

## Tension Eases As Court Hearing Nears

AS October passed into November, bringing closer the Dec. 6 date for new arguments before the Supreme Court, the picture in the 17 states where segregated schools have been required by law was this:

1. Three areas of earlier tension—West Virginia, Baltimore and the District of Columbia—were calm. Only in Delaware was there evidence of continued unrest over desegregation.

2. Florida, North Carolina, Arkansas and Texas were getting ready to intervene in the Supreme Court hearings.

3. In Georgia and Louisiana, voters went to the polls to vote on "last resort" amendments to their state constitutions aimed at preserving segregated schools.

4. In Florida, Maryland and Virginia, the race issue was the subject of widespread public debate, mostly in political campaigns.

Otherwise the region was quiet, including Missouri, where the beginnings of desegregation have so far produced no incidents whatsoever.

Here is the state-by-state digest, with fuller details inside:

**ALABAMA**—Despite increasing pressure from legislative sources, Gov. Gordon Persons declined in October to call a special session of the Alabama legislature to act on a report by a special legislative committee urging the amendment of the state constitution to pave the way for possible abolition of public education.

**ARKANSAS**—As the state of Arkansas moved ahead with the preparation of its brief in the school segregation cases, Education Commissioner Arch W. Ford revealed that Arkansas' position "will not be a radical approach or one of defiance . . . (but) a reasonable approach . . . (which) will try to point out the problems, financial and otherwise, brought on by the decision."

**DELAWARE**—After the State Supreme Court stayed a lower court order requiring the readmission of Negro students to Milford high school, an uneasy truce prevailed throughout the tension areas in Delaware. Throughout the state, religious and other organizations began to take positive stands for the preservation of law and order.

**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**—The desegregation of the District of Columbia school system had proceeded smoothly for three weeks when, on Oct. 4, white students at Anacostia high school began demonstrations against desegregation. The demonstrations spread to two other formerly all-white schools and six junior highs, but by the fourth day order had been restored and enrollment was normal once again.

**FLORIDA**—Until Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin's brief was made public, the segregation-desegregation issue remained fairly quiet. In October, however, the question began to bob up in political campaigns and was the sub-

### Trouble Spots

Because conflict and tension in Delaware, Baltimore and the District of Columbia made the headlines in October, those three areas are given special documentary treatment in this issue of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS.

The District of Columbia report, written by Jeanne Rogers, is on Pages 4 and 5. The Delaware report, by William P. Frank, is on Pages 6 and 7. The Baltimore report, by Edgar L. Jones, is on Pages 8 and 9.

## A Statement Of Policy

By C. A. McKNIGHT  
Executive Director

IN the many letters and postcards received by the Southern Education Reporting Service since the first issue of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS was published, the question has often been asked: What are the objectives of the Reporting Service?

The question had been anticipated, and it was answered in the September issue, but now that thousands of new readers have been added to the mailing list, it may be useful to restate the objectives of the Reporting Service.

The Service grew out of the conviction of a group of southern editors and educators that there would be a need for a full, factual, objective and balanced reporting of developments arising from the May 17 Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. As stated by Chairman Virginius Dabney in his letter of July 5 to President Clarence H. Faust of the Fund for the Advancement of Education:

"We are convinced that a major contribution can be made at this time to the advancement of education and to the general public interest by an impartial reporting service which provides accurate and unbiased information concerning the adjustments which various communities in the southern region make as a result of the Supreme Court's recent opinion and forthcoming decrees in the five cases involving segregation in the public schools.

"We believe that the primary burden for making these adjustments rests with the school administrators and other leaders, both public and private, of each individual community, and that the appropriate program for any one community must be tailored to fit the particular circumstances. We believe also, however, that communities can learn useful lessons from the experiences of one another.

"The Southern Education Reporting Service has therefore been established with the aim of assisting responsible local and state leaders, and particularly school administrators, in developing practical and constructive solutions to their own particular school problems by supplying them with objective facts about the developments in other communities. It is our resolve to report the facts as we find them, and to refrain from taking sides on any controversial issues or advocating any particular point of view."

In sum, the Reporting Service is not an advocate in the segregation-desegregation issue. It is neither pro-segregation nor anti-segregation. It expresses no opinions of its own on what is good and bad or wise and unwise. It adheres scrupulously to the accurate and objective report of the facts as it finds them, state by state.

quate time to work out a desegregation program, and (2) to give federal district judges broad discretionary powers to fix deadlines in the various school districts.

**OKLAHOMA**—Two legal attacks on racial barriers in higher education—one suit seeking admittance to a municipal junior college and the other challenging restrictions in Oklahoma College for Women—were the chief developments in Oklahoma in October. There was still no open opposition to ultimate compliance with the forthcoming Supreme Court decrees.

**SOUTH CAROLINA**—The Supreme Court decision and pending decrees prompted more talk than action in South Carolina last month. Both the outgoing and incoming governors voiced grave concern over the probability of trouble if desegregation of the schools is attempted. South Carolina's white teachers urged the continuance of a system of free public schools, but did not take any definite stand on the question of segregation.

**TENNESSEE**—There was no change in Tennessee's policy of "watchful waiting" during October, and at month's end it appeared that the state would not file a brief before the Supreme Court. About the only action on the segregation-desegregation issue came late in October when the Tennessee conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People met in Nashville and adopted a three-point program calling for implementation of the May 17 Supreme Court opinion.

**TEXAS**—Atty. Gen. John Ben Shepperd had a staff of six assistants at work on the brief that Texas will file with the U.S. Supreme Court, but otherwise October produced no new developments growing out of the May 17 decision.

**VIRGINIA**—Under the leadership of State Sen. Garland Gray, the Virginia Commission on Public Education announced plans for a public hearing on Nov. 15—its first since appointment by Gov. Thomas B. Stanley to study problems growing out of the court decision. But Chairman Gray came in for some published criticism because of a speech he made.

**WEST VIRGINIA**—As the end of October approached, it appeared that the unrest in three West Virginia counties where desegregation was tried had about run its course. Parents who were picketing the schools at Four States, near Fairmont, returned to their homes after a stern warning from a Marion County circuit judge. In Greenbrier County and Boone County, where demonstrations were reported in the October issue, things were quiet.

ject of increasing newspaper comment. Florida States Rights Inc., a group opposing desegregation, was chartered in Dade County.

**GEORGIA**—Just as the November issue of Southern School News went to press, the people of Georgia were going to the polls to decide whether to approve an amendment to their state constitution which would permit the substitution of a private school system for a desegregated public school system. The entire Georgia report in this issue is given over to a complete explanation of the amendment, and the arguments advanced by proponents and opponents.

**KENTUCKY**—With Republicans and Democrats alike accepting the Supreme Court decision when it was announced, the segregation-desegregation issue was kept out of Kentucky politics in this election year. The "go-slow" policy of waiting for the Supreme Court to spell out its decrees appears to have satisfied most everyone.

**LOUISIANA**—The people of Louisiana, like those in Georgia, were also voting on a constitutional amendment as this issue of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS went to press. Unlike the Geor-

gia amendment, however, the Louisiana proposal would give legal sanction to segregation in the schools under the inherent police powers of the state.

**MARYLAND**—As October opened, Baltimore made the nation's front pages with stories and pictures of picketing and rioting. This issue of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS carries a detailed, documentary account of the Baltimore unrest including this picture in retrospect: not more than a half dozen of 52 schools with mixed

attendance were involved, and none of the schools with large percentages of Negro students; 97 per cent of Baltimore's public school students were not involved in any way.

**MISSISSIPPI**—Although a statewide election is still some weeks off, a strong campaign in favor of a proposed "last resort" constitutional amendment authorizing the abolition of the public school system began to pick up steam in Mississippi in October. An advisory committee issued a question-answer brochure explaining the amendment.

**MISSOURI**—With reports in from 466 of Missouri's school districts, the pattern of desegregation comes into sharper focus. The full details will be found elsewhere in this issue, but in capsule form, here are the facts: 289 of the 466 districts have no Negro pupils; of the remaining 177 with Negro pupils, 110 have begun some form of desegregation. In no case has desegregation caused any incident.

**NORTH CAROLINA**—Although he has not yet made public the details, Atty. Gen. Harry McMullen says that the North Carolina brief will follow the line taken by Florida and ask the Supreme Court (1) to give ade-

### How They Voted

At press time for this issue, the voting on the Georgia "private school" amendment, with 1,058 of the state's 1,810 precincts reporting, stood: for, 153,576; against, 148,317.

The voting on the Louisiana "police power" amendment, with 599 of 2,029 precincts reporting, stood: for, 71,161; against, 15,046.

For complete analyses of the two proposals, see the Georgia report on Page 10 and the Louisiana report on Page 3.

## Williams-Ryan Book Slated

(On Nov. 20, the University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill, N. C., will publish a significant new book, *Schools in Transition*, by Robin M. Williams Jr. and Margaret W. Ryan. It will be priced at \$3.00. The book carries the following introduction by Harry S. Ashmore, author of "The Negro and the Schools.")

\* \* \*

ON May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States wrote an end to an era in American education. Before that date the Court had interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution to mean that the several states could educate whites and Negroes separately, provided the facilities made available for the purpose were substantially equal—and 17 of the 48 states, including all those where Negroes were largely concentrated, had required or permitted racial segregation in their pub-

lic schools. But from May 17 forward, the Court proclaimed, no American could be denied admission to a public educational institution solely because of his race.

There could be no doubt that the Court's unanimous decision removed legal sanction from the practice of segregation in education or that it cleared the way for massive social change. Yet the nature of that change remains clouded with uncertainty. The Court itself recognized that it had left vital questions unanswered when it called for re-argument on the specific decrees to be entered in the five test cases upon which it based the new precedent.

Many of these questions, however, are not legal in character. Many forces have been at work reshaping the character of bi-racial education in the United States—indeed, reshaping the whole of the complex rela-

tionship between the majority and minority races. The charting of those forces has been largely left to social scientists, and it is to them the public now must look for guides to the future.

Intensive social studies in the specific field of bi-racial education were already well under way when the Supreme Court handed down its historic decision. They had been undertaken under a grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, which in the spring of 1953 had recognized the need for a new and comprehensive look at the public school system which had served the two races throughout the nation's history. As a key part of that project, research teams were sent into 25 communities which had lately experienced the transition from segregated to integrated schools.

See NEW BOOK on Page 16

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# Alabama

MONTGOMERY, Ala. GOV. GORDON PERSONS, subjected to increasing pressure during October to call a special session of the legislature to consider the recommendations of a legislative committee on segregation, has flatly refused to resort to such action.

Persons said he would have no hesitancy in calling a special session "on a day's notice" if convinced a "workable plan" for meeting the problem of school segregation had been developed.

In September, the special legislative committee set up by the 1953 legislature to study school segregation recommended to Gov. Persons that sections of the state constitution be rewritten to pave the way for possible abolition of public education in Alabama.

The committee, known as the Boutwell committee for its chairman, State Sen. Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, urged the repeal by amendment of the section of the state constitution requiring the state to provide public schools for white and Negro children. The committee urged deletion of all constitutional references to "public" education, as well as other changes in the organic law of the state. The Boutwell plan would enable parents to decide, on a voluntary basis, whether they wanted segregated classrooms for their children, according to the committee.

The Boutwell committee's recommendations, if enacted, would open the way for state-subsidized private schools, and would grant judicial immunity to school officials and employes so that they could not be sued. (SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, Page 2, Oct. 1, 1954).

## SCHOOL ABOLITION DENIED

Sen. Boutwell has denied that the plan offered by his committee is intended to abolish schools. He said:

The committee's plan would not require the abolition of public schools, but contemplates that particular schools might be discontinued if their operation should be found to involve a substantial threat to the maintenance of good will, peace and order.

As summarized by Boutwell, the committee's recommendations provide:

"(1) Amendments to various sections of the constitution to permit the state to discontinue public schools wherever necessary to avoid friction or disorder, and to allow the state and its subdivisions to devote public money to the aid of private education when adequate public facilities are lacking or inadequate, or public operation involves the adoption of coerced policies.

"(2) A system permitting a degree of individual choice of the kind of school which parents in any area may desire. If, for any reason, the system does not result in an acceptable or workable solution, then the public schools involved may be discontinued and the education of the pupils concerned aided or provided for by individual public assistance."

By the proposed constitutional amendments relieving the legislature of the mandatory requirement to provide publication, the plan would give the legislature "flexibility and discretionary power," Boutwell said.

On Oct. 2, the Legislative Council, a group of 12 members of the State House and Senate, passed a resolution urging the governor to call a special session to consider the Boutwell committee's recommendations. The council's resolution did not pass on the merits of the committee's report. It merely stated that the current legislature should be given an opportunity to review the recommendations and take whatever action the lawmakers might think wise.

## RESULTS OF POLL

On Oct. 8, Rep. Wallace Malone of Houston County reported to the governor that he had conducted a personal poll of the members of both houses and that "an overwhelming majority" favored a special session.

On Oct. 12, Gov. Persons replied in a letter to Malone that he did not in-

tend taking the requested action until convinced that a "workable plan" had been developed.

Malone, leader of those favoring a special session, called Person's refusal a "shabby evasion." Malone said he hoped Persons' action "will be remembered four years from now"—an obvious reference to unconfirmed reports that Persons intends to run for governor in 1958.

Malone intimated that Persons, whose term ends in January, was passing on the knotty segregation problem to the incoming administration. (James E. "Big Jim" Folsom was nominated governor in the May Democratic primary, which is traditionally tantamount to election in Alabama.) Tom Abernethy, GOP candidate for governor, has attacked both Gov. Persons for his refusal to call a special session and Nominee Folsom for his refusal to commit himself to any plan which might abolish public education in the state.

## Malone charged:

Several plans (The Boutwell committee's recommendations) to meet the segregation issue were presented to the governor a month ago. Until now he has studiously evaded the issue. He has been presented with the fact that the present legislature is willing, anxious and able to propose an amendment to our constitution which enables the next administration to meet the segregation issue.

Gov. Persons has a legislature, as the poll (that an 'overwhelming majority' of the legislature favors a special session) shows, which is anxious to do this. Yet he has refused to call it into session. He is the only one who can do this.

Our sister states have taken prompt action. I regret that the governor does not embrace the opportunity for this legislature to do the job.

Persons said that the Boutwell committee had spent 10 months in the preparation of its recommendations, which he, Persons, had referred to "some of the most able lawyers in Alabama" for their study. The lawyers have not had time to pass judgment on the Boutwell recommendations, Persons said. Also, he pointed to the fact that the term of the current legislature ends the day following the Nov. 2 general election.

Persons received considerable newspaper support for his stand.

Although the legal changes recommended by the Boutwell committee had been made public in September, it wasn't until Oct. 20 that the full text of the committee's report, containing conclusions about the possible effects of integration, was released. Excerpts from the report follow:

## VIOLENCE PREDICTED

"The recent outbreaks of violence in border states and communities are pale reflections of the result of a forced integration in this state, and if we are to save our schools and our children from violence, disorder and tension, it is imperative that prompt action be taken.

"There are as many different situations to be met as there are communities in the state, and the committee feels that no one solution is the complete answer but that several solutions and combinations of solutions are necessary. The committee urges an amendment to that section of the state constitution requiring separate 'public' schools for both races, as well as other changes in the state's organic law.

"The committee feels that under the present legal situation some school systems in the state may at any time be faced with an intolerable situation. It therefore believes that prompt action is desirable to protect our school officials, and to give the elected representatives of the people the power to modify our system of education so as to meet the threat of compulsory racial integration.

"The overwhelming majority of the citizens of Alabama are unalterably opposed to the idea of permitting the use of the public school system to coerce racial integration. The committee believes that the vast majority of Negro citizens of the state are instinctively and genuinely opposed to the idea of compulsory integration and its effects upon the basic harmony between the white and colored people of Alabama.



GOV. GORDON PERSONS Turns Down Plea To Call Special Session

"White employers would be strongly induced to withhold employment from Negro parents who would take advantage of the intended compulsion, leases would likewise be terminated, and trade and commercial relations, now in satisfactory progress, would be affected.

"Under the actual conditions in Alabama, the exact effect which the Supreme Court assumed as to segregation would, on the contrary, result from forced integration . . . Negro children would be harmed, and warped by belligerent resentment of their forced acceptance, by innumerable daily incidents emphasizing it, and by the sharp disclosure of a generally lower scholastic aptitude. This would result in such continuous and widespread incidents and friction as to be subversive of the training and education of white and Negro children alike . . . Proper and effective education cannot take place in an abnormal and unwholesome atmosphere of tensions and resentment.

"The main objective of the proposals is to assure the recognition by our school authorities of the right of white people, as well as Negro people, to elect to attend schools of their own race and to make possible the application of tests and standards which must be met before mixed schools can be operated at all for those willing to attend them."

## CALLED 'LAST RESORT'

While the Boutwell committee's recommendations for constitutional changes would open the way for the abolition of public schools—by removing the constitutional obligation of the state to provide "public" education for both races—the committee pointed out that such was only a "last resort" measure. The report said:

"The power should be delegated by the legislature to the local school authorities as a final resort to discontinue public schools and instead grant public aid, such as tuition and transportation, directly to the pupils, white and Negro, and enable them to attend private schools . . . This could be done without impairment of teachers' tenure, pensions or other rights."

Mainspring of the overall plan of the Boutwell committee is "freedom of choice." The committee assumed that most white parents would prefer all-white schools for their children, that most Negro parents would prefer all-Negro schools for theirs. But the committee also conceded there might be some who would prefer mixed schools:

"Considered from the standpoint of the right of free citizens of all races to control their social and personal contacts, the people of Alabama might be willing to concede the right of white and Negro families to send their children to mixed public schools."

However, the report added that such arrangement "should be acceptable to the community and the taxpayer." This was interpreted by some as suggesting three separate school setups—white, Negro and mixed, all on a voluntary basis.

# Arkansas

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. ARKANSAS' brief to be filed with the United States Supreme Court in the public school segregation cases "will not be a radical approach or one of defiance," State Education Commissioner Arch W. Ford told SERS Oct. 26.

"It will be a recognition of the decision by the Supreme Court and will be an effort to point out proper ways of implementing it in Arkansas," Ford said.

"It will not be a Talmadge approach," he said. "I think it will be a reasonable approach. It will cite two cases in Arkansas as evidence of compliance — at Fayetteville and at Charleston. It will try to point out the problems, financial and otherwise, brought on by the decision."

Ford said that the official policy of the state board of education was "not to try to satisfy the extremists at either end, but to recognize the decision and not ignore the mores of our society and our financial problems."

Specific details of the brief won't be revealed until next month. Preliminary work on the brief is being done by R. B. McCulloch, Sr., a Forrest City attorney hired by several East Arkansas school districts which had asked the state board to request intervention by Arkansas Atty. Gen. Tom Gentry.

## MEETING PLANNED

Ford said that McCulloch would complete his work in November and that a meeting of officers of school districts affected by the Supreme Court decision would be called before the state's brief is submitted to the Court. The school district officers will be asked if the brief covers all problems they expect to arise from the anti-segregation decision. Arkansas has 423 school districts and 228 of these operate dual systems for white and Negroes.

In general, the Arkansas suit is expected to ask for a Supreme Court ruling which would allow each district to move toward integration on the basis of the problems peculiar to each district. It probably will ask that no one pattern or date be set to cover all districts.

Whatever is submitted to Gentry will be subject to his revision before he submits it to the Supreme Court.

On Oct. 23, the Arkansas State Conference of Branches of the Na-

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People said in a resolution:

We deplore the action of state authorities in setting a statewide pattern of segregation in public schools by advising all districts to wait for the second Supreme Court edict before desegregating.

The next day, the group adopted the national NAACP integration policy which calls for work with school boards until September, 1955, deadline for integration and then legal action against districts which have not complied.

## HOSPITAL TEST CASE

On Oct. 20, the State Hospital for Mental and Nervous Diseases claimed in Federal District Court at Little Rock that segregation of white and Negro children was a legal and necessary part of their treatment.

The hospital's brief was filed in answer to a suit filed by relatives of Maurice Johnson, 11, against the hospital for denying admission to the boy because there was no room for him in the ward for Negro children.

In reply, the hospital brief said in part that an individual with psychosis suffered from a loss of technique in the art of society. Therefore "treatment should duplicate . . . the social pattern which for the patient is normal." To do otherwise, the answer said, would subject the patient to disturbing factors that could hinder recovery. It added that segregation in itself was not discrimination as long as facilities for treating the two races were equal.

On Oct. 25, the state board of education approved a record-breaking 1955-57 budget of 42 million dollars for public schools.

The budget, an increase of about \$12,500,000 a year above present school revenues, was described by Education Commissioner Arch W. Ford as "not realistic in that the money is not in sight" but as a budget which would cover part of Arkansas' school needs. The budget will be reviewed by the Arkansas Legislative Council and then by the legislature itself.

The bulk of the extra money would be sent to the school districts in the form of minimum budget aid, transportation aid and for operation and maintenance.

The funds would also provide for a \$2,400 minimum salary for all teachers, and for help to the districts in equalizing white and Negro schools.

# Institute Publishes Segregation Analysis

The Institute of Government of the University of North Carolina has published for general circulation its report to the governor of North Carolina on the Supreme Court decision of May 17th, 1954.

Entitled *The School Segregation Decision*, this study was originally designed as a report for Governor William B. Umstead and his advisory commission. Thereafter its contents were made public, and the Institute has received many requests from interested persons and groups from many parts of the country who desired to study the report. This prompted the decision to publish it.

*The School Segregation Decision* is a legal analysis of the impact of the Supreme Court decision. It traces the history of segregated education and the legal background to the present cases. It explains what was decided and what was not decided by the decision rendered on May 17th, 1954. It discusses in considerable detail the legality of various plans designed to evade or avoid the consequences of the Court's ruling.

Thus considerable space is devoted to the constitutional problems inherent in any plan to provide for continued segregation by resort to a system of state-supported "private" schools, or "tuition grants," or to provide for continued segregation in the public schools by an "assignment system" or by resort to the "gerrymandering" of school attendance districts or by resort to a school enrollment

system which makes provision for "voluntary segregation."

The study analyzes the questions which are still to be answered by the Supreme Court in its next decision. It shows why and how these questions are important; it outlines the various alternatives which might be adopted by the court; it sets forth the various arguments which might persuade the court to allow what the court has called a "gradual adjustment" to its ruling; it shows how a decision in favor of "gradual adjustment" might provide the legal basis for a long transitional period to make the changes required by the court's decision, how school officials might be allowed considerable discretion in attempting to fashion a workable program of "desegregation," how considerations such as the population ratio of Negro to white students, existing racial antipathies, the academic background of students and the desires and security of students might affect this program.

The problems analyzed in *The School Segregation Decision* are not peculiar to North Carolina. They are common to all southern states. While the study concentrates on the legal aspects of segregation, it was written for lawyers and laymen alike.

Copies of this publication may be procured by writing to the Institute of Government, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Single copies are priced at \$2.00.



# Louisiana

NEW ORLEANS, La.

LOUISIANA'S voters were scheduled to ballot on Nov. 2 on a series of constitutional amendments—one of which would give legal sanction to segregation in the schools under the inherent police powers of the state.

Only two agencies other than the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced opposition to the amendment. They are:

The Bureau of Governmental Research, a privately-endowed research agency in New Orleans.

The Catholic Church, through its official paper, *Catholic Action South*.

Specifically, the amendment would place the police power of the state behind segregation; authorize the legislature to enact laws on all matters "regarding the terms and qualifications for admission to the public schools"; and would provide that future amendments to the public school provisions of the constitution could be voted on at special elections instead of waiting for the biennial general elections.

Thus, the amendment is the heart of Louisiana's battle to preserve its historic segregation lines.

It is accompanied by two acts already passed by the recent legislature, one of which has almost the exact wording as the constitutional amendment, and the other which makes the local superintendent of schools the authority in assigning children to specific schools.

The Bureau of Governmental Research called the proposed constitutional amendment "an unconstitutional attempt to circumvent" the recent desegregation ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court.

However, a joint legislative committee, headed by State Sen. W. M. Rainach of Summerfield, has at-

tacked the Bureau's position.

A joint statement by the committee, named by Gov. Robert F. Kennon and the state legislature to study segregation - integration trends, points out:

The Supreme Court's decision was based on the holding that to separate Negro children from white children "solely" on account of race deprived them of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.

Amendment No. 16 (the proposed segregation amendment in the Louisiana constitution) does not provide for separation "solely" on account of race, but on the contrary, provides for separation in the exercise of the power of state government to promote public health, morals, better education, peace and good order.

While the Bureau of Governmental Research has come in for heavy fire from some groups because of its stand, there have been no public statements made against the Catholic Church.

In southwest Louisiana, traditionally French and Catholic, the Catholic Church has always been an important element in the bringing of changes.

However, Louisiana—still by tradition—is split between the southwest and upstate, and not since the days of Reconstruction has the state elected a Catholic governor.

The committee headed by Sen. Rainach has also started a statewide campaign for passage of the segregation amendment.

Chief instrument used in their campaign is a 15-minute television film which was shown throughout the state.

## RAINACH'S ADDRESS

Sen. Rainach served as master of ceremonies in the film and delivered a short address, which included:

... Amendment 16 would simply do this: It would preserve separate schools for our white and colored children under

the inherent powers of the state; it would permit the legislature to prescribe terms and qualifications for admission to the public schools; and it would allow you to change Article XII of the constitution with reference to public schools at special elections held for such purpose.

Amendment 16 is the heart of our whole program.

As in the past, the superintendent of education would still administer our public school system, along with the state and local school boards; and segregation would be maintained upon the same legal basis as compulsory attendance.

The most vital feature of Amendment 16, however, is the feature that would permit that part of the constitution dealing with public schools to be amended by you at special elections called any time for that purpose.

Under present provisions you can amend our constitution only at general elections held each two years. Suppose another wise decision of the Supreme Court justices, stripping us of our constitutional protection, were handed down immediately after the Nov. 2 election.

For two long years, we would be at the mercy of the arrogant, alien NAACP and its hirelings, who would completely destroy the friendly relations now existing between our races.

We cannot afford to lay ourselves open to the insidious attack of these sinister rascals who under the guise of 'helping our colored people' are stirring up trouble between the races all over the United States.

