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July 26, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernard Bevelson
Phillip Coombs

FROM: Kenneth B. Clark

RE: Some ideas resulting from the June 23rd meeting on the role of the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation in facilitating the desegregation of public schools.

It was agreed that the participants at that meeting would submit such ideas to you in the form of a memorandum at their convenience. As I have thought over our discussion, a number of ideas seem significant enough to warrant communication. These ideas seem to fall into the following three categories:

1. The Role of the Behavioral Sciences Division and the Ford Foundation in relationship to existing Action Agencies and Research Units and Personnel in Colleges and Universities.

It would seem important to reexamine the advisability of any division of the Ford Foundation attempting to duplicate the role and personnel of existing Action Agencies. The issue of school desegregation is so immediate, clear and socially compelling that Agencies which have long been active in the field of race relations are understandably developing techniques and programs to work on this problem at the community level. The N.A.A.C.P., the Unitarian Service Committee, the Southern Regional Council, and the American Friends Service Committee are some of the organizations which I know have already developed specific plans for, or are about to become actively involved with, this problem on an action level. This clearly supports the assumption that these Agencies will continue and expand their community action programs in order to stimulate desegregation in the public schools.

It would seem important, therefore, that the Ford Foundation encourage and if possible subsidize the action program of these Agencies rather than develop a program of its own which could be misinterpreted as unnecessarily competitive and duplicative. Furthermore, the problem of obtaining trained personnel might be an insurmountable one within the limits of the agreed upon factor of the time pressure which dominates the ability of the behavioral sciences to make a meaningful contribution to this aspect of social change.

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Similar arguments may be used in support of the contention that the research workers should not be directly hired by the Ford Foundation. More important, however, is the fact that whether these research workers are or are not hired and directed by some division of the Ford Foundation, they should be functionally and organizationally detached from the action workers. This would insure objectivity of evaluation of action procedures and approaches.

2. Some suggested specific areas for concentrated study.

One of the important inadequacies in past studies of desegregation is the fact that most of the instances of effective desegregation have come from border, midwestern and southwestern states. While there have been some cases of desegregation of various institutions in southern states, these neither have been intensively studied, nor understandably have they included instances of desegregation of schools. Within the past two years the federally operated schools on Army bases in southern states have been desegregated. A few southern communities have announced plans to comply with the May 17th decision and desegregate their schools. The Parochial Schools in Nashville, Tennessee, will be desegregated as of September 1954 according to the public announcement of the presiding bishop.

These situations should be studied intensively in the light of all of the factors which were agreed upon at the June 23rd meeting as soon as possible.

The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students has already embarked on an intensive program of facilitating the movement of Negro students from segregated schools in the south to predominately white colleges in the north and south. They have been studying the overall adjustment of these students to a non-segregated environment. We agreed that this type of research should be pushed.

3. The implicit assumption that effective work in this area can be done only by southerners, southern social scientists, or those acceptable or in some way identified with the southern point of view or a southern institution.

This assumption, I believe, should be critically reexamined. Aside from the difficulty of arriving at a stable definition of what or who is a southerner or what is a southern point of view, a number of concrete factors are involved in the consideration of this problem. Among them are:

- (1) The fact that there are relatively few top notch trained southern social scientists who are competent in this field.
- (2) Many of the few southern social scientists are associated with state supported universities in states in which the political leadership has taken a political position on the issue of school de-

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segregation. These facts might place these individuals in an untenable position as to their freedom to approach this particular problem with the necessary detachment and open-mindedness. It might be pertinent to point to the relative inactivity on this issue of the out-standing people at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill as an example of this. It might also be relevant to indicate that Gordon Gray, the President of North Carolina, has taken privately a negative position on the less controversial issue of the admission of Negroes to the graduate and professional schools of that university.

After these considerations are taken into account, there are only a few sources of research personnel in the south; e.g. Atlanta University, Peabody, Fisk, etc.

Finally, the problem of public school desegregation is not a regional problem. Its implications are national if not international.

COMMENTARY

ELIOT E. COHEN

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COMMENTARY

DESEGREGATION ALONG THE MASON-DIXON LINE

Some Border Incidents and Their Lessons

JAMES RORTY

THE segregationists were in retreat in Baltimore and Washington when I encountered them: their leader threatened with arrest, their organization in danger of legal dissolution, their rallies "de-emphasized" in the news columns of a hostile press. The Supreme Court had pulled their status out from under them, called black the same as white, denied and condemned

SOMEONE has called the momentous decision of the Supreme Court banning racial segregation in U. S. public schools the second "shot heard around the world." Much of the world has since had its ears cocked—some fearfully, some hopefully—for the crackling sounds of violence, perhaps even civil war, that might follow attempts at enforcement. JAMES RORTY, perhaps the most knowledgeable reporter of social conflicts and violence in present-day America, tells here how the end of educational segregation was received in Baltimore and Washington, where for a while explosions seemed imminent. Continuing his examination of America's national effort to lift race relations to a new stage, he expects soon to look at another "border area," this time farther West, and later at one or more key communities in the Deep South. Mr. Rorty's most recent book, written in collaboration with Moshe Decter, is the best-selling *McCarthy and the Communists*, and his most recent contribution to our pages was "The Native Anti-Semite's 'New Look'" in our November issue. He is a graduate of Tufts College, and holds the Distinguished Service Cross awarded in World War I.

everything they had been taught. They remained unreconciled, angry, convinced that they had been betrayed by vast conspiratorial forces beyond their control. Saber-toothed tigers? So Lester Granger had characterized them in a commencement address at Tuskegee—a not wholly felicitous analogy. Antediluvian and obsolete they might be, but they also seemed more frightened than ferocious; desperate rather than aggressive.

"The newspapers is all liars," declaimed the tall mountain woman in red, glaring at a news photographer who clutched his camera and looked nervously away. "Ain't there nobody gonna give decent white folks a break?"

A dozen militant matrons nodded endorsement. I counted over three hundred of them bunched sparsely in the stands of the little half-mile race track outside Baltimore. Some of them, like the speaker, were obviously recent immigrants from the Deep South; others were apparently recent European immigrants—wives of production-line workers at the nearby Martin bomber plant, or inhabitants of South Baltimore's dirty and dilapidated "pig town." The men—there were fewer of them—stood apart in groups and couples. There were almost no white collar workers, only a few adolescent boys and girls, and of course no Negroes.

There would be no violence. The sheriff

of the township was there with his deputies, and half a dozen recognizable plainclothes policemen lounged in the stands. The segregationists were as segregated by class, and even by a kind of frustrated and confused class-consciousness, as a crowd of striking Southern textile workers called out by professional union organizers.

There, however, the resemblance ended. Everything about this movement looked curiously amateurish, inexperienced, and eccentric. This seemed particularly true of Bryant W. Bowles, ex-Marine drummer, self-styled Florida cracker and president of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, thus far the only movement of any consequence in the border states to be thrown to the surface by the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in the schools.

Mr. Bowles is thirty-four, of medium height and slightly built, with a ravaged face and troubled eyes. If he has talents either as a rabble-rouser or an organizer, they are not apparent. An hour after the scheduled start of the meeting he emerged from his locked and guarded office and went to the microphone. He was apologetic and defensive. For earlier and much larger meetings, airplanes equipped with loudspeakers had been used to rally the crowds. This time, he explained, they had run out of gas. He begged his followers to stand firm despite this setback, and despite the persecutions to which they were being subjected. He hinted darkly at vast reserves of support on which he would call if needed.

THE constituted authorities had indeed begun to crack down on the NAAWP, and for reasons to which Mr. Bowles's own ineptitude had in some degree contributed. A week before, encouraged by their success in aborting the desegregation of the Milford, Delaware, high school, Bowles's followers had picketed half a dozen Baltimore schools and provided a brief Indian summer holiday for some 2,000 high school and elementary school students.

The police of Baltimore, a Southern city

whose population, if polled, would probably vote against desegregation even today, had at first taken a tolerant attitude; they had permitted picketing of the schools by students and adults, while acting promptly to suppress violence. Then, on Monday, October 4, Bowles made a speech in which he used one of the demagogue's standard gambits, the open-ended negative: Mr. Bowles was not acquainted with Baltimore's police chief; he didn't even know his color.

This probably did not affect the subsequent action of Beverly Ober, member of one of Baltimore's oldest families and a former army colonel, but it certainly didn't help. That evening Colonel Ober went on the air over all Baltimore's radio and television stations. Listening to him, jittery Baltimoreans who had been waiting for the first brick to be thrown, the first blows to be struck, began to relax.

"Last Friday and today," said Colonel Ober, "every member of this department has done his very best to exercise discretion, persuasion, and forbearance. This approach has not met with the success which citizens of Baltimore have a right to expect."

The Commissioner then read sections of a forgotten state law that even the Attorney General hadn't known about until some alert members of the American Veterans Committee dug it up. It specifically prohibited any action tending to disturb any public school in session or to induce children to absent themselves from the schools unlawfully.

"We in Baltimore," concluded Colonel Ober, "have had a long record of orderliness and I do not know that we have, in the history of our city, been faced with a problem such as now exists—but we must face it and the police will do their part. . . . What is going on in Baltimore is not an orderly expression of constitutional rights. . . . If these sections of the code are disregarded, appropriate action will be taken by the police department."

The next morning pickets were promptly dispersed or arrested wherever they appeared. Parents breathed more easily, sent their children back to school, and the action shifted

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to the court of Judge James K. Cullen. That afternoon Judge Cullen denied the application of the NAAWP for a ruling to the effect that the Baltimore City School Board had acted illegally by integrating the schools prior to the final decree of the United States Supreme Court.

That ended it: within a few days school attendance in Baltimore returned almost to normal.

BALTIMORE had anticipated the Supreme Court by two years when its School Board ruled in 1952 that the earlier concept of "separate but equal" did not provide genuine educational equality for a dozen qualified Negro boys who had applied for admission to a special accelerated engineering course at Baltimore Polytechnic Institute, a white all-male high school. What the Negro boys wanted was the curriculum and the prestige, for which no colored high school in the city provided anything like an equivalent, of the celebrated Baltimore "Poly A" course, whose graduates are accepted as second-year men by many of the nation's best engineering schools. The twelve Negro youths were absorbed without incident, and soon one of them was playing on the football team.

Actually, Baltimore's preparation for integration goes back much further: to an integration of white and Negro teachers in workshop projects and staff conferences that has been in effect for many years; to the inter-racial grouping of the public school Teachers Association, the Teachers Union, and the Principals Association; and to the founding, in 1947, of the Parent-Teachers Association as a mixed-membership organization.

When the Supreme Court decision was announced, the State Board of Education and the Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners, who are autonomous in most respects, announced conflicting policies. The State Board accepted the advice of Maryland's Attorney General to the effect that the Supreme Court had thus far issued only an "opinion"; hence the state's segregation

laws would remain in effect until final decrees were issued.

That wasn't good enough for Baltimore's able and progressive school commissioners, who, after being told by the City Solicitor that the segregation provided for by the Baltimore City Code was now unconstitutional and invalid, announced on June 3, 1954, that the city's school system would be opened on a non-segregated basis in September.

"Without fear and without subterfuge," said School Superintendent John H. Fischer in a subsequent address to his assembled teachers, "our Board has met its responsibility. Paraphrasing the words of Robert E. Lee, we cannot now do more than our duty, we shall not want to do less."

Hereafter, continued Dr. Fischer, no child would be required to attend any particular school, white or colored. But the program would be voluntary and no large number of pupil transfers was to be expected, since Baltimore had been observing the previous "separate but equal" standard with respect to the construction of schools for Negroes, and with respect to the qualification and payment of teachers. There was every reason to expect integration to work, declared Dr. Fischer, because it had already worked at the staff level, in inter-racial workshops and exchange assembly programs and debates, in Baltimore's adult education program, and at Baltimore Polytechnic Institute.

The Baltimore *Sun* and the Baltimore *Afro-American* joined in editorial applause of Dr. Fischer's address, at the same time that he and his department were being denounced by over a hundred correspondents and angry telephone-callers, some of whom predicted that "blood will run down the stairs in September."

THEY could have been right. Nearly 40 per cent of Baltimore's population is Negro—as large a percentage as in many communities of the Deep South. The traditional pattern of segregation continues unbroken in hotels, restaurants, and places of amusement and recreation. Only this year a proposed

FEPC ordinance was defeated, largely through the opposition of the Jim Crow Railroad Brotherhoods. Without exception, all the white taxi drivers with whom I rode during a three-day stay in Baltimore proved to be voluble white supremacists, while all the Negro taxi drivers kept their mouths shut, even after I had opened mine on the subject of integration.

Two things helped Baltimore to get through the first phase of integration without serious violence. Most important, undoubtedly, was the fact that Baltimore has no school-districting in the ordinary sense; hence, under the announced policy of voluntary integration, any child had the right to enter any school in the city provided that the school of his choice was not already overcrowded. Scarcely less important, however, was the fact that both white and Negro communities were well organized under competent progressive leaders who established an early united front on the segregation issue and maintained it solidly during the crisis of the strike.

WHEN the schools opened in September, the Negroes of Baltimore, as had been predicted, moved cautiously; only 1,376 Negro children, or 2.6 per cent of the total Negro enrollment, chose to enter the formerly all-white schools that were now open to them. As for the whites, no mass migration into the private schools developed and no incidents occurred in the twelve of the twenty formerly white junior and senior high schools that had become integrated. Desegregation of the Catholic school system proceeded simultaneously and also without incident. College-level Catholic schools had been on a non-segregated basis for some years previously. In June, following the announcement of the integration program for the public schools, the Reverend Leo J. McCormick, Superintendent of Schools in the Catholic Department of Education, Archdiocese of Baltimore, had helped to solidify the integration front by declaring forthrightly: "We will certainly abide by the decision of the Supreme Court."

Yet the situation was delicate. When about a hundred white children were assigned to what had been a Negro elementary school, half were kept home by their parents, and the deadlock was broken only after some had been transferred to white schools, regardless of their overcrowded condition. When the strike started on September 30, the disturbance centered at Southern High School, where only 36 Negro students had been enrolled in a student body of 1,780. (In Washington, the Eastern Junior-Senior High School was called upon to absorb 900 Negro students, nearly half the total student body, and did so with little trouble.)

There were many revealing episodes on the picket lines. Obviously, the children were much less race-conscious than their parents—partly because they were on the whole better educated. Many of the adult picketers had had less schooling than the children whom they had encouraged to strike—often against the latter's own judgment and wishes. Some pupils attended their classes in defiance of their parents' injunctions. "Ma says I should go to school with niggers and Pa says I shouldn't," said one ten-year-old to a policeman. "I'll sure have trouble at home for this," said another as she prepared to march through the picket line of her jeering schoolmates.

When a crowd of striking students from Mergenthaler High School descended on Baltimore City College it was noticed that none of the students of the "Poly A" course were among the hundred or so who joined the strikers. At a student assembly held the same morning and unattended by members of the faculty, the president of the Student Council and a member of the football team congratulated their fellow students for keeping their heads, obeying the law, and upholding the high tradition of the school.

But for the intervention of the organized white supremacists, it is unlikely that the students would have struck at all. Teachers and school principals agreed that the parents rather than the children were the problem—and that one generation of desegregation would solve it.

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The role of Baltimore's community agencies was important before, during, and after the strike. Protestant pastors and Catholic priests—some of them mobilized by Baltimore's Fellowship House—talked sense on both sides of the color line. Members of the Urban League visited the homes of Negro students who had enrolled in white schools to counsel prudence and non-violence. In general the Negro community maintained admirable discipline, despite a good deal of deliberate provocation; a Negro boy was struck by a white adult, and inflammatory telephone calls to the parents of white children in integrated schools reported falsely that colored people were assembling to attack white people, that schools had been burned down, that a white girl had been stabbed to death by a colored boy. More than once the police intervened just in time to prevent brawls between Negro and white students. Yet during the entire week of the strike only one Negro boy was picked up by the police for carrying a knife.

Probably the most important services rendered by the community agencies were the public backing they gave the school authorities, and the pressure they exerted on the Police Commissioner to stiffen his initial soft policy. Colonel Ober's decision to prohibit all picketing was reached after a conference with Leon Sachs, director of the Baltimore Jewish Council, who had been delegated to speak for an emergency coordinating committee representing a dozen community agencies, including the Urban League, the NAACP, the Catholic Interracial Council, the Council of Churches, the American Veterans Committee, the American Friends Service Committee, the CIO, the AFL, and the Parent-Teachers Association.

