

124-A-1 SCHOOL DECISION (5)  
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124-A-1 SCHOOL DECISION (5)  
PRO

G.F.

February 2, 1959

RECEIVED  
FEB - 4 1959  
GENERAL FILES

Dear Miss Monahan:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of January twenty-third and enclosure concerning the sensitive issue of human rights.

Your interest in writing to express your views and comments is appreciated. The issue is one which requires patience, understanding and forbearance from all persons. The President will continue to work with all the skill which he can command to advance the time-honored principles of American equality and justice.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Miss Janette<sup>X</sup> Monahan  
1434 Santa Monica Boulevard  
Santa Monica, California

lrs

*Re: Integration*

Santa Monica, California  
January 23, 1959

The Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington 25, D.C.

My Dear Mr. President:

I have just finished reading an open letter to you from a Mr. Carleton Putnam, published in the Christian Science Monitor as an advertisement; and the opinions he has expressed "tempt me to write you this letter."

Although Mr. Putnam seems to take perhaps a justifiable pride in emphasizing his own personal qualifications of superiority, I believe the purpose of his letter is to emphasize or qualify or even sell the principle of race superiority. At least it is that part of his letter which interests me the most; and like Mr. Putnam "I risk the presumption of a comment." But unlike Mr. Putnam I risk it from a less lofty rung on the post of observation.

It is this matter of superiority and inferiority that is of special interest to me, and I wish to express "MY PERSONAL CONVICTION" that if one then everyone has the right to make his own self-appraisal and to base it on whatever qualifications he may choose: money, education, social standing, adherence to traditions, public service, courage, Christian fortitude, talents, or anything else that he or she may choose, so long as it carries the weight of a personal opinion only, and is not presumed to include the right of taking precedence over the constitutional provision of "Equal rights under the law."

As to the social associations of which Mr. Putnam seems to be so fearful, can a school not be accepted for what I believe it was primarily intended: a place of teaching and learning? And can not social activities and the pursuit of happiness remain what I believe they were intended to be: personal matters carried on at the discretion and expense of the students and their families and not at the expense of public funds collected on a basis of equality?

Mr. Putnam quotes the opinions of many reputable people. Very good, but are they not just personal opinions; and because they were made in years long past or even at the present time, does that mean that other people can not have opposing opinions of equal weight under the law?

I agree with Mr. Putnam that Congress has the right to make new laws at any time, but I do not believe Congress has the right to make laws that take away the constitutional rights of a minority or any individual because of his color, race or creed.

If Congress has that right, it seems to me the majority of people or the representative majority can legislate to itself the power of granting privileges not only to itself but to others of its own choosing; and both history and the events of the present day tell us that of such seeds revolutions are born.

I do not have the prestige or money to make this a public letter, but I do have a typewriter, stationery, stamp, and the will to express my own opinions; and I have succumbed to the temptation to write them down in this letter to you.

Sincerely yours,

*Janette Morahan*

## **Distinguished New Englander Discusses High Court's Decision on Public Schools**

Washington, D. C.  
October 13, 1958

The Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

*Carleton Putnam, who wrote the following letter to Pres. Eisenhower, is a member of the famous New England Putnam family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia, founder and president of Chicago and Southern Airlines (1933-1948), and is on the board of Delta Airlines. He recently published a widely-praised biography of Theodore Roosevelt.*

# My Dear Mr. President:

A few days ago I was reading over Justice Frankfurter's opinion in the recent Little Rock case. Three sentences in it tempt me to write you this letter. I am a Northerner, but I have spent a large part of my life as a business executive in the South. I have a law degree, but I am now engaged in historical writing. From this observation post I risk the presumption of a comment.

The sentences I wish to examine are these: "Local customs, however hardened by time, are not decreed in heaven. Habits and feelings they engender may be counteracted and moderated. Experience attests that such local habits and feelings will yield, gradually though this be, to law and education."

★ ★ ★

IT IS MY PERSONAL CONVICTION that the local customs in this case were "hardened by time" for a very good reason, and that while they may not, as Frankfurter says, have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court. I was particularly puzzled by Frankfurter's remark that "the Constitution is not the formulation of the merely personal views of the members of this court." Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later, it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court.

It is not my purpose to dispute the point with which the greater part of Frankfurter's opinion is concerned. The law must be obeyed. But I think the original desegregation decision was wrong, that it ought to be reversed, and that meanwhile every legal means should be found, not to disobey it but to

minimum of white help or hindrance, genetically or otherwise, can be measured today in the Congo.

Lord Bryce, a distinguished and impartial foreign observer, presented the situation accurately in his *American Commonwealth* when he wrote in 1880:

"History is a record of the progress towards civilization of races originally barbarous. But that progress has in all cases been slow and gradual . . . Utterly dissimilar is the case of the African Negro, caught up in and whirled along with the swift movement of the American democracy. In it we have a singular juxtaposition of the most primitive and the most recent, the most rudimentary and the most highly developed, types of culture . . . A body of savages is violently carried across the ocean and set to work as slaves on the plantations of masters who are three or four thousand years in advance of them in mental capacity and moral force . . . Suddenly, even more suddenly than they were torn from Africa, they find themselves, not only free, but made full citizens and active members of the most popular government the world has seen, treated as fit to bear an equal part in ruling, not only themselves, but also their recent masters."

One does not telescope three or four thousand years into the 78 years since Bryce wrote. One may change the terms of the problem by mixed breeding, but if ever there was a matter that ought to be left to local option it would seem to be the decision as to when the mixture has produced an acceptable amalgam in the schools. And I see no

the sort of *ipso facto* equality suggested by your context? The whole idea contradicts the basic tenet of the Christian and Jewish religions that status is earned through righteousness and is not an automatic matter. What is true of religion and righteousness is just as true of achievement in other fields. And what is true among individuals is just as true of averages among races.

The confusion here is not unlike the confusion created by some left-wing writers between the doctrine of equality and the doctrine of Christian love. The command to love your neighbor is not a command either to consider your neighbor your equal, or yourself his equal: perhaps the purest example of great love without equality is the love between parent and child. In fact the equality doctrine as a whole, except when surrounded by a plethora of qualifications, is so untenable that it falls to pieces at the slightest thoughtful examination.

★ ★ ★

FRANKFURTER closes his opinion with a quotation from Abraham Lincoln, to whom the Negro owes more than to any other man. I, too, would like to quote from Lincoln. At Charleston, Ill., in September 1858 in a debate with Douglas, Lincoln said:

"I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor qualifying them to hold office . . . I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political

by time, are not decreed in heaven. Habits and feelings they engender may be counteracted and moderated. Experience attests that such local habits and feelings will yield, gradually though this be, to law and education."

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It is not my purpose to dispute the point with which the greater part of Frankfurter's opinion is concerned. The law must be obeyed. But I think the original desegregation decision was wrong, that it ought to be reversed, and that meanwhile every legal means should be found, not to disobey it but to avoid it. Failing this, the situation should be corrected by constitutional amendment.

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I CANNOT AGREE that this is a matter involving "a few states" as Frankfurter suggests. The picture in reality is of a court, by one sudden edict, forcing upon the entire South a view, and a way of life, with which the great majority of the population are in complete disagreement. Although not from the legal, in fact from the practical, standpoint the North, which does not have the problem, is presuming to tell the South, which does have the problem, what to do.

To me there is a frightening arrogance in this performance. Neither the North, nor the court, has any holy mandate inherent in the trend of the times or the progress of liberalism to reform society in the South. In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word "association" here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please, and the right not to associate with whom you please.) Moreover, am I not correct in my recollection that it was the social stigma of segregation and its effect upon the Negro's "mind and heart" to which the court objected as much as to any other, and thus that the court, in forcing the black man's right to equal education was actually determined to violate the white man's right to freedom of association?

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IN ANY CASE the crux of this issue would seem obvious: social status has to be earned. Or, to put it another way, equality of association has to be mutually agreed to and mutually desired. It cannot be achieved by legal fiat. Personally, I feel only affection for the Negro. But there are facts that have to be faced. Any man with two eyes in his head can observe a Negro settlement in the Congo, can study the pure-blooded African in his native habitat as he exists when left on his own resources, can compare this settlement with London or Paris, and can draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence—or that combination of character and intelligence which is civilization. Finally, he can inquire as to the number of pure-blooded blacks who have made contributions to great literature or engineering or medicine or philosophy or abstract science. (I do not include singing or athletics as these are not primarily matters of character and intelligence.) Nor is there any validity to the argument that the Negro "hasn't been given a chance." We were all in caves or trees originally. The progress which the pure-blooded black has made when left to himself, with a

dissimilar is the case of the African Negro, caught up in and whirled along with the swift movement of the American democracy. In it we have a singular juxtaposition of the most primitive and the most recent, the most rudimentary and the most highly developed, types of culture . . . A body of savages is violently carried across the ocean and set to work as slaves on the plantations of masters who are three or four thousand years in advance of them in mental capacity and moral force . . . Suddenly, even more suddenly than they were torn from Africa, they find themselves, not only free, but made full citizens and active members of the most popular government the world has seen, treated as fit to bear an equal part in ruling, not only themselves, but also their recent masters."

One does not telescope three or four thousand years into the 78 years since Bryce wrote. One may change the terms of the problem by mixed breeding, but if ever there was a matter that ought to be left to local option it would seem to be the decision as to when the mixture has produced an acceptable amalgam in the schools. And I see no reason for penalizing a locality that does not choose to mix.

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I WOULD EMPHATICALLY SUPPORT improvement of education in Negro schools, if and where it is inferior. Equality of opportunity and equality before the law, when not strained to cover other situations, are acceptable ideals because they provide the chance to earn and to progress—and consequently should be enforced by legal fiat as far as is humanly possible. But equality of association, which desegregation in Southern schools involves, pre-supposes a status which in the South the average Negro has not earned. To force it upon the Southern white will, I think, meet with as much opposition as the prohibition amendment encountered in the wet states.

Throughout this controversy there has been frequent mention of the equality of man as a broad social objective. No proposition in recent years has been clouded by more loose thinking. Not many of us would care to enter a poetry contest with Keats, nor play chess with the national champion, nor set our character beside Albert Schweitzer's. When we see the doctrine of equality contradicted everywhere around us in fact, it remains a mystery why so many of us continue to give it lip service in theory, and why we tolerate the vicious notion that status in any field need not be earned.

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PIN DOWN THE MAN who uses the word "equality," and at once the evasions and qualifications begin. As I recall, you, yourself, in a recent statement used some phrase to the effect that men were "equal in the sight of God." I would be interested to know where in the Bible you get your authority for this conception. There is doubtless authority in Scripture for the concept of potential equality in the sight of God—after earning that status, and with various further qualifications—but where is the authority for

tween the doctrine of equality and the doctrine of Christian love. The command to love your neighbor is not a command either to consider your neighbor your equal, or yourself his equal: perhaps the purest example of great love without equality is the love between parent and child. In fact the equality doctrine as a whole, except when surrounded by a plethora of qualifications, is so untenable that it falls to pieces at the slightest thoughtful examination.

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"I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor qualifying them to hold office . . . I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And in as much as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

The extent to which Lincoln would have modified these views today, or may have modified them before his death, is a moot question, but it is clear on its face that he would not have been in sympathy with the Supreme Court's position on desegregation. Many historians have felt that when Lincoln died the South lost the best friend it had. This also may be moot, but again it seems clear that for 94 years—from the horrors of Reconstruction through the Supreme Court's desegregation decision—the North has been trying to force the black man down the white Southerner's throat, and it is a miracle that relations between the races in the South have progressed as well as they have.

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PERHAPS the most discouraging spectacle is the spectacle of Northern newspapers dwelling with pleasure upon the predicament of the Southern parent who is forced to choose between desegregation and no school at all for his child. It does not seem to occur to these papers that this is the cruelest sort of blackmail; that the North is virtually putting a pistol at the head of the Southern parent in a gesture which every Northerner must contemplate with shame.

Indeed, there now seems little doubt that the court's recent decision has set back the cause of the Negro in the South by a generation. He may force his way into white schools, but he will not force his way into white hearts nor earn the respect he seeks. What evolution was slowly and wisely achieving, revolution has now arrested, and the trail of bitterness will lead far.

Sincerely yours,

CARLETON PUTNAM

This advertisement was paid for by individual donations from hundreds of citizens throughout the South and from many in other States. The Putnam Letter Committee takes this opportunity to express its appreciation to these contributors for their aid in making possible the publication of Mr. Putnam's letter in this and other newspapers.

## PUTNAM LETTER COMMITTEE

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Birmingham 3, Alabama

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School of Education  
S. H. P. M.  
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RECEIVED  
JAN 22 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

January 21, 1959

Dear Mr. Van Epps:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him.

Your observations regarding the sensitive issue of school integration have been noted, and I assure you that the President greatly appreciates having them. In these difficult times it is most helpful to obtain a cross section of the thinking of conscientious citizens like yourself.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Mr. David A. Van Epps  
1007 Temple Building  
Rochester 4  
New York

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NEW YORK STATE PILGRIM FELLOWSHIP

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"racial"  
1/21/59  
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1957-58

1007 Temple Building  
Rochester 4, New York  
November 17, 1958

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118 COLORADO AVE  
WATERTOWN, N Y

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*Editor of VISION*

MISS LENA SCHNEITER  
36 DEWEY AVE  
FAIRPORT, N Y

The President of the United States  
White House  
Washington, District of Columbia

Dear Sir:

The Fourth Assembly of the New York State Pilgrim Fellowship wishes to bring to your attention the resolution which it passed concerning segregation. The above mentioned resolution is enclosed in this letter.

The New York State Pilgrim Fellowship Assembly meets every year to plan and discuss programs and areas of concern. We realize that a great deal of work has been done in this area, but we feel there is a great deal more work to be done on a state and national level as well as in organizations such as ours. Our organization represents approximately 4500 youth in the state of New York.

Yours truly,

David A. Van Epps

David A. Van Epps  
President 1957-58

We, the members of this Fourth Assembly of the New York State Pilgrim Fellowship, meeting at Lisle, New York, August 30, 1958, affirm the action taken by previous meetings of the National Council of Pilgrim Fellowship and the General Council of Congregational Churches, in pledging ourselves to work for a non-segregated Church in a non-segregated society.

We declare our belief that the gospel of Jesus Christ is for all men without distinction as to race or color. We further believe that the Church is by its nature a fellowship whose only test for membership is the individual's faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and the intent to follow Him.

Recognizing that our deeds do not fully match our words, we humbly rededicate ourselves and call upon all of our members to rededicate themselves to the unfinished task of achieving an integrated society.

We note with gratification that our nation, through decisions made by its highest court, is now in the process of eradicating segregation based on race, from public services and institutions, including schools and colleges.

We deplore the position which segments of our nation have taken contrary to the decisions of the Supreme Court and the relationship of these decisions to eradicating segregation based on race or color. We urge carefully considered, yet vigorous enforcement by the executive branch of our national government, of the decisions in this area made by the Supreme Court.

It is our firm conviction that the Constitutional rights of all men to engage in free and open discussion of all the issues in race relations must be assured, along with the right to vote and to join organizations of their choice without becoming the objects of economic reprisals, threats, or acts of violence.

We urge those Fellowships where there are no visible evidences of prejudice, to study their area to see whether are any subtle restrictions placed on minority groups in their church or community, realizing that all Christians are compelled to strive for brotherhood and justice.

We urge Pilgrim Fellowship in localities where the racial composition of the population is changing to consider and seek to reduce the tensions in their area.

We recognize that, at the present time, some of our local Fellowships face extreme difficulties in teaching and practicing racial integration. Humbly acknowledging problems in this respect, even where circumstances are relatively favorable, we assure our fellow-members who are in particularly difficult situations, of our sympathetic understanding. United in Christ, let us encourage and strengthen each other in faith and obedience while we labor, with God's help, to achieve a non-segregated Church in a non-segregated society.

G.F.

124. A-1

Feb 20 1959

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January 26, 1959

RECEIVED  
JAN 27 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mrs. Cirillo:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter of January nineteenth, in which you enclosed a resolution made by the patrons of Belvedere School. \*

In these difficult times it is helpful to obtain a cross section of the thinking of conscientious citizens like yourself, and the President appreciates having your observations on the acute schools situation in Virginia. I can assure you that the President will resolutely continue to carry out the responsibilities of his office which are inherent in his oath to uphold and defend the Constitution and the laws of our Nation.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Mrs. Ada H. Cirillo \*  
President  
Belvedere Parent Teachers Association  
Belvedere Elementary School  
Columbia Pike  
Falls Church, Virginia

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JAN 21 1959  
CENTRAL FILE

JAN 21 1959

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most letter of January 1959, in which  
the President has asked me to express my  
views on this matter.

Dear Mr. President:

January 19, 1959

Dear Mr. President:

As President of the Belvedere Parent Teachers Association, Fairfax County, Virginia, I am transmitting the enclosed Resolution to you, which reflects the opinion of the patrons of the Belvedere School with respect to the present Virginia public school crisis.

I am taking this opportunity to express certain of my personal views on this matter, in addition to those reflected in the Resolution.

It is my personal belief that the closing of the public schools of Virginia is a step towards the betrayal of our children and of our Nation's future and is in direct opposition to the spirit of the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

Action to deny our children one of the most precious privileges enjoyed in our way of life is not the solution to a problem. It is nothing more than a pathetic admission to ourselves, to our children, to other free peoples - and to the Communists - that there are problems which are insoluble under our system of government.

I personally do not believe that there exists a problem on the face of the earth which is insoluble within a truly democratic concept.

If we are to seek by referendum vote to determine how the citizens of Virginia feel about this issue, let us not seek to vote on the problem of "integration". Let us instead seek to get to the core of the matter - let us ask the citizens of this state whether they subscribe to the principles and beliefs set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States. For the

The President  
of the United States  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

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time is past when we can give lip service to such phrases as "all men are created equal". The real issue at stake is whether or not we, as Americans, believe such phrases to be fundamental truths. If we do, then we must live by them, difficult though this may be for some of us; for let us remember that many others have died for them.

Respectfully yours,

*Ada H. Cirillo*

Ada H. Cirillo  
President  
Belvedere Parent Teachers Association  
Fairfax County, Virginia

(copy)

*Columbia Pike  
Falls Church, Va.*

Attachment

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS:

The Parent Teachers Association of Belvedere School, Fairfax County, Virginia believes that the continued growth of our Nation, and the survival of our Democracy in the competitive struggle for world leadership, depends upon the knowledge and capabilities of our children in the years ahead, and

WHEREAS:

This Association further believes that a sound and effective public school system is an essential, and irreplaceable, tool for the education and development of the children of the citizens of this State to meet the challenge of that struggle, now therefore be it

RESOLVED:

That appropriate administrative and legislative officials be requested to take immediate steps to re-open all Virginia schools which have been closed and to insure the continuous operation of all our public schools, and be it further

RESOLVED:

That copies of this resolution be transmitted by the President of the Belvedere Parent Teachers Association to the President of the United States, the Governor of the State of Virginia, the Senators and Representatives from this area in the Virginia General Assembly, the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, the Fairfax County School Board, and the Fairfax County Parent Teachers Association Council.

G.F.

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January 12, 1959

RECEIVED  
JAN 12 1959  
CENTRAL 1018

Dear Mrs. Reich:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him of January fifth and enclosure.

I assure you that in these difficult times it is most helpful to obtain the reactions and thinking of citizens like yourself. Your letter to the Editor of the New York Times prompted by the one written by Carleton Putnam is appreciated.

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The President will continue to work with all the skill which he can command to advance the time-honored principles of American equality and justice as they apply to what we have come to regard as a fundamental human right -- the right to a public education.

At the same time, this issue is one which requires patience, understanding and forbearance from all persons.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Mrs. Alan I. Reich  
824 Woodbine Avenue  
Mamaroneck, New York

lrs

*Mrs. Alan I. Reich*  
824 Woodbine Avenue  
Mamaroneck, N. Y.

January 5, 1959

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

My dear Mr. President:

The New York Times of January 5, 1959 carries an advertisement of more than half a page devoted to a letter written by Mr. Carleton Putnam, addressed to you. I do not have at my command the facilities for publicizing this letter in like manner, but I did write a letter to the editor of the New York Times, a copy of which I am enclosing.

I am not a "distinguished citizen"; I am just one of the many, a "population statistic", but I felt it my duty to let you know how I feel on this crucial matter, and while I speak for no organization or group of any kind, I know, from my friends and associates, that I am not alone in my stand.

May I take this opportunity of saying that I think it should be a source of great pride to you that one of the historic decisions of our great Supreme Court was made by a Court whose complexion you had a share in creating by the appointments you made.

Respectfully yours

*Margaret B. Reich*

Mrs. Alan I. Reich

Encl.



C O P Y

Jan. 5, 1959

To the Editor of the New York Times:

Since Mr. Carleton Putnam's letter to the President of the United States, commenting on the Supreme Court's decision in the Little Rock case, appeared as an advertisement in the New York Times of Jan. 5, 1959, I am availing myself of this means of taking exception to certain remarks contained in that letter.

In many respects it is a remarkable document. It purports to be the objective observation of a thoughtful, educated business man with a professional background, "now engaged in historical writing". But even a cursory reading of this letter reveals a thinly-veiled prejudice, an astonishing distortion of fact, an inexcusable misconception of certain basic concepts of democracy and semantics, as revealed particularly in the use of the word "equality". I should like to confine myself specifically to just one point. One of Mr. Putnam's strongest objections to integration in the public schools is that it violates "the white man's right to freedom of association". How? Does a law which says that public schools must be open to all children also force association of each child in that school with every other child in that school? What nonsense! I'd be interested in knowing what kind of schools were attended by Mr. Putnam, or his children, schools below the college level particularly. Even if they were "lily white", and everything else Mr. Putnam desired, did he, or his children, associate on an equal basis with all the other children of the school? Did he become close friends with all of them, if indeed he retained friendship with any of them after leaving school? Mr. Putnam misses what seems to me to be the crux of this matter - and I, for one, am grateful that the Supreme Court of the United States did not - that there is a world of difference between permitting the natural selection among human beings of their own associates, and legislating against any such association. Is not this kind of legislation one of the fundamental differences between democracy and totalitarianism?

I should like to submit, for Mr. Putnam's consideration, the proposition that the future strength and greatness of our country will ultimately be determined not so much by how far ahead we keep of the Russians in the conquest of space, but by the extent to which we "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity", to all of us and for all our posterity, not just the white citizens among us.

Margaret B. Reich  
(Mrs. Alan J. Reich)

C.F.  
174-A-1  
John A. ...

January 19, 1959

RECEIVED  
JAN 21 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Bishop Barrow:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your correspondence on behalf of the African Orthodox College and Seminary regarding the sensitive issue of human rights.

Please be assured that the President will resolutely continue to carry out the responsibilities of his office which are inherent in his oath to uphold and defend the Constitution and the laws of our Nation.

A copy of his most recent message is enclosed, which I believe your students and members of the faculty will like to read.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Most Reverend Reginald Grant Barrow  
President  
The African Orthodox  
College and Seminary  
18 West 128th Street  
New York, N. Y.

pk/dfp

Enclosure: Excerpt 1/9/59 Message

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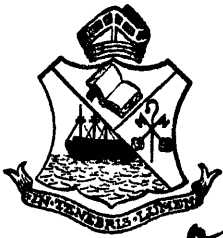
Suggestion re the State of the Union Message - urges  
President to speak out against the continued  
resistance to the decision of the Supreme Court  
on desegregation, etc.

(Ltr. dated 1/8/59 but received after State of the  
Union Message was delivered)

12

2002

1/10



ack  
1/19/59  
JTB

Office of The President  
of The African Orthodox  
College and Seminary,  
18 West, 128 Street  
New York City, N.Y.  
Jan. 8. 1959.

To The Secretary  
To The President  
Of The United States,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

Sir: I have the honor to state that this  
correspondence, hereto attached, was entrusted  
to me with the request that I forward it to His  
Excellency, The President of The United States.

Please be kind enough, when this correspondence  
reaches you, to see that it is given to the President  
at the earliest time convenient and proper, all  
circumstances being considered.

Please also be fully assured that the group  
of persons, sending this correspondence, are persons  
influenced only by the highest motives, seeking, in  
their patriotism, the best for their country and  
its welfare, at the same time the greatest esteem have they,  
and the most profound respect, for the person of  
His Excellency, The President.

I have the honor,  
To be,  
Your obedient servant,  
Reginald Grant Barrow,  
President of A. O. C. College + Seminary, N.Y.

An Open Letter To The President of The  
United States.

Thursday, January 8, 1959.

To His Excellency  
The President  
Of The United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. President:

History will  
place you on the exalted pedestal  
of the Great of this world.

Your State of the Union message  
to the 86<sup>th</sup> Congress is being awaited  
with anxious expectation by the  
Afro-American population of the  
Nation.

The hearts of the mothers and  
of the fathers of this group are  
heavy with grief, as they see their  
children's future blighted by bigots,  
who are defying the constituted authority  
of the Nation. Their continued resistance  
to the decision of the Supreme Court

on desegregation marks such persons as subversives, more dangerous to the Nation than the Communists, who are universally condemned. Those, who oppose the Law and the Supreme Court, are truly anarchists.

We refer, now, particularly to a letter, addressed to Your Excellency, The President, signed by Carleton Putnam, and published, as recently as Monday, January 5, 1959, in the New York Times.