We are here to sternly warn the NAACP that in Louisiana we will not tolerate their driving their wedge between our white and colored people.

Our Louisiana colored people have achieved a rich heritage. They have made and are making fine contributions to the spiritual and physical progress of our state.

With our help, they are approaching, and in many instances exceeding, the standard of separate but equal facilities for their children in public education.

They have and will continue to have our helping hand in all their needs. It is for these reasons that we deeply resent the carpetbag NAACP so cynically exploiting our colored people only as an instrument to an end, to be discarded when their ignoble purpose is served.

Why should they force through the courts of the United States something they cannot gain through the Congress—the substitution of a foreign system of life that creates strife and confusion for an order of life under which our white and colored people together are making progress?

Is it not significant that during the past 30 years white control has receded all

over the world while Communism has advanced? Is it not astonishing that a large part of the vicious propaganda that so upsets our country today pours forth from the same street address in New York City?

Segregation is a natural order—created by God, in His wisdom, who made black men black and white men white. Each man should be proud of his race and should constantly strive to preserve its purity...

We must look back to Reconstruction, to the 15 years from 1865 to 1880, to view our situation in proper historical perspective.

Our forefathers were flat on their backs. They were broke. They could not vote. They had carpetbagger judges, scalawag sheriffs and renegade district attorneys. Federal troops and federal judges threatened their every move.

Yet, they rose up, and in 15 terrible years they fought off this yoke of tyranny.

We should be ashamed of ourselves if we cannot win our fight. We are by no means broke, we can vote, we still have our own officials, and we can pack the NAACP off to where it belongs.

Our forefathers won their battle. We can win now. I am confident that we will. The NAACP and their fellow travelers have thrust upon us the necessity of reasserting our leadership.

Louisiana is equal to the challenge.

Rainach's statement is the most forceful made by any state official since the Supreme Court's ruling of May 17. It also marks the first time in recent years that a state official has publicly attacked the NAACP.

## 'SPONSOR' NOT IDENTIFIED

The joint legislative committee purchased television time on commercial stations around the state to show its film but would not make a statement as to who was paying the bills. A public relations official who is handling the campaign for the committee said:

"We were told that if we were ever asked where the money was coming from, we were to say, 'It came from an angel.'"

Meanwhile, around the state things remained pretty much as they were last month.

segregation issue, here is the public reaction insofar as reflected by newspaper editorial comment.

*Lakeland Ledger*: "We have read our copy of (the Ervin brief) and are impressed by its calm objectivity as well as by its conclusions.

"We earnestly hope that the court will concur with the basic thought in this brief—namely, that the transition must be gradual and with some degree of local determination..."

The *Tallahassee Democrat* quoted the summation of the Ervin brief which said: "We think the only answer is time and the patient efforts of those who value democracy more than their personal longings and private prejudices. We hope this court will accept this answer."

To this the *Democrat* added this brief postscript:

"We hope so, too."

*Fort Myers News-Press*: "The action of Florida officials in accepting the invitation of the U. S. Supreme Court and filing a brief in the public school segregation cases was criticized by some who favored instead an ostrich attitude. If these critics could read the brief... they certainly would change their opinion..."

"Its presentation must enhance the prospect that the Court's decree will permit a gradual approach to integration, over an extended period of time, which is Florida's best hope."

## OPPOSITION GROUPS FORM

Opposition to desegregation is increasingly outspoken as groups begin to organize.

Among these is Florida States Rights Inc., chartered in Dade county in August as an outgrowth of a loosely organized committee set up to circulate petitions favoring continued segregation. It has been holding weekly mass meetings.

Hayden Hamilton, a furniture store manager who heads the States Righters, said it is vigorously opposed to violence and believes "passive resistance" to the Supreme Court ruling is more effective.

He and other officers deny any connection with the Ku Klux Klan, a question which arose when its vice president was found to be a former

State Superintendent of Education Shelby Jackson once again declined to comment on any possible plans for an integration of the public school system.

He also said that it would be "about another month" before figures would be compiled as to white and Negro registration in both the public and private schools of the state.

In recent years, the state has shown a steady rise in number of children being educated with a discernible trend to increased enrollment in private (including parochial) schools.

## COURT CASES PENDING

Cases filed by the NAACP are still pending in Orleans and St. Helena parishes, while A. P. Tureaud, NAACP attorney in New Orleans, said briefs would be filed shortly in the two latest court cases—against McNeese State College in Lake Charles and Southeastern Louisiana College in Hammond—two small state-supported colleges.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute, the only state college where Negroes have been admitted as undergraduates, reports no incidents, and President Joel Fletcher has continued to decline comment on integration problems on his campus.

The college has released no figures giving total Negro students because in the words of a college announcement, "Students are not required to register by race."

Various estimates place the number at 80, however.

Louisiana also saw its first white-Negro college football game, when in the middle of September, Xavier of New Orleans, a Catholic Negro college, played and defeated Keesler Air Force Base, an all-white team, 36-0.

There were no incidents.

Klan official. Hamilton said the organization knew of this when he was elected, but "admired his spunk" in admitting the old Klan tie and offering to step aside if it would hurt the fight for segregation.

Florida States Rights Inc., claims 4,000 members and is setting up chapters in middle Florida areas.

## SHERIFF IN SPOTLIGHT

A flurry of discussion broke out in the state when it was discovered that Sheriff Willis V. McCall of Lake county had been addressing anti-integration rallies in Milford, Del., under auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of White People.

McCall became nationally known when he shot two handcuffed Negro prisoners arrested in the famous Groveland rape case, killing one. McCall claimed they attacked him in an effort to escape.

He was introduced to the Delaware audiences by Bryant Bowles, head of the NAAWP as "a man who knows how to handle Negroes."

When McCall's activities became known, the *Tampa Tribune* said:

If a county official from some northern state came to Florida for the purpose of exhorting Negroes to resist school segregation laws, we rather imagine that most Florida citizens would tell him to go back home and mind his own business...

So far as Sheriff McCall is concerned, we would think that law enforcement in Lake County would provide him with quite enough trouble—without borrowing any from Delaware.

The Florida headquarters of NAACP called on Acting Gov. Johns to oust McCall, which is within his legal powers. The letter to Johns said:

His unmindful attitude of law enforcement and his open resentment of the United States Supreme Court decision, coupled with the plans of the state of Florida toward implementation of that high judicial body's final decree is leading this organization and citizens of Florida to believe that Willis V. McCall, as an officer of the county and state, will be a detriment toward the development of better race relations and peaceful solutions to the problems that will arise.

Johns has given no indication that he will take action on the NAACP request.

# Florida

MIAMI, Fla.

WHEN the Supreme Court's segregation decision was announced, there was much comment that Floridians generally remained calm. But the tide of debate now is rising, whipped by Atty. Gen. Richard W. Ervin's "friend of the court" brief asking a gradual approach to integration.

Striking evidence of this was the unscheduled discussion at the state Kiwanis convention at Sarasota during a panel on national issues. U. S. Sen. Spessard Holland and six of Florida's eight congressmen took part.

In response to a question from the floor on whether federal aid to schools might be withheld unless the court order is obeyed, Rep. Robert F. Sikes replied:

The amount of federal money for schools is not a major thing except in areas where there are large military establishments.

What happens to these grants could not be decided "until that bridge is crossed," he said, referring to the final Supreme Court ruling and the state's response to it. But he added:

"There are things more important to me than money."

## BENNETT'S STATEMENT

With the subject opened, Rep. Charles E. Bennett told the Kiwanians:

Those nine men in the Supreme Court made a mistake. The Supreme Court is composed of politicians, not lawyers.

I have been against non-segregation but I am going to try to remain calm and cool on the matter. I am not in favor of getting excited and jumping off the cliff, now or later. I don't feel that it is good for the colored people to end segregation. I have yet to meet one who told me they wanted their children to go to school with white children.

I think the Court's action was legislative. It was one of the greatest blows against democracy. The Supreme Court is not supposed to say what the people want—just what the law is. Those justices are appointed for life and don't know what public opinion is. Congressmen face election each two years and we are acquainted with how the people feel.

I think it was very irregular to call in

the states on their ideas on how to end segregation.

It doesn't make sense to me to cooperate with someone who is trying to hurt you. I think we have cooperated too much already.

The congressman added that since the Supreme Court had taken its stand, "I think the federal government should be required to take all necessary steps to make the states carry out the ruling."

Rep. D. R. (Billy) Matthews, another panel member, said: "We should express ourselves on this issue, but not get hot-headed. The court ruling emerges as something as terrible as the tragedies of World Wars I and II and the emergence of Communism. We ought to let our people know it is a tremendous thing."

Rep. A. S. (Syd) Herlong said he agreed with Bennett in holding that the Supreme Court decision infringed on states rights.

## HOLLAND STATES VIEWS

Sen. Holland, who previously told Florida audiences that the problem now is "to learn to live with" the court ruling, told the Kiwanians:

We all agree that it (the Court decision) is a terribly distressing thing. I am deeply concerned and I feel it was an unwise opinion. The question is: Where are we and where do we go?

Congress didn't have a thing to do with the segregation order. It was the decision of nine judges, three of whom were from the southland. No matter how much we don't like it, we must not have false ideas of the seriousness. That is going to be the law.

The attitude of this state in responding to the Supreme Court in filing a brief was a wise approach. If we made no efforts, indeed we would be in the wrong position. I believe it is wise for our state to make a strong case of the problems and the impact. It would show how ridiculous it would be to abandon segregation immediately.

This was not a political campaign discussion. The congressmen quoted were not opposed in the November general election and Holland's term has four more years to run.

But two political candidates, both Republicans, have tried to make capital of the issue.

J. Tom Watson, who died unexpectedly in the last days of the campaign, had served two terms as Democratic attorney general, then switched parties to run for governor as a Republican. In one of his final statements he declared that "the people of Florida will not have to worry about intermingling of white and Negro pupils in the same schools if I am elected."

This prompted a public expression of policy by his Democratic opponent, LeRoy Collins, who will be Florida's governor for the next two years. (He will serve the remaining half of the term of the late Gov. Dan McCarty. Since McCarty's death, Senate President Charley E. Johns has been acting governor.)

Said Collins: I favor segregation in our public schools. It is part of Florida custom and law. I will use all the lawful power of the governor's office to preserve this custom and law. Under our state constitution this is the governor's duty.

We cannot find a solution to the problem arising from the United States Supreme Court decision in an atmosphere of hysterical or political demagoguery.

We should call together the best brains in our state to study the situation and meet it calmly and properly.

Thomas B. DeWolf, Republican candidate for the legislature in Dade county (Miami) has raised the issue by calling for a stand by his opponent. DeWolf said he is opposed to desegregation "until such time as (it) is voluntarily accepted by the people."

Democrat John B. Orr Jr., replied that the legislature could do little unless it abolished the public school system.

"I don't know any legislative candidate who is willing to advocate this," Orr said.

I am convinced that the solution is being made more difficult by politicians who, for personal advantage, are attempting to fan the flames of hate.

Most legislators who have made statements on the subject agree generally that segregation will not be a major issue at the 1955 legislative session and that any attempt to abolish the public school system would be decisively defeated.

## NEWSPAPER COMMENT

While these may be indications of the political climate of Florida on the



# District of Columbia

WASHINGTON, D. C.

**T**HE opening bell at Anacostia High School on Oct. 4 was the signal for the start of a four-day demonstration by white students against racially-mixed classes.

The organized class-cutting spread to two other former all-white schools and six junior highs. Participating in this truancy were 2,500 students, or two per cent of the city's 104,000 school population.

Trouble started at the beginning of the fourth week of school. Two weeks before, School Supt. Hobart M. Corning had speeded up his original one-year program of public school integration.

He had authorized the transfer of nearly 500 Negro high school students to buildings nearest their homes and similar shifts of 354 Negro junior high students. These young people were enrolled in District schools last year and when the new term opened Sept. 13, they returned to the buildings they attended last fall. The new non-racial set of school boundaries previously had applied to new students only.

Believing the community had accepted this acceleration of classroom integration, Corning next asked grade school pupils if they wished to exercise their "option" to shift to the building now zoned to serve their neighborhood without regard to race. More than 2,300 Negro youngsters requested such transfers. The relatively few denials were based on lack of seat space.

Originally, school officials planned to make the bulk of these student-choice transfers at mid-year or in the fall of 1955.

## APPROVAL BY BOARD

The speedup was approved by the board of education at its September meeting and brought not a protest from community organizations.

At the same time, however, the community was reading and seeing newspaper and television accounts of anti-integration uprisings first in Milford, Del. and later in Baltimore. This publicity caused local educators to become uneasy and to talk among themselves about the contagion of mob psychology.

Late in the day on Friday, Oct. 1, the word of "trouble on Monday at Anacostia High" had reached city and school officials by way of the grapevine.

Police Chief Robert V. Murray took out of moth balls a preventive plan which had been in operation—but not needed—the first week of school. This plan enabled police headquarters to dispatch foot and mobile units to trouble spots at a moment's notice.

As early as 8 a.m. on Oct. 4, the wide street in front of Anacostia High was lined with uniformed police and plainclothesmen. Parked cruisers were occupied by some of the District's highest ranking police officers.

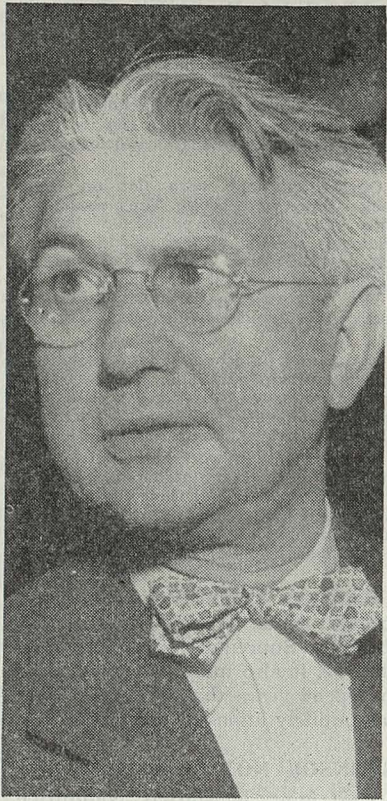
## NEWSMEN ON HAND

So well-known was the "strike" rumor that on hand were representatives of the local press, the wire services, the *New York Times*, and radio and television cameramen and news gatherers. These reporters quietly observed the scene without pencil or paper showing, commenting to each other that "maybe we won't have a story after all."

By 8:45 a.m. the high school's 43 Negro students had arrived and were huddled nervously on the steps of the school. A teacher opened the door and the group filed into the building. The sidewalk bordering the school entrance was jammed with more than 1,200 white students who were talking the usual teen-age chatter but gave the impression of waiting for something to happen.

The bell rang. About 500 of the students moved to the sidewalk opposite the school. Others hurried into the building. Their action was heralded by cries of "chicken," "nigger lovers" and loud boos by the stay-away mob. Some 150 other students circled the building and went to class by the back entrance.

Inside the school, business began as



**DR. CHARLES E. BISH**  
Shown Addressing McKinley  
High School Students

Washington Post & Times-Herald Photo

usual. The inter-com system carried a student leader's voice saying The Lord's Prayer and the Pledge to the Flag. Regular announcements followed. Some classes were one-third filled, others had five or six in attendance. Teachers looked strained but said nothing about the milling group outdoors whose cries and shouts were easily heard.

## MARCH SUGGESTED

Outside, the crowd agitated and then a hulking football player suggested a march. The students paraded four abreast up and down the street. Someone produced a cardboard sign which said, "We want to pick our own friends" and "Down with Corning." Next the group began singing school songs. Many of the students carried books and brown paper bags with lunches, an indication they had arrived with the intention of school-as-usual.

News reporters began talking to the teen-agers. Some said they had heard reports on Friday that "the thing to do" was cut class Monday. Others said they "knew nothing" of the demonstration, but "didn't want to be different from the rest of the kids."

Repeatedly, the students denied that there were ringleaders. One girl admitted: "We thought we'd have some parent support but they seem to have let us down." A boy said: "If Delaware and Baltimore can do it, so can we . . . we don't want them in our school."

A bespectacled youth asked a reporter, "Will we make the headlines tomorrow?" The answer was: "Not here son, but unfortunately, you will in every Communist country . . . this is the capital of the United States, not just the southeast section of your home town." The boy was seen to enter the school door a few minutes later.

The truant students picked up a suggestion that they walk the two blocks to Kramer junior high and lure their younger friends, including brothers and sisters, out of class. Off they went. The try was futile. Their urging brought only a few heads to the windows of the junior high.

## 'ON TO EASTERN'

As the column of students again marched past Anacostia, the shout went out "On to Eastern." Eastern high school is across the Anacostia River from the southeast section. Both Eastern and Anacostia high schools had all-white enrollments last year and today serve racially-mixed neighborhoods.

Acting Principal Eugene Griffith came outside and talked to the students. He said: "I came out as your

friend, and I'm simple enough to believe you are my friends. I've got a big job to do inside the building and I believe that is where you feel you really ought to be. I am asking you to report to class."

The statement was drowned out by catcalls and boos. The principal shrugged his shoulders and walked back toward the school. "Well, anyway, I tried," he said.

At this point, a motorcycle policeman's radio carried the staccato announcement that trouble had begun at McKinley high school. McKinley is situated in a racially-mixed neighborhood of northeast Washington.

At McKinley, about 150 white students had walked out of classes. The school has enrolled 419 Negroes and 598 white students. Principal Charles Bish pleaded with the young people to come inside and "talk the situation over." About 45 minutes later, they agreed and marched into Room 130. "You can get what you have off your mind now," Bish said.

## STUDENTS GIVE VIEWS

There were shouts of "integration will lead to intermarriage." One girl said: "I don't like what is going on. They have no right to go to school with white people."

Another girl added: "They make comments and hand us slips of paper with their name and phone number and ask us to call them up, I'm afraid to walk down the hall. . . ."

A boy stood up and declared: "We want it known that integration won't work. It won't work if we have anything to do with it."

Speaking next was a well-dressed young girl: "You won't like what I have to say. But they have to go to school with us now. We have to make the best of it. They are human beings just like us. We have to appreciate them, live with them, tolerate them and by doing this will build a better school and a better city."

This was met with yells of "you dirty little Communist . . . you Commie. . . ."

Another boy stood up immediately. He was president of the student council. "I am for integration," he told the jeering students. "Let's make it work, it's a practical lesson in democracy."

A teacher strode to the stage and said: "All we ask is for a small thing, integration. Can't you see the great harm if you don't let it work?" She was booed.

Dr. Bish raised his hand and looked straight at the students. For the first time they were silent. "I want to be a good principal," he said. "But I need your help. The Lord knows I need help now. This is a new road we must travel. There are problems we must face. There must be an answer. I admit I don't know the answers now, but I need your help."

## ASKED FOR COMMITTEE

Bish asked the students to form a 10-member advisory committee to study the problem and make suggestions and recommendations. "It will take more than 10 of us to solve this problem," a boy said as the students noisily left the school for the second time.

Back across the city, the Anacostia demonstrators marched toward Sousa Bridge which spans the Anacostia River on the way to Eastern High. Precinct Captain William T. Murphy walked at the head of the group. At the approach of the span, he stopped, wiped his forehead, and said:

"Okay now fellows, we're not leaving Anacostia. This is your school. You have no right over at Eastern. They can settle their own problems. All right, boys and girls, I'm telling you . . . turn around."

The teen-agers milled around a minute or two. Then, the boys in the front line yelled: "You heard what the Captain said. Let's go back." They did.

Murphy spurned a ride in a police car and walked back with the students who again took up their stance in front of the school. Murphy told a reporter: "I thought they'd listen to

me. I know these kids. They know me."

Racial feelings have not been good in the Anacostia community for a number of years. Six years ago, there was trouble on public transit buses between Negro and white boys of the area. Later, the Anacostia Recreation Center, adjacent to the school, was opened for use by both races. White attendance at the large swimming pool and other facilities fell off rapidly.

In 1950, Washington celebrated a Sesquicentennial. A play depicting the Federal Union called "Faith of Our Fathers" was part of the celebration. Part of the cast was scheduled to present a skit at Anacostia high school. There was one Negro performer in the troupe.

Mrs. Opal Corkery, then principal, refused to let the performers appear on the stage. She said students had indicated a "riot" would have occurred if the mixed cast appeared.

The board of education investigated this incident and supported Mrs. Corkery in her action. The school board ruled further that white and Negro persons could not mix in District schools during school hours. Gradually through the next two years the school board shut its eyes to this ruling which never was enforced.

Shortly before school opened this year, Mrs. Corkery retired as principal and accepted a teaching post in a nearby segregated Virginia school. She said integration had nothing to do with her decision.

## CORNING'S STATEMENT

Dr. Corning issued a statement asking parents to see their children did not take part in the demonstration. The text of Corning's statement read:

The public schools of the District of Columbia have for the past three weeks been operating on an integrated basis in compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that segregated schools are unconstitutional. The students have accepted the program adopted by the board of education and have been continuing their school work in compliance with the decision of established authority. Some, however, today have unwisely followed the pattern of the incidents in another school system and have remained out of classes and have tried to urge their classmates to do likewise.

As superintendent of schools, I wish to state that the schools are continuing to operate in accordance with the action of the board of education and the Supreme Court decision. I have confidence in the judgment and citizenship of Washington students and that they will not endanger their educational program by demonstrations of this sort. The school year is only 180 days long and no student, particularly when in high school, can afford to be absent unnecessarily. The students who are absent from school today should evaluate this experience in terms of loss in school work. The parents of these children should realize their responsibility to the students and to the community to see that their children are in school and are not a part of such demonstrations.

On the second day of the so-called strike, another perfect Indian Summer day, about 1,500 students refused to go to class at Anacostia, McKinley and Eastern high schools. In addition, the crowd was larger by several hundred younger students from six contributory junior highs who joined in the class skipping.

At Anacostia, members of the clergy walked among the students urging them to return to class and to think hard about what they were doing.

## BRIDGE STORMING

The students, however, focused their attention on storming Sousa Bridge. Shortly before noon, some 500 to 600 blue-jeaned youngsters marched across the Anacostia Flats, headed up the hill and began a hair-raising race across the bridge. The teen-agers zigzagged across the bridge, startling drivers, many of whom braked their heads into windshields in attempts to avoid hitting children. Motorcycle police raced to unravel bridge traffic. Other police piled out of their cars and literally jumped between the children and oncoming cars.

As part of the crowd reached the far end of the bridge, top police officers tried to stop the rush toward Eastern high. These men were kicked, cursed and scratched by both boys and girls. Finally, the students were driven back by words and a few pushes.

Near the end of the first-day student demonstration, Samuel Spencer,

president of the board of district commissioners, made this statement:

The students of our schools and the adult citizens of our city have given a fine example of responsible American citizenship by the successful manner in which they have been carrying out the integration program in our schools during the past three weeks.

The Commissioners have every confidence that both students and adults will continue to do so, that you will meet your responsibilities as peaceful, law abiding citizens and that you will cooperate with the school authorities in carrying out the law of the land as laid down by the Supreme Court.

## MEETING ARRANGED

Through efforts of a minister, Anacostia school officials and leaders of the demonstration agreed to meet the following day at the school stadium to talk things over.

Police were under orders to tell the students to go to school or go home. Chief Murray announced that a section of the District Code dealing with unlawful assembly would be enforced to prevent unruly demonstrations.

Said one mother watching the marching students: "They're wasting their time talking to these children. Those kids are having the time of their lives. They don't want to go to school and they've hit on a good way out."

A policeman, perspiring in the near 90 degree heat, said: "A good rain would stop all of this foolishness."

At McKinley high, more than 100 students refused to attend class. They were advised by Principal Bish they would be carried as absent and unexcused. "I've taken all the stuff I'll take," he said, "I'll play it my way now and I'll play it fair."

A short time later, Bish met with a student committee and made the following points:

1. We're going to work within the framework of the law and the law is integration. You can't change it. You don't have to come to McKinley. You can go to a private school. But if you come to McKinley, you're coming to an integrated school.

2. All the right in this situation isn't on one side. There have been serious mistakes made on both sides in our efforts to adjust and they have to be rectified as we go along, just as we do with all our mistakes. Since McKinley is going to be an integrated school, we might just as well try to make it the best integrated school.

Meanwhile, 200 McKinley and Taft junior high students gathered across the street from school board headquarters in downtown Washington. Some carried signs protesting integration. Police escorted three of the demonstrators inside Franklin Administration Building for a conference with Assistant School Supt. Norman J. Nelson.

A half hour later, the trio emerged and asked their followers to return to school, pending completion of plans for formation of a grievance committee. With a few mutters, the crowd broke up. It was decided they would attend an assembly the following day at McKinley to learn how the committee would work.

Nelson reported that the three students with whom he met presented their case intelligently and with the utmost frankness and respect. He said he outlined to them the over-all concept of integration and how it had been planned in the District school system and asked their indulgence over the rough spots.

## TAFT SCHOOL INCIDENT

At Taft junior high, Principal John Koontz said the Tuesday opening bell found about two-thirds of the 900 student enrollment milling rather aimlessly about in front of the school. There was no organization, Koontz said, and by circulating among them casually he was able to persuade all but about 100 to enter classes. (Koontz two weeks later was appointed principal of Anacostia High.)

At Eastern high school about 300 white students gathered noisily in front of a nearby delicatessen. The youngsters obviously were in a holiday mood. Typical of their mood was the oft-heard remark, "it's fine just to be standing around here like this without having to go to school." Eastern's 1,900 enrollment is one-half Negro.

On Tuesday, police grew sterner. Two adults were arrested near Anacostia high on charges of disorderly conduct. A handful of juveniles were taken into custody and released to

(Continued on Page 5)



## District

(Continued from Page 4)

their parents. They included several girls arrested for carrying brickbats and two boys found carrying knives.

Negro students continued to attend class at all the schools involved in the demonstrations. Teachers remarked about their "courage."

### COUNCIL STATEMENT

The American Council on Human Rights, issued the following statement directed to Negro students:

We ask all colored students attending integrated schools and their parents to make every effort to maintain stoic calm in the face of the grave provocations now going on. The police force of Washington is fully capable of thwarting any attempted violence and only where absolutely necessary to protect your personal safety should any individual action be taken. This ordeal will soon be ended and the bright sun of democratic education will shine on all of us, white and colored alike. God and justice are on our side. The bigots cannot prevail.