WASHINGTON's desegregation troubles began just as Baltimore's ordeal was ending. Warned well in advance of what was coming, the Washington police were out in force on Monday morning, October 4, when students staged demonstrations in front of Anacostia, McKinley, and Eastern high schools. This time comparatively few adults

were in evidence, although the signs were the same as those that had appeared on the Baltimore picket lines: "Niggers Go Back to Africa"; "Wake Up, Mr. Politician"; "Let the People Decide."

From the beginning the police acted resolutely. Would-be picketers were kept off the streets and on the sidewalks; a threatened parade was broken up when police cordoned off Anacostia Bridge. At the peak of the demonstration only three of the eleven senior high schools were affected, along with six of the junior high schools; the total of absentees never exceeded 3,000. As in Baltimore, the strike was broken by the coordinated action of the police and the school authorities. On Wednesday, October 7, Superintendent Hobart M. Corning issued a statement ordering all students back to their classes on pain of forfeiting all school honors, including participation in inter-school athletics and school publications, and eligibility for cadet corps commissions. Absentee students under fifteen, continued the statement, would be reported to the truancy officers; those of sixteen would be dropped from the rolls. The next morning school attendance recovered impressively and was soon back to normal.

Although the National Association for the Advancement of White People has its national headquarters in Washington, there was little evidence of NAAWP leadership in the strike. President Bowles himself appeared only once. At an abortive outdoor meeting in Anacostia, he declared that his purpose was to keep the students off the streets.

"We will be their spokesmen after the streets are cleared," he declared. "It's their business if they want to stay away from school. They are still free Americans."

Later, when Bowles appeared at the Anacostia school with the avowed purpose of "counseling with the striking students," police ordered him to leave.

WASHINGTON, like Baltimore, is a Southern city with a large Negro population and an inherited tradition of segregation in race relations. Otherwise the two places are

markedly different, especially with respect to housing, with which educational integration is indissolubly linked—in the North as well as the South. As Arthur Levitt, president of the New York Board of Education, has pointed out, "Before we can have an integrated school system we must have integrated housing." Baltimore's Negroes live in traditionally all-black areas, and the pattern of segregation in housing was confirmed by the earlier policies of the Baltimore Housing Authority in its low-rent public housing projects. Not until last June, as part of the adjustment initiated by the Supreme Court decision, did the chairman of the Housing Authority announce that steps would be taken to "eliminate the factor of race in the selection of eligible tenants." Hence, with few fringe areas of mixed white and Negro population and no compulsory districting of the school population, Baltimore's policy of voluntary integration was both natural and feasible.

Washington faced a much more dynamic and complex situation. During the postwar decade, Negroes have poured into Washington. Block by block and area by area, they took over the houses left vacant by the thousands of white families who during this period moved out to Maryland and Virginia suburbs. There resulted a shift in the balance of population (now 40 per cent Negro, with the balance approximately reversed in the school enrollment, where Negro children now outnumber whites), a multiplication of racial fringe areas with their accompanying social tensions, and an accelerating obsolescence of uneconomic, half-used segregated school facilities. Hence, long before the Supreme Court decision, Washington had been obliged to face the issue of desegregation, not only in education, but on other fronts of inter-racial contact.

A DECADE ago, Washington was almost as tightly segregated as any city of the Deep South; only public transportation and public buildings were free of racial discrimination. The reports of the President's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947, and of the

National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital in 1946, described this pattern and challenged it. Gradually at first, the rigid mold of segregation was cracked, then swiftly broken by a series of decisive actions in which the courts, the churches, civic groups, and the executive and legislative branches of the federal government all played important roles.

In 1949 the Recreation Board of the District of Columbia announced a policy of gradual desegregation of playgrounds, swimming pools, and other recreational facilities. Significantly, the only violence during the implementation of this policy occurred at the swimming pool in Anacostia, subsequent scene of the disturbances during the school strike. The policies of gradualism versus all-out conversion received a comparison test when the Department of the Interior, which controlled 19 of the 140 recreation areas in the city, in a contract with the District Board stipulated that Interior's facilities must be opened quickly and without preliminaries to inter-racial use. Nothing happened, despite the predictions of alarmed opposition groups; whereas the step-by-step procedure of the District Board, under which playgrounds were at first designated "for white children," "for Negro children," and "open," had the effect of rallying antagonists and touching off a new round of public controversy every time a shift was made.

In 1951, following the Supreme Court decision in the Thompson case, the District Commissioners announced on a Monday that the law obliging all restaurants to serve Negroes would be enforced beginning the following Wednesday. All restaurants complied, and there were no incidents; the public accepted a decision for which it had been fully prepared.

In March 1953, the National Capital Housing Authority established a policy of desegregation to be applied to all projects, subject only to the limitations of the existing dual school system which made educational facilities unavailable to both races in some areas. Within a year, 93 per cent of the housing units were integrated. Once

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more Washington had been presented with a *fait accompli* which provoked no public argument and no incidents; not a single family withdrew as a result of the integration policy.

Similarly, there was no gradualism about the integration of places of public entertainment. All the public discussion and all the incidents, such as the exclusion of Marian Anderson from Constitution Hall, and the refusal of a white high school to permit an inter-racial cast to present scenes from the patriotic pageant, "Faith of Our Fathers," took place *before* the emerging policy of integration had reached the stage of general practice in the nation's capital. Today, Washington's concert halls, theaters, and movies all admit Negroes—and there are no incidents.

Thus, on the evidence to date, one must conclude that in every field, desegregation in areas like Baltimore and Washington is best accomplished by concentrating and shortening the period of preliminary public discussion, and then announcing and unhesitatingly enforcing clear and uncompromising policies.

CONSIDERABLE credit for pioneering the desegregation of Washington's schools must be given to the Catholic church, and specifically to Patrick A. O'Boyle, archbishop of Washington. In 1948, when Archbishop O'Boyle came to Washington, after distinguished service as director of the Catholic Charities of New York and Catholic Overseas Relief, his parishioners presented him with a fund of \$50,000 for the construction of a suitable official residence. Today, the archbishop still occupies his modest apartment in St. Patrick's rectory in downtown Washington; the \$50,000, plus \$25,000 of Monsignor O'Boyle's own money, went into the purchase of a property at Howard and First Streets for the use of Catholic students at Howard University.

One of the archbishop's first acts after assuming office was to preach a sermon on the 1900-year anti-racist tradition of the Catholic church and what he thought it implied with

respect to the relations of the white and Negro members of the archdiocese. The archbishop's instructions to his aids and associates are reported to have been brief: "Get it done and keep your mouths shut." Thereafter the work of racial integration went forward without publicity but with such speed that today Catholic education in Washington is completely integrated at all levels. The same policy and the same energetic leadership has made integration all but complete in Catholic hospitals, institutions, homes, and lay organizations in the capital.

REPRESENTATIVES of other religious groups, including the Washington Federation of Churches and the Jewish Community Council, played important roles in preparing public opinion for desegregation. The American Friends Service Committee employed a full-time office staff on its Washington community-relations program, which featured a series of desegregation seminars for teachers conducted during the spring and summer of this year. During the strike the Federation of Churches issued a statement supporting the action of the school authorities; responding to an appeal from the Urban League, the Federation also mobilized a number of pastors who visited the picket lines and the homes of strikers.

The principal opposition to desegregation came from the District Federation of Citizens Groups, representing 57 groups limited to white members. In August the Federation held a mass meeting at which it was alleged that "subversive organizations" had had a part in hastening the District Board of Education's decision to desegregate. The week before school opened, District Court Judge Schweinhaut denied the Federation's petition for an injunction restraining the school authorities from "taking any further steps" toward school integration.

The Board of Education had at first wanted to wait for the finalization of the Supreme Court's decree. Then, on the advice of the District Corporation Counsel, they decided to go ahead with a step-by-step program which Mrs. Margaret Just Butcher, one of

the three Negro members of the Board, objected to as too gradual. Finally, emboldened by the apparent success with which the schools had digested the first big installment of integration in September, Commissioner Hobart M. Corning decided to take the more or less calculated risk of transferring additional contingents of Negro students to what had been all-white high schools, several of which were badly overcrowded already. Some of the school people believe that this was what touched off the October strike; this and the gradual fading of the September honeymoon of integration, during which both white and Negro students were on their best behavior.

It is noteworthy that the worst and most persistent trouble developed at the Anacostia High School, although it received only a half dozen Negro students when school opened, and three weeks later a second contingent of 40, making less than 50 in an enrollment of 1,300. Anacostia is located in a low-income fringe area where conflict over housing and recreation had already engendered racial tension. In addition, the assistant principal at Anacostia—the principal had resigned and there were rumors that he was to be replaced by a Negro—lacked authority when faced by the crisis of the strike.

Eastern is a junior-senior high school, located in an area of southeast Washington that had been steadily emptied by the exodus of its middle-class white population—mostly government workers—to the suburbs. In September, Eastern opened its doors to 900 Negro students, added to a white enrollment of 1,100. No other Washington high school was asked to swallow so large a dose of integration at one gulp. Yet only 200 Eastern students struck, and then only briefly.

Partly because of its traditions—Eastern High School has many distinguished alumni in government service—and partly because of the popularity of its principal, a veteran of both world wars, Eastern was able to weather the strike and overcome the souring of initially good relations that had prevailed between white and Negro students in the first month of the school year. However, Eastern

has suffered in the process, since for a while at least the energies of its excellent white and Negro staff must be divided between education and integration. Moreover, the Negro students are not as well prepared; the “equal but separate” all-Negro schools from which they came could not, in point of fact, adhere to equally high standards of instruction.

MCKINLEY HIGH SCHOOL also came through the strike with flying colors. It is a technical high school of high standing, but was left half empty when Negroes moved into the row-houses formerly occupied by lower-middle-class whites who had migrated to the suburbs. When the Supreme Court decision was announced, McKinley had an enrollment of less than half its capacity of 1,700. At the beginning of the fall term it received a contingent of some 400 Negro students, about half of them transferred from Armstrong High School, an all-Negro vocational school, the others from scattered junior high schools. McKinley's principal, Dr. Charles Bish, believes that the change-over might have been accomplished without open conflict if there had been some screening of the incoming students, and if he'd had time to talk to the white and Negro groups separately. Even as it was, only 200 McKinley students joined the strikers.

Some of the incidents reflected an adolescent intensity of school spirit rather than racial tension. Bursting with ardor for her former alma mater, a Negro girl in a cheer leader's dress attempted to give the Armstrong yell. Nobody told her not to, or explained that the loyal McKinley students would have booed her almost as loudly if she had been white and had given a cheer for a “white” high school.

But school spirit was also invoked effectively to break the strike, both by the principal and by his football coach, who had fortunately had some previous experience with integrated schools in New Jersey. A student assembly was called and a bi-racial committee appointed to hear complaints and suggestions. In his address to the students,

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Dr. Bish appealed eloquently for bi-racial loyalty to "Tech tradition," predicted victory in the coming football game with Roosevelt High School, and then marched the students out of the hall singing "On, McKinley." Two days later, fate collaborated with the Supreme Court as pliantly as in a Hollywood script: a Negro player on the McKinley team intercepted a forward pass. McKinley won, and cheering students carried the Negro from the field in a glorious technicolor finish.

SUCH were the birth pangs of integration in Baltimore and Washington. In both cities the strikes left wounds that complicated the subsequent growing pains of inter-racial understanding and adjustment, and imposed heavy burdens on principals and teachers. There have been many small incidents, some requiring expulsion, but none needing the intervention of police. You see the two races still keeping to themselves in the cafeterias and in the corridors. Toleration has been achieved, but only here and there has mutual liking had time to develop. Integration isn't accomplished overnight by judicial fiat.

Where the birth pangs of integration were slight, as they tended to be in schools that received only small quotas of Negro students—and no unexpected second round of fresh Negro enrollees, as at Anacostia and elsewhere—the subsequent growing pains of integration were correspondingly mild. But does this mean that the gradual approach to integration is the right one?

It depends on what you mean by gradual. Segregationists tend to use the word as a synonym for obstruction and sabotage. The practicable pace of integration is determined largely by the circumstances of the particular school and housing situation involved. It was faster in Washington than in Baltimore because of necessity: in the capital, population shifts had caused severe overcrowding of many Negro schools and progressive disuse of white schools to the point where it became necessary to transfer them from white to Negro use. Invariably this would release a spate of public controversy. Negro schools

had insufficient funds for teachers while white schools had excess teachers with tenure. Makeshift attempts to solve these problems resulted in an occasional dismissal of a white temporary teacher and a decline of teaching morale.

Whenever that point is reached, as it was in Washington, rumors spread that integration of the schools is imminent, and at that point the only practicable solution is not gradualism, but a radical change-over, adequately prepared and announced, but resolutely executed.

Desegregation is a self-liquidating problem. The more it is debated, the more conflict. The more—and the more quickly and decisively—it is practiced, the more quickly and effectively public attention is diverted from race. Educational integration provides the indispensable means of breaking the inherited chains of prejudice, and it is practice, not preaching, that does it.

The strains, the conflicts, the inhumanity, the social and economic waste of segregation are intolerable, whereas the strains and pains of integration are not. Baltimore and Washington proved it—especially the capital. Obeying the President's injunction to provide a model for the country, Washington, after some backing and filling, took much of its integration practically neat. True, it shuddered slightly, but it survived, and today Washington and the nation are the better for it.

BECAUSE its population is disfranchised, Washington has no local politics. Maryland and Delaware have, and the responses of their officials to the challenge of the Supreme Court decision afford some clue to what is likely to happen elsewhere, as the tide of integration moves across the nation along Mason and Dixon's line, with bulges and enclaves in the Deep South and with attention attracted increasingly to the "naturally" segregated Negro ghettos of our Northern industrial cities.

The setback given to integration in Milford, Delaware, was largely attributable to the failure of Governor J. Caleb Boggs to

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resist the pressure exerted upon him by the segregationists. In rural Delaware the opponents of integration include prosperous white farmers whose ideas are as Southern as the architecture of their manor houses, inherited from the 18th-century plantation economy. Bowles's movement in the Milford area derives much of its strength and prestige from this source.

When representatives of the NAACP sought a conference with the Governor they were confronted without warning by members of NAAWP whom the Governor had invited to the meeting, and whose implicit threats of violence bolstered his request that the NAACP consent "voluntarily" to the withdrawal of the ten Negro youths from the Milford high school. It was also reported that after the Milford Board of Education had resigned in protest, the membership of the new board, which subsequently capitulated to the segregationists, was determined after consultation with Bowles and his associates.

In Maryland, integration was stalled, outside Baltimore, by Attorney General Edward D. E. Rollins's ruling that the state law requiring segregation must remain in effect until the Supreme Court has finalized its decree. In Maryland's southern counties, as in southern Delaware, the percentage of Negroes is high and the pattern of race relationships is strictly Southern. In Anne Arundel County, a meeting called by the Maryland Petition Committee, an affiliate of the NAAWP, passed resolutions demanding that nothing be done to implement the Supreme Court decision until the question had been submitted to a state referendum. Governor McKeldin may not be particularly responsive to these pressures, however, since he was reelected despite the attempt of his opponent "Curly" Byrd to woo the segregationists by declaring that desegregation was a "local issue."

SINCE the effect of the Supreme Court decision is virtually to outlaw the segregationists, they must turn, in default of more respectable leadership, at least in the border

states, to the fanatics, crackpots, and racketeers of the racist and ultra-nationalist fringe, who, like Bowles, are rarely more than a jump or two ahead of the sheriff and the district attorney.* In addition to his Washington headquarters, Bowles claims to have branches in Richmond, Atlanta, and Baltimore. A generous estimate would put the present membership of the NAAWP at 50,000. Without press or radio support except from an occasional country weekly or local radio station, he is dependent upon his own monthly publication, the *National Forum*, a primitively edited and printed four-page folder which reveals Bowles's affinity for and probable alliances with most of the veteran anti-Negro and anti-Semitic hate-mongers of America, including John Beatty, Joe Kamp, and especially the West Coast bigot Frank L. Britton. Most of the copy in the first issue of the NAAWP's *National Forum* was lifted bodily, illustrations and all, from Britton's virulent *American Nationalist*, and its second issue borrowed heavily from Conde McGinley's equally vicious *Common Sense*.†

*In several of his speeches, Bowles has referred darkly to the "reserves of strength" upon which the NAAWP can draw if need be, thereby, and perhaps intentionally, leading his hearers to suspect that he might have Ku Klux Klan support. Not only is there no evidence of such support; quite possibly, if it were forthcoming, it would do the NAAWP more harm than good. Undoubtedly it did the NAAWP no good when Willis McCall, Sheriff of Lake County, Florida, and the slayer of Samuel Shepherd, arrived in Milford offering it his services. There is said to be a "Buck for Bowles" movement organized by North Carolina white supremacists, but it is improbable that Bowles has obtained any substantial support from sympathizers in the Deep South, if only because they are too busy building their own barricades against integration to have either the time or money to spare for the "border" regions.

