of Arkansas. September 2, 1957.
- 121-123** Declaration. "The Southern Manifesto." *Congressional Record*, 84th Congress, Second Session. Vol. 102, part 4. March 12, 1956. Washington, D.C.: Governmental Printing Office. 1956. 4459-4460.
- 124-128** Report. "Segregation in Public Schools in Arkansas, Civil Rights." July 24, 1957.

\*This document included in this lesson is a recreated version of the nearly illegible original. Notations are provided when portions were deleted to provide a more manageable length for students.

September 23, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

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THE WHITE HOUSE

U. S. NAVAL BASE  
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND



STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I want to make several things very clear in connection with the disgraceful occurrences of today at Central High School in the City of Little Rock. They are:

1) The Federal law and orders of a United States District Court implementing that law cannot be flouted with impunity by any individual or any mob of extremists,

2) I will use the full power of the United States including whatever force may be necessary to prevent any obstruction of the law and to carry out the orders of the Federal Court.

3) Of course, every right thinking citizen will hope that the American sense of justice and fair play will prevail in this case. It will be a sad day for this country -- both at home and abroad -- if school children can safely attend their classes only under the protection of armed guards.

4) I repeat my expressed confidence that the citizens of Little Rock and of Arkansas will respect the law and will not countenance violations of law and order by extremists.

###

September 23, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

U. S. NAVAL BASE  
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

OBSTRUCTION OF JUSTICE IN THE STATE OF ARKANSAS  
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

3204



WHEREAS, certain persons in the State of Arkansas, individually and in unlawful assemblages, combinations, and conspiracies, have wilfully obstructed the enforcement of orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas with respect to matters relating to enrollment and attendance at public schools, particularly at Central High School, located in Little Rock School District, Little Rock, Arkansas; and

WHEREAS, such wilful obstruction of justice hinders the execution of the laws of that State and of the United States, and makes it impracticable to enforce such laws by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings; and

WHEREAS, such obstruction of justice constitutes a denial of the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution of the United States and impedes the course of justice under those laws:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and Statutes of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, particularly Sections 332, 333 and 334 thereof, do command all persons engaged in such obstruction of justice to cease and desist therefrom, and to disperse forthwith.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Newport, Rhode Island this twenty-third day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-second.

(SEAL)

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

By the President:

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Secretary of State

Chapter 15, Title 10, United States Code

Section 332

Whenever the President considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages, or rebellion against the authority of the United States, make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States in any State or Territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, he may call into Federal service such of the militia of any State, and use such of the Armed Forces, as he considers necessary to enforce those laws or to suppress the rebellion.

Section 333

The President, by using the militia or the Armed Forces, or both, or by any other means, shall take such measures as he considers necessary to suppress, in a State, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, if it

(1) So hinders the execution of the laws of that State, and of the United States within the State, that any part or class of its people are deprived of a right, privilege, immunity, or protection named in the Constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable, fail or refuse to protect that right, privilege or immunity, or to give that protection; or

(2) Opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws. In any situation covered by Clause (1), the State shall be considered to have denied the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution.

Section 334

Whenever the President considers it necessary to use the militia or the Armed Forces under this Chapter, he shall, by Proclamation, immediately order the insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their abodes within a limited time,

p. 7

My name is Johanna Miller Lewis. I'm professor of history at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock and today is May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2005. I am interviewing Lee Johnson, who graduated from Central High School in 1958, as part of the Central High School National Historic Site oral history project.

Question: So a number of weeks went by with negotiating between the Governor and President Eisenhower.

Answer: Right

Question: Not to mention all the court cases and then on September 23<sup>rd</sup>—he [Judge Ronald Davis] withdrew the Guard. He withdrew the Guard and the Nine were to go to school with [only] the police [on guard]. Can you tell me about that day?

Answer: Well, once again, you know, if you're inside the school, depending on where your classroom was, you probably weren't going to see a whole lot. I mean we knew that the Guard was gone. We knew the Little Rock police were out there, and I had a cousin who was on the police force and I remember seeing him out there.

I don't know how many men the Little Rock police department had, but you know, those guys, they didn't have any riot training or anything. They would've had a hard time controlling any kind of a mob situation. Nothing like that had happened in Little Rock since the '20's. So, you know, I don't think it was surprising that the kids were pulled out of the school because of the inability of the Little Rock police department to control the mob. And there was nobody down there that I ever saw except Little Rock police. There was no sheriff. They hadn't called in any reinforcements from North Little Rock. There were no state police. It was just the Little Rock police department and I don't remember (there) being a lot of them.

I've seen some film, and I can see my cousin in it, trying to hit a guy over the head with a billy club, but, knowing my cousin, I'm sure he would have done that too.

December 2, 1955

Dear Fred:

Thanks for sending me copy of your excellent and very accurate memorandum to Maxwell Rabb.

The situation is fully as dangerous as you indicate. I think that in large measure this is due to the feeling in certain Southern circles that the Federal Government either doesn't choose or does not dare to express itself in condemnation of the types of oppression now being visited upon great numbers of non-white citizens.

The events of the past few months have brought forth in one form or another this expression of frightened and frustrated opinion: "Why can't our Federal Government say something or do something to protect the rights of American citizens here at home while every day it is making pronouncements on the rights of those citizens abroad?"

A variation is: "We are for free elections everywhere in the world except in the Southern states of America."

I might add that from a number of sources (some of which are not radical or irresponsible) the NAACP is being criticized for being "too legal." We are being told that the other side is stopping at nothing, while we proceed according to legal technicalities. Believe me, there is considerable support from hitherto fairly conservative areas of opinion for what may be termed a "strike back" action, whether it is legal or not, or whether it is productive of anything except blind retaliation.

It is my considered opinion that quite beyond the question of whether an Administration word or act will win or lose votes is the question of keeping peace and order, of averting what could be an ugly racial conflict.

Kind personal regards.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins,  
Executive Secretary.

Mr. E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.



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From the Editor

## Can You Meet the Challenge?

By Jane Emery

You are being watched! Today the world is watching you, the students of Central High. They want to know what your reactions, behavior, and impulses will be concerning a matter now before us. After all, as we see it, it settles now to a matter of interpretation of law and order.

Will you be stubborn, obstinate, or refuse to listen to both sides of the question? Will your knowledge of science help you determine your action or will you let customs, superstition, or tradition determine the decision for you?

This is the chance that the youth of America has been waiting for. Through an open mind, broad outlook, wise thinking, and a careful choice you can prove that America's youth has not "gone to the dogs" that their moral, spiritual, and educational standards are not being lowered. This is the opportunity for you as citizens of Arkansas and students of Little Rock Central High to show the world that Arkansas is a progressive thriving state of wide-awake alert people. It is a state that is rapidly growing and improving its social, health, and educational facilities. That it is a state with friendly, happy, and conscientious citizens who love and cherish their freedom.

It has been said that life is just a chain of problems. If this is true, then this experience in making up your own mind and determining right from wrong will be of great value to you in life.

The challenge is yours, as future adults of America, to prove your maturity, intelligence, and ability to make decisions by how you react, behave, and conduct yourself in this controversial question. What is your answer to this challenge?

---

From the *Tiger*, the student newspaper at Little Rock Central High School that was published every two weeks, starting on Thursday, September 19, 1957



Address of ROY WILKINS, Administrator,  
~~National Association for the Advancement  
of Colored People, before the Second  
Annual NAACP National Youth Legislative  
Conference, Metropolitan Baptist Church,  
1225 R Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.,  
8:15 p.m., February 3, 1955~~

(1)

Mr. Chairman, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

X This conference has been called to consider the general topic, "Youth and the Challenge of Integration." I am sure that a thorough discussion will have been had by the time the sessions adjourn on Sunday.

.....  
[portions deleted because of the length of the entire speech]  
.....

The May 17 opinion of the United States Supreme Court that racially segregated schools are unconstitutional has had an impact far beyond the area of public school education and has served to focus attention generally, among thoughtful Americans, on the broad question of racial segregation in American life, with its attendant denial of equality in citizenship.

.....  
[portions deleted because of the length of the entire speech]  
.....

When the May 17 decision arrived, therefore, it was but a logical, and inevitable, step in the general trend. Just as the nation in the mid-Nineteenth century could not survive half slave and half free, so in the mid-Twentieth century it cannot survive part first-class and part second-class citizens. If we were to vindicate fully our founders, our professed ideals, and our destiny, these mean lines of demarcation had to be erased.

.....  
[portions deleted because of the length of the entire speech]  
.....

Some of the arguments of the opposition forces are interesting. They say, for example, that they fear integration will lower the general standards of education in their areas. By this they are confessing what we knew and contended all along: that while the "separate but equal" system was undeniably separate, it was far from equal. Yet these same people argue that the way to meet the problem they envisage is to continue the separate system!

There are those who now fear for the Negro teachers and who weep great crocodile tears for them. We do not share those fears, and, it may be added, neither does the vast majority of Negro teachers. We have thousands of excellent Negro teachers, qualified by professional training, experience, temperament, and family background to teach any children, in any school, anywhere. Naturally, like the whites, we have some who are untrained, unqualified and incompetent. They and their white counterparts will be among the unmourned casualties of integration.

.....  
[portions deleted because of the length of the entire speech]  
.....

Well, the eyes of Negroes are on 1956, too. A growing number among them is beginning to wonder if their Federal government, under a man like Mr. Eisenhower, might not make real progress on civil rights if there were more Republicans like the President in the Congress.

O.F.  
142-A-5-A

①

The White House  
Washington

RECEIVED  
SEP 24 1957  
CENTRAL FILES

repeated to  
Mr. Hooper  
6:35 pm  
23 Oct 57  
sent to  
Mr. Brownell  
1:20 pm  
23 Sept 57

SEP 23 PM 6 24

WA024 PD

LITTLE ROCK ARK SEP 23 344PMC

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE CITY POLICE, TOGETHER WITH THE STATE POLICE, MADE A VALIANT EFFORT TO CONTROL THE MOB TODAY AT CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT WAS DEEMED ADVISABLE BY THE OFFICER ON THE GROUND AND IN CHARGE TO HAVE THE COLORED CHILDREN REMOVED TO THEIR HOMES FOR SAFETY PURPOSES.

XOF 142-A

X OF 5

THE MOB THAT GATHERED WAS NO SPONTANEOUS ASSEMBLY. IT WAS

Little Rock, Ark, School Integration

AGITATED, AROUSED, AND ASSEMBLED BY A CONCERTED PLAN OF ACTION.

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL AGITATORS IN THE CROWD WAS A MAN BY THE NAME OF JIMMY KARAM, WHO IS A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INTIMATE OF GOVERNOR FAUBUS, AND WHOSE WIFE IS NOW WITH GOVERNOR'S PARTY AT THE SOUTHERN GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE. KARAM HAS A LONG RECORD OF EXPERIENCE IN STRIKE-BREAKING, AND OTHER ACTIVITIES SUCH AS HE ENGAGED IN TODAY.

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE MOB WAS FORMED AND ITS ACTION, TOGETHER WITH THE PRESENCE OF JIMMY KARAM, LEADS TO THE INEVITABLE

CONCLUSION THAT GOVERNOR FAUBUS AT LEAST WAS COGNIZANT OF WHAT WAS GOING TO TAKE PLACE.

DETAILED INFORMATION ON THE EVENTS OF THE DAY WILL BE TURNED OVER TO THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT FOR SUCH ACTION AS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEEMS APPROPRIATE. XOF142A-5

IF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT DESIRES TO ENFORCE THE ORDERS OF THE FEDERAL COURT IN REGARD TO INTEGRATION IN THIS CITY, THE CITY POLICE WILL BE AVAILABLE TO LEND SUCH SUPPORT AS YOU MAY REQUIRE.

I AM NOT MAKING THIS WIRE PUBLIC. THIS IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND FOR THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO USE AS IT CONSIDERS NECESSARY

XOF147B  
WOODROW W MANN, MAYOR LITTLE ROCK ARKANSAS.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

SYMBOLS	
DL	Day Letter
NL	Night Letter
LT	International Letter Telegram

1951

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

**Class of Service**  
This is a fast message unless it is deferred charge is indicated by the proper symbol.

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

**EST SEP 24 AM 10 37**

NP328 P LRA006 LONG PRD RX=LITTLEROCK ARK 24 916AMC =  
PRESIDENT DWIGHT D EISENHOWER =  
THE WHITE HOUSE NEWPORT RI =

THE IMMEDIATE NEED FOR FEDERAL TROOPS IS URGENT. THE MOB IS MUCH LARGER IN NUMBERS AT 8AM THAN AT ANY TIME YESTERDAY PEOPLE ARE CONVERGING ON THE SCENE FROM ALL DIRECTIONS MOB IS ARMED AND ENGAGING IN FISTICUFFS AND OTHER ACTS OF VIOLENCE. SITUATION IS OUT OF CONTROL AND POLICE CANNOT DISPERSE THE MOB I AM PLEADING TO YOU AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE INTEREST OF HUMANITY LAW AND ORDER AND BECAUSE OF DEMOCRACY WORLD

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

# WESTERN UNION

## TELEGRAM (30)

1201

W. P. MARSHALL, message

SYMBOLS

DC = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = Letter Telegram

### CLASS OF SERVICE

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

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

WIDE TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY FEDERAL TROOPS WITHIN  
SEVERAL HOURS. ACTION BY YOU WILL RESTORE PEACE AND  
ORDER AND COMPLIANCE WITH YOUR PROCLAMATION =  
WOODROW WILSON MANN MAYOR OF LITTLEROCK ARKANSAS =

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

**TRIAL TESTIMONY IN BROWN et al. v BOARD OF  
EDUCATION OF TOPEKA: LOUISA HOLT**

**United States District Court District of Kansas**

**Direct examination by Mr. Carter:**

Q. Mrs. Holt, what is your occupation?

A. I am a social psychologist.

Q. Would you indicate to the Court what your educational background is.

A. I received the Bachelor's Degree, Master's Degree and Ph.D. all from Radcliff College which is the feminine adjunct of Harvard University. This was in the field of sociology in the Department of Social Relations there, which includes cultural anthropology, clinical psychology, social psychology, as well as sociology.