The Washington Federation of Churches called on the "boys and girls and parents of this community to do all in their power to prevent any disgrace from coming upon our nation's capital and upon our country . . . to stand up and be counted as good citizens in this particular time of emergency."

In behalf of fullest attendance at the Anacostia assembly, two 17-year-old seniors made a television appeal.

Said one boy: "I think they (the demonstrators) are going about it in the wrong way. I doubt that any mass movement in our schools can solve the District integration problem. There is a mistaken idea that a majority of us here at Anacostia are out on a strike. A majority of us are in school and attending classes."

On Wednesday, the two major assemblies, designed to restore normal class attendance at the high schools involved, broke about even in results.

The first at McKinley came off in orderly fashion and broke up with almost the entire student body resuming classes. The second, at Anacostia high stadium, reached near pandemonium before it broke up in confusion with nothing constructive accomplished.

### THE MCKINLEY MEETING

The spirited McKinley meeting heard Bish explain the machinery of the student committee appointed to iron out grievances. The principal then assured students that rumors that the football contest with Roosevelt High would be cancelled Friday were false.

With a rousing cheer, the students turned their attention and enthusiasm to the forthcoming clash with their traditional gridiron foe.

"I'm in a forget and forgive mood right now," Bish told the students. He said the first of the week had been "so very long" he thought it was Friday. "It couldn't be," he continued, "because we have a football game Friday and a pep assembly."

"Well," Bish said, "we're here today because some of the school leaders Tuesday thought we could do something constructive about the situation we've been embroiled in the last couple of days."

Bish said these spokesmen Tuesday conferred with Assistant Supt. Nelson and explained that they had grievances about McKinley integration.

Following this conference, Bish and the students decided to set up a biracial "complaint and suggestion committee" of eight young men and women. This committee has met at 8:30 a.m. every school day and problems reportedly are being "ironed out."

"I had dinner with my friend Mr. Nelson Tuesday night," Bish said, "and I've never been prouder of McKinley than when he told me how intelligent and respectful the student spokesmen were."

Also Bish said, "I'm told someone rushed up to one of our students as he left Franklin Administration Building and yelled 'What school you from?'" The reply, Bish said, was "The best, buddy."

Referring to the grievance committee, Bish said as a sponsor he "didn't intend to be a dictator. I sort of run a high school like a person who plays the piano by ear," he said.

Near the end of the 45-minute as-



Protesting high school students from Anacostia are led back across Sousa Bridge after an unsuccessful attempt to march to Eastern high school. This

was one of the more widely publicized incidents in nearly a week of unrest in several District of Columbia schools.

sembly, Bish said: "Let's forget all this. I'm worried about playing Roosevelt in football Friday. You know we tied Coolidge and I thought we should have won by at least two touchdowns. Roosevelt is rough. It has a good ball club."

"Do you suppose there's a cheerleader in the house?" Bish asked. In seconds, four girls left the audience for the stage. Bish asked: "How about a yell?" The quartet began:

"Two bits, four bits, six bits, a dollar. All for Tech, stand up and holler."

The large auditorium echoed and reechoed as the young people let off two days of steam.

To the organ strains of "On McKinley" the students returned to their next class. Bish had given no order.

### THE ANACOSTIA MEETING

The mass meeting at Anacostia began decorously enough at 9 a.m. On hand, as per advanced billing, was entertainment in the person of Art Lamb, Washington TV personality, about 20 ministers of churches in the area, some 100 parents, heavy police details and school officials.

Before the meeting officially opened, Bryant W. Bowles, 34, who described himself as president of the Association for the Advancement of White People, Inc., arrived at the stadium and was escorted into the school building by police. He told reporters he wanted to explain his "mission" to the principal.

Bowles said several "level headed and serious" students had called at his office and asked him to keep down violence. Bowles said he had nothing to do with the stadium meeting since he didn't want to discuss the situation with minors.

"When they go home," Bowles told reporters, "I'll be glad to discuss it with their parents." He said he had a street corner meeting the night before with a group of students and had arranged to address a meeting Wednesday noon in Fairlawn Park but didn't because of rain.

In the principal's absence, Bowles spoke with a teacher who suggested he get permission from the minister who was serving as moderator of the stadium meeting, to address the gathering.

The minister told Bowles he could speak if he would ask the students to return to school. This Bowles refused to do and he left the stadium.

The meeting proceeded in comparative order until a student leader came to the reading of the last of a 12-point list of objections to integration at Anacostia. It suggested a gradual method of desegregation beginning with the kindergarten grades.

When the youth had finished reading that, the student assemblage started yelling its protest, shouting "No! No! No! Erase it! Take it out." Despite attempts by various of the clergymen and eventually the principal to restore order, the balance of the meeting was tumultuous.

Shortly before 10 a.m. a large group of Eastern students appeared at the far end of the stadium and most of the Anacostia students ran to join them.

### MEETING BREAKS UP

After the meeting had broken up, a seven-member student committee met with the principal. The results of this session were discussed at a second stadium meeting attended by about 100.

A spokesman for the students reported his group hadn't made much headway, except that "four of us are to discuss it further" with higher school officials. Subsequently, the spokesman reported that this meeting, too, had been futile. Suggestions that Anacostia set up a biracial grievance committee similar to the one which ended the disturbances at McKinley received short shrift in most quarters, at this time.

Late Wednesday, Police Chief Murray issued this statement:

I want to call on these school children who have absented themselves from classes to return to school. The Police Department has been very patient with them. But we cannot and will not permit them to operate in disorderly gangs and groups. There are many risks and dangers involved in going about the streets in demonstrations of this kind—such as injuries in traffic or in fights.

It is well for the youngsters and their parents to remember that the children will automatically acquire a police record if it becomes necessary to arrest them. That police record will remain with them for the rest of their lives. I do not want to see this happen to any of these school children—and it will not happen unless they are out on the streets looking for trouble. For these reasons, I am asking parents and children to see that all students return to their classrooms.

### STUDENTS WARNED

At the same time Supt. Corning issued this statement:

As superintendent of schools, I hereby direct all students of the Washington public schools who are at present absent in protest against the integration of our schools to return to their classrooms immediately.

Principals of schools where such absences are now occurring have been directed to declare absentees who will not have returned to school by Friday morning, Oct. 8, ineligible to receive or enjoy school honors during the balance of the present school year.

This means that those students who continue to be absent after Thursday will disqualify themselves:

A. From holding commissions and warrants in the Cadet Corps. B. From holding positions on school publications. C. From representing their schools on athletic teams, in rifle matches or in musical or dramatic performances. D. From being eligible to hold any office in any organization, club or activity that comes under the direction of the school or from holding any positions representing their schools.

Those students who return to their classes by Friday will be given all possible assistance by their teachers to make up the work missed this week; those who do not return by that time will seriously jeopardize their scholastic standing because of the continued absence. All adults who have contacts with school children and especially parents are asked to use their natural leadership in ending a situation which now becomes disgraceful and dangerous.

Elsewhere in the community, Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam de-

clared that resistance to the Supreme Court decision on school integration is "subversive" and "does more to undermine democratic government than any traitor Communist can do."

Bishop Oxnam made his remarks during a meeting in the Methodist Building. Calling segregation sinful, Bishop Oxnam praised the court decision as a "historic utterance" and said "it has done more to bring back to this beloved land the respect and gratitude of the peoples of the world than any statement since the historic utterances of our leaders that led to the adoption of the United Nations Charter."

Also frowning on the student demonstrations was the District Federation of Citizens Associations. This white organization unsuccessfully sought a court order to delay the start of integration in September on the grounds the school board should wait until the Supreme Court rules on the method and timing of desegregation.

The Federation urged public school students not "to follow a lawless course" that might lead "to ultimate community chaos and tragedy." The executive committee said: "We urge the students and other citizens of the District to retain faith in the orderly and legitimate channels of Government for seeking redress for their grievances, rather than to follow a lawless course which leads only to ultimate community chaos and tragedy."

On Thursday, all junior high attendance rolls were reported back to normal. McKinley High had "better than normal" attendance. Absences still were high at Anacostia and Eastern High Schools. However, many students were off because of the Jewish holy day, Yom Kippur.

At about noon, four Anacostia student demonstrators saw Corning and presented him with a petition which among other things requested "separate but equal rights." Corning told the absentees school officials would discuss their proposal after they returned to school, but not before. The students rejected Corning's offer and refused to go back to class.

Although it wasn't in the petition, the students said they wanted removal of the 43 Negro pupils at Anacostia. They were told this was impossible.

One of the students said they had solicited the support of Rep. James Davis (D. Ga.), chairman of the House District Committee, and got it.

Contacted at his office in Atlanta, Davis told a reporter:

I told them I regarded this Supreme Court decision as being rank usurpation of authority by the Court which it does not possess. It is an outrageous attempt to forcibly cram down the throats of people the personal, sociological views of nine persons who now comprise the court without any legal precedent on which to base their decision.

I am glad people all over the country recognize the decision to be just what it is—an unconstitutional usurpation of authority. Students and parents have the

right to use all peaceable means to protest this outrageous action.

They have the right to picket the schools, the school officials, the Commissioners, the Supreme Court or the White House, or any other government agency. They have the right to assemble to discuss it without being interfered with. The Constitution guarantees the rights of free speech and assembly.

I told them if they carry on their protest and stay out of school—school officials will have a hard time holding school without pupils. I said I was on their side and I hope they win.

Back at school headquarters, Corning met with a group of Anacostia parents and issued this statement:

It has come to my attention that some parents are disturbed because they believe that the process of moving groups of children from school to school, according to new boundaries, is to be a continuing process throughout the year. No such additional group movements to conform to new boundaries will be proposed or made for the remainder of this semester.

In February, 1955, junior high school graduates will be assigned to the senior high schools on the basis of new boundaries. Otherwise, changes and assignments will be limited to occasional cases of individual students. Transfers as a result of the filing of options have been completed in the secondary level. Some, however, are still being processed in the elementary schools.

### COURT PICKETED

On Thursday, police reported that 25 placard-bearing students gathered on the Supreme Court Plaza. They were escorted by police to the sidewalk bordering the east ground of the Capitol.

One boy asked a court guard, "Who's the judge here?" The man explained, "this court has nine justices." He added: "Son, I think there is a classroom somewhere in which you could learn things like that."

The students soon lost interest in their demonstration at the court because a movie crew was taking shots nearby for a picture dealing with the life of the late Senate chaplain, Peter Marshall.

On Friday, virtually all absentee students returned to their classes.

At Anacostia, only 81 students were absent out of 1,300. Normal absenteeism runs 90 or 100.

Principal Griffith met with the student committee which Thursday visited Corning. These students had decided to return to school and try a new approach. They now wanted to set up a biracial student grievance committee similar to the one which successfully was operating at McKinley. Still a third such committee has been organized at Eastern high school.

An example of the integration problems outlined before these student committees are these reported at McKinley. The Negro students were not tidy in the washrooms. They were told about this and already the results were noticeable.

In another case, a Negro girl was still wearing a sweater of her last year's school, Armstrong high. McKinley students said this was disloyal. It was found the girl had no other sweater.

Today, she does.



# Delaware

**WILMINGTON, Del.**  
**AN UNEASY TRUCE** prevails in southern Delaware after the controversy that flared up in the middle of September over the admission of less than a dozen Negro youngsters to the white high school in Milford.

The truce was declared, so to speak, by the Delaware State Supreme Court, composed of three justices, two of whom had handed down a public school integration opinion two years ago.

In effect, the State Supreme Court on Sept. 22 stayed a Court of Chancery order that would have forced the readmission of 10 Negro children to the Milford high school from which they had been removed by the Milford board of education in the face of attendance boycotts, agitation by the National Association for the Advancement of White People and a general situation in Sussex County that had been referred to as "an uprising against law and order."

The State Supreme Court of which Clarence A. Southerland is chief justice in effect declared that the Negro youngsters should continue to go to the Negro high school in nearby Georgetown, Del., the county seat of Sussex county, and that the case on behalf of the Negro pupils seeking readmission to the Milford high school would be heard Dec. 13—one week after the scheduled start of hearings before the U.S. Supreme Court on how its integration opinion should be translated into a mandate.

## CAUSE FOR RELIEF

While Louis L. Redding, attorney for the Negro children involved and also attorney for the NAACP, objected to the truce, it was received with considerable relief throughout Delaware for various reasons:

1. It was hailed as a cooling off period in which tempers and bitter arguments over integration could ease off.

2. It was applauded by politicians because it means that the final days of the political campaign could be conducted without an open conflict starting them in the face.

3. Citizens who are willing to abide by the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court but who do not necessarily welcome integration, believe that discussion of integration in a more calm atmosphere will be beneficial to the state.

4. Middle-of-the-roaders greeted the truce with favor because it meant that there would not be, for a time at least, any more threats of boycott or violence in southern Delaware.

5. Citizens who may or may not favor integration but nevertheless do not favor the expansion of the NAAWP, hoped that the organization would not have any more opportunity for getting additional support.

The *News-Journal* papers of Wilmington said editorially:

This (the State Supreme Court's truce) should put a temporary end to the hotly contested battle over integration in southern Delaware and we feel that nearly every one involved will welcome this truce in the hostilities.

What Delawareans on both sides of the controversy need more than anything else at this point is time to cool off and take stock.

And practically all Delawareans, regardless of their points of view on integration or segregation, were relieved when the so-called "Milford incident" got off the front pages of Delaware newspapers and national papers. Delawareans particularly resented remarks about their state that were broadcast over Radio Moscow and heard in Delaware—remarks that were intended as reflections not only upon all Delawareans but upon democracy.

But the truce declared by the State Supreme Court was only one of a number of events that rocked Delaware during October. The difficulty started on Sept. 17 when an almost spontaneous rally was held in Milford as a protest against the admission of Negro students to the Milford (white high school.)

The anti-integration movement gathered momentum, involving the sudden expansion and nationwide publicity given to the NAAWP and its national president, Bryant Bowles. Conflict in Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Md., was said to have been stirred up by the outbreak in Milford.

## EVENTS IN OCTOBER

Highlights of October in Delaware were:

1. A hearing before Delaware Chancery Court, Vice Chancellor William Marvel sitting. He declared that the 10 Negro children removed from the Milford high school should be immediately readmitted because they had "a clear legal right entitling them to immediate relief."

2. An appeal taken by the Milford board of education to the State Supreme Court that stayed the order of the lower court.

3. The arrest of NAAWP president Bowles in two of Delaware's three counties on charges of conspiring to urge people to violate state laws.

4. The action of the state's attorney general, H. Albert Young, to revoke the charter of the NAAWP which was granted in Delaware under the state's corporation laws in December of 1953.

5. The lengthy statement by Delaware's senior U.S. Sen. John J. Williams who lives in Sussex county, and who declared that while the U.S. Supreme Court took upon itself too great a responsibility "in determining so important a social question" as integration, the laws of the nation and state must be upheld and respected.

6. The demand by Bowles that Delaware's governor, J. Caleb Boggs, remove Atty. Gen. Young because the latter had changed his name from Yanowitz to Young—a demand that was ignored by Gov. Boggs. The attorney general of Delaware is a constitutional officer of the state elected by the people.

7. The demand by NAAWP officials that Gov. Boggs resign his office—also ignored.

8. A promise issued by Wilmington's mayor, August F. Walz, that NAAWP president Bowles would be arrested on any one of 14 possible charges if he tried to undertake a school attendance boycott in Wilmington where the elementary schools are integrated.

9. A stand taken by the Wilmington chapter of the NAACP that any school district in Delaware that does not have an integration program under way by September 1955, will be brought into court.

10. Pro-integration positions of the Delaware State Education Association and the Federation of Delaware Teachers (AFL-affiliate) reaffirmed in their respective conventions.

11. Bowles' attack upon members of the Wilmington press and the Southern Education Reporting Service in the course of speeches at NAAWP rallies.

## REPUBLICAN THREAT

12. Threat of Republican State Chairman J. Clair Killoran that any Republican candidate for any office—state or county—who signs an NAAWP pledge to fight integration will be removed from the Republican ticket.

13. Controversy within the State Republican Party top ranks when Atty. Gen. Young (Republican) declared in court of chancery that the laws of Delaware will be enforced even if it takes "the governor of Delaware and our two United States senators to lead these Negro children by the hand back into the Milford school."

(This statement was immediately attacked by Sen. Williams who declared Young had no authority to speak for him. U.S. Sen. J. Allen Frear (Democrat running for reelection) took the same attitude as Sen. Williams. Young later said he was speaking only figuratively.)

14. Pro-integration steps taken by the Delaware Congress of Parents and Teachers.

15. Widespread support of integration given by church leaders and civic organizations, particularly in northern Delaware.

16. A deluge of pro and con letters-to-the-editors of newspapers in Wilmington, Dover, and Georgetown.

17. An invitation from the NAACP in Peekskill, N. Y. to Bowles to speak at the New York State NAACP convention—an invitation that was later withdrawn upon direction from the national office of the NAACP.

18. A public opinion poll on integration taken officially by the board of education of Laurel in Sussex county. The result: 1,258 voted against integration; 31 voted for. 1,248 voted for expansion to the Laurel Negro high school; 99 voted against.

(There was only one polling place—in the Laurel (white) high school. Only seven Negroes took part in the referendum. Although Laurel itself has a population of 2,300 of which 12.3 per cent is non-white, the Laurel

# SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

Southern School News is the official publication of the Southern Education Reporting Service, an objective, fact-finding agency established by southern newspaper editors and educators with the aim of providing accurate, unbiased information to school administrators, public officials and interested lay citizens on developments in education arising from the U. S. Supreme Court opinion of May 17, 1954 declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. SERS is not an advocate, is neither pro-segregation nor anti-segregation, but simply reports the facts as it finds them, state by state.

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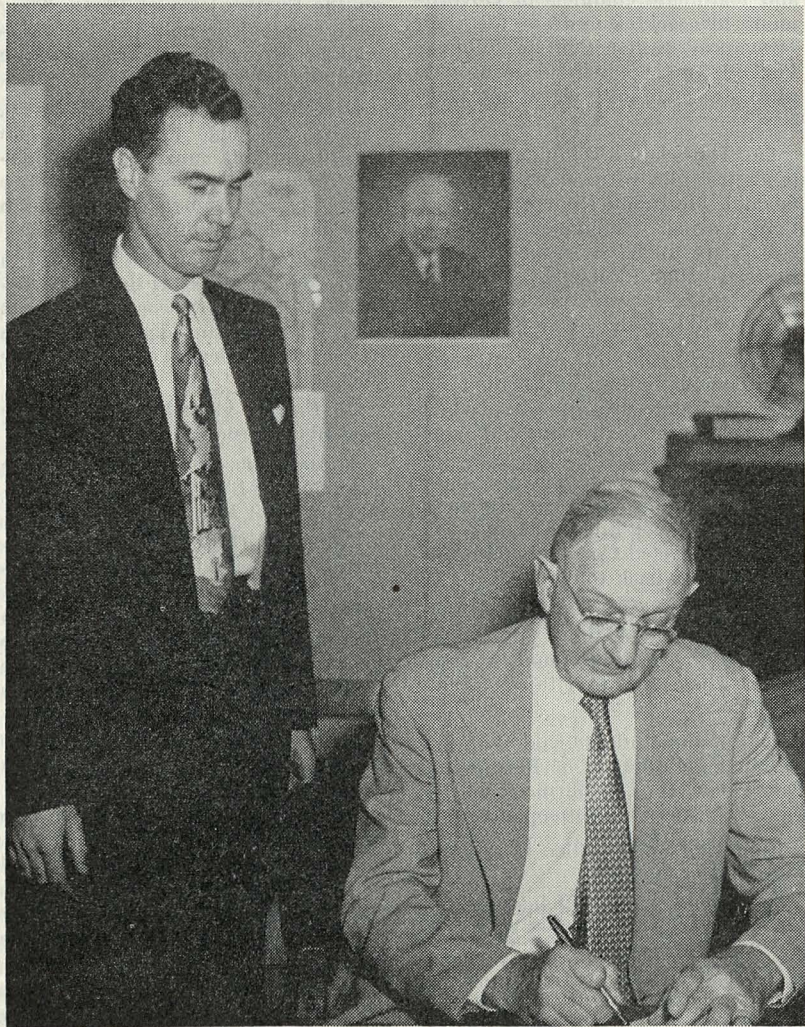
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Wilmington News-Journal Photo

**BRYANT BOWLES, NAAWP president, watches intently as Magistrate Morris Gloverman of Milford, Del., signs the documents placing Bowles under \$3,000 bond on charges of conspiracy. A few moments later, Bowles was free and on his way to the Harrington airport to address a mass meeting.**

school district has about 4,000 eligible voters.)

19. The board of education of Seaford (3,000 population of which 13 per cent is non-white) in Sussex county recommended a 12-year integration plan to start only when the U. S. Supreme Court hands down its mandate.

## THE MILFORD INCIDENT

These highlights give only an inkling of the controversy that raged through Delaware during October, centered chiefly in the southernmost county of Delaware—Sussex.

But practically the entire controversy roared around the Milford high school which admitted 11 Negro children on the first day of school in September. The board of education that approved this partial integration program later resigned because it declared it didn't have the full support of the state board of education.

Then the state board of education officials took over the school for several days but were faced with attendance boycotts that spread to nearby school districts.

Finally, a new Milford board of education was organized and its first move was to oust the Negro children from the Milford high school. Almost immediately suit was brought in the court of chancery.

Oddly enough, this was the first case to be heard by Vice Chancellor William Marvel soon after his appointment to the bench by Gov. Boggs.

The suit was brought by NAACP attorney Redding on behalf of the Negro children, asking the court to compel the Milford board of education to readmit them.

Atty. Gen. Young declined to represent the Milford school board in court—as he ordinarily would have been called upon to do—because, he said, the Milford board had ousted the Negroes against his legal advice.

The Milford board then used the legal services of Howard E. Lynch, Sussex county attorney, but Mr. Young took part in the hearing as a friend of the court. It was in the course of this hearing that he made his statement about the governor and two U. S. senators leading the Negro children back to the Milford school—a statement that exploded still another controversy in Sussex county.

## COURT RULING AT ISSUE

This was probably the first court hearing in any one of the so-called segregated states that brought into the record and argument the May 17 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The hearing was held in the old court house in Georgetown, Sussex county, while outside the court house milled a large throng of NAAWP members. Bowles himself was among them and according to a statement he gave the press, he did not try to attend the hearing because it was not "segregated."

Two days after the hearing, Vice Chancellor Marvel handed down his

(Continued on Page 7)



## Delaware

(Continued from Page 6)

opinion. The essence of his decision—that the Negro children should be readmitted to the Milford high school—was:

In the light of the sweeping declaration of the Supreme Court on the unqualified right of all persons to a public school education in which consideration of race plays no part, it necessarily follows that the plaintiffs (Negro children) and those similarly situated are equitably entitled to an education at the Milford high school. Under the facts of this case, how long must plaintiffs wait?

The vice chancellor also stated:

I hold that plaintiffs, having been accepted and enrolled, are entitled to an order protecting their status at the Milford high school; that their right to a personal and present high school education having vested on their admission, they need not wait for decrees in the cases decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in May as a prerequisite to the relief they seek.

Even while the NAAWP was threatening more boycotts if the Negro children were readmitted to the Milford high school, Vice Chancellor Marvel signed the order several days later but the Milford board of education took an appeal to the State Supreme Court.

### QUESTIONS OF LAW

The State Supreme Court on Oct. 23 stayed the order of the Court of Chancery as Chief Justice Southerland said that the court found "serious questions of law" involved in the status of the Negro children. He added:

This court, we think, should be given sufficient time to examine these questions without disturbing the status quo as existing upon the filing of the suit.

In announcing this decision, the court neither expresses nor intimates any opinion upon the merits of the case.

And so there will be briefs filed during November, and in the meantime, the attorney general of Delaware prepared to appear before the U. S. Supreme Court early in December.

Except for a continued flow of letters to the newspapers and an occasional meeting of the NAAWP, the "Milford incident" calmed down and October in Delaware concluded with politics on the front pages.

While the headlines of newspapers, radio and television stations of the nation and even Moscow played up the "Milford fight," secondary position was given to the stand taken for integration by every major church in Delaware, by the Episcopal and Catholic bishops, labor unions, teachers' organizations and the State Congress of Parents and Teachers.

These resolutions and statements ranged all the way from unqualified support of integration in the public schools to a law-and-order observance of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision.

They also took strong positions against the National Association for the Advancement of White People and its national president, Bryant Bowles.

Even some weekly newspapers in southern Delaware that have assumed cautious attitudes toward integration have admitted that they do not relish the activities of Bowles.

And many citizens of Milford—the focal point of the conflict that became nationwide news—insist that the issue is not integration vs. segregation, but rather law and order vs. segregation. They say that the vast majority of people in southern Delaware do not want integration and would rather the U.S. Supreme Court had not handed down its opinion, but, they add, since the opinion has come, it is now a question of how to proceed toward integration and how quickly to proceed.

