124-A-1 SCHOOL - ARKANSAS (5) Initial The Assistant to t

The White House Washington

The Assistant to the President

October 10, 1957

Dear Guy:

I neglected to tell you that I read the editorial in the Knoxville Journal which you left with me. I think you did an excellent job.

Perhaps by this time you have a better solution than we have yet found. What is it?

Sincerely,

BHERMAN ADAMS

Mr. Guy Smith c/o Knoxville Journal Knoxville Tennessee

### Little Rock Crisis Poses A Question: Is Continued Segregation Of Greater ValueToUsThanGovernmentOfLaws?

On Monday Gov. Orval Faubus, of of nullification and secession just as Arkansas, was able to witness the fruition of his plan to incite a riot at the Little Rock high school where integration was being undertaken. A mob of perhaps a thousand persons created such a disturbance that Faubus could point his finger and say, "I told you there would be rioting if National Guard troops were

Not many US citizens will feel, however, that Governor Faubus can justify his course of action by this week's events in Little Rock. Most of them will feel that actually he is the first Governor since the Civil War to personally inspire an insurrection against the federal government. When he called out National Guard troops with clear instructions to render void an order of a federal court, he was clearly calling for the disorders he was ostensibly acting to avert. Fortunately, there is a wide enough understanding among the people of mob psychology to make that clear. Faubus created the situation which he pretended to be concerned about preventing. Recognition of this fact is important in assessing responsibility for the painful situation which now exists in

Having created the critical situation, the Governor of Arkansas placed the President of the United States in a position where he had no alternative, other than resort to another injunction similar to the one enforced at Clinton, but to take the action of yesterday. The Arkansas National Guard is being federalized. The troops will return to the scene of Monday's rioting, not with orders to enforce integration or to prevent it, but to maintain order.

Anybody with a grain of sense has some conception of what yesterday's order meant to the President in terms of inward struggle. He of all people has a clear conception of what a serious thing it is for the federal government to order the use of troops within the boundaries of a sovereign state. Over the whole Arkansas incident from the first has hung the shadow of a war fought a unequivocally as they were placed before the country prior to the attack on Fort Sumter. The President, under oath to support the Constitution, had to make a choice; every one of us as an individual citizen has to make it, too.

Actually, the question of the authority of federal courts and the observance of their orders is more vital to our kind of government than the physical problem of school integration is to the country, a fact which has moved many communities to compliance with the integration ruling even though a majority of their citizens favored segregation. Now of course there are authorities on Constitutional law who are saying that in handing down the 1954 school integration ruling the Supreme Court was acting unconstitutionally. Debating that question, however, does not provide any helpful contribution to the situation; no matter what anybody thinks about the constitutionality of the ruling, for a hundred years the decisions of the highest court in the land have been final and binding on all forty-eight states. Unless they continue to be, if not changed by Congress or Constitutional amendment, the fabric of all our laws is nullified and rendered of no

Thus we come to the fundamental choice which must be made by the American people standing under the threat of new civil war—which is of the greater value to the nation, a continuation of segregation, as de-> manded by Governor Faubus and his supporters, or our traditional government of laws, constituted of all the legal promises by which a hundred and sixty-five million citizens have lived for almost 200 years'

To us, there appear to be indications that the American people, even in Little Rock, have made their choice already, some of them per-! haps without fully grasping the issues which are involved in the contest before the country. It appears significant that the maximum number of agitators, rioters, and spectators reported in the Little Rock mob

avert. Fortunately, there is a wide enough understanding among the people of mob psychology to make that clear. Faubus created the situation which he pretended to be concerned about preventing. Recognition of this fact is important in assessing responsibility for the painful situation which now exists in Arkansas.

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Anybody with a grain of sense has some conception of what yesterday's order meant to the President in terms of inward struggle. He of all people has a clear conception of what a serious thing it is for the federal government to order the use of troops within the boundaries of a sovereign state. Over the whole Arkansas incident from the first has hung the shadow of a war fought a century ago in which the issues were similar enough to the present national situation to give concern to every thoughtful citizen.

But, as we said here in our first comment on the decision of Governor Faubus to meet head on the federal government in the guise of orders from one of its courts, Mr. Eisenhower has no choice but to take the action which is now history, and whatever other steps may be indicated by the situation. We have to make our choice in the present national crisis between one country and forty-eight different ones, one law or forty-eight different versions of it. Faubus has posed the doctrines

not provide any helpful contribution to the situation; no matter what anybody thinks about the constitutionality of the ruling, for a hundred years the decisions of the highest court in the land have been final and binding on all forty-eight states. Unless they continue to be, if not changed by Congress or Constitutional amendment, the fabric of all our laws is nullified and rendered of no value.

Thus we come to the fundamental choice which must be made by the American people standing under the threat of new civil war—which is of the greater value to the nation, a continuation of segregation, as demanded by Governor Faubus and his supporters, or our traditional government of laws, constituted of all the legal promises by which a hundred and sixty-five million citizens have lived for almost 200 years.'

To us, there appear to be indications that the American people, even in Little Rock, have made their choice already, some of them perhaps without fully grasping the issues which are involved in the contest before the country. It appears significant that the maximum number of agitators, rioters, and spectators reported in the Little Rock mob by the press wires was about one thousand. Little Rock has a population of better than 100,000 persons. One percent, then, including the curiosity group, were concerned enough about the Faubus insurrection to make an appearance at the scene of the disturbance, which indicates to us that an overwhelming majority has cast its lot on the side of law and order-even distasteful law and order—rather than on that of mob rule.

It is this preponderance of allegiance to law and order above all lesser considerations that will finally spell finish for the Faubuses of our time.

## Military Men Play With Weapons

By PAUL HARVEY

I remember when the Fourth of July came to Tulsa, Okla., we used to experiment with firecrackers.

We would put them under tin cans and blow the cans as high as the roof. We would put them under pie tins and bulge the botiom

Once I dropped one in the mailbox and blew the lid off. Once somebody dropped one in a glass bottle.

At this point the fun became foolishness. I don't know how he escaped that torrent of shrappel.

As firecrackers got bigger . . . laws were passed to prohibit their use. Play had become mischief.

As with all excesses, somebody had to put a stop to it.

I've reflected often upon our childhood experiments as I've watched the progress of our bomb tests over Nevada.

This year we have touched off about a score of nuclear explosions over the Yucca

Not to prove we can. We know that now. It's easy. But our military men have had to learn what would happen when you plant one underground . . .

When you drop one from the sky . . . When—as was the case one recent morning—you dangle it from a balloon 500 feet over the desert floor.

I don't mean to minimize the importance of these scientific tests by comparing them with our childhood experiments.

Certainly if our military men ever have to use them we want them to know what to expect. We want them to know how to apply the most foot pounds of destructive energy to an enemy—with the least hazard to themselves.

But I shall continue to grasp for the thread of a higher hope. A hope that . . . and I speak figuratively here . . . we will discover what happens when one goes off "in a bottle."

Presently our research concentrates on perfecting a "clean, little bomb." Some

military men believe we may need a nuclear weapon that can be confined and controlled so as to tear out a bridge without sterilizing a continent.

So they continue to experiment with "fractional shots." Well . . .

Where boys play with firecrackers or men play with weapons, there is always some irresponsible nut who overdoes it.

Because in 3500 years of recorded history fewer than eight percent of those years have been war-less, I do not expect any voluntary reformation of the inhuman race.

I believe self-discipline is too much to

count on and that, in any future conflagration, we must expect the worst.

If civilization survives it won't be because we limited our bombs to little ones. It will be because we made such big ones we had

no choice.

Because then the result would be so hazardous to all concerned . . . reasonable men

will realize . . . There has to be a law.

That we can no longer afford the luxury of periodic military adventures.

That man's masonchistic thirst for excitemen must now be satisfied by other means. That the "fun's" been spoiled by his own excesses.

That he can wage war no more.

#### Ask The Journal

#### Haskin Questions And Answers

Q. Where was Isadora Duncan buried?
A. The dancer's body was cremated in Paris on Sept. 19, 1927, and the ashes were interred in a Paris cemetery, the famous Pere Lachaise.

Q. What is the rate at which the edge of Niagara Falls is receding due to erosion? A. In the last century the American Falls and Canadian Horseshoe Falls have receded 300 feet. The present rate of recession is about one to four feet a year.

G.F.

October 10, 1957

Dear Mr. Mayor:

The President has asked me to thank you for your thoughtful telegram. He was heartened to know that the people of the City of St. Petersburg paused for one minute of prayer for the successful outcome of his recent meeting with the Southern Governors.

As you know, the President believes deeply in the power of prayer, and he is hopeful that widespread appreciation of the vital importance of maintaining orderly processes of law -- the cornerstone of our American system of government -- will contribute to an early and satisfactory solution to the difficult situation in Arkansas.

It is our thought that you may care to have the enclosed copy of the transcript of the President's News Conference of October 3, 1957.

With the President's warm regard,

Sincerely,

The Honorable John D. Burroughs
Mayor of St. Petersburg
St. Petersburg, Florida

hoh/mg

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Enclosure

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ST PETERSBURG FLO SEP 30 458PME

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

JOINING WITH OTHER FLORIDA CITIES, THE CITY OF ST PETERSBURG WILL PAUSE FOR ONE MINUTE OF PRAYER ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER FIRST, AT 2:30 P.M. AS THE COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN GOVERNORS BEGINS CONFERENCE WITH YOU AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE SERIOUS PROBLEM FACING OUR SOUTHLAND. OUR PRAYERS WILL BE THAT YOU AND THE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNORS MAY BE GUIDED IN YOUR DELIBERATIONS

TO A SOLUTION WHICH WILL BE FOR THE BEST INTEREST OF OUR NATION

JOHN D BURROUGHS MAYOR CITY OF ST PETERSBURG FLORIDA.

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Ocotber 10, 1957

Dear Mr. Schuck:

The President has asked me to thank you and Mr. Roger Lewis for your recent letter.

He appreciates your interest in writing and is pleased to know of your support.

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb

Mr. Edward A. Schuck 1340 Tropical Avenue Pasadena California

mbh/mcc

pri 1/2 = 16:

Mr. President,

We think you are doing a fine job with the intergration issue.

Sincerely,

Chvard a. Schueke Rozer W. Lewis

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Max Rabb

To:

White House

Date: October 9, 1957

From: Thalia D. Thomas

Subject: Cecil B. Moore

Attached is copy of a letter from Cecil B. Moore, a lawyer in Philadelphia. Although a bit outdated it is selfexplanatory.

The boss asked me to sent it to you last week, but I knew you were out of the country so held it on my desk.

Moore is apparently an up-and-coming politician who hopes to run for Congress next year from his district.

Thalin

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# **BEST AVAILABLE COPY**

Law Offices

#### HILL AND MOORE

627 COMMERCIAL TRUST BLDS. 16 SOUTH BROAD STREET PHILADELPHIA 2, PENNA.

CECIL B. MOORE

September 26, 1957.