Q. Ms. Holt, would you also describe your various job experiences?

A. Well, I started under an arrangement which gave me a kind of internship in public administration where I worked in the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

Q. Where was this?

A. For six months in Alderson, West Virginia; for about nine months in Washington. Following that, I had a year of graduate study concurrent with work in a settlement house in Boston, South End House, and then was appointed an instructor in sociology at Skidmore College and also director of a college community center in Saratoga Springs. I was then returned to Radcliffe College where I was appointed a teaching fellow and tutor in sociology. Concurrently with that, I held a Sigmund Freud Memorial Fellowship at the Boston Psychoanalytic Institute in 1944 and 1945. Following these other jobs, I participated in some research work for the Family Society of Boston Psychoanalytic Institute with their vocational counseling service. I was then an educational counselor for the National Institute of Public Affairs in Washington. From 1947 to 1949 I held a part-time appointment in the Menninger Foundation School of Psychiatry and for part of that time in their school of clinical psychology affiliated with the University of Kansas.

Q. That is located in this city.

A. What's that?

A. Is that in Topeka?



A. Yes. In the interim, there was a post-doctorate fellowship of the National Institute of Mental Health. This past year I have been on the faculty of the University of Kansas in the Psychology Department, teaching courses in social psychology and personality and some of their inter-relations. At the same time I also prepared a long paper for a United States Public Health Service Project in connection with the Mid-Century Whitehouse Conference on Children and Youth dealing with the problems, the methodology of evaluation mental health problems.

Q. What is your major field of interest, Mrs. Holt?

A. It's probably clear that I am interested in the relations between social process and social conditions and personality forming behavior.

Q. Are you a member of any professional societies?

A. The American Sociological Society, the Society for Applied Anthropology, Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, the American Society for Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama, and I am an associate member of the Topeka Psychoanalytic Society.

Q. Mrs. Holt, are you at all familiar with the school system in Topeka?

A. Yes; I have one child who entered that system this last year and another who enters in September.

Q. You are then aware of the fact that the schools are operated on a segregated basis?

A. I am.

Q. Based upon your experience and knowledge, taking the segregated factor alone in the school system in Topeka

A. The fact that it is enforced, that it is legal, I think, has more importance than the mere fact of segregation by itself does because this gives logical and official sanction to a policy which inevitably is interpreted both by white people and by negroes as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. Were it not for the sense that one group is inferior to the other, there would be no basis, and I am not granting that this is a rational basis, for such segregation.

Q. Well, does this interference have any effect, in your opinion, on the learning process?

A. A sense of inferiority must always affect one's motivation for learning since it affects the feeling one has of oneself as a person, as a personality or a self or an ego identity, as Eric Erickson has recently expressed it. That sense of ego identity is built up on the basis of attitudes that are expressed toward a person by others who are important. First the parents and then teachers, other people in the community,

whether they are older or one's own peers. It is other people's reactions to one's self which most basically affects the conception of one's self that one has. If these attitudes that are reflected back and then internalized or projected, are unfavorable ones, then one develops a sense of one's own self as an inferior being. That may not be deleterious necessarily from the standpoint of educational motivation. I believe in some cases it can lead to stronger motivation to achieve well in academic pursuits, to strive to disprove the world that one is inferior since the world feels that one is inferior. In other cases, of course, the reaction may be the opposite and apathetic acceptance, fatalistic submission to the feeling others have expressed that one is inferior and therefore any efforts to prove otherwise would be doomed to failure.

Q. Now these difficulties that you have described, whether they give a feeling of inferiority which you were motivated to attempt to disprove to the world by doing more or whether they give you the feeling of inferiority and therefore cause you to do less, would you say that the difficulties which segregation causes in the public school system interfere with a well --- development of a well-rounded personality?

A. I think the maximum or maximal development of any personality can only be based on the potentialities which that individual himself possesses. Of course they are affected for good or ill by the attitudes, opinions, feelings, which are expressed by others and which may be fossilized into laws. On the other hand, these can be overcome in exceptional cases. The instances I cited of those whose motivation to succeed in academic competition is heightened may very well not be fulfilling their own most basic, most appropriate potentialities but seeking, rather to tilt against windmills, to disprove something which there was no valid reason, in my opinion, to think was so anyhow, namely, the feeling of their inferiority. So even when educational success is achieved that still may not denote the most self-realization of the person. I feel, if I may add another word, I feel that when segregation exists, it's not something -- although it may seem to be such -- that is directed against people for what they are. It is directed against them on the basis of who their parents are, since that is the definition which, according to sociologists and social psychologists analysis of this matter, that is used in determining who shall go to a segregated school, a negro school or a white school; it is not simply skin color. In the case of Walter White, for example, and sociologist Allison Davis, his brother John Davis, who are negroes, their skin color is lighter than mine; of course I have been out in the sun -- the definition does depend on who a person's parents were. That appears also if a dark-skinned person had parents who were high potentates in India he is not defined as a negro; therefore he is not required to use segregated facilities. It is not skin color; it is who the parents were, and my understanding and various sociologists and psychologists analysis of the American tradition, religious tradition as well as a set of values and significant behavior, hinges upon a belief in treating people upon their own merits and we are inclined to oppose a view which states that we should respect or reject them based on who their parents were,

Q. Now, Mrs. Holt, you are aware of the fact that segregation is practiced in Topeka only for the first six grades. Thereafter the child goes to high school and junior high

school apparently without regard to race or color. You have described difficulties and interferences with the personality development which occurs by virtue of segregation at the first six grades. Is the integration of the child at the junior high school level, does that correct these difficulties which you have just spoken of, in your opinion?

A. I think it's a theory that would be accepted by virtually all students of personality development that the earlier a significant event occurs in the life of an individual the more lasting, the more far-reaching and deeper the effects of that incident, that trauma, will be; the more -- the earlier an event occurs, the more difficult it is later on to eradicate those effects.

Q. Your opinion would be that it would be more difficult to eradicate those effects at the junior high school level, is that it; merely because you integrate them at the junior high school level ---

A. Well, once trauma has occurred, and I do believe that attending a segregated school, perhaps after the preschool years of free play with others of different skin color, is a trauma to the negro child; that it occurs early. There is also emerging evidence from a study now going on at Harvard University that the later achievement of individual in their adult occupational careers can be predicted in first grade. If that is true, it means that the important effects of schooling in relation to later achievement are set down at that early age, and I therefore don't think that simply removing segregation at a somewhat later grade could possibly undue those effects.

### **Cross examination by Mr. Goodell:**

Q. You mean, Mrs. Holt, there is a serious study being made now to project into the future whether a child in the first grade is going to be a flop or a success?

A. I do.

Q. You have confidence in that, do you?

A. The study is being directed by Professor Tawkett Parsons, the head of the Department of Social Relations.

Q. You have a good deal of confidence in that?

A. I certainly do.

Q. You made a comment in your testimony I would like to call to your attention again; this segregation in some cases would spur, act as a whiplash, on the child to spur him on and make him achieve, and that would be a bad thing?

A. Yes.

Q. You mean it's a bad thing, for example, for a poor boy, because he is poor, the whiplash of poverty makes him work harder to rise higher; that is a bad thing?

A. I mean that that can be at the expense of healthy personality development, self-actualization, self-realization of the most basic fundamental and appropriate kind for that person, we have plenty of evidence of people who burn themselves out with various emotional or perhaps psychosomatic diseases in whose cases that can be attributed to this overwhelming striving for competitive success to overcome feelings of inferiority.

Q. Mrs. Holt, more or less educational process has in it competitive features, that is, the children are given tests and examinations and gradecards and the ones that don't get good grades, they get poor grades; at least the teacher gives them their merit grade. You don't believe in that, do you?

A. I believe in the children being appraised on the basis of their own objective achievement.

Q. You don't believe then, in any sort of competition in the public school system, do you?

A. I believe that competition had its values.

Q. Do you believe in the way its carried on and have competitive examinations and gradecarding and things of that kind?

A. I don't know how else one can operate in society in which individuals are judged primarily on their own merits rather than on connections of who their parents were or who they know which are the alternatives to that system.

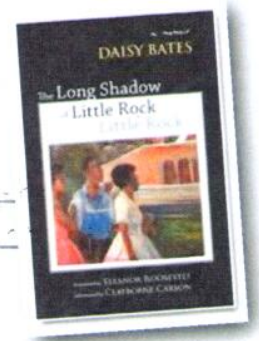
Q. Progressive education, that is one of the elements that they believe which has been set up in California and other areas, to abolish all grading, abolish all examinations, let every child go to school and never have to worry about what his grades are; never know what they are, isn't that right?

A. I think a child needs some definiteness in the expectations which the authorities over him, the teachers, have in order to stimulate him to his own maximum productiveness. I think also competition with his peers, if not carried to excessive limits, if not *if not* undue emphasis is placed on it, can also have very beneficial effects.

Q. These are your personal views you have been giving here largely?

A. They are based on a fair amount of acquaintance with scientific work in this field.

Mr. Goodell: That is all.



From: *The Long Shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir* by Daisy Bates

p. 85 – 87

Little Rock was tense and solemn the day of September twenty-second before the volcano of hate finally erupted in a mighty explosion heard around the world. Except for the urgent, erratic pealing of church bells, the streets were ominously quiet. Hidden behind locked doors were the city's children, who usually were outside at this time, laughing, roller skating, playing ball, and jumping rope. Few strollers took advantage of the pleasant sunny weather; if they had no urgent business outdoors they remained indoors with their children, occupying themselves with the minute details of their personal lives. To anyone familiar with Little Rock on a sunny Sunday afternoon, the city seemed to have stopped breathing.

Some of the clergy had called for a city-wide day of prayer for peace, and many earnest men and women, both black and white, silently appealed to God for help and guidance. But many others, including ministers of God, screamed for action against what they deemed an affront to the Southern way of life, to God and the white people. Before the day ended Mrs. Margaret Jackson, head of the Mothers League, issued a statement calling for an all-out demonstration in front of the school the next morning.

Elizabeth Eckford came by my home after church. "Mrs. Bates," she asked, "now that the National Guard's gone, what's going to happen? Are we going in tomorrow? Will we have protection this time?"

"I'm sure you will, dear," I told her.

I explained to her that Chief of Police Marvin Potts was mobilizing his police forces, that the school board was meeting, and that by the day's end we should know the extent of the protection that would be given.

"Did you know," asked Elizabeth, "two white ministers and a lawyer visited all of our homes Friday and prayed with us?"

"Yes," I smiled. "I knew." The ministers had come to the *State Press* office earlier Friday to tell me, "We came to pray with you." I had just finished reading an article concerning the Reverent Wesley Pruden, pastor of the Broadmoor Baptist Church and a leader in the Capital Citizens Council. I had been thinking about the hundreds of ministers who had not spoken out against the mobsters who had been terrorizing the city in the last seventeen days. I had heard that many ministers were privately pro-integration, and I wished that these men were even half as vocal as Mr. Pruden.

Therefore I may have been a bit impatient when I replied to my visitors: "I don't need prayer. If you are really interested in doing something to help, go visit the homes of the nine children—pray with them—they are the ones who will have to face the mob." The ministers were the Reverend Bert Cartwright, of the Methodist Church, and the Reverend William Campbell of the National Council of Churches, the Nashville minister who had been among those accompanying the children the first day. With them was C.C. Mercer, a Negro attorney.

Superintendent of Schools Blossom called me late that night and asked me to notify the children to meet the next morning at my house where they were to await further instructions as to how to get them to school. Assistant Chief of Police Gene Smith, I was told, would be in charge of the city police at the school.

p. 88 – 94

On Monday morning, September twenty-third, all nine children, accompanied by their parents, arrived at my home before eight o'clock. All but two parents had to leave for work immediately. The two who remained were Oscar Eckford, a night worker, and Mrs. Imogene Brown, an unemployed practical nurse.

Reporters came and went. They wanted to know whether the children were going to school. A few of the Newspapermen called me aside, lowered their voices, and asked, "Mrs. Bates, are you really sending the children to Central? The mob there is really vicious now."

There were several radio outlets in our home and the children stationed themselves all over the house to listen. Radio commentators were broadcasting sidewalk interviews with men and women in the mob gathered in front of Central. A man was saying, "Just let those niggers show up! Just let 'em try!" Someone else said, "We won't stand for our schools being integrated. If we let 'em in, next thing they'll be marrying our daughters." None of us said anything, but all of us were watching the hands of the clock move closer to eight thirty. The radios blared, but the children were strangely silent. Elizabeth sat alone, almost motionless. Carlotta and Ernest walked restlessly from room to room. The faces of all were solemn but determined.

Once when I entered the living-room I saw Mrs. Brown seated on the sofa, her hands clasped tightly in her lap, her eyes closed, her lips moving in prayer. Across the room Mr. Eckford sat with bowed head. For the first time I found that I was praying, too.

At last the call came from the police. They told us it would be safer to take a roundabout route to the school. They would meet us near Central and escort children through a side entrance.

The white newsmen left my home for Central High. The Negro reporters remained, seating themselves around the kitchen table drinking coffee. They were: L. Alex Wilson, general manager and editor of the *Tri-State Defender*, of Memphis, Tennessee; James Hicks, managing editor of the *New York Amsterdam News*; Moses J. Newsome of the *Afro-American*, Baltimore, Maryland, and Earl Davy, *State Press* photographer.

I told them they must take a different route from the one the children would take, but that if they were at the Sixteenth Street and Park Avenue entrance to Central, they would be able to see the nine enter the school.

We had two cars. I went in the first car with some of the children and C. C. Mercer, Frank Smith, field secretary of the NAACP, followed with the rest of the nine. To this day I cannot remember which of the nine were in our car. Nor can they.

As we approached the side entrance to the school, the main body of the mob was moving away from us. I got out of the car and told the children to go quickly. From the sidewalk I watched the police escort them through the door of the school. Someone in the mob saw them enter and yelled, "They're in! The niggers are in!"

The people on the fringes of the mob started moving toward us. A policeman rushed up to me. "

Get back in the car, Mrs. Bates. Drive back the way you came, and fast!"