### CONFLICT GETS HEADLINES

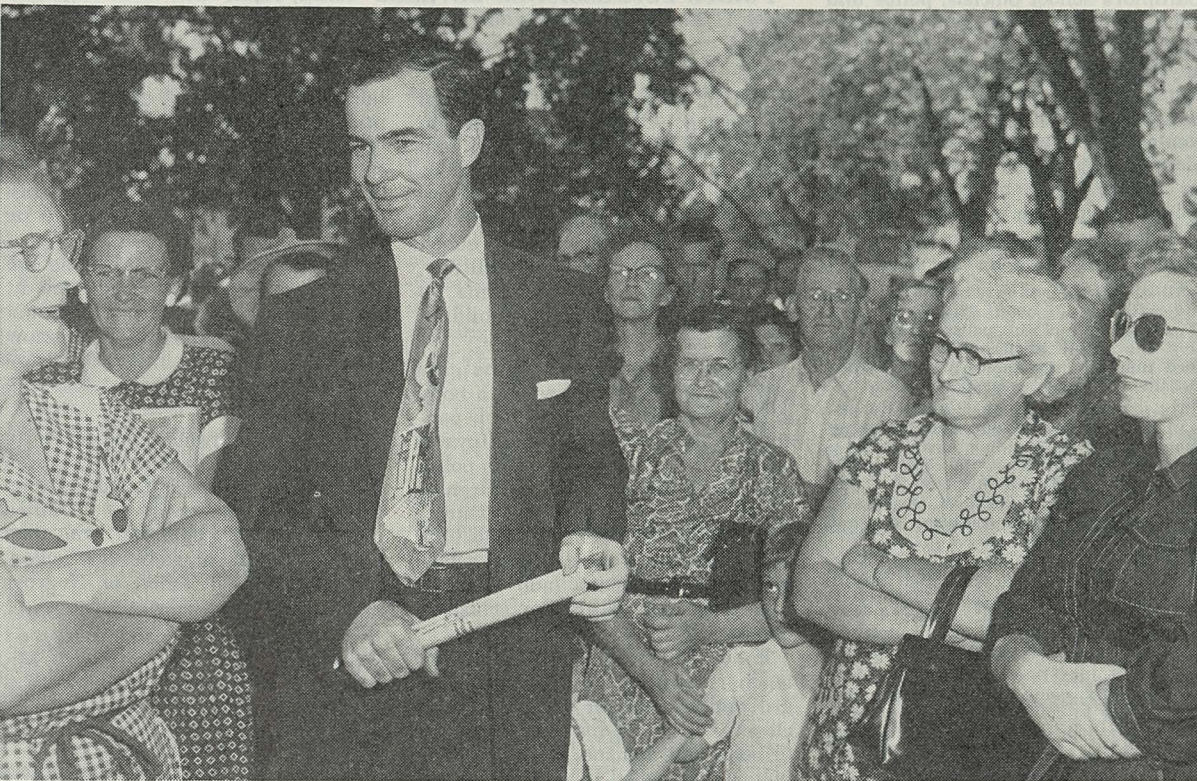
Church men and civic leaders are deploring that the big play on newspapers, radio and television is being given the conflict and the rallies conducted by the NAAWP and Bowles, rather than the positive resolutions and statements in favor of integration and an orderly transition toward integration.

School leaders in northern Delaware where integration is proceeding on varying scales, also deplore that the nation and the world are not being told that already several thousand Delaware school children are attending integrated classes.

## TWO VIEWS OF NAAWP LEADER IN ACTION IN DELAWARE



Bryant Bowles addresses a rally of the National Association for the Advancement of White People at Harrington, Delaware.



Another view of NAAWP Leader Bowles

Veteran newspapermen in Wilmington who have covered "Brotherhood Week" year after year say that those observances in February never produced such an outpouring of "brotherhood" resolutions and sermons as did the integration conflict in southern Delaware since the opening of school in September.

Here is a digest of the stand taken by church groups and church leaders:

The New Castle Presbytery which embraces all of Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland:

Every Presbyterian within our jurisdiction is urged to refrain from encouraging or participating in any school strike or boycott or other like reprehensible conduct, and is urged to uphold the processes of law and order.

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States has finally settled the law of the land, leaving open only the mechanics of enforcement and in so settling the question has given the force of law to a Christian principle.

In support of this resolution, former State Supreme Court Justice James M. Tunnell Jr., a resident of Georgetown, the county seat of Sussex county (the NAAWP battle ground), said: "The church is one place where it is better to be right than to be popular."

Mr. Tunnell is the moderator of the New Castle Presbytery.

The Rt. Rev. J. Brooks Mosley, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Delaware (in a sermon in a small Sussex county church):

We must be certain to take our stand on these issues of righteousness and justice. God weeps for those who have come to our state to take advantage of our plight. Poor misguided souls! Preaching hate—in the name of a God of love!

Teaching lawlessness in the name of the United States of America.

The Most Rev. Edmond J. Fitz-Maurice, bishop of the Catholic diocese of Wilmington which covers all of Delaware and parts of the Eastern Shore of Maryland:

To the question, "Who is my neighbor?" the Catholic Church makes answer: "All men without distinction or exception," for every man bears within him the divine spark. He is a son of God and hence in the truest sense our brother. . . . If a Catholic does not hold to this doctrine, he denies the Catholic faith. If he fails to put it into practice, if he denies to his brother his inalienable rights and would relegate him to an inferior status, he is a recreant, disobedient member of his church.

This was part of a pastoral letter, solely devoted to integration, issued by the Catholic bishop and read at all masses in every Catholic church in the diocese in the first week of October.

The Wilmington Methodist Ministerial Association of the (Delmarva) Peninsula Conference:

We believe that the present movement of integration truly represents the spirit and the teaching of the Christian gospel. We believe that now is the time for the Christian people of Delaware to give careful and prayerful consideration to the Christian means by which integration can be achieved.

The Dover District Methodist Ministerial Association of the Peninsula Conference:

The Methodist Church declares that "to discriminate against a person solely on the basis of his race, is both unfair and un-Christian." Progress can be made, though adjustments are difficult. The duty and responsibility of all Americans is to put into daily practice now, the high standards of their religious faith and national law. The problem of integration of races in the school system can be

solved when sincere effort is based on this foundation.

The B'nai B'rith lodges of Delaware:

What has taken place in Milford makes a mockery of our American traditions of fairness to all. A "Milford incident" lends aid and comfort to the enemies of our nation who rejoice when they see us pitted one against the other. We condemn the expulsion from their classes of Delaware children solely because of their color.

The Rev. John G. MacKinnon, pastor of the Unitarian Church in Wilmington:

While denouncing integration as something from outside Delaware being foisted upon the good people of Delaware, this transient rabble rouser (Bryant Bowles) with a police record has entered the state and stirred up a situation to his own advantage.

The Rev. John M. Ballach, pastor of the Immanuel Baptist Church in Wilmington: (speaking out against Manean Warrington, an evangelist, who calls himself the "chaplain" of the NAAWP):

The church can take only one position in this thing, in spite of the evangelist who has been speaking his mind in the Milford area. We cannot and must not keep the Negro from the benefits of our society. Life is too short to be hateful.

The Jewish War Veterans of Delaware called for an investigation of the NAAWP and all other organizations "which are fomenting discord and violence" and asked that these groups be placed upon the attorney general's subversive organization list.

The board of directors of the Sussex County Farm Bureau called for a halt of any further integration in the Delaware public schools until referenda are held in all school dis-

tricts, but the board also took the position of pledging "to uphold all law and order as the Constitution of the State of Delaware states for the protection of its citizens."

The Delaware Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews called upon "all those in positions of authority or leadership to speak out and act at once against any further attempts to perpetuate or re-establish segregation in our schools by use of direct or implied threats of force or other illegal means."

The Delaware State Industrial Union Council endorsed a national CIO statement asking the attorney general of the United States to investigate possible violation of federal civil rights laws in the school integration protest in Sussex county and elsewhere.

The Delaware Federation of Labor in convention adopted a resolution condemning "A shameful display of mob violence" in the Milford area and charged a lack of leadership on the part of the state's Gov. J. Caleb Boggs and the state board of education.

The so-called "Milford Incident" did not catch the Delaware Congress of Parents and Teachers (white) unprepared.

The president of the State Congress of Parents and Teachers—made up of Parent-Teacher Association units in all parts of Delaware—is James H. Snowden of Wilmington, father of children who go to the Wilmington public schools, and himself a chemist employed by the duPont Company in Wilmington.

Months before the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its integration opinion in May, the Delaware Congress of Parents and Teachers had already undertaken study groups devoted to discussions of the problems that would come with integration.

Mr. Snowden, himself a strong champion of integration, has taken a position that whatever the Delaware Congress does about integration must be the result of democratic processes among the representatives of the various local PTA units.

During the summer—weeks before the opening of school—Mr. Snowden had a statewide committee on group relations working on a program dealing with the integration of PTA units of Negro and white parents.

And right in the midst of the Milford controversy—on Oct. 3—the board of managers of the Delaware Congress of Parents and Teachers met to take action on a report of the committee on group relations.

Mr. Snowden explained that the meeting of the board of managers which includes the presidents of every local PTA in the state was not purposely scheduled for Oct. 3 so as to figure in the Milford controversy. He said the meeting date had been set before the outbreak of the conflict.

The group relations committee submitted a unanimous report which was discussed at the meeting of the board of managers for several hours and then adopted without a dissenting vote.

In effect, the adoption of the report put the Delaware Congress of Parents and Teachers behind integration. The gist of the report was that Negro PTA units in segregated school districts could join the Delaware Congress of Parents and Teachers (up until now a wholly white organization).

In the meantime, the executive committee of the Milford high school PTA—the very center of the storm that broke over Delaware—quietly met on Oct. 12 and unanimously approved a resolution of the board of managers of the Delaware Congress of Parents and Teachers which stated:

The threat of violence has resulted in the interruption of the education of many Delaware children; it has coerced or inspired state and local officials to neglect or violate their offices; it has frightened those to whom we generally look for leadership into silence. The preservation of respect for law and order now rests squarely upon the shoulders of all good citizens.

Regardless of our views on the elimination of segregation in the public schools, we are now seriously concerned with the maintenance of law and order and respect for our democratic institutions and their orderly process.



# Maryland

BALTIMORE, Md. BALTIMORE'S moderate desegregation program, involving 52 out of 186 public schools, gave every outward appearance of going smoothly from Sept. 7 through Sept. 29. The early word from one white school after another, following the admission of Negroes, was that everything was working out fine, that there were no incidents of any kind to report.

The one hint of coming trouble, seen in retrospect, was that a group of parents in South Baltimore had called the coordinating council of PTA's to say they wanted to protest desegregation. A council representative met with the group, found them to be angrily anti-Negro, and reported back to school authorities the group's request, which was to have the school board call a mass meeting of persons opposed to desegregation. School officials declined to sponsor such a meeting, and the subject was still being discussed by the group and the coordinating council when the picketing and boycott began on Sept. 30.

South Baltimore is the area which school officials had considered in advance most likely to be troublesome, if any trouble at all developed. Reputed to be the section of Baltimore where racial feelings are most intense, the area is heavily populated with industrial workers, some of long residence and others of quite recent vintage who came to Baltimore during the wartime and post-war influx of labor from West Virginia, Tennessee and points farther south.

The educational level of the adults in the area, or, at least, of the active segregationists among them, was indicated by the grammar and spelling on signs which appeared on the picket lines: "Southern Don't Want Negroes," "We Are Not Satisfied With This," "We Want Separate Schools," and the like.

## LEADERS IN BACKGROUND

What actually precipitated the trouble has never been exactly determined. Back of the supposedly spontaneous demonstrations some organizational effort was apparent, but the leadership remained under cover. The women on the picket lines maintained they were "just parents," and many of them may not have realized the extent to which their activities were being directed by others.

Prominent in the crowds which gathered were members of the group which had been negotiating with the coordinating council for a mass meeting, and also persons associated with the Maryland Petition Committee, an affiliate of the National Association for the Advancement of White People.

Whatever the leadership, a large factor in Baltimore's trouble was unquestionably the trouble in Milford, Delaware. The Milford school boycott had been covered daily in Baltimore as an important local news story, since Delaware's Eastern Shore and Maryland's Eastern Shore are practically one and the same thing, geographically, economically and culturally. That the successes of the Milford boycotters had the effect of activating the hitherto non-vocal opposition in Baltimore was made evident during the ensuing disorders by the oft-heard expression "Milford had the right idea."

Just what the pro-segregationists in Baltimore hoped to gain by their picketing was never made clear. No bill of particulars was presented to the city. Some of the pickets expressed the hope that the Baltimore school board would back down on its integration policy, as the Milford school board had. Others said that a show of strong opposition to desegregation might make the Supreme Court change its mind. Still others had no positive purpose; they only wanted to make known their opposition to Negroes in predominantly white schools.

The picketing began on Thursday, Sept. 30, at Elementary School 34, which had an enrollment of 575 white

children and 12 Negroes. The principal was new to the school, and for this reason may not have sensed that trouble was brewing. It was learned later that for two days prior to the picketing, unusually large groups of white adults had gathered on a corner near the school and that a meeting had been held in a private home, presumably to plan a course of action.

About 30 pickets, one man among them, appeared at School 34 approximately 15 minutes before classes were to begin. Children at the scene were urged not to go inside, the children on their way to school were stopped and told to go home, that there was no school that day. As a crowd began milling about, parents approaching the school with small children turned back to avoid possible trouble. Other parents, learning of the disturbance, came and got their children out of school. Attendance that day was cut to 20 per cent of normal.

## BOARD ISSUES STATEMENT

Just as the Milford situation was in part responsible for the picketing in Baltimore, it was also responsible for the immediate recognition by Baltimore school officials, police and civic groups of the serious troubles likely to develop from the then small boycott movement. Police trouble squads were alerted, civic, labor and religious groups prepared statements condemning the picketing and planned a joint emergency meeting on Friday, and the school board, holding its regular monthly meeting that day, issued the following statement:

All of our schools are, of course, open and will remain open. The department of education and the police department give their full assurance that parents need not have any concern about sending their children to school.

We are well aware that it is only human to be somewhat apprehensive about changes in long-standing customs. It is equally true, however, that one of the things that has made the United States the great bulwark against Communist and Fascist totalitarianism is the fact that, by common consent, we accept the principle of government by law and believe that adherence to law, especially when it concerns the rights of our fellowmen, is a primary obligation of citizenship.

We have confidence that the overwhelming majority of Baltimoreans will not be misled into thinking anything good can possibly come from behavior that serves only to confuse and frighten children and to interfere with their education.

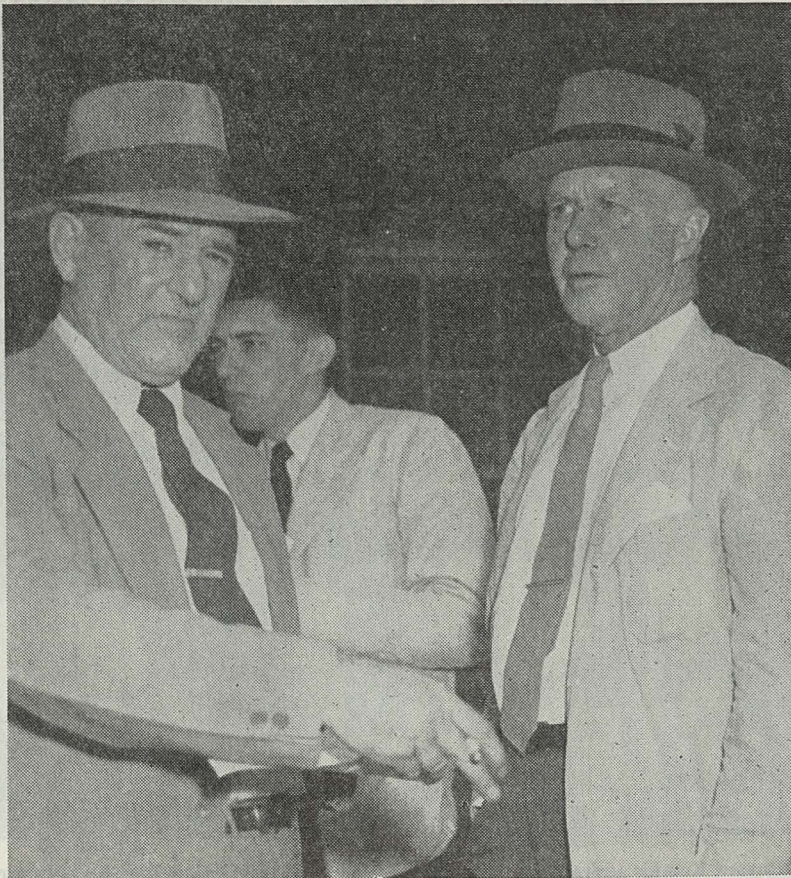
Our schools have been open for almost four weeks without a single untoward incident, and in that time Baltimoreans have amply demonstrated the spirit of tolerance, understanding and fair play that has been a source of pride so often in the history of our city. Let us all continue to work together to maintain that tradition.

The following morning the picketing spread to other South Baltimore schools, as reporters the previous day had heard would happen. A man and woman who had picketed School 34 arrived early at School 22 (11 Negroes, 883 white pupils) and exhorted parents arriving with children to pick up signs and parade with them. A crowd soon formed outside the school, and after that only a few parents with children, or children on their own, took a chance on getting through to the school door. The same scene was duplicated at School 48 (5 Negroes, 1107 white children), and at School 98 (17 Negroes, 700 white children).

## DISORDERS AT SOUTHERN

The picketing of elementary schools that day, however, became secondary to the disorders at Southern high school. There, from all accounts, the students themselves touched off the trouble, with or without previous parental prompting. Some of the first white students to arrive stood on the steps and urged approaching colleagues not to enter. Soon about 500 students were milling about. A crowd of adults gathered, and picketing began. Most of the 39 Negroes in the student body of 1,788 boys and girls entered the school in a single group, along with perhaps half of the white students.

A heavy detail of police broke up the first demonstration around 9 a.m., telling the students either to go into



Baltimore Sunpapers Photo  
POLICE COMMISSIONER BEVERLY OBER, right, and Chief Inspector Fred L. Ford keep an eye on the disorders at Baltimore's Southern High School.

school or go home. Only a few did the former. At that time, while on guard against acts of violence and traffic-blocking situations, the police were under orders not to interfere with the picketing or peaceful assembly. As a result, crowds ebbed and flowed about the school all day, causing some alarmed parents to come and withdraw their children from classes.

As ten Negro children (nine girls and a boy) left the school in a body at 11 a.m., at the request of their parents, a jeering mob moved toward them in menacing fashion. The police intervened, allowing the children to retreat homeward in safety. During the afternoon the rumor-fed hostility of the crowd outside the school mounted fast, and a mob of many hundreds was waiting for school to let out.

Police, ministers, and at least one teacher escorted the remaining Negro children out of the building at closing time. But the mob was close to being out of hand, and one Negro boy was punched in the face before being led to safety. The police made several arrests and nearly had a squad car overturned in retaliation. In the end, law and order got the upper hand; not, however, before Baltimore had been brought face to face with the shocking possibilities of a race riot.

## POLICE REINFORCED

Police were poured into the South Baltimore area that night and on Saturday night to break up any gangs on street corners and otherwise to head off more trouble. Conferences were held between school officials, high police officers, and legal authorities to determine the proper course of action. The initial decision was to sit tight and hope for a return of common sense and respect for the law over the weekend. South Baltimore ministers agreed to devote Sunday sermons to appeals for tolerance and reason, and it was commonly agreed, also, that three days of heavy rain would be a Godsend.

Nineteen civic, religious and social welfare groups, representing what is commonly called the "best elements" in the whole community, held their emergency meeting Friday afternoon and arranged to have a delegation of four meet with school and other officials early Monday morning. Most of the groups, along with the Association of Commerce and prominent ministers, prepared statements which were carried, in part, by the *Sunpapers* over the weekend, along with editorials denouncing the violence.

The strongest appeal by far was made by John H. Schwatka, principal of Southern high school, on Sunday via television. Mr. Schwatka addressed his plea directly to "you in South Baltimore" for whom and with whom

he had worked for 28 years. He reminded them of the proud traditions of Southern, of how its choir had sung with the Baltimore Symphony and its band had become "the only high school band in Baltimore to be elected to the First Chair Society of America." And he pressed home the point that "Freedom Foundations at Valley Forge has honored us on six different occasions so that we are now the only high school in 29,000 to possess their Distinguished Service Scroll."

Then Mr. Schwatka got down to "October 1, 1954, a Day of Fear, a thoughtless, witless effort to rule by force." He denounced the "trained and organized agitators" who had spread rumors of stabbings, school burnings, armed bands of Negroes and similar scare stories to parents, newspapers, police and corner crowds. "Vicious and cruel," Mr. Schwatka called them, with "no sense of responsibility for their actions." He went on to say:

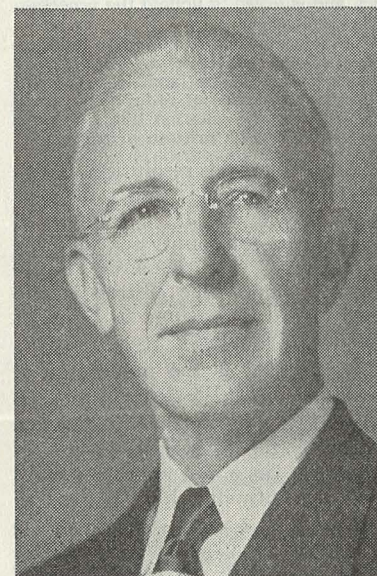
They call the parents and say, 'There is a riot in school X. Go get your children and take them home.'

This is an old trick of the trained riotman. Do not be misled by rumors! Ask his name, address and telephone number and tell him you'll call back immediately. He won't give you the information. Then call our office and I'll give you the truth.

Do not keep your children home. The police department, under Captain Deems, will do its utmost to protect them. We in school will do our best. To keep them home will handicap them and the school.

The principal warned his television audience of the privileges that would have to be taken from the pupils and the social and athletic events which would have to be cancelled if students did not get back to their classes, and concluded:

I grant the right at all times to all parents and to all citizens to seek redress on



JOHN H. SCHWATKA  
Southern High Principal

any grievance through due process of law, but I do not concede to anyone the privilege of taking the law into his own hands.

We have tried to teach "respect for authority" and we will not condone intimidation, rule by fear, or force to compel your child or mine to do what he in his own heart does not want to do.

Look into your hearts, you Southerners, (that is, persons associated with Southern high school). Examine your consciences, keep up your courage and sense of decency, to prevent another Day of Fear in our community.

We need cool heads, sober judgments and lots and lots of common sense. Stand up and be counted on the side of law and order! Bring your children back to school.

## PICKETING RESUMED

Despite this appeal, and a call from the mayor for cool heads, and Sunday sermons, and reasoned statements from scores of groups and individuals, and not a few prayers for rain, when classes were due to begin at Southern high school on a bright, clear Monday morning, the crowd of demonstrators was as large as on the previous Friday. Police tried to keep the way open to school, but attendance was way down. Three men were arrested, one of whom appeared later as a speaker at the first meeting held by Bryant W. Bowles and his NAAWP in the Baltimore area.

Picketing was resumed on Monday at School 34, where attendance was reported to be better than on Friday, and at the three other South Baltimore elementary schools where they had been active. Pickets also appeared for the first time at a North Baltimore elementary school which has 19 Negroes out of 1,025 pupils in its student body.

The play was taken from the pickets once again on Monday. A gang of students gathered early at Mergenthaler Vocational-Technical high school (3 Negroes, 1,827 whites) and urged oncoming fellow students to join them in a general strike. A large crowd of them made noisy invasions of the campuses of five other junior and senior high schools, picking up a few followers but in general getting a cold shoulder, and then marched downtown to City Hall where their shouts for the mayor to appear went unheeded.

The police kept the student marchers almost continually on the move, and they went clear down to Southern high school and swelled the rumpus there before swinging through the midtown section once again, where their ranks were thinned by foot-weary strikers dropping out to go to the movies or home. Actually, the whole student demonstration sounded worse than it really was. While anti-Negro remarks were shouted, most of the marchers were obviously out on a self-declared holiday, and they turned the anti-integration movement that day into something akin to a raucous football rally.

## TOUGHER POLICY URGED

While the students were staging their demonstration, the four-member delegation representing the civic, religious and welfare groups that had met on Friday was making its rounds. In brief, the delegation represented the considerable body of opinion in Baltimore that city officials should "get tough" with the pickets and other disturbers of school peace. Its members wanted strict enforcement of two pertinent state laws, one against inducing children to absent themselves from school and the other against creating a disturbance outside of a school while classes are in session.

The essence of the "get tough" policy was that while persons have a constitutional right to picket and peaceful assembly and can exercise that right in front of City Hall, or at the headquarters of the school administration or in some other public place, they cannot do it in front of schools without running afoul of the laws against creating a school disturbance or inducing truancy.

The four-member delegation found school officials still hesitant about calling for police action against the picketing, since they were uncertain as to the legality and practicalities of arresting pickets and did not want to make martyrs of the agitators if there was a chance that the disturbances would die down in a few days. The delegation then met with the state's

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## Maryland

(Continued from Page 8)

attorney for Baltimore and demanded a grand jury investigation of the causes of the unrest. And finally, one member of the delegation met in the afternoon with Police Commissioner Beverly Ober.

Police Commissioner Ober had been out of the state when the disturbances began. He is a tough old National Guardsman, almost always addressed as Colonel Ober, and upon his return showed a willingness to take any action which school officials requested him to take. While a man with great respect for civil rights, he is reported to have been sold on the "get tough" policy by two argumentative points, in particular.

For one, Colonel Ober was disturbed by the argument that the school boycott was breeding wholesale disregard of law and order. Secondly, he did not like the report that organized labor was annoyed at the way the police were letting the school pickets disregard all the policy regulations as to proper picketing and that he, Ober, was likely to have a hard time the next time there was a labor strike.

### STRONG STATEMENT

After about two hours of discussion, during which time he consulted with legal authorities, Col. Ober pounded his desk with a fist and said, "I'll do it," meaning "get tough." He immediately swung into action, preparing a statement which was broadcast repeatedly that night and into the next morning by Baltimore television and radio stations.

"You, fellow citizens, have constitutional rights to express your opinions by assembly in halls or other appropriate places," Col. Ober's message said, and he emphasized that the police would not interfere with orderly assemblage. "What is going on in Baltimore, however, is not an orderly expression of constitutional rights, but it is a definite violation of (Maryland laws against school disturbances and inducing truancy)."

"I feel it is the duty of this department to stop all picketing or assemblage in the neighborhood of our various public schools. Such picketing will cease or the police will take appropriate action."

Along with Col. Ober's multiple warnings of impending arrests on Monday night, there was also a television appeal to parents by Dr. John H. Fischer, school superintendent, to get their children back to school. "A small group of people have set in motion a carefully organized scheme to keep as many students as possible away from school," Dr. Fischer said in a blast at "undercover operators." "By spreading evil rumors, all of them false, they have frightened children and parents." He urged Baltimoreans not to be taken in by the "misguided efforts of a handful of adults."

### BOWLES HOLDS MEETING

That same night Bryant W. Bowles was holding his first meeting just outside the city limits. Mr. Bowles said, "I can't tell you to picket, and I'm not telling you not to." And then he added, "I understand the commissioner of police is predicting he is going to arrest everyone. I don't know him—or his color—but I do know he'll have to build a bigger jail."