*File B-2*  
This letter is an open invitation to lawlessness; it advocates evasion of the Law and further, in many of its statements, it traduces the Afro-American and casts many stones at him, questioning his rights as a man, a citizen, a human being, as well as his integrity, his loyalty and his long-continued unrewarded service to his Country.

In this vicious letter, more than a great injustice has been done

to us of the Afro-American group in  
this great nation.

Will you not, Mr. President, at this  
time, in your message to the Nation,  
speak out on behalf of the civil  
rights of a much-abused and  
suffering people?

By so-doing, you, Mr. President,  
will give proof positive, that, as  
Chief Magistrate of this great  
nation, you are determined to enforce  
the Law of the Land and to protect,  
in every way you possibly can,  
the civil rights of this most loyal  
group of the citizens of the Nation.

May it not be most respectfully  
suggested by us, that, using your  
vast presidential powers, you may  
direct the Federal Law Officers to  
demand of this subversive committee  
of Birmingham, Alabama to cease  
and desist from their defiance  
of the Law, and to cease the  
publication of such dangerous  
and provocative propaganda

GF 135  
+

PPF 20-X-141

as appeared in the New York Times of January 5, 1959 as above-referred to.

Your doing this, Mr. President, will indeed uphold the ideals of the United States as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence.

Also, such an act, on your part, will clothe you with the garment of righteousness and give you historical immortality.

It will further prove that, in your exalted position, as President of all the people composing this Nation, you do not condone any injustices done to a loyal and law-abiding minority group, and that you do not, by silence, give aid and comfort to rebels and anarchists within the nation.

Respectfully submitted,  
The Faculty and Students  
Of The African Orthodox College  
and Seminary  
Signed on their behalf by  
(Bishop) Reginald Grant Barrow,  
President of A.O.C. College & Seminary,  
18 West 125 Street, New York City, N. Y.



② —

G.F.

124-111

RECEIVED  
JAN 31 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

January 28, 1959

*Handwritten initials and scribbles*

Dear Mr. Marcuss:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter of December thirtieth with enclosed resolution pertaining to the sensitive issue of human rights.

Your interest in writing to submit your <sup>x</sup> resolution is appreciated. The Administration recognizes that this issue is one which requires patience, understanding and forbearance from all persons.

The President will continue to work with all the skill which he can command to advance the time-honored principles of American equality and justice.

Sincerely,

*Handwritten signature of E. Frederic Morrow*

E. Frederic Morrow <sup>TF</sup>  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Mr. Stanley Marcuss  
Mayor <sup>x</sup>  
Hartford Junior City Council  
<sup>x</sup> 249 High Street  
Hartford 5, Connecticut

lrs

C.F.

## The Board of Education

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES, 249 HIGH STREET  
HARTFORD 5, CONNECTICUT

December 30, 1958

The President  
The White House  
Washington 25, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

At the tenth year reunion of the Hartford Junior City Council December 29, 1958, the enclosed resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically passed by the seventy Junior City Council alumni representing all ten councils.

As Mayor of the 1958-59 Junior City Council, I was instructed to transmit this resolution to you as an expression of confidence in and dedication to American democracy.

Respectfully,

*Stanley Marcuss*

Stanley Marcuss, Mayor  
Hartford Junior City Council

*Paul W. Coons* x  
Paul W. Coons, Coordinator  
School-Community Relations

# The Board of Education

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES, 249 HIGH STREET  
HARTFORD 5, CONNECTICUT

## HARTFORD JUNIOR CITY COUNCIL

### A RESOLUTION

Unanimously Adopted at the Tenth Year Reunion  
December 29, 1958

Whereas the Junior City Council has continually maintained in its election procedures the right of any person regardless of color or creed to run for office;

Whereas the Junior City Council through the years has been proud of its record of having representatives of various religious and racial groups working for the betterment of our community;

Whereas in its yearly agenda the Junior City Council has included programs to encourage better inter-group relations and instill in our city's youth the spirit of respect for their fellow man regardless of race or creed;

Whereas the Junior City Council has continually supported the efforts of citizen groups in combating bigotry throughout the country as well as in our own community;

Therefore, be it resolved that this tenth year reunion commend and praise the efforts of those groups of citizens, including teenagers, throughout our country who have taken a firm stand on behalf of American ideals of justice and equal opportunity.

3  
124-A-1  
School  
February 9, 1959

RECEIVED  
FEB 10 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mr. Gould:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of January twenty-eighth and enclosure.

As you know, he was gratified by the peaceful admission of the Negro students to the Arlington school.

The sensitive issue of human rights is one which requires patience, understanding and forbearance from all persons. The President is doing all he possibly can through precept and example to see to it that all citizens are able to walk this land of ours in dignity, regardless of race, color or creed.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Mr. Symon Gould  
Director  
American Library Service  
353 West 48th Street  
New York 36, New York

lrs

Established 1921

1129  
Circle 5-6194

AMERICAN LIBRARY SERVICE  
353 WEST 48th STREET  
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

January 28, 1959

The President,  
Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

On this coming Monday, just across the Potomac, almost in view of the WHITE HOUSE will occur an event that, I feel, should command your personal interest. It offers you an historic and unprecedented opportunity to serve notice to the world that you, as President, stand four-square behind the rights of every child of school age to enjoy the privilege of education which is his birthright in our democracy.

At a time when the communists of Soviet Russia are in major session vaunting the benefits of their system and challenging anew our country and its institutions dedicated to freedom, the State of Virginia and the City of Arlington next Monday will deny the right of four negroes to enroll in their Junior High School, despite a court order issued in favor of their enrollment.

Virginia is the mother-state of Presidents. It gave this country George Washington, James Madison, James Monroe and Thomas Jefferson, who was virtually the father of the public school system. This state, as one of the centers of racial conflict, is seriously undermining the prestige of The United States in Africa, Asia, The Middle East, South America and Latin America, where the populations of different colors manifest a strong link of sympathy with the oppressed negroes of certain sectors of our country. They consider it a personal affront to their dignity as human beings. Some are even inclined to favor the Soviets on that account.

I believe that with this simple, humane gesture, you can graphically demonstrate to the peoples of the world, that our country does definitely stand for Equality without regard to race, color or religion, despite the attitudes of certain segments of our population.

I, therefore, suggest that next Monday, you may consider going to Arlington and personally escort these colored children to the schoolhouse.

This deed would be heralded in its overwhelming significance throughout the world by all means of communication; and serve as a powerful rebuttal to all the criticisms that have been levelled against our democracy on this score.

It would be fitting for you to undertake the mission of mercy in memory of the Great Emancipator whose 150th anniversary occurs shortly.



1921-"Our Service Speaks Volumes"-1958

Sincerely,  
Symon Gould,  
Director

TO SYMON GOULD  
who was my First Publisher

A more spirited and ruthless realist  
Could scarce be met with.  
Nor a more constant Idealist.  
His astonishing vitality is excelled  
Only by the numbleness of his wit.  
And the pluck and nonchalant gaiety of his heart.  
He is a genius of the New York Sidewalks  
As much at ease in the West  
As in the East of his Island City.  
And through his veins runs quicksilver  
And the ends of his magnetic fingers  
Forever conjure gold dust to their tips  
As it flies, like Spring pollen, past his ears.

(signed) Llewellyn Powys

\*\*\*\*\*

To Whom It May Concern:

I hereby wish to set down for the information of anyone interested, the opinion I hold of Mr. Symon Gould and to add my testimony to that of his many friends in the newspaper, theatrical and literary world.

I have known Mr. Gould for over twenty-five years and have followed his career with admiration. He has been one of New York's really useful citizens, often working anonymously and behind the scenes for the cultural welfare of the town.

From the time he originated and created the Little Cinema movement, all through his sponsorship of the People's Forums of Carnegie Hall - (the predecessor of the Radio Forums) - right down to the many years during which time he has supplied the literary world with its rare books and manuscripts gathered from the four corners of the earth-- Symon Gould has been patron, father-confessor, and friend of writing men and women from New York to Hollywood.

Sincerely yours,  
(signed) BURNET HERSHEY  
Noted Foreign Correspondent  
and Former President,  
Overseas Press Club of America

\*\*\*\*\*

To Whom It May Concern:

My acquaintance with Mr. Symon Gould covers a period of nearly a quarter of a century.

I have always found him, both from a business and Social standpoint, a man of the highest integrity and a clean man in thought, action and speech.

For his character I have the highest respect.

(Signed) BENHAMIN DeCASSERES  
Celebrated Author and Poet

③

GF.

February 17, 1959

RECEIVED  
FEB 18  
CENTRAL FILES

*H.N.*  
Dear Mr. Seltzer:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your telegram of February fourth.

At the President's news conference on February fourth -- which, of course, was filmed by all the major television networks -- he was asked the following question:

"Mr. President, do you consider Virginia's orderly start on integration of public schools to be a good model for other Southern States?" *CONF 125, 11/19/59*

The President replied:

"I would put it in this way: I certainly feel that all of us should compliment the State Officials who determined that there was going to be no evidence and no occurrence of violence in this kind of thing. I am certainly very proud of the parents, the way they performed their duties, and the children themselves.

There was one incident I think was reported in the papers yesterday or this morning of this group of honor students in Norfolk themselves paying for advertisements in the local newspapers, to say that they wanted their schools opened and they wanted it done in an orderly fashion. This to my mind is the most important thing of all, because I believe we are beginning to understand that we must have some consideration for our fellow man, if democracy is going to work, and I think the evidence that a little education and a little effort to understand is growing, is heartening indeed.

NOT RECORDED BY THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE  
THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE USES MICROFILM TO RECORD INFORMATION  
FOR THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

SEP 14 1926

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I repeat that I think all the officials and everybody else  
that was concerned should be complimented."

In this way, the President did make known to the American people  
and the people of the world how proud he was of the Norfolk students.

Sincerely,

James C. Hagerty  
Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. H. N. Seltzer  
5301 Irving Park Road  
Chicago  
Illinois

FOR THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE



TWA013 PD

CHICAGO ILL FEB 4 910AMC

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WHY NOT A NATIONWIDE TELECAST TELLING THE YOUTH OF VIRGINIA

HOW PROUD WE ALL ARE OF THEIR BEAUTIFUL AMERICAN WAY OF

INTEGRATION

H N SELTZER 5301 IRVING PARK ROAD CHICAGO.

*Feb 4*

U.S. AIR FORCE  
WASHINGTON

1959 FEB 4 AM 10 49

**G.E.**

*124. A-1  
Robert R. McGee*

February 24, 1959

RECEIVED  
FEB 25 1959  
GENERAL FILES

Dear Mr. McNeer:

I have your letter of February eighteenth and want to thank you for writing.

As far as I am concerned, you and I were having a discussion. It is true that we might have had a different point of view -- but people with different points of view should talk to each other and even debate the problems of the day.

I was delighted to meet you and thoroughly enjoyed myself during my visit to Huntington.

All my best.

Sincerely,

*James C. Hagerty, Jr.*

James C. Hagerty  
Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. Seldon S. McNeer  
Campbell, McNeer & Woods  
Suite 1000 First Huntington  
National Bank Building  
Huntington, West Virginia

CAMPBELL, MCNEER & WOODS

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW

SUITE 1000 FIRST HUNTINGTON NATIONAL BANK BUILDING

HUNTINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA

ROLLA D CAMPBELL  
SELDEN S MCNEER  
L E WOODS, JR  
CHARLES F BAGLEY, JR  
ROBERT K EMERSON  
SELDEN S MCNEER, JR  
MILTON T HERNDON

P O BOX 1359  
TELEPHONE  
JACKSON 5-5121

Feb. 18<sup>th</sup>, 1959

Dear Mr. Hagerthy:  
My good wife, who exercises more discretion where martinis are concerned than I do, insists that I was rude last Saturday at Bozge Rosing's party. If so, I am sorry and I apologize. There is never any excuse for rudeness. I hope I may be permitted to blame it on Bozge's excellent martinis.

However, I am still <sup>x GF 4-A-1</sup> of the same opinion about the Chief Justice, and in entertaining that opinion I am in the best of company - eminent judges and lawyers throughout the US. Proof of this will be found in the enclosed copy of a talk I made last fall and by special request have repeated on several occasions in this tri-state region. The proof lies not in what I have said but what I have quoted. Please take the time to read it - only about twenty minutes. I don't hope to change your opinion, but I know that if you read it you will realize that there is room for another view. After all, in your position, you should know what people are thinking throughout the country.

Special  
x

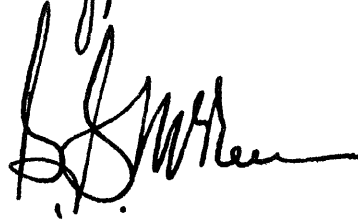
x GF 7-A-A

Incidentally, I learn that the C.J. has resigned from the American Bar Association - perhaps in a spirit of pique at the avalanche of criticism from bench and bar following the segregation and other decisions which do violence to the plain language of the Constitution.

Do you think the Constitution should be amended only in accordance with Art. V, or that the Supreme Court should be permitted to amend it at will?

Believe me, I am a great admirer of President Eisenhower and, although a Democrat, voted for him both times. I would do so again if it were possible for him to run another time.

Yours very sincerely,



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LEGAL ASPECTS

OF THE

SEGREGATION DECISIONS

#### FOREWORD

Last September I was asked to talk to the Rotary Club in Huntington, West Virginia, on the subject "Legal Aspects of the Segregation Decisions." I agreed to do so, and prepared the following paper as a guide. I labored under two restrictions - first, my paper was written for laymen, not lawyers, and, second, it had to be gotten through in about thirty minutes. Hence it necessarily leaves much to be desired. Notwithstanding its many imperfections, the requests for copies of it have been so great that I have had to have it mimeographed.

I wish to make a correction. My quotation from the report adopted by the Chief Justices of the states was taken from U. S. News & World Report of September 19, 1958. Later I was advised that the report was changed in two respects before it was finally adopted. The words "Is it a Constitution or is it a sham?" and the words " \* \* even the Supreme Court is not divine" were deleted. Personally, I feel that the first quotation should have been left in, but the second, being a statement of the very obvious, is for that reason not needed.

Selden S. McNeer

Huntington, West Virginia

November 1, 1958

#### LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS

To begin with, I wish to make it clear that I have no intention of discussing the merits or demerits, the pros and cons, of segregation or integration. I shall talk only about the law. That is the subject assigned to me.

As all of you know, of course, speaking very broadly there are two kinds of governments in the world. One is a government of men, and the other is a government of laws. Typical of the former in modern times is Hitler's Germany and Communist Russia. Going back a few hundred years, almost any kingdom would serve as an example of a government of men. There the law is whatever the king, the commissar, or the fuhrer says it is. No man's right to life, liberty, or property is fixed or certain or controlled by laws, but such rights depend upon the whim of another man. Typical of the latter -- a government of laws -- is the United States of America. In this country the rights of men are fixed by laws, and not by the whim of another man. You will find carved in the beautiful marble Supreme Court Building in Washington the words "Equal Justice Under Law". These same words are on the walls of the courtroom of the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia, and probably on the walls of other courtrooms throughout the United States.

We are proud of these words "Equal Justice Under Law". They serve as the basic distinction between our government and the despotism of Communist Russia. They stem from a document known as the Constitution of the United States of America, which has been described in such laudatory terms as "the noblest document ever written by the hand of man", etc. I think it is necessary for us to take a quick look at events

leading to the creation of that document.

Prior to our Revolutionary War, there were thirteen British colonies, each of which was entirely separate from the others and had its own government and its own laws, subject, of course, to the control of Great Britain. Then came the Revolution and the Declaration of Independence, so that we next had thirteen completely independent states with no governmental connection between them whatsoever. In order to wage the Revolutionary War, the Articles of Confederation were promulgated and finally adopted by the thirteen states. However, they were not effective until the war was virtually over, and it was only through a combination of the tremendous ability of George Washington and the help of the French that independence from Great Britain was won. Actually, the Articles of Confederation were in effect only from 1781 to 1789. This was a very loose organization, with each state maintaining full sovereignty. The Congress provided for in the Articles met irregularly, and little could be done because each state had one vote and nine votes were required for affirmative action. Often the states would not vote at all because of discord among their representatives. Thus, the founding fathers had forced upon them the realization that "a more perfect union" must be formed, and this, as you know, resulted in the adoption of the Constitution of the United States in 1789.

It should be remembered, however, that the men who wrote and the people who adopted the Constitution were passionately attached to their state and local governments. They knew that they were masters of their states, but they feared that a national government would become a tyranny like the British tyranny they had just thrown off. It was fear of the tyranny of a national government that made the adoption



of the Constitution a rather slow process, and in many states the vote on adoption was extremely close. In Virginia, for instance, the adoption was bitterly opposed by Patrick Henry, who feared that a national government would take away from the states their rights and abolish all local authority. His arguments to this effect were countered by James Madison, who pointed out that under the Constitution the federal government was only granted such rights as were expressly given to it; that all other rights were reserved to the states. However, Madison promised to use his influence to see that what we now call the Bill of Rights, which constitutes the first ten amendments to the Constitution, should be promptly adopted and added to the Constitution, even though he argued that this was not necessary. Madison made good his promise, and at the first Congress after the Constitution was adopted he offered the first ten amendments, which were duly adopted.

Madison had faith in a written constitution, believing, as he did, that it would be construed with integrity and in accordance with its plain meaning. Jefferson was of the same mind. He did not trust men seeking personal power, whether they were kings or commoners or judges. He said:

"In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

In general, the national government was granted only such powers as are necessary for the proper discharge of purely national functions. All other powers were reserved to the states. I shall not take the time to discuss the Constitution, but I do wish to call attention to the fact that Article V provides ways in which the Constitution may be amended.

There is no other lawful way to change it.

It may be worth while to remind you that the first ten amendments, among other things, forbid Congress to establish a religion or to abridge the freedom of speech or of the press; they forbid the quartering of soldiers in any home; they provide that no person shall be compelled to testify against himself in a criminal case, nor shall any person be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; they provide for a speedy trial by impartial jury in criminal cases; they forbid excessive bail; and, finally, Article Ten of these amendments provides:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

This amendment disclosed the widespread fear that the national government might attempt to exercise powers not granted to it. In the past the Supreme Court several times has said, in effect, that this reservation to the states respectively plainly means the reservation of the rights of sovereignty which they possessed before the adoption of the Constitution and which they did not part with by that instrument. As a matter of fact, prior to the Civil War it was generally considered that any state had the right to withdraw from the Union at any time. For example, between 1790 and 1815 the New England states repeatedly threatened to secede, and almost did secede in 1803 because of the Louisiana Purchase, which they opposed, and again in 1811 over granting statehood to Louisiana. However, by force of arms, the question of the right of a state to secede from the Union was settled forever, regardless of what the founding fathers may have intended. But even after that, the concept of the rights

of the states was well recognized. Then along came the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, which, to the extent therein provided, placed some limitations on the rights of the sovereign states.

It has been facetiously stated that the Thirteenth Amendment freed the slaves and that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were designed to make ladies and gentlemen of them. Actually, the principal purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment was to make all persons born or naturalized in the United States citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. This was for the benefit of the colored people, who, although they were free, were still not citizens, not only in the South, but even in the North. Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment, however, after providing for citizenship, proceeds, in part:

"No state shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The Fifteenth Amendment provides, in effect, that no state shall deny a citizen the right to vote because of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude. Until this time, each state could decide who were and who were not citizens and who did and who did not have the right to vote, etc.

Actually, the Fourteenth Amendment was never legally adopted, because several of the states which ratified it and whose votes were needed to ratify it were southern states which were under military rule; and if one Legislature refused to ratify the amendment, they were put out of office by force and another Legislature put in that would ratify it. But it is too late to raise that question now. It should be noted, however, that the final section of the Fourteenth Amendment, being Section 5, reads as follows:

"The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article."

In other words, the enforcement of the amendment is left to the Congress, not to the Supreme Court. It is not self-enforcing. And Congress has never passed a law prohibiting segregated schools; on the contrary, it has recognized the legality of such schools.

Thus, by the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, known as the Civil War Amendments, the Constitution took away from the states some of their sovereignty, but by no means all of it. It was still universally recognized that, except where powers were granted to the national government, they were reserved to the states.

I still have not gotten to the legal aspects of the segregation decisions. But before going further, I want to say a few words about the doctrine of stare decisis, which is well known to all lawyers and which you will promptly recognize as a necessary doctrine if we are to have a government of laws. Stare Decisis is defined:

"To stand by decided cases; to uphold precedents; to maintain former adjudications."

And further:

"The doctrine of stare decisis requires that rules of law when clearly announced and established by a court of last resort should not be lightly disregarded and set aside, but should be adhered to and followed."

You will, of course, see the merit of this doctrine and will appreciate the fact that we cannot have an orderly society without it. For example, if the Supreme Court of the United States decides that such and such is the law, then not only the lawyers, but all other citizens of the United

States, have a right to depend on that as being the law. They have a right to make contracts, invest money, enter into business ventures, etc., etc., depending on that decision as the law. If, after contracts have been made, investments have been made, and business or personal ventures entered into, the Supreme Court comes along and says -- "No, that is not the law; we have changed our mind, and something else is the law" -- then you will recognize the utter confusion that may result in the lives and affairs of the citizens of this country.

This doctrine is very close to being a sacred thing in the eyes of judges and lawyers. It is rarely disregarded.

A study of the Congressional debates in 1867 and 1868 in regard to the Fourteenth Amendment shows conclusively that Congress did not have the faintest notion that the amendment would prohibit segregated schools. This also appears from other sources. Furthermore, Congress has recognized the validity of such schools by various laws, one of which was passed in 1946 and amended as recently as 1952. This is the law providing for federal aid to schools for lunches, called "School Lunch Program". Most important of all, however, is the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896. In that case the Court laid down the doctrine of "separate but equal", which, as you know, holds that so long as public facilities for the white and colored races are equal, they may lawfully be separate. Relying on this unequivocal decision of the Supreme Court and on the doctrine of stare decisis and on the Constitution itself, many states whose constitutions and law require separate schools for white and colored children spent many millions of dollars in providing separate but equal

school facilities. Actually, these states are not limited to the South. They include such states as Kansas, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia, and perhaps others. These states had a right to rely upon the law as it was firmly established by the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. (There are other decisions in addition to Plessy v. Ferguson.)

But in its decision in the case of Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, in 1954, which is the famous integration case, and in various other decisions, both before and after that case, many of which are unrelated to integration, the present Supreme Court of the United States has thrown the doctrine of stare decisis out the window and, in my view, changed the law without any regard for what is contained in the Constitution of the United States.

It seems to me that the danger of this is obvious. To say the least, it is an attempt to legislate, which is the function of Congress and not of the Supreme Court. Eighty years ago a wise judge, Mr. Justice Clifford of the Supreme Court of the United States, said, prophetically:

"Such a power (i.e., the power to declare a state statute void without the sanction of the Constitution) is denied to the courts, because to concede it would be to make the courts sovereign over both the Constitution and the people, and convert the government into a judicial despotism." (A.B.A. Journal, September, 1956)

In Brown v. Topeka, the Court overturned Plessy v. Ferguson and held all provisions in state constitutions and all state statutes providing for segregated schools to be void.

As some of you know, when an appellate court, such as the

N.B.

Supreme Court of the United States or the Supreme Court of a state, decides a case, an opinion is written setting forth the reasons for the decision, and, because of the doctrine of stare decisis, the judge who writes the opinion almost invariably justifies or attempts to justify his decision by citing prior cases of that or other courts where the same point has been decided or some point similar to it which bears upon it has been decided which backs up the present judgment of the court. In Judge Warren's opinion in the integration case of Brown v. Topeka, a new procedure was followed. While the Chief Justice cites other decisions of the Supreme Court, more or less incidentally, he does not cite them as authority for his decision. His decision is contained in a very few words. And he cites as his authority the writings of several so-called social science experts, sociologists and psychologists. None of the articles or books cited were in the record before the Court, nor could they have been legally introduced in evidence in this case. Thus, the decision was founded on evidence that every court in the United States, and Great Britain as well, would have rejected as inadmissible.

Sociology, if it is a science at all, is admittedly an inexact one -- we might say a foggy one. In fact, it has been stated that the findings of social science are elaborate statements of what everybody knows, in language that nobody can understand. Be that as it may, never before in the history of the United States Supreme Court has a decision been based upon such authority; as a matter of fact, some of the writers of these articles on sociology are what we would call "left wingers".

For example, one of them was a Swede named Gunnar Myrdal. He is a socialist; and in the very book which is cited by the Chief Justice, this man Myrdal declares that the United States Constitution is impractical and unsuited to modern conditions, and that its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people". Furthermore, he openly avows in this book that liberty must be forsaken for the benefit of what he calls social equality. One of the other authors relied on by the Chief Justice was a man named K. B. Clark, an employee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People -- and so on.

We lawyers are taught to revere the Supreme Court of the United States and that it is unbecoming to criticize it or its decisions, but we are also sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States. Can we do both, in view of these recent decisions? Here the Court has undertaken, it seems, to impose its own views on sociology, etc., its own notions of what is right and what is wrong and what ought to be, upon the people of the United States, rather than sticking to its well-recognized duty and obligation to decide constitutional questions in accordance with the plain language of the Constitution. Each of these Judges has taken a solemn oath to support and uphold the Constitution. Let me refer you to one other case among the many that could be cited.