I tumbled into the car. Mrs. Mercer was waiting at the wheel. The car radio was on and a hoarse-voiced announcer was saying: "The Negro children are being mobbed in front of the school? I knew the children were in the school and for the moment, at least, safe. But who was being mobbed?"

We sped back to the house to reassure Mrs. Brown and Mr. Eckford. Then I called the other parents at work to quiet their fears.



A series of false radio reports followed. Newscasters, broadcasting from the school grounds, reported that the children were being beaten and were running down the halls of the school, bloodstained; that the police were trying to get them out, but the nine children, hysterical with fright, had locked themselves in an empty classroom. A young white lawyer, who was very close to Assistance Chief of Police Gene Smith, devised a plan by which he would keep me informed of the goings on inside the school. When I called him, he assured me that the reports were false. After each report I would check with him, then call the parents. Once Mr. Eckford screamed at me in exasperation, "Well, if it's not true why would they say such things on the air?"

*"The children have barricaded themselves inside the school, the mob is breaking through the barricades, and the police are powerless to rescue the children,"* we heard one breathless newscaster announce. Again I called and demanded to know what was going on. I was told that the children were safe, but the police didn't know how much longer their forces could control the mob, which had now grown to over a thousand.

Later that day we learned that a white teen-age girl had been slipping in and out of the school, issuing false reports to the radio broadcasters. They had put her statements on the air without checking them. Gene Smith, Assistant Chief of Police, had finally caught up with her and ordered her arrested.

One could say it was the answer to Mrs. Brown's prayer that the Negro reporters arrived at Central about five minutes ahead of us. Jimmy Hicks of the *Amsterdam News* later told me just what did happen that morning.

"We parked our car near the school and made a dash for the Sixteenth Street entrance. When the mob saw us, they yelled, 'Here they come!' and came rushing at us. The women screamed, 'Get the niggers! Get 'em!' About a thousand folk blocked the streets. One big burly guy swung at my head. I ducked. The blow landed on my shoulder, spinning me around. I ran between two parked cars which concealed me from the mob. Two men jumped on top of Earl Davy, dragging him into a bank of high grass. Others

were kicking and beating him while the two held him. They took his press camera and threw it to the sidewalk and smashed it flat with their feet. Several men jumped on Alex Wilson, knocking him to the ground and kicking him in the stomach. As he was getting up, one of the mobsters hollered, 'Run, nigger!' Alex wouldn't run. The brute with a brick in his hand, jumped on Alex's back, and raised the brick to crush Alex's skull.

"The niggers are in the school! The niggers are in the school!"

"The man jumped off Alex's back, calling to the others, 'Come on! The niggers are in!'" The mobsters beating Davy, Newsome, and Wilson all charged toward the school like a pack of wild animals.

"We probably saved you and the children, but I know you saved us. Some of the mob had spotted me between the cars and were advancing on me with sticks and clubs. And when they charged toward the school, we got the hell out of there. But know, during all that beating Alex never let go of his hat."

The frenzied mob rushed the police barricades. One man was heard to say, "So they sneaked them in behind our back. That's all we need. Let's go get our shotguns!" Hysterical women helped to break the barricades and then urged the men to go in and 'get the niggers out!" Some of the women screamed for their children to "Come out! Don't stay in there with those niggers!" About fifty students rushed out, crying. "They're in! They're in!"

Around eleven thirty, Gene Smith realized his police force was inadequate to hold the mob. He ordered the nine removed from the school. They were taken out through a delivery entrance in the rear of the school, placed in police cars and driven to their homes. When it was announced that the children had been removed, the reporters rushed to my home and asked me what was our next step. Would the nine return to Horace Mann, the all-Negro school? I said No, they were going to remain out of the school until

the President of the United States guaranteed them protection within Central High School. This was interpreted by the reporters as my having requested troops.

The mob, thwarted in its attempt to put its hands on the Negro children, switched momentarily to another field of battle. They went after the "Yankee" reporters.

The entire *Life* magazine staff on the scene was beaten. Photographers Francis Miller and Gray Villey were slugged in the mouth. Writer Paul Welch was beaten in the face and cut on the neck. All three men were arrested for inciting a riot. After their release Mr. Miller said, in bitter sarcasm, that he was evidently arrested for striking a man's fist with his face.

Most of the citizens of Little Rock were stunned as they witnessed a savage rebirth of passion and racial hatred that had lain dormant since the Reconstruction days. As dusk was falling, tension and fear grew. The mob spread throughout the city, venting its fury on any Negro in sight.

Two Negro women driving through the city were pulled from their car and beaten. Two Negro men in a truck were surrounded by the mob near the school and beaten, and their truck windows smashed with rocks. Mayor Woodrow Mann wired President Eisenhower for protection. The Justice Department called Harry Ashmore, editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, and asked him to describe the situation. He said, "I'll give it to you in one sentence. The police have been routed, the mob is in the streets and we're close to a reign of terror."

459 House of Representatives  
Washington 25, D.C.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.  
Democrat, 16th District, New York

August 30, 1957

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. cabled the following message from Berchtesgaden, Germany on August 30, 1957, following the passage of the Civil Rights bill by the Senate:



"This completely vindicates my support of President Eisenhower regardless of what may happen to me. Personally, I am proud to have campaigned for one who has kept every word to me. After 80 years of political slavery, this is the second emancipation.

"On October 11, 1956, President Eisenhower promised me, first, he would call for this bill in his State of the Union message; second, he would spell it out specifically; third, his Attorney General would press for early consideration of the bill; fourth, his Congressional leaders would fight for early passage.

"He kept his word to me 100 percent. Under Adlai Stevenson this would not have happened as indicated by the votes to weaken the bill of pro-Stevenson senators, both North and South.

"My congratulations also go to Representative Emanuel Celler for his leadership in the fight for a meaningful Civil Rights bill at this session of Congress.

"I endorse 100 percent Martin Luther King's registration drive in the South to place on the books one million Negro voters. I will assist him by sending in expert political workers to aid in this effort. I, personally, will come South anywhere and at anytime as needed as I did to spark the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

"Negroes must not ally themselves with or think in terms of either party, but should concentrate on the issues and the position of the candidates in relationship to these. This should be the signal for the North to register now as never before. On September 17, 1957, I am returning to the United States to exert all effort toward such registration.

"It is time now for the big city Northern Democrats to do some painful soul-searching."

Little Rock Central High School  
Little Rock, Arkansas  
September 24, 1957

If we are to function successfully in Central High School with Negro students, we need:

I. A guard in every outside door allowing no one inside except students, the staff, and recognized delivery persons.

II. A method of identifying students. Library cards, already in pupils' hands, are suggested.

III. Enough guards around the campus to insure that students do not leave the campus unless they have either lunch permits or leave-early permits.

IV. An all-school assembly with a representative of the federal government to explain the law and its penalties.

V. Crowds kept at least a block away from 14th and Park, 14th and Denison, 16th and Park, 16th and Denison; and from Park Avenue between 14th and 16th, in order that normal teaching can continue.

VI. We do not have enough staff members to put teachers in the corridors while classes pass. We need at least 6 men to be in the corridors at all times and, until the situation stabilizes, at least a sufficient number of men in all main corridors between classes to insure the physical safety and good conduct of all pupils.

VII. If Negro students are brought in, they should be given a safe passage into the school.

VIII. A safety check of the school made by demolition experts over the week end.

Respectfully submitted,

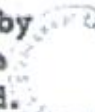
Jess W. Matthews  
Principal

## DIARY

Notes dictated by the President on October 8, 1957 concerning visit of Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas to Little Rock on September 14, 1957.

Interview was held in the President's tiny office at the Naval Station at Newport. At the beginning of what was approximately a two hour session, the President and the Governor were alone in the President's office for about twenty minutes. They then adjourned to acw's office, which was larger.

"What he had to say was pretty well represented in the press releases given out that day (attached). Governor Faubus protested again and again he was a law abiding citizen, that he was a veteran, fought in the war, and that everybody recognizes that the Federal law is supreme to State law. So I suggested to him that he go home and not necessarily withdraw his National Guard troops, but just change their orders to say that having been assured that there was no attempt to do anything except to obey the Courts and that the Federal government was not trying to do anything that had not been already agreed to by the School Board and directed by the Courts; that he should tell the Guard to continue to preserve order but to allow the Negro children to attend Central High School. I pointed out at that time he was due to appear the following Friday, the 20th, before the Court to determine whether an injunction was to be issued. In any event, I urged him to take this action promptly whereupon the Justice Department would go to the Court and ask that the Governor not be brought into Court. I further said that I did not believe it was beneficial to anybody to have a trial of strength between the President and a Governor because in any area where the Federal government had assumed jurisdiction and this was upheld by the Supreme Court, there could be only one outcome -- that is, the State would lose, and I did not want to see any Governor humiliated.



"He seemed to be very appreciative of this attitude and I got definitely the understanding that he was going back to Arkansas to act within a matter of hours to revoke his orders to the Guard to prevent re-entry of the Negro children into the school.

"He told me of his war experiences and vigorously asserted his deep feelings of loyalty and dedication to the Federal government, and repeated several times that he had shown respect for the law in all his actions.

"After some 20 minutes of personal conference, we invited Governor Adams and Brooks Hays, and later, the Attorney General, to join us. The ensuing conversation was generally along the same lines as he had talked to me in private."

*B. C. W. - [unclear]*



September 19, 1957  
3:15 P. M.

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM HAGERTY

Dictated by Andy Goodpaster, after conferring by telephone with Governor Adams.

Governor Faubus is not going to carry out the order of the Court, but is going to engage in some legal maneuvering to try to block and frustrate the order of that Court. Governor Adams does not feel that the President should make a statement at this time (as the President had suggested -- in a telephone conversation with the Governor this morning). Adams and the Attorney General and others have reached an agreement that at present the President should say nothing.

If Mr. Hagerty is questioned, he should say that this is a matter within the jurisdiction of the Court and that it would be improper to comment while the particular proceedings are going forward. However, he can say that the President is deeply disappointed that voluntary means have not been found to comply with the Court's orders.

At the time the Court issues a directive to admit the children forthwith, and Governor Faubus refuses to comply, then an obligation falls upon the Federal government to require Faubus to do so by whatever means may be necessary. At that time the President should speak to the country.

F-4

December 1, 1953

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Governor:

I have put considerable thought and study on the problems involved in the school segregation cases. As you know, I am interested primarily in progress; it has been my fervent hope that some solution would be found to this problem which would progressively work toward the goals established by abstract principle, but which would not, at the same time, cause such disruption and mental anguish among great portions of our population that progress would actually be reversed. Consequently, your personal views have meant much to me. I appreciate your intimate study and knowledge of the problem and count you among my warm personal friends. More than this, I recognize that there are very serious problems that you have to face - - regardless of the exact character of the court decisions in the pending cases. By this I mean that the task of establishing "equal but separate" facilities will involve, I am told, extraordinary expenditures throughout all the southern states. Incidentally, I sometimes wonder just what officials of government would be charged with the responsibility for determining when facilities were exactly equal.

In the study of the case, it became clear to me that the questions asked of the Attorney General by the Supreme Court demanded answers that could be determined only by lawyers and historians. Consequently, I have been compelled to turn over to the Attorney General and his associates full responsibility in the matter. He and I agreed that his brief would reflect the convictions of the Department of Justice as to the legal aspects of the case, including, of course, the legislative history of the enactment of the 14th Amendment. In rendering an opinion as to these phases of the case, it is clear that the Attorney General had to act according to his own conviction and understanding.



PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

We further agreed that no political consideration of any kind was to be given any weight whatsoever - - and that, no matter what his legal conclusions might be, the principle of local operation and authority would be emphasized to the maximum degree consistent with his legal opinions.

Two or three court decisions of recent years have, as you know, tended to becloud the original decision of "equal but separate" facilities. One of these decisions, I am told, even held that a Negro in graduate school attending exactly the same classes as whites, but separated from them by some kind of railing, was held to be the victim of discrimination and could not be so separated from the white students. This and other decisions had all, of course to be considered by the Attorney General and his staff. But I am sure that you have no doubt as to the complete integrity and broad capacity of the Attorney General - - even if in this case I suspect you may question his legal wisdom.

In any event, I appreciate your letter and the trouble you are taking to keep me informed as to your views. Whatever the outcome, I hope most fervently that all of us may work together so as to insure the steadiness of progress toward justice for all in the United States.

With warm personal regard,

Sincerely,



The Honorable James F. Byrnes  
Governor of South Carolina  
Columbia, South Carolina

cc: Attorney General  
General Carroll

TELEPHONE CALLS  
September 20, 1957

The President called Gabe Hauge regarding some changes in the International Monetary Fund speech.



Later, from the office, he called the Attorney General. The Attorney General told him that Governor Faubus' attorneys had walked out of the Court room, but said that it did not necessarily mean that the Governor would not comply with the court order (later he did so). The Attorney General said the FBI were even then talking with the Chief of Police to determine his attitude and whether he would deputize citizens to act as policemen. Assuming the Judge does issue the injunction against the Governor, there are two courses that the Governor can take. One is to say all right, he will withdraw the Guard; other would be straight defiance. In either case it calls for decisions on President's part. Brucker is coming over to talk to the Attorney General (about use of Army if necessary).

The President is loath to use troops -- thinks movement might spread -- violence would come. There is no doubt whatever about the authority of the President to call out the troops, although he "cannot use them to preserve law and order" but can use them to see that the children are protected.

The President said he wished someone would tell Brook Hays just how low the Governor has fallen in the President's estimation since he broke his promise to the President.

The President questioned -- suppose the children are taken to school and then Governor Faubus closes the school. Can he do that legally? The Attorney General will look it up. The President is afraid that Governor Faubus and in other parts of the south they will abolish the public schools.