†Repeatedly, Bowles and his collaborators refer to the "Jew-led NAACP," and such references usually get applause. In St. Louis John W. Hamilton, once a cell leader of the Young Communist League, and later one of Gerald L. K. Smith's helpers, has organized the National Citizens' Protective Association in an attempt to exploit the desegregation issue. In fact, by this time most of the ultra-nationalist and anti-Semitic fringe groups have added opposition to integration to their party line, as expressed in recent is-

DESEGREGATION ALONG THE MASON-DIXON LINE 503

Bowles's own demagoguery is at once less inflammatory, more pretentious, and less literate, as may be judged from the following passage taken from the "Statement of Aims and Principles" he wrote for the NAAWP:

"History discloses that Man's 'Will to exist' has resulted in a highly competitive struggle among the various races for sustenance, land, wealth, freedom, etc., which we understand as the 'struggle for existence.' In this struggle for existence every race develops a way of life, or *Culture*. . . . It is to this noble task of advancing and strengthening our *Culture* that the NAAWP is dedicated."

The "culture" of Bowles's followers is of course that of the illiterate or semi-literate poor white farmers of the earlier agrarian South. It was they who provided the masked riders of the Reconstruction Period; who burned the fiery crosses of subsequent Ku Klux Klan revivals; whose descendants, along with the Negroes, migrated to Chicago and Detroit and there touched off the race riots that followed both world wars. At a steadily accelerating rate, during the past three decades, industrialization and emigration have dispersed that culture, and education has enlightened it, while the progressive eco-

nomic and political emancipation of the Negroes has challenged its pretensions.

Is there enough left of that culture to provide the mass base of an anti-desegregation movement in the border states? Will the neo-Nazi anti-Semites, the Stone Age fundamentalist exhorters, the ultra-nationalist fanatics, crackpots, and racketeers, find in the fight against desegregation the unifying issue that will make them for the first time a serious political force?

From what happened, and especially from what didn't happen, in Delaware, in Baltimore, and in Washington, one is inclined to doubt it strongly. Nothing succeeds like success, and now desegregation can begin to feed on its successes, as did the FEPC. Not only did Baltimore and Washington prove groundless the dire predictions of the segregationists; even more important, they provided major laboratories in which the problems of integration will be studied and solved with all the resources available to highly developed and well-staffed school systems. The Deep South, of course, is another matter, but even there the resistance to integration may prove to be less unified and less absolute than is generally anticipated.

However fast the Supreme Court moves to make final its desegregation decree, it can scarcely be announced sooner than next spring. Meanwhile, desegregation will go forward, gradually or rapidly, depending upon the nature of the social and political terrain; on the whole, the faster it goes, the better.

sues of the "hate" press. In the July 1954 issue of Conde McGinley's *Common Sense*, an article by the veteran anti-Semitic propagandist Eustace Mullins was headlined: COMMUNISM HITS SOUTH WITH NON-SEGREGATION. . . . JEWISH MARXISTS THREATEN NEGRO REVOLT IN AMERICA. . . . COMMUNISTS PLAN BLACK REPUBLIC IN SOUTH.

A SOLUTION OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL PROBLEM
From - "Human Events" dated May 19, 1954
by: Frank Chodorov

PS 3-B
School cases
art.
CHODOROV

The decision of the Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in the public schools involves constitutional and social questions that go far beyond the immediate issue.

First of all, it marks another step in the direction of the centralization of power in the Federal government, another effort to destroy state autonomy and abolish local government-- the ultimate end of which is absolutism. Every absolutish government in the history of the world was preceded by the liquidation of local authority, the only level at which the will of the people can be effectively expressed. Disregarding the merits or demerits of segregation, there are communities in this country where feeling on the subject runs high. The decision simply means that the Federal government has undertaken to disregard the prevailing sentiment in these communities and to force these people to be "good."

In short, the decision is in line with the trend toward the dissolution of the Union and its replacement with something not contemplated by the Founding Fathers.

Next, there is the odd clause in the decision which gives the states some months in which they can rearrange their affairs so as to comply with the decision. This is purely a legislative, not a judicial matter. The Supreme Court is supposed to decide on the constitutionality of laws. Having so decided, it has no constitutional warrant for recommending ways and means for carrying out of their decisions, or to specify the time when such decisions shall go into effect. In the clause referred to, the Supreme Court has again shown an inclination to impinge on the legislative branch of government, or to intervene in political affairs.

Beyond these legal matters is the effect the decision will have on the public school system. Anticipating this decision, the people of South Carolina last year authorized their legislature to abolish the public education clause in the state constitution. If the legislature-- which, we are advised, will be called into special session before the opening of the next school year for this purpose-- does drop the state's public school system and takes steps to encourage the establishment of private schools, the result should be far-reaching: it may be the first step in divorcing our educational system from political influence.

Last year, HUMAN EVENTS published my article "A Solution of the Public School Problem." In view of the decision of the Supreme Court, the argument is more pertinent now than it was then. The following is the gist of the argument. We reprint it with the hope that folks who are concerned with the trend in education will broadcast the "solution"-- which the decision of the Supreme Court and the anticipated action of South Carolina have brought to the force. And editors are invited to reprint to their hearts' content.

Whatever is wrong with the public school system, including the voodooism of the New Education, is due to the compulsory attendance laws and the compulsory taxes which support it. The public school is a socialized or politically monopolized institution, and suffers from the weaknesses inherent in all monopolies. The only thing that prevents the public school from decaying completely is the fact that it is not a complete monopoly. Local control of the school gives the taxpayer and parent some say in its management, even to the point of occasionally throwing out the "progressive" faddism. If the plans of the Educationists succeed, if the public school is centrally managed by an entrenched bureaucracy, then the present faults of the school will seem insignificant; it will be a political department, not a place of learning.

Nothing will do more to better education in America than the breaking of the public school trust. And if it is broken, nothing else need be done to eradicate its faults.

This is not a proposal to abolish public schools. It is a proposal to put them into competition with free enterprise schools, so that they can prove their worth. And this can be done by the re-mission to parents of the taxes they are compelled to pay to support politically-controlled schools, in an amount comparable to what they

A SOLUTION OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL PROBLEM
(continued)

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pay for private schooling. The method of effecting this remission-- whether by deductions from income taxes or allowances from local levies-- is a technical matter; if the principle were established that a parent has the right to buy the educational service he deems best for his child, the fiscal problem of tax remission could easily be solved.

Suppose this were done. Suppose the parents were given the choice of supporting public schools or buying education more to their liking. The current bitter quarrel between parents and "progressive" education would vanish; for parents could withdraw their offspring from the schools that employ this system and patronize schools that do not. Those who decry the lack of religious training in the public school would send their children to denominational schools, which they could well do because they would have the money to support more of them; the "double taxation" complaint of the parochial school people would be put to rest. Socialists could establish and support their own schools, while the rest of us would not be worried about the subjection of our children of these doctrines, and at our expense; the furor about Communist infiltration in the schools would die down.

There would be a welter of schools competing for trade. Some would stress esthetics, others languages, others would go in for utilitarian courses, and so on. Every enterprising pedagog with an educational idea, either as to method or subject matter, would put it on display for possible customers to examine. Mothers of children about to enter school would consult with others of more experience to find the one that to her seems best suited for her budding genius. There would be at least as much parental interest in education as, for instance, there is in the proper feeding of the child; mothers would not just dump their offspring into the public lap. The schools that turned out the best product, through the child, would rise to the top, and the least competent would fall by the wayside. And there would be no fuss about it. The marketplace would decide.

Incidentally, the argument that private schools develop snobbery would be pointless if the tax-remission proposal were adopted. With private schools on "every corner," patronized by people in all walks of life, they would cease to be symbols of wealth and their exclusiveness would vanish.

The PUBLIC SCHOOLS would prosper by this competition. Since the more successful private schools would be able to offer their teachers higher wages, they would attract the better minds. The public schools, to stay in business, would have to meet these wage-scales, which they would be able to do, since the competition would compel them to drop their expensive gadgets and experiments. If the authorities persisted in hiring low-priced teachers, they would get only that kind, and the private schools would get more trade.

The problem of overcrowded classes would solve itself. Even if only twenty-five percent of the public school population were diverted to private and parochial schools, the strain on seating capacity would be eased; perhaps the impossible problem of trying to teach fifty pupils in a class would be solved. The shift might be great enough to make unnecessary a constantly increasing building program, thus relieving the community of a growing bonded indebtedness and a rising tax rate. Fewer buildings would make for better buildings, which competition from the superior physical facilities offered by the private school would force the community to provide.

In short, there are no faults in the public school that competition would not eradicate. And the improvement would come easily and automatically, entirely without resort to political methods. The mere matter of tax remission would settle all our school problems.

This proposal commends itself also because it is in line with the democratic principle. The Educationists make much of the word democracy, though they do not define it; it apparently serves as an amorphous endorsement of anything they approve. If democracy means anything, it describes a social or political system in which freedom of choice prevails. So that, if the parent is compelled to accept,

A SOLUTION OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL PROBLEM
(continued)

Page 3.

and pay for, any kind of education that a majority (or controlling minority) dishes out, the democratic principle is certainly violated.

Yet the Educationists are dead set against freedom of choice in their appropriate field. Whenever parents presume to question their programs or methods, they are touched to the quick. How dare the biological parents butt in on the mental development of their offspring! Having brought forth a child, their competence is at an end; without a degree from an accredited teachers' college they simply cannot have a valid opinion on its mental upbringing. That is a matter reserved for the fraternity of "experts."

One of their shining lights, the former president of Harvard University, shed some light on the "democratic" attitude of the Educationists in a word. (They always have a word.) The private school, he declared, is bad because it makes for "divisiveness," which means differences of opinion, variations in values, expressions of choice, preferences and discrimination. The opposite of "divisiveness" is conformity. But, this "divisiveness" is of the essence of democracy, as well as a necessary condition for progress. Where it is not permitted, where conformity is imposed, there is neither scope for intellectual curiosity nor freedom. And, certainly, no democracy.

This urgency for conformity (democratic conformity, of course) complements the expertise argument. In private schools, which do not come within their purview, children might get an education, and that would not do; the fraternity's quackery, including their claim to scientific exactitude in all things educative, would be exposed. Their propaganda, therefore, is addressed to the necessity of extending political control of schools, through federal aid and legislation, and to decrying any tendency on the part of parents to escape from their clutches. They most assuredly would not relish an increase in the number of private schools. The suggestion has even been advanced that the accrediting of teachers be limited by law to certain designated teachers' colleges.

It can be seen that what the Educationists are driving toward, whether they know it or not, is the educational system that obtained in ancient Sparta, where the child became the ward of the State once it entered school. And for that, American parents are not quite ready; they still believe that they have parental rights and duties which the State cannot abrogate. They would be in a better position to exercise their rights and fulfill their duties as parents if they were given more latitude in the selection of their children's schooling. The suggestion to make possible a greater freedom of choice through tax remission is democratic, if nothing else.

*School cases - Art.
Christian Science
Monitor*

January 20, 1954

Dear Mr. Davis:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation a few days ago, I am writing to amplify the suggestion I made to you at that time.

First, allow me to quote directly from Henry Lesesne's piece in the New York Herald Tribune of January 9, 1954:

"Spurred by the first suit challenging the legality of a segregated public school system per se, almost overnight it started perhaps the most revolutionary school equalization program ever launched by a state, and which is financed by a new 3 per cent sales tax the legislature quickly slapped on to finance it."

It occurs to us that an article in the Christian Science Monitor amplifying this statement would not only be newsworthy and interesting but also helpful in our efforts to eliminate segregation in education. Such an article should, we think, point out:

1. That although it has been more than a half century since Plessy v. Ferguson decreed separate but equal facilities, it was not until the NAACP filed suit challenging the legality of this concept that the state made any real effort to provide equal facilities within the existing segregated pattern;
2. That this failure indicates a lack of desire or intent to abide by the earlier court ruling;
3. That the state is demonstrating its ability to provide more adequate education for all its children regardless of race; and
4. That this project was devised primarily to forestall a court ruling banning segregation.

It seems to me that an interpretative story could be written

Mr. Saville Davis

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January 20, 1954

around these points.

I hope that you will be able to give this proposal favorable consideration.

Sincerely,

Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations

Mr. Saville Davis
Christian Science Monitor
1 Norway Street
Boston, Massachusetts

HLM:mnw

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CURTIS CIRCULATION COMPANY
INDEPENDENCE SQUARE, PHILADELPHIA 5, PENNSYLVANIA

September 8, 1954

Mr. Walter White
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

18170 SEP-9'54

Dear Mr. White

Attached is a copy of the September Harper's article, "WHEN NEGROES ENTERED A TEXAS SCHOOL!"

In connection with this article, I would like to know whether or not you can use author, Arthur Morse, as the subject of an interview on your program, or if you yourself might like to be interviewed in this connection.

May I learn of your reaction to my suggestions as soon as possible.

Cordially yours,

CURTIS CIRCULATION COMPANY, Inc.

Larry Shedd
Publicity Department

LS:nc
Enc.

Harper's Mag. Sept 1954

In the heart of the Southwest, Negro and white students at a public junior college have carried out a quiet triumph in interracial harmony—and their elders are backing them up.

When Negroes Entered a Texas School

Arthur D. Morse

IN SEPTEMBER, 1952—one year and eight months before the Supreme Court decision barring segregated schools—seven Negroes entered the freshman class of a public junior college in Corpus Christi, Texas. At that time state law required separation of the races and white Corpus Christians interpreted the law rigidly. Negroes were segregated so totally that they were not admitted even to the balconies of the principal motion picture theaters. They were barred from hotels and restaurants, required to sit in the rear of busses, denied most opportunities for skilled employment, restricted to substandard housing and to all-Negro elementary and high schools. But in spite of law and tradition, the Board of Regents of Del Mar College had voted unanimously to admit qualified Negro students.

The Regents, like most Southerners, had been aware for some months that mounting legal and social pressures were making desegregation of the schools only a matter of time. When in June of 1952 the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—led by Dr. H. Boyd Hall—began testing Del Mar's admissions policy, the Regents were quick to appoint their own investigating committee. Within a month, they had unanimously adopted the committee's report, which found the makeshift Negro junior college a violation of the "separate but equal" principle and recom-

mended the admission of qualified Negroes the following September. The job of making the decision into a workable reality fell upon the shoulders of E. L. Harvin, the president of the college.

The decision was greeted with apprehension by citizens of both races. A few were fearful that the result would be, in the words of Georgia's Governor Talmadge, "more confusion, disorder, riots, and bloodshed than anything since the War Between the States."

ON THE first day of the fall term, Amy Miller, who had graduated with honors from the Solomon M. Coles High School for Negroes, was so apprehensive about entering an unsegregated school that she persuaded her father, a truck driver, to accompany her. He sat beside her in the registration hall as she began to fill out a set of printed forms. After a moment, a white boy rose from a nearby table and walked toward them.

"Oh-oh," Amy remembers thinking. "Here it comes."

But the boy smiled hesitantly and said, "Excuse me, sir, but I'm having trouble figuring out what they want on these forms. I wonder if you'd mind helping me."

Mr. Miller said he'd be glad to try—and within a few minutes had cleared up the boy's confusion. Soon after, Amy sent her father home.

Their first days at Del Mar convinced the Negro students that their fears were unjustified. They sat where they pleased in class; gossiped over sandwiches and cokes at the Vik-Inn, the campus jukebox joint; they used the same washrooms as everyone else. Although spectators at most Texas athletic events are segregated, the Negro freshmen cheered for their football team from the same stands as their classmates. Besides, everyone could see Maggie Williams tootling her clarinet as she paraded with the band.

OUTSTANDING among the colored students was Lavernis Royal, a bright, quiet boy who had been president of the student council at the Negro high school. Like the others he had never attended classes with white students but had had experience with white instructors, for though a Baptist himself he'd been enrolled for a time in the Holy Cross School, where, as he says, "The white Sisters seemed as anxious to teach you as a colored instructor. Once a kid got up and asked whether one race was better than another and the Sister said God is the Creator of all and He doesn't distinguish between races. . . . That made us all feel good."