Mr. Val Washington, National Republican Headquarters, 1625 Lye Street, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Washington:

I have noticed in the papers that there is a proposed conference with certain Southern Governors and the President concerning the school integration. I am in agreement with the conference, if the subject to be discussed is the school integration problem in all the Southern States, but I am strongly opposed to discussing the withdrawal of Federal Troops in Arkansas. The reason I am making Arkansas the exception is because I believe to dignify the forces of insurrection and criminal activity would do far greater harm and defeat the purposes of integration in the other states. And I would suggest that the conference of Southern Governors use their good offices to persuade Faubus to curb the rebellious activities of Arkansas that made the ordering or troops necessary and thereby purge the state of its contempt for law and order.

I don't think the conference with the Southern Governors should be held until the proposed conference with certain Negro leaders has taken place. I think, we (the Negroes) are being placed in a position where we who have a greater immediate interest in integration than the conferees are not being consulted at all; while those who would deny us this legal right are being received. I think the composition of the Negro committee should be bi-partisan and non-partisan with a large number less than forty-five (45) because they will have to live and rear children under any plan that may result. Excluded should be those like Roy Wilkins and Clarence whitchell who are so partisan minded (Democrats) that they sought to frustrate the purpose of the Civil Rights Bill.

Also the presence of the N.A.A.C.P. at such a conference would necessitate the invitation of their white counterpart to such another conference. The conference can be of great political advantage to the party and also to the individual, being very careful to select Negroes who more accurately reflect the Eisenhower brand of Republicanism as contrasted with those who have been associated with the so called reactionaries and appearers.

Law Offices

#### HILL AND MOORE

627 COMMERCIAL TRUST BLDG.

16 SQUTH BROAD STREET

PHILADELPHIA 2, PENHA.

LEBLIE PINGKNEY NILL, SHO GEGIL M. MOGRE

-2-

I think the world and the nation will acclaim the action of the President in sending the troops to Arkansas as being consistent with the principle of law and order. (A copy of my telegram is enclosed):

I don't know if I mentioned it to you before, but i play to run for Congress from the 4th Congressional district where Earl Chudoff is now the representative. I have conferred with several ward leaders in the district and a majority of them have promised to endorse me as a slated candidate. I have a prior committeent with people whom I have worked with in the Citizens for Lisenbower group and also from the leader of one (1) of the two (2) major factions in the local kepublican Party. Ofcourse, on the other side of the ledger, I would probably be opposed by my neighbor and Ward leader; Hobson Reynolds whom I defeated in the Primary of 1956 for Alternate Delegate.

I realize that the district is a strongly pro-democrat, but especially one in the past four years. This has been largely que to inaction on the part of those Ward leaders; (e.g. during the general election, 1956; Steven McLoughlin, Treasurer for the Citizens for Eisenhower; the group and myself toured the district and found several polling places un-manned by Republican Committeemen and had to hastily recruit and pay persons outside the division to stay at the polls.

It is my belief, based on my observations from living and coming in contact with hundreds of persons in the district every week, that by hard work, by long sustained effort, we have a good chance:

First and Foremost; because of the President's liberal consistency, especially a candidate who follows his brand of Republicanism and is not previously tainted by the discredited old regime. Secondly, because of the many Democrats of different creconcilable faction who are aspirants (Namely, Raymond Alexander and Robert Nix) whom I believe will remain hopelessly split regardless who is chosen as nominee.

Ofcourse, I have already started building for 1958 in the district, in anticipation that I might not get the party indorsement. But I fully believe that I might do in 1958 what I

#### Law Offices

#### HILL AND MOORE

637 COMMERCIAL TRUST SLDG. 16 SOUTH SREAD STREET PHILADELPHIA 3, PENNA.

TENLIK PINGKNEY HILL, ENG

-3-

an mentioning this because I am interested in your opinion.

My Dackground is as follows:

Brography 6F 138. m

AGE: 42

Born and Reared in West Virginia

U.S.M.C. 1942-1951 (Master Sgt.) Among first group of Negro Marines in combat Saipan-Tinian, 1944. Also participation in Okinawa Operation 1945

Previous Employment:

Bellhop, Waiter, Bartender,
Insurance Salesman (Ga.)
Liquor Salesman (Pa.)
Present Occupation-Attorney
Admitted to Bar, June, 1954
Currently one of the largest Criminal
practices in the city.

Married Wife teacher school Three children (all girls)

Have lived in West Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, Ohio Political Activity:

Democrat 1936-1950 Precinct Committeeman Bluefield, d. Va. 1936-38

1953-Republican Div. Committeeman-appointed
1954-Director of Negro Activities. General
Election Republican City Committee
1955-Candidate for Republican Nominations
for District Councilman (5 marcs, 367)
Philadelphia) Lost by 1000 votes
1956-Vice-Chairman, Citizens for Lisenhower
Elected Alternate Delegate (unslated)
to Republican Convention
Re-elected Committman over opponents
Supported by Ward Leader, Hobson Reventus.

Yery truly yours,

CECTI B VACUE

S'RM\* ac

G.F

October 10, 1957

Dear Mr. Teelyea:

The President appreciated the interest which prompted your recent telephone call offering a suggestion regarding the difficult Arkansas situation.

I am enclosing for your reference a transcript of those remarks by the President at his news conference last week in which he discussed this situation.

Sincerely,

Henry Roemer McPhee Assistant Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Gordon R. J. Teelyea 1514 Webster Street Houston, Texas

Enclosure

Call taken 10/3 or 10/4/57 by S. Wymard. Suggests ALL people vote in each community and have community abide by local decision. In time good example and good results would move other places to adopt integration.

See of the second

OCT 1 0 1958 CENTRAL FILES

October 8, 1957

Dear Mr. Udall:

The President asked me to thank you for your September 25th telegram in support of his action respecting the Little Rock situation. Because of his conviction that the United States Marshal was unable to cope with the problem, the President felt compelled to use Federal troops. I can assure you that he is determined to see that those troops leave Little Rock at the earliest possible date consistent with the maintenance of respect for the decisions of our courts.

With kind regards,

Sincerely.

I. Jack Martin
Administrative Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Stewart Udail Member of Congress Tucson, Arizona

bkn

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TUCSON ARIZ SEPT 25

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D EISENHOWER

NEWPORT RI

YOUR ACTION TODAY HAS RESTORED THE PUBLIC PEACE IN LITTLE ROCK, AND BEYOND QUESTION FEDERAL TROOPS CAN MAINTAIN ORDER THERE INDEFINITELY. HOWEVER IN VIEW OF THE DEEP SEATED AMERICAN TRADITION OF LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT THERE ARE SERIOUS DOUBTS WHETHER IN THE LONG RUN MILITARY FORCE WILL PRODUCE A CLIMATE OF OPINION IN THE COMMUNITIES OF THE SOUTH WHICH WILL INSTILL ATTITUDES IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE LAW INDEED THERE IS GOOD REASON TO FEAR THAT THE APPLICATION OF MILITARY FORCE OVER ANY EXTENDED PERIOD OF TIME WILL ACTUALLY HARM THE CAUSE OF PEACEFUL TRAN-SITION IT IS PLAIN THAT THE BEST METHOD OF UPHOLDING LAW ABIDING CITIZENS AND TURNING COMMUNITY SUPPORT TO THE SIDE OF THE LAW IS A QUICK RETURN TO MORE REGULAR LAW ENFORCEMENT PRACTICES. I URGE THAT AT THE EARLIEST PRACTICABLE TIME YOU WITHDRAW FEDERAL TROOPS AND SUBSTITUTE THE OFFICE OF THE US MARSHALL OF LITTLE ROCK AS THE KEEPER OF THE PRACE. I AM CONVINCED THIS PLAN IS EMINENTLY WORKABLE. LITTLE ROCK MARSHALL COULD DEPUTIZE A FULL TIME FORCE LARGE ENOUGH TO MAINTAIN ORDER AND UPHOLD THE FEDERAL COURT SURELY UNDER PROPER SUPERVISION A FORCE OF DEPUTY US MARSHALLS CAN EFFECTIVELY USE THE SAME METHODS OF SUSTAINING ORDER EMPLOYED SO SUCCESSFULLY BY THE US ARMY TODAY. SINCERELY URGE THAT YOU CLEAR THE AIR BY ANNOUNCING SUCH A PLAN AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME

REP STEWART L UDALL

None of the second

C.F. October 11, 1957

CATE OF

e de la companya de l

Dear Mr. Young:

The President has asked me to thank you for your cordial letter of October third. It is always encouraging to receive messages of good will.

We have a grave responsibility in the matter to which you make reference. Ways must be found to minimize the frictions that are involved here. As you can, wherever you can, it is hoped that you, your friends and associates will urge patience and understanding as well as firmness in every consideration of this extremely sensitive issue.

Thanks again for letting us hear from you.

Sincerely,

HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. C. W. Young Box 35 Pinellas Park Florida



# FLORIDA FEDERATION

# Young Republicans

X249 Commercial Court Bldg.

oct. 3, 1957

Box 35, Finellas Park,  $FI_r$ 

Chairman Raymond J. Malloy, Sarasota

National Committeeman C. W. "Bill" Young, St. Petersburg

National Committeewoman Mrs. Berthadean Greenewalt, Jacksonville

Vice-Chairman
J. Edward Musser, Jacksonville

Vice-Chairwoman Tina Barton, St. Petersburg

> Recording Secretary Ed Maynard, Tampa

Corresponding Secretary Mrs. Avis Schultz, Bradenton

Treasurer Daniel Gorham, Tallahassee

Legal Counsel Joseph Easthope, Hollywood

College Committee Chairman Richard Schaddalee, Lakeland

Public Relations Committee Rollins College YR Club

Legislative Counsel Joseph Bonsey, St. Petersburg The President of the United States The White House Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

My opposition to the Supreme Courts decision on integration is a matter of record, however the issue at hand is not one of integration but one of a direct and premeditated defiance of the United States of America and all that it means.

A real two party system of government in Arkansas would have insured an adult solution of the situation there before it got such world wide acclaim. The check of a two party system would have prevented the Governor from feelingthat he was all powerful and that he had the authority to openly defy the United States of America.

Your task of ordering federal troops into Little Rock was certainly not a pleasant one and I am sure that you would much rather have acted differently had the Governor of Arkansas left you any alternative, however you have proved once more that you carry out the duties of your great office in a way of honor and right rather than bow to political expediency.

I regret that the use of troops was necessary, but in view of all circumstances both public and behind the scenes, I agree that your action was necessary.

With best wishes for your continued good health, I am

Respectfully yours

C. W. Bill Young National Committeeman G.F. Q. lea. 1957

Dear Mr. Andrews:

Governor Adams has asked me to thank you for your cordial letter of September thirtieth. It is always encouraging to receive messages of good will.

We have a grave responsibility in the matter to which you make reference. Ways must be found to minimize the frictions that are involved here. As you can, wherever you can, it is hoped that you, your friends and associates, will urge patience and understanding as well as firmness in every consideration of this extremely sensitive issue.

Thanks again for letting us hear from you.

Sincerely.

HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. Robert A. Andrews
Edisto Island
South Carolina

## ROBERT ARMSTRONG ANDREWS EDITORIAL COUNSELLOR

Edisto Island S.C. September 30, '57

## (Dear Governor Adams:

As a longtime resident here I want to assure you — and the President — that his action in the Little Rock crisis is by no means as unpopular as one would assume from reading the Southern press. There is a sane majority which knows that a court order must be obeyed — also our whole legal structure will be destroyed.

Frequently I have met the argument that the Supreme Court's decision on

## ROBERT ARMSTRONG ANDREWS EDITORIAL COUNSELLOR

Amendment - unenforcable. And I have pointed out, again & again, that while the law was violated in those days, ho one ever defied a court order under that law. The convicted boot-legger went to Leavenworth: he wasn't supported by any governor!

I think Jim Hagerty could well use this analogy.

Sorn, I didn't have a Ehance to

Sorn I didn't have a Ehance to meet you during the week I was in Hanover.

Faithfully,

Bob Andrews

MEULIVED

NOV-41957

Che Mhite Mouse

Mashington

KANSAS CITY MO OCT 11

1957 OCT 12 AM 12 40

THE PRESIDENT

City

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THE WHITE HOUSE

LIKE EVERY OTHER TRUE AMERICAN, WE THE MEMBERS OF THE

NEBRASKA CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN METHOLDIST EPISCOPAL

CHURCH NOW IN ITS 37 ANNUAL SESSION AT KANSAS CITY

KANS, THE 11TH DAY OF OCTOBER 1957 THE RIGHT REV R R RIGHT

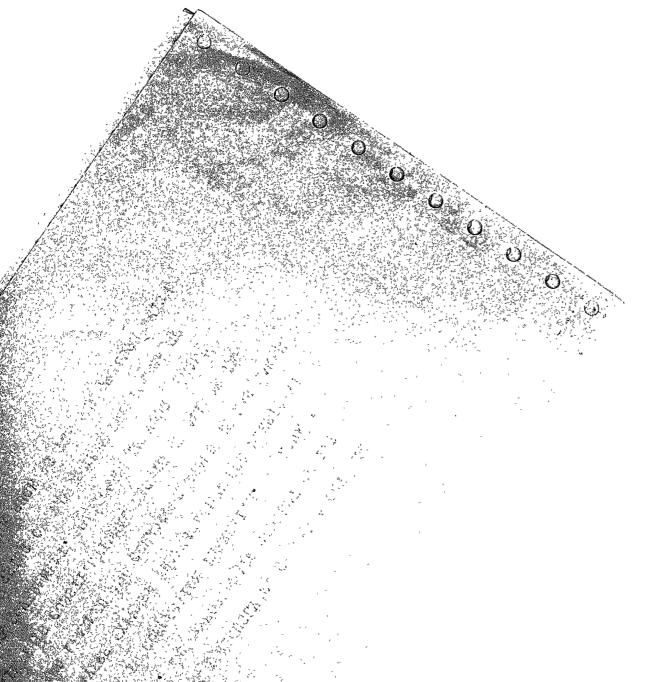
JUNIOR PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE 5TH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT

OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH PRESIDING,

Little Rock #

DEEPLY REGRETS AND IS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE ARKANSAS SITUATION. THE UNFORTUNATE CONDUCT OF ITS PRESENT GOVERNOR IN CONNECTION THEREWITH. WE HAVE IN OUR PUBLIC PRAYERS EXPRESS THANKSGIVING FOR PRESIDENT FISENHOWER AND LEARNED AND COURAGOUS STAND HE HAS TAKEN TO MAINTAIN THIS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF OUR GOVERNMENT. WE ENVOKE IN YOUR BEHALF THE CONTINUEL BLESSING OF THE DEVINE PROVIDENCE SO BADLY NEEDED IN AN HOUR SUCH AS THE ONE THROUGH WHICH WE, AS A NATION, NOW FACE

6



MEBRASKA ANNUAL CONFERENCE R R RIGHT JR DR JOHN ADAMS REV S K HOLLY REV W W BETTON

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- Sin B

October 12, 1957

4-30.2 FM

Dear Mr. Huddleston:

The President has asked me to reply to your October 2nd letter respecting the wittle Rock situation. Your courtesy in forwarding the communication signed by twenty-five citizens in your District is appreciated.

Let me assure you that no one is more determined than the President that the federal troops be withdrawn at the earliest possible date consistent with the maintenance of respect for the decisions of our courts.

with kind regards,

Sincerely,

I. Jack Martin
Administrative Assistant
to the President

The Honorable George Huddleston, Jr. Men ber of Congress 284 federal Building Birmingham, Alabama

bkn

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GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR., M. C. NINTH DISTRICT ALABAMA

TOM KING NISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

HARRY COOK RESEARCH ASSISTANT

JEFFERSON COUNTY

### Congress of the United States House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

284 Federal Building Birmingham, Alabama October 2, 1957

THE WHITE HOUSE

Oct 4 9 31 AM '57

RECEIVED

The President The white House washington, D. C.

OCT 1957

CARLES

Dear Mr. President:

I enclose herewith a self-explanatory letter, signed by twenty-five aroused citizens in my Congressional District, relative to your drastic and unsound action in sending Federal troops to Little kock, and the subsequent action taken by the military against citizens of that city. This communication amply evidences the deep-seated opposition of the people of my District to your unwarranted action.

I strongly urge you to remove the troops from Little kock promptly.

Yours respectfully,

GHjr:bsj inclosure

Birmingham, Alabama September 27, 1957

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

2 1957 DCT

Dear Sir:

We, the following WHITE residents of the City of Birmingham, respectfully suggest that Major Walker be awarded a PRESIDENTIAL CITATION for allowing his troops to bayonet and bludgeon WHITE, UNARMED CIVILIANS in Little Rock, Arkansas, while on PRIVATE PROPERTY:

Jakee Kyzer

Look for a 4114 7 the first of the state of

C.F.

E 1917

October 11, 1957

Dear Mr. Allison:

Governor Adams has asked me to thank you for your letter of September twenty-fourth and assure you that it has been very carefully read.

Since, as an undeniable right, you have sincerely stated your personal convictions we feel sure you won't mind these few observations in reply.

Not one single soul in the entire Executive Department, beginning with the President, has relished any part of what has happened in Little Rock. Aside from the facts in the case, none of which have been pleasant, we have inevitably had to endure the consequences of all that is alleged to have happened, regardless of who was directly or indirectly responsible.

Had it not been for a decision that ordered the National Guard of Arkansas to block the execution of a Federal Court order issued in support of a proposal made by the Central High School Board and widely supported by a substantial majority of the voters of the District, the present situation would in all probability never have developed. In the wake of this state of affairs the question became one of supporting or failing to support that branch of government which, in the last analysis, is the one that protects the individual freedoms of us all.

It has been an unhappy and unwanted experience, therefore we hope you will be tolerant of the psoition into which the Administration has been pressed by circumstances entirely beyond its control.

Sincerely,

HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Reverend O. L. Allison
Central City
Iowa

Enclosure: -- Dr. Dale Cowking, Pastor, Second Baptist Church sermon dated 9/1/57---"A Christian Looks at Integration in Little Rock"

HIJE HUNGE

c.

Art-

What would you do with the angry pastor?

Mary

The second letter is friendly, but I wonder ifany comment should be made at all about the Lewis broadcast

Luyadvirse Vietteram

THE WHITE HOUSE

6 magnify the Lord . . . Let us exalt His Name Stogether. 9 27 all 35/3

CENTRAL CITY

RECEIVED

WAUBEEK

Methodist

O. L. ALLISON, PASTOR PHONE 129

September 24, 1957

CENTRAL CITY IOWA

Mr. Sheman Alams, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Acoms:

Since you are evidently a part of the "POWER" behind the throne that is pushing President Eisehour into intervening in the Arkansas School difficulties; I must assuredly hope you heard the News President of Fulton Lewis Jr. on Tuesday evening, eptember 24,

It. Lowis properly identified you as and for what you are, I am writing him my full approval of all he said, I am also asking him to sond you a copy of that broadcast, for it very definitely sums up the Opinion of a great, great number of people in this country about you.

Foncestly Mr. Adams, the greatest service you draw possibly render this Great Country, is to pack your things, leave Washington and never let your name again appear in print or your face be seen in public as relates to our National Interest and Welfare.

Is is you and your kind -who for 25 years have done about every conccivable thing that would destroy the High Esteem our Country once enjoyed among the nations of the world.

A Lunch of you fellows, Yourself, Harold Stassen, Henry Cabot Lodge, Chief Justice Warren and some lesser lights, have tried to out do the "HEW DEAL and the FAIR DEAL" and following their enample have made the, "MESS IN WASHINGTON" an international Object of Derision.

I voted for Mr. Eisenhour in 1952, I did not vote for him in 1955, I will not vote for anyone he advocates in 1960, for whoever he advocated will likely surround himself, -If Elected- with the same 22 calibre advisors that Mr. Eisenhour has in you, the few names above and a lot of nonitities.

A Lorth or two back the Mercury Magazine had an article under the eaching; "U.S. ELECTED THE WRONG GE ERAL" and said, that it was a great mistake we did not elect "engral Douglad MacArthur.

which I now see, quite well, was and is true.

No do not have a President, we have you, you who wede not on any michae, if the country had known you were to be put so fully in charge of things, Mr. Eisenhour would have been defeated in 1952 and Mr. Sueverson could not have done worse, probably better.

In. Disenhour should have stayed in the Army, you should heave stayed in Wew Hampshire.

yours truly O.L. allism

O.L. Allison

1011-H

October II, 1957

Dear Mr. Beltz:

By telegram you have asked the President to explain the difference between Little Rock and Budapest.

In a recent telegram responding to a somewhat similar inquiry from The Honorable Richard B. Russell the President included the following paragraph--

"I must say that I completely fail to comprehend your comparison of our troops to Hitler's Storm troopers. In one case military power was used to further the ruthless dictatorship; in the other to preserve the institutions of free government."

Enclosed you will find complete texts of the President's September twenty-fourth statement on the action at Little Rock and his answers to the Press Conference questions on October third.

Sincerely,

HOWARD PYLE
Deputy Assistant
to the President

Mr. Daniel Beltz 3731 Stocker Street Los Angeles 8 California

Enclosures

WA326 NL PD

LOS ANGELES CALIF SEP 27 TOP 27 EI 11 13

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

ON YOUR NEXT PUBLIC APPEARANCE PLEASE EXPLAIN TO US THE

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LITTLE ROCK AND BUDAPEST

DANIEL BELTZ REPUBLICAN PRECINCT WORKER

3731 STOCKER ST LOS ANGELES 8.

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( ) (1 ) ( ) ( ) ( ) DIRECTOR PELINEEN TRUES FOOTH Near Mr. Betty By telegram you have arred the I verident to en plain the difference between hittle Rock and Buda feet. Lua recent telegram ver fording to a Somewhat Rimiliar inquery from the Howardle Kichard B. Russell the Irendut included the following foragraph I must say that I completely fail of free government. Enclosed you well fund a complete

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on the action at hittle (Kock and his answers

to the Vien Conference questions on October 3.