January 7, 1954

ADMINISTRATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS  
CIVIL RIGHTS

- Jan. 20 For the first time in the nation's history, a Negro secretary was appointed in the White House.
- Mar. 10 Attorney General Brownell presented arguments to the Supreme Court urging the enforcement of District of Columbia laws barring segregation in the national capital.
- Mar. 25 President Eisenhower created the Committee on Government Contracts, with Vice President Nixon as chairman, to help prevent discrimination on jobs covered by Federal contracts.
- Sept. 12 The Army's program to wipe out racial segregation was announced as moving ahead of schedule. At least 90% of the Negroes in the Army are now serving in non-segregated units.
- Oct. 25 In keeping with President Eisenhower's premise to eliminate segregation in the District of Columbia, new contracts for D.C. services required contractors to pledge no discrimination in employment.
- Nov. 11 Secretary of the Navy Anderson announced the elimination of racial discrimination among civilian employees at all naval shore installations, except in Charleston, S.C. It has more recently been announced that all discrimination at the Charleston station will be eliminated by January 11, 1954.
- Nov. 25 Twenty-three District of Columbia government agencies were ordered to end discrimination.
- Nov. 27 Attorney General Brownell advised the Supreme Court that it had ample constitutional power to outlaw racial segregation in the public schools and that it should do so.
- Dec. 17 Harvey Higley, VA Administrator appointed by President Eisenhower, reports excellent progress in the elimination of segregation in all VA hospitals.





# Republican national committee

1625 I Street Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.

NATIONAL 8-6800



VAL J. WASHINGTON  
DIRECTOR OF MINORITIES

LEONARD W. HALL  
CHAIRMAN

July 28, 1955

The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a copy of our latest release which is now being mailed. This is a progress report to the people on the achievements of this Administration in the field of Civil Rights.

*xoF 102-B-3*

In 1952 we published a campaign manual entitles "The Republican Party and the Negro". On page 27 we gave fourteen points on what minorities could expect when you were elected. With the appointment of E. Frederic Morrow on the White House staff, the fourteen promises have been fulfilled - with still a year and a half left in this term.

*xoF 138-C-4*

I know you are very conscious and proud of your record in this field and I want to congratulate you again on the high moral plane on which your Administration is operating. You are indeed an inspiration to all of us who serve in whatever capacity. It is easy to follow a leader who makes no compromise with principle in any area.

Sincerely,

*Val*



O.F.  
142-A

RECEIVED  
AUG - 3 1955  
CENTRAL FILES

August 1, 1955

Dear Val:

Naturally, every report on the fulfillment in this Administration of Republican pledges made in the campaign of 1952 gives me a great deal of satisfaction. In a special sense, however, your letter on the complete realization of fourteen points presented to the Negro # voters of the Nation during that campaign is particularly heartening and gratifying. You relate an achievement which emphatically proves that the unity of the American people is neither a mere political platitude nor a purely philosophical concept. YOF101-Y

As Americans, we believe in the equal dignity of all our people, whatever their racial origin or background may be; in their equal right to freedom and opportunity and the benefits of our common citizenship. Now, during this Administration, we have advanced far -- on every front of our daily life -- the factual application of our belief. We have demonstrated a dynamic loyalty to the principles on which the Republic is founded.

All of us realize that much must still be done. All of us, whatever our position or our party may be, must still work tirelessly toward the goal of a stronger and more warmly human unity. But all of us have reason for just pride in the tremendous advances of the past thirty months. The credit should be widely shared.

You, and millions of others like you, have contributed greatly by an outstanding devotion to the Republic and by unfaltering service to it; thereby, the esteem, the respect of your fellow citizens has been earned. The Republican Party has been firm in its insistence that there can be only one class of citizenship and has been effective in its practice of this conviction; thereby it has proved itself, in our day, a vigorous and productive champion of the ideals and purposes of Lincoln. XOF138-C

But I am sure, the major credit must go to the people of the United States. Their sense of fair play, their recognition that all our citizens are bound in a common destiny, their spiritual faith in the dignity of

**CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY**

all men under God -- these deeply rooted characteristics of the American people are the ultimate source of the achievement reported by you.

My thanks are yours for the report you have made. My best wishes to you and to all associated with you on the Committee and in the field.

Sincerely,

(sgd.) DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mr. Val J. Washington  
Republican National Committee  
1625 Eye Street, N.W.  
Washington 6, D. C.

XOF 138-C-1

KMcC:nao



July 22, 1957

PERSONAL



Dear Swede:

.....  
[portions deleted to because they are not relevant to the Little Rock topic]  
.....

- 4 -

Undoubtedly, I have written to you a number of times on the subject of "Civil Rights." I think that no other single event has so disturbed the domestic scene in many years as did the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 in the school segregation case. That decision and similar ones earlier and later in point of time have interpreted the Constitution in such fashion as to put heavier responsibilities than before on the Federal government in the matter of assuring to each citizen his guaranteed Constitutional rights. My approach to the many problems has been dictated by several obvious truths:

PERSONAL

PERSONAL

(a). Laws are rarely effective unless they represent the will of the majority. In our prohibition experiment, we even saw local opinion openly and successfully defy Federal authority even though national public opinion then seemed to support the whole theory of prohibition.

(b). When emotions are deeply stirred, logic and reason must operate gradually and with consideration for human feelings or we will have a resultant disaster rather than human advancement.



(c). School segregation itself was, according to the Supreme Court decision of 1896, completely Constitutional until the reversal of that decision was accomplished in 1954. The decision of 1896 gave a cloak of legality to segregation in all its forms. As a result, the social, economic and political patterns of the South were considered by most whites, especially by those in that region, as not only respectable but completely legal and ethical.

(d). After three score years of living under these patterns, it was impossible to expect complete and instant reversal of conduct by mere decision of the Supreme Court. The Court itself recognized this and provided a plan for the desegregation of schools which it believed to be moderate but effective.

The plan of the Supreme Court to accomplish integration gradually and sensibly seems to me to provide the only possible answer if we are to consider on the one hand the customs and fears of a great section of our population, and on the other the binding effect that Supreme Court decisions must have on all of us if our

PERSONAL



PERSONAL

form of government is to survive and prosper. Consequently the plan that I have advanced for Congressional consideration on this touchy matter was conceived in the thought that only moderation in legal compulsions, accompanied by a stepped-up program of education, could bring about the result that every loyal American should seek.

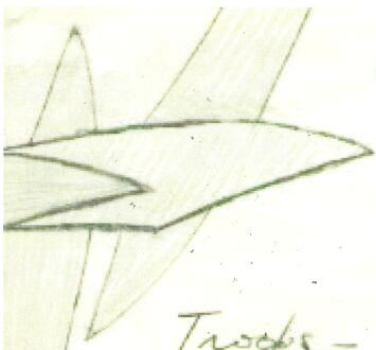
I think that some of the language used in the attempt to translate my basic purposes into legislative provisions has probably been too broad. Certainly it has been subject to varying interpretations. This I think can be corrected in the Congress.

But I hold to the basic purpose. There must be respect for the Constitution -- which means the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution -- or we shall have chaos. We cannot possibly imagine a successful form of government in which every individual citizen would have the right to interpret the Constitution according to his own convictions, beliefs and prejudices. Chaos would develop. This I believe with all my heart -- and shall always act accordingly.



This particular quarrel is not completely devoid of some amusing aspects. For example, a violent exponent of the segregation doctrine was in my office one day. during the course of his visit he delivered an impassioned talk on the sanctity of the 1896 decision by the Supreme Court. At a pause in his oration I merely asked, "Then why is the 1954 decision not equally sacrosanct?" He stuttered and said, "There were then wise men on the Court. Now we have politicians." I replied, "Can you name one man on the 1896 Court who made the decision?" He just looked at me in consternation and the subject was dropped.

PERSONAL



DDE



THE WHITE HOUSE

Troops -  
 Not to enforce integration  
 but  
 to prevent ~~violence~~ opposition  
 by violence to orders of court.

---

In Arkansas.

Governor ordered out troops,  
 armed & equipped and partially  
 maintained by Fed. Government with  
 instructions orders to prevent execution  
 of a plan proposed by school board,  
 approved by Fed. judge.

---

President can stand <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~  
<sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>organized</sup> ~~organized~~ <sup>or</sup> ~~or~~ <sup>weaken</sup> ~~weaken~~ <sup>under</sup> ~~under~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>system</sup> ~~system~~  
 and <sup>as</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>entire</sup> ~~entire~~ <sup>country</sup> ~~country~~  
 disintegrate (meaning destruction of  
 our form of govt) or he can carry out  
 his oath of office.

The Attorney General  
Warren Olney III . Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

September 13, 1957  
WC: ABC mp

Summary of FBI report in Little Rock, Arkansas  
Integration difficulty

The FBI report of 501 pages and 30 exhibits is the result of the intensive work of 50 FBI agents interviewing more than 500 persons in Little Rock and North Little Rock, Arkansas. The list of persons interviewed extends from the Governor's personal staff and attorney down through all city and state officials who might have had information including school board members, school teachers, the colored custodial help at Central High School and the colored children involved. Not a single individual had any knowledge of any sort of violence or actual threats of violence prior to the time the Governor called out the Guards on September 2, 1957.

Even the information which the Governor supplied through his own personal attorney to the Bureau contained no tangible evidence whatever of any immediate threat to the peace and good order. The evidence supplied by the attorney consisted of one copy of the colored newspaper "Southern Mediator Journal" dated August 30, 1957, and a number of scurrilous race hating pamphlets attacking the NAACP, the Supreme court, and numerous other officials, all of which had been circulated for many months throughout all of the Southern states and elsewhere by the White Citizens Council, White America, Inc., The Capital Citizens Council of Little Rock, the White Sentinel of St Louis, Missouri, and other similar race-hate organizations. Also included were a number of news clippings from the Arkansas Democrat and the Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock's two daily newspapers, which contained accounts of the activities of the local Capital Citizens Council and its demands through the press that the Governor stop integration in Arkansas.

The Governor's attorney, William Smith, gave a statement to the Bureau which, instead of supplying definite information contained only questions, inferences and criticisms concerning the increased sale of guns attributed to a Mrs. Eva Heath, in which the attorney quotes her as saying "She had a substantial number of calls from Negroes in order to obtain pistols even though she does not sell pistols \* \* \* said she had not received abnormal requests for knives." Upon interview Mrs. Heath told the Bureau, "since July 1, 1947, I have received calls for about four or five pistols, \* \* \* by unidentified Negro men." That was the basis of the Governor's concern about the sale of guns.

Records  
Chron  
Caldwell

F-8

The Bureau interviewed every owner and manager and clerk in every store, pawnshop, or other place in Little Rock and North Little Rock where guns and knives might be obtained. There were over 100 places, checked by the Bureau. The search revealed that there had been no significant increase in the sale of either guns or knives during the summer and if there was any change over prior years it was that there were less sold this summer than in the previous similar period of time. (Pages 151 through 253)

The Governor's attorney claimed that Mr. Virgil Blossom repeatedly begged the Governor for protection because he (Blossom) feared violence but this is denied by Mr. Blossom who explains his conference with the Governor as follows: "The Little Rock School Board gave Mr. Blossom the responsibility of (1) obtaining from Governor Faubus a simple statement for the public to the effect that he would preserve the peace and order in the event of trouble; (2) to secure from Judge John E. Miller a statement to the effect that he would tolerate no interference in the integration program and (3) secure from Little Rock's Chief of Police Marin Potts a statement that he would preserve order at the time of integration."

While the Chief of Police was willing to cooperate the Governor refused, although urged repeatedly, to give any such simple statement as requested stating that he had signed the segregation acts passed by the Arkansas state legislature and that if he issued such a statement people would think he favored integration. (See page 83).

As additional support of the Governor's position that violence was imminent prior to the opening of school, Attorney Smith added that his yardman at his home (how is a member of the Little Rock Police Force) had told Smith's wife that he had never in all his experience seen such an explosive situation as there was in Little Rock (page 80). Upon interview the yardman, Mr Robert Green, denied he had seen Mr. Smith any time in the last three months and that he had not spoken to Attorney Smith's wife until 5:30 p.m. on September 5, or three days after the Governor had called out the troops. Then denied that he told her he thought there would be trouble with the Negroes (page 128).

The result of the entire investigation shows that the Governor did not at any time have any real evidence of impending violence or even serious threats of violence in order to justify mobilization of the Arkansas National Guard. This explains the complete surprise and consternation of all the city officials of Little Rock who normally would be the ones most concerned with impending riots and disorder, and who would be expected to maintain order until it would appear that they could not, and only in that event would they call upon the Governor for assistance with troops. The investigation reveals that the Mayor of Little Rock was correct when he described the Governor's action as a hoax perpetrated for political reasons.

The governor's action can be explained only as a political move. The city of Little Rock had been thoroughly prepared for integration in the last months and there had been literally hundreds of meetings with local groups, such as the PTA and other civic groups, at which school officials, particularly Virgil Blossom, Superintendent of Schools, explained the plans to the apparent satisfaction of the community. Mr. Blossom had even gone to Louisville, Kentucky, and conferred with Dr. Carmichael, Superintendent of Schools, where integration had already been smoothly accomplished. Dr. Carmichael told Mr. Blossom that the most important factor in the success of the Louisville school integration was the fact that no political figure had tried to make integration a political issue. (See page 86).

The investigation reveals that the Governor, when he conferred with a representative of the Department of Justice on August 28, indicated that he was concerned about violence and also concerned about the position in which he found himself as a result of his urging the Arkansas legislature to enact certain anti-integration statutes which were now law and had not been held unconstitutional. The Governor said that this placed him on the spot and he was obligated to oppose integration until those laws were held unconstitutional by the courts.

The Governor indicated that he intended to stop integration by legal means by filing a law suit through an official of the Mothers' club to Oppose Integration in Little Rock. This law suit would ask the judge of Chancery Court of Pulaski County to issue an injunction restraining the school board from proceeding with its plan of integration. She stated that it was his hope to secure this order from the state court and thereby put the school board between conflicting orders, one from the state court and one from the federal court and thereby force the school board to ask Judge Miller for a postponement of the starting date of the integration plan.

There is some evidence to indicate that the Governor had received information that Judge Miller might be willing to do this. However, upon the issuance of the state injunction Judge Miller called Chief Judge Gardner of the Eighth Circuit court of Appeals in St. Louis, and had the proceedings transferred from his court in Fort Smith to Judge Davies' court in Little Rock, Arkansas. Therefore the school board asked Judge Davies for a federal order restraining the use of the previously obtained state injunction which he granted on August 30<sup>th</sup>.