The Supreme Court decided the case of Brown v. Topeka, and almost immediately afterwards decided a case involving integration in the schools of the District of Columbia (Bolling v. Sharpe). It based its decision in Brown v. Topeka on that part of the Fourteenth Amendment which provides that no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. The Court said that that meant that a state could not, by its constitution or statutes, maintain



segregated schools. No court had ever before given that meaning to that language, and obviously it was never intended to have any such meaning. The history of the amendment and the debates in Congress when it was being considered prove conclusively that Congress never had any such thing in mind. Nevertheless, that was the holding of the Court. In the second case, however, involving schools of the District of Columbia, the Court could not adopt the same reasoning, because the Fourteenth Amendment relates only to what a state can, and cannot, do. It did not apply to the District of Columbia. So, in order to get around this difficulty, the Court based its decision in the District of Columbia case on the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which contains no such language as I have just quoted from the Fourteenth Amendment. The language in the Fifth Amendment upon which the Court relied was that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. Mr. Chief Justice Warren had difficulty in fitting the school question in the District of Columbia case into this due-process clause of the Fifth Amendment, but he solved it in this way. He said:

"In view of our decision that the Constitution prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated schools, it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the federal government."

Thus, this decision was made with almost an open admission that the Constitution did not apply but that, in the view of Mr. Chief Justice Warren, it should apply.

Some of you are no doubt thinking that I am prejudiced in this matter, that my views are not sound, and are not shared by other lawyers.

*This cannot be disputed*

To relieve you of that feeling, I shall take the liberty of quoting at considerable length from various authorities. The following is from an article in the September, 1956 issue of the American Bar Association Journal, entitled "Judicial Self-Restraint" (incidentally, the American Bar Association Journal has been full of articles on this subject). The article to which I refer contains a scholarly discussion of the segregation decisions, and at page 833 the following appears:

"The alarming significance of the school cases extends beyond the immediate decisions. Never before have the personal predilections and moral certainties of the Justices ridden so rough-shod over the text of the written Constitution. The Court has found that the moral law which impels it to advance the interests of colored people outweighs the moral law which teaches that a judge who has sworn to uphold a constitution ought to uphold it. . . ."

Perhaps the most revered, the most highly respected, Judge in the United States today is Learned Hand. He is a man of great intellectual powers, a profound student of the government and of the law. He served as a Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, which includes New York, for many years. He is now retired. Last winter, he delivered a series of three lectures at Harvard Law School. I shall not undertake to quote him verbatim, because I do not have a copy of his lectures at hand, although I have read them. In one of his lectures, he sharply rebuked the Supreme Court of the United States for its decisions in the segregation cases and other decisions in which it departed from the Constitution. He said that in these decisions, the Court assumed the role of a third legislative chamber, and he calls what they have done an arbitrary usurpation of power. Judge Learned Hand cannot be accused of being

prejudiced in this matter. He is not a Southerner. He is a New Yorker.

The President of the National Association of Attorneys General referred to the members of the Supreme Court as "Constitutional 5th Columnists who march with hobnail boots across the face of sacred traditions and with legal sabres slash whole concepts of free government out of the Constitution." (See A.B.A. Journal, August, 1956, page 730.)

Not long ago I read an editorial in the Wall Street Journal -- certainly not a proponent of the South and its traditions. It is entitled "The Tragedy of Little Rock", and I quote briefly from it as follows:

"The story of Little Rock, in its present context, must begin with the Supreme Court decision which decreed that that which had been the law of the land was the law no longer.

" . . . The tragedy begins with nine men who decided to re-make the country." *[He must have added "without regard to the Constitution"]*

This much shows the tenor of the editorial. The last quoted sentence is a succinct statement of the whole matter.

Judge Norman F. Arterburn, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Indiana, has been much concerned with the problems raised by usurpation of power by the Supreme Court of the United States. He has had quite a bit to say about it. Among other things, he said:

"Not only lawyers, but thinking laymen all over the nation are disturbed by the tendency to regard the individual philosophy of the judges of the United States Supreme Court as the 'law of the land' and a substitute for stable and fixed principles of construction and interpretation of the Constitution. When long-established decisions and precedent are overturned, we lawyers and judges find ourselves in an uncharted sea with nothing to guide us, subject to the vagaries of a dislocated compass . . ."

The Chief Justices of the Supreme Courts of the various States of the Union have a Conference every year. At the Conference held about two years ago, Judge Arterburn offered a resolution on the subject of the usurpation of power by the Supreme Court of the United States. The matter was not considered lightly, but it was recognized that it was of tremendous importance, and no action was taken at the time it was proposed. On the contrary, the matter was referred to a committee for study. After two years had passed, and with the report of the committee before it, the Conference of Chief Justices of the States of the United States, at which Chief Justice Dithmers of the Supreme Court of Michigan presided, gave the matter further consideration. There were forty-four Chief Justices present. Among them, you must recognize, were some of the best legal brains in this country. By a vote of 36 to 8, a report was adopted, a substantial part of which is quoted in U. S. News & World Report of September 19, 1958 and is as follows:

NB

"We believe that in the fields with which we are concerned, and as to which we feel entitled to speak, the Supreme Court too often has tended to adopt the role of policy-maker without proper judicial restraint. We feel this is particularly the case in both of the great fields we have discussed -- namely, the extent and extension of the federal power, and the supervision of State action by the Supreme Court by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the light of the immense power of the Supreme Court and its practical non-reviewability in most instances no more important obligation rests upon it, in our view, than that of careful moderation in the exercise of its policy-making role.

"We are not alone in our view that the Court, in many cases arising under the Fourteenth Amendment, has assumed what seem to us primarily legislative powers. See Judge Learned Hand on the Bill of Rights. We do not believe that either the framers of the original Constitution or the possibly somewhat less gifted

draftsmen of the Fourteenth Amendment ever contemplated that the Supreme Court would, or should, have the almost unlimited policy-making powers which it now exercises. It is strange, indeed, to reflect that under a constitution which provides for a system of checks and balances and of distribution of power between national and State governments one branch of one government -- the Supreme Court -- should attain the immense, and in many respects, dominant, power which it now wields . . .

"It has long been an American boast that we have a government of laws and not of men. We believe that any study of recent decisions of the Supreme Court will raise at least considerable doubt as to the validity of that boast . . .

"We further find that the Court does not accord finality to its own determinations of constitutional questions, or for that matter of others. We concede that a slavish adherence to stare decisis could at times have unfortunate consequences; but it seems strange that under a constitutional doctrine which requires all others to recognize the Supreme Court's rulings on constitutional questions as binding adjudications of the meaning and application of the Constitution, the Court itself has so frequently overturned its own decisions thereon, after the lapse of periods varying from one year to seventy-five, or even ninety-five years . . .

"The Constitution expressly sets up its own procedures for amendments, slow or cumbersome though they may be. If reasonable certainty and stability do not attach to a written constitution, is it a constitution or is it a sham?

"These frequent differences and occasional over-rulings of prior decisions in constitutional cases cause us grave concern as to whether individual views as to what is wise or desirable do not unconsciously over-ride a more dispassionate consideration of what is or is not constitutionally warranted. We believe that the latter is the correct approach, and we have no doubt that every member of the Supreme Court intends to adhere to that approach, and believes that he does so. But to err is human, and even the Supreme Court is not divine.

"It is our earnest hope which we respectfully express, that that great Court exercise to the full its power of judicial self-restraint by adhering firmly to its tremendous, strictly judicial powers and by eschewing, so far as possible, the exercise of essentially legislative powers when it is called upon to decide

questions involving the validity of State action, whether it deems such action wise or unwise. The value of our system of federalism, and of local self-government in local matters which it embodies, should be kept firmly in mind, as we believe it was by those who framed our Constitution . . .

"Surely, it is no less incumbent upon the Supreme Court, on its part, to be equally restrained and to be as sure as is humanly possible that it is adhering to the fundamentals of the Constitution with regard to the distribution of powers and the separation of powers, and with regard to the limitations of judicial power which are implicit in such separation and distribution, and that it is not merely giving effect to what it may deem desirable."

Thus, in the language of the Chief Justices, I leave you with this question: "Is it a constitution or is it a sham?" In other words, are we to continue to have a government of laws, or is our form of government to be changed to a judicial despotism?

\* \* \* \*

**G.F.**

*12V-A-1  
2/26/59  
Fao 65*

*File in 2. 4. 1959*

RECEIVED  
MAR - 8 1959  
GENERAL FILES

March 4, 1959

Dear Mr. Secretary:

This will acknowledge the receipt of the certified copy of resolutions recently adopted by the General Court of Massachusetts which you forwarded to the President. Your courtesy in the transmittal of these resolutions is very much appreciated.

*\* GF 123*

Sincerely yours,

Wilton B. Persons

Honorable Joseph D. Ward  
Secretary of the Commonwealth  
State House  
Boston 33, Massachusetts

cc: Mr. Kendall

*W. B. Persons*

CEMENT HITEP  
MAY 1959  
MAY 1959

These resolutions have been referred to the  
Secretary of the Commonwealth for his  
advice and approval. The Secretary has  
advised that the resolutions are in  
accord with the provisions of the  
Constitution of the Commonwealth.

SECRET

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

ROUTE SLIP

(To Remain With Correspondence)

TO Mr. Kendall  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

PROMPT HANDLING IS ESSENTIAL.  
WHEN DRAFT REPLY IS REQUESTED  
THE BASIC CORRESPONDENCE MUST  
BE RETURNED. IF ANY DELAY IN  
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPLY IS  
ENCOUNTERED, PLEASE TELEPHONE  
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY.

Date March 4, 1959

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

- ACTION:**
- Comment \_\_\_\_\_
  - Draft reply \_\_\_\_\_
  - For direct reply \_\_\_\_\_
  - For your information \_\_\_\_\_
  - For necessary action \_\_\_\_\_
  - For appropriate handling  \_\_\_\_\_
  - See below  \_\_\_\_\_

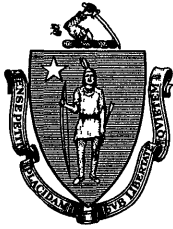
Remarks:

A formal acknowledgment of the  
resolutions has been made to the  
Secretary of the Commonwealth  
of Massachusetts.

By direction of the President:

*A. J. Goodpaster*  
A. J. GOODPASTER  
Staff Secretary  
*JUM*





*The Commonwealth of Massachusetts*

*Office of the Secretary*

*State House, Boston 33*

*Secretary of the Commonwealth*

RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO ENACT AND ENFORCE LEGISLATION TO IMPLEMENT THE DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES OUTLAWING SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

Whereas, The supreme court of the United States, on the seventeenth day of May, nineteen hundred and fifty-four, by unanimous decision, held that "in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place"; and

Whereas, The same court expressed its desire that its decision should be complied with "with all deliberate speed"; and

Whereas, The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction equal protection of the laws; and

Whereas, The interests of orderly government demand that respect and compliance be given to orders issued by courts possessed of jurisdiction of persons and subject matter; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts respectfully urges the Congress and President of the United States to enact and enforce legislation to implement the decisions of the supreme court of the United States outlawing segregation in the public school system; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Commonwealth transmit forthwith copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress of the United States, and to each member thereof from this commonwealth.

House of Representatives, adopted, February 16, 1959

LAWRENCE R. GROVE, Clerk

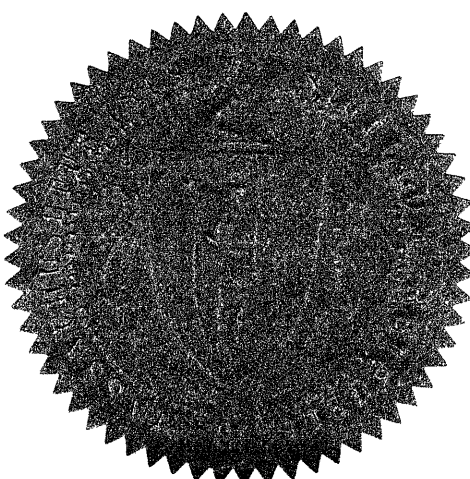
Senate, adopted in concurrence, February 18, 1959

IRVING N. HAYDEN, Clerk

A true copy. Attest:

*Joseph D. Ward*

JOSEPH D. WARD  
Secretary of the Commonwealth



G.F. 74-2 59  
124-011  
J. F. Morrow

March 30, 1959

Dear Mr. Goldstein:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him of March twentieth and the copy of your very excellent letter of March sixth to Mr. Carleton Putnam. x  
It is a pleasure in these difficult moments to have the kind of brilliant and intelligent letter that you wrote.

I only wish it were possible for your letter to receive the same kind of prominence and publicity that Mr. Putnam's letter received. It certainly is an effective and objective reply. Those of us here at the White House who are constantly pressed for constructive reply to critics who are opposed to the President's philosophy of one kind of citizenship for all Americans can certainly find a great deal of help and assistance in and from your letter.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Mr. Aaron A. Goldstein  
Chetwynd Apartments  
1030 East Lancaster Avenue  
Rosemont, Pennsylvania

lrs

C.F.

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1-9

From The Pen  
of  
*Aaron A. Goldstein*

March 20, 1959

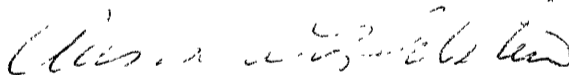
The Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed please find reply that I, as a loyal citizen, could not help but write as a rebuttal to the enclosed article by Mr. Putnam.

Your comments concerning the above would be extremely appreciated.

Sincerely yours,



Aaron A. Goldstein  
Chetwynd Apts.  
Rosemont, Pa.

AAG:rs  
Encls.

Chetwynd Apts.  
1030 E. Lancaster Ave.  
Rosemont, Pa.  
March 6, 1959

Mr. Carleton Putnam  
317 N. 20th St.  
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Putnam:

Without giving you my qualifications or background, which is completely irrelevant in writing to you, I, too, risk the presumption of a reply.

Since you are so well versed in history, I would suggest that you review it for your own good as well as those who may be influenced by your anarchistic letter to the President. Since the formation of the Supreme Court, has not this body conducted itself in formulating and handing down decisions so wisely and justly that it qualifies in its past performance as being completely subservient to the complete welfare of our nation? Thus, history and not you, Mr. Putnam, at this time speaks for itself with truth and justice for all. The qualifications of this so wonderful body of men now sitting on the Supreme Court certainly are far and wide beyond that of yours in such an important matter as desegregation. Your view points in your letter only better serve to bear out the validity of this statement.

Perhaps you should have explained to you the meaning of the Supreme Court decision as I am quite sure your intentions were not to incite the people against the Supreme Court because this would be treason and I'm sure this act was not your intent. Therefore, I'm going to take the time as a loyal American citizen to write and tell you that if you do not respect the wisdom of our founding fathers constitution, someone, because of your letter, may get hurt. Please be informed that the ruling of the Court does not force whites to live with their negro brethren. The ruling only prevents discrimination of man because of his color which was an act of God to begin with. Just because the negro is now permitted divine given rights of integration with his fellow man, this does not force the white man to live or associate with him any more than before its passing did the white man have to live or associate with his white neighbor whom he felt intellectually or culturally incompatible with. There is no question of legal fiat in this matter and that equality of association can be had by those individuals who mutually desire it. In fact, the ruling is so proper that it now permits such association to those whites who wish it and believe me, there are many who do whereas before, it was denied those who did.

Furthermore, Mr. Putnam, you negate your qualifications to judge the situation by your lack of knowledge of the truth by the following mis-statements made by you:

1. That acquiring astuteness in singing and athletics is not a development of intelligence. You certainly know better.
2. Lord Bryce was honoring America by his statement, not denouncing her, as you would have people believe.

March 8, 1928  
Movement, Inc.  
1020 E. Lancaster Ave.  
Crestland, Pa.

Devl. Mr. Putnam  
Williamson 2, Virginia  
P.O. Box 2077  
U.S. Collection Bureau

Mr. Carleton Putnam -2

3. You say that negroes and whites started the same in caves and that whites rose about their environment. This, you know, is not the reason. The whites, because of the color of their skin, because of their number, and more characteristic feature of civilization, progressed further.
4. The ruling of the Supreme Court is not commanding anyone to consider his neighbor his equal as you, by your context, are trying to stir up and irate the American people to believe. I repeat it is only giving the negro the right of human dignity which the constitution provides for, namely, the right to assemble and gather where and when he sees fit. Would you have the United States have several constitutions for each group that may wish their own laws? If so, we would have one for each race, color, and creed and this would be Anarchy, not Democracy.
5. How can you so confuse the reader if your intent was that of a true American. Lincoln's speech was that of an honest person with what he said. Of course, as a white man, he thought it unwise for assimilation of the races at that time just as any sincere white and negro man does today. Of course, Lincoln felt because of the number of whites and the development of this part of the specie that they were superior because of the same reasoning they are today. This was reasoning of good intent. But, I can also remind you that through history men of tyranny whose intent was evil also talked about supremacy of man such as the leaders of all the various empires as the Chinese, Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, Greek, and Romans who have since collapsed. How about Hitler with his Aryanism. He also took law into his own hands, advocated the supremacy of a special group of men to the extermination of 7 million human beings. At present, are not the Russians calling themselves a super race. Yes, Mr. Putnam, this will continue in the future that man because of his own avarice and greed will continue the search for super races and super men. Please take heed to history as well as the future. I would rather feel that our founding fathers came to this country to worship God and gather in their own way and wrote the constitution because they, too, felt that in the eyes of God man was to have equal rights.

I conclude by saying that it is no coincidence that all past super races have come to naught and that be as it may when God created man and the inspiration for our constitution, he also had a hand in inspiring this present body of jurist who we call the Supreme Court to hand down their well thought out and much studied opinion that gave the negro the right to live and learn with the same dignity as his other human brethren regardless of race, color, and creed.

It is you and men like you and not this court's opinion that will set back not just the negro, but all human beings, not just a generation, but back to the jungle from whence we all came.



ADVERTISEMENT

ADVERTISEMENT

## Distinguished New Englander Discusses High Court's Decision on Public Schools

Washington, D. C.  
October 13, 1958

The Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Carleton Putnam, who wrote the following letter to Pres. Eisenhower, is a member of the famous New England Putnam family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia and was founder and president of Chicago and Southern Airlines (1943-1948). He recently published a widely-praised biography of Theodore Roosevelt.

# My Dear Mr. President:

A few days ago I was reading over Justice Frankfurter's opinion in the recent Little Rock case. Three sentences in it tempt me to write you this letter. I am a Northerner, but I have spent a large part of my life as a business executive in the South. I have a law degree, but I am now engaged in historical writing. From this observation post I risk the presumption of a comment.

The sentences I wish to examine are these: "Local customs, however hardened by time, are not decreed in heaven. Habits and feelings they engender may be counteracted and moderated. Experience attests that such local habits and feelings will yield, gradually though this be, to law and education."

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IT IS MY PERSONAL CONVICTION that the local customs in this case were "hardened by time" for a very good reason, and that while they may not, as Frankfurter says, have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court. I was particularly puzzled by Frankfurter's remark that "the Constitution is not the formulation of the merely personal views of the members of this court." Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later, it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court.

It is not my purpose to dispute the point with which the greater part of Frankfurter's opinion is concerned. The law must be obeyed. But I think the original desegregation decision was wrong, that it ought to be reversed, and that meanwhile every legal means should be found, not to disobey it but to avoid it. Failing this, the situation should be corrected by constitutional amendment.

★ ★ ★

I CANNOT AGREE that this is a matter involving "a few states" as Frankfurter suggests. The picture in reality is of a court, by one sudden edict, forcing upon the entire South a view, and a way of life, with which the great majority of the population are in complete disagreement. Although not from the legal, in fact from the practical, stand-

minimum of white help or hindrance, genetically or otherwise, can be measured today in the Congo.

Lord Bryce, a distinguished and impartial foreign observer, presented the situation accurately in his *American Commonwealth* when he wrote in 1880:

"History is a record of the progress towards civilization of races originally barbarous. But that progress has in all cases been slow and gradual . . . Utterly dissimilar is the case of the African Negro, caught up in and whirled along with the swift movement of the American democracy. In it we have a singular juxtaposition of the most primitive and the most recent, the most rudimentary and the most highly developed, types of culture . . . A body of savages is violently carried across the ocean and set to work as slaves on the plantations of masters who are three or four thousand years in advance of them in mental capacity and moral force . . . Suddenly, even more suddenly than they were torn from Africa, they find themselves, not only free, but made full citizens and active members of the most popular government the world has seen, treated as fit to bear an equal part in ruling, not only themselves, but also their recent masters."

One does not telescope three or four thousand years into the 78 years since Bryce wrote. One may change the terms of the problem by mixed breeding, but if ever there was a matter that ought to be left to local option would seem to be the decision as to when and where it is proper to do so. I am not in favor of integration in the schools. And I see no reason for penalizing a locality that does not choose to mix.

★ ★ ★

I WOULD EMPHATICALLY SUPPORT improvement of education in Negro schools, if and where it is inferior. Equality of opportunity and equality before the law, when not strained to cover other situations, are acceptable ideals because they provide the chance to earn and to progress—and consequently should be enforced by legal fiat as

the sort of *ipso facto* equality suggested by your context? The whole idea contradicts the basic tenet of the Christian and Jewish religions that status is earned through righteousness and is not an automatic matter. What is true of religion and righteousness is just as true of achievement in other fields. And what is true among individuals is just as true of averages among races.

The confusion here is not unlike the confusion created by some left-wing writers between the doctrine of equality and the doctrine of Christian love. The command to love your neighbor is not a command either to consider your neighbor your equal, or yourself his equal: perhaps the purest example of great love without equality is the love between parent and child. In fact the equality doctrine as a whole, except when surrounded by a plethora of qualifications, is so untenable that it falls to pieces at the slightest thoughtful examination.

★ ★ ★

FRANKFURTER closes his opinion with a quotation from Abraham Lincoln, to whom the Negro owes more than to any other man. I, too, would like to quote from Lincoln. At Charleston, Ill., in September 1858 in a debate with Douglas, Lincoln said:

"I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor qualifying them to hold office . . . I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And in as much as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

The extent to which Lincoln would have modified these views today, or may have modified them before his death, is a moot question, but it is clear on its face that he

pression of the personal views of the members of the court.

It is not my purpose to dispute the point with which the greater part of Frankfurter's opinion is concerned. The law must be obeyed. But I think the original desegregation decision was wrong, that it ought to be reversed, and that meanwhile every legal means should be found, not to disobey it but to avoid it. Failing this, the situation should be corrected by constitutional amendment.

★ ★ ★

I CANNOT AGREE that this is a matter involving "a few states" as Frankfurter suggests. The picture in reality is of a court, by one sudden edict, forcing upon the entire South a view, and a way of life, with which the great majority of the population are in complete disagreement. Although not from the legal, in fact from the practical, standpoint the North, which does not have the problem, is presuming to tell the South, which does have the problem, what to do.

To me there is a frightening arrogance in this performance. Neither the North, nor the court, has any holy mandate inherent in the trend of the times or the progress of liberalism to reform society in the South. In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word "association" here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please and the right not to associate with whom you please.) Moreover, am I not correct in my recollection that it was the social stigma of segregation and its effect upon the Negro's "mind and heart" to which the court objected as much as to any other, and thus that the court, in forcing the black man's right to equal education was actually determined to violate the white man's right to freedom of association?

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IN ANY CASE the crux of this issue would seem obvious: social status has to be earned. Or, to put it another way, equality of association has to be mutually agreed to and mutually desired. It cannot be achieved by legal fiat. Personally, I feel only affection for the Negro. But there are facts that have to be faced. Any man with two eyes in his head can observe a Negro settlement in the Congo, can study the pure-blooded African in his native habitat as he exists when left on his own resources, can compare this settlement with London or Paris, and can draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence—or that combination of character and intelligence which is civilization. Finally, he can inquire as to the number of pure-blooded blacks who have made contributions to great literature or engineering or medicine or philosophy or abstract science. (I do not include singing or athletics as these are not primarily matters of character and intelligence.) Nor is there any validity to the argument that the Negro "hasn't been given a chance." We were all in caves or trees originally. The progress which the pure-blooded black has made when left to himself, with a

master.

One does not telescope three or four thousand years into the 78 years since Bryce wrote. One may change the terms of the problem by mixed breeding, but if ever there was a matter that ought to be left to local option would seem to be the decision as to when it is possible to have an acceptable amalgam in the schools. And I see no reason for penalizing a locality that does not choose to mix.

★ ★ ★

I WOULD EMPHATICALLY SUPPORT improvement of education in Negro schools, if and where it is inferior. Equality of opportunity and equality before the law, when not strained to cover other situations, are acceptable ideals because they provide the chance to earn and to progress—and consequently should be enforced by legal fiat as far as is humanly possible. But equality of association, which desegregation in Southern schools involves, pre-supposes a status which in the South the average Negro has not earned. To force it upon the Southern white will, I think, meet with as much opposition as the prohibition amendment encountered in the wet states.