Lavernis' instinct for leadership won him the respect of his classmates at the college and early in the term he received the highest number of votes for election as one of the three freshmen representatives on the student council. He was a talented artist and further impressed the class and the college with his ability to design anything from school stationery to striking porcelain masks of Comedy and Tragedy for the walls of the college theater. Later in his career at Del Mar, he was chosen as the college's candidate for the title of "Mr. Future Teacher of Texas." He won the title in a state-wide competition including students from both senior and junior colleges in which he was the only Negro entrant.

Yet it would not be fair to give the young people all the credit. Prior to the decision, one of the Regents, V. G. Woolsey, an insurance executive and prominent Methodist, asked his two sons—both Del Mar graduates—whether they favored admitting Negroes to the college.

"They told me," he recalls, "that they do not want to carry over the prejudices of my

generation into their lives. They favored the idea—emphatically." He went on to say, for himself, "We should not have a minority that is depressed, oppressed, and denied self-advancement. The only way to bring about brotherhood and good will in the world is to begin at home."

Another Regent and leading businessman, Morris Lichtenstein, saw the issue in its practical terms: "The more education we can get for the Mexican, Negro, and white people, the better community we'll have."

More important than such pronouncements, though, were the casual, day-to-day incidents which indicated a deep shift in Texas attitudes. Through a mixup, for example, Amy Miller, majoring in Education, was sent to a white elementary school for her day of classroom observation. Toward the end of one class, the white teacher was called from the room and asked Amy to take over. When the class ended, a parent who arrived to claim her youngster, noted the substitute teacher without visible surprise. Another girl, Ruby Adams, a Home Economics major, went with her class to visit one of Corpus Christi's most fashionable Ocean Drive homes. The hostess welcomed her with obvious sincerity, insisted that she sign the guest book, and asked her to stay to tea.

Desegregation extended to the vocational and evening classes of the college and soon the first Negro vocational nurses were proving that most patients are color-blind when they have an efficient nurse. Negroes enrolled in a variety of evening classes from welding to the psychology of selling and—though occupations covered by those subjects had usually been closed to colored Texans—many local employers made it known that they would hire *all* qualified men who completed the courses successfully.

Not all the problems were so simple. The ease and enthusiasm with which the colored students were accepted in most situations made for a growth in confidence which was occasionally sharply cut down. The white students, for instance, encouraged the Negroes to attend the Freshman welcome dance, so they made plans and joined in the general excitement.

Shortly before the dance, President Harvin summoned them and explained in

WHO. US? . . .

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frank but friendly tones that though he was not going to forbid their attendance he hoped they would not come. He said he feared some white parents and visitors would resent their presence and added that he did not think they would allow a relatively unimportant dance to jeopardize a situation so satisfactory in its important aspects. The students accepted the suggestion calmly. As Alice James summed it up: "I wanted to go, but you prepare yourself for these things and you say to yourself if you don't go, you just don't go, that's all."

Later, Maggie Williams was advised not to go on the orchestra's three-day concert tour because President Harvin and the band director were concerned about possible embarrassments involved in travel arrangements. Again the students did not share the views of the faculty.

"I've talked to lots of kids about this traveling business," said a white girl. "There wouldn't be any real problems at all. We'd bring sandwiches on the auto trip and that would take care of our eating. If we wanted to stop at rest rooms on the way we'd go to Texaco stations because the colored kids don't have any trouble there and when we stayed overnight they could usually stay with friends or relatives if we went to hotels. Listen,

they've been up against this silly business all their lives. They know how to handle it."

Some feel that the school administration created more tension in its attempts to avoid tension than would ever have come up spontaneously. They base their view on the relatively few public protests against the college's decision and on the white students' casual acceptance of their new classmates. Yet it is likely that President Harvin (who has built Del Mar from virtually nothing to one of the nation's finest community colleges and has been a pioneer in such developments as citizenship classes for aliens and rehabilitation courses for criminals on probation) was subjected to more behind-the-scenes pressures than a student or outsider could perceive. He, the Regents, and faculty of Del Mar unquestionably deserve credit for the comparatively small number of disturbing incidents.

It would be foolish to paint too bright a picture. No community can work miracles in two years—indeed, few Northern cities can claim complete desegregation now—but the situation in Corpus Christi today is a far cry from "confusion, disorder, riots, and bloodshed." Its experience suggests that with tact and humor and good faith other Southern communities may find this adjustment easier than they expect.

Who, Us? . . .

THE notion generally promulgated amongst us of the people of the United States is that they are a filibustering, rollicking race—filling their newspapers with whole columns of boasting falsehood—haunting tavern bars . . . eternally chewing tobacco . . . sacrificing their best statesmen and even the judges to party predilections—and forming at once a noisy, restless, anarchical, and aggressive community. . . .

To the British Commissioners appointed to attend the New York Industrial Exhibition . . . we are indebted for a very different description of the Americans. They are more industrious than we are; they work longer and more continuously; English artisans come away from the States because they find the work too much for them; and American factories are regulated with as much care as the best factories of England. The bulk of the people are sober, steady, methodical, and energetic.

Unless we direct all our energies to the work of self-improvement, the Americans will surpass us as much in ingenuity and skill, in intelligence and power, as they are certain to surpass us in numbers. . . .

—The *London Economist*, March 18, 1854.

ONE RACE--THE HUMAN RACE

CATHOLIC *Interracialist*

JANUARY, 1955

10 CENTS



DEMOCRACY IN ACTION AT WARRINGTON SCHOOL, MINNEAPOLIS.
(Minneapolis Tribune Photo—Boham Cross, Photographer)

NAACP
20 W. 40 Street
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DEMOCRACY IN ACTION AT WARRINGTON SCHOOL, MINNEAPOLIS.

(Minneapolis Tribune Photo—Boham Cross, Photographer)

1954-1955

"What is most important . . . is the ground swell of opinion among all people everywhere against segregation."

Washington Report

"There is no doubt that racial segregation in the United States is dead."

So began the speech of Clarence Mitchell, Director of the Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, given in Jackson, Mississippi recently.

MILESTONES

There were two important milestones in 1954, Mr. Mitchell said:

1) The integration of the armed forces and

2) The decision of the Supreme Court that segregation of schools is unconstitutional.

Individual instances of awakening to the injustice of segregation, says Mr. Mitchell, are important. But, "What is most important . . . is the ground swell of opinion among all people everywhere against segregation."

LOCAL CONVULSIONS

Mr. Mitchell points out that backers of a private school system in the south are victims of local convulsions which cannot last. He says these same backers fail to point out that seven million Federal dollars will be lost to Mississippi schools alone if the public school system is abandoned. The economy of

most southern states couldn't sustain this loss.

WORLD PRESSURE

But the real pressure for integration in the United States comes from outside rather than inside our country. It is a world pressure, says Mr. Mitchell. It comes from the knowledge that there are two main forces in the world—democracy and totalitarianism.

"In one of these camps," said Mr. Mitchell, "we find the United States and her allies. In the other camp, there are the iron curtain countries and all other nations that place the interests of the state above the welfare of the people."

WORLD CHOICE

"A great many of the world's people are trying to decide which of those camps they will join. Some of these people may be found in India where an ancient nation has again come to the fore as a world power. Some of these are in Africa where new nations are being born."

"Many of them are in Europe where they still shudder at the words 'Master Race.' All of these look with suspicion on a country that preaches democracy but practices segregation on the basis of race."

"The wise leaders of the United States understand the importance of convincing these old and new nations

that there is vitality and strength to our democracy.

NO "WHITE ISLAND"

"Sometimes, as in the case of Ethiopia and Liberia, it is because we wish to have the right to place an air base within the borders of that country. Sometimes, it is because there are vital products which must be purchased from those whose friendship we seek and desire."

"Sometimes, it is because we wish to maintain a market for our products in a non-white country. But the overriding consideration is the knowledge that in our modern world we cannot afford to be an isolated white island in a sea of colored nations."

OUR BEST EXPORT—DEMOCRACY

"The task of winning converts," continued Mr. Mitchell, "to democracy is no longer a theoretical venture in goodwill. It is now a task that must be accomplished if we are to survive. It is becoming increasingly clear that democracy is the most valuable product that we can export to the rest of the world. We also know that we cannot export it if we do not have it at home."

The pressure of this knowledge, along with the awakening American conscience, make it possible to say as 1955 begins, "There is no doubt that racial segregation in the United States is dead."

Washington Friendship House

Friendship House is looking back and assessing the work of 1954 and making plans for work in 1955. St. Peter Claver Center has begun a survey of the Nation's Capital to determine what are the most pressing local needs for interracial justice. At a special staff meeting this month, they will discuss the interviews with other organizations in the District. Then they will plan the work of Friendship House in this area in 1955.

Two training programs, one for the staff and a six weeks' course for volunteers have been started. These will stress a study of the Friendship House Vocation and the Christian Social Order.

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A Louisiana Catholic Paper Stands Pat

"Many so-called good Catholics and even some priests do not follow the stand of the Church on . . . social justice questions."

CATHOLIC ACTION OF THE SOUTH, the Catholic paper of three Louisiana and one Mississippi dioceses ceased local publication recently. Many issues enter into the decision, of three of these dioceses to affiliate with **The Denver Register**. The story of the paper's struggle to influence Louisiana Catholics to see the immorality of segregation and of "right to work" laws is clearcut however.

A STAND

The paper took a stand against three proposed Louisiana bills to thwart integration. The three bills proposed the following measures to maintain segregation by police power:

1. Public or private schools would be denied approval by the state board of education if they attempted integration.
2. Free text books, lunch programs, and all state funds would be denied.
3. Each parish (district) superintendent would assign each child in his area to a specific public school.

"TOTALITARIAN"

Archbishop Joseph Rummel of New Orleans, and M. F. Everett, Editor of **Catholic Action of the South** protested vehemently. In editorials the paper pointed up the totalitarian aspects of denying the God-given right of parents to choose the school where their child will be educated. The bills would have outlawed the minor and major seminaries in the archdiocese, both of which have Negro students.

ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS provisions would have made it possible to place a \$1000 fine or six months' imprisonment on anyone encouraging a suit against the segregation law. The paper pointed out that this would kill freedom of the press and freedom of speech. Another provision made it possible to **disbar an attorney associated in a suit protesting the law**. The paper pointed that this would deal a mortal blow to justice and legal procedure.

The bills were finally amended to exclude private institutions. The State Bar Association protested and the section concerning attorneys was dropped.

LUTHER WAS AN AMATEUR

What reaction did this stand on the part of the paper get from Louisiana Catholics? The bills were passed with only eleven Representatives and two Senators voting against them, in a legislature which has a good Catholic representation.

One letter Mr. Everett received was not atypical. Written by a man who claimed to be a "practical Catholic" it said, "If you and the supporters of this movement think Martin Luther gave the Church a rough time, well you haven't seen anything yet." Mr. Everett states that opposition to the Church discipline (not dogma) on the part of the laity has been part of an anti-clerical influence in the history of the Church in Louisiana.

OPINION SHARPLY DIVIDED

As to what effect this stand

Readers Write—(cont.)

Dear Editor: Why can't we have more of the kind of thing you do in your *Science Speaks on Race* in the Catholic press? Sometimes I think we Catholics are so busy stating our doctrine we don't take time to appreciate the fact that truth is one. We fail to see that the truths which science gives us are simply another, and very valuable tool, in working toward human unity. . . . My wife and I like the broad scope of the paper.

Catholic Father

(Ed: What are YOUR OPINIONS?)

Book Review Fire and Honey

HERE WE HAVE AN ENGLISH translation of the encyclical "Doctor Mellifluus," issued in 1953 by Pope Pius XII to commemorate the eighth centenary of the death of Saint Bernard. Thomas Merton, in obedience to his religious superiors, provides a lengthy preface to supply a backdrop for the life and times of the "Doctor whose teaching is as sweet as honey." In addition he presents a commentary on the encyclical and the vast writings of the Saint.

Although the book is most attractive in format as well as rich in scholarship and style, the result is vaguely disappointing. The encyclical itself is so clearly written that explanatory comment seems superfluous and the occasional fragments of biographical data given by Father Merton seem insufficient for those who have never read the life of Bernard of Clairvaux. Perhaps these brief glimpses of the holy Abbot may tempt people to examine more closely the career of one who is described in rapid succession as a preacher of crusades, an adviser to kings, hammer of heretics, the restorer and promoter of the Cistercian order, and, finally, the founder of a new school of spirituality, of which the principal monument is the **IMITATION OF CHRIST**. Admittedly he was an amazing figure. Even Calvin and Luther wrote admiringly of him. Alas, in this little study of the man, the pieces never quite fit together.

The Sacred Scriptures and the Early Fathers were Bernard's chief sources of meditation and study. From them he

Father tells us "... they were redolent of heaven and breathe forth the fire of piety."

A FACET OF BERNARD'S SANCTITY was the special love he bore for Jesus as our Divine Saviour. Under that inspiration he penned the profound passages which still inspire ardor in the hearts of those who read them. Who does not feel his devotion enkindled by these beautiful words "... What can so enrich the soul that reflects upon it (the holy name of Jesus)? What can . . . fortify the virtues, engender good and honorable dispositions, foster holy affections? Dry is every kind of spiritual food, which this oil does not moisten. Insipid, whatever this salt does not season. If thou writest, thy composition has no charms for me, unless I read there the name of Jesus. If thou disputest or conversest, I find no pleasure in thy words, unless I hear there the name of Jesus. Jesus is honey in the mouth, melody in the ear, a cry of joy in the heart. Yet not only is that name light and food. It is also medicine. Is any amongst you sad? Let the name of Jesus enter his heart; let it leap thence to his lips; and lo! the light that radiates from that name shall scatter every cloud and restore tranquility. Has someone sinned, and is he, moreover, abandoning hope, rushing in desperation towards the snare of death? Let him but invoke this life-giving name, and straightway he shall experience a renewal of courage. . . . Whoever, when trembling with terror in the presence of danger, has not immediately felt his spirits revive and his fears departing as soon as he called upon this name of power? . . . There is nothing so efficacious as the name of Jesus for restraining the violence of

Church in Louisiana.

OPINION SHARPLY DIVIDED

As to what effect this stand for social justice had upon the changing of the paper, the editor, Mr. Everett, wrote to us:

"I cannot honestly say that our stand has made a great difference in circulation, for comments have been both pro and con. I have received a number of bitter letters, also a warning by phone to leave town; but I have also received many fine letters of thanks and commendation. The ratio in communications that came to me personally was about five favorable to one against."

The New Orleans archdiocese paper has affiliated with **Our Sunday Visitor**. Mr. Everett says, "We'll have a modest editorial page and maintain the same stand, speaking out strongly when necessary."

The crux of the issue in Louisiana, for Mr. Everett, is that Catholics do not take a Catholic stand. "Events here showed that many who have the faith are not well instructed; others who are well educated and devout in many ways are willing to dispute the authority or discipline of the Church."

"Many so-called good Catholics and even some priests do not follow the stand of the Church on these social justice questions. I frankly was appalled at the attitude uncovered here, not only a disputing of Papal teaching on such matters but often of the RIGHT so to speak. I have found the attitude elsewhere, but never so sharply displayed."

Readers Write

WHERE'S THE CHIT-CHAT?

Dear Editor: What's happened to the paper? I look all through it for the chit-chat about the kids I know in the Friendship Houses and I can't find it. That's the only thing I used to read.

College Girl

Dear Editor: It's a joy to see the new emphasis in the paper. I am not a Catholic and do not know any of the people in the Friendship Houses. Frankly, I used to feel that you devoted too much space to just gossip about people very few of your readers knew, and too little space to the real issues involved in your work. I especially found your article on unemployment and how it affects the Negro very helpful. That's just the kind of information I need when I'm talking to some of my prejudiced friends who won't hire Negroes.

Business Man

WHY DRAG IN SCIENCE?

Dear Editor: I notice you have an article on "Science Speaks on Race" in your last issue. Why don't you take the space and devote it to Catholic principles on race. Why do we have to know what science says in order to put Christian principles to work? It's just a waste of time as far as I can see. . . . And you'd have to have a Bachelor of Science degree to understand it anyhow.

Catholic Critic

quite fit together.

The Sacred Scriptures and the Early Fathers were Bernard's chief sources of meditation and study. From them he drew his inspiration and their influence permeates his manuscripts. Many of his compositions have found a place in the liturgy of the Church because, our Holy

fears departing as soon as he called upon this name of power? . . . There is nothing so efficacious as the name of Jesus for restraining the violence of anger, repressing the swellings of pride, healing the smarting wound of envy. . . ."