Despite Mr. Bowles' indirect call for continued picketing, the threat of arrests had turned the scales in Baltimore. On Tuesday, Oct. 5, attendance was up at all the formerly picketed schools. The police dispersed a crowd of youths who had gathered early near Mergenthaler Vocational school and also a man at School 22 who previously had directed picketing there. A detail of pickets also arrived at School 34, only to disappear a short time later. Otherwise all was quiet.

Principal John A. Schwatka of Southern high school, reported an attendance of 902 on Tuesday, up from 503 on Monday, and said, "Tension has relaxed all over the school. You can tell by the fact the students are laughing in the halls, and in general their whole attitude has changed. There is no hostility in the school today."

By Wednesday attendance was normal throughout the school system, with one exception. At School



STUDENTS AT BALTIMORE'S Southern high school are shown demonstrating. The "germ" sign is a reference to a remark by Baltimore Supt. John

H. Fischer who, on the first day of the student picketing, said: "It looks like some of the germs have drifted down from Delaware."

34, where all the trouble began, police had to step in and firmly dissuade a group of would-be pickets that morning, and attendance remained low that day. The following morning the hold-outs came back in a body, possibly because School Supt. Fischer had warned that penalties for truancy were going to be applied.

### SMALL NUMBER INVOLVED

When the active aspects of discontent had died out, Baltimore found that the strike situation had not been as bad as it had appeared at the time. Only a half dozen schools out of the 52 with mixed attendance had been disturbed, and none of the schools with large percentages of Negroes had been drawn into the trouble. The student march was a noisy one, but the hard facts were that 97 per cent of Baltimore's public school boys and girls were not drawn out and continued classes without interruption.

Baltimore congratulated itself that its school board had remained firm and that the police had given effective support. And a source of relief to many was that the politicians stayed out of it. The subject came up at City Council which had its regular weekly meeting on the Monday when the disturbances were at their height. A motion was made to consider a resolution, in the files since June, calling on the school board to maintain separate schools. The motion was defeated by a 10-8 vote.

The final blow to the anti-integrationists was delivered by Judge James K. Cullen in Superior Court when he rejected the suit brought against the school board by the NAACP and its local affiliate, the Maryland Petition Committee. The two groups had sought a mandamus action on the grounds that the school board had jumped the gun in desegregating schools prior to the issuance of a final decree by the Supreme Court.

Judge Cullen said in his opinion, "The Court finds that the Board of School Commissioners has exercised its discretion legally and in accordance with a final and enforceable holding and decision of the Supreme Court..." He then told the crowded courtroom that a decision of the Supreme Court could only be changed by a constitutional amendment or by the Court reversing itself and added:

The (Supreme) Court has spoken, and whether an individual agrees or disagrees with that finding, he is bound thereby so long as it remains the law of the land.

The Court realizes the change which has come about in this regard, and the difficulty that some may have accepting the reality or the inevitable from the standpoint of enforcement. We live in a country where our rights and liberties have been protected under a system of laws which we know are the best known to man. We must resolve ourselves to be governed by those laws, realizing that among a vast number of people there must be a variety of opinions. The law of the land must be respected. We must all be forced to abide by it.

While the active resistance to integration had been put down in Baltimore for the time being, if not permanently, it was known at press time for this issue, that some of the opposition in South Baltimore had regrouped as The Baltimore Association for State's Rights and was holding small meetings. As a countermove to any possible forthcoming action, the 19 civic, religious and welfare groups who had originally gotten together for an emergency meeting had, by late October, formed their own organization—the Coordinating Council for Civic Unity. Bryant Bowles, after holding a second meeting in the Baltimore area which drew only half the attendance of the first one, was not openly active in the state in late October.

Outside of Baltimore city, in Maryland's 23 counties, the school situation was generally quiet. The state board of education had announced shortly after the Supreme Court decision in May that county schools would remain segregated until after final decrees were handed down. Anti-integration groups had formed in some counties, and on the Eastern Shore there was great interest in and some attendance at segregation meetings in neighboring Delaware towns. But there was no definite state policy in Maryland for people to protest; hence, the county school situation was comparatively calm.

The politicians, with all eyes on the November elections, did not stay clear of the school issue for long, however. State Sen. Edward Turner, fighting an uphill battle to unseat Republican Congressman Edward T. Miller on the Eastern Shore, had hinted in September that he was for segregation. On Oct. 2 he brought the racial issue into the open with a legislative proposal "to insure our heritage and our traditions on this Eastern Shore."

Mr. Turner said that "the Maryland Legislature should pass a law which will vest in the local boards of education for each of the counties the right to determine as a fact whether the people's health, welfare and safety would be in danger by integration in the public schools." This law should further provide, Mr. Turner said, "that if the county boards do find that the people's health, welfare and safety would be in danger by a policy of integration, the boards would have the power to order segregation for the public schools."

### MILLER FIRES BACK

Congressman Miller promptly countered with a statement expressing "shock and indignation that Sen. Turner has seen fit to lower the level of the campaign and himself as a member of the Eastern Shore bar by injecting the racial issue." Congressman Miller, however, did not go on

from there and defend the Supreme Court's segregation decision as the law of the land. Congressman Miller said that he "had no quarrel" with that part of the Turner statement "favoring local self-government and determination of the integration problem at the local level."

On Oct. 4, Dr. Harry Clifton Byrd, the Democratic candidate for governor, appeared with State Sen. Turner at Snow Hill, on the Eastern Shore, and warmed up his audience by saying, "As an Eastern Shoreman, I can appreciate the feelings of Worcester Countians." He then said, in terms explicit enough to bring whoops and hollers from Worcester countians, "You will want members of the school board appointed who will be able to deal and act in accordance with the age-old custom and traditions that have been a part of our way of life."

Two days later Dr. Byrd went all out in his play for the anti-integration vote. He issued a statement that recalled Maryland's long-standing policy of school segregation and said that it "seems to me to be unwise to take such drastic steps as to end immediately an educational plan that has worked with increasing benefits to all concerned for many years, and particularly unwise to take such steps where there is strong and sincere opposition to such a change." He advocated "home rule" in integration matters by county school boards, a position akin to Mr. Turner's.

Dr. Byrd's opponent, incumbent Republican Gov. Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin, had issued a statement immediately following the Supreme Court decision which indicated his acceptance of integration. He has stayed clear of the subject during most of the political campaign, however, on the advice of his lieutenants. When button-holed on the Eastern Shore, for example, and pressed for an answer as to which people he represented, Gov. McKeldin replied, "I represent the law," and hurried off.

Gov. McKeldin was known to be itching to reply to Dr. Byrd's racial stand. The speech was in his pocket. But he was held back until after a report in *The Sun* that the Byrd camp had prepared leaflets listing the names of Negroes whom Gov. McKeldin had appointed to the attorney general's office, to a police magistracy and other posts. Then he cut loose.

### McKELDIN BROADCAST

In a radio talk in Southern Maryland, Gov. McKeldin spoke of Dr. Byrd as "this native Marylander who takes the same course as the outside agitators who have sought to divide our citizens with a partition of prejudice."

Referring to a conference Dr. Byrd had held at a hotel owned by a Negro Democratic leader, McKeldin asked, "Does he really think he can get

away with talking out of one side of his mouth in one area of Maryland and sneaking in a side door of Baltimore's York Hotel to talk out of the other side in the quiet of a Sunday afternoon?" The governor then continued, in part:

Come, come, Dr. Byrd! Come out of this bigotry—out of the puddle of prejudice—out of the mire of misrepresentation.

For the honor of Maryland and the American Association of School Administrators, in which you hold membership—in the name of the Free State's great traditions—repudiate that which you have done or which has been done for you.

Even in the depths of your desperation, remember this: There can be worse things for a man to live with than being defeated in a political campaign.

If the line were not already pretty clearly drawn between the Democratic and Republican approaches to the race issue, the Democratic president of the State Senate, George W. Della, applied the clincher on Oct. 22. Appearing in South Baltimore, his home territory, with Dr. Byrd, Mr. Della reminded a political gathering that a Republican magistrate had fined a Negro \$50 and a white man \$100 in cases arising from the disturbances at Southern high school. Mr. Della then urged the election of a Democratic governor and a Democratic General Assembly so that "we may come back and have white supremacy again in our schools and police stations."

To understand the full significance of the Turner-Byrd-Della statements, it should be pointed out that the racial issue had not openly been a part of Maryland political campaigns for many years. The injection of the issue was denounced by the *Sunpapers*, which gave it as one reason for their choice of McKeldin over Byrd, and by two prominent Eastern Shore weekly newspapers, as well as by a number of private citizens. And one Democratic boss in Baltimore deplored in public the Della "white supremacy" statement.

It was presumed by political observers that the Byrd camp had lost a considerable part of the Negro vote in Baltimore and had picked up white votes in the county. But how many votes either way, nobody could make even an educated guess, because voters' reactions to the racial question had never been tested in Maryland on a large scale in modern times. The feeling among many experts, or supposed experts, was that McKeldin had the edge up until the time Byrd took a pro-segregation stand and that the racial issue could be the factor to tip the scales in Byrd's favor. But nobody knew for sure.

In the midst of both the political furor and Hurricane Hazel, the representative assembly of the Maryland State Teachers Association approved without argument a resolution endorsing school integration.

Baltimore Sunpapers Photo



# Georgia

MACON, Ga.

FOR the past six weeks Georgians have witnessed increasingly hot campaigns for and against a proposed constitutional amendment which would allow the General Assembly to substitute a private school system for a public school system to avoid mixing the races in the classrooms. The issue was voted on in the general election of Nov. 2.

Proposed Constitutional Amendment No. 4 is the key to the dispute. It says:

Notwithstanding any other provisions of this constitution, the General Assembly may by law provide for grants of state, county or municipal funds to citizens of the state for educational purposes, in discharge of all obligations of the state to provide an adequate education for its citizens.

Opponents of the plan insist on calling it "the private school plan." Proponents insist it should be called "the segregation amendment."

It was sponsored in the 1953 legislature by Gov. Herman Talmadge and received the required constitutional majority. The governor said it was formulated in anticipation of just such a decision outlawing segregation as the Supreme Court handed down. He has spoken in favor of it on numerous occasions, holding it to be a "last resort" measure to be used in maintaining separation of white and Negro students in Georgia schools despite the desegregation decree.

## GRIFFIN BACKS PROPOSAL

Gov.-nominate Marvin Griffin, who will be inaugurated in January, has also thrown his full support behind the campaign to secure approval of the amendment. He promised to work in favor of the proposal in his successful campaign for the gubernatorial nomination.

Since the Democratic primary election of Sept. 8, the drives in favor of and against the amendment have increased in tempo with many important organizations or officials publicly taking sides.

On Sept. 14, Gov. Talmadge requested an official opinion from Attorney General Eugene Cook on the following three questions:

1. Under the Constitution of this State, can taxes be levied by either the State or any local unit of government, for the support of mixed schools of white and colored students?

2. Under the Constitution of this State, can public funds of the State or any local unit of government be expended for such purpose?

3. If by action of the judicial department of the Federal Government, the races are ordered mixed in the public schools, could funds of the State or any local unit of government be expended for the purpose of supporting the schools in which the races were mixed pursuant to such Federal action?

## COOK'S REPLY NEGATIVE

Cook's opinion, limited to the common schools as distinguished from the university system, was in the negative in answer to all three questions.

His conclusion stated:

In my opinion there is no authority under the Georgia Constitution of 1945 to establish mixed schools, tax for mixed schools, or expend funds for mixed schools. If the Supreme Court of the United States should strike down the requirement in Article VIII, Section I, that separate schools be maintained for the white and colored races in Georgia, the provision for an adequate education in free common schools falls with it. By so doing, the Supreme Court of the United States would have abolished free public education in Georgia under the present Constitution of 1945.

Some opponents of the amendment have disputed Cook's interpretation of the state constitution.

The Georgia Commission on Education, created by the legislature to make plans to provide adequate education consistent with both the state and federal constitutions at the request of the governor, met on Sept. 28 to discuss recommendations for the General Assembly.

By a 14 to 4 vote, with four members absent, the commission urged ratification of proposed Constitutional Amendment No. 4 and, pending ratification, made the following recommendations:

1. The existing public school system should be continued in every county and independent local system in the state as long as it is possible to do so.

2. The following should be continued: (a) The provisions of the present appropriations act by which state funds are appropriated only to separate public schools, the unexpended appropriation to lapse upon the mixing of the races. (b) The provisions of the present budget cutting off funds from mixed public schools and cutting off salaries of teachers instructing mixed classes. (c) The present statute providing that no teacher instructing mixed classes shall be paid anything out of the common school fund. (These laws, it was explained, give statutory aid to the provisions of the Georgia Constitution forbidding expenditure of public funds for mixed public schools).

3. Similar statutory laws should be enacted with respect to local funds, so that by no means can local funds be spent for mixed public schools or for the payment of public school teachers instructing mixed classes. (It was explained that this would give statutory aid to constitutional provisions forbidding the expenditure of public funds for mixed public schools.)

4. Existing laws should be retained and strengthened with reference to (a) assignment of pupils in public schools; (b) laying out of public school district lines; (c) the power of local school boards to contract for the education of children in adjoining school districts in which the public schools have been closed.

5. The General Assembly should enact laws so that, if and when the existing schools in any county or independent school district are closed by federal court decree, the education of the children of school age in that locality may go on at state and local expense, and in properly supervised segregated schools.

6. Enacting laws to insure the continuation of segregated schools, the General Assembly should provide for and protect the Teachers' Retirement System and the equalization and other salutary principles embodied in the Minimum Foundation Program, and provide for the fullest utilization of existing educational facilities. All of this, the commission was assured, could lawfully and constitutionally be done if the proposed amendment were adopted.

The commission report concluded by stating that necessary legislation to effectuate the foregoing would be prepared by the attorney general, the general counsel and executive secretary of the commission after ratification of the amendment and submitted to members for approval prior to submission to the General Assembly.

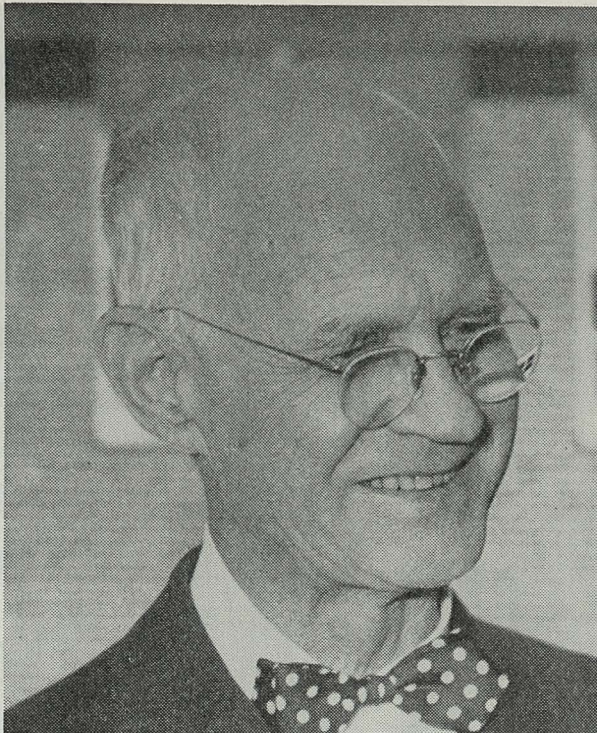
## DISCUSSION PROVOKED

Discussion was lively preceding adoption of the recommendations.

Voting for the report were Gov. Talmadge, Gov.-nominate Griffin, Atty. Gen. Cook, State Auditor B. E. Thrasher, Board of Regents Chairman Robert Arnold, former Georgia Education Association President Harvey Cutts, Rep. Frank Twitty, State Democratic Committee Chairman John Sammons Bell, State Board of Education Chairman George Whitman Jr., W. S. Mann, University System Chancellor Harmon Caldwell, Bibb County School Superintendent Mark Smith and Rep. Battle Hall.

Voting against the report were State School Superintendent M. D. Collins, House Speaker Fred Hand and Roy Harris, former House speaker.

Thrasher voted for adoption of the report but refused to sign it. He and Dr. Collins secured approval of an



SUPT. M. D. COLLINS



GOV.-NOMINATE MARVIN GRIFFIN

Principals In Debate Over Georgia Amendment

amendment allowing for review by the commission before submission to the legislature.

Chancellor Caldwell warned that schools in the university system would lose their accreditation and approximately \$2½ million in federal funds but said he would vote in favor of the amendment in order to preserve segregation.

## COLLINS DISSENTS

Dr. Collins, voicing the most vigorous dissent to adoption of the report, stated that he was not elected state superintendent of schools in order to liquidate the Georgia public school system.

Hand, in voting against the report, expressed apprehension that the phrase in the proposed amendment "...in discharge of all obligation..." could prove fatal to the State School Authority financing of bonds to build schools.

Harris based his opposition to the report on a belief that it nullified the weapon the state has to tell pupils there will be no schools unless they are segregated. He held that closing of the schools because of integration would arouse white people that Negroes would not dare defy the solid front of whites.

Discussing the part of the report which emphasized that the existing separate public school system should be continued as long as it is possible to do so, Dr. Cutts asked who would say when it was no longer possible. Gov. Talmadge replied that the question would be determined by the General Assembly.

Two days after the commission session, the State Democratic Party convention adopted a resolution calling for "overwhelming" ratification of the proposed amendment and incorporated this position into the state party platform.

The state convention, by resolution, also denounced the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation, condemned President Eisenhower for his appointment of Chief Justice Earl Warren to head the court, deplored the conduct of Georgia Education Association leaders in opposing the amendment, urged resistance to compliance with the desegregation decision and called upon Georgia's representatives and senators to introduce legislation in the Congress stripping the federal courts of power and authority to decide cases against the public schools of Georgia and other states.

In a speech accepting the party's gubernatorial nomination, tantamount to election in one-party Georgia, Gov.-nominate Griffin called Amendment No. 4 "a second Bill of Rights" for the people of the state.

He said, "There must be no violence of any kind in our state," but renewed his campaign promise that schools and colleges in Georgia would not be mixed while he was governor and added: "...no true Southerner feels morally bound to recognize the legality of this act of tyranny, support its provisions or obey its unthinkable terms."

Following the convention, the proponents and opponents of the amendment got their vote appeals in high gear.

Gov. Talmadge, Gov.-nominate Griffin, Atty. Gen. Cook and several members of the General Assembly spoke in favor of it. Copies of Cook's opinions, given in answer to the governor's questions of Sept. 14, and literature publicizing pro-amendment views were mailed to many citizens at state expense. The amendment was endorsed by the County Commissioners Association, the Georgia Municipal Association, the State Board of Education and various other organizations and individuals.

Anti-amendment forces, led by Dr. Collins and Harold Saxon, executive secretary of the Georgia Education Association, a white teachers' organization, scheduled speeches and distributed literature opposing the proposal.

Among others publicly fighting the amendment were listed the Georgia Education Association and numerous county and district affiliates, the League of Women Voters, a specially-formed Committee to Save Our Schools, defeated gubernatorial candidates Tom Linder (who is still in office as Georgia commissioner of agriculture) and Charles Gowen, the Active Voters organization, the State Council of the CIO, Georgia Federation of Labor and State PTA Congress.

Opponents of the amendment have asked many questions concerning the details of the proposed segregated private school system and have used the lack of information available as one of their strongest arguments against ratification.

Amendment supporters have replied that the details will be worked out by the General Assembly, which the people must trust, and they say the issue is how far people want to go in maintaining segregation.

## FINANCIAL PROBLEM

Loss of federal money in the transition from public to private status for the schools has also been discussed. The Committee to Save Our Schools says the amendment would cost 20 million dollars in federally-financed school buildings and would end federal appropriations of several million dollars annually for school maintenance. In addition, it is urged, implementation of the amendment would mean state subsidies to students in privately-owned colleges, including ones owned by churches, and would thus destroy the university system, already hard-pressed for finances.

Dr. Collins takes the position that a private school system would not guarantee continued segregation. A Supreme Court decision striking down South Carolina's proposed "white primary" is cited with the opinion that the court would take the same view of segregated private schools.

Even if the schools became private, they could not operate because then they would be subject to sales, income, property and all other taxes,

Collins claims. He also fears such a plan would wreck the Teacher Retirement System, abolish local school control and destroy the accreditation ratings of state schools.

Atty. Gen. Cook believes the provisions of the proposed act are broad enough to permit the legislature to appropriate funds for teacher retirement.

As for possible loss of federal funds, Cook is of the opinion that it would amount to only about \$5 million. This, he says, is the price Georgians must pay to maintain segregation.

Otherwise, the attorney general claims, only the well-to-do will be able to send their children to privately-operated segregated schools and the poor will have to send their children to public unsegregated schools.

## MANY LEGAL PROBLEMS

It is conceded that a vast amount of legal work will have to be done and numerous laws enacted to prepare for use the segregated private school plan, depending on ratification of the amendment, in the event test integration suits are filed and schools closed because of failure to comply with the law.

From the many statements of public officials and from interviews with various leading pro-amendment figures, a surmise of the skeleton form which the private segregated school plan would take can be sketched.

Grants of state, county and municipal funds would be made to parents who could assign such grants to whatever schools their children wish to attend.

School buildings would be made available for educational purposes, leased to individuals under the requirement that tuition in excess of the aggregate of state and local grants not be charged, and regulated by the state board of education and state education department as the public service commission regulates utilities.

Legislative authority to levy taxes for teacher retirement would be extended to private school teachers by amendment of the present act.

Private schools accepting students would be required to post performance bonds. In actual practice, grants due students through their parents would be sent to schools upon presentation of bills for individual pupils. If a parent refused or failed to expend grants for educational purposes, the state would recover the money, since the amendment only authorized grants for educational purposes and a contract or obligation to use it for no other purpose would be implied.

The state is without authority to require segregation in any school system but presumably schools would be leased only to those operators requiring segregation.

Religious schools would have no claim to public funds since the grants would be to students, not schools, and the General Assembly could deny grants to students attending religious schools.



# Mississippi

JACKSON, Miss. — MISSISSIPPI's qualified electors will determine on Dec. 21 whether to "gamble" 120 million dollars of the taxpayers' money on ability of state leaders to continue public school segregation for 10 to 20 years in the face of the United States Supreme Court's integration decision.

State officials, headed by Gov. Hugh White, are confident if the long-delayed facility equalization program of the dual system is immediately launched, Negroes will not seek integration but will be content to remain segregated on an overall equality basis.

The state department of education has estimated officially it will take \$117,477,978, based on construction at \$7.50 a square foot, to equalize facilities in the dual system. They admit most of that applies to bringing Negro school buildings up to equality with those of the whites.

As a starter on the building program, the 25-member Legal Educational Advisory Committee headed by Gov. White has gone on record favoring immediate issuance of 60 million dollars of the needed new money in bonds for inauguration of the facility upgrading work. The LEAC will support that size bond issue in a contemplated special session of the legislature early next year.

## AMENDMENT A PREREQUISITE

The session, however, is contingent on voter ratification of a constitutional amendment authorizing the legislature to abolish public schools to prevent their integration as such. Gov. White, sole authority for calling a special session before he steps from office in January of 1956, has said he will not issue the call "without the protective features" of the constitutional amendment.

The Legal Educational Advisory Committee was created at the 1954 regular session of the legislature prior to the May 17 decision of the Supreme Court. It was authorized to "devise" means of continuing segregation in anticipation of an adverse court ruling.

The proposed constitutional amendment was drafted by the advisory group and submitted to a recent special session of the legislature where it was approved for submission to the voters in a special election on Dec. 21. Sponsors of the amendment insist it will be used only as a "last resort" to prevent integration, and point to an estimated six other "delaying steps" that will take from 10 to 20 years to exhaust through the courts before being called on to use the abolition-amendment.

Before making a decision on the amendment, the voters face a stump speaking campaign reminiscent of quadrennial contests for election of governing officials on all levels—from constables in the 410 beats in the 82 counties to the governorship.

The only issue on the special election ballot will be the amendment. Ratification will require a majority vote of those participating.

An alternate school program has not been spelled out by those sponsoring the amendment. In general, however, it calls for a private school system financed by direct appropriations to the children, rather than to the school districts as presently voted.

## INEQUALITIES CORRECTED

The state has already corrected other inequalities in the dual segregated system. The 1954 regular session of the legislature removed them in an equalization program covering teachers' salaries, transportation and administration. The program adds nine million dollars to the previous 25 million dollars annual appropriation for public schools.

That same 1954 session approved a school building equalization formula, but did not vote any funds pending the Supreme Court's decision. As originally drafted, the building program called for 10 million dollars when and if the money is made available.

With opposition developing to the constitutional amendment, the advisory group has upped the building program to 60 million dollars and agreed to recommend its passage at next year's contemplated special legislative session.

The advisory group is also on record favoring increased funds for the teacher salary-transportation-administration phases of the equalization program. They now require 34 million dollars annually, but this sum is still short about \$3,400,000 of fully carrying out the program.

Anticipating a bitter fight on the constitutional amendment, the advisory committee has drafted a brochure of "questions and answers" for distribution statewide. The brochure anticipates some of the opposition questions, and attempts to answer them.

The committee has already placed Rep. Ney Gore of Quitman county, its secretary, on full-time duty to handle a speaker's bureau as well as distribute interim reports of the group. It rejected an offer of financial assistance from the newly formed "Citizens Councils" tendered through Speaker Walter Sillers of the House of Representatives. (The councils are made up of white males dedicated to upholding segregation.)

The outside financial assistance was offered after the recent special legislative session refused to vote campaign funds for the advisory committee. In turning down the outside funds, the advisory group suggested that those interested in promoting the amendment handle their own campaigns.

Members of the advisory committee have agreed to make speeches without cost to the inviting clubs or groups. They will also arrange "on their own" meetings in the more than 1,700 precincts in the 82 counties to "sell" the amendment to the voters.

## OPPOSITION FORMED

However, an opposition group which feels that the amendment should be delayed until all other steps to preserve segregation have been exhausted, is also preparing a statewide campaign. Several larger newspapers—at Greenville, Tupelo, McComb and Pascagoula—have come out editorially against the public school abolition amendment.

The opposition group met at Jackson on Oct. 21 and set up a tentative organization. Miss Alma Hickman of Hattiesburg, former president of the Mississippi Education Association, was named chairman.