Throughout this controversy there has been frequent mention of the equality of man as a broad social objective. No proposition in recent years has been clouded by more loose thinking. Not many of us would care to enter a poetry contest with Keats, nor play chess with the national champion, nor set our character beside Albert Schweitzer's. When we see the doctrine of equality contradicted everywhere around us in fact, it remains a mystery why so many of us continue to give it lip service in theory, and why we tolerate the vicious notion that status in any field need not be earned.

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PIN DOWN THE MAN who uses the word "equality," and at once the evasions and qualifications begin. As I recall, you, yourself, in a recent statement used some phrase to the effect that men were "equal in the sight of God." I would be interested to know where in the Bible you get your authority for this conception. There is doubtless authority in Scripture for the concept of potential equality in the sight of God—after earning that status, and with various further qualifications—but where is the authority for

social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor qualifying them to hold office . . . I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And in as much as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

The extent to which Lincoln would have modified these views today, or may have modified them before his death, is a moot question, but it is clear on its face that he would not have been in sympathy with the Supreme Court's position on desegregation. Many historians have felt that when Lincoln died the South lost the best friend it had. This also may be moot, but again it seems clear that for 94 years—from the horrors of Reconstruction through the Supreme Court's desegregation decision—the North has been trying to force the black man down the white Southerner's throat, and it is a miracle that relations between the races in the South have progressed as well as they have.

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PERHAPS the most discouraging spectacle is the spectacle of Northern newspapers dwelling with pleasure upon the predicament of the Southern parent who is forced to choose between desegregation and no school at all for his child. It does not seem to occur to these papers that this is the cruelest sort of blackmail; that the North is virtually putting a pistol at the head of the Southern parent in a gesture which every Northerner must contemplate with shame.

Indeed, there now seems little doubt that the court's recent decision has set back the cause of the Negro in the South by a generation. He may force his way into white schools, but he will not force his way into white hearts nor earn the respect he seeks. What evolution was slowly and wisely achieving, revolution has now arrested, and the trail of bitterness will lead far.

Sincerely yours,

CARLETON PUTNAM

**This advertisement was paid for by individual donations from hundreds of citizens in many states. The sponsoring committee will appreciate additional donations to publish Mr. Putnam's letter in other newspapers. Please fill in this coupon and return with your contribution.**

**PUTNAM LETTER COMMITTEE, James E. Simpson, Treasurer**

317 North 20th Street, Birmingham 3, Alabama

Enclosed please find my contribution to aid in publicizing the Putnam letter.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE PRINT



G.F.

124-111

March 23, 1959  
P. 10  
H

March 23, 1959

RECEIVED  
MAR 25 9  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mrs. Harness:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him of March eighteenth and its enclosures.

He greatly appreciates hearing from you about the success of school integration in your state. #

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Mrs. W. Ellis Harness  
2115 North Nettleton  
Springfield, Missouri

Irs

8/10/59  
March 18, 59 111  
2115 N. Nettleton  
Springfield, Missouri

Dear President,

I know you are very busy, but I just want you to know that one Southern State is proud of the way our schools run. Six years ago we of course had separate schools for negro and white, now following the majority rule we have no separate schools and no trouble.

Yours Very truly

Mrs. Jesteru Harness  
(Mrs W. Ellis Harness)

the local student organizations

*Six Hundred Pupils Will Exchange Ideas:*

## Student Council Delegates To Convene at CHS Today

Ideas for improvement of student government activities in Missouri high schools will be exchanged by 650 delegates from 120 schools today in the first in a series of discussion sessions which are an integral part of the 11th annual convention of the Missouri Association of Student Councils.

Registration of the record delegation is scheduled from 9 to 12 this morning at Central High School here where most sessions will be conducted.

Following addresses by Springfield Superintendent Willard J. Graff and Central Principal Ralph Hamilton, the large student gathering will be split up into 16 discussion sessions scattered throughout the Central High School building.

Discussion topics and schools leading each include: Purpose of Student Council? (Clinton), How Can Student Council Win Faculty and Student Support? (Grandview), What Are Standards for Student Government? (Ruskin), What are Student Council Responsibilities? (Jefferson City), How Can Elections Be Improved? (Rockhurst), How Can Financial Problems Be Met? (Sikeston), What Are Councilmen's Duties? (Monett), What Are Best Projects? (Neosho), What are Powers of Student Council? (Nevada), Idea Swap Shop (North Kansas City), How Can Inter-school Relations Be Improved? (Ritenour), How Can School Spirit Be Improved? (Park Hill), How Can Respect for Public and Private Property Be Increased? (Bayless), What Is A Good Year - Long Council Project? (Ferguson), How Can Coun-

cil Sell Itself to the Student Body? (Webster Groves), and Junior High School Swap Shop (Eastwood JHS-Springfield).

Music by the Hillcrest High School Madrigal and the Central High School Kilties will be featured in this afternoon's general session along with a National Association of Student Councils film to be shown by Ferguson High School student leaders.

Later, nominations for 1959-60 officer - schools will be made from the floor in preparation for Saturday's elections.

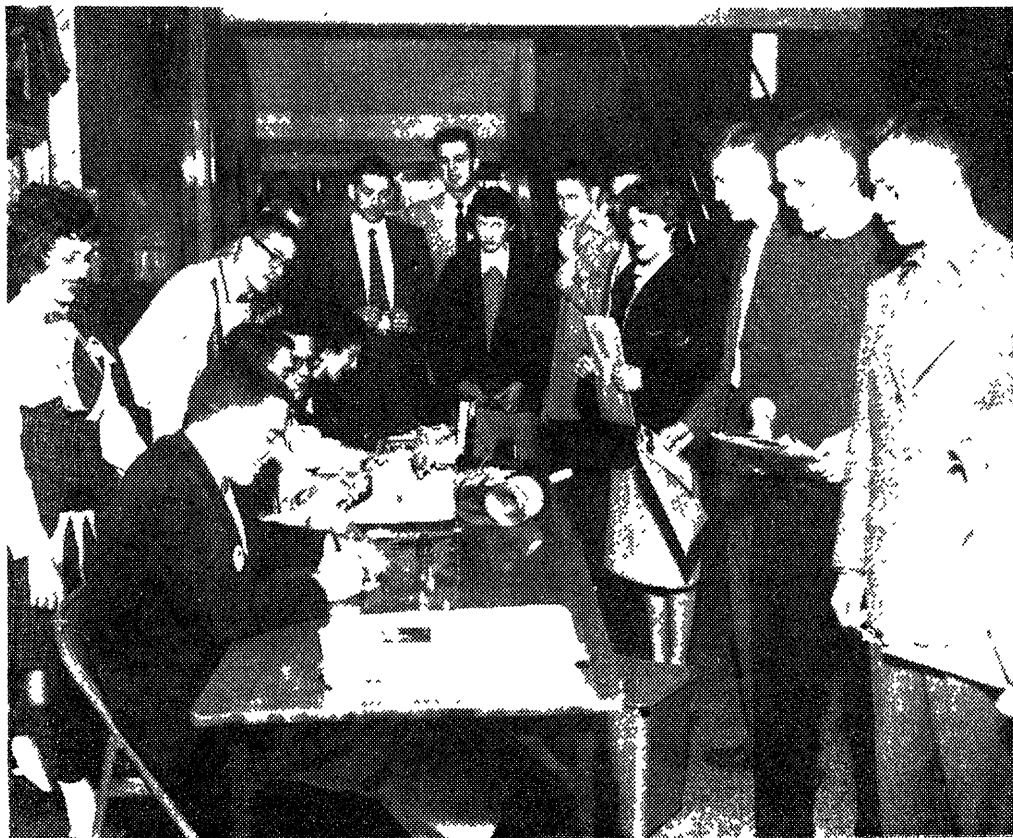


Joe Edwards, Central High School student body president, will preside at sessions of the Missouri Association of Student Councils which begin today at CHS.



—Leader and Press Staff Photos

Joe Edwards, president of both Central High School student body and of the Missouri Association of Student Councils, is pictured above, greeting some of the more than 600 visitors to the 11th annual convention, beginning today at Central. From left to right, are Beverly Oswald, Central Kilties, Janice Beisley and Judy Tough, both of Nevada; Edwards; Janet Gatrell, Nevada Junior High; Pete Statler and Thomas Crites, both of Jackson, and Anne O'Connell, Central Kilties. Shown below is a typical scene at the auditorium lobby registration desk. Standing, left to right, are Central Kiltie Ann Jones; Gary Schafer and Mike Throne, of Central; Frank Leet, Cameron principal and sponsor, Alvin Lowe, Hamilton principal-sponsor; Marilyn Brown, Ronald Gastineau, and Eugene Alden, all of Hamilton; Judy McCammon, Ronnie Nelson, Ronald Stone, and Mack Scanlon, all of Cameron. Seated, left to right, are Bill Blakey, Ron Sharp, Art Curtis, and Janie Wester, all Central students.



\*\*\*  
*Delegates From 120 High Schools Tackle Crowded Schedule*  
 \*\*\*

## State's Student Leaders Gather

G.F.

124-A 11

Scholarship

2.00

11

March 30, 1959

Dear Reverend Morris:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of March twenty-fourth and enclosure.

Your interest in making available to him a copy of the exchange of correspondence between yourself and Federal Judge George Bell Timmerman is appreciated.

x614 D - [unclear]

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

The Reverend John B. Morris  
3502 Piedmont Road, N. E.  
Atlanta 5, Georgia

lrs

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS

3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N.E.  
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA  
CEDAR 7-0414

March 24, 1959

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

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed for your information is a document I am releasing to the press and to interested individuals. It contains an exchange of correspondence between Federal Judge George Bell Timmerman of South Carolina and myself. An "Introduction" to this document provides some background to the correspondence and my reasons for making it available in this form, which release is done with Judge Timmerman's consent.

Assuring you of the continued support of myself and countless other Southerners for Civil Rights legislation and your own leadership in promoting the transition to desegregated public schools, I am

Yours faithfully,

  
(Rev.) John B. Morris

Enclosure.

CORRESPONDENCE

CONCERNING SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK

BETWEEN

THE REVEREND JOHN B. MORRIS

AND

FEDERAL JUDGE GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

With a subsequent distribution of twenty thousand copies, South Carolinians Speak was published by five clergymen at Dillon, S. C., in October of 1957. Seeking to promote "A Moderate Approach to Race Relations," this booklet included statements of personal conviction from twelve South Carolinians prominent in their respective communities. Stating in their Preface that "The time is long overdue for a strong voice of moderation to be heard," the ministers noted: "There are some who would require all South Carolinians to subscribe to their point of view or be ostracized from the community. Fear of free, unrestricted discussion of the problem, and hesitancy to disagree with either the majority or the minority quickly leads to a withering of American ideals." The writers varied in their views from a desire to maintain separate public schools, with desegregation in other areas, to a belief that integration should commence in the first grade and move progressively forward. That they consented to express their opinions in this symposium was affirmative reply to the question posed in the Preface: "Shall men have the freedom to differ and still maintain mutual respect for each other?" A different and violent answer was evident soon after publication in the dynamiting of the home of one of the writers by Klansmen as yet unconvicted and defended in court by a leading member of the South Carolina legislature.

As one of the publishers of South Carolinians Speak, and resident in Dillon at the time, it was my responsibility to write personal letters to accompany the complimentary copies we sent to various officials in the state. Such went to Federal Judge George Bell Timmerman of the United States District Court at Columbia, South Carolina. A lengthy correspondence between the two of us resulted. In response to a request for permission to publish his letters, Judge Timmerman said on July 17, 1958: "I have not the slightest objection to anyone publishing the complete exchange of letters between us in the chronological order in which it occurred, commencing with your letter to me under date October 22, 1957, and ending with my letter to you of January 21, 1958, which last letter was in reply to your letter of January 17, 1958."

In the belief that it is salient to note the extremity to which so highly and strategically placed an official as Judge Timmerman will go in the defense of segregation, I am publishing our exchange of correspondence herewith. The reader may decide for himself the reasonableness of the Judge's arguments. For my part, I was not so much seeking to persuade Judge Timmerman of the virtue of my views as I was pleading a case for acceptance and respect for divergent views, and for some conciliatory attitude toward a moderate position on the race issue. In South Carolinians Speak I had been associated with persons who had this respect for differing views. I kept looking for something of this quality in my letters from Judge Timmerman and failed to find it.

March 1, 1959

(Rev.) John B. Morris  
3502 Piedmont Road, N. E.  
Atlanta 5, Georgia



SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK  
P. O. Box 806  
Dillon, South Carolina

October 22, 1957

The Hon. George Bell Timmerman  
Federal Court Building  
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Judge Timmerman:

Enclosed is a copy of the new book, South Carolinians Speak, sent to you with the compliments of its compilers.

The general purpose of the book, as explained in the Preface, is to promote a moderate position on race relations in our State. Since you are one of the primary leaders of the people of South Carolina, we sincerely hope that you will understand and respect such moderate approaches as this book sets forth. Your influence and action in seeking equitable solutions of this difficult situation are a heavy responsibility. We pray that God will strengthen you for providing the leadership these crucial times require.

Assuring you of the deep concern of each of the compilers and writers for the welfare and progress of our State, I remain

Faithfully yours,

/s/ (REV.) JOHN B. MORRIS

(Rev.) John B. Morris

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
Eastern and Western Districts of South Carolina  
Columbia, S. C.

October 29, 1957

Rev. John B. Morris  
P. O. Box 806  
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Mr. Morris:

I thank you for a copy of "South Carolinians Speak." It came to my office while I was away holding court in another city.

I have only read the preface. I judge that it discloses the purpose of the book and the motive of those who originated the idea of its publication.

The preface manifests the authors' opinion that the social order in South Carolina and throughout the South is ill; that the cure for the sickness is a complete change in the social order that has prevailed in the United States since colonial days. It is also quite manifest in the preface that its authors feel that immediate racial integration is the sure cure for what is termed the "sickness of society." With this view I completely disagree, although I agree that the authors of the preface are entitled to their opinions. However, all those who honestly believe that racial integration is the salvation of our social order should first try it out on their own families before attempting to force it on the families of others.

Personally I think that the most condemnatory evidence against our social order is the presence among our population of too many mulattoes. The cure for this social sickness is not more, but less of it.

To my way of thinking there is no middle ground on the issue of racial integration. It cannot be both right and wrong. To integrate is either all right or all wrong. I believe that God knew what He was doing when He created the races and separated them, just as I believe He knew what He was doing when He created the beasts of the fields and the birds and gave them the instinct to live apart.

One of my earliest recollections is of being taught by my parents that God made me. I still believe that He made me as He wanted me to be - white. All the enemies of our system of government - a government that no functionary has the power to change - can not alter that conviction or inveigle me into an attempt to play God. Too many of our churchmen and public officials have been carried to the mountain top and have been tempted, and have succumbed.

I resent the implication in your preface that men and women who oppose the mongrelization of the races are bigoted and intolerant, or that they are bent on a course of discrimination against negroes. Such is not a part of the creed of white men and women who are loyal to themselves, their families, their race, their communities and to their nation, and, above all, loyalty to the God that made them as they are. Whether you know it or not there are millions of white citizens in the United States - many of them in the North - who believe that the talent of race was given to be used for improvement, not to be hidden or profaned. Moreover, they are firmly convinced that, if God made a mistake in creating the

- 3 -

races and in separating them, Christ knew about it and would have corrected it while He was on earth; that so important a matter would not have been left for the infiltraters of our seminaries to discover and correct.

In a word, these millions of good white citizens, who have helped the negro race upward since Northern greed placed it in the South, and are willing to continue doing so, do not want the United States of America to become a modern Egypt, Portugal, Spain or Brazil. The lessons of history should be heeded.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN

George Bell Timmerman

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK  
P. O. Box 806  
Dillon, South Carolina

January 10, 1958

The Honorable George Bell Timmerman  
United States District Court  
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Judge Timmerman:

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your thorough letter of last October 29th. The press of work relative to the issuance of our book is just now letting me reply to some of the many communications we received - both pro and con.

In your letter you state a very complete case for one approach to the race problem and I respect your right to hold and express these views. While we would differ on some points, we actually would not have the divergence of outlook which you suggest.

I am enclosing a clipping from this past Sunday's Charleston NEWS & COURIER\* which provides some indication of my own personal

- 4 -

views on the race issue. In reference to the public schools I have made it even clearer elsewhere that I do not think it would be wise to integrate public schools in the "deep South" - now or in the foreseeable future.

Thanking you again for your letter, I am

Yours sincerely,

/s/ (REV.) JOHN B. MORRIS

(Rev.) John B. Morris

\*Letter to the News and Courier, Charleston, S. C. Published January 5, 1958.

To The News and Courier:

I have procured a copy of "The Lasting South" which you have editorially commended several times recently. It is an excellent book and, as you have indicated, should be read by every Southerner concerned for the future of this region. It should serve to inform persons outside of the South on the nature of Southern society, and thus gain more understanding for the complexities of our race problem, and it should remind Southerners of the qualities of our region which are primary and which are to be preserved because they are good. A phrase from this book, as quoted by Anthony Harrigan in your review of it, most aptly sums up the message of "The Lasting South" for Southerners today: "...what must be preserved is not the way of life, but the tone of life..."

In an editorial recently (December 21, 1957) you say that there are "cracks in the defense" of Southern "mass resistance" to integration and you indicate that "clergymen, educators and editors" have some responsibility for this.

Allow me to suggest that these professional people, in all instances known to me, have an appreciation for the "tone" of Southern life and will strive to preserve it. At the same time many of them look dubiously upon the spirit of massive resistance as offered us by political leaders.

Speaking for myself alone I can say that I do not think it would be wise to integrate public schools in the "deep South." However, we should not let our maintenance of this position deter us from the progress that was being made in race relations prior

- 5 -

to the Supreme Court decision. With proper planning, desegregation of public transportation and graduate school facilities would accord Negro citizens the equal rights they are due.

It is not only persons from certain professions who believe that the best qualities of "the lasting South" do not lend support to extreme segregationist ideas and "massive resistance." I have talked with hundreds of leading citizens of South Carolina, persons prominent in the business and civic life of the State, and found nearly all of them to be moderate in their views on the race issue. These persons who most often appreciate the "tone of life" in the South have readily deplored the "way of life" offered us by extremists on either side, including "mass resistance."

Dillon

Rev. John B. Morris, Pastor  
St. Barnabas Episcopal Church

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
Eastern and Western Districts of South Carolina  
Columbia, S. C.

January 14, 1958

Rev. John B. Morris  
P. O. Box 806  
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Mr. Morris:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 10 and a clipping from The Charleston News and Courier that accompanied your letter.

The clipping contains a letter written by you to The News and Courier, apparently for publication. I have noted in it a few statements that appear to me to be significant. I shall quote and comment on two or three of them since they seem to point up the main differences in our thinking.

You say, "I do not think it would be wise to integrate schools in the 'deep South'". What I would say is, that white and negro children should not be forced to mix in public schools or elsewhere.

Your statement, taken in or out of context, implies that you do not oppose mixing in public schools in places other than the "deep South." There we part company.

At one time the proponents of the mixing movement professed to be interested solely in improving educational advantages for negro children. Now it is generally conceded that the real goal is the integration of the races. To use a more understandable phrase, the purpose of the movement is to mongrelize the races.

According to my religious philosophy God made the races and set them apart, one from another. It is not within the competency of any person to question or condemn what God did, or to attempt to correct what He did.

Frankly, I am afraid to mock God, as the integrationists seem not to be.

Why He did so, I do not profess to know, but I do know that God made the races different. It is apparent to anyone who will look that there are marked ethnic and physical differences among the races, and none more marked than those between the white and negro races.

I note your agreement that, "With proper planning, desegregation of public transportation and graduate school facilities would accord Negro citizens the equal rights they are due." That assumption of the negro's rights implies superiority. It suggests that a white person has no right to object to what a negro demands, but that what a white person demands may be successfully objected to by a negro - a strange brand of equality. The ardent integrationists, certainly those who are such for pay, would condemn your proposal as being too slow an approach to ultimate mongrelization. I agree that so limited it would materially slow the movement.

The concluding paragraph of your letter to The News and Courier very clearly implies that you oppose "massive resistance" to racial integration.

If I favored racial integration, I most certainly would disapprove any opposition to it, whether it was massive, moderate or mild. In other words, racial integration is either right or wrong, and it makes no difference whether the attempt to bring it about is at the point of a bayonet or by the evil persuasion of subsidized propaganda. Consequently, every good citizen should be on one side or the other. Where the choice is between right and wrong, between condemning God and praising Him, there is no respectable middle ground.

"He that is not with me is against me;  
and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad."

Sincerely yours,

/s/ GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN

George Bell Timmerman

- 7 -

January 17, 1955

The Hon. George Bell Timmerman  
United States District Court  
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Judge Timmerman:

Thank you for your letter of January 14th. I am humbled by your taking the time to write one so insignificant as I so thoroughly about your views on the race controversy. In exchanging views via this correspondence we are involved in what is probably needed most by everyone - communication. Abroad in the land is a great need of people to hear and be heard with reference to this issue. I truly believe that the Negroes would not be pushing the issue as hard if they could have the opportunity to be heard in bi-racial conferences designed just for hearing and telling.

As grateful as I am for the communication afforded each of us in this exchange of correspondence, I shall not expect a reply to this letter since I know that you are a busy man. Of course, if any of my observations prompt you to note your views I shall welcome hearing from you again. Whatever our disagreement, I respect your right to your position and "would defend to the death your right" to hold it.

While it is not stated in your letter it would appear to me that your position carried logically forth would result in a "White Supremist" outlook. Forgive me if I am wrong in seeing the potentiality of this in some of your observations. While believing, as noted in the clipping I sent you with my last letter, that segregation is the best thing for public schools in the "deep South," I cannot accept the position generally indicated as White Supremist. I believe that it is the outlook and rigid unbending in any area whatsoever that will harm the South most in its fight to handle its own problems. We stand a chance of convincing the bar of public opinion across the nation of the wisdom of public school segregation. But White Supremist doctrine will only hasten a trend fostered by the NAACP - total integration - and we will lose our case before the nation and before the courts. If, on the other hand, we could prove our "good faith" in accommodating the few talented Negroes who rise above the average of their race, we would stand a better chance of preserving public school segregation honorably.

I beg, sir, if we would preserve the good qualities of Southern living, not to require that all Southerners be totally "with" you or, if not, thereby "against" you. There is a "respectable middle ground," I believe, and I have talked with hundreds of leading South Carolinians who stand there. Let us

- 8 -

agree to stand together where we can - and honor one another where we cannot. Only in this way will our beloved South be saved much travail.

Yours faithfully,

/s/ JOHN B. MORRIS

John B. Morris

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
Eastern and Western Districts of South Carolina  
Columbia, S. C.

January 21, 1958

Rev. John B. Morris  
P. O. Box 806  
Dillon, S. C.

Dear Mr. Morris:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 17th instant.

I must confess some amazement at your repetitious use of the communist cliché, "White Supremist."

What, in your estimation, is a "White Supremist"? How does one differ from a Jew or Gentile Supremist, or from a Black, Brown or Yellow one?

I note that you see in observations contained in my letter to you a "White Supremist' outlook." I take it, therefore, that you disagree with these observations, viz. (a) That it is now generally recognized that the purpose of the mixing movement is to integrate the races; (b) that God made the races and set them apart; (c) that it is not within the competency of any person to question or condemn what God did, or to attempt to do so; (d) that I am afraid to mock God, as integrationists seem not to be; (e) that it is apparent that there are marked ethnic and physical differences among the races, especially between the white and negro races; (f) that I agree that "massive resistance" is proper in fighting any evil, none more so than the God defying racial mongrelization movement; and (g) that where the choice is between right and wrong, between condemning God and praising Him, there is no respectable middle ground.



With which of these observations do you disagree, with a part or all of them; and which of them indicates a "White Supremist' outlook"?

You speak of "a chance of convincing the bar of public opinion across the nation of the wisdom of public school segregation." Do you believe that consorting with the opposition, giving aid and comfort to it, is going to accomplish that end? And why should it be accomplished, if it isn't right? If segregation is right, why aren't you on the side of it all the way - not just a part of the way?

The Bible, God's Word, doesn't teach me to compromise with sin. What does it teach you?

In your letter you speak of "a trend fostered by the NAACP - total integration" - which will cause us to "lose our case before the nation and before the Courts." I gather from this that you realize that those who control the NAACP activities are out to integrate the races. To that extent you agree with me that the mask is off and that it is no longer to be doubted that total racial integration is the object of those who are fighting to mix our children in schools, churches and elsewhere.

And, to what do you refer as "our case," which you prophesy that we will lose before the nation and the courts? Do you mean by this prophecy that you anticipate that the Supreme Court will order us to integrate the races, that it will enjoin us from preserving the purity of our race, and that the nation will approve?

Have you ever satisfied yourself why it is that Christ did not command racial integration? Was His failure to do so an effort to cover up God's mistake in creating the races and setting them apart?

Remember Christ said:

"He that is not with me is against me;  
and he that gathereth not with me  
scattereth abroad."

In my judgment the greatest travail that could befall the South or the nation would be racial mongrelization. Upon that issue, to me, there is no respectable middle ground for any race.

I note you say you have talked to thousands. You should talk to the tens of thousands that you have missed.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN

George Bell Timmerman

8/1  
10/2

9/1

P E T I T I O N

President Eisenhower  
The White House  
Washington D.C.