Thus the Governor's plans to use the Courts to stop integration failed. He hurriedly called a staff conference of all members of his staff which discussed strategy and how the Governor should proceed to stop integration in Little Rock. No decision was reached on the August 30 meeting but on August 31 the same group of advisors were called and discussed the political effect and possible consequences to the governor in terms of contempt of the federal court, if he called out the National Guard at the opening of school.

While these staff meetings were secret and limited to his closest advisors one of them, Mr. William M. Berry, Chairman of the Commerce Commission, had informed the Bureau that the decision to use the State Guard was for political purposes only because it would give widespread publicity and align the Governor with those who opposed integration in public schools and thereby make it possible for him to break the tradition of no third term for Governor of Arkansas. Even at this meeting some of the governor's advisors pointed out that the regular procedure would be for the Chief of Police and Mayor of the city to call on the Governor for help before he would be justified in using the troops but this was rejected because Chief of Police Potts had been publicly quoted as saying that he intended to uphold the law and his force was adequate to do so.

When it became apparent to Mr. Blossom and other members of the school board that the Governor had finally and definitely refused to issue a statement that he would uphold law and order and might use the Guard to oppose integration a member of the school board and Mr. Blossom prevailed upon Mr. Winthrop Rockefeller to privately and personally urge the Governor to take a public stand that law and order would be upheld. As a result Mr. Rockefeller came to Little Rock and conferred secretly with Governor Faubus on September 1, 1957 and urged him not to use the National Guard but to publicly support Little Rock's plan of integration. This the Governor refused to do contending that he needed the support of Eastern Arkansas in the next election. A summary of the information received by the Bureau from Mr. Rockefeller is attached and indicates that Mr. Rockefeller was convinced after talking to the Governor that his position was motivated by political reasons and not any danger of violence or rioting.

The Governor, now realizing that it will be revealed through court proceedings that he had no evidence to support his action has already broadcast his alibi by revealing over a national TV network that the President of the United States refused to fill the vacant judgeship in Little Rock and kept it open all year so that he could transfer Judge Davies to this court to make rulings favorable to integrationists and unfavorable to those who favored segregation. In other words, he had accused this administration of "stacking the court against him." See excerpts from Dave Garroway's program "Today" on the NBC network attached.

Attachments



ROBERT F. KENNON  
GOVERNOR

STATE OF LOUISIANA  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT  
BATON ROUGE

November 20, 1953

THE WHITE HOUSE

NOV 23 9 18 AM '53

RECEIVED

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Eisenhower:

I was pleased to note from press reports that you will give personal consideration to the answers to be submitted by the Department of Justice to the United States Supreme Court in connection with the public school litigation now pending.

xOF100-A

Throughout the history of our public school system every state has exercised the right to operate its own schools, and the United States Supreme Court has sustained this right in a series of cases extending back some three-quarters of a century. State laws have required parents to send their children to school and under state laws the state and local communities have accepted the responsibility of providing the best schools which their resources permitted. During the past ten years great progress has been made in improving public school systems in the South. For instance, Louisiana has increased its minimum salary for beginner teachers holding a BA degree in both its white and colored schools to \$2400.00 for the nine months school year. Modern high schools for colored citizens have been constructed, particularly in our larger cities where better financial resources exist and further development is in prospect.

The states are presently finding it difficult to provide the additional school facilities needed for the fast-growing school population. The effect of the increased postwar birth rate is being felt heavily in the lower age classrooms. Yet the states have met the problem to date without federal aid. A federal edict contrary to the established order and customs

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower  
November 20, 1953  
Page 2

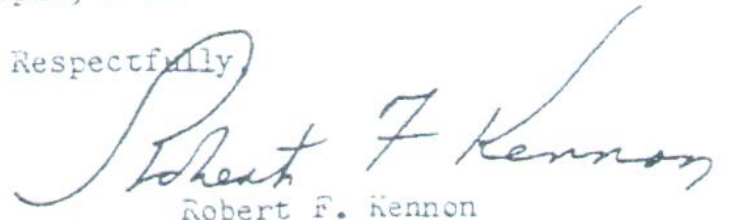
could well disrupt many local systems, particularly in the rural areas. Such a disruption would interrupt the present orderly improvement and do great damage to the fine racial relationships that have existed — and improved — over the years.

Every true American must believe in the principle of fair treatment to every citizen, regardless of race, color or religion, but, as in the case of the subject matter commonly referred to as FEPC, the solution of the school problem rightfully rests on the state and local level. The states have the financial responsibility of providing school buildings, as well as teachers and transportation facilities where needed. A federal edict would require drastic and sudden major changes and expenditures for which funds are not available.

However, the controlling consideration is not money or even segregation. It is one of preserving our dual system of federal and state government. I trust that the guiding principle of states rights, local self-government and community responsibility will be given the prime consideration it deserves, and that the position of the Department of Justice will be towards sustaining the fundamental American conception of state sovereignty.

With good wishes for your continued health and happiness and appreciation for the fine service you are rendering the American people, I am

Respectfully



Robert F. Kennon

RFK:CD:I



# Principal's Message

## *Character, Citizenship Lead to Student Success*

By J.W. Matthews

Today our society is being challenged in many ways. Communism is not our only enemy. Ignorance and selfishness are equally great dangers and the only protection against all three is that the young people now in our schools meet these challenges and protect those great privileges of freedom and human dignity, payable only in a democratic society.

In most cases the character and knowledge which is so necessary for future successful citizenship in our country is a direct outgrowth of school citizenship. Character is shown by what people do and very few change overnight: so what students do now in school they will probably be doing in adult life. Character and knowledge go hand in hand: one without the other is harmful, sometimes dangerous.

So, students, when you hear us talking about student behavior in the corridors, assembly or cafeteria, of cooperation with your teachers in your class work, of thinking about the other person in your daily contacts at school, of good sportsmanship at athletic events, of safety precautions around the school, and many other such topics, you realize we are trying to set up a situation where you may secure knowledge and develop dependable traits of character through practicing good citizenship in school.

Schools used to think that rigid discipline and text books produced the character and knowledge that future citizenship would require.

The modern school values this heritage but places much emphasis on the development of behavior patterns required in our democratic society and does not take for granted that pupils will develop into good citizens merely because of contact with discipline and text books.

[http://www.centralhigh57.org/the\\_tiger.htm](http://www.centralhigh57.org/the_tiger.htm)





RECEIVED

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR  
COLUMBIA

JAMES F. BYRNES  
GOVERNOR

ALEX McCULLOUGH  
RESEARCHER  
MISS CASSIE CONNOR  
CLERK

November 20, 1953

*Personal*

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

AIR MAIL

Dear Mr. President:

The press quoted you as saying at your press conference Wednesday that you intended to personally consider the reply your Administration will make to the questions propounded by the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. Because of this I have clipped from the first draft of a brief which has been prepared by Mr. John W. Davis, representing certain school trustees in South Carolina, several pages which I herewith enclose.

*Retained the*

In the brief our counsel will argue that the United States Supreme Court and every other court, federal and state, that has ever considered this question has held that the 14th Amendment did not prohibit a state from enacting a law requiring separation of races in public schools provided equal facilities were furnished all students. The question now is whether you will ask the Supreme Court to reverse its decisions and declare that the 14th Amendment now means something the Court has heretofore said it did not mean.

The Court has no right to legislate. That is the duty of the legislative branches of the federal and state governments. The excerpts I enclose you contain a discussion of the right of a state in the exercise of its police powers to make distinctions between people, provided such distinctions are not arbitrary and unreasonable. I hope your consideration will cause you to conclude that this is the proper position for you to take. There are five cases pending. The Court might well conclude the conditions in Kansas were such that a law making a distinction between the races was unreasonable. The Court might say that in the South Carolina case where the number of colored students in the school district in question is ten to every one white student, the Court cannot say that the action of the state is manifestly unreasonable.

This position would be in accord with the decisions of the courts and certainly it would be in accord with the position you have consistently taken, that the states should have the right to control matters that are purely local.

With best wishes to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

*James F. Byrnes*

RECORDED  
INDEXED  
NOV 23 1953  
U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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# General Assembly



S. R. No. 20

By: Senators Hollis of 24th, Neel of 7th and Overby of the 33rd.

## A RESOLUTION

To congratulate the Commonwealth of Virginia for its leadership in the struggle to preserve the time-honored American concept of State and local control over education, to resist usurpation of legislative power by the United States Supreme Court, and to protect the liberty of citizens against enforced submission to foreign ideologies calculated to destroy their cultural heritage.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for citizens to resist usurpation of power and destruction of liberty, men of good will everywhere will lend an attentive ear to a statement of the causes which prompt such resistance. We have read with sympathy and understanding the Report of the Commission on Public Education in Virginia, observed with admiration the orderly procedure followed in submitting a recommendation of that Commission to a vote of the people, and noted the overwhelming approval it received in a free election. We extend congratulations to Thomas B. Stanley, Governor of Virginia, Garland Gray, Chairman of the Virginia Commission, the General Assembly of Virginia and to the people of Virginia.

.....  
[portions deleted because of the length of the entire resolution]  
.....

We are disturbed by the glib way in which the Supreme Court in 1954 brushed aside carefully documented history as "inconclusive," disregarded time-honored rules of evidence, overruled the established law of the land, and sought, through judicial fiat, to subject the people of the Southern States to a practice wholly inconsistent with their history, tradition, and present circumstances. Rarely in the history of government, tyrannical or otherwise, is a more flagrant abuse of power to be discovered.

.....  
[portions deleted because of the length of the entire resolution]  
.....

Georgia's public schools, like those of Virginia, have been built up "slowly and painfully from the ashes of 1865." The loss to children of both the white and Negro race, especially to those whose parents are in the lower income groups, and the loss certain to result to the State and nation from the abandonment of public schools in any area, are apparent. Hence, while ready to abandon our public schools if pushed to the point where nothing short of that course can preserve the integrity of the races, we look with keen interest at other proposals to solve the acute problem cast upon us by a blind and vicious judiciary.

We are impressed by the recommendations of the Virginia Commission that local school boards, "people who know their own communities and whose children will profit or suffer by their decisions," be given wide discretion in such matters as the employment of teachers, assignment of pupils, maintenance or abandonment of cafeterias, and maintenance of co-education or separation by sex.

We are in complete accord with the recommendation that "no child be required to attend an integrated school." We shall watch with intense interest the development of the Virginia plan for financial grants for education in private schools to parents who object to sending their children to public schools where a commingling of the races prevails.

In the critical early years of the American republic, Washington, Mason, Jefferson and other sons of Virginia were our foremost leaders. We are pleased to find in Virginia today a spirit of leadership characteristic of that which actuated the fathers who founded that Commonwealth and the United States of America. Sons of Virginia, Georgia salutes you!

.....  
[portions deleted because of the length of the entire resolution]  
.....

IN SENATE

Read and Adopted January 23, 1956

IN HOUSE

Read and Adopted January 23, 1956

S. R. No. 20

Page 2

# It *HAS* Happened Here

***VIRGIL T. BLOSSOM***

The former Superintendent of Schools in Little Rock, Arkansas, reveals how a law-abiding American city, striving to solve a harsh and complex problem by democratic means, was demoralized and dominated by certain power-hungry men coldly exploiting the passions of their neighbors.

Hardcover: 209 pages Publisher: Harper; 1st edition (1959)

LITTLE ROCK OFFICIALS TEAM—"B" Document

*It has Happened Here* by Virgil T. Blossom

[September 21 - 22, 1957]

pp. 100 - 101

My administrative staff worked closely with the police throughout the weekend to complete preparations for entry of the Negro students into the school, and with approval of the School Board I issued a statement asking all adults not employed there to remain away from the school on Monday. "We do not know when the Negro students will come to classes," I added. "The school will be open to all on Monday."

Mayor Mann, taking up the role of "preservator" of the peace, urged all citizens to accept integration and warned that city law-enforcement officers would be ready to deal firmly with those "who might try to create trouble." About one hundred city police and fifty-four state police were detailed to the school area, which meant some city patrolmen would be virtually on day and night duty.

The School Board instructed me also to seek the assistance of United States marshals. I telephoned Judge Davies and he told me such a request should be made through U.S. Marshal-in-charge Beall Kidd. I then advised Kidd that the Board requested the presence of enough marshals to assure that the children could safely enter the school. He said he would take up the request formally with Judge Davies. About an hour later, Kidd telephoned to tell me that it would not be possible to provide any marshals for duty at the school. In other words, the federal government was still handing out court decrees but doing nothing to assist local efforts to enforce the court's orders.

This unhappy attitude was further emphasized by two statements from President Eisenhower at his vacation headquarters at Newport, R.I. He said he was confident that the people of Little Rock would "vigorously oppose any violence by extremists" and that

the withdrawal of National Guard troops by Faubus was "a necessary step in the right direction." He made it clear that the problem was "now in the hands of local enforcement authorities."

The President praised the attitude of the Negro students who had been barred from the school, and said they and their parents acted with "dignity and restraint. All parents must have a sympathetic understanding of the ordeal to which the nine Negro children...have been subjected."

pp. 102 - 103

Mayor Mann, in a statement, said that "a strong police detail will be on hand at Central High School to deal with any efforts by mob leaders to breach the peace of this community. Arrangements have been made for additional assistance if that becomes necessary. Violation of city ordinances and state laws will be dealt with firmly....It is my sincere hope that our citizens will cooperate with the city police as they fulfill the responsibilities imposed on them by law."

The Little Rock newspapers carried editorial appeals to citizens to remember that the world would be watching their conduct. "Our one wise course for the present," said the *Arkansas Democrat*, "is to maintain a calm atmosphere, going quietly about our affairs, holding back hot, angry words and giving no support to disorder, however we may sympathize with its motive."

Ministers throughout the city offered prayers for peace. Mrs. Margaret Jackson, a vice-president of the Mothers League, was quoted in the newspapers as saying "we hope to have a big demonstration on Monday to show that the people of Little Rock are still against integration and I hope they {the Negro students} won't get in." But leaders of the Capital Citizens' Council said they were opposed to violence. In fact, it was a quiet, if nervous, weekend except for an anonymous note received by the Mayor: SEE YOU LATER, INTEGRATOR!

pp. 103 - 106

[September 23, 1957]

Early Monday morning I drove past Central High School enroute to my midtown office. The police were on duty under direction of Assistant Chief Gene Smith and a crowd was beginning to form outside the barricades erected at strategic points. I had arranged to keep closely in touch by telephone with Smith and with Principal Jess Matthews, as well as with the Mayor and Chief Potts, who were at City Hall, and I received a running account of developments during the day.