Two key members of the group are State Sen. George Owens of Pontotoc, and State Rep. Joel Blass of Stone County, both of whom opposed the amendment in the recent special legislative session.

A tentative name, "The Committee of Friends of a Segregated Public School System," has been adopted. A state headquarters will be maintained and speakers and literature sent statewide.

Spokesmen for the Hickman group emphasize that they are for segregated public schools, but feel that the abolition amendment should not be presented the voters until all other asserted "delaying steps" have been exhausted.

Members of the opposition organization contend they have considerable support in all sections of the state, and feel confident they may be able to gain voter rejection of the amendment in the Dec. 21 special election.

## AMENDMENT ENDORSED

Another development was endorsement of the amendment "as a last resort" to prevent integration by the Mississippi Association of School Administrators in the annual meeting at Jackson, Oct. 21. The action was by voice vote, with some members voting "no." It was evident that the 750 members of the association are not in full agreement on its stand.

A counter resolution by Dr. L. O. Todd, superintendent of the Meridian city school system, proposed that the

association "reaffirm its historic position that a free public school system is the best guarantee of personal and national well-being and is thus indispensable." However, it was tabled by a closer vote than was the other proposal adopted.

Speaking against the Todd proposal, and for the one endorsing the amendment submitted by the convention's resolution committee, A. W. James, superintendent of schools at Drew in the delta county of Sunflower, said:

We must have faith in our officials that they will not abolish schools until the people decide that is the best thing to do. Adoption of the Todd motion would be interpreted by the public that we don't believe the amendment should be ratified.

James Ewing, president of the Copiah-Lincoln Junior College at Wesson, onetime head of the Mississippi Education Association and a member of the Legal Educational Advisory Committee, spoke for the endorsement resolution.

"We either want to maintain segregation and pay the price for it (voting of a 60 million dollar bond issue to launch a building program to equalize Negro schools), or if, when and as accosted by a sociological and psychological integration decision, be willing to integrate," Mr. Ewing told the administrators.

I don't believe the issue is solely segregation versus integration, but it may be an issue as to how much we want segregation. We've got to be willing to abolish schools if necessary as a last resort to prevent their integration. There is no danger of that until the time comes, but if it does, we will all be ready.

## WHITE BACKS PROPOSAL

Gov. White admitted at a meeting of the advisory committee on Oct. 12 that "a lot of work must be done" if the amendment is to be ratified by the voters in the Dec. 21 special election. He said strongest opposition in northeast Mississippi, the so-called Hill Sector, stems from reports "being spread that the Delta wants to abolish schools." The state's heaviest Negro population is in the Delta area along the Mississippi River.

"We must get over to the people that abolition is not the objective in the amendment," Gov. White told the advisory committee. "No one wants to abolish our public school system."

James Ewing, president of the Copiah-Lincoln Junior College at Wesson, and onetime head of the Mississippi Education Association, a member of the advisory committee, said committee approval of a school building program "will do more than anything else to offset the feeling in the opposition area."

Following his statement, he presented a building program calling for immediate issuance of 60 million dollars in bonds to begin equalizing the estimated \$117,477,978 disparity between Negro and white schools. Under a 1954 statute, Negro schools must be equalized before the now existing gap is widened.

Under the proposed building fund, the state in addition to allotting \$12 per child in average daily attendance per year for buildings, will allot, as an emergency measure for 10 years, an additional \$3 for each child of the Negro race. That is expected to speed equalization in the heavily Negro-populated counties.

Legislative opposition to the additional \$3 is expected, however, from the big white areas on grounds the "black counties" failed to use previous allotments for Negroes and of their own making maintained a wide gap between the systems.

Sen. Earl Evans of Canton, chairman of the senate finance committee, said the poorer Hill counties should be willing to help the other areas since the richer section, mostly the heavily Negro populated area, has been assisting them through the equalizing fund.

Of Mississippi's 82 counties, 61 are in the equalizing group and receive added state aid to bolster inadequate local funds for maintenance of their schools.

## OTHER FEATURES

Other features of the school building equalizing proposal approved by the educational advisory group include:

No allotment of state funds (for buildings) could be used to retire an existing indebtedness of a local school district for the first five years of the

construction program. (Counties which have already built schools "frown" on that feature, contending they will be penalized for their equalization efforts).

The "question and answer" brochure of the advisory committee lists six measures for the maintenance of segregation that "will probably be used before a legislative vote on abolition" and then estimates it will take "from 10 to 20 years, or probably longer, to exhaust them."

"It is hoped that by that time a permanent solution will have been found," the committee states.

The six delaying steps are listed as follows: (1) Continuance of segregation under section 207 of the state constitution which calls for equal but separate opportunities for the races and which has not been subject to direct court attack and is still the law in Mississippi. (2) The assignment of pupils (as provided in a 1954 statute). (3) Gerrymandering of school districts. (4) Application of military or police power. (5) Use of other applicable statutes. (6) New statutes.

Answering the opposition question, "Why not wait 10 or 20 years or until all other methods of preserving segregation have failed before conferring upon the legislature the power to abolish the public schools," the committee has these answers:

1. Adoption of the amendment on Dec. 21 will serve notice that the people of Mississippi mean to maintain segregation at all cost. Negro leaders participated in the formation (through the 1952 Mississippi Citizens Council on Education) of the present school program often described as the finest in the history of Mississippi (the 1954 teacher salary-transportation - administrative equalization program). While a large number of Negro leaders have since repudiated the separate but equal philosophy of school operation, it is believed that, by and large, Negroes want equal advantages for their children under a segregated tax-supported plan.

2. It will be a warning to alien organizations that we intend to preserve our way of life.

3. Conceivably, it will crystallize public opinion in some states to a point where it would probably result in a more liberal high court interpretation of its May 17 decision.

4. It will have some weight in the preparation, adoption and promotion of the platforms of political parties.

5. Passage of the amendment will provide the best possible assurance of a continued and improved segregated public school system to the citizens who are being called upon to pay for a 120 million dollar school building program.

As to whether the legislature has sufficient authority under existing conditions to deal with public school segregation, the advisory group says:

No, not as the constitution is presently written. Adoption of the amendment on Dec. 21 is necessary to give the legislature flexibility to meet whatever situation may arise.

## DETAILS NOT WORKED OUT

The committee admits that "a workable plan for private schools" has not been offered or blue-printed.

"A good 'quarterback' cannot name the play he will use in a game ten years hence," it answers. "Many educational, political and legal leaders think the details of the 'private school' program must be worked out, if and when needed, in the light of conditions at that time—including intervening Supreme Court decisions."

The committee insists there is a satisfactory plan for separate schools under existing conditions.

"The answer to the racial problem is a continuance of segregated tax-supported schools through increased support for the minimum foundation program (the 1954 equalization statutes) and the immediate inauguration of a building program," it states.

The committee answers question No. 1 in its brochure: "Will the amendment, if adopted, abolish public schools in Mississippi," this way:

"No. The voters are not asked to vote on Dec. 21 on the abolition of public schools. So far as is known, no one presently favors such a course."

## PURPOSES STATED

It then states as the purposes of the amendment the following:

1. To enable the legislature to continue authorizing the establishment, support, maintenance and operation of the public schools of this state. In view of the conflict between the provisions of the constitution of Mississippi relative to segregated schools and the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, it is doubtful that the legislature can make any appropriation for public schools or en-

act other legislation without violating the provisions of the constitution of this state or the May 17 decision of the United States Supreme Court. This conflict will continue until the United States Supreme Court rules on the constitutionality of Section 207 of the Mississippi constitution which is the section that specifically provides that separate schools for the races shall be maintained.

2. To confer upon the legislature the power to abolish the public schools by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting. By a majority vote of the legislature, counties and school districts may be authorized to abolish their public schools. Legislators have pointed out that such a course may become necessary at some future date in order to provide financial assistance for all educable children. The public schools would be abolished only as a last resort, to prevent integration.

**Question:** "What constitutional provisions guarantee a continuation of the present system of public schools?"

**Answer:** As a practical matter, by failing to provide revenue, two-fifths plus one of the senators or house members present and voting could nullify the present school program. By refusal to vote for school appropriations, 25 senators (of the 49), or 71 house members (of the 140) could sound the death knell to schools.

Other questions posed in the brochure and the answers which indicate the thinking and position of the proponents of the school abolition amendment, include:

**Question:** "Is the May 17 decision in keeping with the American way of life?"

**Answer:** "No. The United States Supreme Court's action is an interference in states rights. It is legislation by decree instead of through Congress. In the May 17, 1954 decision, the United States Supreme Court overruled at least five of its own previous decisions, 13 decisions of lower courts, and 59 decisions of state supreme courts. Its decision was not based on a single precedent of previous decisions. The decision struck down the constitutions of 17 states relative to separate schools for the races and further struck down the statutes of 21 states. The decision of the high court was based on seven works in the fields of sociology and psychology."

**Question:** "Isn't it asking a great deal of the proponents of a strong school system to vote to authorize the legislature to abolish this system which has been more than 100 years in the making?"

**Answer:** "Yes and no. No one is voting to abolish the public schools. Some term the Dec. 21 vote as a vote of confidence in faith in our ability to solve our problem if and when all other measures have failed. We must have faith."

**Question:** "Is there any guarantee that the court will uphold a system of private schools?"

**Answer:** "No one can predict a court decision. The establishment of a system of private schools would tend to invalidate the effect of enforced racial integration."

**Question:** "In the event of abolition, is there danger that the federal government might set up a federal system of schools?"

**Answer:** "Such is not likely to occur. It would require a favorable vote of both houses of the national Congress. Thus far, Congress has not voted on the segregation issue—not even for the District of Columbia which Congress governs. Our Southern congressmen have had the support of many from Northern, Eastern, and Western states in preventing a vote on this matter."

**Question:** "If the public schools should be abolished, would not the poorer counties and school districts suffer a much greater loss than the richer political subdivisions?"

**Answer:** "No. Better school practices throughout the country require that the 'money follow the child.' This is the fairest, all-around method of financing schools. It can be used under either a public or a private system. The same legislators will vote the distribution."



# Missouri

ST. LOUIS, Mo. NEARLY complete reports received by the Missouri State Department of Education at Jefferson City show that integration in some form has begun in school districts accounting for 75 per cent of the state's Negro pupils.

This does not mean that three out of four Negroes are now attending formerly white schools. The process of ending segregation in Missouri typically begins at those school levels where the absorption problem is least serious. Hence many Negro pupils in districts which have started desegregation are still attending separate schools. Yet in most of the districts which have taken the first step it is generally understood that other steps will promptly follow—that desegregation at all levels will be completed in a year or so.

State Commissioner of Education Hubert Wheeler has received reports that integration in some form has become effective in 110 school districts.

## STATISTICAL BREAKDOWN

Of 466 districts reporting, 289 have no Negro pupils. Of the remaining 177 districts with Negro pupils, 110 or just about two-thirds report they are operating some form of integration. These break down as follows:

**Integrated high school but segregated elementary school: 53 districts.**

**Integrated elementary schools but segregated high school: 11 districts.**

**Continued operation of Negro school, but Negro pupils given option of attending other schools: 11 districts.**

**Integration at both elementary and high school level: 30 districts.**

Altogether, the state has about 63,000 Negro pupils, of whom 44,000 are concentrated in the four largest cities—St. Louis (33,000), Kansas City (10,500), St. Joseph (400) and Springfield (350). In all of these cities desegregation has begun this year.

Apart from these cities, the largest concentrations of Negro pupils are found in two regions—"Little Dixie," and "the Bootheel."

Little Dixie is a bloc of counties straddling the Missouri River in the central section of the state. It gets its name from the fact that it was settled by deep Southerners and even today shows some of the political characteristics, such as a predominantly Democratic vote, of the South.

The Bootheel comprises the southeast corner of the state along the Mississippi. It is Missouri's cotton country. Most of it lies south of Louisville, and some of it south of Richmond.

As the accompanying map shows, desegregation has begun in Little Dixie and in the Bootheel, as well as in other sections. In both areas, however, the number of Negroes still attending segregated schools exceeds the number in integrated districts.

In the Bootheel some form of integration has been adopted by Cape Girardeau (178 Negro pupils), Jackson (40), Sikeston (430), Bell City (230), Kennett (142) and Malden (75). But segregation has been retained this year throughout Mississippi, New Madrid, Pemisot and Butler counties, with total Negro school enrollment of some 7,500.

## CENTRAL MISSOURI

In central Missouri, integration plans are now in effect in districts with total Negro enrollment of about 1,700, while segregation has been retained, at least for this year, in districts with total Negro enrollment of about 2,150.

Few districts in areas of large Negro school population have unified their elementary schools. Generally, integration starts at the high school level, where the Negro pupils are fewer.

In all sections of the state, the first steps toward integration have been taken without incident.

As previously reported, one school board in the Bootheel—Clarkton—voted to integrate and then, in the face of parent protest, reverted to segregation. Curiously enough, the

neighboring town in which Clarkton has been sending its Negro elementary pupils has itself adopted integration at the high school level. Likewise the county seat, Kennett, 18 miles south of Clarkton, has integrated its high school this year, 9 Negroes attending the same school with 363 white youngsters.

Supt. H. Byron Masterson of Kennett reports that "the Negro students have entered into high school life and we have had no problems arising from the situation. The white students readily accepted the colored students, electing one to a senior class office."

The Kennett school board announced its decision to desegregate last July, and the public accepted it without protest. Kennett is a town of 8,700 population.

Reports from other Missouri communities follow:

**SIKESTON.** (pop. 11,600; 20 Negro high school pupils in enrollment of 675—about 3%.)

This Bootheel town, in Scott county, formerly sent its high school pupils to Charleston, 16 miles away. Supt. Lynn Twitty believes that the Sikeston Board of Education was the first in the state to take positive action. It was on June 1 that the board announced that Negro pupils in the 11th and 12th grades would be accepted in the Sikeston high school during the coming year. The board acted early in order to give the public three months to think about the matter and to "cool off" if necessary. No cooling off proved to be needed. The general community feeling, according to Supt. Twitty, was that the decision had been wise.

"We made no special preparation for entry of the Negro children into the schools," says Supt. Twitty. "We felt that our student body would accept it better if we assumed that their behavior would be correct."

"Our assumptions have thus far been correct, in that we have had absolutely no trouble. Our white youngsters have apparently accepted the Negroes as individuals with no particular bias because of their color."

"We have found that the reactions of the average high school age youngster are in most cases based on somewhat sounder reasoning than those of many older individuals."

Negro pupils are transported on a separate bus.

In elementary and junior high schools, Sikeston has a Negro enrollment of about 400. These pupils continue to attend an all-Negro school. They live in the section nearest to the school and thus, in Supt. Twitty's view, constitute a logical attendance area. The school which they attend is "equal in every respect to our other schools and in some cases is superior," says Supt. Twitty. "The elementary children would be permitted to go to other schools if they so desired."

**BELL CITY.** (pop. 482; 21 Negro high school pupils in total of 196—about 10 per cent.)

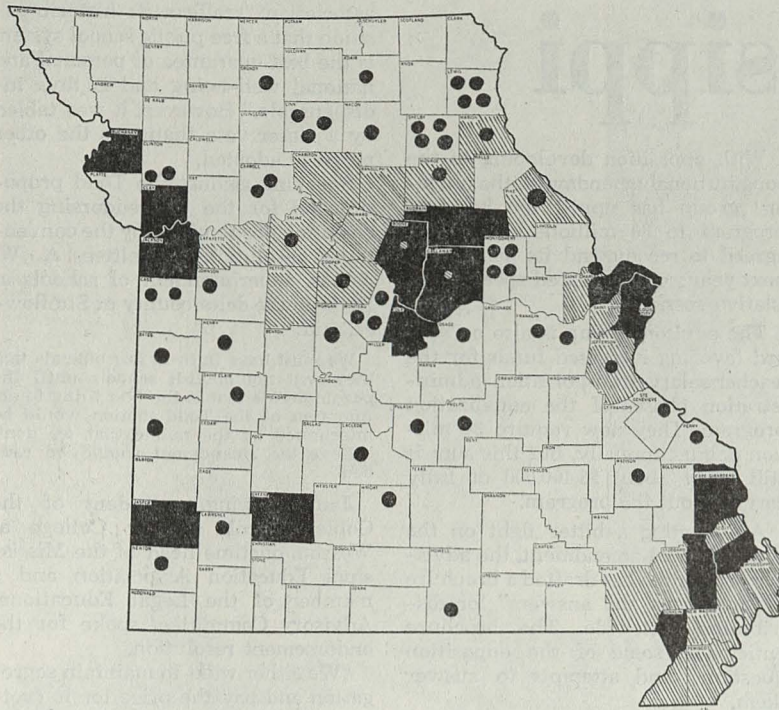
This is another southeast Missouri town, in Stoddard county, about 23 miles north and west of Sikeston. Supt. H. C. Kinder claims that Bell City was the first school in the state to integrate successfully, its session beginning earlier than many districts elsewhere in order to permit a cotton-picking vacation in September and October.

The high school opened Aug. 9. The school board had decided to integrate a month earlier, but made no newspaper announcement, merely passing the word around informally. On the first day, many Negro mothers accompanied their children to school, evidently fearing trouble. There was none.

Two and a half months later, Supt. Kinder reports, "the teachers and students have accepted the Negro students into our student body very graciously. Little mention is made of the situation." He continued:

At one time two girls requested that a separate toilet stool be assigned to the colored girls in the girls' rest room. This matter was disposed of by saying that this would be segregation. The question came up later in the board of education meeting and was disposed of in the same manner.

There have been a few incidents on our



THE MAP ABOVE shows the status of Missouri school district policies on integration and segregation during first academic year following Supreme Court opinion. Counties shown in solid black or cross-hatched are those with Negro school population of more than 100 pupils.

Black counties are those where school districts covering most of the school population have adopted total or partial integration in some form. Cross-hatched areas represent those counties where school districts covering most of the school population have retained segregation for this year.

Black dots indicate school districts in counties with less than 100 Negro pupils which have adopted some form of integration this year.

crowded school buses. Some of the Negro girls claimed the white boys "jostled" them when the bus started up or stopped suddenly. Some of the colored girls claimed that some of the white boys would occupy a whole seat on the bus so they could not sit down.

This only went on one day or so. The boys were called to the office, likewise the colored girls. The matter of integration was thoroughly explained to them and their cooperation requested. This incident only involved four white boys and three of the colored girls. We have heard nothing further of it.

Of course it is not unusual for some of the white boys to jostle the white girls on the bus, to, and give them a little trouble in other ways.

Very few parents have even mentioned integration to me. A few stated that they did not like it, but knew that they could do nothing because this would be unconstitutional. I have heard of a few families that were bitterly opposed to the change, but they have made no formal complaint to me or to the Board of Education.

White and Negro boys play basketball together and one Negro will probably make the school team. White and Negro girls play volleyball together. In the study hall, at the library table and in the lunch room, the colored students seem to segregate themselves voluntarily, especially among girls, the boys generally mingling more.

Bell City is saving \$5,000 a year by not sending its high school students to Charleston.

The town has 213 Negroes in elementary school, out of a total enrollment of 731—a ratio of 29 per cent. The Negroes are attending their own school as usual. None applied for admission to the white school. According to Supt. Kinder, "Negro community leaders and some of the parents say they want their own elementary school with Negro janitor, bus drivers and teachers. But they do insist on the school being modern and equal in every respect to the white school."

**JACKSON.** (pop. 3,700; 40 Negroes in total school enrollment of 998—about 4%.)

The county seat of Cape Girardeau County in southeast Missouri, Jackson had been sending its Negro high school students to a segregated school in Cape Girardeau, 11 miles away. Last year this building burned. At a joint meeting of the Cape Girardeau and Jackson boards of education, it was decided to abolish segregation in grades 9 to 12.

Shortly afterwards, the Negro teacher who had been under contract to the Jackson board of education resigned. This left the board in a position to abolish segregation in the elementary schools as well, and this was done. The former Negro school, built in 1947, is now used as a primary building for both Negro and white children.

"The board received whole-hearted support from all the churches, civic organizations, clubs and especially the parents," says Superintendent of Schools R. O. Hawkins.

"Integration has been complete in both academic and sports fields. One of the varsity football players is colored, one substitute is colored, and the Junior High team has five colored players on the squad."

"The most important factor is the democratic feeling prevalent in this town. The school people should be given credit, but the townspeople themselves are the ones that should receive the real praise. To some the change has been unwelcome, but everyone has accepted the fact that it is unavoidable and should be faced as the American people have faced their problems in the past—with intelligence and a conscientious effort to iron out difficulties."

**INDEPENDENCE.** (pop. 36,963; 21 Negro high school students in total enrollment of 2,013—about 1%.)

Harry Truman's home town in Jackson county formerly sent Negro high school pupils to a segregated Kansas City school. Kansas City having begun to end segregation, Independence this year is integrating its high school students.

Acting Supt. O. L. Plucker reports no problems worthy of mention, though he thinks there may be more when unification reaches the elementary school level. The Negro students participate in a wide range of student activities in addition to regular classwork, including athletics and dramatics. Teachers have accepted the Negroes in mixed classes on the same basis as any white student. Public reaction has been quiet. Although some persons do not approve of the change, there has been no open opposition.

Conscious efforts were made to prepare community opinion for the transition. Publicity was given in newspapers to the reasons for the change, conferences were held with Negro staff members and students. All pastors discussed the problem at Sunday morning services, and a joint conference of school patrons and ministers was held to discuss it.

**COLUMBIA.** (pop. 31,974; 501 Negro pupils in total enrollment of 2,900—17 per cent.)

This central Missouri city is the seat of the University of Missouri, which ended racial restrictions on admission with the beginning of the present academic year. In the public school system, segregation has been ended in theory but in practice remains effective, due to districting combined with residential distribution of the Negro population.

The board of education voted last July to permit Negro and white children to attend the secondary schools of their choice. The option applies to junior high or senior high school, grades 7 to 12. The Negro schools continue to be operated, but Negro attendance there is not legally compulsory.

Six Negro students chose to attend the formerly white high school, and 110 chose to continue at the Negro high school. At junior high, six Negroes chose to attend the formerly white school, and 78 continued at the Negro school.

On the elementary level, district lines were drawn around the Negro elementary school, which formerly served the whole city. All children who live in this district (all Negroes) are required to attend the Negro school. Negro children living outside the district were given the option of attending the elementary school nearest them, or continuing to attend the Negro school.

The effect is to continue the school in the heart of the main Negro residential section as a Negro school. Of the Negroes living outside the district, two have chosen to attend one formerly white elementary school, and 11 to attend another. Four other elementary schools have no Negroes.

The situation has recently brought a protest from 35 parents of children at the school where 11 Negroes enrolled. They have asked the board of education either to move the Negro pupils out of their school or to see that all other schools also enroll Negroes. The parents said they did not object to integration in high school and junior high, which operate city-wide, but did object to the elementary school situation.

Supt. Neil C. Aslin says it is too early to draw final conclusions "but it is hoped that the transition can be made gradually and without incident."

**KIRKSVILLE.** (pop. 11,110, 8 Negro pupils in total enrollment of 2,000—four-tenths of one per cent.)

In northeast Missouri, only 27 miles from the Iowa line, Kirksville had operated a Lincoln school for Negro children until this fall, when the board of education voted to close the school. There are now three Negroes in one elementary school, four in another and one in the junior high school. "There have been no incidents and things are going quite well," Supt. O. Wayne Phillips reports. "We see the colored parents at PTA meetings."

**CARTHAGE.** (pop. 11,188, 45 Negroes in total enrollment of 2,201—2 per cent.)

In southwest Missouri 16 miles from Joplin, Carthage has ended formal segregation in both elementary and high schools, although one all-Negro elementary school continues to be operated.

Negro high school students formerly were sent to a segregated school in Joplin. Now they attend the Carthage school, numbering 12 in an enrollment of 708. One of their number has been elected vice president of the senior class and another reporter for the junior class. Both are halfbacks on the football team.

At the elementary level, five Negro children who live close to one of the white schools have been enrolled in that school. Other Negroes continue to attend the Lincoln school, which is nearest to their homes. Two Negro teachers constitute the teaching staff.

"The community, teachers and student body have accepted this nonsegregation plan and there has been no criticism nor any unpleasant situations," says Supt. J. L. Campbell. "The Negro children are courteous, polite and considerate of others, and are cooperating in every way."

**SPRINGFIELD.** (pop. 72,109, 342 Negroes in total enrollment of 12,800—2 per cent.)

As previously reported, this southwestern Missouri city kept open its Lincoln school for Negroes but permitted Negroes to attend a white school nearer their homes if they chose. Slightly more than half enrolled in white schools. Now the first Negro teacher has been added to the staff of the formerly all-white junior high school, as a librarian. She was transferred from the staff of the Lincoln school as part of a plan of the school board to utilize the services of 16 Negro teachers now at Lincoln when it is closed next year.

Another step in desegregation took place when the Parent-Teachers association at Lincoln School became a part of the city-wide P.T.A. council.



# North Carolina

RALEIGH, N. C. NORTH CAROLINA'S still incomplete brief for the U. S. Supreme Court is expected to follow closely the brief which will be submitted by Florida.

Atty. Gen. Harry McMullan told SERS that the brief, in general, will follow Florida's and plead for time in which to integrate the schools. It also will ask that federal district judges be given broad discretionary powers to fix the deadline for integration in the various school districts.

As a basis for its plea of "gradualism" in integration steps, the brief is expected to cite administrative and legislative problems plus the need for statutory revision. North Carolina will offer no plan for integrated schools.

McMullan declined to discuss details of the brief. He said he hoped to have it completed and ready for distribution "three or four days" ahead of the Nov. 15 presentation to the court.

## MOTION VOTED DOWN

School segregation, meanwhile, came in for discussion at the Western North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church. A motion to reaffirm the principle that the church should be free of racial discrimination failed to win a majority vote. After two hours of debate, the delegates, meeting in Asheville, approved this statement:

That we reaffirm the position expressed by the Episcopal address of the 1952 General Conference that "to discriminate against a person solely upon the basis of his race is both unfair and un-Christian. Every child of God is entitled to that place in society which he has won by his industry and character."

"That the institutions of the church, local churches, colleges, universities, theological schools, hospitals and home care facilities restudy their policies and practices as they relate to race, making certain that these policies and practices are Christian."