**G.F.**  
124-A-1  
School Decision  
Pro

RECEIVED  
MAY - 4 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mr. President:

To further progress toward equality of opportunity among citizens of this nation, we the undersigned citizens wish to express our support of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation. We wish to urge you, Mr. President, to make an even more forthright effort to see that this decision is implemented without delay.

NAME	ADDRESS
Mary A. <sup>x</sup> Hester et al	11422 SE 93rd St. Renton, Wn.
Bruce T. Hulse et al	11422 SE 93rd St. Renton, Wn.
Ellen E. Neal	11425 SE 93rd St. Renton Wn.
Jack Haller	7624 E. Greenlake Way - Seattle 3, Wn.
Ethel C.M. Haller	7624 E. Greenlake Seattle 3, Wn.



WE URGE ALL AMERICANS WHO BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY  
TO SIGN THIS PETITION WHICH WE HAVE SIGNED

<i>Mrs. Daisy Bates</i>	<i>Clarence Pickett</i>
<i>Harry Belafonte</i>	<i>Sidney Poitier</i>
<i>Mrs. Ralph J. Bunche</i>	<i>Rabbi Joachim Prinz</i>
<i>Rev. Edwin J. Dahlberg</i>	<i>A. Philip Randolph</i>
<i>Judge Hubert J. Delaney</i>	<i>Walter Reuther</i>
<i>Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick</i>	<i>Jackie Robinson</i>
<i>Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.</i>	<i>Rev. Gardner C. Taylor</i>
<i>Father John LaFarge, S. J.</i>	<i>Norman Thomas</i>
<i>George Meany</i>	<i>Roy Wilkins</i>
<i>Don Murray</i>	<i>Charles S. Zimmerman</i>

## A PETITION FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

### TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

WHEREAS EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL IS THE CENTRAL MORAL ISSUE OF OUR TIMES;

WHEREAS ON MAY 17, 1954 THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT DECLARED SEGREGATED SCHOOLS TO BE UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND A NEGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY;

WHEREAS SOUTHERN YOUNG PEOPLE SEEKING TO OBTAIN THESE RIGHTS HAVE SUFFERED INDIGNITIES, HUMILIATION AND VIOLENCE;

WHEREAS THE EFFORT TO MAINTAIN SEGREGATED SCHOOLS THREATENS THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR FREE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM AND EMBARRASSES OUR PROFESSIONS OF DEMOCRACY AROUND THE WORLD;

THEREFORE WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, PETITION THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO PUT INTO EFFECT AN EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM WHICH WILL INSURE THE ORDERLY AND SPEEDY INTEGRATION OF SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

# A PETITION FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

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NAME ADDRESS

- 1 Betty Nelson 8647 106<sup>th</sup> St. Kenosha, Wis.
- 2 Carol ... 8647 106<sup>th</sup> SE Kenosha, Wis.
- 3
- 4 Kay ... 10048 SE 93<sup>rd</sup> Kenosha, Wis.
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RETURN BY APRIL 18, 1959 TO:

YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

312 WEST 125th STREET  
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK



5/20  
file  
5/1

WE URGE ALL AMERICANS WHO BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY  
TO SIGN THIS PETITION WHICH WE HAVE SIGNED

RECEIVED  
MAY 2 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

- |                                     |                               |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Mrs. Daisy Bates</i>             | <i>Clarence Pickett</i>       |
| <i>Harry Belafonte</i>              | <i>Sidney Poitier</i>         |
| <i>Mrs. Ralph J. Bunche</i>         | <i>Rabbi Joachim Prinz</i>    |
| <i>Rev. Edwin J. Dahlberg</i>       | <i>A. Philip Randolph</i>     |
| <i>Judge Hubert J. Delaney</i>      | <i>Walter Reuther</i>         |
| <i>Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick</i>   | <i>Jackie Robinson</i>        |
| <i>Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.</i> | <i>Rev. Gardner C. Taylor</i> |
| <i>Father John LaFarge, S. J.</i>   | <i>Norman Thomas</i>          |
| <i>George Meany</i>                 | <i>Roy Wilkins</i>            |
| <i>Don Murray</i>                   | <i>Charles S. Zimmerman</i>   |

**A PETITION FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS  
TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS  
OF THE UNITED STATES**

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RECEIVED  
 1959  
 CENTRAL FILES

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Mrs. Ralph J. Bunche	Rabbi Joachim Prinz
Rev. Edwin J. Dahlberg	A. Philip Randolph
Judge Hubert J. Delaney	Walter Reuther
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Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.	Rev. Gardner C. Taylor
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## A PETITION FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

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NAME	ADDRESS
1 <u>Isidor B. Hoffman</u>	<u>3010 Broadway, New York, N.Y.</u>
2 <u>Robert E. Cole</u>	<u>200 Valentine Lane Yonkers, N.Y.</u>
3 <u>Nina Mlanaky</u>	<u>5 Bayley Avenue, Yonkers, N.Y.</u>
4 <u>Heida B. Haffner</u>	<u>420 Riverside Dr. N.Y. 25</u>
5 <u>Mrs. F. Bogensieder</u>	<u>549 W. 123<sup>rd</sup> St. N.Y. 24</u>
6 <u>J. L. Rosen</u>	<u>315 Wington Hall Columbia U</u>
7 <u>Stanley A. Horowitz</u>	<u>548 W 113 St. N.Y. 25</u>
8 <u>John Franklin</u>	<u>315 W. 103</u>
9 <u>Abraham Rosen</u>	<u>315 W 103 St.</u>
10 <u>Richard E. Korman</u>	<u>305 West End Ave. N.Y.C.</u>
11 <u>Mrs. Elizabeth Moran</u>	<u>450 W 162<sup>nd</sup> St N.Y.C.</u>
12 <u>Louise P. Taub</u>	<u>601 W. 113 St. N.Y. 25</u>
13 <u>Lewis Lederer</u>	<u>219 W. 106</u>
14 <u>Miriam Gorman</u>	<u>365 West End Ave N.Y.C.</u>
15 <u>My (Paul)</u>	<u>30 W 24<sup>th</sup> St</u>
16 <u>Edna Karshan</u>	<u>420 Riverside Dr N.Y.C.</u>
17 _____	_____
18 _____	_____
19 _____	_____
20 _____	_____

C.F.

*Decision*

RECEIVED  
MAY 30 1959  
GENERAL FILES

May 29, 1959

Dear Reverend Hendrieth:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you and Reverend Charles Copeland for your telegram to him of May twenty-third in connection with the sensitive issue of human rights.

Most assuredly the Administration is aware of the difficulties which have arisen. The President, however, is doing everything he can by precept and example to see to it that all American citizens are able to walk this land of ours in dignity and peace, regardless of race, color or creed.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Reverend Marlin J. Hendrieth  
619 Fremont Avenue North  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

lrs

FORM 808 PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER CO., DAYTON 1, OHIO, U. S. A.

REPRODUCTION OF THIS FORM IS PROHIBITED  
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GPO : 1959 O - 71284-1

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THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE  
**ROUTE SLIP**  
(To Remain With Correspondence)

TO Mr. Morrow  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

PROMPT HANDLING IS ESSENTIAL.  
WHEN DRAFT REPLY IS REQUESTED  
THE BASIC CORRESPONDENCE MUST  
BE RETURNED. IF ANY DELAY IN  
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPLY IS  
ENCOUNTERED, PLEASE TELEPHONE  
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY.

Date May 26, 1959

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

- ACTION:** Comment \_\_\_\_\_  
Draft reply \_\_\_\_\_  
For direct reply \_\_\_\_\_  
For your information \_\_\_\_\_  
For necessary action \_\_\_\_\_  
For appropriate handling  \_\_\_\_\_  
See below \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

By direction of the President:

*A. J. Goodpaster*  
A. J. GOODPASTER  
Staff Secretary  
*AGM*

FORM 805 PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER CO., DAYTON 1, OHIO, U. S. A.



Libby:

Can you get me a street address for Rev. Copeland  
or Rev. Hendrieth?

Thanks.

Laura

234 EOB

FORM 805 PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER CO. DAYTON 1, OHIO, U. S. A.

1000 1/2th Street  
Washington

1959 MAY 23 PM 9 15

TWA007 PD

MF MINNEAPOLIS MINN MAY 23 519PMC

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

"CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA MAY 21, 1959"

THE PRESIDING ELDER, MINISTERS AND LAYMEN OF THE ST PAUL  
DISTRICT OF THE NORTHWESTERN ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN  
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH REPRESENTING MANY CHRISTIANS IN MINNESOTA  
AND IOWA, WISH TO COMMEND YOU FOR THE STAND YOU HAVE TAKEN TO  
DEFEND GOOD AMERICAN CITIZENS AGAINST MURDERERS AND

*print to*

PRINTED BY THE STAGGER REGISTER CO. LITON, I OHIO U S A

AND GOOD AMERICAN CITIZENS REVEREND MURDERERS AND  
METHUEN HIGH TO CONNED FOR THE STATE AND HAVE TAKEN TO  
DIGNITY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH BELIEVING THAT CHRISTIANS IN MINNESOTA  
THE RESIDING ELDER'S MINISTERS AND CONGREGATION OF THE METHODIST  
CEDAR RAPIDS IOWA MAY 21 1954  
THE PRESIDENT  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON D.C. 20540

POTENTIAL MURDERERS AND THOSE WHO REFUSE TO OBEY THE DECISIONS  
HANDLED DOWN BY THE HIGHEST COURT OF OUR NATION. NEGRO CONSTITUENTS  
ARE GREATLY CONCERNED OVER THE CONTINUED DISREGARD OF THE MANDATE OF  
THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES AS IT PERTAINS TO  
INTEGRATION OF NEGROES INTO THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF AMERICA. WE  
IMPLORE YOU TO GO MUCH FURTHER AND EMPLOY EVERY LEGAL MEANS IN  
YOUR POWER TO BREAK THE STALEMATE EXISTING IN LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS  
AND MANY OTHER AREAS OF THE SOUTH, AND THUS HASTEN THE IMPLEMENTATION  
OF THE MANDATE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. MANY  
OF US WERE UNDER YOUR COMMAND WHEN YOU WERE IN CHARGE OF THE AFFAIRS



**G.F.**

*124. H. L. ...  
H.C. and ...  
F.M.  
E*

RECORDED  
JUN 3 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

June 1, 1959

Gentlemen:

This will acknowledge on behalf of the President your letter of May eleventh urging that he use his office to assist in removing racial barriers in the operation of the Metropolitan Young Men's Christian Association. Your interest in writing about this matter is appreciated.

Your letter was referred to the Department of Justice and I am advised by the Attorney General that the Young Men's Christian Association, being a private organization neither under government control nor operated with government funds, does not fall within the scope of any federal law relating to racial discrimination. In these circumstances, I am sure that you will appreciate that it would be inappropriate for the President to intervene in this matter.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Rev. James D. Foy  
Rev. Charles C. Webber  
Co-Chairmen  
D. C. Citizen's Committee for the  
Advancement of Christianity in the  
Y. M. C. A.  
11th & K Streets, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

*140 5 11 1959*



Office of the Attorney General  
Washington, D.C.

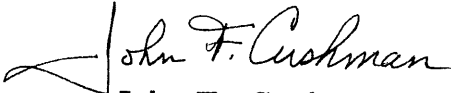
May 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR

Honorable Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President  
The White House

I attach draft replies to two letters relating to the racial policy of the Woodward School for Boys operated by the Young Men's Christian Association of the District of Columbia.

Inasmuch as the views expressed in these letters are diametrically opposed, it is my opinion that a brief acknowledgment along the lines suggested and without engaging the President directly in this matter is the best approach to take.

  
John F. Cushman  
Office of the Attorney General

Enclosures (4)

*2 GF 15-4*

*File with [unclear]  
[unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] [unclear]*

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SUGGESTED DRAFT REPLY

Gentlemen:

*Wm. J. ...*  
~~This is in reply to your letter to the President~~  
of May 11, 1959, urging that he use his office to assist in removing  
racial barriers in the operation of the Metropolitan Young Men's  
Christian Association. *15-0-21-11-59*

Your letter was referred to the Department of  
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Men's Christian Association, being a private organization neither  
under government control nor operated with government funds,  
does not fall within the scope of any federal law relating to racial  
discrimination. In these circumstances, I am sure that you will  
appreciate that it would be inappropriate for the President to inter-  
vene in this matter.

Sincerely,

May 23, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR

The Honorable William P. Rogers  
The Attorney General

Can you let me have a draft of a reply to the attached letter to the President signed by Rev. James D. Foy and Rev. Charles C. Webber and concerning segregation in the YMCA? I would appreciate it if I could have this reply by Monday, June first.

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Attachment

Ltr. dtd 5/11/59

FHS



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

5/20/59

Mr. Morgan:

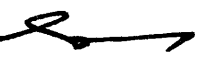
In case you did not see it, these people had a writeup in yesterday morning's Washington Post that they had placed their matter in the hands of the White House. Mr. Morrow saw the article.

Laura

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1959

To: Gerald D. Morgan

From: E. Frederic Morrow 

Respectfully referred.

*By not yet: 6/25/59*

---

## Ike Asked to End 'Y' School Policy

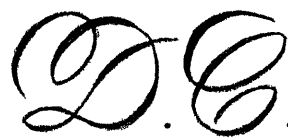
The D. C. Citizens' Committee for the Advancement of Christianity in the YMCA has appealed to President Eisenhower to help end segregation in the "Y's" Woodward School for Boys, 1736 G st. nw.

The Committee, headed by the Rev. James D. Foy of Asbury Methodist Church and the Rev. Charles C. Webber, director of the Office of Religious Relations of the AFL-CIO, asked the President to use his good offices in eliminating "this one stubborn ugly last spot of school segregation in the Capital."

Randolph E. Myers, General Secretary of the "Y," said its board of directors is studying the question.

Segregation in the "Y" swimming pool and gymnasium also was criticized by the Committee.

---



CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY  
IN THE Y.M.C.A.

11th & K Streets NW  
May 11, 1959

Washington, D.C.

Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

In 1954, when you acted to remove discrimination from public places in the Nation's Capital, this was hailed all over the world as a great step forward in human relations.

In September, 1955, when the district schools moved swiftly to comply with the Supreme Court ruling on the desegregation of schools, it was believed that this was the completion of your 1952 campaign pledge to remove all racial barriers in Washington and make it the showplace of Democracy for the U.S.A.

Unfortunately, Mr. President, the good intentions of that pledge have been marred by one stubborn ugly last spot of school segregation in the Capital. Ironically, it is the Metropolitan Young Men's Christian Association, part of a national institution dedicated to the promotion of brotherhood and Christian ideals, which is perpetrating this grave offense.

The board of the Metropolitan Young Men's Christian Association has persistently refused to change its racial policy which bars qualified Negroes from attending the Woodward School for Boys, located in the Central Branch at 1736 G Street, N.W.

-2-

Although the school is operated as a private institution, the Young Men's Christian Association is supported in part by public subscription and is a beneficiary of the annual drive by the United Giver's Fund.

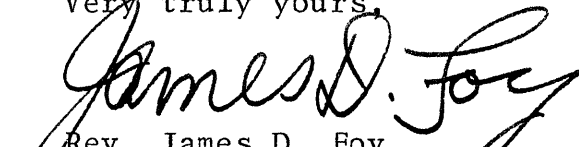
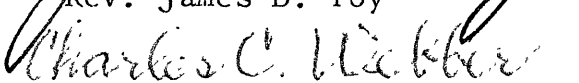
Repeated efforts on the part of organizations and citizens from all walks of life have failed to persuade the board to halt the practice of segregation in the school and discrimination in other areas of its facilities.

The D. C. Citizen's Committee for the Advancement of Christianity in the Young Men's Christian Association now appeals to you, Mr. President, to use your good offices in an intolerable situation which has placed a blot of shame not only on the citizens of the District, but on the whole country.

Indeed this pattern of racial discrimination has been used against foreigners seeking the hospitality of our capital and this has had damaging effects upon our prestige abroad.

The correction of this unfortunate, un-Christian, and undemocratic policy will not only complete the work on your historic monument to freedom and the dignity of all men, but it can be a powerful buttress to our position as we lead the struggle for world peace and understanding.

Very truly yours,

  
Rev. James D. Foy  


Rev. Charles C. Webber  
Co-Chairmen

JDF/CCW/cb1  
oeiu2af1cio

D. C. CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR  
THE ADVANCEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE Y. M. C. A.

IS  
PICKETING

The office of the General Secretary of the Metropolitan  
Y. M. C. A. and the Central Branch of the Y. M. C. A.

WHY?

Because of Racial Discrimination in the Y.M.C.A.—contrary  
to the stated policy of the National Council of the Young  
Men's Christian Association of the United States of America.

EXAMPLE NO. 1

The General Board of the Metropolitan Y. M. C. A. and its  
Educational Committee refuse to admit Negro boys to the  
Woodward School for Boys—housed at the Central Branch  
Y. M. C. A. at 1736 G Street, N. W.

EXAMPLE NO. 2

The Central Branch of the Y.M.C.A. at 1736 G Street, N.W.,  
refuses to admit Negro men and boys into its membership.

EXAMPLE NO. 3

The Metropolitan Y.M.C.A. Camp Letts at Edgewater, Maryland,  
refuses to admit Negro boys.

---

Co-Chairmen: Rev. James D. Foy, pastor, Asbury Methodist  
Church, 11th & K Streets, N.W.; Charles C. Webber, 1816 12th  
Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

---

G.F.

124-A1  
J. Morgan  
G

RECEIVED  
JUN - 2 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

June 1, 1959

Dear Mr. Green:

The President asked me to thank you for your letter concerning the 1959 Petition Campaign for Integrated Schools and to assure you that he has under personal consideration the proposals which were submitted to him by the Youth Delegation. Last week he wrote Mr. A. Philip Randolph about this matter, and in case you have not as yet seen the President's letter, I am enclosing a copy for your information. I am also enclosing a copy of a letter the President wrote on the occasion of the closing of the schools in Charlottesville last Fall. As you can readily see, the President fully shares your concern regarding the importance of maintaining the public schools of the nation.

I assure you that the Administration will make every effort to realize the enactment of its legislative program in the field of civil rights. The other legislative proposals which you mention were in principle considered by the Administration prior to presenting its own program. While all of them seek the same worthwhile objective, the President, after careful consideration, concluded that for the present the cause of civil rights would best be served by the enactment of the measures which he has proposed. The Civil Rights Commission will doubtless, however, come up with recommendations in the Fall, and these will be considered along with other recommendations.

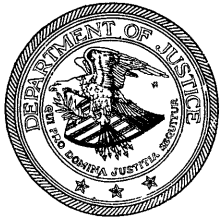
In closing, let me say the President feels that the informed concern of the youth of this country, as represented by your letter, will be a most important factor in the ultimate realization of our goal of equal rights for all our citizens.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. Reginald H. Green  
United States National Student Association  
3457 Chestnut Street  
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Enclosures  
Justice - GDM/fhs



Office of the Attorney General  
Washington, D.C.

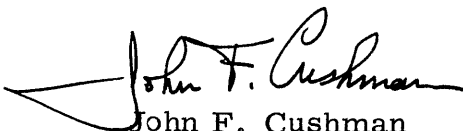
May 29, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR

Honorable Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President  
The White House

In reply to your memorandum of May 22, 1959, I am attaching a suggested draft reply to the letter of May 15th addressed to the President from Reginald H. Green, Educational Affairs Vice President of the National Student Association.

The correspondence enclosed with your memorandum is returned herewith.

  
John F. Cushman  
Office of the Attorney General

Enclosures (2)

x 4 13 17



SUGGESTED DRAFT REPLY

Dear Mr. Green:

The President ~~has~~ asked ~~that I~~ thank you for your ~~thoughtful~~ letter concerning the 1959 Petition Campaign for Integrated Schools and to assure you that he has under personal consideration the proposals which were submitted to him by the Youth Delegation. He fully shares your concern regarding the importance of maintaining the public schools of the nation. As he stated last fall when schools were closed in Arkansas and Virginia to avoid racial desegregation, "the direct consequences to the children in those schools and the eventual consequences to our nation could be disastrous."

I assure you that the Administration will make every effort to realize the enactment of its legislative program in the field of civil rights. The other legislative proposals which you mention were in principle considered by the Administration prior to presenting its own program. While all of them, seek the same worthwhile objective, the President, after careful consideration, concluded that the cause of civil rights would best be served at this time by the enactment of the measures which he has proposed.

In closing, let me say the President feels that the informed concern of the youth of this country, as represented by your ~~well-~~considered letter, will be a major factor in the ultimate realization of our goal of equal rights for all our citizens.

Sincerely,

1-107

May 22, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR

The Honorable William P. Rogers  
The Attorney General

Can you let me have a suggested draft of a reply to the attached letter from Reginald H. Green, National Youth Chairman and White House Delegation Member for the Youth March for Integrated Schools, and Educational Affairs Vice President for the National Students Association. I would appreciate it if I could have the reply by Friday, May twenty-ninth.

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Enclosure

Ltr. to Pres. dtd.  
5/15/59.

ard

**UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION**

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106

THE WHITE HOUSE

May 15, 1959

MAY 20 1 28 PM '59

5-19-59 PM

RECEIVED

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

Dear President Eisenhower:

As a member of the 1959 Petition Campaign and Youth March for Integrated Schools' White House Delegation, I wish to thank you for the attentive and freindly reception we received. I hope that you have had an opportunity to be appraised of the proposals which we left with Mr. Morgan as well as of the widespread youth and student support evidenced by the 26,000 plus who came to Washington and the over 400,000 who signed the petition.

I feel that recent events both in terms of school desegregation and in other human relations areas underline both the need and the opportunity for executive and legislative action both in terms of state-ments and of specific programs.

The growing concern over the threat of inferior or totally nonexistent public education evidenced by HOPE in Georgia, STOP in Little Rock greatly increases the opportunities for "speedy and orderly integration."

With the growth and spread of these and similar groups and with the tentative advances of school desegregation in Charlottesville, Dade County Florida, Delaware, and elsewhere, I feel it is especially crucial that you reexert your full moral leadership on behalf of those who favor open public schools, desegregated in compliance with the law of the land and who oppose both violence and the abandonment of public education.

Like the other National Youth Chairmen of the Youth March, I sincerely feel that it is important not only to endorse and support desegregation in education as the law of the land but also to support and endorse it as morally right and educationally inevitable. The support which the Civil Rights Bill you have proposed would give to advocates of desegregation and of public education rather than school closing is sorely needed. I hope that you will exert your influence to its fullest extent to secure passage of this measure.

**twelfth** NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS • AUGUST 24 TO SEPTEMBER 3, 1959

ASSOCIATED WITH American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U S Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committee for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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Chairman  
Financial Advisory Board  
**RUTH GERI HAGY**

President Dwight D. Eisenhower

-2-

May 15, 1959

However, I feel as do the majority of the young men and women who participated in the Petition Campaign and March that in addition to those Civil Rights protections and those means of technical assistance to educational desegregation which you have endorsed there is need for construction assistance to districts in which a major obstacle to desegregation is an overall lack of facilities and for channels of legal and administrative action permitting the Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Commission to act more effectively in the development of desegregation plans and in supporting the rights of individuals who for one reason or another cannot individually institute legal proceedings. I feel that the approach of the Bi-partisan Proposals usually termed the Douglas-Javits-Callahan Bill would go far toward meeting this need.

Desegregation and integration in education are national problems affecting all parts of the country and all segments of the population. They should be the concern of all citizens and of no one more than of youth and students.

It is for this reason that the Youth March White House Delegation recommended to your attention the concept of a National White House Conference of Youth and Students to consider the Role and Responsibility of Youth and Students in Educational Desegregation and Integration. We envisaged such a conference as a meetingplace for leaders from national and regional youth and student groups and as taking place in the summer of 1960.

The United States National Student Association, the National Federation of Catholic College Students, the Southern Area Councils of the YMCA and other youth and student organizations in the 26 member Young Adult Council of the United States have successfully held a Southern Student Human Relations Conference in the South. I believe that their leaders and the individuals active in them could be of real value in facing the question of desegregation in education through participating in the planning and execution of a White House Youth and Student Conference on Desegregation in Education.

Once again, I should like to express my appreciation for the interest shown in our suggestions and proposals by your staff members and also to express my hopes that you will find them useful in framing further action toward the achievement of equal opportunity for all.

Sincerely,

*Reginald H. Green*

Reginald H. Green  
1959 Petition Campaign and Youth March for  
Integrated Schools, National Youth Chairman  
and White House Delegation Member

Educational Affairs Vice President USNSA

RHG/rak

**G.F.**

*124-A-1  
Sch. Pro  
S*

June 18, 1959

RECEIVED  
JUN 21 1959  
GENERAL FILES

Dear Students:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him of June eleventh.

# Your observations regarding the sensitive issue of school integration have been noted, and I assure you that the President greatly appreciates having them. In these difficult times it is most helpful to obtain the thinking of conscientious citizens like yourself.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

x Social Studies Class 7417  
x Stitt Junior High School No. 164  
x 401 West 164th Street  
New York 32, New York

*[Handwritten signature]*

lrs

Vertical text on the left margin, possibly a stamp or administrative note, partially obscured and rotated.