As reported later by police and newspaper reporters, the crowd had grown to more than a thousand by 8 a.m. and Smith noted that many of them arrived in automobiles bearing license plates that showed they came from counties elsewhere in the state. I was pleased to have Gene Smith in charge of the police at the school. A big, active man standing around six feet, two inches, he was a graduate of Central High school, where he had been a star athlete. He was friendly but forceful and respected by his men. He had a well-earned reputation as a fearless police officer, and not long before, when a man had gone berserk and holed up in a house with a gun, it was Smith who went into the house and brought him out. I thought that with Smith in charge the police would do a good job that day even though I knew they were overwhelmingly opposed to integration. I was not disappointed.

The atmosphere was ominous as the first white students passed through the police barricades and entered the school building, which is set well back from the street on grounds that run two city blocks along Park Avenue. At a quarter of nine, just as classes were starting, a local news photographer saw a Negro boy and a Negro man walking along an adjacent street toward the school, some distance from the police lines.



"Here they come!" a white man near the corner yelled. He and several companions ran toward the Negroes. The boy ran away but the Negro man did not run. He was knocked to the street and a white man kicked him in the face as the photographer watched. The group forced the Negro back down the street and a white man carrying a heavy rock said: "I'm going to give you three minutes." The Negro never said a word.

At the same time, several Negro newspapermen appeared near the school and the mob surged around them. There were no police near.

"Go home you—nigger!" somebody shouted. The reporters turned to leave but as they did so a white man shoved one of them and a moment later the Negroes were being pummeled and kicked. Two men dragged one of them into some high grass, kicked him and slugged him and smashed the camera he was carrying.

"Anybody got a rope?" a man in the crowd roared. "Let's hang 'em!"

"I can get one in a hurry," another replied.

The punching and kicking continued—one Negro was knocked down several times—as the victims retreated a block or more. Then the mob's attention was attracted away from them as a yell went up from in front of the school building: "Everybody here! The niggers are already inside. . . . Let's go get 'em!"

...  
Angrily shouting, "Let's go in!" the mob ran around the building and surged against the police lines. A woman screamed: "I want my child out of there!" There was confusion at several points as the most vociferous agitators—some of whom Smith definitely identified as being from other towns—encouraged the demonstrators to break through the police barricades. Slowly the police fell back to the sidewalk in front of the school, but there they began using their clubs when necessary. One man grabbed Smith by the collar.

"What about it Gene?" he yelled. "Did you let the niggers in when you were in school here."

"Let's go home and get our shotguns," another man suggested.

"I hope," a woman shouted, "they drag out eight dead niggers!"

Smith and his men stood firm. "I don't want to hurt anybody," the Assistant Chief said, but when one of the out-of-town demonstrators—a big, roaring man—charged the police so hard it took four men to stop him, Smith grabbed a club and knocked him down. The felled man and another agitator were loaded into a police van and driven away. The firmness of the police quickly cooled off demonstrators who wanted to get into the school, but the shouts and jeers continued as the crowd was forced back and one man was arrested.

"You Communists!" some bystanders yelled at police. Two officers asked a middle-aged woman to move back and, when she twice refused, they bundled her into a police car. Whenever the demonstrators saw white students at the windows, they shouted for them to walk out of school. One city patrolman, presumably unhappy with his assignment, turned his badge over to his lieutenant and walked off the job.

"You all ought to do the same," spectators shouted to the police and took up a collection of about \$140 for the man who quit his job. About twenty-five persons were arrested during the day, and others were taken into custody that night and the next day.

Several young people, including one girl student, were among those arrested by police, and some of their friends went to City Hall to demand their release. Eight boys drove up to one side of the building yelling "Nigger lovers!" and shouting to their companions inside, "Let's go and get them out," they yelled, but as soon as a policeman walked to the window and looked out at them they got back into their car and drove away.

Later, during a court action, Smith gave his own impressions of the disturbance in answers to questions by lawyers:

Q. Would you please explain the attitude of the mob.

A. Well, there was a lot of profanity used toward the police department. People were saying that Negroes had better schools; why should they be there. There was talk of going inside and getting them out, talk and shouts, "Let's go in and get the Negroes out of the school."

Q. Were the members of your force abused by this mob in the language they used?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did the mob act?

A. Well, they tried to break through our barricades several times, and one or two of them broke through, or three or four at a time, and would be pushed back.

Q. Did you recognize any of the people who were forming into the mob.

A. Yes, sir. . . . We noticed cars from out of town coming in. I recall the numerals. They were from Pine Bluff and Benton. I noticed cars around the school. They were not Pulaski County cars.

(The witness was shown a photograph of several rioters.)

A. I can't recall their names. The picture there—the man with the big hat—is from Benton. He was one of the trouble-makers, agitators, wanted to go into the school and trying to get the mob to follow them. This is the officer that pushed them back. And this picture is an individual having words, and shortly before that I had been grabbed by the tie, and I pushed a man back and he was threatening. I said let go or I will hit you, and this fellow came up and we had a few words back and forth.

pp. 107 - 109

[September 23, 1957, outside Central High School]

Despite the uproar on the outside, there was no serious trouble when the Negro students attended classes inside the building. As school officials reported to me later, a small percentage of children—it was not possible to know just how many—walked out of various classes. In one class, two or three white students walked out when a Negro student was seated. In another class, almost half the white students walked out. There was a good deal of noise in the halls.

Terrance Roberts, one of the Negro students, said later that there was not a whole lot of trouble. "I was pushed but I don't know that anybody got hit. It was quiet after we got into classes. Some of the white students walked out. Just a few."

Slurring remarks were occasionally made to the Negro students and sometimes several boys would block the passage of a Negro boy or girl through a doorway. One white girl slapped a Negro girl, who turned and said, "Thank you," and then walked on down the hall. A dozen white girls walked out when a Negro girl signed up for their gym class. On the other hand, many students spoke words of welcome and encouragement to the Negro children and urged them to stay and fight it out." One white girl later told reporters there was "very little trouble at all" and that most of her classmates were "disgusted" with students who walked out. Other students said they left because their parents had told them to leave if most of their classmates walked out.

About an hour after classes started I received a telephone call from Mayor Mann expressing alarm and suggesting the Negro students be removed.

"Why?" I asked?"

“There’ll be a riot,” he said.

“Let’s get Gene Smith’s opinion, I said. “If he says the Negroes should be removed for the safety of all, I’ll agree.”

An hour later, the Mayor called again, and renews his suggestion. I telephoned the Assistant Chief of Police at the school about eleven-thirty.

“We’ve got things under control,” Smith told me, “but if the crowd keeps on growing it could be difficult.”

“What about the lunch hour when classes are out—or after school?”

“That’s what is worrying me Smith replied. Some of these people might try to follow the Negro students home. It might be wise to take them out now.”

“All right,” I said. “Go ahead and do it.

Just before noon, school officials told the Negro students it had been decided to take them home for safety’s sake. None objected. They left by a back door and were driven away before the crowd knew what was happening. In fact, the demonstrators refused to believe the police announcement that they had been taken home. They demanded that they be permitted to go inside the building to see for themselves. Finally the police selected a woman from the crowd and took her inside. She returned and reported there was no trace of the Negro students.

Still the crowd was not satisfied. Some drifted away during the early afternoon when the school registrar came out and announced over the loudspeaker that the Negroes had been “sent home and have been withdrawn.” But there were still quite a few in the street when school was dismissed and the students—about 450 were absent or had walked out—came out of the building.

Most of them went directly home, but there were a few groups who yelled at the spectators and danced around in the street, singing:

Two!—Four!—Six!—Eight!  
We ain't gonna integrate!

*It has Happened Here* by Virgil T. Blossom

[September 24, 1957, outside Central High School]

pp. 113 -114

There was some unusual activity at City Hall Tuesday morning [September 24], too, but I did not learn about it until later. Mayor Mann, according to his own account much later, put in a telephone call for the White House and, although he didn't get the President, talked to Maxwell Rabb, the presidential assistant on minority matters. He told Rabb that the situation in Little Rock was no better, that the mob was growing, singing and chanting obscenities, and that a slight incident might touch off bloodshed.

Rabb replied, according to the Mayor, that Brownell understood the seriousness of the situation, and suggested that Mann be ready to send a telegram to the President asking for federal troops. The two talked by telephone several times and the Mayor read a telegram he had prepared. Rabb suggested a few minor changes and Mann then dispatched the message to Mr. Eisenhower. It said that "the immediate need for federal troops is urgent. The mob is much larger....People are converging on the scene from all directions. Mob is armed and engaged in fisticuffs and other acts of violence. Situation out of control and police cannot disperse the mob. I am pleading with you as President of the United States . . . to provide the necessary troops within several hours."

Most of them went directly home, but there were a few groups who yelled at the spectators and danced around in the street, singing:

Two!—Four!—Six!—Eight!  
We ain't gonna integrate!

*It has Happened Here* by Virgil T. Blossom

[September 24, 1957, outside Central High School]

pp. 113 -114

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O.F.  
142 ASA

WAO24 PD

LITTLE ROCK ARK SEP 23 344PMC

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE CITY POLICE, TOGETHER WITH THE STATE POLICE, MADE A VALLIANT EFFORT TO CONTROL THE MOB TODAY AT CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT WAS DEEMED ADVISABLE BY THE OFFICER ON THE GROUND AND IN CHARGE TO HAVE THE COLORED CHILDREN REMOVED TO THEIR HOMES FOR SAFETY PURPOSES.

THE MOB THAT GATHERED WAS NO SPONTANEOUS ASSEMBLY. IT WAS

SEP 24 1957  
DENIAL FILE

referred to  
Mr. Murphy

6:35 pm  
23 Oct 57

Mr. D...  
1:20 p.m.  
1:55 p.m.

YOF 142A

YOF 5

Mr. ...



AGITATED, AROUSED, AND ASSEMBLED BY A CONCERTED PLAN  
OF ACTION.

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL AGITATORS IN THE CROWD WAS A MAN BY THE  
NAME OF JIMMY KARAM, WHO IS A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INTIMATE OF  
GOVERNOR FAUBUS, AND WHOSE WIFE IS NOW WITH GOVERNOR'S PARTY  
AT THE SOUTHERN GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE. KARAM HAS A LONG RECORD  
OF EXPERIENCE IN STRIKE-BREAKING, AND OTHER ACTIVITIES SUCH AS  
HE ENGAGED IN TODAY.

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE MOB WAS FORMED AND ITS ACTION,  
TOGETHER WITH THE PRESENCE OF JIMMY KARAM, LEADS TO THE INEVITABLE

CONCLUSION THAT GOVERNOR FAUBUS AT LEAST WAS COGNIZANT OF WHAT WAS GOING TO TAKE PLACE.

DETAILED INFORMATION ON THE EVENTS OF THE DAY WILL BE TURNED OVER TO THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT FOR SUCH ACTION AS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEEMS APPROPRIATE.

*YOFFIN 2A-5*

IF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT DESIRES TO ENFORCE THE ORDERS OF THE FEDERAL COURT IN REGARD TO INTEGRATION IN THIS CITY, THE CITY POLICE WILL BE AVAILABLE TO LEND SUCH SUPPORT AS YOU MAY REQUIRE.

I AM NOT MAKING THIS WIRE PUBLIC. THIS IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND FOR THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO USE AS IT CONSIDERS NECESSARY <sup>FOR INFO</sup> WOODROW W. MANN, MAYOR LITTLE ROCK ARKANSAS.

Class of Service

This is a free message unless it is delivered otherwise as indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. GILBERT, President

1201

SYMBOLS	
DL	Day Letter
NL	Night Letter
LT	International Letter Telegram

The following shows in the case line no domestic telegram is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

~~WPT 24 AM 10 37~~

MP328 P LRA006 LONG PRD RX=LITTLEROCK ARK 24 916AMC =  
 PRESIDENT DWIGHT D EISENHOWER =  
 THE WHITE HOUSE NEWPORT RI =

THE IMMEDIATE NEED FOR FEDERAL TROOPS IS URGENT. THE MOB IS MUCH LARGER IN NUMBERS AT 8AM THAN AT ANY TIME YESTERDAY PEOPLE ARE CONVERGING ON THE SCENE FROM ALL DIRECTIONS MOB IS ARMED AND ENGAGING IN FISTICUFFS AND OTHER ACTS OF VIOLENCE. SITUATION IS OUT OF CONTROL AND POLICE CANNOT DISPERSE THE MOB I AM PLEADING TO YOU AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE INTEREST OF HUMANITY LAW AND ORDER AND BECAUSE OF DEMOCRACY WORLD

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

**CARE OF SERVICE**

This is a fast message  
unlike other deferred char-  
acter is indicated by the  
proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION

## TELEGRAM (30)

W. F. MARSHALL, President

1201

**SYMBOLS**  
DC - Day Letter  
NL - Night Letter  
LT - International  
LY - Local Telegram

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

WIDE TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY FEDERAL TROOPS WITHIN  
SEVERAL HOURS. ACTION BY YOU WILL RESTORE PEACE AND  
ORDER AND COMPLIANCE WITH YOUR PROCLAMATION =  
WOODROW WILSON MAYOR OF LITTLE ROCK ARKANSAS =

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PH-7542  
2936/2 S. Bronson Bronson



# ARKANSAS FAITH ARKANSAS FAITH

*Wm. L. L. Bates*



BRADY, JOHNSON, LANEY

Photo by Mundy—Derm

## *Johnson Drafted for Governor*

MAY, 1956  
VOLUME I — NO. 7

35¢

**Former Justice Byrnes Says—**

## "THE SUPREME COURT MUST BE CURBED"

The only living ex-Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court now files a dissent from the decision that declared segregated schools to be a violation of the Constitution.