Ben L. Smith, Greensboro city schools superintendent, drew praise and applause for an impassioned plea for tolerance. He said the state was looking to the church for leadership. And he added, "no place exists for second class citizenship in deciding the church's position."

The defeated motion on segregation would have expressed "sympathy and interest" to public school administrators working on the problem. It also said, "We recognize the obligation of all citizens to obey the law of the land" and that the issue must be resolved "in the light of the teachings of Jesus Christ."

Debate on this motion was mainly between those who said the statement was not strong enough and those who said no statement at all should be made. Opposition was expressed in a telegram sent to the church leaders by Harry P. Gamble, president of the Louisiana division of the Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity.

Gamble, a New Orleans attorney who lives in Bay St. Louis, Miss., said his organization opposes school integration. A former state legislator and assistant attorney general in Louisiana, Gamble said many northerners have received the wrong impression of the way southern Negroes feel about segregation because of the "unfortunate publicity" given the South by "a few people."

## EDITORS HEAR TALKS

In another Asheville meeting, the National Conference of Editorial Writers heard a panel discussion of segregation by Harry Ashmore, executive editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., and George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

Urging patience "and a little time," Ashmore said, "The American white man is not willing to accept the American Negro as his equal and the Negro is no longer willing to accept less." He also said, "What we have to do is the most difficult thing a democracy has to do: protect the rights of a minority and respect the wishes of the majority."

"Some of you outlanders don't

have the problem we do. It's rather a cheap gesture to condemn someone when you don't have the problem he has. Be patient, and give us a little time."

Dr. Mays said the Supreme Court decision was not "revolutionary but evolutionary." Today's fears of the consequences, he said, will fade. "In 25 years, we will look and laugh, and laugh and laugh about how fearful we were about nothing." He continued:

"It (the decision) says to me that it is the genius of American democracy that great social wrongs and great social injustices can be adjusted and corrected without revolution and violence." He said he was sorry court action had been necessary. "I wish that it could have been out of the magnanimity of our souls."

Dr. Mays said he believed there would be "enough justice on the part of the South and the nation" so that few, if any, Negro teachers will lose their jobs. "The thing that has hurt me most," he said, "has been to see the emphasis placed on the social aspect of the decision when it ought to be on the opportunity to provide equal educational advantages for every American child. He will learn ultimately that our fears are not founded on fact. We are simply trying to do what other sections of the country have done all the while."

Mitchell quoted Gen. Dean's comment when he was released by the Chinese Reds: "People in the Orient expect respect and rice, in that order." Mitchell said, "This demand for respect as it has swept throughout the world has been accompanied by strife, bloodshed, revolution, war and rebellion."

The South has the talent for working with Negroes, Mitchell said. He said he has urged white leaders attempting to solve racial problems to invite Negro citizens in to help. To a question, he said:

There isn't but one thing in the world that will solve race prejudices. It's kept in a very small bottle. The label on the bottle says: "For people of similar culture and educational background and different views to work together on a matter of common interest." Two drops of that and any amount of prejudice disappears.

## GOVERNORS COMMENT

Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia and Gov. Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey also discussed the effect of the decision on the South. Talmadge said the court overstepped its constitutional bounds and set itself up "as a glorified board of education." Meyner disagreed, and said New Jersey has solved the problems of segregation.

Talmadge said the end of school segregation will mean, in Georgia, the end of tax-supported schools. He asked editors "to tell the truth about the South" and said misleading books and articles had caused other sections to regard the region "as one of tobacco roads, chain gangs and race baiting."

Meyner said the people of New Jersey had the same problem as the South when his state in 1947 adopted a new constitution. Segregation, which he said existed in more than 50 localities, has since been completely eliminated. He added that he does not expect the South to change its social pattern "overnight."

Commenting editorially on the Asheville conference, *The Charlotte Observer* said, in part: "The most rewarding part . . . was the calmness with which segregation was discussed by southern editors and the sympathetic attitude of northern editors toward the South's problem."

. . . In one discussion group, for example, a northern editor remarked, "I realize that segregation is a tradition in the South . . ." He was quickly corrected by a southern editor who said, "Segregation is much more than a tradition in the South. It is an integral part of a social system. What we are being asked to do is not merely to transfer a few pupils from one school to another. If that were all, we would have no problem. But we are asked to perform a major operation on a social system. We in the South have had one experience with uprooting a social system by violence, and we don't want it done that way again."

The weekly *Chapel Hill News Leader*, commenting on disorders in Delaware and Maryland, advocated the establishment of local interracial

councils to consider the segregation question. "No one wishes to see the situation degenerate into ill feeling," said the paper. "But matters must not be allowed to drift. Let Chapel Hill's citizens, white and colored, come together and take the lead in study for light and progress."

## NAACP FILES PETITIONS

Charlotte's chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People petitioned the city school board (and later the boards in Mecklenburg, Harnett, Montgomery and Vance counties) for the end of segregation "at the earliest possible moment, and in no case later than September 1955."

The NAACP also asked for a hearing on the petition and signers pledged assistance in "devising and implementing a program of desegregation in accordance with the . . . decision."

In Catawba County, the board of education was presented a similar petition and decided to grant the NAACP a hearing on it in November. W. E. Turner, president of Catawba's chapter of NAACP, told the board in a covering letter that the petition was not "a threat or an effort to use force in the implementation of the desegregation program, but a desire to get together in a Christian way on the situation we face."

Segregation was about the only subject for discussion at a state NAACP convention in Lumberton, at which the featured speaker was Thurgood Marshall, national counsel for NAACP. He said southern governors who vow integration will not be allowed in their states "said the same thing when we were fighting to get Negroes into 'lily white' primaries. It did happen and no one got hurt."

"There is no problem about this thing called integration," Marshall said.

"If the old folks—both colored and white—would leave it alone, the children would settle it themselves." He said recent incidents in Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia proved that the children managed well until their parents interfered.

"The only effective way to accomplish desegregation is to do it at once and firmly," Marshall said. He said Negroes should not expect "miracles" to place them in integrated schools "without effort or even some degree of discomfort."

Marshall added that "No Negro church ever turned anyone away who professed Christianity. Other churches should open up and admit God and the Negro at the same time."

Kelly M. Alexander, state NAACP president, said "Segregation is the greatest barrier towards better race relations in North Carolina, the South, and the nation. Today it has become a world issue." He said the press is not giving a true picture of integration because it has played up violence and ignored successful integration experiments.

## GRAHAM STATEMENT

Dr. Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina and U. S. Senator and now a United Nations mediator, told a group in Washington that the segregation decision must be "accepted in good faith and wisdom" by everybody. He said such an attitude is a "moral imperative of a dynamic program" to "prevent a precarious co-existence from drifting either into appeasement or into a third world war."

October passed without a meeting of a special advisory committee set up by Gov. William B. Umstead to help him formulate state policy "to preserve and strengthen the public school system." Two meetings have been held so far. The last scheduled session was cancelled by Chairman Thomas J. Pearsall of Rocky Mount because, he said, there was nothing to discuss at the time.

Originally, the committee was supposed to help the governor, who only recently spent three weeks in the hospital with a heart condition, draft recommendations for submission to the General Assembly when it convenes in January. The committee's inaction has been interpreted to mean that the coming session of the Assembly may not be asked to take any specific steps along this line, pending the implementation decree.

# Oklahoma

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla. TWO legal attacks on higher education barriers were October's only publicized developments on the Oklahoma desegregation front. In the background were integration "preparedness" meetings at state and local levels.

The first legal move since the U. S. Supreme Court's May decision came Sept. 24 in the western district federal court at Oklahoma City. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People filed a mandamus suit seeking admittance to El Reno (municipal) Junior College for three Negro youths.

Named defendants were Paul Taylor, superintendent of both the El Reno public school district and the junior college, and Steve Lucas, board of regents president. The college allegedly had turned down all three of the plaintiffs, Ulysses S. Grant, Raymond Johnson and Joshua White, all high school graduates living in El Reno.

Filed as a class action, the suit asked an immediate injunction against race barriers at the junior college and requested that a three-judge court sit in the case. The suit was assigned to U. S. District Judge W. R. Wallace, who has not yet set an injunction hearing date. Sitting with him will be his western district colleague, Judge Stephen Chandler, and Judge A. P. Murrah, Oklahoma member of the U. S. Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals.

## RESIDENCE TESTED

For the first time, the suit tests residence as an issue of educational equality. The three youths contended the college is supported by public funds and offers advanced education to all white students of the community, while no other institution in their home county provides the college level business administration courses they wish to study. U. S. Tate, Dallas, regional NAACP attorney who helped prepare the case, told state NAACP leaders he had fought and won five such actions against junior colleges in Texas.

Sponsors saw the case as a possible precedent-setter for other home town junior colleges in Oklahoma. The state has nine other independent and municipal junior colleges (including one Catholic seminary already open to Negroes under a parochial desegregation program) and seven state-supported junior colleges. All have followed the general Oklahoma plan of admitting Negro undergraduates only for courses not provided at Langston Negro university. No two-year college exists for Negroes.

A counter-action developed Oct. 11, when the El Reno independent school district filed a motion to dismiss the injunction suit. State Sen. James A. Rinehart, counsel for the school administration, advanced these grounds for dismissal:

The Supreme Court has restored the segregation cases to its docket, with oral argument scheduled the week of Dec. 6, forestalling jurisdiction by federal district courts at this time; and the suit was filed prematurely because the high court's ruling is not enforceable until "the formulation and entering therein of a decree."

Date for a hearing on the dismissal motion was also pending, while Judge Wallace completed a two-week term of court at Tulsa.

## WOMEN'S COLLEGE SUED

Oklahoma College for Women, a four-year state-supported institution at Chickasha, figured in the second suit, based on the same residential principle. The NAACP filed the mandamus suit in eastern district federal court at Muskogee on behalf of Mrs. Clydia E. Troullier, Chickasha Negro wife and mother.

Mrs. Troullier contended she has a home and two small children to care for and cannot move to Langston some 100 miles distant to attend the Negro college. She alleges she is denied the rights open to all qualified white girls to gain a college education without leaving home.

The class action petition asks relief for Mrs. Troullier and "for the benefit of all other qualified Negro per-

sons similarly situated within Grady county and the state of Oklahoma." (The 1954 spring school census lists 13 Negro girls age 17 in Grady county, and 1,070 Negro girls of that age in the state).

Canadian County, including El Reno, listed 18 Negro boys and girls age 17. Freshman-age Negroes in other counties where junior colleges are located were tallied as follows:

INDEPENDENT AND MUNICIPAL: Altus Junior College (Jackson County of 14; Muskogee Junior College and Bacone Junior College (Muskogee County) 212; Poteau Junior College (LeFlore) 19; Sayre Junior College (Beckham) 6; Seminole Junior College, (Seminole) 50; Central Christian at Bartlesville (Washington) 20; and St. Gregory's at Shawnee (Pottawatomie) 18.

STATE-SUPPORTED: Cameron at Lawton (Comanche) 45; Connors at Warner (Muskogee County) 212; Eastern Oklahoma A & M at Wilburton (Latimer) 2; Murray at Tishomingo (Johnston) 8; Northwestern A & M at Miami (Ottawa) none; Northern Oklahoma at Tonkawa (Kay) 9, and Oklahoma Military Academy at Claremore (Rogers) 9.

Action was deferred Oct. 21 when the Oklahoma City school board received the NAACP's standard petition for immediate integration, along with a request for a joint meeting in which Negro leaders might offer recommendations. The board indicated suggestions would be welcome, but did not respond with the immediate cooperative planning invitation for which the NAACP branch had hoped. One board member pointed out it might be "discrimination" to rely on one segment of opinion in mapping plans for the entire city system. This stung NAACP leader Roscoe Dunjee, state executive committee chairman, into pointing out that an all-white school board itself might be termed one-sided and discriminatory.

Meanwhile, a white group was reversed in its efforts to open a church-supported four-year college to undergraduate Negroes. On Oct. 11, trustees of Phillips University at Enid (Disciples of Christ) announced they will stick by the college's original policy of admitting only undergraduate Negroes who could not obtain desired training at Langston, along with Negro graduate students.

## NO POLITICAL ISSUE

Rounding out the sixth month since the Supreme Court decision, Oklahoma still had not heard any overt objection voiced to complying with the integration order by September 1955. School desegregation did not figure, directly or by inference, in the gubernatorial campaign leading to the Nov. 2 general election.

School and community groups continued mulling the question of "How shall we do it?" sometimes in formally-docketed meetings and sometimes incidentally at gatherings called for other purposes. Education leaders displayed a keen desire for information and evaluation on the Maryland, Delaware, and Washington, D. C. racial flare-ups.

Among desegregation information programs during the month:

A Fighting Fund for Freedom rally conducted by the Oklahoma City NAACP branch, with Dr. Margaret Butcher, Washington, D. C., school board member, as guest speaker.

An administrators' section devoted entirely to school merger problems and plans, at the annual Oklahoma Education Association convention in Oklahoma City on Oct. 28-29.

All-day human relations institutes sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Oct. 26 at Tulsa and Oct. 27 at Oklahoma City, on the theme, "Integration is Everybody's Business." Joined by 19 other groups, the association tackled the question from standpoints of schools, churches and the community, with seminars in all three fields. The institutes, held annually on themes of current significance, marked the state's first formal community-wide meetings concentrating on the coming integration job.



# South Carolina

COLUMBIA, S.C. — SOUTH CAROLINA'S continuing concern over the school segregation problem is manifested more in words than in deeds, since public schools are being maintained on the traditional separate basis in the absence of any Supreme Court directive specifying otherwise.

Most of the words on the subject stem from white political and educational leaders who fear that efforts at enforced commingling of the races in South Carolina schools will make for trouble, and will impede the educational progress of both races. Conversely, spokesmen for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are maintaining that integration will be, and should be, accepted by South Carolinians at an early date.

Against the background of these conflicting statements, there has been an extension of the membership and influence of organizations formed with the primary aim of preserving racial separation, particularly in the public schools. Several such organizations already are in existence and others are springing up under various names. Most of them are in the eastern portion of the state where the Negro population is heavy.

Both the incoming and outgoing governors of South Carolina have expressed concern over incidents of racial strife in northern and border states, and cite such incidents as proof of public unwillingness to accept enforced integration. South Carolina Methodists have counseled against mandatory mixing of the races. The South Carolina Education Association (white) has called for preservation of separate schools in the best interests of both races.

## BYRNES SEES TROUBLE

Gov. James F. Byrnes, in a public statement prepared for delivery at an industrial ceremony in Dillon, renewed his contention that mixing the races would retard the education of both white and Negro pupils. He documented the state's progress toward full equalization of school facilities, saying "those Negroes who seek admission to white schools will do so only because they do not want to attend Negro schools with Negro teachers."

Citing developments in more northern states, he added:

The racial disturbances that have occurred during the past week in West Virginia, Delaware, and Ohio where there are relatively few Negroes presents a powerful argument in favor of the continuance of segregated schools.

Thoughtful people should realize that if there is such feeling in communities in the border states and in a northern state where the percentage of Negro population is relatively small, far more serious situations will arise in such counties as Clarendon in this state when an effort is made to mix the races.

In the case of the Clarendon County school district now pending in the Supreme Court, the records show that in the schools of that district there are 2,900 Negro students and only 290 white students. The writers on social problems whose views were quoted with approval by the Supreme Court know nothing of the seriousness of the problem involved in such a district.

I congratulate the people of South Carolina on their restraint since the decision of the Supreme Court. . . I believe the vast majority of Negroes in South Carolina would prefer to send their children to the splendid schools now being constructed for them. My hope is that the final decision of the Court will be such that our people will be able to find a way to live within the law of the land and still preserve our separate school system.

## REPLY FROM HINTON

Those statements by Gov. Byrnes drew this reply from James M. Hinton, Negro insurance executive and head of the South Carolina Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored pupils:

Negroes foresee no trouble ahead (in mixing races in schools) unless it is suggested by those entrusted with the administration of the law. The number of children and parents involved where friction came was very small in comparison to the large number of children and parents involved where no friction came from integration.

Clarendon County whites and Negroes are law-abiding citizens, and will follow the course of law and order when the occasion arises. There should be no feeling on any person's part that whites and Negroes would be other than good cit-

izens, following any decision or decree from the United States Supreme Court.

Lt. Gov. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., Democratic nominee for governor and unopposed in the November general election, has publicly renewed his position that parents and children should be allowed a "free choice" of schools to be attended. Expressing concern over the welfare of Negroes as well as of whites, Mr. Timmerman said this:

The attempt to force integration upon people who are not willing to accept it is engendering racial hatreds which will take years to wipe out. The real problem is the establishment and maintenance of working relationships between white and Negro citizens. Here in South Carolina we have steadily improved those relationships while rapidly improving Negro school facilities. Now, equality goes hand in hand with separation. Disrupting those relationships by force will set back the cause of education for both races and will make for social discord beyond the conception of the Northerners who tell us how to conduct our own affairs.

The unfortunate thing is that the innocent Negroes are the losers whenever such turmoil is stirred up. I am hopeful that the people of South Carolina will guard against blaming the innocent for what the guilty have done. That will be difficult, for it is only natural to resent bitterly the attacks against southern leaders and the South generally, but we must place the blame where the blame belongs.

## CHARGES 'CONFUSION'

The incoming governor is critical of the tendency of the Supreme Court and of northern writers and politicians "to confuse 'discrimination' with 'segregation.'"

The two terms are not interchangeable. I am opposed to discrimination on any grounds, racial or otherwise, but it does not necessarily follow that racial discrimination results from racial separation. If anything, separation makes for less discrimination, for it does not provide a basis for the inevitable discrimination which will follow if white and Negro children are mingled in the same schools and the same classrooms.

In years past, there has been discrimination against the Negro in education. That is now being wiped out with public support and public approval, so that our "separate but equal" laws are becoming truly meaningful. The "separate but equal" policy provides a fair and practicable basis for race relations in South Carolina. If the administration of the law in years past has been faulty, the need is for improved administration such as we are now giving, not abandonment of the principle itself.

The public is convinced that equal facilities are both desirable and necessary. The real test now is whether the Negroes of the state are willing to take advantage of their opportunity to advance the cause of education, or whether they will seek to upset the entire pattern of public schooling as we know it. This much is certain—whatever progress we make will depend wholly on the willingness of the public to support the program.

Meanwhile, the South Carolina Education Association, comprising

## Farm Bureau Takes Action

# 'Constructive' Thinking Urged

COLUMBIA, S.C. — THE South Carolina Farm Bureau Federation has announced a plan to stimulate "constructive thinking" aimed at meeting the Supreme Court threat to racial separation in public schools.

E. Hugh Agnew said that the board of directors had decided that the Farm Bureau could render a useful public service by promoting a realistic approach to the problem presented by the Supreme Court decision. At the same time he emphasized that the Farm Bureau was not seeking to interfere with any governmental or legislative offices concerned with the crisis and was hopeful of cooperating fully with all such agencies. Farm Bureau officials, he said, are basing their educational and informational approach to the problem on these two conclusions:

1. That under the Supreme Court decision of May 17 there is no legal way by which persons desiring to attend mixed schools can be denied such schools, but

2. That if the right of free choice of racial association is granted to Negroes, the same right can be claimed by each state for its white citizens, thereby permitting voluntary attendance at separate schools.

some 10,000 white teachers of the state, decided against formulating any definite course of action pending the Supreme Court's final decree on school segregation. The association, however, through its authoritative Council of Delegates, on Oct. 9, did adopt this statement, drafted by a special committee headed by Guy L. Varn, superintendent of the Columbia city schools:

"1. An adequate system of free public schools in South Carolina should be maintained.

2. Of necessity we rely upon social custom and the good judgment of the citizens of each local district for the maintenance of the system of schools best suited to the needs of all children.

3. It is more important now than ever before to expedite the building program in order to rush to completion the provision of adequate educational facilities and to maintain the system of schools best suited to the needs of all children.

4. We believe that the present pattern of public education in South Carolina is the best form of organization for meeting the needs of children of both races."

The annual conference of South Carolina Methodists, held in Spartanburg on Oct. 21-24, adopted a report saying "we fear the Negro would suffer most" if races are integrated in public schools "without regard to their relative numbers." The report was drafted by a committee of eight ministers and eight laymen appointed last year to study and report on the segregation situation. It survived a motion to table by a vote of 289-148. Embraced in the report were these statements:

The question of racial integration in the public schools can best be resolved on the state or local level. It is apparent to us that an attempt to integrate the races in our public schools without regard to their relative numbers would work grave injustice to many innocent persons, and in the present instance we fear the Negro would suffer most, as he has often when those far removed from his everyday problems have undertaken to speak in his name.

Consideration must also be given to the large number of Negro teachers and administrators in our public schools, lest they be denied leadership among their people.

To compel a parent, whether white or Negro, to send his child to school and at the same time to compel the child to live under conditions which the parent regards to be detrimental to the highest interest, would, in our judgment, introduce problems of serious import.

## EX-BISHOP SPEAKS OUT

A prominent Episcopal churchman of the state spoke out strongly on the subject in *The Living Church*, national weekly publication of Protestant Episcopalians. The Right Rev. Albert S. Thomas, of Wadmalaw Island, retired bishop of South Carolina, defended the Southern view-

point on segregation in an article containing these assertions:

It may well be that, when we plan to facilitate and expedite the amalgamation of the Negro race with other races, we are verily frustrating a great purpose of God. Where segregation is un-Christian, this is due to man's fallen nature, not to segregation itself.

When the Supreme Court of the United States, departing from its proper constitutional function of interpreting the law of the land, ventures into the field of some fancied results of educational psychology without any reference to the principles of human conduct and man's ultimate destiny as given us in revealed religion, it may haply be found to be fighting against God. A steadily increasing recognition of the rights and privileges of the Negro race is now, by all indications, receiving a severe blow by those in authority in both church and state. An assumption of wisdom beyond God's word is rather a thing which must be "abhorrent to God."

I believe that this view of segregation would be pleasing to the Negro race as a whole, even if not to those misguided leaders whose motives are questionable; also to the best Christianminded white people where the problems are acute, but perhaps not to those leaders of the nation whose motive to appease atheistic Communism abroad seems more important than the happiness and well-being of a large portion of our own land which would be insured by strict adherence to principle.

The segregation issue is playing a minor role in the current race for the United States Senate seat left vacant by the death of the late Burnet R. Maybank. Two write-in candidates, former Gov. J. Strom Thurmond and Marcus A. Stone, a Florence lumberman, are opposing State Sen. Edgar A. Brown, of Barnwell county, who was nominated by the State Democratic Executive Committee when the committee decided insufficient time remained for a primary election. All three candidates favor separate schools for white and Negro students.

On the legal front, attorneys for Clarendon County School officials who are involved in the Supreme Court litigation, have decided to file a short brief with the Court next month. Robert McC. Figg Jr., Charleston attorney, said "there are no new allegations and no new material. However, it is felt that the former voluminous briefs would be too bulky for the Supreme Court's purpose, so we will file a smaller and more current brief boiling down and reiterating positions which have been stated before."

Those prior positions embrace the contention that the case should be referred back to the local district courts for such further action as may be necessary in light of the Supreme Court's decision. They also contend that the Supreme Court is without authority to prescribe any specific school system whereby integration might be effected.

In mid-October, South Carolina members of the NAACP were told in state convention that "a feasible plan to end public school segregation"

would be presented to the Supreme Court "at an early date." That statement came from Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the national organization's board of directors. He did not detail the plan in any respect, at least insofar as public disclosure is concerned. Dr. Tobias' address also included a call upon Gov. Byrnes to face up to "the responsibility of influencing implementation" of the Supreme Court decision.

Later in the month, another out-of-state visitor delivered another sort of message to a South Carolina audience. Georgia's Commissioner of Agriculture, Tom Linder, championed the cause of segregation in a speech delivered before a joint meeting of the States' Rights League of Sumter county, and the Florence chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of White People.

Approximately 700 persons, mostly from rural areas and including a sprinkling of women and a few children, heard Mr. Linder charge the NAACP with seeking not only to mix races in the schools, but "in the homes, then in the church, and then before the marriage altar."

"When we fight for separate schools," he said, "we fight for the very existence of the white man down here in the South."

## CENSUS REQUESTED

Mr. Linder suggested that a census be conducted of all school children and their parents to determine their wishes in school attendance. Parents and pupils would be required to sign a contractual form stating whether they wished a mixed school or a separate school attendance. Those lists, according to the Linder plan, would be published in the press and disclose "who's who" in the fight.

He did not elaborate further on his plan but did say that an abandonment of the public school system at this stage would constitute "an admission of defeat on this first line of battle."

Edward V. Atkinson, Sumter attorney who heads the States Rights League, and G. L. Ivey, head of the Florence unit of the NAAWP, both urged that pro-segregation organizations such as theirs be merged into one large body with resulting greater political and numerical strength. The States Rights League has a present membership exceeding 430, Mr. Atkinson reported. It has an office in Sumter and is chartered under South Carolina laws with the following purpose:

The dissemination of information "relating to the powers of the states not surrendered to the federal government, to educate the people by lectures, papers, periodicals and other means of the necessity of preserving and maintaining such rights, defending such rights in debate, in court and elsewhere."

Another pro-segregation group, as yet unnamed, has been formed in Clarendon County, where South Carolina's school case originated. The organization elected officers at a meeting attended by approximately 300 persons. W. B. Davis Jr., a cotton farmer of the county, is president.

In Charleston County, an organization known as the "Grass Roots League" is actively championing separation of the races. The organization has been in existence for several years with the goal of working "to preserve constitutional government and State Rights and to combat Socialism and Communism in State and Nation."

## PAPER SUGGESTS PLAN

While the vast majority of South Carolina newspapers hold firm in their opposition to integrated schools, the *Evening Herald*, of Rock Hill, has suggested editorially the possibility of beginning the mixing of races at the first grade level, so that present differences of educational attainment between white and Negro schools could be avoided.

"After the first grade has been passed," the paper says, "the next year the second grade would be ready without difference in the quality of education. This process could continue year after year until graduation from high school. Thus, throughout the school years, students have the same opportunities without confusion, unequal levels and lowering of school standards."