CE

6/16

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK  
STITT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL NO. 164  
401 WEST 164TH STREET  
NEW YORK 32, N. Y.  
EUGENE T. MALESKA, PRINCIPAL

LORRAINE 8-5800

LOUISE J. LEFEBVRE  
LEO GOODMAN  
ALEXANDER M. LEVINE  
SAMUEL GUTTERMAN  
ASSISTANTS TO PRINCIPAL

ALEXANDER TRIFON  
COORDINATOR

June 12, 1959

Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The enclosed letter was written without any help by my 7<sup>th</sup> grade Social Studies class.

As school is nearing to a close, would you kindly answer this letter immediately. The students are very excited about the letter and eagerly look forward to the response they will receive.

Thank you.

M. Garfin

P.S. Would you direct your answer to:  
Social Studies Class 7417

Junior High School 164  
401 W. 164th Street  
New York 32, New York  
June 11, 1959

The President  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

We are a class of, Stitt Junior High School 164. We are interested in the problem of integration in the Southern States.

In our school we have integration among all races of students and teachers, and we think it works very well. We feel that this progress has been achieved through the efforts of people who worked together.

Such organizations as the, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has shown much progress in the North. We think the South could improve as much as we have.

Therefore, we urge you to support the, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in the South in its effort to end segregation in the schools.

Respectfully yours,  
Herbert White Brenda Freeman  
Michael Folkes Mayne Smith  
James Marsh Ethan Z. Casey  
Howard Howard Richard Julius  
Chwin Ashford Russell Tucker  
Richard Carter Charles Brown  
Andrew Eaton Jr. Basil Douglas  
Joseph Burton Valerie Edmundson  
M. d. Hamler, Jr. Daniel Bernstein  
Bonnie Williams  
Barbara Ann Williams  
Loretta Hatcher  
Sherrye A. Baker  
Bernice Rainey  
Sharon Stewart  
Virginia Crosswaith  
Nancy E. Holst  
Sheryl A. Bready

G.F.<sup>th</sup>

124-A-1

July 8, 1959

RECEIVED  
JUL - 8 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mr. Hill:

Your letter to the President has been received.

The President is always glad to hear from men in uniform and is always deeply concerned about problems they meet that are beyond their power to control.

Those of us who are close to the President can testify that he is always distressed by man's inhumanity to man and that he has worked very hard during his term as President to create an atmosphere in this country where all loyal citizens can enjoy without restriction all the privileges as well as all the responsibilities of first-class citizenship. He continually hopes that by his example other Americans will be constrained to follow his simple formula of treating all men as one would like to be treated himself.

It is not possible for the President to control the attitude of any American, and the things that you write about, while definitely regrettable, can only be corrected and met in the manner which I have outlined above.

Each one of us, of course, has a civil responsibility to do all we possibly can to eradicate the atmosphere created by persons who would give foreign countries the impression that democracy does not work for all of our citizens. The present Administration, by precept and example, is dedicated to overcoming this false impression.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

SP/4 George W. Hill  
643rd Engineer Company P. L.  
Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri

EFM/lrs



your letter to the President has been received.

MISSOURI

JULY 8, 1959

643

7/

643 rd ENGINEER COMPANY P. L.  
Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri

22 June 1959

The President  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing with the deepest of sincerity, and I am hoping that this letter won't be looked upon as an insult, or a question of your integrity. I would just like to inform you of my opinion and the opinions of most of those that are of the same beliefs on this matter of integration.

You have probably already noticed that I am a soldier in the U. S. Army, but I am still the same as thousands of people who are living in this confused world. I have been keeping up with the headlines and listening to news broadcasts and the progress that's expected, but just doesn't seem to be there.

Realizing that you have many responsibilities and have most of the nation's problems on your hands, I have hesitated to write, but after giving it lots of thought and then concluding that you would be just as much concerned, I just had to let you in on how my people are being treated.

To begin sir, I will first tell you that I am from the South, Little Rock, Arkansas is my home, and I have lived there for fifteen years. I know the people there and I also know what they believe in. I among others have tolerated their abuses and have been silent for years, but a man along with anything else can only stand so much before there is a breaking point.

Mine was yesterday on receiving a letter from my fiancée, when she had this to tell me, and I quote "Darling, be real careful when you are coming home, because the people here are organizing the Ku Klux Klan, and it scares me half to death!". Why I think it is terrible when a soldier of the U. S. Army has to be warned of dangers from the people he is suppose to be protecting, or it's even worse because this man is giving a portion of or his life if necessary for their defense. Sir, when a man has shed his blood for a country, he should be able to tell anybody with conceit that it's his, without something in the back of his mind saying that only parts of it is his because of his color.

Washington 22, D. C.  
The White House  
Washington

LOUIS GEORGE HILL, 1000 17th Street, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

You signed the military code of conduct sir, and to my belief you did not specify the color of men. If I am correct it is American men who are dedicated to a free country. I for one can not believe a man is free after returning from a war front and finding that he still can't eat in restaurants of his choice, or that his children are not allowed to attend certain schools because of their color. We speak of democracy with the Russians, and we broadcast to the people that are in bondage of a democratic way of life through Radio Free Europe Plan, but who is telling Governor Faubus. He needs it worst than anyone, because he has lived here nearly a half a century and still doesn't know its true meaning.

Sir, you are letting him destroy what has taken over a hundred-fifty years to build, and this is a vital part of the constitution. Thus, I ask you not only for me or my race, but for our country if it is in your power, don't let Governor Faubus or anyone else destroy the real meaning of our way of life.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE W. HILL  
SP/4

G.R.

*[Handwritten scribbles and initials]*

August 28, 1959

RECEIVED  
AUG 29 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Merrilee:

The President has asked me to thank you for the kind thoughts contained in your letter of August seventeenth. He is pleased to know of your sincere interest in the fuller realization of the human rights of our citizens.

We all look forward to the day when equality of opportunity, both in principle and in practice, will be enjoyed by every American. No society is perfect, but any society can be improved. Patient, persistent work toward goals which we know to be right will make our own a more rewarding one in which to live.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Merrilee Bruce  
19 Volkmar Road  
Worcester 6, Massachusetts

lrs



9  
PM  
19 Volkmar Road<sup>19</sup>  
Worcester 6, Mass.  
August 17, 1959

Dear Sir President

I know you have no time for this  
but please listen, for it is ~~what~~  
I believe to be true.

Is it not true that the South has  
brought this problem of Negroes upon  
themselves? Just before the break out of  
the Civil War their forefathers imported  
slaves, now they are fighting to keep  
them from learning + finding out the  
facts of life. If I am not wrong  
there is an article in the Constitution  
of the United States, that say, they, the  
Negroes, have as much right as we  
to live freely.

From what I have learned in school  
and Church, it sums up to this: God



Created all men equal regard-  
less of their Race Color and  
Creed.

It means a ~~great~~ great deal to  
me, My Great Aunt lived & believed  
as I do now and died fighting for this  
Cause.

I will not take any more of your  
time, please think this over.

May the good Lord Bless you till the  
end of your days upon this Earth

Sincerely and Respectfully Submitted,

(C. J.) Emeline Bruce

G.F.

124 H 1

August 28, 1959

RECEIVED  
AUG 29 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear David:

The President has asked me to thank you for the thoughts contained in your letter to him of August eighteenth. He is pleased to know of your interest in the fuller realization of the human rights of our citizens.

We all look forward to the day when equality of opportunity, both in principle and in practice, will be enjoyed by every American. No society is perfect, but any society can be improved. Patient, persistent work toward goals which we know to be right will make our own a more rewarding one in which to live.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

David Fox  
7950 Race Road  
North Ridgeville, Ohio

lrs

CELLS BY LINE  
YNG 3 3 1959  
RECEIVED

104-1000  
CF

Child No. Integration

8/20

August 18, 1959

Dear, Mr President,

I am David Fox. I live in N. Ridgerville Ohio. The reason I am writing to you is this I am white, I have a question to ask you about the intagrations. How come the negroes were driven in to Little Rock after all just because they have brown skin doesn't make them any different from white people. God made them this way. I do not think this is nice. Maybe I'm wrong. But that's my opinion. I'm 9 1/2 year old incase your interested

Respectfully yours,

David Fox  
7950 Race Rd.  
N. Ridgerville  
Ohio

G.F.

August 27, 1959

RECEIVED  
AUG 28 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Reverend King:

The President asked me to reply to your telegram of August 13, proposing that he issue a proclamation calling upon all Americans to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court.

The President appreciates and thoroughly understands the motive prompting this suggestion. The President has repeatedly declared and reaffirmed his determination that the law as set forth in the Constitution, statutes and decisions of the courts must be respected and obeyed, and feels that nothing could be added by a Proclamation to the same effect.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Reverend Martin Luther King  
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church  
454 Dexter Avenue  
Montgomery, Alabama

GDM/fhs---Justice draft





SUGGESTED DRAFT REPLY

Dear Reverend King:

The President <sup>has received</sup> ~~is in receipt of your~~ telegram ~~dated~~ August 13, 1959, proposing that he issue a proclamation calling upon all Americans to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court.

The President appreciates and thoroughly understands the motive prompting this suggestion. However, a proclamation, such as you urge, under our form of government would have no legal effect. Moreover, the President has repeatedly declared and reaffirmed his determination that the law as set forth in the Constitution, statutes and decisions of the courts must be respected and obeyed.

Sincerely,

---

August 18, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR

The Honorable William P. Rogers  
The Attorney General

May I have a draft of a suggested reply to the attached telegram to the President from Martin Luther King? I would appreciate it if I could have this reply by Tuesday, August twenty-fifth.

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Attachment

Tele. dtd 8/13/59

GDM/fhs



Dep. Rights House  
Washington

1959 AUG 13 PM 6 56

OWA083 PD

NEW YORK NY AUG 13 215PME

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR MR PRESIDENT, MY COLLEAGUES AND I RECOGNIZE THAT THE COMING EXCHANGE OF VISITS BETWEEN YOU AND MR KHRUSHCHEV HAS INTRODUCED A NEW ELEMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION INSPIRING HOPE THAT CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS TOWARD PEACE MAY RESULT. EVERYONE MUST APPLAUD AND RESPECT THIS INITIATIVE WHICH AN ANXIOUS WORLD HAS LONG AWAITED.

177-100-0  
DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
AUG 19 9 51 AM '59  
CIV. RIGHTS DIV.  
Gen. Lit. Sec.

IT IS UNIVERSALLY AGREED THAT MR KHRUSHCHEV MUST BE IMPRESSED WITH OUR ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ACHIEVMENTS. HE UNDOUBTEDLY WILL BE AS THE OVERWHELMING EVIDENCE PRESENTS ITSELF ON EVERY SIDE. IT IS LESS CERTAIN THAT SO CLEAR AND INSPIRING A PICTURE OF OUR DEMOCRATIC UNITY AND IDEALS WILL EMERGE. MR KHRUSHCHEV WILL ARRIVE IN OUR COUNTRY JUST AS SCHOOLS ARE REOPENING IN SEPTEMBER. IT WOULD BE TRAGIC SHOULD HIS VISIT COINCIDE WITH TENSION AND VIOLENCE ACCOMPANYING THE DESEGREGATION OF SOME SCHOOLS. AS SUCH SITUATIONS HAVE OCCURED ANNUALLY FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS, CAUSING OUR NATION GRAVE EMBARRASSMENT

STANLOCK PATENT PENDING  
PRINTED BY THE STANDAR REGISTER CO. DAYTON, OHIO, U.S.A.  
FOR DOS

THEREFORE WE RESPECTFULLY SUGGEST THAT BEFORE THE OPENING OF  
SCHOOLS YOU ISSUE A PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION DECLARING THAT IN  
THE INTEREST OF THE MORAL INTEGRITY OF OUR NATION AND AS A  
CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PEACE EVERY CITIZEN SHALL PEACEFULLY ABIDE  
BY THE DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT AND OTHER FEDERAL COURTS  
FACILITATING INTEGRATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS ACROSS THE NATION.  
MAY WE HAVE YOUR REACTION TO THIS PROPOSAL AFTER YOU HAVE AN  
OPPORTUNITY TO REFLECT UPON IT

MARTIN LUTHER KING PRESIDENT

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE!

REGISTERED BY THE STATE OF OHIO, DAYTON, OHIO, U.S.A. PATENT PENDING

40470

G.F.

*124 A 1*  
*Handwritten notes*

August 28, 1959

RECEIVED  
AUG 29 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Christine:

The President has asked me to thank you for your recent letter. He is pleased to know of your sincere interest in the fuller realization of the human rights of our citizens.

We all look forward to the day when equality of opportunity, both in principle and in practice, will be enjoyed by every American. No society is perfect, but any society can be improved. Patient, persistent work toward goals which we know to be right will make our own a more rewarding one in which to live.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Christine Keppa  
Turville Point  
Madison 5, Wisconsin

lrs

Christine Koppa <sup>8/13</sup>  
Survive Point  
Madison 5, Wis.

Dear Sir,

I am ten and going  
into the sixth grade.

School is starting pretty  
soon, and I've reading about  
the situation of Little Rock.

If the students there don't  
like Negroes, ask them  
why did we bring the  
Negroes over as slaves a  
long time ago? It's every-  
one's fault that they are  
here, so they shouldn't  
complain.



I would like you to  
answer my question  
if you can.

Sincerely yours,  
Christine Koppa

2

G.F.

144-A-1  
School Records  
Pro

RECEIVED  
SEP 1 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

August 29, 1959

Dear Mr. Griffin:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of August twentieth. He appreciates your interest in writing concerning the difficulty being experienced in respect to the integration of the public schools of Prince Edward County.

The Supreme Court decision did not, as some suppose, require the States to have public schools. It merely held that if a State or locality did operate public schools, it could not deny admission to such schools solely on the ground of race or color. While the President deplors the action of the Board of Supervisors in depriving the children of Prince Edward County of opportunity for public education, he is powerless to take any action since public education is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the States -- subject only to the requirements of the United States Constitution.

The President is fully sympathetic with the reasons that prompted your letter.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. L. Francis Griffin  
President  
Prince Edward County Christian Association  
Farmville, Virginia

...the State to have public schools. If necessary  
The Supreme Court decision will not be some...  
...of Prince Edward County.  
...to the integration of the  
...concerning the public  
...of Virginia. The  
...to...

Dear Mr. Griffin:

C.F.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1959

Dear Mr. Griffin:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of August twentieth. He appreciates your interest in writing concerning the difficulty being experienced in respect to the integration of the public schools of Prince Edward County.

~~Much as he deplures any instance of noncompliance to law, it is not within his province to interfere in the local matters of a state unless specifically requested to do so by the proper officials.~~

~~He is doing everything he can to bring about a moral climate whereby conformance to rulings of the courts of our land will take place in normal order.~~

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. L. Francis Griffin  
President  
Prince Edward County Christian Association  
309 Franklin Street  
Farmville, Virginia

*Prince Edward County Christian Association*  
(PECCA)

309 FRANKLIN STREET — FARMVILLE, VIRGINIA

L. FRANCIS GRIFFIN, President  
A. I. DUNLAP, First Vice President  
C. H. HILL, Second Vice President  
A. G. RAWLINGS, Treasurer

MISS EDWILDA ALLEN, Secretary  
MISS A. F. SIMS, Ass't Secretary  
D. E. MOSELEY, Ass't Treasurer

August 20, 1959

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

My dear Mr. President:

As Americans who believe in the authority and dignity of the law, we the members of the Prince Edward County Christian Association, appeal to you for whatever help you can offer in a tragic situation involving our county, state and nation.

We are citizens of a county involved in the now famous May 17, 1954 United States Supreme Court decision declaring racial segregation in public education to be unconstitutional. Five years after this decision, and nine years after legal action was instituted, Federal Court orders remain unobeyed. We submit that in a Christian democracy this is deplorable.

When the Supreme Court declined to grant a stay of the lower court's order requiring integration of the county public schools beginning September, 1959, the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors (the law-making body of the county) declined to appropriate funds to operate any public school. No tax was levied for public school purposes.

As a result of this defiant and undemocratic action by the Board of Supervisors, approximately 3,300 children of both races are confronted with educational malnutrition.

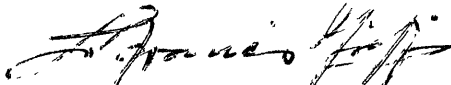
The segregationists of the county are proclaiming in strong terms, "There will be no racial mixing in the public schools, regardless of cost." These benighted and confused people are attempting to operate private schools to circumvent the law en-  
coughed in our constitution. We do not believe this should be permitted.

We realize that in a representative democracy such as ours our governmental processes will become stagnant unless the education of citizens is broad enough to encourage maximum interest and participation according to one's ability without being hampered by artificial barriers and restrictions. Our advocacy of public education is strengthened when we realize that we no longer live in a provincial society. Today, we are part and parcel of

a space age society and being such, if we expect the youth of Prince Edward County to compete with the youth of this nation and of the world as equals, we must provide for them the strongest system of public education possible. To rely on private education to fill these modern day needs is utter folly.

We believe that segregation in any form is morally and legally wrong, therefore, we prayerfully request that you use the full extent of your good office in the alleviation of our conditions in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

Respectfully yours,



L. Francis Griffin  
President

LFG:ea  
Copies to  
Vice President Richard Nixon  
Attorney General William William Rogers

CF

RECEIVED  
SEP 2 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

124-A-1  
Morgan  
9/1/59

September 1, 1959

Dear Tom:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of August twenty-fifth.

Your observations regarding the sensitive issue of school integration have been noted, and I assure you that the President appreciates having them.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Tom Lathrop  
Millboro Springs  
Bath County, Virginia

LRS/GDM/fhs

893 PARKE'S RUN LANE  
ITHAN, PENNSYLVANIA

8 / 25 / 59

Dear Mr. President;

I am old enough to read the papers (14) and to understand most of what is going on. From what I gather it's just a big rat race to see who is going to get to the moon first, even though science is getting a great boost from it.

But far more serious is the problem of segregation. (I know that a 14 year old boy shouldn't talk like this, but I never heard anyone else say it.) If it keeps up, things are liable to happen; for instance the children my age, both white and colored, are liable to wind up without

893 PARKE'S RUN LANE  
ITHAN, PENNSYLVANIA

8/25/59

any kind of education at all. When a country like Russia realizes that the great American people are nothing but a bunch of ~~bums~~ ~~bums~~ acting great it will have easy pickings and the world will be Communist ruled. I believe that that is what the free world is fighting against.

I could probably be called a segregationist because I have been influenced ~~by my~~ <sup>by my</sup> ~~from~~ parents and brothers. I think that separate schools should be built for negro children.

My view as an integrationist would be: start the children, black and white together, when they are



893 PARKE'S RUN LANE  
ITHAN, PENNSYLVANIA

8/25/59

very young, before they are old enough to be influenced by their parents, because the color of his skin is different, to hate a person.

It probably isn't as simple as all that and I do suppose that some other person older, smarter, and further educated than ~~me~~ ~~I~~ ~~am~~ thought of these ideas and found many a loop-hole in them. I will probably figure out something wrong after the letter is mailed.

Sincerely;

Millboro Springs  
Bath County, Va.

Tom Catherop

65

*Handwritten notes:*  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

September 15, 1959

RECORDED  
INDEXED  
OCT 1 1959

Dear Lynne:

The President has asked me to thank you for the kind thoughts contained in your letter to him of September eighth. He is pleased to know of your sincere interest in the fuller realization of the human rights of our citizens.

We all look forward to the day when equality of opportunity, both in principle and in practice, will be enjoyed by every American. No society is perfect, but any society can be improved. Patient, persistent work toward goals which we know to be right will make our own a more rewarding one in which to live.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Lynne Ronsen  
429 - 47th Street  
Lindenhurst, New York

lrs

5  
Child  
No. integration

7/9

429 47 Street  
Rindenkurst, N.Y.  
September 8, 1959

Dear President Eisenhower,

I have only been in this world for twelve years, but I think I am old enough to understand the problems of the world.

I have read about the problems with Russia, but what really got me in the heart is the problem of intergration in the south.

To me this is a burden that I cannot drop off. To me it doesn't matter what race, color, or creed they are because we are all human beings. I sometimes put myself in the negroes place. I would not like to be pushed out of a school just because I am

a different color. Then I put myself back in my own place as white. I would let these negroes come to my school.

Mr. Eisenhower you must think that this letter is unimportant, but to me it is very important, because I know you can help me. You are a good president and a smart one.

If there is any way I can help the negro people in the south please let me know. You would take a very heavy burden off of my shoulders.

I ask you as a friend.

Sincerely yours  
Lynn Ransom

4

C.F.  
120. 1111  
Hankinson, N.D.

September 15, 1959

Dear Miss Setterlund:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of July eleventh giving him the benefit of the two resolutions of the Social Action Committee passed by the Congregational 9th Grade Campers July tenth.

*Chas. Morrow*  
Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Miss Mary Alice Setterlund  
Hankinson  
North Dakota

lrs

For  
St. Andrew's  
B. of C.

7/8

Pilgrim Park  
Bottineau, N. Dak  
July 11, 1959

Mr. President:

On the night of July 10<sup>th</sup> the Social Action Committee made two Resolutions and passed by the Congregational 9<sup>th</sup> grade Groupers.

Be it enacted that this church go on record as favoring the elimination of discrimination between races in employment, education, and housing by education, regulation, and legislation.

Be it enacted that this church urges its members to share all citizens the obligation to work in a party, vote and express his convictions to governmental authorities in matters of public interest.

9<sup>th</sup> grade Sec.  
Mary Alice Bettelund

GA

September 17, 1959

RECEIVED  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Margee:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your good letter to him of August twenty-eighth expressing your interest in the fuller realization of the human rights of our citizens.

Please be assured that the President is doing everything he can to advance America toward the goal of equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, color or creed. Patient, persistent work toward goals which we know to be right will make our own communities more rewarding ones in which to live.

The President is pleased, as you are, that Hawaii is now a state.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Margee Morrison  
149 Mahealani Place  
Kailua, Oahu, Hawaii

10  
Child

149 Mahealani Place  
Kailua, Oahu  
Hawaii  
August 28, 1959

8/31

Dear Mr. President,

I know you are concentrating on having your peace talk with Mr. Khrushchev striving for international peace. But what about peace in our own country? How can we make peace with other countries when we can't even make peace in our own country? What I'm talking about is the dispute between the the different races in the south. I know that we can't control the thoughts of other human beings but maybe their feelings of hatred can be controled somehow. I don't think two races should be segregated. They're both human beings of the same kind except for their color. It's just like a plain white egg and a colored egg during Easter. Theyre both the same on the insade and if you don't believe me all you have to do is crack it open and see for yourself. The color doesn't matter. God created all men to be equal. Our constitution says that all men shall be treated equally in our country. It doesn't look to me like the constitution is being upheld. If one part of the constitution is broken it just leads the way to others. The people in the south are still fighting the Civil War. The Negroes are outcasts to them--- people who should be slaves and aren't. They are slaves in a way though: They are deprived of the privileges other Americans have. Because of their color they are outcasts to society. They can't go to schools (integrated) without being escorted by police or national guardsmen. The southern people are treating them like some people treat lepers--- as if they were contaminated or as if they were bombs about to explode. What's the United States---a nation of equality and freedom, coming to that it can't control hateful feelings amongst it's people. The people of my state of Hawaii though mixed and amongst many different people of many different races(including Negroes) can get along beautifully together and I just can't see how the people in the south can hate another race so much. I would think it would break the monotony of seeing their race all the time if they saw a person of another race. I think if all the southern people were to read Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" they would be ashamed of their misdoings. They are human beings. Why can't they be treated as one? I wish the southerners would realize their wrongs and cruelties and would correct them. All races originated from Adam and Eve unless a certain race doesn't believe in God. If that's so why should one or more races be humiliated, scorned, and disgraced. I think something should be done and now or you never know we might end up fighting another Civil War some day over race differences. I do not think segregation is the answer to this problem because in a free nation people of all races should get along together though I think that is your decision to make.

My name is Margaret(Margee) Morrison. I'm 13 years old and am Scotch, Irish, English, German, and Dutch. I've lived in Hawaii all my life with the exception of occasional visits to the mainland. I would like to express my deep graditude for making Hawaii a state.

Sincerely yours,

Margee Morrison



**G.F.**

*Handwritten notes:*  
Adelphi  
K

September 24, 1959

RECEIVED  
SEP 28 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Ellen:

The President has received your letter of September tenth in respect to the fuller realization of the human rights of our citizens.

Together with you, he deeply regrets the action of the Board of Supervisors in Prince Edward County, Virginia, in closing public schools. In America we have come to regard the right to a public education as a fundamental one. The President fervently hopes that the schools will reopen soon. Patient, persistent work toward goals which we know to be right will make our society a more rewarding one in which to live.

Sincerely,

~~E. Frederic Morrow~~  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Ellen Kesend  
440 Beechmont Drive  
New Rochelle, New York

lrs

(1)

September 10, 1959

Mrs. Harry A. Kesend

440 Beechmont Drive, New Rochelle, N. Y.

Dear Mr. President;

I am 12 years old, live in New York state, and am of the white race. I am disgusted with the intergration problem in the United States today.

This morning, when I heard that a county in Virginia is leaving over 700 Negro Children without schooling, tears came to my eyes. The whole county no longer has a single public school because with private schools, it can stop intergration.