In an article submitted to *U. S. News & World Report*, James F. Byrnes speaks out on the decision which was handed down two

years ago. Former Justice Byrnes takes the Court sharply to task for overturning legal precedents that had prevailed for 75 years.

Mr. Byrnes holds the Court usurped powers of Congress and the States to amend the Constitution and warns that, unless stopped, there may be no limit to the Court's power.

**by James F. Byrnes**

*Former Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States*

Two years ago, on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States reversed what had been the law of the land for 75 years and declared unconstitutional the laws of 17 States under which segregated public-school systems were established.

The Court did not interpret the Constitution—the Court amended it.

We have had a written Constitution. Under that constitution the people of the United States have enjoyed great progress and freedom. The usurpation by the Court of the power to amend the Constitution and destroy State governments may impair our progress and take our freedom.

An immediate consequence of the segregation decision is that much of the progress made in the last half century of steadily advancing racial amity has been undone. Confidence and trust have been supplanted by suspicion and distrust. The races are divided and the breach is widening. The truth is, there has not been such tension between the races in the South since the days of Reconstruction.

One threatened consequence is the closing of public schools in many States of the South.

A further consequence is the harm done to the entire country by the demonstrated willingness of the Supreme Court to disregard our written Constitution and its own decisions, invalidate the laws of States, and substitute for these a policy of its own, supported not by legal precedents but by the writings of sociologists.

Today, this usurpation by the Court of the power of the States hurts the South. Tomorrow, it may hurt the North, East and West. It may hurt you. Though there was no dissenting opin-

ion from any member of the Court, the South dissents. That dissent is reflected in State legislation and in the day-by-day occurrences throughout the South, developments which betray the feeling of the people.

Only now do people living elsewhere begin to comprehend the determination behind the dissent of the South. Only now is an effort being made in the Northern press to give thoughtful, balanced and reasonably impartial presentation of what might be called "the Southern point of view."

The suppression of that viewpoint outside the South has caused much of the nation to suppose that such dissatisfaction as existed with the Supreme Court's decision was due to prejudice and would soon disappear. That theme has been further developed by the publication of "encouraging" reports of school-integration experiences here and there behind the Mason-Dixon Line. Those reports may be true of some Border States and of predominantly white areas in certain sections of the South; it is not true of any section where Negroes constitute as much as 10 per cent of the population.

The problem is numerical as well as legal, educational, and—in recognition of the Supreme Court's concern—sociological.

The corruption of the Reconstruction era is a matter of recorded history. The memory of the sufferings endured by the white people of the South is an inheritance. It was during this "tragic era" that the Fourteenth Amendment was literally forced upon the helpless States of the South.

When the white people finally wrested control of the State government from the carpetbaggers and newly freed slaves, and the army of occupation w-



JAMES F. BYRNES

—Continued on Page

## ... "Under segregated schools, the Negro made great progress"

(Continued from Page 7)

withdrawn, the South started on the long road to recovery. Agriculture and industry were gradually restored. A public-school system was developed.

No one then seriously asserted that mixing the races in the schools was contemplated by the Fourteenth Amendment. In the constitutions of most of the States of the union, not just those of the South, provisions were adopted for the segregation of the races in the schools.

In 1896 in a case known as *Plessy v. Ferguson*, involving a statute providing for segregation of the races on railroad trains, the United States Supreme Court held that a statute providing for separate but equal facilities was not in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Thereafter, the Supreme Court in several cases involving schools upheld this doctrine.

Later, the Court, when it included such great judges as Chief Justice Taft and Justices Holmes, Brandeis and Stone, unanimously said that segregation in public schools had been "many times decided to be within the constitutional power of the State legislatures to settle without interference of the federal courts under the Federal Constitution."

### South's Stake in Separate Schools

Relying upon the stability of the law of the land, and upon the guarantee of State sovereignty in the Federal Constitution, the people of the South invested hundreds of millions of dollars in separate schools for the races. Under this segregated school system, the Southern Negro made greater progress than any other body of Negro people in the history of the world.

The facilities for Negro students in many States were not equal to the facilities provided for white students. The degree of equality differed not only in States, but in counties within a State. The situation in South Carolina was typical of the South. As a rule, the facilities for Negro students in the urban centers were superior to the facilities provided in rural areas. The same was true of facilities for white students. Schools were dependent upon local taxation, and much of the inequality was due to the greater value of industrial property and higher income of the city dweller.

A realization of the inequality that existed between rural schools and urban schools, as well as between the races, influenced me greatly to become a candidate for Governor of South Carolina in 1950.

In my inaugural address I advocated a bond issue of 75 million dollars and the levying of a sales tax of 3 per cent for the purpose of equalizing the school facilities. In presenting this, I said:

"It is our duty to provide for the races substantial equality in school facilities. We should do it because it is right. For me, that is sufficient reason."

Of the 75 million dollars authorized, 70 per cent was allocated to Negro schools even though the Negro-school enrollment constitutes but 39 per cent of the total school enrollment.

Subsequently, the bond issue was increased until it is now 137.5 million dollars. In every school district there is a high school for Negroes and more than one elementary school. On the whole, the Negro school buildings are superior to the white schools because they are modern. The number of Negroes transported by bus to those schools was increased 450 per cent in three years.

Similar educational programs have been under way in other Southern States.

In South Carolina, with a Negro population of 823,622, there are 7,500 Negro schoolteachers, whereas in 12 States east of the Mississippi and north of the Mason-Dixon Line, with a Negro population of 3,351,402, there are only 7,712 Negro teachers. There is no difference in the scale of pay for white and Negro teachers.

About the time the educational program was inaugurated in South Carolina, there was pending in the United States court a case from Clarendon County, asking equal facilities for Negro schools. Later, that suit was withdrawn, and a suit was brought by the same complainants, asking the court to declare unconstitutional all segregation laws.

The three-judge court, presided over by Judge Parker, senior judge of the Fourth Circuit, held that under the decisions of the United States Supreme Court from 1896 to that date, the segregation provisions of the Constitution and statutes of South Carolina were not in violation of the Four-

### Highlights in the Public Career Of James F. Byrnes

1911-25: Member, U.S. House of Representatives

1931-41: U. S. Senator

1941-42: Associate Justice, U. S. Supreme Court

1942-43: U. S. Director of Economic Stabilization

1943-45: U. S. Director of War Mobilization

1945-47: U. S. Secretary of State

1951-55: Governor of South Carolina

teenth Amendment. The lawyers for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court.

In that Court, the case for Clarendon County was argued by the late Hon. John W. Davis. He was so convinced of the soundness of the decision of the three-judge court that he agreed to argue the case and declined to accept compensation for his services.

Had the Court been unanimous in the view that segregation statutes were in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment such an opinion would have been written within a few months.

Instead, after many months, the Court announced that the cases should be re-argued, and counsel should direct their arguments to certain questions.

The first question was:

"What evidence is there that the Congress which submitted and the State legislatures and conventions which ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, contemplated, or did not contemplate, understood, or did not understand, that it would abolish segregation in public schools?"

Such a question would not have been asked if a majority of the Court was already satisfied that Congress and the State legislatures *did* contemplate that the amendment would prohibit segregation in public schools.

## .. "Congress never legislated to require integrated schools"

In support of its findings, the Court said, "See generally Myrdal, 'An American Dilemma, 1944.'" I have seen it. On page 13, Professor [Gunnar Karl] Myrdal writes that the Constitution of the United States is "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people."

On page 530, Myrdal states, "In the South the Negro's person and property are practically subject to the whim of any white person who wishes to take advantage of him or to punish him for any real or fancied wrongdoing or insult."

Millions of people, white and colored, know this is absolutely false. Members of the Supreme Court know it is false. It is an insult to the millions of white Southerners.

Senator Eastland also listed some of those who were associated with Myrdal in writing his book. He stated that the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities show that many of Myrdal's associates are members of organizations cited as subversive by the Department of Justice under Democratic and Republican Administrations.

I am informed by the Senator that no member of the Senate and no responsible person outside of the Senate has challenged the accuracy of his statements on this subject. Loyal Americans of the North, East, South and West should be outraged that the Supreme Court would reverse the law of the land upon no authority other than some books written by a group of psychologists about whose qualifications we know little and about whose loyalty to the United States there is grave doubt.

And loyal Americans should stop and think when the executive branch of the Federal Government brands as subversive organizations whose membership includes certain psychologists, and the Supreme Court cites those psychologists as authority for invalidating the constitutions of 17 States of the union.

### Right to Criticize Court

Some advocates of integrated schools shudder to think of anyone's criticizing a decision of the Supreme Court or, certainly, *this* decision of the Court. Well, whenever a member of the Court dissents from the majority opinion, he expresses his views and criticizes—sometimes in vigorous language—the Court's opinion.

In recent years there are many examples. But a case in point is the dissent of the late Justice Owen J. Roberts, who differed with his colleagues on the Court in the case of *Smith v. Allwright*. The Supreme Court in that case reversed prior decisions and declared the Democratic Party in Texas was, in effect, an agency of the State and that its actions (in conducting white primaries) was "State action." Said Mr. Justice Roberts:

"I have expressed my views with respect to the present policy of the Court freely to disregard and to overrule considered decisions and the rules of law announced in them. This tendency, it seems to me, indicates an intolerance for what those who have composed this Court in the past have conscientiously and deliberately concluded, and involves an assumption that knowledge and wisdom reside in us which was denied to our predecessors."

The decisions of the Supreme Court must be accepted by the courts of the United States and the States, but not necessarily by the court of public opinion. The people are not

the creatures of the Court. The Court is the creature of the people.

One hundred representatives of the people in the United States Congress have issued a "manifesto" criticizing this decision. Such criticism is nothing new. There is precedent for criticism by the people.

After the decision in the Dred Scott case, Abraham Lincoln criticized the Court, declaring the decision erroneous and pledging the Republican Party to "do what we can to have it overruled."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, on March 9, 1937, commenting on a decision of the Supreme Court, said:

"The Court in addition to the proper use of its judicial functions has improperly set itself up as a third house of the Congress—a superlegislature, as one of the justices has called it—reading into the Constitution words and implications which are not there.

"We have, therefore, reached the point as a nation where we must take action to save the Constitution from the Court and the Court from itself. . . .

"Our difficulty with the Court today rises not from the Court as an institution but from human beings within it."

### Enforcement of Decision

The fifth section of the Fourteenth Amendment authorizes Congress to enforce *that* amendment. Congress never legislated to require integrated schools because the Fourteenth Amendment did not embrace schools. On the contrary, Congress specifically appropriated for segregated schools in the District of Columbia. Now that the Supreme Court has amended the Constitution to embrace schools, Congress could legislate on the subject but the Supreme Court knows the representatives of the people will not legislate. Therefore, it calls upon the States of the South to enforce its new policy for schools.

The people of the South are law-abiding. They do not talk or even think of armed resistance. They realize the United States Government has the power to enforce a decision of the Supreme Court. But they believe the decision will close many schools, and think that the Court that ignored the Constitution and rendered the decision should assume the responsibility for its enforcement.

It is unrealistic to expect local school officials to destroy the public schools. With few exceptions, school trustees in the South are white men. They are highly respected in their communities. They serve without compensation. Do you think they will force the children of their neighbors into mixed schools? Many trustees will resign. Negroes will not be selected to succeed them. The schools will be closed.

When Northern newspapers criticize local officials who will not co-operate in the enforcement of this decision, they should recall the prohibition era. There were few Northern newspapers clamoring for the enforcement of that law by local authorities.

The so-called "best people" of many States did not hide their violations of the prohibition law. They regarded it as "smart" to boast of making gin in the bathtub and carrying whisky in a silver flask to public places. They fought the law until it was repealed.

However, there was this difference: The prohibition law was enacted as a result of an amendment to the Constitution which was adopted in the manner provided by the Constitution. It was not, as in this case, a decision of nine men on the Supreme Court—in effect—amending the Constitution.



STATE OF ARKANSAS

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

PROCLAMATION

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME -- GREETINGS:

WHEREAS, The Governor of the State of Arkansas is vested with the authority to order to active duty the Militia of this State in case of tumult, riot or breach of the peace, or imminent danger thereof; and

WHEREAS, it has been made known to me, as Governor, from many sources, that there is imminent danger of tumult, riot and breach of the peace and the doing of violence to persons and property in Pulaski County, Arkansas;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Orval E. Faubus, Governor of the State of Arkansas, do hereby proclaim that a state of emergency presently exists and I do hereby order to active duty Major General Sherman T. Clinger, the Adjutant General of Arkansas, the State Militia units consisting of the Base Detachment at Adams Field and the State Headquarters Detachment at Camp Robinson, and any other units which may be necessary to accomplish the mission of maintaining or restoring law and order and to preserve the peace, health, safety and security of the citizens of Pulaski County, Arkansas.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Arkansas to be affixed. Done in office in the City of Little Rock this 2<sup>nd</sup> day of September, 1957.

*Orval E. Faubus*  
GOVERNOR

## "The Southern Manifesto"

[From *Congressional Record*, 84th Congress, Second Session, Vol. 102, part 4 (March 12, 1956), Washington, D.C.: Governmental Printing Office, 1956, 4459-4460.]

### THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT IN THE SCHOOL CASES DECLARATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

Mr. [Walter F.] GEORGE. Mr. President, the increasing gravity of the situation following the decision of the Supreme Court in the so-called segregation cases, and the peculiar stress in sections of the country where this decision has created many difficulties, unknown and unappreciated, perhaps, by many people residing in other parts of the country, have led some Senators and some Members of the House of Representatives to prepare a statement of the position which they have felt and now feel to be imperative.

I now wish to present to the Senate a statement on behalf of 19 Senators, representing 11 States, and 77 House Members, representing a considerable number of States likewise. . . .

### DECLARATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

The unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law.

The Founding Fathers gave us a Constitution of checks and balances because they realized the inescapable lesson of history that no man or group of men can be safely entrusted with unlimited power. They framed this Constitution with its provisions for change by amendment in order to secure the fundamentals of government against the dangers of temporary popular passion or the personal predilections of public officeholders.

We regard the decisions of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the Federal Judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the States and the people.

The original Constitution does not mention education. Neither does the 14th Amendment nor any other amendment. The debates preceding the submission of the 14th Amendment clearly show that there was no intent that it should affect the system of education maintained by the States.