THE MALE HOUSE

12 Sahil K

October 15, 1957

MECHIVED OCT 1 & 1957 HNIKAL FILES

Dear Mr. Adams:

The President has asked me to thank you and Mr. Funter for your cordial wire of September twenty-fifth. It is always encouraging to receive messages of good will.

We have a grave responsibility in the matter to which you make reference. Ways must be found to minimize the frictions that are involved here. As you can, wherever you can, it is hoped that you, your friends and associates, will urge patience and understanding as well as firmness in every consideration of this extremely sensitive issue.

Thanks again for letting us hear from you.

Sincerely.

HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. Oscar W. Adams
President
Abraham Lincoln Republican Club
1630 4th Avenue, Room 723
Birmingham, Alabama

The White House Mushington

WA336 PD

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THE PRESIDENT

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THE WHITE HOUSE

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR STAND ACTION TO RESTORE ORDER IN LITTLE ROCK YOUR FORTHRIGHTNESS IS CERTAINLY ON THE SIDE OF DECENCY AND THE PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH OUR NATION STANDS YOUR ACHIEVEMENTS ON CIVIL RIGHTS HAVE REVITALIZED THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS TO ACHIEVE FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP MAY GODS RICHEST

ELESSINGS EE WITH YOU ALWAYS FRANK HUNTER PUELICITY DIR.

1630 4th are Pm 723

9/26

G.F.

October 15, 1957

Dear Mr. Hardy:

A Resolution representing certain of the views of the Republican Club of Duval County, Florida, has been received here at the White House and we thank you for forwarding it to us.

May we assure you that the President understands full well the reasons for the fervor of your thinking. At the same time it is his hope that a careful reading of the enclosed texts of his statement of September twenty-fourth and the press conference observations that followed on October third, will help you to better understand his position.

All of the issues involved here are vital, but should we allow our differences of opinion, however deeply felt, to separate us completely when there is so much to be accomplished in so many ways by continuing to work together?

Sincerely,

HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. John R. Hardy
President, Republican Club
of Duval County Florida
118 Cast Bay Street
Jacksonville 2, Florida

in the fire

### REPUBLICAN CLUB OF DUVAL COUNTY, FLORIDA

### RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, we the members of the Republican Club of Duval County have heretofore supported and worked for President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Republican Party and the principles for which they stood, and

WHEREAS, we still believe in a two-party system of government and are convinced that the South will emerge from its present state of persecution as a minority in this country only with the establishment of a real two-party system therein, nevertheless,

### BE IT RESOLVED:

- 1. That the Republican Club of Duval County does condemn the action of the President of the United States in calling out Federal troops in the Constitutional crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas, as utterly irresponsible and without justification under either legal or moral principles.
- 2. That said Republican Club expresses its utter amazement that the judicial branch of the Federal government should order a Governor to withdraw troops on the grounds that there was no violence or threat thereof and, upon the Governor's compliance, that the executive branch should call out Federal troops on the grounds that it was necessary to quell such violence and enforce the orders of the same Court issuing the original order.
- 3. That we are incapable of understanding how the President of the United States determined that said violence continued after his "cease and desist" order of Monday, September 23rd, when all national news media (always alert to

point an accusing finger) reported that Little Rock was quiet on Tuesday, the 24th.

- 4. That we believe the President's action has been built upon dishonest legal advice concerning our Constitutional form of government and compounded with false information on the factual situation.
- 5. That we believe that the Attorney General of the United States, Herbert Brownell, is the Machiavelli engineering the entire disgraceful spectacle providing both the dishonest advice and the false information in his attempt to cement the N. A. A. C. P. to his own coat-tails.
- 6. That we denounce said Attorney General as a traitor to his oath of office and call upon the President to repudiate and to fire summarily Herbert Brownell.
- 7. That the President of this Club be authorized and directed to send a copy of this Resolution to the President of the United States and to such other persons as he may deem advisable.

ADOPTED THIS 25th DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1957.

President

Vice-President

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

October 11, 1957

Dear Mr. Fant:

Your letter of October 9 has been received. The interest which prompted you to write and let us have an expression of your views concerning a difficult situation is appreciated.

Please be assured of the President's deep concern as expressed time and again -- especially in his recent press conference -- in avoiding unrest and in behalf of forces of moderation and good will.

Sincerely,

Mr. Julian E. Fant

President

Riverside Bank of Jacksonville

1234 King Street

Jacksonville, Florida

LAM:lrs

The state of the s HE WALL WELL ٠: Do you think this is enough for Mr. Fant? I do not see that anything would be particularly gained by trying to say anything further. Con assure him of President's deep concern as expressed time & aga esp in recent press Conf-in avoir

RIVERSIDE BANK OF JACKSONVILLE

1234 KING STREET

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

October 9, 1957

Cer 1: 3 54 PM '57

1.

Mr. Sherman Adams Assistant to the President White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Adams:

A CONTRACT OF THE PARTY OF THE

On the second of the second of

My colored maid has been with us for many years and last evening I was driving her to our bus stop (located in one of the finest residential areas here) and when we arrived no other passengers were standing there.

Essie asked me to carry her to a further bus stop with some people around saying, "You know, Mr. Fant, these times are getting too dan-

It took me the time to drive home to overcome the shock.

I advised my wife that the negroes of this community must be more agitated than we were aware and that in the future on those occasions when Essie stayed late and had to be driven all the way home, that she could no longer take her; it would be my sole responsibility.

As I think back on this letter that I am dictating, it sounds like trivia.

But I am honestly and genuinely irritated that after a lifetime of complete freedom of mind about myself or my wife and children going any where in Jacksonville, to find at this late date the ugly spirit of distrust making its first appearance.

Now, Mr. Adams, I realize that any letter I might write the President would never reach his desk, but I do hope that you, at least, would be kind enough to realize that we in this city would love to see the Administration adopt any policy aimed in any direction other than the creation of unrest between elements of the community which have hitherto lived happily with and unfrightened of one another.

Julian E. Fant

JEF:lib

G.F.

October 14, 1957

### Dear Colonel Hackett:

Governor Adams has asked me to thank you for your cordial letter of September twentyninth. It is always encouraging to receive messages of good will.

We have a grave responsibility in the matter to which you make reference. Ways must be found to minimize the frictions that are involved here. As you can, wherever you can, it is hoped that you, your friends and associates, will urge patience and understanding as well as firmness in every consideration of this extremely sensitive issue.

Thanks again for letting us hear from you.

Sincerely,

HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Colonel Wallace E. Hackett 1420 Avenue Venetia Coral Gables 34 Florida



COL. WALLACE E. HACKETT 1420 AVENUE VENETIA CORAL GABLES 34, FLORIDA

THE WHITE HOUSE

September 29, 1957 Oct | 8 54 AM '57

RECLIVED

The Honorable Sherman Adams Assistant to the President The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Governor Adams:

As one familiar with the attributes of justice which prompted our President to send troops to Little Rock, may I commend you and the President. There has been much misrepresentation and incorrect interpretation released as a result of the move. The act itself will do much good and restore order out of confusion.

Under the press of circumstances, the President had no other choice. There can be no compromise in upholding the laws of our country under any consideration. To any true American, there are no states rights which transcend United States rights. There can be no second class citizens in America.

Let me remind you, I am not a politician, but a soldier. I am forwarding this letter simply to go on record with all those from all states and territories, for or against the President's positive action. Far from being, as it has been construed, the thinking of a dictator, the President's decision was made rather to combat the forces threatening to divide and undermine our democracy.

Statement has now been made to all people at home and abroad that America intends to uphold its basic principles of justice, freedom and equality for all her citizens.

Sincerely yours,

Wallace Ettackett

Wallace E. Hackett

WEH:r

G.F.

October 12, 1957

Dear Dr. Hahn:

Governor Adams has asked me to thank you for your letter of September thirtieth and assure you that it has been very carefully read.

Since, as an undeniable right, you have sincerely stated your personal convictions we feel sure you won't mind these few observations in reply.

Not one single soul in the entire Executive Department, beginning with the President, has relished any part of what has happened in Little Rock. Aside from the facts in the case, none of which have been pleasant, we have inevitably had to endure the consequences of all that is alleged to have happened, regardless of who was directly or indirectly responsible.

Had it not been for a decision that ordered the National Guard of Arkansas to block the execution of a Federal Court order issued in support of a proposal made by the Central High School Board and widely supported by a substantial majority of the voters of the District, the present situation would in all probability never have developed. In the wake of this state of affairs the question became one of supporting or failing to support that branch of government which, in the last analysis, is the one that protects the individual freedoms of us all.

It has been an unhappy and unwanted experience, therefore we hope you will be tolerant of the position into which the Administration has been pressed by circumstances entirely beyond its control.

Sincerely,

HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Dr. F. F. Hahn, Jr., F.A.C.P. 231 East Rich Avenue Deland, Florida

T. F. HAHN, JR., M. D., F. A. C. P.

141

231 EAST RICH AVENUE

DeLand, Florida

September 30, 1957

INTERNAL MEDICINE

Mr. Sherman Adams The White House Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Adams:

As one of the Republican Precinct Chairmen in Florida I am writing to you and the President, through you, to say that you have certainly done your best to dissolve the Republican Party in the South.

Regardless of what the problem of integration means to various individuals in various sections of the country the calling out of Federal troops to enforce a court order in the face of a quite artificial riot poses us all with the fundamental question of where States Rights end and will end and where Federal encroachment upon the powers of the States is going to carry us. The argument that Mr. Eisenhower did what he had to do is a little flat when one considers the myriad of labor troubles, the flouting of the Taft-Hartley Law, the property damage, the physical violence, even the deaths, which have occurred in labor disturbances. One might point out the Kohler situation where a strike as been running for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years in spite of all sorts of injunctions, rulings, in spite of much property damage and physical violence. No cease and desist proclamations are ever issued or have troops been sent in to restore law and order, so it looks as if there is more of an emotional basis for the cease and desist order issued in integration disturbances, yet they are never issued in a potentially more dangerous situation.

We Republicans in Florida are disheartened and discouraged and the best we can promise you is utter failure in the next campaign.

Sincerely yours,

// N. L. Jr., M. D.

Ci. T. Octo

OU. L.

October 11, 1957

Dear Mrs. Tyler:

The President has asked me to thank you for your recent letter enclosing a copy of a statement adopted by the Greater Little Rock.

Council of Church Women.

Your thoughtfulness in making this statement available to the President is very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb

Mrs. George Tyler 4307 Lakeview Road North Little Rock

Arkansas

sw

4307 Lakeview Road North Little Rock, Arkansas September 10, 1957

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

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a copy of a statement adopted by the Greater Little Rock Council of Church Women in called session in Little Rock yesterday.

We want you and the nation to know our great concern in this matter and our sincere desire to have justice and right prevail in our communities.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. George Tyler per President

The Council of Church Women of Little Rock and North Little Rock in called session September 9, 1957 wish to go on record expressing our great concern over the situation which has developed in our communities.