I am sure you agree that this is a terrible thing, especially because Negroes are human beings also. Because they have a different color skin is no reason whatsoever for any sort of person to despise them. They are made the same way as any other race in this world of prejudice people. Why, I ask, can't they be treated as human beings? They have brains that do not differ from any other person's brain. Why can't it be educated properly?

(2)

Mrs. Harry A. Kesend

*440 Beechmont Drive, New Rochelle, N. Y.*

It is important to erase this mark from the face of America, and we need people to do it so that the smallest trace of this mark is completely wiped off forever! Please find these people before it is too late.

Sincerely yours,

Ellen Kesend

P.S. The whole population of the country should read the book "In Henry's Backyard".

G.F.

1347

RECEIVED  
SEP 25 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

September 23, 1959

Dear Mr. West:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of September sixteenth, signed also by Barbara S. Marx, Supervisor. He appreciates your interest in writing concerning the closing of the public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

# The Supreme Court decision did not, as some suppose, require the States to have public schools. It merely held that if a State or locality did operate public schools, it could not deny admission to such schools solely on the ground of race or color. While the President deplores the action of the Board of Supervisors in depriving the children of Prince Edward County of opportunity for public education, he is powerless to take any action since public education is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the States -- subject only to the requirements of the United States Constitution.

The President is fully sympathetic with the reasons that prompted your letter.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. William A. West  
Secretary  
444 West Street  
Vienna, Virginia

September 16, 1959

C.E.

9/18

# VIRGINIA STATE CONFERENCE

National Association for the Advancement  
of Colored People

PRESIDENT  
DR. PHILIP V. WYATT  
FREDERICKSBURG, VA

POLITICAL ACTION DIRECTOR  
HOWARD M. WILKINSON  
RICHMOND, VA.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
W. LESTER BANKS  
RICHMOND, VA.

X 6F124-A2

404 1/2 NORTH SECOND ST.  
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA  
MI 4-5678

September 16, 1959.

Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, President  
United States of America  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Eisenhower:

The closing of schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia, has produced a makeshift school program for 1500 white children and no education for 1700 colored children. Whatever the reasons for this dire situation in this age of democratic government, it not only weakens our prestige as a nation but weakens it within by keeping more or less ignorant these many hundreds of children just at a time when the head of another government is boasting of the progress its people have made in reducing illiteracy.

For these and many humanitarian reasons, we urge you, Mr. President, to act within the range and power of your office to remedy this situation.

Signed, William A. West Secretary  
William A. West  
444 West Street, Vienna, Va. -  
Barbara S. Marx Supervisor  
Barbara S. Marx

Done by unanimous vote of the 7th District of Virginia NAACP branches,  
meeting in Middleburg, Va., Sept. 12, 1959.

G.F.

124-17-1

Supreme Court Decision  
P.H.

H

November 10, 1959

Dear Miss Hawes:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of November fourth. He appreciates your interest in writing concerning the closing of the public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

XEF133-1/2

X  
The Supreme Court decision did not, as some suppose, require the States to have public schools. It merely held that if a State or locality did operate public schools, it could not deny admission to such schools solely on the ground of race or color. While the President deplures the action of the Board of Supervisors in depriving the children of Prince Edward County of opportunity for public education, he is powerless to take any action since public education is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the States -- subject only to the requirements of the United States Constitution.

In America we have come to regard the right to a public education as a fundamental one. The President fervently hopes that the schools will reopen soon.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Miss Ruth B. Hawes  
3607 Seminary Avenue  
Richmond 27, Virginia

3607 Seminary Ave.<sup>1110</sup>  
Richmond 27, Va.  
Nov. 4, 1959

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

Dear President Eisenhower:

I, myself, am white and, as a citizen of Virginia, I am worried because my state deprives some 1300 Negro children in Prince Edward County, Virginia, of a public school education. Is it legal in Virginia to allow one of her counties to treat her Negro children in this way? Is not the United States government responsible for looking into this unfair treatment of her citizens?

One Negro resident of Prince

Edward County is staying with her aunt here in Richmond. The combined contributions amounting to \$161.00 were transmitted today (October 22, 1959) by cashier's check to the Richmond City School Board" and this student was enrolled in an all-Negro high school in Richmond.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Ruth B. Hawes  
[Hawes]



GE

11/13/59  
RECEIVED  
NOV 13 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

November 13, 1959

Dear Mr. Jervis:

This is in answer to some of your inquiries contained in your letter of November second.

- (1) The Administration is not supporting the Douglas Civil Rights Bill, but is supporting its own program. What that program is is set forth in the enclosed message to Congress on this subject. The reasons the Administration is not at this time proposing a "Part Three" are fully set forth in the testimony of the Attorney General before the House Committee on the Judiciary this year. You can secure a copy of those hearings by writing to the Committee.
- (2) At no time has the Civil Rights Commission asserted that the Justice Department has been lax in carrying out its duties under the Civil Rights Act of 1957. In its report the Commission stated in effect that the number and results of actions authorized by that Act have not been encouraging. The report also points out, however, that the Justice Department has not, for a number of reasons, been in a position to secure favorable legal decisions.
- (3) As to whether Negroes can play golf at the Augusta National Country Club or the Burning Tree Club, I suggest you write directly to these two clubs for an answer to this question.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. Robert Jervis  
Oberlin College  
Oberlin, Ohio

GDM/ard

November 2,  
1959


Dear Mr. Morgan;

On September ~~th~~twenty-third I wrote you explaining that I had several questions on civil rights which I had expressed in two letters to the President and ~~had~~ that I had received no answers. I restated the questions in my letter and you promptly ~~reply~~<sup>reply'ed</sup> answering one of my ~~q~~ questions and saying "I regret that you received no reply to your preceeding letters." While I was glad to get one of my questions answered, I wanted, and still want, answers to the others. Very shortly after I received your letter of ~~the~~ September twenty-fifth, I sent you another letter restating those questions which you did not answer. Since that time I have not <sup>received</sup> a reply nor even an acknowledgment of my second letter.

For half a year I have been trying to get the Administration stand on several fairly important matters. It seems almost impossible for an ordinary citizen without any pull to receive information from his government. Perhaps the Administration deems it politically unwise to make its stand on civil rights known, perhaps my letters have been lost in the mails, or perhaps our government thinks it is a waste of time to answer letters, but for reasons you know better than myself, I have been unable to get answers to the following questions: 1) Does the

Administration support the Douglas Civil Rights Bill. If so, why hasn't it exerted any pressure to help get it passed and if not, why not, as it is essentially similar to part three of the original 1957 Civil Rights bill proposed by the Administration. 2) ~~xxx~~<sup>Does</sup> the golf course on which the President plays when he is in Georgia allow Negroes to play on it? Can Negroes play on ~~the~~ the ~~Spurs~~ Burning Tree course in Maryland? 3) What does the Justice Department plan to do in response to the criticisms of the Civil Rights Commission to the effect that the Justice Department is being lax in its enforcement of the 1957 Civil Rights Bill?

If the answers to these questions are top secret and thus cannot be released to the public I would very much appreciate being informed of this. If not, I hope you shall answer my questions or tell me who I can write to that will.

Sincerely  
  
Robert Jervis

---

Sept. 29

Dear Mr. Morgan;

Thank you very much for your letter of the twenty-fifth. But although you answered one of my questions, you left three others unanswered. I would still like to know if Negroes are allowed on the golf course on which the President plays when he is in Georgia, <sup>and</sup> if the Administration supports the Douglas Civil Rights Bill.

In its recent report, the Civil Rights Commission said that the Justice Department was lax in its enforcement of the 1957 Civil Rights Bill. What steps are being taken to remedy this situation?

Sincerely

*Robert F. Kennedy*

G.F.

124-A-1  
School Principals  
pro

C.F.

RECEIVED  
SEP 30 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

September 25, 1959

Dear Mr. Jervis:

Replying to your letter of September twenty-third, I regret that you received no reply to your preceding letters. I believe the two enclosures will answer the questions you propounded. One is a statement that I made on behalf of the President to the delegation from the Youth March for Integrated Schools. The other is a letter that the President sent to Mr. J. Albert Rolston and which was made public at the time.

SF 156-F

not locked up

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. Robert Jervis  
Barrows Hall  
Oberlin, Ohio

GDM/ard



September 23

Dear Sir;

x G.F. - B  
J

In late May of this year I sent a letter to the President asking several questions about matters concerning civil rights. I received no answer, nor even an acknowledgment of my letter. Two months later I sent another letter to the President, repeating the questions. I did not receive an answer to that letter either. I am therefore sending this letter to you in the hope that someone in the government will see fit to do something with my letter other than throw it away.

I would like to know if the Administration backs the Douglas Civil Rights Bill and if so why ~~hasn't~~ the President ~~hasn't~~ made any efforts to convince Congress to pass the bill.

Does the Administration believe that mass demonstrations like the Youth March for Integrated Schools help or hinder progress toward gaining full rights for the Negroes?

I would like to know if the golf course on which the President plays when he is in Georgia allows Negroes to play on it. If the course is part of a private club, are there any Negro members?

The recent report of the Civil Rights Commission stated that the Justice Department was being lax in the enforcement of the 1957 Civil Rights Bills. Do you believe this to be the case? If so what steps are being taken to correct the situation?

I hope that this letter, unlike my others, will receive some answer.

Sincerely,  
*Robert Jervis*  
Robert Jervis  
Barrows Hall  
Oberlin, Ohio

May 28, 1959

Dear Mr. President;

Over a month ago I sent you <sup>a</sup> letter asking several questions about matters concerning civil rights. I have received no reply to my questions, nor have I received any notification to indicate that my letter was not buried in a pile of other papers.

I would like to know if you thought that the Youth March for Integrated Schools, which took place in Washington on April 18th. I also would like to know if you support the Douglas Civil Rights bill.

I realize the reasons for your not wanting to comment on the legalities of a particular Supreme Court decision, <sup>but</sup> I do not see why you do not take a moral stand on the segregation question. Why do you choose not to give the country a moral lead by declaring that you believe <sup>e</sup> that segregation is morally wrong? Or do you believe that segregation is not morally wrong?

I also would like to know if the golf course in Georgia on which you usually play allows Negroes to play on it.

Sincerely,

*Robert Jervis* ✓  
Robert Jervis  
1155 Park Ave.  
New York 28, New York

4/23  
April 22, 1959

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

*File*  
*Sum*

Dear Sir;

As a participant in the recent Youth March for Integrated Schools, I would like to know if you approved of the March and if you support the Douglas-Havits Civil Rights bill, which the March backed.

I would also like to know why you have not taken a moral stand on segregation. I realize the reasons why you do not wish to comment on a specific Supreme Court decision, but I do not see why you have not chosen to provide a moral lead for the moderates, both North and South, to follow.

I also wish you would tell whether or not the golf course on which you usually play when you are in Georgia allows Negroes to play on it.

Sincerely

*Robert Jervis*  
Robert Jervis  
Burton Hall  
Oberlin College  
Oberlin, Ohio



**G.F.**  
*Lyda A. I.*  
*Staff Secretary*  
*Pro*  
*A*

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

**ROUTE SLIP**

(To Remain With Correspondence)

TO Secretary of Health,  
Education, and Welfare  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

PROMPT HANDLING IS ESSENTIAL.  
WHEN DRAFT REPLY IS REQUESTED  
THE BASIC CORRESPONDENCE MUST  
BE RETURNED. IF ANY DELAY IN  
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPLY IS  
ENCOUNTERED, PLEASE TELEPHONE  
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY.

Date November 23, 1959

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

- ACTION:** Comment \_\_\_\_\_  
Draft reply \_\_\_\_\_  
For direct reply \_\_\_\_\_  
For your information \_\_\_\_\_  
For necessary action \_\_\_\_\_  
For appropriate handling  \_\_\_\_\_  
See below \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

GPO 16-71284-1

Ltr of 11/18/59 to the P from James A. By direction of the President:

*x* Aull and Mae C. King, Chairmen, National  
Student Councils of YMCA and YWCAI, 600  
Lexington Ave., NYC 22; pro continued sup-  
*#* port of the Supreme Court decision re deseg-  
regation of schools, urging that every effort be put forth to implement the decision  
and extend the process of school integration.

*GF 118-2*  
*GF 118-M*  
A. J. GOODPASTER  
Staff Secretary *[Signature]*

and extend the process of school integration.

2

*[Stamp]*

*124-A-1  
Feb 3-1  
H.A.  
G*

RECEIVED  
DEC 31 1959  
CENTRAL FILES

December 30, 1959

Dear Mr. Gross:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him of December twentieth.

*Ret. [unclear]  
\* 68-122-11. G*

Your interest in writing and expressing your point of view is appreciated.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Mr. Fred Gross  
65-61 Saunders Street  
Forest Hills 74, New York

lrs

65-61 Saunders Street  
Forest Hills 74, N.Y.  
December 20, 1959

12/22

Your Excellency, the President of the United States,

Dear Mr. President:

In your journey to the Asian and African countries, you have come face to face with diverse sects of human beings who came from their villages to greet you in multitudes as the "Prince of Peace" and shower and bedeck you with flowers and love.

Sir, not only are you a man of peace, but a symbol of devotion to the rights of man to live in freedom without fear and want; and this is your ultimate aim. But I must state honestly that freedom is not only lacking in other countries but our nation as well. Six years have passed since ~~the~~ the Supreme Court ruled that integration must at once be initiated into the schools. So far, there has been small progress towards this achievement. What is more important than the freedom to educate the mind?

Mr. President, I believe that you should use your personal and executive power to instill the southern extremists with an embodiment of moral perception and make them understand that the difference between black and white is only black and white and that freedom of thought and action ~~is~~ <sup>must be</sup> available to both.

You have come into personal contact with many nations the last few weeks, but I know

feel that it is your duty as the President of the United States and as a man of moral devotion to tour the states that have not yet carried out the law of the land and speak to these people who are against integration and for bigotry.

You are the only American, today, who has the power to awaken a people who are still living in a world of darkness and hatred. You are the only man, today, who can lighten the fuse to a better understanding and respect for man, whether he be black, white or yellow.

I wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year,

*Fred Gross*  
Fred Gross

**G.F.**

134-111

*John H. ...*  
*J 10*

January 13, 1960

RECEIVED  
JAN 14 1960  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Pat: *M*

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your recent letter to him. Your interest in writing and expressing your point of view is appreciated.

Please be assured that the President is doing everything he can to advance America toward the goal of equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, color or creed. Patient, persistent work toward goals which we know to be right will make our society a better one in which to live.

Sincerely,

*E. Frederic Morrow*  
E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

*#*  
Miss Pat McCall  
Box 104  
Eads, Colorado

lrs

9 - 11  
Student

Pat M. Carr  
Box 104  
Carr, Colo.

Dwight D. Eisenhower  
Washington D. C.

1-5 P.M.

Dear Mr. President,

I really, you are very busy, so I will try & make this as short as possible. I'm fourteen years old, and maybe that's why I don't understand what I would like to have your opinion on. Here's my problem:

Our forefathers fought and died & fought & died repeatedly for freedom, liberty & justice to all. During all this they had in mind that all men are equal and should have an equal chance in life. But today, the very thing all these people fought for is being ignored. If someone's skin is some other color other than white, they are cast off by themselves. I believe that God created us all, so we are all equal regardless of skin or race. Is that freedom? They're not allowed in schools & work. They're even lynched. These people too, have fought & died

for freedom, liberty & justice. Why are they denied this?

Other nations admire us, they long for a life such as ours. Of free love & Bushir, do we deserve their admiration and faith? Really I mean, — were a <sup>very</sup> faulty bunch of creatures I think.

Also I heard people say that America never had any concentration camps. But we did, there was one in Canada, a town not far from Seattle & there were others too. One east Japanese in living world man. Two because they're eyes slanted. We never stopped to ask them if they were loyal to America or Japan. We never thought about freedom then or justice or liberty. Did we? But all these people did while they sat day by day watching the days turn into years.

Day by day we seem to get worse & feel awful everytime I read about some other nations admiration for our way of life, & cringe, because I wonder if we have freedom, justice & liberty for all mankind.

Can you answer my questions

... I realize they ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~con-~~ <sup>con-</sup> ~~cerned~~ <sup>cerned</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~you,~~ <sup>you,</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~see~~ <sup>see</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~mean-~~ <sup>mean-</sup> ~~ing~~ <sup>ing</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~na-~~ <sup>na-</sup> ~~tion~~ <sup>tion</sup> ~~thou-~~ <sup>thou-</sup> ~~sands~~ <sup>sands</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~peo-~~ <sup>peo-</sup> ~~ple~~ <sup>ple</sup> ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> ~~lost~~ <sup>lost</sup> ~~their~~ <sup>their</sup> ~~lives~~ <sup>lives</sup> ~~down~~ <sup>down</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup>. ~~If~~ <sup>If</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> ~~a~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~free~~ <sup>free</sup> ~~democra-~~ <sup>democra-</sup> ~~tic~~ <sup>tic</sup> ~~na-~~ <sup>na-</sup> ~~tion~~ <sup>tion</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~liberty~~ <sup>liberty</sup> ~~&~~ <sup>&</sup> ~~justice~~ <sup>justice</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> ~~re-~~ <sup>re-</sup> ~~gard-~~ <sup>gard-</sup> ~~less~~ <sup>less</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~skin~~ <sup>skin</sup> ~~or~~ <sup>or</sup> ~~sex.~~ <sup>sex.</sup>

Thank you & respectfully yours,

(only) Ben M. Call  
Box 104  
Cade, Colorado



124. A-1  
School Pro 5  
January 20, 1960

RECEIVED  
JAN 22 1960  
CENTRAL FILE

Dear Mr. Stead:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your recent letter to him. He appreciates your interest in writing.

Please be assured that he is doing everything he can to advance America toward the goal of equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, color or creed. Patient, persistent work toward goals which we know to be right will make our society a better one in which to live.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Mr. William A. Stead  
24 Corona Drive  
Bethpage, New York

lrs

Child

Re: Segregation

1/18

24 Corona Dr.

Bethpage, New York

November 6, 1959 1-16 PM

Dear Sir, President

9 years old of age

In the Declaration of Independence

Thomas J. said, "All men are created equal"

In the Gettysburg address A. Lincoln said,

"All men are created equal" I feel that the Negroes  
of the United States of America should go to any  
school they want and any part of a bus they please.

Would you ask the Governors of the  
Southern states if they could make that rule.

Yours Truly

William A. Stead

William A. Stead

G.F.

124-A-1

*Administrative*

January 13, 1960

RECEIVED  
JAN 14 1960  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mrs. Shapiro:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him of January ninth and enclosure.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

<sup>x</sup>  
Mrs. Estelle Shapiro  
1736 Jefferson Avenue  
Miami Beach, Florida

lrs

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## Klan Plans New Schools

MACON, Ga. — (AP) — The grand dragon of the Georgia Ku Klux Klan says the klan is planning to build private schools in five cities, starting with Atlanta, for white children whose parents favor segregation.

Lee Davidson said the klan already has some funds and is "hoping to get some state support."

He said there was a good possibility that the Atlanta school would be completed by fall. Other private schools are being considered for Macon, Savannah, Columbus and Moultrie, he said.

**Group to Set Up**

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~~clipping~~ XGF114-D, S January 9th, 60  
XGF127-A

1/11

President Eisenhower.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Eisenhower:

I think you will be as shocked as I was when you read the enclosed clipping, which means nothing more than Schools to teach HATE and BIGOTRY in our beloved Country.

As all Klan activities are Un-American, the Organization should be banned, even greater affront is that they want to open Schools to teach our youth their poisonous doctrine.

Knowing your regard for Justice and Liberty for all American citizens, I hope that you will do something about this, before it is too late. I think this letter is an appeal from all Fair Minded American Citizens.

Very Sincerely yours,

*Estelle Shapiro*

(Mrs. Estelle Shapiro)

1736 Jefferson Ave

Miami Beach, Fla.

January 19, 1960

G.F.

JAN 21 1960  
CENTRAL FILE

124-A-1  
Admission  
"P"

Dear Mrs. Pearson:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of January ninth.

Although he is sympathetic towards the situation you present, he cannot interfere in local issues such as you mention. It is suggested you take your problem up with the Supervisor of Schools for your District.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Mrs. Doll Pearson  
1520 N. E. 154th Street  
North Miami Beach, Florida

Mrs. Doll Pearson  
Mrs



G.F.

January 19, 1960

124-A-1  
School  
Decision  
Jan  
"G"

RECEIVED  
JAN 20 1960  
CIVIL RIGHTS

Dear Henry:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of January twelfth.

Please be assured he is doing everything he can to help bring about a moral climate in this country so that America can be advanced toward the goal of equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, color or creed. Patient, persistent effort toward goals which we know to be right will make our society a better one in which to live.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

*E. Frederic Morrow*

x  
Henry Robert Rolfe, Jr.  
2529 Northeast 16th Street  
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

irs





**G.F.**

124-M 1  
J.F. Morrow

January 28, 1960

RECEIVED  
JAN 29 1960  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mr. Brandler:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him of January eighteenth.

Your interest in writing and expressing your point of view is appreciated.

Sincerely,

*E. Frederic Morrow*  
E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer #  
Special Projects Group

x  
Mr. Toni Brandler  
667 Thayer Avenue  
Los Angeles 24  
California

lrs

RECEIVED  
JAN 19 1960  
DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

JAN 19 1960

CE

126

January 18, 1960

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing to you about the problem of segregation in the Deep South. I feel as you do on the subject, which is in favor of desegregation.

There are, I feel, many difficulties in dealing with this terrible problem. One such difficulty seems to be the ability to oversimplify. This tendency is accentuated here in this instance because the problem is both simple and complex.

As a legal problem it is very simple. I feel that this is because the law insists that all people be viewed as individuals and not as members of a specific group, as racial, religious, economic, or social. As you already know the Supreme Court, on its decision of May 17, 1954, said no more than that Negroes are people and that no person can be denied the services of an institution established and maintained by the public by authority of his racial background. (Example: the public schools) The Supreme Court, though, did not say that some schools may not be segregated or that all schools must be integrated. But, this would all depend upon the circumstances. I recall that it did say that no qualified pupil may be denied admission to a school because his skin is a shade or two darker than one of his fellow students.

Although this problem is much more difficult socially, it

is an example that the segregationist will tend to ignore the effects of segregation upon the personalities of white and Negro children alike. The segregationist demands upon grouping all Negroes under one title and refuses to consider the scientific conclusions of anthropologists with the respect to race. He, too, will exclude them from library and classroom materials having to do with racial distinctions. I feel that it is these people who influence the younger generation to dislike the Negroes so terribly.

I think that not all this opposition to integration in the South is racial or solely racial. I feel that many of the Southerners object to the education of his child with Negroes upon cultural grounds, which is really ridiculous. Faced with the necessity of sending children to school with children of an obviously lower cultural level (which is somewhat true), a school in which the majority of students may have habits of speech and conduct altogether different from what he wishes his child to receive, so he opposes this intermingling.

This is understandable, however, it is less understandable if he fails to recognize the similar feelings on the part of the well-educated and cultural Negro, whom he would force to keep his children in a segregated school of a terrible status. The Negro of a cultural background, too, may wish his children to receive the best education possible and can view only with frustration a situation in which the children of cultural backgrounds high and low to combine in one and the same school from which his children are excluded solely on the basis of race.





February 9, 1960

G.F.

RECEIVED  
FEB 11 1960  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Peter:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him of February fifth. Your interest in writing is appreciated.

Please be assured the President is doing everything he can to advance America toward the goal of equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, color or creed. Patient, persistent work toward goals which we know to be right will make our society a better one in which to live.

I am sure you can understand it is too early to say what can be accomplished in this session of Congress. This Administration has submitted its recommendations and is doing everything it can to bring them to a successful conclusion.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

<sup>x</sup>  
Peter D. Kelsey  
Skyview Acres  
Pepona, New York

lrs

Faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

5/1 Child. Pro integration



Kelsey

2/8

February 5, 1960

Dear Mr. Eisenhower,

I am a 13 year old boy, and in the 8th grade.

Last year I went on the March for Integrated Schools.

I am sure that you are very interested in this situation.

I would be glad to see this problem cleared up, and the schools in the South integrated.

Do you think that the 1960 Congress will be able to accomplish this.

Sincerely yours,

Peter D. Kelsey

Peter D. Kelsey

Skyview Acres

Pomona, N.Y.



CFE  
174 A 1  
State  
Prospect, Virginia  
J

May 26, 1960

Dear Miss Scott:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of May nineteenth. He wishes you to know that your interest in writing is appreciated and your comments have been noted.

A The Supreme Court decision did not, as some suppose, require the States to have public schools. It merely held that if a State or locality did operate public schools, it could not deny admission to such schools solely on the ground of race or color. While the President deplores the action of the Board of Supervisors in depriving the children of Prince Edward County of opportunity for public education, he is powerless to take any action since public education is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the States -- subject only to the requirements of the United States Constitution.

The President is fully sympathetic with the reasons that prompted your letter. In America we have come to regard the right to a public education as a fundamental one, and the President sincerely trusts that your schools will reopen.

Perhaps you would like to express your feeling to the Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Miss Catherine A. Scott  
Route 1, Box 75  
Prospect, Virginia

lrs



G.F.

10/1/60

T

September 23, 1960

RECEIVED  
SEP 26 1960  
GENERAL FILES

Dear Alyce and Lela:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of September fifth. He wishes you to know that your interest in writing is appreciated and your comments have been noted.