# Virginia

RICHMOND, Va. VIRGINIA'S school segregation controversy was highlighted in October by the announcement that the Virginia Commission on Public Education will hold its first public hearing at the State Capitol here at 10:30 a.m. on Nov. 15. The commission is the 32-member group appointed by Gov. Thomas B. Stanley to study school problems posed by the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision.

Another major development during the month was the formation of the "Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties," an organization which will work for the retention of segregation in Virginia's public schools.

Announcement of the commission's public hearing was made by State Sen. Garland Gray of Waverly, chairman. He said persons who appear before the group will be expected to discuss the question: "What course should Virginia follow in the light of the Supreme Court decision in the segregation case?"

In a prepared statement, Sen. Gray explained:

This first hearing is intended primarily for spokesmen for local governing bodies, members of the General Assembly and recognized organizations of both races who are hereby invited to present the views of their membership, or constituents, and thus afford the commission the benefit of the opinions of citizens from all parts of the state.

The commission will give priority to these spokesmen, but will hear interested individual citizens to the extent time will permit.

Sen. Gray added that other public hearings may be held later, but that this will be a matter for the full commission to decide.

## 'DEFENDERS' ORGANIZED

The "Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties" received its charter from the State Corporation Commission on Oct. 26. Officers were announced as:

President—Robert B. Crawford, Farmville dry cleaner, who for about 15 years was a member of the Prince Edward County School Board. Prince Edward County's School Board is one of the defendants in the five cases involved in the Supreme Court's May 17 segregation decision.

Vice-President—C. D. Jones, a merchant of LaCrosse, Mecklenburg County.

Secretary—William B. Coker Jr., clerk of the Sussex County Circuit Court.

Treasurer—E. Floyd Yates, Powhatan County auto dealer and former member of the Virginia House of Delegates.

Mr. Coker said the organization, at the time it received its charter, had approximately 2,000 members in 13 chapters located principally in the Fourth District. The annual membership fee is \$10. He said the group hopes to organize chapters in every city and county in the state.

The group's charter does not mention school segregation. But one of the stated purposes is "to seek by all honorable and lawful means the retention by each State of its . . . right to regulate with in its borders, in the manner it believes to be most conducive to the happiness and good of its citizens, its own domestic arrangements, and to . . . advocate means by which the people of each State may enjoy this right and power in any of its domestic matters, whether education, recreational, economic, social or otherwise."

The 4th District includes 13 of the 23 Virginia counties with school populations more than 50 per cent Negro. The 1950 census shows that the district has 171,211 white residents and 167,139 Negroes.

Sen. Gray spoke on the night of Oct. 5 at Prince George County courthouse at a meeting called to elect three county representatives to the district-wide session held at Blackstone two nights later.

## GRAY STATES VIEWS

In his remarks to the Prince George group, Sen. Gray called the Supreme Court decision "political

and monstrous" and added, "I have nothing against the Negro race as such, and I have lived with them all my life, but I don't intend to have my grandchildren go to school with them."

At another point in his talk, he declared:

When I was appointed chairman of the Governor's legislative commission on segregation, I told that group I would act impartially and hear everything anyone wanted to say on this vital question. But I also said I have my own personal convictions on the issue which I do not intend to sacrifice on the altar of political expediency.

Sen. Gray's remarks at the Prince George meeting led the *Virginia Methodist Advocate*, weekly official publication of the Virginia Methodist Conference, to question his "competence" to serve on the commission.

*The Advocate*, edited by the Rev. Dr. George S. Reamey, said Sen. Gray's statements "can hardly be said to represent an impartial judicial mind, such as the people of Virginia have a right to expect of the chairman—and of the entire membership—of this special fact-finding commission."

"If this is a sample of the speeches the Senator intends to make prior to the hearing in November, it raises serious question of his competence to serve on the commission in any capacity, whether as chairman or member," the publication said.

Meanwhile, residents of Nottoway county, in a referendum on Oct. 5, overwhelmingly defeated a proposed \$900,000 bond issue which had been designed to help finance construction of three Negro elementary schools. The vote was approximately 1,500 to 200.

C. H. Bevell, chairman of the Nottoway county school board, had argued that existing facilities for Negroes are inadequate and that new buildings are badly needed. But opponents of the bond issue had claimed, among other things, that the proposal was ill-timed and should not be carried out in view of the uncertainty as to what the future holds in the matter of school segregation.

Approximately 1,300 Negro children are enrolled in Nottoway county elementary schools and 350 in high school, as compared with 1,250 white elementary students and 450 high school students.

## WHITEHEAD vs. TUCK

During October, Virginians witnessed a sharp verbal exchange on school segregation between Robert Whitehead, member of the Virginia House of Delegates and a recognized leader of the "anti-organization" faction in Virginia Democratic Party politics, and former Gov. William M. Tuck, now a member of the House of Representatives from the Fifth Congressional District.

It started when Mr. Whitehead, who is considered a probable candidate for governor in 1957, told the Norfolk Cosmopolitan Club on Oct. 21 that adoption of proposals to abolish the public school system would be "an open invitation to the federal government to boldly step into the field of education and take over."

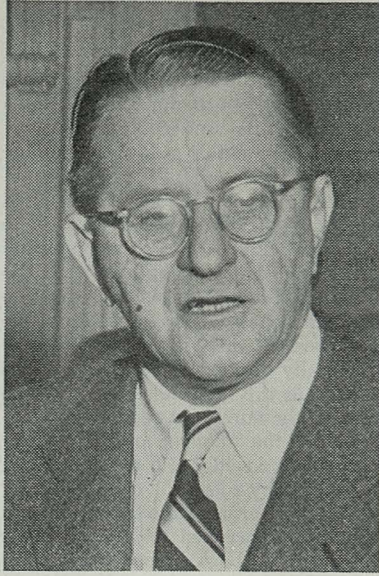
He said he favored a middle-of-the-road approach to the school segregation problem, one that would not force integration on any locality, but rather would give each locality wide discretion in deciding whether to have dual or single school systems, or a combination of both.

The following day, Rep. Tuck, an outspoken opponent of integration, said in a speech to the Virginia Commission of Revenue Association in Richmond that "middle-of-the-roads" are people who "don't know which way they're going."

"I've always thought 'middle-of-the-roader' was another name for double crosser," he added.

Retorted Whitehead:

In view of what he did in 1952, I would have thought that Bill Tuck would have been the last politician in Virginia to use the word 'double crosser.' It was he who, then posing as a Democrat, stabbed the Democratic Party in the back and helped the Republicans carry Virginia for Eisenhower. Who was double crossing then?



SEN. GARLAND GRAY  
Heads Virginia Commission

In his reply, R. Tuck said that Mr. Whitehead "has in his attack upon me made abundantly clear what I strongly suspected all along, and that is that he favors integration of the races in the public schools." This was strongly denied by Mr. Whitehead.

## BOOTHE'S PROPOSAL

Meanwhile, a proposed plan for Virginia in carrying out the school integration decision was presented by State Delegate Armistead L. Booth of Alexandria, who in past years has led legislative fights to eliminate segregation on public transit vehicles.

In a speech before District L of the Virginia Education Association at Norfolk on Oct. 15, Mr. Boothe suggested that the Supreme Court be asked to grant local governing bodies or school boards considerable autonomy in putting the court's ruling into effect.

He proposed that the local boards be empowered to assign individual students to schools on the basis of academic backgrounds; health requirements of different students; personality, practices, needs and desires of individual children; and the intensity of racial feeling in the various areas.

Under his plan, the local authorities would exercise the foregoing powers in three primary ways: (1) by making individual assignments of children to local schools, (2) by arranging attendance through new attendance districts, and (3) by allowing children within proper limitations to select their schools.

"If we show good faith and can convince the Supreme Court of our good faith," Mr. Boothe said, "we must not only ask that discretion be vested in the state authorities to bring our practices into harmony with the Court's decision, but we must impress the Court with the necessity of indefinite time which these changes may require."

The Jewish War Veterans, in national convention in Richmond, adopted a resolution favoring "complete integration in the public schools, according to the mandate of the United States Supreme Court."

On Oct. 22, Recreation Director E. L. Barnwell, issued a permit to allow the NAAWP to hold a rally at Brad-dock Field on Oct. 24. But on Oct. 23, City Manager Ira Willard told Bryant W. Bowles, president of the NAAWP that the permit had been withdrawn because of a city ordinance forbidding carnivals and unnecessary noise at the field.

## Notice

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS is the official publication of the Southern Education Reporting Service, 1109 19th Ave. South, Nashville, Tennessee. It is distributed free to interested individuals and organizations. Requests for SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS should be addressed to SERS, P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tennessee.

The Reporting Service is financed by a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, an independent agency established by the Ford Foundation.

# West Virginia

CHARLESTON, W. Va. DESEGREGATION in West Virginia's schools and colleges, rebuffed in the early weeks of the present term, moved along toward a more peaceful solution during the past month with every indication that another year would find almost complete harmony.

Only one flare-up marred recent developments, and that was quickly smothered when a Marion County circuit judge issued an injunction on Sept. 28 against mothers picketing the Annabelle school at Four States near Fairmont, W. Va.

The angry matrons on two consecutive days were successful in sending teachers home in protest against integrating white and Negro pupils until Judge J. Harper Meredith issued the injunction. Previously, Meredith termed the parents' action "a rebellion against the government."

The Marion County Parent Teachers Council voted to support legal action stopping picketing at the school after the pickets had succeeded in sending Principal Lloyd H. Securo and the school's teachers home. County School Supt. W. W. Straight then announced that the teachers would return and he would seek court action if they were stopped.

When Chief Deputy Sheriff L. O. Yeager tacked a copy of the temporary injunction forbidding picketing on the front door of the six-room brick and cinder block schoolhouse, which sits on a hill in the little coal mining community in northern West Virginia, there wasn't a soul around. The injunction prohibited the 53 parents named as defendants—including a few fathers—"from in any way interfering with or obstructing the entering or leaving of the school grounds and building" and from "assaulting, coercing, or threatening any pupil, teacher or other agent" of the board.

## JUDGE WARNS PARENTS

Judge Meredith told those present, including Supt. Straight and school board members:

"It cannot continue and I won't permit it to continue. If necessary, I'll fill the jail until their feet are sticking out of the windows."

Some white parents had been keeping their children home in protest against the enrollment of 13 Negroes with 157 white pupils in grades one through seven. There are 799 Negro students and 13,193 whites in Marion County, the third of 55 West Virginia counties where attempts at integration have resulted in demonstrations.

On Sept. 13 about 300 of 475 high school students in Greenbrier County, which borders Virginia, went on a strike. Parents held a mass meeting and the school board rescinded its plans for integration.

The following week, two disturbances broke out in Boone County over partial integration, but the school board decided to maintain the status quo while investigating legal aspects of the case. Both of these incidents were reported in detail in the October issue of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS.

Since these disturbances, state Negro leaders have criticized Gov. William C. Marland for not taking a stronger stand on integration, saying a statement he had issued fell short of their expectations. The chief executive had said that integration poses no insoluble problems if both parties make a sincere attempt to understand the viewpoint of the other.

Tom G. Nutter of Charleston, president of the West Virginia Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that while Marland's statement wasn't as strong as the NAACP had hoped it would be, it should help if "it causes others to give sober thought to the situation." He added that Negro leaders had hoped the governor "would take positive action" to quiet feelings which caused the strike in Boone and Greenbrier Counties.

But if Negroes were disappointed

in the governor, they had reason to cheer the unification of the West Virginia Education Association (white) and the West Virginia State Teachers Association (Negro), which was the highlight of the WVEA annual state convention in Charleston on Friday, Oct. 15. All teachers in the state will henceforth belong to the WVEA as their professional organization.

The "Declaration of Unification" follows:

"For many long years, the illustrious and honored profession of teaching in the State of West Virginia has worked in and through two separate associations; namely, the West Virginia Education Association and the West Virginia State Teachers Association. Both have held as their guiding purpose the advancement of the cause of education, the improvement of the welfare of those who teach, and the promotion of professional fellowship.

"During those many intervening years, these two distinguished organizations have worked closely together in the common cause. But, at the same time, they have been kept separate because of tradition and custom and because of needs peculiar to the respective groups.

"In the year one thousand nine hundred forty-eight, a joint committee of the West Virginia Education Association and the West Virginia State Teachers Association was established for the purpose of studying relationships, problems, and programs of the two associations. Subsequent studies revealed a definite sameness of problems accompanied by a duplication of effort in arriving at conclusions and answers to such problems.

"Upon report and recommendation of the joint committee to the governing bodies of the West Virginia Education Association and the West Virginia State Teachers Association, in the year one thousand nine hundred fifty-three-fifty-four, authorization was given by each organization to bring into being a unification of the two associations under the following proviso:

1. That the united professional associations of teachers on a statewide basis shall be called the West Virginia Education Association.
2. That the rights and privileges of all teachers shall be those set forth under the Constitution of the West Virginia Education Association.
3. That all life memberships previously held under either association shall be honored and recognized as life members of the West Virginia Education Association under the unification agreement.
4. That the audit of both the West Virginia Education Association and the West Virginia State Teachers Association from the date of July 1, 1953, to the date of final merger be printed in the Annual Report.

## TRAINING PROGRAM

Mountaineer Boys State, week-long citizenship training program operated annually at Jackson's Mill in Marion County with representatives from all state counties, hereafter will be conducted "without distinction as to race, creed or color."

A prepared statement of policy to that effect was issued by Boys' State Inc., a state corporation sponsored by the West Virginia Department of the American Legion. W. Elliott Nefflen, former Charleston lawyer now residing in Washington, D. C., is chairman of the group's incorporators.

Boys' State is attended each year by about 300 high school juniors and was established in 1936. It was the second such program to go into operation in the nation.

A West Virginia Boys' State for Negro youths has been operated annually since 1941. Also conducted each year under Legion sponsorship are the Rhododendron Girls' State for white youngsters and a comparable program for Negro girls. These programs are not affected by the action on Boys' State board, which declared:

Forthwith Mountaineer Boys' State shall be conducted and operated without distinction as to race, color or creed, to effectuate for posterity a 100 percent Americanism in order that the principles of justice, freedom and democracy in our great republic may be absolute.



# Kentucky

LOUISVILLE, Ky. SCHOOL integration was no issue in Kentucky's November elections. The hope of "keeping it out of politics" in the 1955 gubernatorial campaign may help to explain the state's go-slow policy, adopted a few weeks after the Supreme Court ruling last May.

That is the "informed opinion" of some veteran reporters of Bluegrass politics. Their summary:

Republican and Democratic office-holders alike "went along" with the Supreme Court decision when it was announced. Democratic Gov. Lawrence Wetherby, who is not eligible for another term, put the Barkley-Clements-Wetherby or dominant wing of his party on "politically unassailable grounds" by announcing simply that "Kentucky will do whatever is necessary to comply with the law" and then leaving further action hanging until the Court spells out the "musts" of its ruling.

That leaves no opening, it is argued, for either Republican or Dixiecrat temptation to use school integration as a partisan or factional issue.

It also means, pending new developments, that for some months Kentucky is likely to produce little school integration activity except on the line of quiet study, discussion, and tentative preplanning by educators of both races.

## NO COMPLAINTS

Negro spokesmen, here as elsewhere, want a faster pace. But they have publicly aired little or no argu-

ment against the go-slow policy. "We feel we have got to bring pressure to speed things up," President Charles Cordery of the Louisville branch of the NAACP put it. "But we are trying first for a series of individual and small group meetings with education board members and administrators on the local level. Our aim is to encourage more public discussion and public planning on the problems to be met in every community, and to speed up the inevitable with a minimum of friction."

In October two college officials added newsworthy quotes to the record of collegiate integration in Kentucky.

Commenting on the University of Kentucky's September registration of some 20 Negro undergraduates (graduate Negro students have attended U.K. since a district-court ruling in 1949), University Vice-President Dr. Leo Chamberlain in mid-October noted that the change had come quietly and without incident. Of the new admission policy he said: "After the (Supreme Court) decision last spring, there was no reason to make any distinction at all."

And at Pikeville Junior College, a Presbyterian-supported school in Eastern Kentucky which admitted its first three Negro students this year, the President, Dr. A. A. Page, said integration had caused "not a ripple" among the student body or the faculty "and it was truly gratifying to see these colored students accepted." The Negro students, he said, "are treated just exactly like the others."

# Tennessee

NASHVILLE, Tenn. THE Tennessee conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held its annual meeting here Oct. 29-31—the first meeting since the Supreme Court ruling on May 17.

In the program adopted for the forthcoming year, the Tennessee Conference will:

1. Urge a strong and more positive stand by the state government in support of the high court ruling.

2. Work for the establishment of an interracial committee of responsible citizens to study ways and means of implementing the Supreme Court ruling in local communities.

3. Call upon such agencies as civic groups and church groups to support efforts aimed at implementing the Supreme Court ruling.

The NAACP also announced that it will act as a "watchdog" over the next legislative session, which begins in January 1955, to prevent the introduction of any legislation aimed at circumventing the intent of the Supreme Court ruling.

## FOOTBALL GAME

In another development in Tennessee, the first intercollegiate football game between a Negro and a white university in the "Deep South" was played here Oct. 30 between Fisk University of Nashville and Taylor University of Upland, Ind.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk, said arrangements for the game with Taylor "in no way stemmed from the Supreme Court ruling last May."

Johnson said negotiations between the two institutions for the game were started about three years ago.

"Interracial intercollegiate athletics is something that will come about just as easily as it did in professional baseball," Johnson declared.

The Fisk president added that the university received no protests about the game from residents or officials of Nashville.

In past years, Fisk basketball teams have played teams from white colleges.

The action of the Tennessee NAACP stands as practically the only illustration of either pro- or anti-desegregation sentiment expressed by any group or agency in Tennessee in the past month.

On the state level, the government's policy of "watchful waiting" remains intact, and there is no reason to believe at this time that Tennessee will participate in the implementation hearings of the Supreme Court in December. Gov. Frank G. Clement and his official family still decline to discuss the matter for quotation or attribution.

As pointed out in the October issue of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, one reason for the present state policy is the fear of alienating legislators if the administration takes a stand on the issue one way or another. This, so the reasoning goes, would jeopardize the school program in the 1955 General Assembly.

## BATTLE OVER FUNDS

One observer of educational developments in Tennessee declared that the recommended appropriation for the school program by the state Legislative Council of more than 150 million dollars for the 1955-57 biennium will be cause for controversy enough without having the desegregation issue to consider at the same time.

The council's recommendation calls for an appropriation of \$75,550,399 for the year 1955-56 (compared to \$65,516,700 for the 1954-55 school year) and an appropriation of \$78,366,459 for the year 1956-57.

In perhaps the only other development bearing on the school segregation issue in Tennessee, a plan for a special study committee discussed by the Davidson County Board of Education in early September, remained in its formative stage.

At a meeting on Oct. 21, the board received a list of 25 to 30 names from which committee members were to be chosen. Board Chairman Ed Chappell declared, however, that no further action would be taken on the committee until each member of the board receives a copy of the list.

The meeting adjourned without setting any date for the appointment of the committee, and with the warning of one board member that "if we sit here and don't try to work out some plan, we will be faced with a most serious situation" when the Supreme Court delivers desegregation decrees.

## New Book

(Continued from Page 1)

These communities, of necessity, were outside the South, for no Southern state had then undertaken to abandon dual education below the college level.

When these field studies reached the project's central research staff in Atlanta, which I served as nominal director, it became apparent that the material thus gathered was far too abundant, and far too valuable, to be compressed into the brief volume originally contemplated. The studies served as the basis for several chapters in the summary report, *The Negro and the Schools*, published (by fortuitous accident, I must confess, and not by design) coincidentally with the Supreme Court decision. But all of us concerned with what came to be called the Ashmore Project felt that they deserved publication in their own right.

Much additional editorial work was necessary, however, to put this raw data together as a coherent picture of American communities in transition. For that essential task we turned to Professor Robin M. Williams Jr., a native Southerner who is now director of Cornell University's Social Science Research Center and who had served the project as a consultant. In collaboration with Mrs. Margaret W. Ryan, he has prepared this volume for publication.

The purpose of *Schools in Transition* is the same as that of *The Negro and the Schools*—not to argue the case for or against segregation, but to make available factual information which may throw light upon this shadowy area of the nation's total educational structure. Owen J. Roberts, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and now chairman of the Board of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, thus defined the mission of the Ashmore Project in his introduction to the initial volume:

This volume and those that follow it are intended to bring into focus the dimensions and nature of a complex educational problem that in many ways provides a significant test of American democracy. The ultimate solution of that problem will rest with the men and women who make and execute public school policy in thousands of local school districts, and their actions will be conditioned by the degree of understanding of the general public which supports their efforts with its tax dollars. If this project serves to assist them in their task the Fund for the Advancement of Education will feel that it has wisely invested a portion of the risk capital of American education with which it is entrusted.

My thanks, and those of the officers and directors of the Fund, go to Professor Williams and Mrs. Ryan for their skillful preparation of this, the second of the four volumes which represent the end product of the Ashmore Project.

## Back Integration

HOT SPRINGS, Ark.

Leading Negro educators and school officials from 14 Southern states and the District of Columbia declared here Oct. 27 that they welcomed the Supreme Court decision on segregation in public schools and urged that "immediate steps be taken to implement the decision."

"We believe that by virtue of the position which we occupy in American life we are obligated to express our views," the group said in a statement released after two days of closed sessions.

# Texas

AUSTIN, Tex.

OCTOBER was a quiet month in Texas as far as the school segregation problem was concerned.

Atty. Gen. John Ben Shepperd had six assistants, headed by Burnell Waldrep, working on the brief which Texas will present in the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Shepperd is undecided whether oral argument will be made by a Texas spokesman.

Details of the Texas brief will be unavailable until sometime shortly before the Nov. 15 deadline for filing. But it is known that Texas will bear down hardest on its plea for the court to let local authorities work out the integration of schools, under broad direction from the court.

The Texas attorney general also is expected to emphasize practical problems involved, such as whether Negroes already attending its public schools can be integrated in white schools without further educational preparation.

No further effort by Negroes to obtain entry to public schools and colleges was reported during October.

## NEGRO COUPLE FLEES

The *Houston Informer*, a newspaper mainly for Negroes, reported that a Negro couple from Sulphur Springs, Texas, was "forced to flee the state in fear of their lives."

The newspaper's account of Oct. 20, 1954, follows:

Texas, the place Governor Allan Shivers recently dared to tell a group of Negroes was the "grandest place on God's green earth" again supplied grist for anti-American propaganda mills when the head of the Sulphur Springs Branch NAACP and his wife were forced to flee the state in fear of their lives, the *Informer* learned here this week.

Hardy W. Ridge, a former grocery store proprietor and NAACP head at Sulphur Springs, and his wife Eleanor are now in Cleveland, Ohio. Their Sulphur Springs home was shot up last July when Mr. Ridge petitioned the courts of that Texas town to integrate public schools there. The NAACP leader's action was in line with that of other branch offices of the organization which sought to have the Supreme Court's ruling for school integration carried out in their communities.

Mr. Ridge said after he filed the petition, two men visited his store and asked him to sell it but said he gave no definite answer to that effect. Later, while he and his wife were away from home, vandals shot up his house with shotgun blasts. When he returned, he found glasses broken, ceilings and walls blasted and other evidence of the shooting.

He said the persons who had fired the blasts must have thought the couple to be home asleep.

Before he had left home, the men had created a disturbance at the house that attracted a crowd of neighbors. He said they told other Negroes in the neighborhood "what would happen to those uppity n-----s."

He said when he visited the mayor and other city officials, one of the officials told him, "If you don't like the way we are running things here, why don't you try living in another part of the country?" Mr. Ridge said the man added, "We don't like nine men in Washington telling us what to do," referring to the members of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Ridge said he reported the incident to the police and gave them the license number of the car in which the men who asked him about selling the store rode but that no arrests were made.

Three days later, Mr. Ridge said he was told to leave town because "you are a marked man."

The Ridges arrived in Cleveland last week and plan to live there permanently. They were presented at an NAACP meeting.

The shooting incident occurred in July. It was reported in the first issue

of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS on Sept. 3, 1954.

The Associated Press reported that Negro children are attending Catholic parochial schools with white students at San Antonio, El Paso, Marfa, Austin, Fort Worth and Corpus Christi. Numbers ranged from two to five or six Negroes per school. Catholic spokesmen said the admission of Negroes had been without incident. The El Paso diocese reported that Negroes have been accepted for two years at its schools in West Texas and Southern New Mexico.

The Most Rev. W. J. Nold, bishop of the Catholic diocese of Galveston, said segregation is maintained there. The AP quoted him as saying: "There is no change contemplated for this school year. By reason of pre-existing conditions, segregation has obtained."

Six Negro students enrolled at St. Mary's Catholic school at Gainesville in grammar grades in September. They left in about a week. There was no report concerning where they went.

## LUTHERAN SCHOOLS

M. M. Groeschel, principal of Lutheran High School in Houston, said: "Desegregation has not been requested or suggested to Lutheran schools in this area."

The Texas Baptist General Convention meeting at Fort Worth urged members to take "initiative at once in working out a Christian solution of our race problem."

But the convention resolution failed to take a definite stand on segregation. It warned Baptists not to let "demagogues or radicals rob us as Christians of that moral leadership which God wants us to exert in the solution of this problem which is primarily moral and spiritual."

Dr. Foy Valentine of Dallas, director of the church's Christian Life Commission, said the world is watching to see what Southern Baptists do about race relations.

"And what is more important, God is watching," he said. "We cannot afford, under God, to sit around and whine about what the Supreme Court has done."

Two Baptist colleges in Texas have admitted Negroes for several years. These are Wayland College at Plainview, in northwest Texas, and the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth. Other Baptist colleges in Texas have no Negro students.

Several theological seminaries in Texas teach Negroes as well as whites for the ministry.

## EDUCATOR HONORED

A 73-year-old educator, Dr. W. R. Banks, was honored at this year's Texas State Fair in Dallas as the state's most distinguished Negro for 1954.

Dr. Banks headed Prairie View A&M for 20 years before his retirement in 1946. He now serves on the governing boards of seven colleges and universities—Atlanta University, Morehouse College in Atlanta, Paine College in Augusta, Ga., Miles College in Birmingham, Ala., Lane College at Jackson, Tenn., Texas College at Tyler and Texas Southern University in Houston.