We must say in the beginning that it is our Christian conviction that enforced segregation of any group of persons because of race, creed or color is a violation of Christian principles. The National and State bodies of the denominations which we represent are all on record with statements saying that the Supreme Court rulings regarding segregation in the public schools is in keeping with Christian principles. We reaffirm these statements of our denominations.

We believe in the right of dissent and the right of those persons who disaagree to follow due process of law and order in efforts to change laws with which they disagree.

We believe that it is the obligation of every citizen to uphold what is the law of the land, and that citizens of this State have a right to expect their elected officials to use their offices to carry out obedience to the supreme law of the land. We are shocked and dismayed that the Governor of our State has placed military troops within our community to defy the order of the Federal Court instead of upholding the law of the land. We feel the use of troops and the failure of these troops to disperce the curious and rabble-rousing crowds that have gathered at Central High School have produced tensions. This situation, we believe, would not have arisen had the Board of Directors of the Little Rock Public Schools been allowed to carry out their plans for compliance with the law of the land.

We deplore the unChristian acts of some of our citizens expressing hatred of others, which have made the headlines in reports around the world. We believe in the sincerity and goodwill of the majority of citizens of our communities. We are well aware that what is happening here affects the world mission of the Christian church and endangers the effectiveness of those who represent us in mission posts throughout the world. We want our Christian

friends around the world to know that, as church women and as Christian citizens, we want to take our share of the blame for failure to develop a climate that would have made it impossible for such a situation to develop. Our experience in race relations in our communities in recent years, however, convinces us that, though many of our citizens may not desire de-segregated schools, they do believe in justice and right for all citizens, and in following a course of action that would be in keeping with the spirit of democracy of the Constitution of the United States and with the principles of the Christian faith which we profess.

We call upon the Christian citizens of our communities and of our State to join us in

- (1) Praying to God, the Father of us all, to forgive us for our failure to live as children of one father, and praying for His guidance and wisdom for us all, and especially for those on whom rests the responsibility for the solution of the immediate situation before us. We issue this call to prayer to all who will join us, wherever they are, at 12 noon Thursday, September 12, in a special time of prayer and meditation;
- (2) In expressing our confidence in the support of the actions of the Board of Directors and the administrators of the public schools in our communities in their efforts to comply with the law of the land;
- (3) In treating every person as we would like to be treated;
- (4) In refusing to be a party to any act, or word, or idle rumor which will give rise to tensions between groups in our communities;
- (5) In refusing to listen to persons seeking to arouse hatred and setting group against group.

G.F. Carles

October 11, 1957

Dear Mr. Seiler:

This is to acknowledge receipt by the Honorable Sherman Adams of a copy of a letter written by you to Mr. J.B. Shartzer. Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Georgia. The observations included have been very thoughtfully appraised in the spirit in which we feel certain they are offered.

The President would want you to know that he understands fully the reasons for the fervor of the reactions represented '/ by you. At the same time, it would be his hope that a careful reading of the enclosed texts of his statement of September 24 and the press conference comments that followed on October 3 would contribute to a better understanding of his position.

All of the issues involved here are vital. The question is should we allow our differences of opinion, however deeply felt, to separate us completely when there is so much to be accomplished in so many fields and in so many ways by continuing to work together.

Sincerely,

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HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. Carl W. Seiler 1301 Savannah Bank Building P.O. Box 592 Savannah, Georgia

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October 3, 1957

Mr. w. B. Shartzer, Chairman Republican State Central Committee of Georgia Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bill:

This is indeed a sad day for our Southland - - and our Nation!

Because of the President's ill-advised action with regard to the "Little Rock Crisis", all hope for a two party system in our state, and indeed in the South, has vanished and all that we have done has been set at naught.

I most heartily agree with an editorial appearing in the "Savannah Morning News" dated September 25th, which states in parts

"By his action, the President of a party that bears the name Republican, demonstrated that he does not regard the government of this nation a Republic. He dealt the death blow to the last hopes that the principle of states' rights could find haven in so-called modern Republicanism. he set a precedent by which any president might utilize the military power at his disposal to enforce court orders against corporations, against unions or picket lines, or against almost any offense that might become, in the nuture, unpleasing to a superficianly political Supreme Court."

In protest to this unprecedented action taken by our President, I hereby tender my resignation as a member of the Republican Party.

sincerely,

CWS/bg

White House - Was.ington, D.G. Mr. J. L. Sunday, Chairman First Congressional Dist., Ga.

Carl W. Seiler Former Director 'Eischberg-wixon Campaign Committee First Congressional wist. of Ga.

Editor, Savannah Morning News

SHERMANI- I TRUST YOU WILL SHOW THIS TO THE PRESIDENT AMOTHE EDITORIAL-THE MORNING NEWS GAVETHE PRES ITS SUPPORT LASTYR. SEILER-

## Savannah Morning News.

Established 1850

ALVAH H. CHAPMAN, JR. President & Publisher

JOSEPH E. LAMBRIGHT

Editor

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1957

### The President Panics Under Pressure

THE man who holds the position of commander in chief of this nation's armed forces, one who because of a lifetime in military service should be trained in self-discipline and calminess in the face of confusion—indeed, one who has portrayed himself as a champion of moderation, has panicked and committed a precipitous act the implications of which are nothing short of calamitous

Dwight D. Eisenhower, who stated publicly at a press conference as recently as July 17 that he could not conceive of circumstances under which he would ever be induced to send federal troops into any area in an effort to compel integration of the schools, yesterday reneged on that solemn commitment and gave the order for federal troops to enforce his orders upon the citizens of Little Rock in the sovereign state of Arkansas.

In so doing, he stripped from himself the mask of judicious coordinator of divergent viewpoints which he wore as a candidate and became the belligerent general, miffed because his commands to the people of Arkansas had been ignored, and so he ordered his army to enforce his edicts against "unruly mobs" who objected to mixing the races in the public schools. Later he carried his masquerade to the ultimate when he went on a nationwide radio and television network for a pitiful effort to justify his own mability to deal sensibly with a situation.

A SCENE THAT would be described as "democracy in action" on a picket line in Michigan became "disorderly mobs" in Arkansas to Eisenhower when "my proclamation was not observed" The pinnacle of absurdity was reached when, with the straight face of a tin soldier playing his part, he declared "we are a nation in which law and not men are supreme" How, by any stretch of the imagination, can such a statement be reconciled with the Supreme Court's school segregation decision that perpetrated the situation which finds federal troops ordered to seize and occupy an American city

By his action, the President of a party that bears the name Repub-

lican, demonstrated that he does not regard the government of this nation a Republic. He dealt the death blow to the last hopes that the principle of states' rights could find haven in so-called modern Republicanism. He set a precedent by which any president might utilize the military power at his disposal to enforce court orders against corporations, against unions or picket lines, or against almost any offense that might become, in the future, unpleasing to a superficially political Supreme Court.

The motive of the act was political. Perhaps the President will now be voted an honorary life membership in the NAACP, and his party will carry a few states in which Negroes hold the balance of power. But the price paid for this advantage was the destruction of America's traditional concept of freedom under a military heel No longer can a governor or a mayor feel free to deal with local problems at the local level where the laws made by the Supreme Court are concerned.

The height of irony came when Eisenhower solemnly declared that the frouble in Little Rock was caused by misquided persons, many of them imported into Little Rock His statement is correct, but not in the manner he intended it. The misguided persons are those who think that the bayonet is the instrument for enforcing their own views of morality on others, and persons imported into Little Rock can be narrowed down to one federal judge imported from North Dakota. If order need be restored anywhere, it is in the White House.

GOV. FAUBUS should act immediately to thwart this usurpation of local autonomy by a panicky President He should close all public schools in Arkansas at once, and leave them closed until tederal troops are withdrawn. If the President persists and follows his tactics to their ultimate degree-then we will have armed soldiers forcing little children of different races to sit together in the same classroom while any parent who might object is confined to prison. This may please certain foreign nations. Liberty will be a thing of the past But at least Gen. Eisenhower can say nobody ignored his orders and got away with it!

The second of th

October 14, 1957

RECEIVED OCT 1 6 1957 ENIBAL FILE

Dear Mr. Kheel:

The telegram you sent to the President sometime ago was given careful consideration here and we are deeply grateful to you for making your comments and observations known to us.

The events which have taken place since we received your wire speak for themselves and I am enclosing for your reference the transcript of the President's remarks at a recent news conference as he discussed the fundamental factors in the matter.

With every good wish,

sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb

Mr. Theodore W. Kheel
President
National Urban League
1477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Enclosure

MMR:sw

WUO39 PD FAX NEW YORK NY 17 NFT

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D EISENHOWER

NEWPORT NAVAL BASE NEWPORT RI

THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE EARNESTLY REQUESTS YOU TO FOLLOW UP YOUR STATEMENT AND PROCLAMATION ON THE LITTLE ROCK SITUATION WITH A NATION-WIDE BROADCAST IMMEDIATELY, MAKING PERSONAL YOUR LEADERSHIP IN THIS HUMANE AND CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS. MODERATE AMERICAN SENTIMENT FEELS THAT PATIENCE CAN BE PURSUED OVERLONG. WE SUPPORT YOUR RECOGNITION THAT THE TIME FOR POSITIVE DEALING HAS ARRIVED. TO MAKE THE SOLUTION TRULY EFFECTIVE AND TO AVOID FURTHER DISGRACEFUL VIOLENCE, WE SUGGEST THAT YOU RALLY TRUE AMERICAN SENTIMENT IN ITS OVERWHELMING STRENGTH, AS YOU ALONE CAN DO. WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING IS THE LOSS OF A BATTLE IN THE WORLD STRUGGLE FOR MEN'S MINDS. LET US ASSERT OUR TRUE NATIONAL CHARACTER FOR THE WORLD TO SEE, TO UPHOLD OUR PRESTIGE ABROAD AND OUR FULL NATIONAL DIGNITY AT HOME. YOUR VOICE REACHING INTO EVERY HOME CAN PROVIDE THE ONE ELEMENT REQUIRED. YOU WILL FIND THAT THE PEOPLE STAND WITH YOU

THEODORE W KHEEL PRESIDENT NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE 1477 MADIOON AVENUE NEW YORK NY

1218PME

C.F.

October 11, 1957

Doar Mr. Kinghorn:

The message you relayed to the President by telephone was received and appreciated.

I have been asked to send you complete copies of the President's September twenty-fourth television broadcast and the answers to the Little Rock questions on the October third Press Conference.

We hope you find this material useful.

Sincerely.

HOWARD PYLE
Deputy Assistant
to the President

Mr. John G. Kinghorn, Jr. 2716 Smokey Lane Billings, Montana

Enclosures

Wayne:

10/5/57

Sorry to have held this so long. We were waiting for 'something' to happen before these were answered. In the meantime, 'everything' has happened and I now understand your office is handling the political mail.

Have thought more than ever lately that your suggested reply "You may be right!?" has untold possibilities.