You may be sure the President is doing everything he can to help work out the problem of education for all American children. The situation is one which calls for earnest, persistent effort on the part of all of us toward goals which we know to be right.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

The Misses Alyce Townsend  
and Lela K. Owen X  
1108 Wilson Avenue  
Oildale, California

lrs

2.  
Child

9-12

Sept 5, 1960  
1108 Wilson Ave  
Oildale, California

Dear Mr. President,

We feel that more care should be taken in trying to solve the school problems. We know that you have been trying to solve this problem. But we think it should be looked upon more carefully.

In denying negro and Indian children the right to go to school, the people are denying themselves a right to their knowledge. We do not know, but someday these children might lead the United States of America from destruction.

---

We are writing this letter mainly because of two girls: Alma Jean and Wanda Chance. And because of our ~~own~~ own interest in school problems. These two girls are being denied the privilege of going to school. The reason is that they are Indians.

Thank you very much for your time.

Sincerely yours,

Alice Townsend age 13  
Lela K. Owen age 11

**G.F.**

124-4  
RECEIVED  
OCT 23 1960  
GENERAL FILES

October 21, 1960

Dear Mr. Gerard:

The President asked me to thank you for your letter of October third and for the suggestions contained in it.

While the President is opposed to segregation in any form, segregation cannot be abolished by Executive order. It is only segregation in public and publicly supported facilities that the Government has any control over. And so far as segregation in such facilities is concerned, court decisions are fully as effective as would be an Executive order.

The President asked me to tell you how much he has enjoyed your Victory coffee table.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan  
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. James S. Gerard  
Creative Designer -- Wood Carver  
Cypress Gardens, Florida

GDM/ard



10/5

*James S. Gerard* N.S.D.

*Creative Designer --- Wood Carver*

*Cypress Gardens, Florida*

*Phone CY 3-7949*

*Oct. 3, 1960*

*"To be proud tomorrow of what I do today"*

*Creative  
Custom Craft  
in  
Caribbean  
Free Form  
Coffee Tables  
and other  
Home Decorations  
Ceramic Originals  
by Ella Gerard*

*Dwight D. Eisenhower  
Washington, D.C.*

*Mr. President,*

*In three months you will say good-bye to Washington for a well earned rest at your Gettysburg farm and with you will go the gratitude, well wishes, and prayers of millions of Americans from all over our land. You have served your country unselfishly long and far beyond the call of duty and under your leadership in the last eight years you have given your fellow men peace of mind, security, and prosperity unparalleled in our country's history. Yet there is one further service to your fellowmen before you complete your brilliant career.*

*Since the Supreme Court declared segregation unconstitutional I am told you can by an executive order abolish segregation in the United States, thereby ending the civil rights football game now going on with both parties, giving Khrushchev all the propaganda material he needs to feed the dark roces of the world. I know it is a bold and courageous move.*

*President Roosevelt's political achievements were one blunder after another, yet he endeared himself to millions because he had the courage to close the bunis and save their life savings. If President Hoover had done that he would have been their idol instead, and perhaps he would have kept the Republican Party from being blamed for everything that happened in our country since.*

*The majority of our people have Christian beliefs. Can we as Christians do the things we like and leave out the things we don't like and call ourselves Christians?*



*Member of Southern California Designer-Craftsmen  
National Society of Interior Designers*



*James S. Gerard* N.S.I.D.

*Creative Designer --- Wood Carver*

*Cypress Gardens, Florida*

*Phone CY 3-7949*

*"To be proud tomorrow of what I do today"*

*Creative  
Custom Craft  
in  
Caribbean  
Free Form  
Coffee Tables  
and other  
Home Decorations  
Ceramic Originals  
by Ella Gerard*

Christ died on the Cross to save us. He certainly did not leave out the things he did not like to do. I feel that only by the Grace of God my skin is white. If by the same token I woke up tomorrow to find my skin dark, Mr. President, I would not like to be treated the way some of our people treat the colored, especially here in the South.

President Lincoln is known all over the world as the Great Emancipator, not from his political achievements but because he abolished human slavery. Mr. President, I should like the world to know you as Ike, the Restorer of Human Dignity. It will bring dignity and respect to our country from people all over the world and will also knock the blocks from under Khrushchev.

I pray God bless you and give you courage and wisdom to do what your heart dictates.

Respectfully yours,

*James S. Gerard*

P.S. Hope you have found some restful enjoyment from the victory coffee table I made for you four years ago when I had my Studio in Los Angeles.



*Member of Southern California Designer-Craftsmen  
National Society of Interior Designers*



G.F.

November 4, 1960

124-411  
School  
Pao  
B-

Dear Reverend Wickliffe:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of October thirty-first.

We are well aware of the efforts in Louisiana to evade the ruling of the Supreme Court in 1954 that admittance to a public school cannot be denied to any American citizen on the basis of race, color or creed. The ruling must be obeyed, however, and every possible means the Federal Government can use is being employed to help with the situation.

x CF 123, 10/11/60

Your interest in writing is appreciated.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Reverend S. J. Wickliffe  
Rural Route 1, Box 19  
Evergreen, Louisiana

lrs

to escape the...  
to see well aware of the efforts in Louisiana  
your letter to him of October 1960...  
The President has asked me to acknowledge  
your letter to him of October 1960...  
I am very sorry to hear of your illness.

October 31, 1960

RE

Evergreen, La.  
Oct. 31, 1960

Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower  
Washington, D. C.  
Dear Sir:

I cannot see why the U.S. Government should attempt the invasion of the sovereignty of Cuba because of dictatorial resistance to national commitments and allow dictatorial resistance to states within its own borders. Gov. Davis has seized dictatorial power in Louisiana and the executive branch of our government remains silent. Gov. Davis' first act as governor was to enact every law he could think of to oppose the Federal Government on segregation. The Supreme Court nullified all of them, he called another session of state legislatures and seized the public schools, the Supreme Court enjoined him to cease interfering with the integration of the public schools. He has called another session to interfere with a court order in New Orleans to proceed with integration on Nov. 14.

It is against the law of the U.N. for a member nation to invade another member nation, it is against the law of the U.S.A. for a sta-

to oppose the U.S. Constitution or secede;  
to invade Cuba will fire the first shots in World  
War III and to speak out against Gov. Davis' dic-  
tatorial movements in Louisiana before he in-  
vades Federal authority to an extent and bring  
disgrace upon the Nation. If you order him  
to cease and desist from interfering with public  
schools and he desists, the United States shall  
once more loom up as the champion of democra-  
cy.

If a democratic form of government cannot  
control a state within its own borders it can  
not easily persuade dictatorial nations to  
accept democracy.

If a state can defy the Federal Govern-  
ment without reprisal, democracy shall  
soon perish from the earth.

Yours truly  
(Rev.) S. J. Wickliffe

G.F.

124 11 1

Schools Division

1/1

December 5, 1960

RECEIVED  
DEC-7 1960  
GENERAL CLERK

Dear Mr. Tucker:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of November eighteenth. He wishes you to know that your interest in writing is appreciated and your comments have been noted.

You may be sure the President stands firmly behind the Supreme Court ruling of May, 1954, that admittance to a public school cannot be denied an American citizen on the basis of race, color or creed.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

x  
Mr. Duff Tucker  
Director  
x Parish of The Larger Vision  
110 West Franklin Street  
Mt. Sterling, Illinois

lrs

Collecting for the...  
The letter to be...  
The Bishop's...  
Des. Mr. Tucker.  
December 2, 1960.

100

# Parish of The Larger Vision

Springfield Presbytery, Synod of Illinois

DUFF TUCKER, Director  
OFFICE, 110 W. FRANKLIN ST., MT. STERLING, ILL.

BURTON  
CLAYTON  
FAIRMOUNT  
HERSMAN  
LEE  
MT. HOREB  
MT. STERLING  
PERRY  
DAMON S. S.

November 18, 1960

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The recent disgraceful actions of American citizens in New Orleans lead me to address you again on "civil rights". I hope that you will continue to do all in your power to see that all rulings of federal courts on "integration" are enforced.

I think that we have suffered enough from "segregationists". Surely it is time that the administrative branch of our government take a severe attitude toward those who would destroy freedom. "Segregation" is the denial of freedom. I fail to see how our prestige can be very high with mobs protesting the entrance of six year old negro children into school.

Sincerely,  
Duff Tucker

G.F.

124-H 1

Scholarship

RECEIVED  
DEC-7 1960  
GENERAL FILES

December 5, 1960

Dear Mrs. Gibson:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of November seventeenth and enclosures. He wishes you to know that your interest in writing as you did is appreciated and your comments have been noted.

We are aware of the difficulties following the Supreme Court ruling of May, 1954, that admittance to a public school cannot be denied an American citizen on the basis of race, color or creed in areas of our country where there is a large diverse population. Social mores that are long established cannot be broken down quickly, but in a nation such as ours prejudice must eventually give way to fair play. In the long run the combination of education together and the necessary social adjustments will make a stronger America.

The President thanks you for your expression concerning his service and you may be sure that both he and Mrs. Eisenhower reciprocate your good wishes.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow  
Administrative Officer  
Special Projects Group

Mrs. Marvin S. Gibson  
42 Rondo Drive  
Manchester, Missouri

lrs

RECEIVED  
NOV 18 1960

see in addition to  
closure. He always has to  
letter to him of November  
The President has asked me to acknowledge  
the President's letter.

December 2, 1960

67

11/18

Manchester, Missouri  
November 17, 1960

Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower  
Office of the President  
United States Capital  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

This is the first time in my life that I have written to anyone in any branch of City, State, or Federal Government, on a personal basis, but after just having completed a letter to the Governor of the State of Louisiana, I wanted to forward a copy to your office. (Copy attached).

I realize that the President has no time to read all the correspondence which must flood his office daily, however, whoever receives this please extend my humble best wishes to the President and let him know that he will continue to remain in the prayers of our family.

We have appreciated his years of service to the Country and have had faith in his decisions and judgement in the important issues he has had to face.

With the hope that there will be many happy years ahead for both the President and Mrs. Eisenhower, I remain,

Yours very truly,

*Jean Lester Gibson*

Mrs. Marvin S. Gibson  
42 Rondo Drive  
Manchester, Missouri

Enc.

Manchester, Missouri  
November 17, 1960

Honorable Jimmie H. Davis  
Office of the Governor  
State of Louisiana  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Governor Davis:

I have no reason to believe that you or any State Official will take time to read this, as I know that your time schedule is indeed full, however, I felt compelled to write just this one time.

I am a 33 year old white, female, combination housewife and secretary, now a resident of the State of Missouri, which is my husband's home. I was a member of the U.S. Woman Marine Corps, and my husband is a Navy Veteran. We were both privileged to have traveled in many States in all parts of the Country while in Military Service, and also I have been a visitor to your beautiful State.

Now to the reason for this letter. I have just witnessed a television newscast on C.B.S. News, last evening, November 16, 1960, which left me both heartsick and angry.

To think that a handful of "trouble-makers", "rabble-rousers", "war-mongers", or whatever names they might be called, could incite a crowd to such a disgusting display is enough, but to think that the Government of any State could, or would, encourage this sort of thing is most unbelievable, in this, our most important period in the Country's history.

Most Americans are trying to better themselves and their Country in whatever way they can. Scenes such as your "Anti-everything" demonstrations, such as the one I witnessed last night, is "fuel on the fire" for our Communist "friends". Just now, when the rest of the World is depending on the actions of the United States, to let them see, and read about, the disgraceful "show" which will naturally be "blown up" in most of the Countries of the World, would, or should, have the utmost consideration in the policy of your State Government.

I am thankful that I am not a citizen of the State of Louisiana at this time, although all the States will suffer in the eyes of the World. I am joined by neighbors and friends, in the opinion that in this age, when we are trying to talk the ideals of "Freedom", "Brotherhood", "Love Thy Neighbor", hoping for more Student Exchange, hoping for better understanding between the countries of the World, to hope and pray that all countries will want these things enough to escape the God-less Communistic ideals, that we continually hope the hate, animosity, and false pride in the Antiquated way of "standing still" such as expressed in your State at this time will certainly be overcome.

How can parents bring up their children with the right ideals, moral character, and hope for the future, unless we "pull out of past" some hope for the future, "Pull out all the stops" so to speak, and give each individual the best possible education, living standards, and the chance to apply themselves. Naturally it is too late to begin with adults who already have formed their character, found their way of live, and are hoping for something better for their children. It has to be with young children who only have love in their hearts, imagination, and the innocence to accept reality as it is presented to them.



- 2 -

After all, freedom is in the hearts of every race, freedom to go where they please, do the things that will better their conditions, freedom to have equal opportunities, and that is, after all, what this Country was built on. Just as the freedom I am taking advantage of in writing this letter. Take away these freedoms and we will have lost the greatness of this Country.

Last night I compared the faces of some high school students in our town with the faces of the teen-agers in the newscast, and they were indeed different from the shouting, jeering, and hate filled faces of the teen-agers in the demonstration I witnessed.

The only way I can think of to close this letter is just one line from my Methodist Training which sticks in my mind when observing demonstrations of this type, and that is the words of Jesus when he looked beneath him and saw the angry, hate filled faces of an unbelieving crowd: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

May God hear the prayers of the people of this Country, whether the people be white, black, yellow, with slanted eyes, or straight, to give us Peace and Freedom, continued progress in our States, our Country, and the World.

Thank you sir, if you or your office staff have taken your valuable time to read this/ I sincerely hope that you will lead the people of your State to realize the importance of deciding the "right" way and not just selfish ways, leading your people to make an important decision which may be against what they have been brought up to believe, but the "right" way for human dignity, as our National Leaders are continually striving to do.

I am forwarding a copy of this to President Eisenhower's office, only for the purpose of expressing that there are many people who care what happens to this Country, who have confidence in the Leadership, and who still believe that we can still be the United States.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. Marvin S. Gibson  
42 Rondo Drive  
Manchester, Missouri

cc: Office of the President,  
Washington, D.C.

①

**G.F.**

*124-111  
John Lewis  
W*

REC-117  
DEC 20 1960  
GENERAL FILES

December 19, 1960.

Dear Professor and Mrs. Wolf:

The President has asked me to reply to your telegram of November thirtieth in which you urge him "to make a public statement giving unqualified support to the desegregation decision and to encourage citizens in the North as well as the South to support the Supreme Court decision in both letter and spirit of the law."

It is the President's belief that it is inappropriate for the Chief Executive to express his personal views on a specific decision of the Supreme Court. The President has, however, constantly and consistently urged obedience to the decree of the Court. The President's statement on September 24, 1957, at the time of the school disturbances in Little Rock, set forth his views in this regard:

The action of the Supreme Court has conclusively settled the principle that public school desegregation is, under existing constitutional provisions, the law of the land. Final orders of the Federal courts carrying out this principle must be observed.

It is the duty of the state authorities to give full aid to the enforcement of a desegregation public school plan once it is finally ordered by the Court. This obligation is not open to any doubt. It is also a required responsibility of good citizenship that every person in the community respect the law and its processes.

- 2 -

Such observance of law is fundamental to our existence as a nation of free people under constitutional government.

In the original School Desegregation Cases the Solicitor General, at the direction of the President, prepared a brief as friend of the court and argued for the petitioners before the Supreme Court. The dedication of the President and of the Executive Branch of the Government to the enforcement of desegregation decrees is further evidenced by the participation of the United States in a number of other school desegregation cases, including Aaron v. Cooper and Bush v. Orleans Parish, and the recommendation and support of legislation to facilitate school desegregation.

The President asked me to thank you for writing.

With kind regards.

Sincerely,

Henry Roemer McPhee  
Associate Special Counsel  
to the President

Professor and Mrs. Frank Wolf  
Lunenburg, Massachusetts

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice  
Washington


DEC 15 1960

Mr. Henry Roemer McPhee  
Associate Special Counsel  
to the President  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. <sup>Roemer</sup> McPhee:

Attached, per your request, is a draft  
reply to Professor and Mrs. Frank Wolf of Lunenburg,  
Massachusetts.

Sincerely,

  
HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.  
Assistant Attorney General  
Civil Rights Division

Attachment

Dear Professor and Mrs. Wolf:

*asked me to reply to*  
The President has ~~received~~ your telegram of November 30, 1960, ~~regarding the 1954 School Desegregation Cases,~~ in which you urge him "to make a public statement giving unqualified support to the desegregation decision and to encourage citizens in the North as well as the South to support the Supreme Court decision in both letter and spirit of the law."

It ~~has been~~<sup>is</sup> the President's belief that it is inappropriate for the Chief Executive ~~officer of the nation~~ to express his personal views on a specific decision of the Supreme Court. You will recall, however, <sup>in 1957</sup> that the President has constantly and consistently urged obedience to the decree of the Court. The statement issued by the Executive Office of the President on September 24, 1957, at the time of the school disturbances in Little Rock, set forth <sup>his</sup> the views ~~of the President~~ in this regard:

The action of the Supreme Court has conclusively settled the principle that public school desegregation is, under existing constitutional provisions, the law of the land. Final orders of the Federal courts carrying out this principle must be observed.

It is the duty of the state authorities to give full aid to the enforcement of a desegregation public school plan once it is finally ordered by the Court. This obligation is not open to any doubt. It is also a required responsibility of good citizenship that every person in the community respect the law and its processes. Such observance of law is fundamental to our existence as a nation of free people under constitutional government.

In the original School Desegregation Cases the Solicitor General, at the direction of the President, prepared a brief as friend of the court and argued for the petitioners before the Supreme Court. The dedication of the President and of the Executive Branch of the Government to the enforcement of desegregation decrees is further evidenced by the participation of the United States in a number of other school desegregation cases, including Aaron v. Cooper and Bush v. Orleans Parish, and the recommendation and support of legislation to facilitate school desegregation. *The President asked me to thank you for writing.*  
~~Please be assured that the President appreciates~~  
~~and shares your concern with these vital problems of~~  
~~our day and thanks you for your thoughtful message.~~

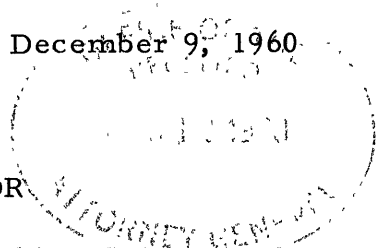
*With kind regards*

*W. E. B. DuBois*

CIV RIGHTS

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 9, 1960



MEMORANDUM FOR

The Honorable William P. Rogers  
The Attorney General  
Washington, D. C.

Attached is telegram addressed to the President regarding desegregation. Would you please have someone furnish me with a suggested reply by December fifteenth?

Henry Roemer McPhee  
Associate Special Counsel  
to the President

7A

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CIV. RIGHTS DIV.	
Gen. Lit. Sec.	

The White House  
Washington

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THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER IN LESS THAN 2 MONTHS YOU WILL LEAVE  
YOUR GREAT OFFICE AFTER 8 YEARS OF DISTINGUISHED SERVICE. DURING  
THESE 8 YEARS THE SUPREME COURT UNDER THE CHIEF JUSTICE YOU  
APPOINTED RENDERED ITS MOMENTOUS 1954 DESEGREGATION DECISION.  
HOWEVER YOU HAVE NEVER TAKEN A FIRM POSITIVE STAND IN PUBLICLY  
SUPPORTING THIS DECISION. BEFORE YOU LEAVE OFFICE WE URGE YOU



TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT GIVING UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT TO THE  
DESEGREGATION DECISION AND TO ENCOURAGE CITIZENS IN THE NORTH  
AS WELL AS THE SOUTH TO SUPPORT THE SUPREME COURT DECISION  
IN BOTH LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE LAW. FOR THE OVERT DEMONSTRATIONS  
IN THE SOUTH AND COVERT PRACTICES IN THE NORTH CANNOT BE IN  
THE BEST INTEREST OF DEMOCRACY

PROFESSOR AND MRS FRANK WOLF.

0.  
Sent by Norma  
Zandrus yesterday.

*[Faint, illegible handwritten notes]*

Pres returned  
to file 4-27-45  
all + cards

2

G.F.

174-A-1  
Special Agent  
P.M.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED  
SEP 18 1958  
CENTRAL FILES

September 17, 1958

Dear Mr. Bennet:

In response to your letter of September thirteenth, enclosed is a copy of your letter to me of October 17, 1957, which may be the one to which you refer that you would like returned to you.

Sincerely,

SHERMAN ADAM

Mr. William S. Bennet  
10 Rich Avenue  
Mount Vernon, New York

lrs

X P

---

Copy of this letter sent to Mr. Bennet  
9/17/58 at his request. See 9/17/58 ltr to  
him.

lrs

WILLIAM S. BENNET  
10 RICH AVENUE  
MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.

Sept 16<sup>th</sup> 1958  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
SEP 16 18 49 AM '58

Dear Adams: - I think we are in for trouble in the Southern states.

As I was in business in South Mississippi from 1920 to 1932, I know something about these states.

Also my 4 terms in the House and over 60 years in public life, help me to understand things.

Doubtless you have an up to date filing system at the White House.

Some months ago I sent you a hand written letter, of which I kept no copy, of what I thought ought to be done about these Southern states. I think I had the germ of a good idea, and would like to work it out.

So I would appreciate it if you would send the letter back to me for further study.

Yours very truly  
William S. Bennett

To Hon Sherman Adams

Hope you caught a lot of fish and had a good time



NAME OR SUBJECT	FILE NO.	TAKEN BY	DATE OF LETTER	DATE TAKEN
<del>Edward M. Hitchfield to J. H. [unclear] re annual meeting of the American Political Science Association</del>	<del>773.539-53</del>	<del>[unclear]</del>	<del>7/3/53</del>	<del>7/3/53</del>
Samuel [unclear]	A-520-B-L	Barringer	1-29-53	5-24-54
Math. [unclear]	V-20-1 "T"	[unclear]	1/20/53	5/1/54
<del>Sasch [unclear] re [unclear] of [unclear] [unclear]</del>	<del>[unclear]</del>	<del>[unclear]</del>	<del>5-22-54</del>	<del>6-2-54</del>
J. C. [unclear] to Mr. & Mrs. [unclear] re [unclear] of [unclear] [unclear]	[unclear]	[unclear]	6-17-54	6-21-54
Adams to [unclear] C. Wright	[unclear]	[unclear]	7-29-54	7-1-54
Wells to Mrs. [unclear] re [unclear] [unclear]	[unclear]	[unclear]	8-4-54	8-11-54
Wells to Mrs. [unclear] re [unclear] [unclear]	[unclear]	[unclear]	[unclear]	[unclear]
Wells to J. N. [unclear] re [unclear] [unclear]	C-4-A-2	Cruise	10/15/54	10/22/54
[unclear] re [unclear] [unclear]	[unclear]	[unclear]	2-25-55	3-10-55
[unclear] re [unclear] [unclear]	[unclear]	[unclear]	3/10/55	3/10/55



NAME OR SUBJECT	FILE NO.	TAKEN BY	DATE OF LETTER	DATE TAKEN
<del>Memorandum to Perkins for Genevieve Perry re Thomas H. Jefferson</del>	<del>GF 121</del>	<del>Crowne</del>	<del>9-30-57</del>	<del>11-21-57</del>
<del>Memorandum to Perkins for H. ...</del>	<del>GF 121</del>	<del>R. ...</del>	<del>11-11-57</del>	<del>11-21-57</del>
<del>Report of ...</del>	<del>GF 47</del>	<del>McAffee</del>	<del>6-14-57</del>	<del>3-2-59</del>
<del>End of Mr. Glenn Balch</del>	<del>GF 137</del>	<del>DeLoe</del>	<del>3-6-59</del>	<del>5-20-59</del>
<del>Letter to Major C. A. L. ...</del>	<del>GF 122</del>	<del>L. Wms.</del>	<del>3-7-57</del>	<del>5-28-59</del>
<del>Letter to ...</del>	<del>GF 122</del>	<del>L. Wms.</del>	<del>3-7-57</del>	<del>5-28-59</del>
<del>Whitman to Paul ...</del>	<del>GF L-R</del>	<del>Mandlock</del>	<del>12-5-57</del>	<del>6-3-59</del>
<del>Morgan to R. O. ...</del>	<del>GF 124-A-1</del>	<del>F. Spencer</del>	<del>12-22-58</del>	<del>6-17-59</del>

NAME OR SUBJECT	FILE NO.	TAKEN BY	DATE OF LETTER	DATE TAKEN
<del>Confidential material in "Commodity"</del>	OF 743-A	L. W. Lipman	12-18-58	12-12-58
<del>...</del>			<del>5-11-59</del> <del>2-12-59</del>	
<del>...</del>	EF 125-S	A. ...	9-27-59	7-12-57
<del>...</del>				
<del>...</del>	EF 125-B4	H. P. ...	9-17-58	11-1-57
Mrs Amelia Van Daken, Calif Alpha Workman			10-27-58	1-15-59
<del>...</del>				
L. W. to Compt. Gen. re. rpt. of I-T Merriam			2-16-59	2-19-59
in Sugar Act Program, Commodity Stabilization Service				
<del>...</del>				
Mr F. J. ...	alpha	p. 1/15	3-18-59	4-31-59
Persons to James C. Scheick	97114-C	Mordlock	4-13-59	6-12-59