—Monica Durkin

ALL THE FRIENDSHIP HOUSES EXPRESS THEIR GRATITUDE TO BENEFACTORS WHO HELPED MAKE CHRISTMAS HAPPIER FOR THE NEEDY.

Harlem Friendship House
43 W. 135th St., N.Y.C., 37

Chicago Friendship House
4233 S. Indiana, Chicago 15, Ill.

Friendship House
1525 Milam, Shreveport, La.

Blessed Martin Friendship House
3310 N. Williams, Portland, Ore.

St. Peter Claver Center, 814 7th St., S.W., Washington, D.C.

Send **THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIALIST** to your **SCHOOL, CHURCH OR LIBRARY** for 1955—\$1 a year—Bundles 5c a copy.

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CATHOLIC INTERRACIALIST

Friendship House Vocation

The Lecturer-A Bridge

(SECOND OF SERIES)

"WHY DO THEY have to move into our neighborhood? Why should police be taken away from here to guard a whole area for one family who should have stayed where **they** came from? Why don't **they** keep up property? Why do **they** want to live all crowded together? **They** don't make good converts because they like night life too much."

We (two staff-workers from Friendship House) were speaking at one of Chicago's South Side high schools, within a two-mile radius of the Trumbull Park area. The nuns and the pastor, realizing the attitudes of some of their students, had asked us to talk on the Christian's approach to the racial question.

STATISTICS NOT ENOUGH

The deluge of questions came from the more vocal of the all-white student group, and I began to know that it was not only Christian principles that we must give. It was more than statistics or scientific findings that were needed to help clear the highly charged atmosphere. The task was to help a group of normal, fairly average teenagers catch the positive challenge from their community and act on it.

NEIGHBORHOOD PRESSURE

The pattern of what was happening to the kids was all too clear. Excitement had begun in their neighborhood when a Negro family moved into the Trumbull Park housing project. A fight had begun, and sides had to be taken. From parents, from friends, from almost every neighborhood source, they heard stories of how homes and property values were being threatened by Negroes, who were about to "invade" the community, who would move in in

find to do—these youngsters who had time on their hands to loiter at the corner and talk things over with the gang.

We faced a barrage of "theys"—"**they** move in because the Urban League is trying to help them take over neighborhoods. **They** steal. **They** carry knives. **They** are so noisy."

I mentally compared this student group to the students at St. E.'s, the high school in our predominantly Negro parish. The two groups had so much in common; love of excitement, of sports; the same desires for being accepted, for being popular, for being part of the gang.

"THEY" ARE PERSONS

I tried to tell them of the numbers of hard-working people I knew who are forced to pay abominable rents for meager facilities, because of unaccepting attitudes like the ones they seemed to have. I wanted to make them believe that there are thousands of par-

ents like their own, in the Negro area of Chicago, who are concerned because they want their children to have good recreation and a chance to go on to school.

TEEN-AGE DANCE

I wished that I could take them to a school dance at St. E.'s, a nicely run party, where there was concern, too, that the wrong kind of teen-ager (a "they") didn't crash the dance to dampen a good evening's fun. And, at the same time, I tried to show them with words, the kind of home I live in in the "forbidding" 43rd Street area. A home that no doubt compares favorably with their own, where daily Mass, attendance at devotions, Council of Catholic Women and other parish activities are part and parcel of living.

I don't know how well we succeeded that day. I'm certain the most adamant weren't converted. I'm sure we didn't give any of the students a good idea of what living Christ's truth in their

neighborhood would mean in day-to-day actions. But, a part of the job of Friendship House became clearer to me in that session.

LECTURER—A BRIDGE

Building a bridge of understanding through lectures is a step toward helping all see Christ in their brothers. Learning and suffering the truth of discrimination firsthand from knowing friends and neighbors who are forced to live hemmed in by the prejudiced attitudes of those on the outside are a beginning in the Friendship House task.

Sharing that truth, which takes on flesh and blood as it is seen in the lives of people, is its continuation. It is a part of the work of bringing, as our preamble states, "the spirit of Christ's justice and love to bear on the matter of interracial relations."

—Betty Schneider



most every neighborhood source, they heard stories of how homes and property values were being threatened by Negroes, who were about to "invade" the community, who would move in in droves, who would rob and rape on their streets at night.

It was not surprising to find, as we learned later, that students in the group had been party to beating up Negroes who enter their area, or to stoning cars Negroes were driving down their streets. It was something to do. Perhaps it falsely catered to a bit of youthful idealism. At least it was more exciting than anything else they could



Betty Schneider addresses a group of boys while on a lecture tour.

Mexico

Family Missionary Apostolate

(Continued from last month)

By Joseph and Theresa Shelzi
and Arthur and Emilia Vigil

LACK OF HOPE

The father of the average family who is willing to work ten or twelve hours a day at honest, hard labor (and their number is great) finds that he has not raised his family's level of living at all by the end of the year. In many cases he is right where he started or has slid back some. We feel it essential that the impact of the Church's social teachings be made felt, for in these teachings lies the answer to the economic problem which is so closely interwoven with the spiritual problem—lack of hope. In this light a number of projects have been started:

1. We've helped the people to organize a credit unit. It has been in operation over a year and a half. It is now worth over 10,000 pesos and has made 45 loans to members. There are 90 members. Interest from loans goes to members as dividends.

WATER TO DRINK

2. The "aljibe", a 260,000-gallon cistern, was built under Arthur's supervision to meet the critical need for drinking water during the dry season (February to June). It was opened dur-

ing Passion Week with a simple blessing. Father got in the way of the first few squirts of water with the result that we also had a "baptism". Incidentally, much of the money to build this cistern came from friends in the United States. We are constantly obliged from the nature of things to rely on the donations of our friends until local resources and leadership are developed.

CORN TO EAT

3. A corn cooperative has been organized to solve another of the "milpero's" problems. He sweats out his harvest and ends up selling his corn for less than it costs him to take it to market because there is so much on the market at the time and he needs the money to pay bills that have been mounting since the last harvest in some cases. When he goes to buy it back six months later to feed his hungry family he has to pay three to five times as much as he sold it for.

The corn cooperative was begun to pay the farmer a just price for his corn and later to resell it as a service to the community. It has been in operation since November, 1953 and bought this past season 27,500 pounds of corn from the farmers. It paid 50 per cent more

than the price at harvest time. The corn was resold here at 33 per cent less than the price of corn at the present time. We now have to bide our time for the Co-op to build itself up. The farmers, due to their circumstances, can't save very much money. To begin our co-op we borrowed \$500 from a credit union in the United States. The profit made by the corn co-op is distributed among the members after expenses are covered.

TRACTORS

4. The Territorial Government has given the use of two farm tractors, a disc harrow and a set of cultivators to help the agricultural program which Shelzi is working out. One of the tractors runs the town's light plant, while the other is used for farm purposes. On May 26 we went out to Don Herculana's "milpa", along with the "Professor", our local teacher; and "Primerio", who is our mayor, chief of police, judge and head of the army all wrapped up in one; and other townsmen who are interested in our project of raising the agricultural standards of the people. We all participated in the blessing of the first plot of cultivated ground in the Territory of Quintana Roo, and helped

finish clearing the land of stumps. Then we were served some delicious hot "tamales" and "atole".

WORK WITH THE HANDS

5. Within the next few weeks we will start on the woodworking shop that we mentioned in our last report. Mexican customs officials have told us that we can export ready-made furniture at a very slight cost. Small industry of this kind is badly needed. Maybe it is one answer.

"SPIRIT OF WARM JOY"

Slowly we see the people becoming more friendly, coming to us with their problems of a hundred different kinds. A sign of this friendliness can be seen every month when many of the families of the pueblo come together at the Banquet Table on Family Communion Sunday. The number has grown steadily and the social get-together in the afternoon with its spirit of warm joy is a great reward for our labors. The number, too, at weekly Mass and the sacraments grows. The age-old indifference born of being without a priest for over a hundred years is leaving our pueblo. The people are beginning to hold their heads a little higher and are learning to lean on God and plan ahead. Yes, what was lacking is being replaced and we thank God that He has seen fit to send us to help with the most necessary work among His children.

Job Discrimination Urged in Britain

THE UGLY FACT OF RACISM lurks behind the recent statements of a British labor union leader. "I'd sooner have a little trouble now than a great deal later on," said Jim Leask, organizer for the Transport and General Workers' Union. "Nobody wants a colored bar, but there would be bitter racial feeling if, say, a colored hand is kept on while white workers are fired."

FOUR INJUSTICES

Using this questionable logic, as a start, Mr. Leask made four proposals at a weekly union meeting:

1. Colored workers should not be promoted to supervisory jobs over white men.

2. Colored men should not be employed in jobs for which white workers are available.

3. Union and management representatives should consult together before colored men are hired.

4. Colored workers should be the first to be fired in the event of a recession.

WE TRIED IT, MR. LEASK

We would like to save Mr. Leask both a "little trouble" now and "a great deal" later. We've tried his plan over here and it just doesn't work. It isn't economical. It isn't efficient. It isn't psychologically sound for the nation. We might add it isn't human, it isn't moral, it isn't democratic and it certainly isn't Christian. To Mr. Leask, we say: You will save your country two or three hundred years of "trouble" if you will just start in NOW to hire the man who can do the job, regardless of race.

"They're Not a Good Credit Risk!"

THIS IS THE TUNE sung by banks, finance and real estate companies when Negroes try to buy anything from a washing machine to a home. It is a source of great discouragement to a Negro father trying to finance the building of a new home for his family to be refused the credit afforded to his white fellow workers.

UNSCRUPULOUS LAWYERS

The Chicago Defender, recently became concerned about one type of unethical legal practice which damages the credit rating of the Negro. Unscrupulous lawyers watch the municipal court records, or keep friendly contact with paymasters in industrial firms. "If they know a man will soon receive a wage assignment," says a Defender editorial, "a judgment note or an overdue credit note, they will call him in and offer to settle all his debts through bankruptcy."

Some lawyers encourage this even when the sum is quite small. Recent arrivals from the South are an especially easy prey. It looks so easy. Declare bankruptcy and all your debts are wiped out for just the fee of the lawyer. But only later does the uninformed client realize that his credit is also wiped out, and he has helped damage the credit of all other Negroes.

FREE LEGAL CLINIC

The Cook County Bar Association and the Chicago Defender have organized a legal clinic to help people who are facing legal difficulties involved in paying their debts. Each Wednesday night from 7:30 to 9:30 lawyers will be available to give free advice. Armed with sound legal knowledge, Negroes will no longer be an easy mark for lawyers who do not scruple to ruin the credit standing of a whole class of persons, so long as it brings an easy buck.

Shreveport at End of First Year



Anne Foley and Mary Dolan, first staff workers in Shreveport Friendship House seen at work in their combination library, lecture hall.

By Mary Dolan

A FRESH START

A BRAND NEW CALENDAR gives that "fresh start" feeling. So we are thinking and planning for 1955 in the Shreveport Friendship House and the South in general.

Looking over the general picture, we find two groups that are working on problems concerning race throughout the South and working with considerable effectiveness — the Southern Regional Council and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL—SPEAKER

George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, spoke at Shreveport Friendship House in December. Undoubtedly one of the most competent persons working in racial matters in the South (as well as one of the most delightful), he gave us a fascinating analysis of the South and emphasized the importance of bringing

whites and Negroes together.

FOUR SOUTHERN REGIONS

He divides the South into four regions, roughly four bands curving across the southeastern section of country. From top to bottom the bands are: Mountain, Piedmont, Plantation (including Shreveport), and Coastal Plains. Each has a different history, culture; each has different needs and different rates of progress.

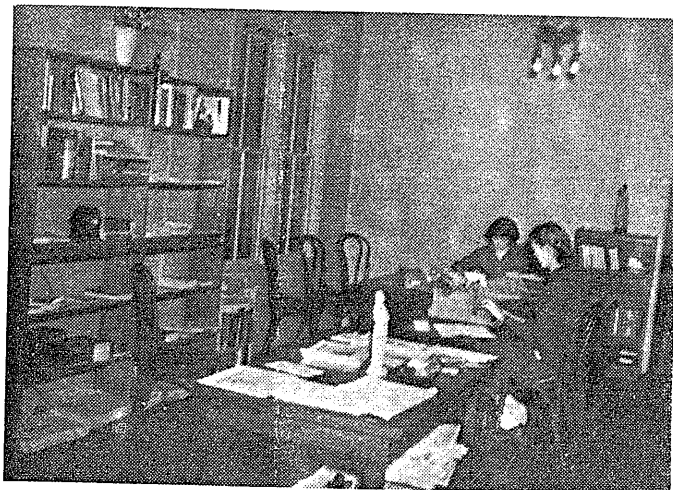
In the relatively "healthy" Piedmont area, for instance, where political and economic democracy are furthest advanced, the solutions of segregation beginning already. We can expect rate of integration will be slowest the Plantation area.

NO SHAM, NO PATRONAGE

"Every community in the South," Dr. Mitchell emphasizes, "needs a group of Negroes and whites meeting together. Meeting in full dignity and equality — no sham, no patronage. will probably be some brave chu

WHO WILL HIS CLASSMATES BE?

Shreveport at End of First Year



Anne Foley and Mary Dolan, first staff workers in Shreveport Friendship House, seen at work in their combination library, lecture hall.

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FOUR SOUTHERN REGIONS

He divides the South into four regions, roughly four bands curving across the southeastern section of the country. From top to bottom the bands are: **Mountain, Piedmont, Plantation** (including Shreveport), and **Coastal Plains**. Each has a different history and culture; each has different needs and different rates of progress.

In the relatively "healthy" Piedmont area, for instance, where political and economic democracy are furthest advanced, the solutions of segregation are beginning already. We can expect the rate of integration will be slowest in the Plantation area.

NO SHAM, NO PATRONAGE

"Every community in the South," Dr. Mitchell emphasizes, "needs a group of Negroes and whites meeting together. Meeting in full dignity and equality—no sham, no patronage. It will probably be some brave church

ladies who will start it off. (That the South's racial conscience has been moved along by the church women, is one of his favorite theses.)

"UNEASY AND STIFF"

"They'll meet together to look over the local picture. The first few meetings will be pretty uneasy and stiff, but never mind. As they begin to look at the schools, for instance, Mrs. White will realize that the colored children in her end of town who now have a right to go to school with Mary and Billy White aren't nameless, faceless 'niggers.' They are Mrs. Brown's Jim and Sue and Joe.

A SUIT

"These ladies will begin to evolve a plan for school integration. Word of their plan will get to the school supervisor; very likely he won't be interested. And then one day the local schools will have a suit slapped on them for failure to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. The first cry will be: 'Where are those ladies!'"

Very likely the obliging suit-bringer will be the N.A.A.C.P. The state organization in Louisiana claims it has 21 lawsuits in readiness on schools.

N.A.A.C.P. PLANS

Shreveport chapter of N.A.A.C.P. has actions "in process" which will carry over into 1955. One is a **lawsuit on Clarke Terrace homes**; a hearing in late December was expected to settle technical points and establish the questions on which the suit will be tried in the coming months.

A bit of background on this suit. Clarke Terrace is the 248-house development for Negroes, started a year ago. Contracts for houses were sold to a number of Negroes. Then whites living near the Clarke Terrace site objected. Under this pressure the developer

changed it to a "white" project. At least two Negroes refused to turn in their contracts; they with N.A.A.C.P.'s help have brought suit against the developer to build the homes for which they contracted.

INTERRACIAL PROJECTS?

Meanwhile the houses have been completed and whites are occupying them. If the suit is won, it will mean Clarke Terrace will be an interracial community of new homes—the only one in Shreveport.

A second action of N.A.A.C.P. was that of presenting a petition to the local school board last fall, asking the board to begin plans for desegregating schools and offering to help. The school board "filed" the petition without comment. Whether the Association's next step will be another request to the board or a suit against it remains to be seen. At any rate, we look for follow-through action by N.A.A.C.P. in 1955.

FRIENDSHIP HOUSE PLANS

We of Shreveport Friendship House have been studying and discussing and working on our plans for 1955. We will concentrate on the particular function of Friendship House . . . pointing up, clarifying, emphasizing the moral questions involved in segregation, and encouraging and organizing Shreveport people who make a moral judgment to act.