Sallie

Wayne--

I am happy to deliver Mr. Kinghorn from "Great Falls" to you complete.

thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

September 11, 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE

Maxwell Rabb

From:

Wayne B. Warrington

Pursuant to our conversation, would you like to add this to your stack for "timely" reply?

NOTO IN

### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 10, 1957

#### MEMORANDUM FOR MISS MARY BURNS

Pursuant to your request, I accepted a telephone call from John G. Kinghorn, Jr., of 2716 Smoky Lane, Billings, Montana. He stated that this was the first time he had ever called, written, or wired, anyone to express a personal opinion. He stated that he had attempted to send a telegram to the President, but that Western Union was not open, so he asked that I record the substance of his comments. The following are the notes I made as he read his telegram.

"Have personal letter 1949 when Chairman for the Crusade for Freedom restated respect for human rights. Ex-Chairman Yellowstone County Young Republicans, Ex-Chairman Missoula County Young Republicans, Ex-Chairman State Campaign Committee Young Republicans of Montana .... I fight for you but I believe in States' rights. South is not all wrong. Be a man of divine guidance which does not preach force or your self-satisfaction, but kindness and understanding which we all love you for."

If a reply to this sort of comment is being prepared, I suggest this be held for routine handling.

If you prefer, return it and I will acknowledge his interest since I took the call.

Wayne B. Warrington

.

C.F.

October 10, 1957 think it.

Personal

Dear Bob:

Thank you very much for your letter which I have just received on my return from overseas.

What you write makes a lot of sense, and I am very grateful to you for your kind words.

It was good to see you the other evening at the theatre, and I would like to spend some time with you to talk over with you your new post. It does sound exciting, and if there is some way I can be of help, please let me know.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb Secretary to the Cabinet

Mr. Robert L. Livingston
Director of Information
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

MMR/ccm

From P.

October 8, 1957

Dear Mr. Livingston:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 4th which has been received in Mr. Rabb's absence from the office on a brief holiday abroad. I shall bring your letter to Mr. Rabb's attention upon his return.

Sincerely,

Catherine C. Mallardi Secretary to Mr. Rabb

Mr. Robert L. Livingston Director of Information Yale University New Haven, Connecticut

ccm

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN · CONNECTICUT

DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

October 4, 1957

Maxwell kabb, Esq. Secretary to the Cabinet The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rabb:

In this business nothing annoys us so much as the alumnus who sits down and writes a long letter, which naturally demands an answer, whenever he has a gripe, but from whom you never hear when you do something for which you think you might get a little pat on the back. I am determined not to be that sort of alumnus.

Just drop this letter then, into the complimentary file as one of the thousands the White House must be receiving on the President's really excellent handling of the difficult situation in Little Rock. It has taken the courage of personal conviction combined with a knowledge that in whatever direction he moved his political opponents would make capital of his action. I hope he will continue to hold to the position he has taken.

Because I know how busy you are, don't bother to acknowledge this. Sometime soon let's get a car and drive out to Newark. It seems to be the only way we can get together.

My best to Mrs. Rabb.

Sincerely,

Robert L. Livingston

kLL/mew

October 11, 1957

Dear Reverend Montgomery:

The President has asked me to thank you for your kind letter regarding the difficult Arkansas situation.

Your words of support are indeed heartening to the President in these difficult days.

I am enclosing for your reference the transcript of the President's remarks at his news conference last week as he discussed the fundamental factors in this matter.

Sincerely,

<u>she</u>k<u>m</u>an adams

Reverend Simon Peter Montgomery House Chaplain House of Representatives Rockville, Connecticut



THE WHITE HOUSE

Oct 4 | 28 PM '57

RECEIVED

State of Connecticut
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
HARTFORD

REV. SIMON PETER MONTGOMERY HOUSE CHAPLAIN

October 3, 1957

Rockville, Connecticut

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

His Excellency:

I wish to commend you for the courageous stand that you have taken in the promotion of integration and BROTHERLY LOVE.

During the Little Rock crisis, you are manifesting calmness and courage and I am sure that God is with you.

We are all praying for you and hope, that through the leadership of outstanding statesmen such as yourself, America will become a BEACON LIGHT for the rest of the world.

In order that you might know that I have a personal interest in the growth and promotion of BROTHERLY LOVE, I herewith enclose the following articles concerning myself.

Respectfully yours,

Simon Peter Montgomery Chaplain, House of Representatives

<u>-</u>

#nclosure

# Rev. Montgomery Promoted, Leaves for Rockville Tues.

OLD MYSTIC, June 23 - Rev. Simon Peter Montgomery has been appointed to the pastorate of the all-white Rockville Methodist church.

The transfer was officially announced this afternoon at the final session of the 117th annual New England Southern Methodist conference at Connecticut college, New London.

For the past 18 months Rev. Mr. Montgomery has served as pastor of the Old Mystic Methodist church. The new pastorate is a substantial

promotion for the minister and means a sizeable increase in salary. Appointed to succeed Rev. Mr. Montgomery was the Rev. Jose Valencia Jr., who is a graduate student at the Hartford seminary. Rev. Mr. Valencia is working on an advanced degree at the seminary. He has had a number of years ex-

perience in the ministry. The new pastor will arrive in Old Mystic to begin his new duties on Friday, it to an all-white church. He and the

#### Leaving For Rockville

Bulletin tonight he will leave for first pastor ever to become a full Rockville on Tuesday to take up member of the New England Southhis work there. Asked for his feel- ern conference, which has no allings on the transfer Rev. Mr. Mont- Negro congregations. gomery said, "I consider my appointment to the Rockville church a real opportunity" He noted that the church is carrying on a \$40,000 England Southern Methodist conference he said tomoth that he ex-

"My only aim," said the modest pected to be transferred from time preacher, "is to serve and do the to time on the basis of "merit", as will of God."

At the Rockville Methodist church a modern parsonage has been repainted and prepared for Rev. Mr. Montgomery's arrival. Looking forward to his new and challenging about 98 groups in different parts position Rev. Mr Montgomery noted of the country. However, he indithat the Rockville church is "well cated, that he will accept fewer organized and has many capable speaking engag nents now because leaders."

He added, however, "it has beer a very pleasant experience here He expressed "sincere appreciation to all members and friends of the church who have helped to make my ministry here a success"

Mrs Joseph Desley, chairman of the Old Mystic church's pastoral relations committee, referred to the 'wonderful work done here" by Rev Mr. Montgomery and expressed regrets at his leaving.

### Membership Doubled

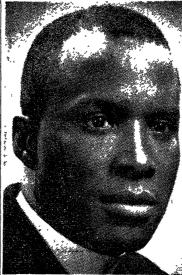
During the minister's year and a half here the Old Mystic church has doubled its membership and made improvements costing \$5,000 to the church building.

At a testimonial tea held this week for the departing pastor, Lawrence Williams, a trustee of the Old Mystic church, remarked that in less than two years Rev. Mr Montgomery has accomplished more at the church than has been done during his 50 years as a member

Rev. Mr. Montgomery's transfer was initiated on May 26 when the pastoral relations committee of the Rockville church voted unanimously at the fourth quarterly conference to ask Bishop John Wesley Lord that the Old Mystic pastor be appointed to their church. His name was selected from among those of several other candidates

At that time Bishop Lord indicated he would concur with the request and the transfer became official today. Prior to today there had been some conjuncture as to what Rev. Montgomery's assignment would be. Members of the Old Mystic church had requested he be reappointed there

Rev. Mr. Montgomery came here in September of 1955, the only Negro pastor ever to be appointed



REV. S. P. MONTGOMERY

Old Mystic church became national news at that time as a result of the unusual action. In June of 1956 Rev. Mr. Montgomery told The Rev. Mr. Montgomery became the

"My only aim," said the modest needed to be the that he exare other members of the conference, and for no other reason.

> Rev. Mr. Montgomery noted that in 22 months he has spoken to of anticipated additional work in his new pastorate.

### NEWS ABOUT BOSTON UNIVERSITY

FROM THE UNIVERSITY BUREAU OF PUBLICITY 308 Bay State Road Boston 15, Massachusetts



KE nmore 6-8138
ELEANOR R. COLLIER, Director
(Mrs. Edward R.)
55-99

Press Bulletin No. May 26, 1955

ON RECEIPT

AMBITIOUS BOSTON UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTAINS GOAL AGAI:ST TREMENDOUS ODDS

FOR RELEASE

How hard will a man work to get an education? It's difficult to say, but chances are that few have matched the struggle of Simon Peter Montgomery, a South Carolina Negro, who, despite having to leave school when he was half-way through the seventh grade, will step up to the platform to receive his Master's Degree as one of Boston University's 2400 June graduates who will be graduated at Commencement Exercises in University Field on Sunday afternoon, June 5.

Simon Peter Montgomery was a 14-year-old seventh grade student in Pineville,
South Carolina in 1936, when his father died suddenly, leaving Simon, his mother,
and five younger brothers and sisters without support. He had no choice but to leave
school and go to work. He started out by working in a lumberyard for one dollar a day.

About a year after his father's death, tragedy again struck the family. Their small house burned down, and his mother was taken sick almost at the same time. Sympathetic neighbors took the stricken family in. After a while, Simon, who had gotten a raise to \$\pi 13\$ a week, managed to save enough money to buy some material to build a new house for the family. With 50 per cent of the building material and most of the labor donated by the community, the new home was erected.

The next step was to find some way to cultivate the land adjoining the house in order to ease the difficult financial straits of the family. After a year of scrimping and saving, Simon had enough money to make a down payment on some farming equipment. Together with his oldest brother, he cultivated the land and planted the crops. All his farming work was done when he returned home from his regular day's work in the lumberyard. In addition, he continued studying late into the nights, teaching himself the subjects which he would have studied if he had been able to go to school.

By the time he was 19, Simon was earning 40 a week as a construction worker. His oldest brother had, by then, become old enough to carry on most of the farm duties by himself, so Simon applied for admission to Cummins Memorial Seminary in Summer-ville, S.C. in the fall of 1941. Although his formal schooling had been brief, he told the school authorities of his arduous self-study, including successful complettion of a correspondence course in mathematics. He was allowed to take the entrance exam, and when the results were determined, he was admitted as a high school graduate.

--more--

He started at Cummins by taking a prep course, and then plunged into the regular courses. He wasn't able to devote his full time to studies, however, for he still represented the sode financial support for his ramily. He got a job waiting on tables for 15 hours a week, and as part of his training served as minister of a nearby church, devoting 25 hours a week to that job. At harvest time and planting time, and during the summers, he put in many hours on the family farm. As a result of his travels from job to job, he ended up doing much of his studying during bumpy bus rides.

By 1946, Simon completed the regular seminary courses, and was graduated with the highest grades in his class. His oldest brother had begun to atke a little of the financial burden off him, so that he no longer was the sole support of the family.

After doing restaurant work weekdays, and working in local churches weekends during the summer, he entered Benedict College, a Baptist institution in Columbia, S.C. There he was an honor student, and continued his extra-curricula work, putting 20 hours a week into church work and 29 hours into restaurant work. He still faithfully sent money home to his family which accounted for 20 per cent of their support.