The very Congress which proposed the amendment subsequently provided for segregated schools in the District of Columbia.

When the amendment was adopted in 1868, there were 37 States of the Union. . . .

Every one of the 26 States that had any substantial racial differences among its people, either approved the operation of segregated schools already in existence or subsequently established such schools by action of the same law-making body which considered the 14th Amendment.

As admitted by the Supreme Court in the public school case (*Brown v. Board of Education*), the doctrine of separate but equal schools "apparently originated in *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1849), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a State constitutional guarantee of equality." This constitutional doctrine began in the North, not in the South, and it was

followed not only in Massachusetts, but in Connecticut, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other northern states until they, exercising their rights as states through the constitutional processes of local self-government, changed their school systems.

In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the 14th Amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the States provided separate but equal facilities. This decision has been followed in many other cases. It is notable that the Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, a former President of the United States, unanimously declared in 1927 in *Lum v. Rice* that the "separate but equal" principle is "within the discretion of the State in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the 14th Amendment."

This interpretation, restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the States and confirmed their habits, traditions, and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and commonsense, for parents should not be deprived by Government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children.

Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the Court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the States principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

Without regard to the consent of the governed, outside mediators are threatening immediate and revolutionary changes in our public schools systems. If done, this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the States.

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.

We decry the Supreme Court's encroachment on the rights reserved to the States and to the people, contrary to established law, and to the Constitution.

We commend the motives of those States which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means.

We appeal to the States and people who are not directly affected by these decisions to consider the constitutional principles involved against the time when they too, on issues vital to them may be the victims of judicial encroachment.

Even though we constitute a minority in the present Congress, we have full faith that a majority of the American people believe in the dual system of government which has enabled us to

achieve our greatness and will in time demand that the reserved rights of the States and of the people be made secure against judicial usurpation.

We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.

In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our States and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.

---

**Signed by:**

**MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE**

Walter F. George, Richard B. Russell, John Stennis, Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Strom Thurmond, Harry F. Byrd, A. Willis Robertson, John L. McClellan, Allen J. Ellender, Russell B. Long, Lister Hill, James O. Eastland, W. Kerr Scott, John Sparkman, Olin D. Johnston, Price Daniel, J.W. Fulbright, George A. Smathers, Spessard L. Holland.

**MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**Alabama:** Frank W. Boykin, George M. Grant, George W. Andrews, Kenneth A. Roberts, Albert Rains, Armistead I. Selden, Jr., Carl Elliott, Robert E. Jones, George Huddleston, Jr.

**Arkansas:** E.C. Gathings, Wilbur D. Mills, James W. Trimble, Oren Harris, Brooks Hays, W.F. Norrell.

**Florida:** Charles E. Bennett, Robert L.F. Sikes, A.S. Herlong, Jr., Paul G. Rogers, James A. Haley, D.R. Matthews.

**Georgia:** Prince H. Preston, John L. Pilcher, E.L. Forrester, John James Flynt, Jr., James C. Davis, Carl Vinson, Henderson Lanham, Iris F. Blicht, Phil M. Landrum, Paul Brown.

**Louisiana:** F. Edward Hebert, Hale Boggs, Edwin E. Willis, Overton Brooks, Otto E. Passman, James H. Morrison, T. Ashton Thompson, George S. Long.

**Mississippi:** Thomas G. Abernathy, Jamie L. Whitten, Frank E. Smith, John Bell Williams, Arthur Winstead, William M. Colmer.

**North Carolina:** Herbert C. Bonner, L.H. Fountain, Graham A. Barden, Carl T. Durham, F. Ertel Carlyle, Hugh Q. Alexander, Woodrow W. Jones, George A. Shuford.

**South Carolina:** L. Mendel Rivers, John J. Riley, W.J. Bryan Dorn, Robert T. Ashmore, James P. Richards, John L. McMillan.

**Tennessee:** James B. Frazier, Jr., Tom Murray, Jere Cooper, Clifford Davis.

Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

July 24, 1957

ABC:ff

Arthur B. Caldwell, Assistant to the Assistant  
Attorney General, Criminal  
Division

144-100-9

Segregation in Public Schools in Arkansas  
Civil Rights

Reference is made to Memorandum to the File dated June 5, 1957, subject: "Conference with Judge Archie F. House, Attorney for the Little Rock, Arkansas School Board." As a result of this conference with Judge House and his request for assistance I proceeded to Little Rock where I conferred at length with United States Attorney Osro Cobb; the local Agent-in-Charge of the FBI, Mr. Al Bryant; Judge Archie F. House, attorney for the school board; Mr. Virgil Blossom, Superintendent of Schools; Harry Ashmore, editor of the Arkansas Gazette; and Little Rock's Chief of Police Marvin H. Potts. In addition I proceeded to Fort Smith, Arkansas on June 27, 1957 where I reviewed the Little Rock school situation with Federal Judge John E. Miller.

The following report is a summary of the information obtained, together with my recommendations concerning further action to be taken.

#### I. OPPOSITION TO INTEGRATION IN LITTLE ROCK

In spite of the measures taken and preparations made for a smooth integration of the senior high schools this Fall, both the Superintendent of Schools and the members of the school board are greatly concerned about the possibility of violence when school starts in September. Judge House, on his visit here on June 5, 1957 left with the Department copy of an open letter addressed to Governor Orval E. Faubus dated April 30, 1957 and signed by Robert Ewing Brown, President, Capital City Council. (See Tab 'A'.) Judge House stated that this letter had been distributed widely throughout the City of Little Rock and that it was intended to mislead the citizens into the belief that the Governor did have the power to stop integration in Little Rock this Fall under the new legislation passed by the Arkansas legislature.

In addition, both Robert Ewing Brown and Amos Guthridge have been publicly urging resistance to the desegregation of the schools. An example of this activity of Guthridge is reported in the June 23 issue of the Arkansas Democrat. (See Tab 'B'.) In this article the Little Rock attorney is reported to have said that "there would be hell on the border in Little Rock in September if the schools integrated," and, "there will never be integration in Little Rock public schools." In addition the Capital Citizens Council continues to make public demands on the Governor to act to stop integration. (See attached article in the Arkansas Democrat dated July 1, 1957

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entitled "Faubus Gets Demand for Segregation." Tab "C".) (Also, a large 3/4 page ad printed in the Arkansas Democrat dated July 9, 1957 entitled "People of Arkansas vs. Race-Mixing." Tab "D".)

As a result of these articles and incidents the school board is worried that violence may occur when school opens in September. It is for that reason that their attorney Judge Archie F. House came to Washington to alert the Department to the potential trouble and to seek whatever assistance the Department might render to the Little Rock officials.

## II. LITTLE ROCK'S INTEGRATION PLANS

Immediately after the Supreme Court decision of May 1954 the school board in Little Rock made plans toward the eventual integration of the Little Rock schools. It issued a public statement saying "It is our responsibility to comply with Federal constitutional requirements and we intend to do so when the Supreme Court . . . outlines the method to be followed." The school board embarked on studies at that time and prepared a tentative plan for integration.

This plan eventually became the one that is now being followed and is referred to as the "gradual integration plan" in that it would take from five to ten years to complete the process of integrating all Little Rock schools. The plan called for the beginning of integration in the Fall of 1957 but would apply initially only to senior high schools in Little Rock. After the passage of two or three years integration would be attempted at the junior high school level and no further integration would be attempted until two or three years later when it would be extended to the elementary schools of Little Rock. After each step no further integration would be attempted until school officials were convinced that the mixed classes were not resulting in lowering educational standards. The school board would not proceed with the next step of integration until they were satisfied that the white schools had absorbed the colored students without affecting educational standards. The plan is largely voluntary with children permitted to transfer from one school to another as was done in Louisville, Kentucky.

The school board's reason for starting integration with the senior high schools was simply that it would involve fewer pupils and fewer buildings at that level. Little Rock, at the close of school last Spring, had 21,726 pupils in all grades, first through twelfth. Of this total 5,484, or 25% were Negro. However, in senior high schools, which are the only schools to be integrated now, there are fewer than 1/5 of the total Negro enrollment, or 929 colored students.

Because of this smaller group of Negroes the board decided to integrate at the top since it would involve fewer students and presumably fewer problems.

Another factor in Little Rock's school plan is the recent construction of new schools, particularly a new high school for Negroes called Horace Mann, located in the southeast section of the city where the bulk of the Negro population lives. This new high school is adequate alone to house all the Negroes attending high school in Little Rock and since it is newer and presumably better than existing white high schools it will attract many colored students who might otherwise be interested in attending some other high school.

The biggest high school is Central High, located in the central part of the city where the population is mixed. Another high school only recently finished in the west end part of town will probably attract only white children since that area is almost exclusively white. (See map of city with school districts indicated-Tab "E".)

Under the voluntary transfer plan, and this geographical division of the races, integration of Little Rock's high schools will produce this result: Pupils at Horace Mann School will remain all Negro, or nearly so; those at the new high school in West End will undoubtedly be all white; Central High School will be mostly white but with a few Negro students, (as explained later). Technical High School will become mixed with the addition of a few colored students. In addition, Mr. Blossom, Superintendent of Schools, has persuaded the colored principals of the colored schools to screen carefully all colored students who desired to transfer into white Central High and Technical High. His argument to the colored principals was that in the interest of successful integration the colored principals should see to it that only the very best qualified colored students should be transferred to the white high schools, and any colored student who was low scholastically or likely to be a disciplinary problem should not be approved for transfer. The result is that at present only 15 colored students will be admitted to Little Rock's Central High School and only five to Technical High. This, then, is integration reduced to the barest minimum but it is believed wise, and if it works this year, as indeed it should, further efforts will be made at integrating junior high schools two or three years hence.

### III. LEGAL STATUS OF LITTLE ROCK INTEGRATION PLANS

The above plan for integration of Little Rock high schools did not meet the approval of local representatives of the NAACP and on February 8, 1956 certain of the colored children, through their legal

representatives, filed a complaint in the Federal District Court against the President and Secretary of the Board of Directors of Little Rock School District, the Superintendent of Schools, and the School District itself. In this suit, the plaintiffs alleged that the defendants were not complying with the requirements of Brown v. Board of Education in that they were not proceeding with sufficient speed to integrate the Little Rock schools. The suit asked that the court enter a decree declaring and defining the legal rights of the parties, and that a permanent injunction be issued enjoining and restraining the defendants, et al, from executing or enforcing any provision of Arkansas law requiring segregation.

After full hearings Federal Judge John E. Miller dismissed the plaintiffs' suit holding "that the [Little Rock] plan which has been adopted after thorough and conscientious consideration of the many questions involved is a plan that will lead to an effective and gradual adjustment of the problem and ultimately bring about a school system not based on color distinctions." The court thereafter entered an order approving the "Little Rock plan" as being adequate and denied the prayer of the plaintiffs for injunctive relief. From this decision handed down on the 27th day of August, 1956, an appeal was taken to the United States Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit. That court also approved the plan and refused to overrule the opinion of Judge Miller. (See Aaron v. Cooper, 243 F. 2d 361.)

Because the District Court in its opinion provided that it retain jurisdiction of the case for the entry of such other and future orders as may be necessary it was believed wise to consult with Judge Miller pertaining to any future action that might be taken by either the school board or the federal government. A conference was held with Judge Miller at Fort Smith, Arkansas on the afternoon of June 27, 1957. This conference was attended by Judge Archie F. House, attorney for the Little Rock school board, as well as the writer. Judge Miller reviewed the proceedings which were held before him and pointed out that under these proceedings there was no outstanding order or injunction directed toward anyone. The effect of his opinion had been merely to approve the Little Rock plan and he refused to enjoin the Board of Education or anyone else. This being true, the Judge pointed out, there were no proceedings before him which could be used to restrain or used as a basis for injunctive relief. He suggested that if it was believed that the Little Rock Capital Citizens Council or other individuals in Little Rock had conspired to prevent the orderly integration of Little Rock schools such facts would necessarily have to be brought to his attention by appropriate proceedings instituted either by the Little Rock school board or attorneys for the NAACP for the colored children involved. He indicated that if such petition were filed,



supported by affidavits, he would grant a request for injunctive relief, and the Judge volunteered that if the proceedings included a motion for declaratory judgment concerning the constitutionality of certain new Arkansas laws recently enacted by the State legislature, he probably would hold those State laws unconstitutional also. The Judge stated that he had seen a news article in the Arkansas Democrat which appeared under date of June 23, and indicated that Amose Guthridge, attorney of Little Rock, and a member of the Citizens Council, stated there "would be hell on the border in September if the schools integrated," (Tab "B") but the Judge said that until such matters were brought to his attention by appropriate pleadings he could not take notice of them.

Judge House, attorney for the school board, indicated that the school board would be extremely reluctant to institute any such proceedings before the court, but perhaps certain colored attorneys might be persuaded to file a petition in behalf of the colored children.

In any event, unless and until some party does file a petition for a restraining order directed at the Capital City Council no action can be taken by the court.

#### IV. POSSIBLE ACTION BY THE DEPARTMENT

It is conceivable that an investigation might be made by the FBI with a view toward proceeding under Section 241 of Title 18 since the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals, in the case of Hoxie v. Brewer, 238 F. 2d 91, has indicated that conspiracies on the part of private individuals to interfere with a school board in its efforts to comply with the Supreme Court's decision, would be a violation of Section 241. At present the only information that is available is that contained in certain paid advertisements that have appeared in Little Rock papers, and copies of circular letters directed at the Government or the State. From these documents it is apparent that members of the Capital Citizens Council are endeavoring to bring pressure on the Governor to take some action that would stop integration this Fall. Investigation of the activities of the Capital Citizens Council might reveal evidence which would be in violation of Section 241. It is believed, however, that at the present time it would be wiser to wait until receipt of more evidence of affirmative action by the Capital Citizens Council before instituting any investigation. Therefore, for the present I suggest no investigation. I would, however, suggest that the FBI be asked to follow developments closely and inform the Department promptly of any and all activities of the Capital Citizens Council in Little Rock in connection with the integration of Little Rock schools, and that a copy of this memorandum report be furnished the FBI for its information.