The central emphasis we have determined; the details have yet to be worked out. We have the outlines in a few sentences from the pamphlet on Friendship House Staffworkers, which apply equally to all who work for the Friendship House movement:

THE LOVE OF CHRIST

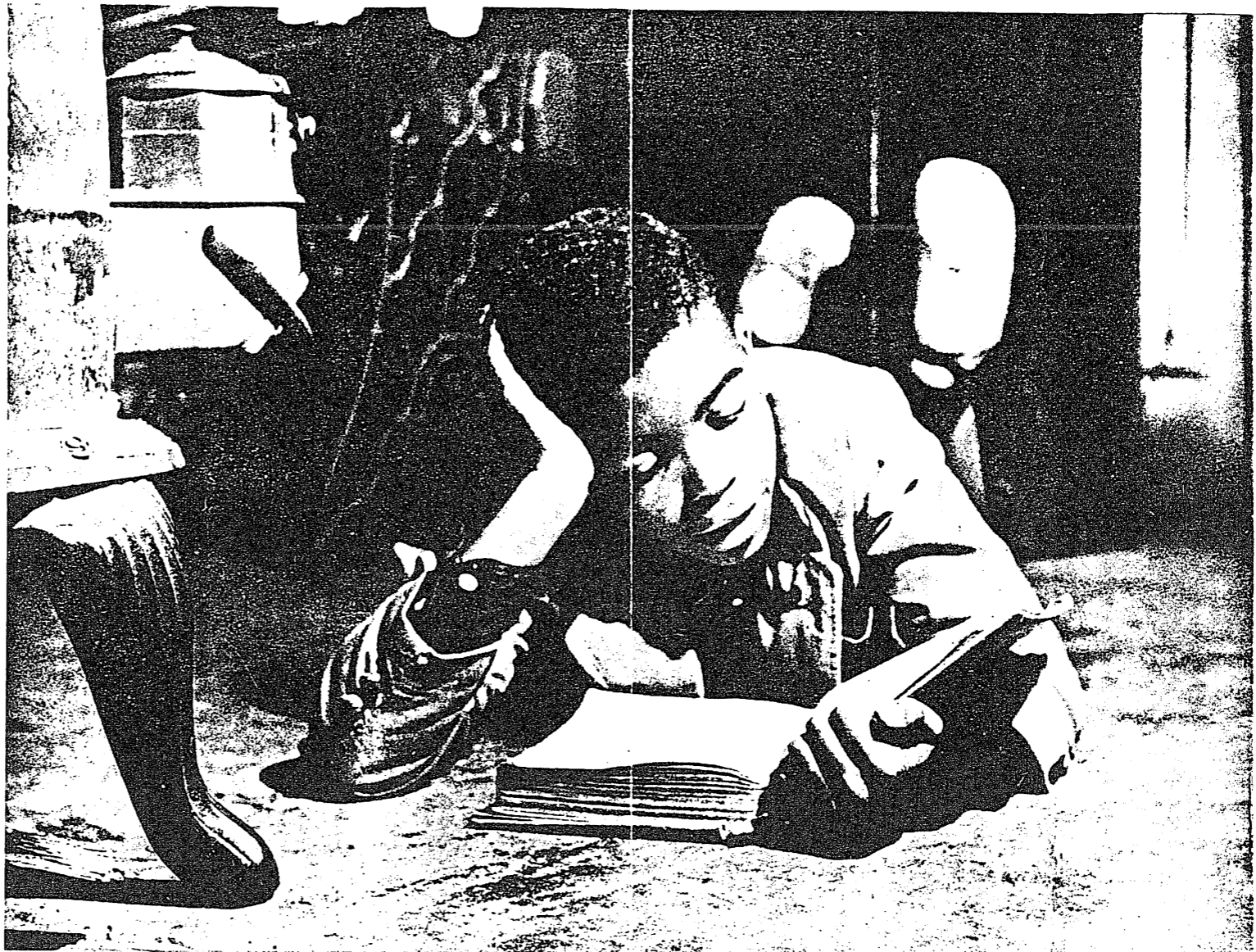
"The life and work (of each of us) should be the expression of his love for Christ. This love of Christ is sustained and deepened by daily prayer and meditation, the daily offering of Mass, spiritual reading, and spiritual direction."

CLASSMATES BE?

In The U. S.

Trend Toward Integration

WHO WILL HIS CLASSMATES BE.



1954 made a change in this boy's life. The Supreme Court has given him a chance for a really equal education with the other children in his village of Summerton, South Carolina. The attitude of the townspeople will determine who his classmates will be in the next few years.

(Minneapolis Tribune Photo)

CLASSMATES BE?



Equal education with the other children in his village of Summerton, South Carolina. The attitudes of classmates will be in the next few years.

(Minneapolis Tribune Photo)

JANUARY, 1955

In The U. S.

Trend Toward Integration

FOUR EVENTS have taken place in the past two months affecting the progress of integration in schools.

1. Briefs on how desegregation should proceed were handed in to the Supreme Court on November 15. These were filed both by attorneys for the Negro principals in the segregation cases and by the states affected.

2. President Eisenhower made a statement to the press that he understood the court would take into consideration the great emotional and financial problems in desegregating Southern schools. He said he thought the court would find some decentralized method of desegregation.

3. The Supreme Court delayed the oral debates until after a new Judge has been seated to take the place of late Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson. The President has nominated Judge John Marshall Harlan of New York but Senate action on the nomination must wait until at least January.

4. The Justice Department filed a brief with the court urging that the lower courts be allowed to handle desegregation in each state.

THE REACTIONS

The press throughout the country expressed varying reactions. There was some fear that allowing the states to administer the ruling might mean no action at all. On the other hand one Southern paper sees little hope for dodging the issue this way. It especially notes Attorney General Brownell's statement that "racial segregation . . . will have to be terminated as quickly as feasible, regardless of how much it may be favored by some people in the community." And also that Mr. Brownell recommends regular reports from

lower courts to the Supreme Court, stating the progress toward integration in that district.

The opinion of the northern press was split. Some papers felt that piecemeal integration would only increase tensions; that a deadline was needed to overcome Southern resistance. Others felt that a moderate approach was the only way to keep down tensions.

LOCAL ADAPTATIONS

The Greensboro (North Carolina) Daily News remarked: "What may be a solution in one locality will not be possible in another; what may be possible in a certain locality a year or two from now may not be possible today. When law comes in conflict with the customs, feelings and will of the people in a community, an extremely difficult situation is created."

The paper proposed that moderate white and Negro leaders meet on a local level to talk over problems. Another North Carolina newspaper, the Lexington Dispatch, suggested that a step toward peaceful integration might be the appointment of more Negroes to school boards.

The opinions may be conflicting, but the trend in the country is unmistakable. Whether it will be immediate or eventual, integration of the public school system will one day be a reality throughout the United States.

NEEDED:

One DEDICATED PROFESSIONAL PHOTOGRAPHER willing to DONATE one-half day or one evening a month for the cause of INTERRACIAL JUSTICE.

IKE AND N.A.A.C.P. OFFICIALS



President Eisenhower confers with N.A.A.C.P. officials Clarence Mitchell (center) and Walter White. It was his appointee, Chief Justice Warren, who handed down the momentous decision barring school segregation.

(Chicago Defender Photo)

1954-1955

(Continued from Page 1)

Chicago Report

Chicago Friendship House

Chicago Friendship House has been making a special effort to work at doing away with the causes of discrimination in 1954. At a spring study week three committees were appointed to work: 1) in housing; 2) in employment, and 3) in hospital integration. Each committee has one full-time staff worker or two half-time staff workers. Several things have been done in each of these committees in 1954 and several things are planned for 1955.

Housing Committee

Housing is Chicago's number one problem. It is certainly the area where discrimination has done its worst damage. There is no existing program which will provide even near adequate housing for Negroes in 1955 or for a long time to come.

CHIP AT PREJUDICE

Areas where 60 to 100 thousand people are kept jammed into one square mile by the wall of prejudice around them, breed terrible tension, disease, break-down in family life, juvenile delinquency, and the housing problem.

to discuss the facts of overcrowding in a Negro neighborhood. It is hoped that these people will eventually be a force for integration in their own communities, and so help relieve the overcrowding.

Employment Committee

The Employment Committee has interviewed several people in organizations in the city working for integration in employment. Some of the suggestions of these men for Friendship House projects in 1955 were:

1) The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations would like to have Friendship House refer cases of discrimination to them for further action with the employer.

2) The American Friends Service Committee suggested that Friendship House interview Catholic employers, stressing as the Friends do in interviews, first the moral-religious arguments and then the good business arguments for fair employment.

3) The Bureau of Jewish Employment Problems suggested we refer discrimination complaints to them, especially when a company having a government contract is involved.

4) The Urban League suggested we work in employment counselling for Negro students, informing them through lectures of what fields will be open to them, what fields it would be futile to train for because of discrimination, and what fields might open up in the near future.

Portland Report

BIGGEST PROBLEM—HOUSING

The biggest problem in Portland in the field of human relations is the problem of minority housing. In this respect Portland is typical of many large Northern cities.

NON-WHITE MARKET GROWS

The economic situation of non-whites has improved considerably over the past few years. This improved economic status has accentuated a problem that has always existed. As more non-whites have become capable of purchasing their own homes, the demand for non-white housing has not only emphasized the acute shortage of such housing, but the patterns of thought and action which affect the non-white housing market have become more clearly defined.

POTENTIAL INTEGRATION

In Portland, according to the 1950 census there are about 13,000 non-whites. The same census lists a total of 3,269 non-white dwelling units. Non-whites are living in 61 of Portland's 63 quarter sections. However, half of the Negroes were concentrated in the two sections which encompass the Williams Avenue Community. These facts show that Portland has a lot of potential toward becoming an integrated city in the foreseeable future.

Yet, according to Urban League statistics, non-whites do not have equal access to the housing market in Portland. There has been practically no new housing available to non-whites, whether financed with F.H.A. guarantee or with private funds.

MET STAR



VARIED SOLUTIONS

When these real estate men were asked about possible solutions to the problem, opinions varied. One thought that non-white areas ought to be developed, another believed that the problem would take care of itself over the years, and still another believed that education would solve the problem.

It is hoped that this study in Portland will help to dispel the persistent myths about property values which make it difficult for non-whites to purchase decent housing.

Ed Hark

Around The Friendship Houses

WHODUNIT

The gremlin who disrupts Friendship House files has finally been found. Although Elizabeth Teevan—now in Portland—is the nearest in size to a gremlin, we never even suspected her. But she finally confessed recently that she has been saying the following prayer for years in her best Scots-Irish brogue: "To you, O Lord, be honor and glory; To us shame and confusion."

Has that prayer been answered!!!

TABLE TALK

Ed Hark writes from Portland:

"We here in Portland Friendship House are talking about revolutionizing our diet. It seems that a cup of wheat germ and a glass of milk will provide all the necessary vitamins and proteins that the human system requires. It's not only a healthier diet but think of the time saved in eating, cooking, dishwashing, and shopping.

"We told our plan to Wayne Keith, FH volunteer at large, who pops in every once in a while. Wayne protested violently, insisting that the best way to get vitamins is through huge steak dinners. Oh well! I guess every house has its reactionary vols.

HOT TIME

Every other week a Great Books

age. There is no existing program which will provide even near adequate housing for Negroes in 1955 or for a long time to come.

CHIP AT PREJUDICE

Areas where 60 to 100 thousand people are kept jammed into one square mile by the wall of prejudice around them, breed terrible tension, disease, break-down in family life, juvenile delinquency, etc. The Housing Committee would like to chip away at the prejudice which makes these conditions possible.

Private builders in the Chicago area have given no indication of opening their homes to both Negroes and whites, to relieve this tension. Only the Chicago Housing Authority will do a small part to meet the need for integrated housing, by opening approximately 1,800 new public housing units in 1955.

C.H.A. POLICY—INTEGRATION

William E. Kean, Executive Director of C.H.A. has stated that, "The C.H.A. will continue its policy of integration in all its projects despite the protests of certain bigotted groups."

TRUMBULL PARK

Chicago Friendship House has plans for work in 1955. The Housing Committee will continue to visit families in Trumbull Park, as it has in the past year, letting them know of our concern over the inhuman conditions under which they must live. It will continue to attend the meetings of other groups interested in integrating Trumbull peacefully.

TENSION NEIGHBORHOODS

The Housing Committee will begin work in changing neighborhoods where there is tension. It will attempt to lecture to parish groups, or offer the local pastor whatever assistance Friendship House can give.

WORK CAMPS

The Committee is now making plans for week-end work camps. They hope to have people from tension areas and also from suburbs where vacant land exists, come to Friendship House for a day or a week-end. In the morning the group will do manual work on some home in the neighborhood which needs repairs. In the afternoon it will meet

ing, dishwashing, and shopping. "We told our plan to Wayne Keith, FH volunteer at large, who pops in every once in a while. Wayne protested violently, insisting that the best way to get vitamins is through huge steak dinners. Oh well! I guess every house has its reactionary vols.

4) The Urban League suggested we work in employment counselling for Negro students, informing them through lectures of what fields will be open to them, what fields it would be futile to train for because of discrimination, and what fields might open up in the near future.

(In line with this last request, the teen-age counselors have thought of getting some boys in their group to go around to the schools and tell what happened to them when they quit school early. They would try to impress upon other students how necessary training is, especially for Negroes, if they hope to earn a living wage later.)

EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES LAW

In addition, Friendship House as a whole will be working with the Council Against Discrimination to help in the passage of an Illinois equal job opportunities bill. We have offered our staff room for a temporary office, and will try to interest groups in our community to donate time for office work.

Hospital Committee

The Hospital Committee will continue to encourage hospital administrators in the city to end discrimination. Through interviews with administrators it will attempt to understand the problems involved in integrating a hospital, and urge that a just solution to them be found.

The Committee will help the Catholic Interracial Council in whatever way it can in the planning of their second annual Conference for Catholic Hospital Administrators.

TWO LAWS

It will also continue to work with the Committee to End Discrimination in Medical Institutions in Chicago. In conjunction with the Council Against Discrimination the Committee is working on two pieces of legislation, one for the city and one for the state. If passed, these laws will tend to raise the health standards of the whole community by insuring equal use of medical facilities by all people, regardless of race or color.



(Defender Photo)

In 1954 Marian Anderson became the first Negro to sign a contract with the Metropolitan Opera Company. It is a symbol of hope to Negro opera aspirants.

PATTERNS OF PREJUDICE

Racial prejudices on the part of individual home owners, restrictive sales practices, erroneous ideas on property values, or on what constitutes a "good" neighborhood have all been factors in maintaining the present non-white housing shortage. Real estate interests have contributed to this housing shortage by working along with the factors listed above, and often aiding and abetting them.

The Urban League in Portland is currently conducting a study to determine the effect on residential market prices of non-white purchases. During the course of this study several real estate men have been interviewed from various parts of the city.

UNINFORMED REAL ESTATE MEN

These men could not accurately define the non-white areas in Portland nor were they consistent in their opinions as to what percentage of non-whites in an area make it non-white. Some thought 50 per cent non-white occupation, some thought one family in a neighborhood was enough to classify it as non-white. Various other percentages were also given.

No real estate man had any factual data or studies to support his opinions concerning the effects of non-white entry into a neighborhood on property values.

ing, dishwashing, and shopping.

"We told our plan to Wayne Keith, FH volunteer at large, who pops in every once in a while. Wayne protested violently, insisting that the best way to get vitamins is through huge steak dinners. Oh well! I guess every house has its reactionary vols.

HOT TIME

Every other week a Great Books group meets at Friendship House in Portland. It is reported one of the best groups in the city. "Anyway," writes Ed Hark, "we seem to consume less fuel on the nights it meets here."

WASHINGTON VOLUNTEERS AND STAFF

Loretta Butler writes from Washington:

We have three new staffers here—Roger St. Pierre from Canada, Tom Steiner from Michigan, and John Reaux from Louisiana. Don't say we don't have a wide appeal here in D.C.

And we have lots of new vols—Tom Schworles, former Chicago volunteer who has become campus coordinator at Catholic University for St. Peter Claver Center. Joan Fahy came for Thanksgiving holiday from Dunbarton College; Bobby Bullock and Sandy Flannagan, student nurses at Catholic University, have been regular helpers. Larry McCarthy and Marie Hammas are both a big help with the children's program.