After summer school at Benedict, simon was ordained as a Methodist Elder, and in the fall of 1947, entered Claflin University in Orangeburg, S.C. He still kept averaging 40 hours of work a week, in restaurants on weekdays and as minister of the Methodist Church in nearby Rockhill, also finding time to return to the family farm during planting and harvesting time. By now, the farm, run mainly by the oldest of his younger brothers, was producing 30 per cent of the family support.

In December of 1947, Simon married Bessie M. Allen, whom he had met at summer school at Benedict. She had attended Rockhill Jr. College, and was finishing out her degrees at Allen University.

In 1949, Simon got his A.B. degree from Chaflin University, and moved to Rockhill, where he continued as pastor of the Methodist church, and also served as principal of an elementary school in neighboring Chesnes. His wife worked with him as one of the teachers on his staff. While he was pastor of the Rockhill church, membership increased 20 per cent, a new parsonage was built, and the entire church was renovated.

Moving to Gaffney, S.C. at the close of 1950, he became pastor of the local Methodist church in that town, and again revitalized the spiritual attitude of the townfolk. Attendance doubled, and membership increased markedly, and that church, too, was entirely renovated.

. Simon, his wife, and little Simon Peter, Jr., who had been born shortly before the appointment, moved to Orlando, Fla., where they were provided with living quatters, a car and expenses. This enabled him to continue sending 20 per cent of his salery to his mother and his brothers and sisters—a sum which represented 50 per cent on the cash income to his mother and family.

In his new capacity, Simon covered the Southern and Northeastern sections of Florida, bringing his audio-visual equipment to the small towns, where he showed movies, film strips, taught hymn singing, held outdoor services, and organized church groups. Several of the groups he organized have since become churches. In raising funds to purchase land and buildings, and securing donations from contractors he was the guiding spirit for these communities, where spiritual life had hitherto been unorganized.

After a week in Florida, Simon decided to go back to the campus for further studies. His wife and two children -- a daughter, Vernita Renee had been born to them in Florida -- accompained him to Illinois where he enrolled as a graduate student at the Garrett Biblical Institute, affiliated with horthwestern University, in Evanston.

At Garrett he continued working outside school, this time devoting 30 hours to church work and 15 to odd jobs such as mowing lawns, waxing and washing floors. Several scholarships from the Methodist Board of Missions helped with his school expenses.

Later he had a summer job in a local farmiture factory, while his wife, although a college graduate and a school teacher, was unable to get work in a school because she had to care for the children during the day. Thus, she was forced to take a night job. She worked eight hours a day, six days a week, and usually got home from work about one o'clock in the morning. She got a few hours sleep each night, and then was up again early in the morning to get her husband off to school and take care of the children and household duties.

After a year of this night and day work, she managed to get a day time job in the offices of the Methodist Publishing House in Chicago. She was the first Negro girl they had ever hired for office work, and before she left, a year later, they had decided to offer more jobs to girls of her race, because of her excellent service.

working in Chicago meant over two hours of commuting from home to office for Mrs. Montgomery, and it also meant that the children had to be sent to a day nursery school, and that a way would have to be found to get household chores done. Simon and his wife beat that problem with teamwork. They devided the chores, with Simon doing mopping and the laundry, his wife doing the ironing and seeing to the children's needs, and each of them doing part of the family cooking.

Simon finished his studies at Garrett, and managed to maintain an average which placed him among the honor students. A friend told him of a full-time church position that was open in the Boston area which would also enable him to do further study at Boston University, so he and the family packed up and traveled to Boston. When they oot to Boston, however, the plans for employment failed to materialize, and they were left without any income. A few weeks later, an unexpected opening appearance and Simon became a counselor at the Morgan Memorial Fresh Air Camp in South Athol, Mass. His wife also got a job at the camp, and his two children joined in as campers.

In the fall of 1954, he enrolled at the Boston University Graduate School, to study for a Master's degree in Church History, Late American History and English History. School without outside work would not be school to Simon, epecially with two children to care for. Although his wife continued working at the Morgan Memorial Goodwill Industries office, they needed more income, so at the beginning of 1955 he got a job as Director of Christian Education at the Chestnut Street Methodist Church in Portland, Maine, the largest and oldest Methodist Church in the state.

Now one may wonder how a student going to school in Boston could possibly carry on a weekend job in Portland, Maine. To Simon, it was just another challenge in a life full of challenges and hardships. He took over the job, becoming the first of his race to hold an official position in the maine Conference of the Methodist Church. Traveling by bus to the church every weekend, he served as supervisor of the program which included a staff of 50 people and had an enrollment of over 300 children. His position required 20 hours of preparation in Boston, and 15 hours of work when he arrived in Portland.

Today, he is still happily carring out his duties at the Maine church, a pioneer in a program of intergrated ministry which is being promoted within the Methodist Church.

Oh, yes, what about his mother, brothers and sisters in South Carolina? Through all his struggles he has never stopped sendind them 20 per cent of his earnings, As

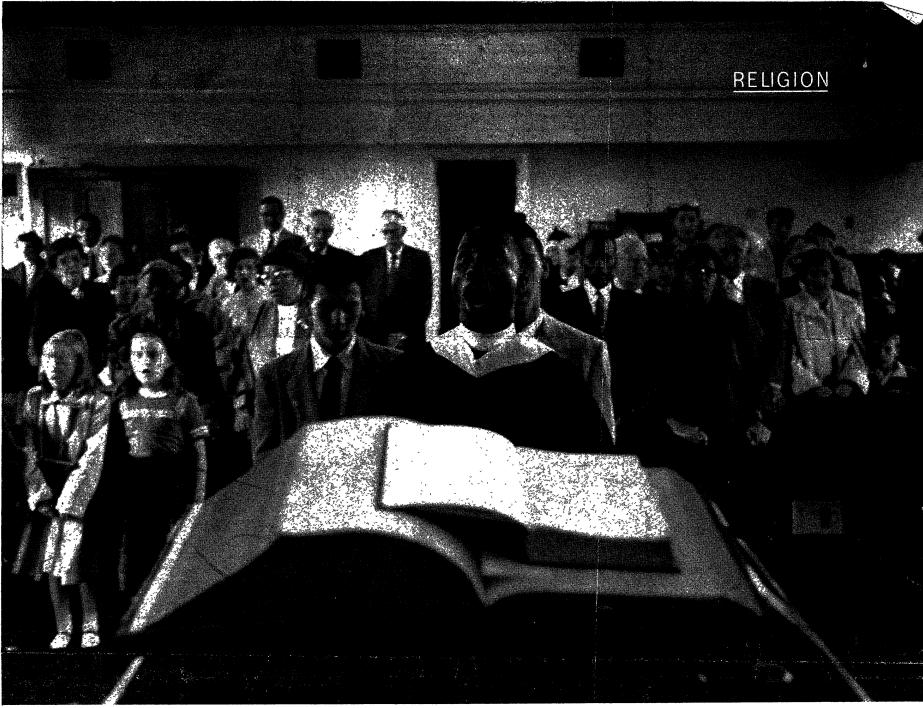
for the future, he hopes for a church of his own, and to go on in the Boston University Graduate School studing for a Fh.D. in history, doing a special study of American churches in the late eighteenth century.

Ambitious Simon is also planning to write a book some day, giving an interpretation to his experiences in theological, philosophical and psychological aspects.

He says, "I have accomplished what I have because I was taught the have faith in God. Everyone who puts complete trust in God is qualified to use all his innate and God-given abilities. A person who hasn't faith, and allows fear and Frustration to enter his life, loses the possibility to develope his abilities."

Repeating his favorite Bible quotation, he said, "He that waitheth upon the Lord will renew his strength."

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SINGING THE OFFERTORY, MONTGOMERY FACES PULPIT IN HIS VESTMENTS. NEGROES IN THE CONGREGATION ARE VISITORS WHO CAME TO HEAR HIM PREACH

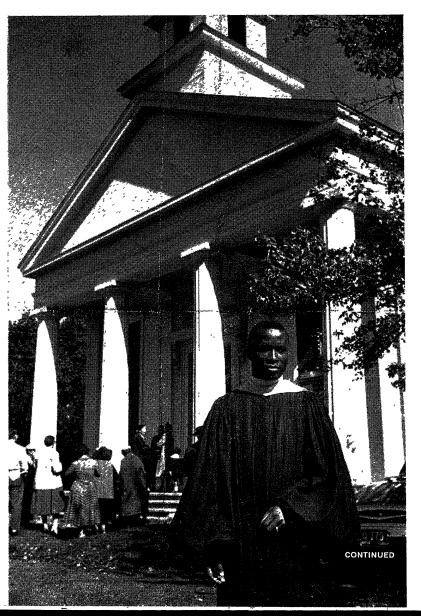
# 'Work of God' in Old Mystic

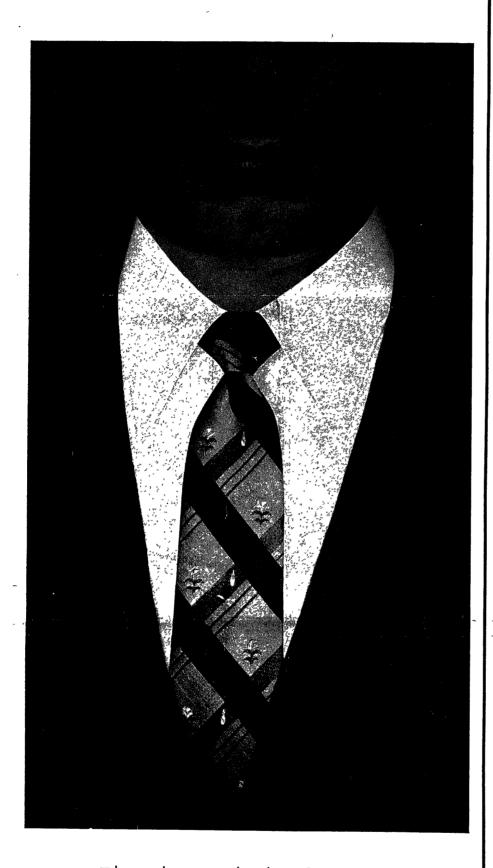
### NEGRO SERVES A WHITE CHURCH

In the Connecticut coastal town of Old Mystic, a farming community, the Rev. Simon P. Montgomery, a 33-year-old South Carolina-born Negro, last week was attending to the spiritual needs of his new flock at the Methodist church.

The Rev. Mr. Montgomery is the first member of his race ever appointed to a white Methodist congregation. A parttime English and social science teacher at a trade school in nearby Norwich, Montgomery holds a Master of Arts degree from Boston University and a theological degree. He had had two Negro congregations in South Carolina, and in Evanston, Ill. He came to Old Mystic Methodist Church as a guest preacher to fill a vacancy, and after he had presided on two Sundays, preaching with quiet eloquence, the congregation voted unanimously to ask him to stay. As he made his rounds to get acquainted (next page), one worshiper expressed the feelings of many: "It was the work of God that sent him here."