BUS PROBLEMS IN SHREVEPORT

Diane Zdunich wrote from Shreveport that she doesn't know WHAT to do on buses. It seems no Negro can sit in front of a white person on the buses, even if that's where the only vacant seats are. Diane tries to sit near the back of the bus to protest the segregation, and she tries to sit with a Negro if possible. She did this the other day, but when five or six Negroes got on later they went and stood behind her instead of taking seats in front of her. She didn't know what to do then. Finally, rather than go to the front of the bus, she got off and walked down town, more determined than ever to fight this humiliating custom.

Movie

Carmen Jones-High Class Minstrel Show?

CARMEN JONES MAY BE HIGH-VOLTAGE stuff at the box office, but she blows a fuse in U.S. race relations. Aside from Legion of Decency objections because of suggestive costuming and situation, there are objections to the film because the characters involved in these scenes of immorality are all Negroes.

Because of segregation, the average white moviegoer probably knows few Negroes personally. He has probably rarely visited with a Negro family, gone to church with Negroes, or been at parties with Negroes. He forms his impressions of the Negro from hearsay, stories in the newspapers, and perhaps more importantly, the movies.

CARICATURE

What kind of impression of the Negro does the white movie-goer, already more or less prejudiced, carry away with him from *Carmen Jones*? He sees a caricature of the Negro race, on a more sophisticated level than a minstrel show, but equally as damaging to the reputation of Negroes.

CARMEN JONES IS ALL WRONG for the same reason that minstrel shows are all wrong. If we all knew Negroes well, if we really had a chance in our everyday lives to meet a fair cross section of Negroes—the intellectuals, the housewives, the lawyers, the shopkeepers—then we wouldn't take the ludicrous stereotype of the Negro presented in minstrel shows as anything but what it is. Then minstrel shows wouldn't be so dangerous.

But for many people, the illiterate "darky" of the minstrel shows is the only impression of the Negro they get. And ever after, all Negroes are thought of as happy-go-lucky performers who aren't too bright.

ONE MOVIE—NOT 200

Negro society is attempted. This wouldn't be so bad, again, if there were 200 or 300 movies a year released which had other segments of Negro society depicted. But *Carmen Jones* is probably the **ONLY** picture showing Negro society which most white movie-goers will see this year. The caricature will be taken as fact by them.

The movie, with its story of a young G.I., Corporal Joe, who is vamped away from his duty and his sweetheart, Cindy Lou, by the tempestuous Carmen Jones, is set in the southern United States and later in Chicago. After Carmen's love cools she deserts Joe for the prize fighter, Husky Miller. For this, Joe kills her.

"TYPICAL" NEGRO

Some of the aspects of the film which are meat for prejudice are:

- **The violence of some of the scenes.** The fight between Carmen and her fellow worker in a parachute factory will just feed the notion that sav-

agery is part of the Negro heritage.

- **The diction of some of the songs.** For some reason it was thought necessary to sprinkle "dese" and "dats" and "O Lawd's" into the lyrics of singers whose spoken diction was highly literate.

- **Looseness of morals** on the part of all but Cindy Lou. Again, this is thought to be typical of Negroes.

- **Loyalty based on lust or the size of a man's bank account.**

- **Gaudy dress.** Only Cindy Lou dresses the way most of the Negroes we know dress.

ADJUSTING THE MASKS

It's almost as though the makers of the movie sat down and asked themselves, "What kind of a Negro does the public want?" And then all the players adjusted their masks and set to work creating just the right mixture of violence, loose morals and gaudiness.

The result is a lacquered product,

brilliant and cold. It is impossible to have any real feeling of empathy for anyone but Cindy Lou who managed to come through as a real person. The moral downfall of Joe is not felt as a tragedy—it isn't felt at all.

WHY "ALL-NEGRO"?

The implications of an "All-Negro" cast would be fruit for another full-length review. William H. Mooring, Motion Picture Editor for the Los Angeles Catholic Tidings had this to say about the casting:

"If Hammerstein, Preminger and some others interested in this movie stand opposed to . . . segregation as a social principle—as I assume they do—how come they accept and present it in the most powerful medium yet known for the communication of ideas?"

For the price of a movie, Americans can get an hour's entertainment AND a reinforcement of some of their pet prejudices.

CARMEN AND HUSKY MILLER



ONE MOVIE—NOT 200

Carmen Jones is just another caricature of the Negro. No cross section of

Science

What is Race? A Review

The old classifications of Negroid, Mongoloid, and Caucasoid are "something of a fiction"

By Jerry Hickey

The title to this UNESCO pamphlet is, at a glance, a seemingly simple question. But in recent history we have witnessed the importance of an answer based on real knowledge. The world has always needed such an answer but never as much as now. When we say "world" we mean not only the world that history deals with but the world of our own community as well.

THE CONTEST FOR JUSTICE

The results of some of the answers given to this question are constantly with us. The Nazis in their fanatical belief that they were racially superior produced "studies" to prove this and it served to justify their actions against the rest of humanity. White supremacists also answer the question in the same terms of superiority and inferiority and we know all too well the results of their thinking. For those dealing with these ideas and theories in the contest for justice, it sometimes seems impossible that these notions can exist on such a large scale after so many years of thinking and scientific research on the subject of race.

OLD METHOD—PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS STUDIED

If we examine what actually has been done in this respect, perhaps the recent gains in the fight against racism can be attributed in part to the recent gains that have been in the study of race it-

self. The traditional approach in physical anthropology was to collect extensive data on physical measurements from all over the world—head indices, nose indices, etc. Taking this and other data on external features—hair type, skin color, eye-color, etc., the races were classified according to all these characteristics and, of course, in their geographical framework.

We are all familiar with the general breakdown of negroid, mongoloid and caucasoid, for the major stocks, and then all the smaller racial groups—Nordic, Celtic, Alpine, Mediterraneans, etc. Classifications gave rise to more classifications with the ultimate hope that correlations with other things—climate, diet, etc. would lead to an understanding of race. The classifications were all based on types and described in ideal types—blond hair, blue eyes, long headed, etc., for the Nordic and so on for the other groups.

CATEGORIES NOT REPRESENTED

One basic criticism of this approach is that the types are something of a fiction since they do not fit everyone in the population and they may not, in some cases, be representative. Obviously not all the people in Scandinavia are blond and blue-eyed. Consequently there is really less to these schemes than meets the eye. Beyond that it was an approach that could be used by those who wanted to dress up their own

prejudiced ideas with gems of "scientific proof." Invalid correlations of race and culture, race and intelligence were the result. Those who were trying to prove their own theories for their own ends, could use the classifications and supply their own "knowledge" and "facts".

NEW APPROACH—STUDY OF GENETIC MAKE-UP

The new approach to the study of race is based on genetic research and seeks to understand the process and formation of races. The UNESCO booklet called **WHAT IS RACE** gives an excellent outline and basic understanding of this approach. It graphically explains the underlying genetic principles and brings the latest findings up to date.

This is research that is moving ahead very rapidly, especially in the blood-type studies and it would require a new edition every three years to really keep it current. The people of a given geographical area are studied as a population and they are described in terms of their genetic make-up. This requires great research on the study of genes and heredity to find out why physical variation comes about and what the differences are related to.

COVERS EVERYONE IN POPULATION

Unlike the old approach, the correlations here must be worked out in the laboratory as well as in the field. It covers everyone in the population so from the viewpoint of statistics, it is a 100 per cent sample. The authors of

this booklet are some of the best in the field of genetic and race studies and its method of explaining the somewhat complicated ideas are precise and written for all to understand.

The only criticism that can be made of the booklet is that the editors have bothered to include the chart classifications in the traditional view. With the approach and material included in the booklet, this is incongruous, not to say intrusive. There is no need whatsoever to refer to traditional classifications. The new approach doesn't require it.

Outside of this, however, the booklet is excellently done and is indispensable for those who want an acquaintance with the thinking and research that is approaching the most valid and perhaps final answer to the question, "What is race?"

(TERMS: **Physical anthropology**—The study of the origin and historical development of man's body.

Genetic make-up—The inheritance of genes from our parents. Genes are often pictured as small beads on a string. At conception the child receives half of his genes from each parent. They help determine his physical characteristics, such as color of eyes, size of heart, length of fingers, etc.)

(This beautifully illustrated, simply written, booklet can be obtained for \$1 from UNESCO, Dept. of Mass Communication, United Nations Building, New York, N.Y. We strongly recommend it for teachers.)

Lacquered, brilliant and cold.

(National Screen Service Corp. Photo)

Future of Catholic Education in South



Father John McShane and his rectory. The ground floor is a garage.

NOTE: THE CATHOLIC INTERNATIONALIST is indebted to the ST. JOSEPH MAGAZINE for the reprint of the following interview of California newspaperman, Ted LeBerthon, with Father John McShane, S.S.J., rector of St. Lucy's Church, Houma, Louisiana. At St. Lucy's, Father McShane has built a church, an elementary and a high school, and a convent for the Presentation Sisters who teach there. He faces a future darkened by the prospect of losing many of his students to the new high school for Negroes. Louisiana is belatedly building these new public schools, in hopes of forever staving off the recent court decision by creating a school system that is really "separate but equal.")

LAST DITCH

Q. Father McShane . . . how about this last ditch effort Southerners are making to avoid mixed schools? . . . Is it true Negro students are flocking to these modern public schools?

Ans. In three Texas cities—Galveston, Houston and Beaumont—new public schools have forced Catholic high schools to close their doors.

to launch the strongest appeals . . . to our always increasing number of Northern benefactors. Our missionaries in this overwhelmingly Protestant South will continue to secure most of their funds from Northern Catholics.

CATHOLIC RACISM

Q. Can't you get support of Negro schools from Southern Catholics? In Louisiana aren't there many Catholics?

Ans. Louisiana is forty per cent Catholic. Here in southeastern Louisiana along the bayous and in New Orleans proper there is an over-all sixty-seven per cent Catholic population. . . . But race prejudice is just as virulent here as in other Southern states. . . .

Q. Then Southern white Catholics won't help the cause of Negro education?

Ans. Southern white Catholics haven't been much help in the past, but, in fairness to them, many factors have to be considered. Many of them are not as well off financially as the average Northern Catholic. . . . Some Catholic leaders still want to keep Negroes "in their place" and most still refer to them as "niggers." They also

priests aren't pastoring Negro missions.

Q. Aren't they?

Ans. The Southern-born white secular clergy of the archdiocese of New Orleans—and this would hold true for virtually any Southern diocese or archdiocese—are engaged almost exclusively in ministering to the whites.

Q. Father McShane, isn't it true that you have met critical situations . . . at St. Lucy's, and have handled them successfully?

Ans. I suppose it's true. When I first came to Houma, less than one per cent of all the Negroes were practicing the Catholic faith. . . . Thousands of Negroes in Houma over the years had defected from the Catholic faith that had been their ancestors' when Louisiana was under Spanish and French rule. As late as 1940, some 350 Negroes in Houma were still practicing Catholics but when I came in 1944 there were only ten left. The others had become Baptists, Methodists and Pentecostals. A few went to no church at all.

REAR PEWS—"COLORED ONLY"

Q. Why such wholesale falling away from the Church?

Ans. Why? Because Negroes did not like having to occupy rear pews marked "for colored only" in St. Francis de Sales Church in Houma. They did not like being excluded from societies and sodalities or having to go up to the Communion rail only after all the whites had received.

Q. Hasn't that type of segregation been abolished in this diocese?

Ans. Yes it has. Archbishop . . . Rummel of New Orleans in 1947 ordered the "for colored only" signs removed and said that Negroes were welcome to sit anywhere in any Catholic church in the archdiocese and to join any society or sodality.

Q. You were called to Houma, weren't you, because the ten Negro Catholics wanted a church of their own?

Ans. We had four building campaigns. My poor parishioners contributed less than three per cent of the funds. Better than 77 per cent came from Northerners.

CATHOLIC SEGREGATION A DISPENSATION

Q. Father, will the example of Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio, who abolished segregation in the Catholic schools of his archdiocese, soon be followed by other archbishops and bishops?

Ans. I think the Supreme Court decision of May 17 answers that. Furthermore, the building of separate Catholic schools and churches for any racial group, including Negroes is only permitted by the Holy See under a special dispensation . . . since 1893 . . . at the request of the late Archbishop Janssens of New Orleans. . . .

Q. In other words, the Church has only obeyed civil racist statutes and conformed to Southern customs?

Ans. . . . Legalized segregation was unknown wherever Catholics colonized in the Western Hemisphere. . . . Protestant denominations by first setting up separate churches . . . entrenched Jim Crowism. . . . Few . . . including Catholics, understand this. They think the Church in the South has approved segregation. . . .

INTEGRATION OR NON-SURVIVAL

Q. Then an ending of segregated schools, both Catholic and public, would resolve the crisis now being faced by St. Lucy's and others?

Ans. An integration that would have to be accomplished as soon as possible. . . . It is going to take a long time to change Southern white hearts and minds. I hope we can soon welcome into our schools any child regardless of race, creed, or poverty. But if the archdiocese of New Orleans and our Josephite superior-general would tell us tomorrow that we could invite white pupils to enter our schools, I don't think

ton, Houston and Beaumont—new public schools have forced Catholic high schools to close their doors.

Q. That really answers the question. But Father, surely good looking buildings . . . do not outweigh a Catholic education in the minds of the Negro Catholic parents?

Ans. Catholic parents here are as loyal as Catholic parents anywhere. . . . But Northerners need to realize that an overwhelming majority of the parents of Negro pupils down here are Protestant. Why, only three per cent of all Negroes in United States are Catholic.

Q. What is the enrollment of Protestant pupils in St. Lucy's?

Ans. We have 532 pupils presently enrolled in our elementary and high schools combined. About two-thirds are Protestant. Of the 185 pupils who are Catholics, only 33 were baptized as infants. . . .

TUITION: 25 CENTS A WEEK

Q. Would there be an economic factor in Negro parents sending their children to the public schools? . . .

Ans. Definitely. The fathers of most of our pupils earn bare subsistence wages. Many are sugar-cane cutters, living in sagging old shacks on plantations. In order to maintain St. Lucy's elementary school, we have to charge a tuition of 25 cents a week. The fee for St. Lucy's high school students is \$1.00 a week . . . it is a whole lot to the average Southern Negro breadwinner. . . .

Q. The Church then faces a really critical situation?

Ans. A desperately critical situation that can undo much that we have done here. . . .

NORTHERN HELP

Q. What is going to be the strategy of Catholic schools in the face of this development?

Ans. . . . I daresay many will do what I've long been doing and am going to continue to do. . . . We will have

Catholic leaders still want to keep Negroes "in their place" and most still refer to them as "niggers." They also fear that if Negroes are "over-educated" they'll no longer want to cut sugar cane and do menial domestic work.

SOUTHERN CLERGY WORK WITH WHITES

Q. Are white Catholics antagonistic to the work of the Church with Negroes?

Ans. We Josephite priests are often called "Yankee" priests. . . . Whites often deplore that Southern-born

weren't you, because the ten negro Catholics wanted a church of their own?

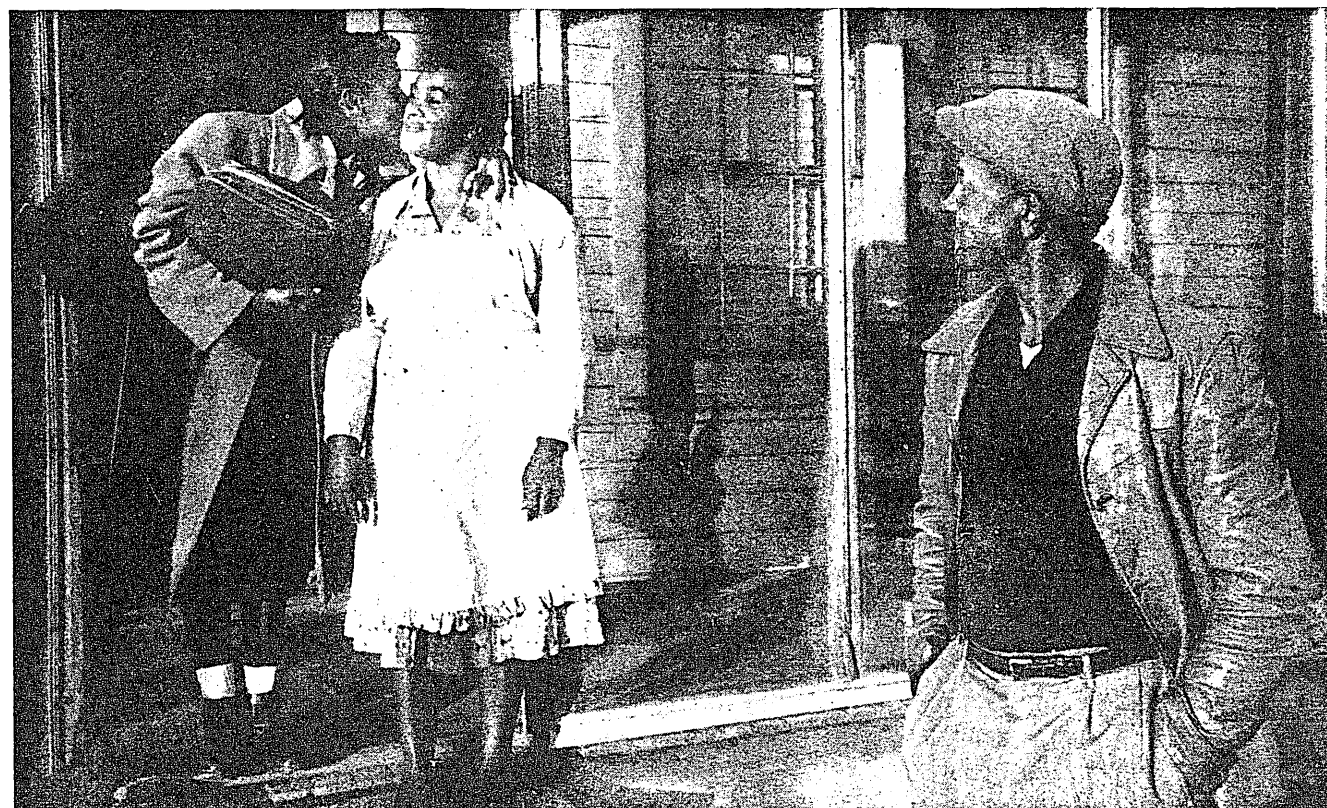
Ans. The three Negro men called on me at St. Luke's . . . in Thibodeaux, sixteen miles from Houma. They were hoping I could come over to Houma and say one Mass. . . . Archbishop Rummel gave me permission and I secured free the rather shabby assembly hall of a wooden public school for Negroes as my first "church".

Q. How were you able to build all that (church, schools, convent) in ten years, Father McShane, with no assets?

tomorrow that we could invite white pupils to enter our schools, I don't think very many would come. . . .

Q. Even with integration, St. Lucy's would still have to compete with the handsome new public high school? . . . St. Lucy's and other Catholic schools in the South must offer pupils equal if not better educational, athletic and social facilities?

Ans. . . . Otherwise much that has been done for us in the past will be undone by these new public high schools for Negroes.



Beverly Porche kisses her parents good-bye and sets out for her daily, thirty-mile round-trip bus ride to St. Lucy's. Beverly is one of many Baptist pupils at St. Lucy's.

(Photos courtesy of St. Joseph Magazine)

CATHOLIC INTERRACIALIST

*desegregation
charlotte news*

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS, Wednesday, June 1, 1955

The stark, elementary realities of the Supreme Court decision
on segregation in the public schools can be avoided no longer.

Racial barriers which have existed for generations must be dis-
solved. A massive change--^{slow}show, uneven, ever shifting--is about
to take place.

Collier's

640 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK
PLAZA 9-1000

desegregation
Collier's

August 12, 1955

Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Henry:

The editorial department asked
me to express their appreciation for your
suggestion on desegregation story.

When something develops on it,
I'll be contacting you.

Sincerely yours,

Al Dann
Al Dann

AD/jw

*Desegregation
Collier's*

July 13, 1955

Dear Al:

Thanks for your note of June 29 and the enclosed tearsheets of the COLLIER'S editorial "Integration: An American Doctrine." I was very happy to see this editorial and I am sure it should prove helpful to all of us who are battling to eliminate irrelevant racial barriers.

Again, many thanks for the advance copy.

Sincerely,

Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations

Mr. Al Dann
COLLIER'S
650 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

HLM:mw

Collier's

THURSDAY JUL 21 1955

640 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK
PLAZA 8-1000

AM

June 29, 1955

Henry L. Moon,
Public Relations Director,
NAACP
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Henry:

Here are the tearsheets on the
integration editorial. It will appear in
the issue out Thursday, July 7.

We plan to send copies to all
important Negro papers, publicizing the
editorial.

Sincerely yours,

Al Dann

Al Dann

AD/jw
Enc.

*P.S. It's nice talking
to you about something I'm
really proud to mention to
you.*

*Desegregation
Collier*

July 29, 1955

Dear Al:

I know that Collier's has done a great deal in the realm of race relations in recent months. However, I would like to suggest a possible article which I think will not only have reader interest but should be helpful in achieving the objectives of the Supreme Court rulings on school desegregation.

Out in Springfield, Missouri, the school board has successfully integrated the classrooms and teacher personnel. This was done without fanfare and without any publicized resistance, as far as I can find out. Everyone seems to be pretty well satisfied with the new arrangement.

I would like to suggest the possibility of an article by the superintendent of schools or the president of the board of education in Springfield under some such title as "How We Desegregated Our Schools." I don't know the superintendent nor anyone connected with that system but I should think that he would have an interesting story to tell and hope that he would know how to write such a story. At any rate, I pass the idea on to you for whatever you may think it worth.

Sincerely,

Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations

Mr. Al Dann
COLLIER'S
640 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

HLM:mnw

*Desegregation
The Columbia Record
Geo B. Minter*

September 15, 1955

Mr. George B. Minter
The Columbia Record
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Minter:

Thanks for the clippings of our telephone interview. They were accurate. If I could have added anything from our long conversation it would have been my supporting remark on intermarriage, namely, that where there are non-segregated schools there is not only no great social mixing, but practically no intermarriage. Thus the thesis that non-segregated schools produce intermarriage falls flat on its face. It is, as I said and believe, a straw man.

Mr. Marshall since his return from vacation has sent a denial of the reported agreement in the Summerton matter.

Very sincerely yours,

ROY WILKINS
Executive Secretary

RW:EJS

The Columbia Record
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. Roy Wilkins
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

I enjoyed our telephone talk the other day and felt it quite informative. I appreciate your answering those questions on the basis of what information I could read or summarize to you over the phone.

I am enclosing two clippings, ~~based on~~ two articles I did on our conversation, as requested by ~~me~~ you.

Should you change your policy or take some step ~~not~~ significant to South Carolina, I would appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Sincerely,

 George B. Minter

THE COLUMBIA RECORD
SEPT 2, 1955

DROPPING CASE?

NAACP Silent on Summerton Delay, Admits It Has Problem

By GEORGE MINTER

Nothing in the "proceedings or plans" of the legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People indicates they are dropping the Clarendon County case, but it "admittedly presents a problem," NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins says.

Wilkins' carefully-worded remarks were given in an interview by telephone from his New York office.

They were made in reply to a report in The Columbia Record that the NAACP may not press for integration in the Summerton school district. He said decisions in the matter were handled by their chief counsel, Thurgood Marshall.

Meanwhile, no action is reported to have been taken yet by the Summerton school board.

S. E. Rogers, Summerton attorney who represents the Summerton school district trustees, says he will contact the University of North Carolina after the university begins its fall term and ask their assistance.

He said he specifically wants the aid of the departments of education and sociology in select-

ing a survey team to carry out the court's order for "elucidating, assessing and solving" the problems of integrating the schools there.

This week a source close to South Carolina's school test case told The Columbia Record that Marshall had informed counsel for the Summerton school trustees "we'll lay off" the Summerton district in view of the acute problems to be solved in desegregating the schools there.

Wilkins would not say whether the NAACP had temporarily ceased its efforts to invoke the Supreme Court's decree eliminating racial discrimination in that district.

Counsel for the Summerton school trustees reportedly met with Marshall and his legal assistants after the first court hearing held here to follow up the Supreme Court's mandate to act "with all deliberate speed."

The school attorneys served notice the trustees would definitely close the schools if the court ordered them (the trustees) to take steps that would place Negro students in white schools.

And the trustees' counsel pointed out that this would prevent

a much larger number of Negroes than whites from continuing their education. There were 2,479 Negro pupils and 297 white pupils enrolled in the Summerton schools last year.

Eliminating segregation in the Summerton district, the school board contends, is not just a matter of admitting a few Negroes to white schools. It would, in effect, be the admission of a few whites to predominantly Negro schools.

At a hearing here July 15 before Chief Judge John J. Parker of the U. S. Fourth Court of Appeals, Circuit Judge Armistead M. Dobie and District Judge George Bell Timmerman, the Summerton trustees sought time in which to study the problems presented by the high court's decision.

Counsel for the school board read a petition to the court from the trustees stating they had already authorized formation of a survey team. They asserted they (the trustees) were not experts at "elucidating and assessing" integration problems, as demanded by the Supreme Court.

Expert advice would be sought in scrutinizing these problems, they told the special court.

THE COLUMBIA RECORD SEPT 1, 1955

New Segregation Controversy

INTERMARRIAGE DISPUTE GROWS

WILKINS:

**NOT GOAL
OF NAACP**

**But Others
Say It Is**

By GEORGE MINTER

Neither forced racial association nor intermarriage is the goal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins of New York told The Columbia Record today in an exclusive telephone interview.

Wilkins was asked to comment on the remarks of Albert A. Kennedy, state NAACP counselor, who said the NAACP supports a program of full integration.

A Columbia Negro attorney, Kennedy, added that he was "sure the NAACP knows that once you integrate, it (intermarriage of the races) is the natural consequence."

To this Wilkins replied:

"We are not engaging in any campaign to force social association between the races."

He emphasized intermarriage is not a goal of the NAACP and said, "Kennedy was right in saying he does not speak for the NAACP on the intermarriage question."

Kennedy is "off-base" in the "intermarriage business," Wilkins said, not only in implying it is the NAACP's goal, but also in stating it is the "natural consequence of integration."

Wilkins said the NAACP regards "social mingling between people ... as something that takes care of itself." The NAACP is not cam-

paigping for one Negro to associate with a certain, or any, white person, he said.

"Where some of the people in these groups (who believe this) run into difficulty is that they interpret some forms of association—such as that on buses—as social intermingling.

"We do not.

"No man can be forced to eat dinner, or invite someone to his home or belong to a social club with anybody that he doesn't want to.

"We are positively not trying to force social intermingling of this type.

"Our position is that a purely social association will take care of itself. We don't have a program to make people associate with one another.

"When people are free to go and come as they please, they will form their own social connections. That has been true of every racial and religious group."

He pointed to the general community associations of Germans around Yorkville in New York City and Jews on the lower East Side. But he said these groups don't live exclusively there.

The Negroes live mostly apart in Harlem, Wilkins observed, and associate with persons of their own race.

"This social mingling is a straw man—something put up to be knocked down," he said. "Social history shows no mass embracing of any group by another group."

Wilkins was asked if the NAACP spoke for the Southern Negro as a group. He replied it did.

"I am so convinced of this that it does not worry me."

The "innermost desires and wishes of Negroes" are expressed through the NAACP, he said.

Although there are only 300,000 members, many Negroes contribute

INTERMARRIAGE

(Continued From Page One)

to the organization without joining.

He said there was very little support from among Southern whites in actual membership. But "we sometimes get letters with cash in them, but no checks." He added that the money was "not a great deal, but some."

Asked why many Negroes had recently asked that their names be removed from NAACP petitions seeking to integrate schools, Wilkins charged "pressures" that began "to operate" were the real reasons.

The Negroes had professed ignorance of the purpose of the petitions.

Although "some of them claim misunderstanding as an 'out' ", he asserted, "it is difficult for me to believe that any literate Negro did not understand what the situation was."

He said, "Some of these petitions were signed at public meetings at which the whole purpose was explained."

But he admitted he couldn't say definitely "that petitions taken around from door to door were explained to each and every individual."

He cited economic pressure from some employers as the reason for the change of mind by some Negroes. "He (the Negro) has a wife and kids, and a job to keep."

And he added:

"Names being struck from petitions are understandable. It is hard for me to believe the stories that they didn't know what it was all about."

"The goal of the NAACP," he said, "is to win full and complete first-class citizenship for Negro Americans . . . equality with all other citizens . . . that is, no denial or restriction on the basis of race."

The NAACP will not be satisfied with voluntary school segregation, he asserted.

"Asking Negroes to accept voluntary segregation is asking them to accept less than the courts have said they are entitled to."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

Official Organ: The Crisis

September 9, 1955



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The Editor
Columbia Record
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

I have just read a clipping from the Columbia Record of August 30th entitled: "Negroes May Delay Clarendon Demand." In that story it is stated:

"Thurgood Marshall, chief NAACP counsel, reportedly informed counsel for the Summerton School trustees he will leave the Summerton district alone in view of the acute problems to be solved in desegregating the schools there."

And it is also reported:

"But the present report on the informal meeting held after the court hearing indicates the NAACP will not further attempt to force integration in this district, but apparently will shift their efforts to other areas."

These statements as well as the whole tenor of the story is completely inaccurate. We have not changed our position one iota from what we stated to the United States District Court at the hearing on July 15th to the effect that: (1) We believed that both sides should work together in a spirit of good faith and cooperation to carry out the order of the Court issued on that day and, (2) if we should "get to the point where either side was dissatisfied and it couldn't be worked out on an amicable basis, then further relief would be sought . . . the Court having retained jurisdiction."

Nothing has been said by me privately or publicly which in any way justifies a contrary conclusion to this position.

The Editor - Columbia Record

-2-

Sept. 9, 1955

It is true that after the hearing on July 15th I talked with the attorneys for defendants. During that conversation I stated that we would not formally present the Negro children to the white schools for admission in September because such an action was not necessary in the present posture of the case and would have no legal significance. During the same conference I made it clear that we would not give up any of our rights.

I sincerely hope that you will correct this obvious misstatement of fact in the aforementioned article in the Columbia Record.

Very truly yours,

Thurgood Marshall
Special Counsel

TM:abs

*Desegregation
Dukes
Courier*

November 4, 1955

Mr. Ofield Dukes
Pittsburgh COURIER Office
3935 John R. Street
Detroit 1, Michigan

Dear Mr. Dukes:

I am enclosing a news release which we sent out just before school opened in September. We have not made any summary since that time. Also enclosed is a pamphlet which we issued last year following the May 17 decision.

The best current source of information on the progress of desegregation is the SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, published monthly in Nashville, Tennessee, by the Southern Education Reporting Service, P.O. Box 6156 Acklen Station. Copies of this journal most probably are available in the Library at Wayne University if not in the Detroit city library.

There is also a new book entitled "Citizens Guide to Desegregation: A Story of Social and Legal Change in America," by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg of our staff, published this year by Beacon Press, Boston. This book gives valuable background information on this subject and may be available at any local book store.

I hope that this information will be of service to you.

Sincerely,

Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations

HLM:mw

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Newspaper in the World

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Gladys M. Johnson, Manager

26007 NOV 13 '55

Monday, Nov. 1, 1955

Mr. Henry Lee Moon
Director of Public Relations
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Mr. Moon,

I am a reporter for the Detroit Edition of the Pittsburgh Courier and also a student at Wayne University.

The editor of the University daily paper, The Collegian, has suggested that I do a series of stories on the progress of school integration in the South. Wayne is a city-owned college with an approximate enrollment of 17,000.

Because of this large and diverse readership, I wouldn't want to begin the series without a source of authoritative data.

So, Mr. Moon would you please send me (C.O.D) all available literature (or a list of references) on the latest developments in the school integration process?

Thank you for your co-operation.

Sincerely yours
Ofield Dukes
Ofield Dukes

October 7, 1953

*School Cases
Courier*

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE FROM MR. WILKINS:

You will recall the discussion that surrounded the Courier's request for a list of our branches and how it was cleared up when Mrs. Lampkin explained that they intended to do a series of articles on segregated school facilities in a number of states and wanted the list in order to call the attention of our branches to the articles as they appeared.

Some kind of an explosion seemed to be imminent and their explanation was very plausible and right along with our school cases so I sent the list and asked that they send us samples of any communications sent to our units.

The attached is apparently the letter they sent out. It is a very "cute" operation in that it does outline the series of articles which are of deep interest to our members and the public generally in spreading information about the school cases. However, the second series of articles, while being within our general interest and our concern for making the Negro citizens more active politically, also lends itself to the interpretations which John Clark chooses to place upon the facts he discovers. The tip-off on his interpretation might be found in the phrase in the letter "who predicted the Eisenhower victory in 1952."

All in all I suppose that we do not have a very big squawk since these two series of articles could be said to be about three-fourths on our side. I just wanted you to see the material.

Attachment
RWLEJS