AFTER THE SERVICE Montgomery stands proudly before the 104-year-old church building while members of the congregation linger near the entrance.





# The shirt with the famous non-wrinkle collar...ARROW DART!

Dart, world's most popular shirt, now brings you smart, cord-edge collar

It's now better than ever! The Arrow stitching and the fashionable French front. See the new Dart today-\$3.95. Arrow rayon Tie, \$1.50.

Plus these other great Arrow features:

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- "Sanforized" fabric—can't shrink out of fit.



by Cluett, Peabody & Co, Inc.

OCT 3 I 1955

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### 'WORK OF GOD' CONTINUED





SHAKING HANDS, the new pastor stands at the entrance as young wor-shipers and their elders file past to offer their com-pliments on his sermon?

PAYING A VISIT, pastor gets a smiling reception from a member of his flock, Mrs. Robert Whipple, while he tries to quiet her crying baby daughter.

SAYING GRACE, pastor (left) and his wife and two children (nght) are the Sunday dinner guests of parishioner Fuller Potter (facing camera at rear):



C.F. H. Carter Oct

October 11, 1957

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The President appreciated the interest which prompted the recent telegram you sent him on behalf of your organization regarding the difficult Arkansas situation.

I am enclosing for your reference the transcript of the President's remarks at his news conference last week as he discussed the fundamental factors in the matter.

Sincerely,

Mr. Clarence Mitchell
Director
Washington Bureau, NAACP
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure

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FAX WASHINGTON DC SEP 26 408PME

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE SOLEMN AND FIRM MANNER IN WHICH YOU HAVE UPHELD THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WILL LIVE AS A GLORIOUS MOMENT IN OUR COUNTRY'S EVER ERIGHTENING FUTURE. BY PROTECTING ALL OF OUR CITIZENS AGAINST MOES AND DISORDERS YOU HAVE GIVEN A NEW EIRTH TO RESPECT FOR LAW

CLARENCE MITCHELL DIRECTOR
WASHINGTON EUREAU NAACP.

100 B. Aug. That's w.

CIDY THE CO

October 11, 1957

OUT & F. ...

Dear Mr. Blue:

The President appreciated the interest which prompted you to write and submit your suggestions prior to his conference with four of the Southern Governors. He was indeed glad to have your word of approval regarding the decision that he of necessity had to make in the difficult Arkansas situation, and he prays there will very soon be a successful outcome.

I am enclosing for your reference the transcript of the President's remarks at his news conference last week as he discussed the fundamental factors in the matter.

Sincerely,

SHERMAN ADAMS

Mr. John T. Blue, Jr.
Director
American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth Street, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Enclosure

mbh/las

Alpha Kappa Alpha

Delta Sigma Theta

Kappa Alpha Psi

Sigma Gamma Rho

<sup>t</sup>Zeta Phi Beta

8

### American Council on Human Rights

1130 SIXTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

COLUMBIA 5-7307

JOHN T. BLUE, JR.

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\* National President

PAUL COOKE

September 30, 1957

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

Dear Mr. Eisenhower:

Tomorrow will be a momenteous day. Your conference with the Governors can do much to set the conditions for ultimate compliance with the law. We ask you to recall from your successful Army experience that the key to effecting orderly desegregation is a firm and forth-right policy declaration which is supported down the line by all responsible authorities.

We urge you to secure from the Governors an unequivocable statement to the effect that lawful compliance is the order of the day and that the constitutional obligations inherent in their oaths of office will be their guides.

We further urge you to make it clear that the inevitable result of preaching the dogma of "massive resistance, nullification, and interposition" is violence, bloodshed, and civil anarchy. Such irresponsible preachments cannot but end in constitutional chaos. This ideology is clearly subversive and its inevitable consequence is an overt conflict. The American people must have an end to this subversion.

Out of this conference must come a positive statement by the Governors that no responsible public officer shall use the powers of his office to prevent orders of the federal courts from being effected, and that the police powers of the several states and local jurisdictions will be vigorously used to protect the lives and property of all citizens.

All Americans apprehensively await an end to the shame, horror, and apprehension that blights our land.

We hope that the Governors will in talking with you perceive the necessity for acting to cooperate with you in your effort to halt this madness which has plunged our nation into this abyss.

We pray that the Governors will then act to set the conditions which

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

**- 2 -**

will put an end to defiance, disorders, and bloodshed. Only then shall we have tranquility, order and justice which are the fruit of good government.

We have, as have all other right thinking persons, supported your course of action in these terrible times, and feel certain that history will applaud your firm action in Little Rock.

C.F. October 11, 1957

Dear Mr. Hulsey:

The Honorable Sherman Adams has asked me to thank you for your letter of October 2 and the enclosure you sent along.

Since you make the point that there are two sides to every issue, we know you won't mind taking just a few minutes to read our enclosures. In every way possible, the President continues to emphasize the fact that there are two sides.

Sincerely,

Cherry of File of the

HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. E. H. <u>Hulsey</u> 201-2 Adolphus Tower Dallas 1, Texas

E. H. HULSEY 201-2 ADOLPHUS TOWER DALLAS1, TEXAS October 2, 1957



HOUSE

Ост 5 9 22 ЛМ \*57

RECLIVIT

Sherman Adams % White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Adams:

A contributor and supporter would appreciate you reading the enclosed. There are two sides to every issue.

Respectfully,

& H. Hulsey
E. H. Hulsey

Enc. EHH:ah

# The Ballas Morning News

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1957

## Should We Rule Ourselves?

Arkansas and Texas as satellite provinces compelled by military force, if necessary, to take orders from Washington about the conduct of local affairs, and Governor Faubus is feeling and fumbling his way to keep for Arkansas as much of the rights

of self-rule as he can manage.

Official Austin in general, and the Legislature of Texas in particular, regard the cities of Texas as creatures of state power and as centers of iniquity grudgingly to be conceded anything what-

The protest of Dallas KUCERA City Atty. Henry Kucera that the Legislature at Austin is invading the right of Dallas to rule itself brings home to Dallas precisely the problem with which Arkansas is struggling: How shall we re-

gain and keep the right to rule ourselves? Arkansas finds the national administration an aggressive adversary robbing a sovereign state of the power to main-

tain order in its own capital city. Dallas finds that the salaries of its

FFICIAL WASHINGTON looks on own employees are being fixed by the decree of a rural-minded group of legislators-most of whom come from communities which pay far lower salaries to their own employees.

At the same time cities are plucked for taxes, by both Washington and Austin, to a point where the city budget is a matter of limitation on every hand for what the city may do and how it may pay for what it does do.

America as a whole-and Washington and Austin in particular—must learn that long-distance government and absentee rule are bad government and misrule of a sort which defeats their purported de-

Enough government on the spot to leave every citizen free and as little government from afar as may leave every citizen safe-this is the great contribution to American republican government and to world-wide progress toward enlightened liberty.

What goes on at Little Rock is worse than what goes on against Dallas; but they are like links from the same evil chain forged to fetter and compel the spirit of the community to the will of a distant, ill-informed and unauthorized

#### Dallas to Become International City

The impact of Dallas on the world will depend upon two things: (1) How well we know the world, (2) How well we serve the world. Dean R. G. Storey of SMU had both in mind in his address before the Dallas Council on World Affairs Monday.

Education, communication, transportation, petroleum exploration and technical service and supply, international trade in livestock, fashions, machinery, receign automobiles and luxury items,

have helped master geography and history by a coin hobby; they become familiar with faces like Queen Victoria's and with unfamiliar names like Thailand.

Dead at 72, in Fort Worth, is Max Mehl, one of the best in the field of numismatics. His notable customers included King Farouk of Egypt, who once sent a collection of jeweled decorations to Fort Worth for auction. But Mehl was never too busy to help youngsters in this hobby. They miss him. He was a distinguished Texan in a distinctive field.

WIRKHAM 151 Riviers Coupe ... State Witnout

#### THINKING OUT LOUD

## **Hearts Bleed for Votes**

By LYNN LANDRUM

WASHINGTON these days is a lawed liquor and the Congress en-Negro city, with 70 per cent of its school population colored. It it. New York and Los Angeles, Chiis 100 per cent integrated. Of-

ficial Washington is on direct and intimate notice as to whether mixed schools work well or badly.

What is happening in the capital city of the nation? The white population is in full flight. In 1930 the white school population of Washington was 51,367.

In 1957 it is 33,000 and going down every day, as and flee to Virginia or Maryland.

In 1930, the Negro school population of Washington was 27,091. Today it is 77,000 and growing.

WHERE does President Eisenhower's son send the grandchildren? To a private school.

Where does Vice-President Nixon send his daughters? To a private school Where does Attorney General

Herbert Brownell Jr. send his children? To a private school. Where does Associate Justice

William J. Brennan send his daughter, his only child of the school-age bracket? To a private

Where does Defense Secretary Neil H. McElroy send his son? To a private school

The Columntator can not help but snort at all these bleeding hearts that bleed for votes in Harlem, Los Angeles, Detroit and the Chicago Black Belt. Surely they bleed fetid blood.

New York and Los Angeles, Chithe Eighteenth Amendment out- least, could have spared her

acted the Volstead Act to enforce cago and Detroit said "To hell

with the Constitution. No one has a right to tell a man what he shall eat or what he shall drink."

But now that we have an amendment put into the Constitution by the bayonets of the Reconstruction and never ratified by the free votes of the states, and now that the Supreme Court has

white parents take their children read into that amendment a meaning never so much as considered in a time when public schools were a rarity for anybody, black or white-now the hearts that bleed for votes send bayonets again into the South to enforce a situation which they can not accept for their own children. The Columntator has no respect for them. And that is putting the matter lightly.

> NOR is the column overawed by the news that Red Russia does not approve of Arkansas, Red Russia understands the use of bayonets to settle a problem in local government. Red Russia understands how to crush rebellion in her satellites.

But the Negroes of the South have more automobiles, more bathtubs, more plumbing than all the population of Red China. The doors are open to leave Arkansas for Russia. But departures are few.

Even Madame Eleanor used the return stub on her round/tripcago and Detroit revolted when ticket, although the column, at

## Johnson's Political Future

By WALTER C. HORNADAY Washington Bureau of The News

TRYING to figure the political the Southern bloc. future of Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson Russell plainly indicated, howment.

in the light of the Little Rock de- ever, that he feels he made a misvelopments is a difficult assign- take when he protested to the Proceedant against . -

G.F.

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"一个事场" 

Dear Mr. Bullock:

Governor Adams has asked me to thank you for your letter of September twentysixth and advise you that the book also arrived. It was very thoughtful of you to take this much interest in one of our very important problems.

Chapt you have an oil of

Thank you again, Sir.

Sincerely.

HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. William Edward Bullock 76 Denhoff Avenue Freeport, New York

WILLIAM EDWARD BULLOCK 76 DENHOFF AVENUE FREEPORT, N. Y.

26 September 1957

THE WHIT HOUSE

SEP 30 9 44 AM '57
Dear Governor Adams:

RECLIVED a compatible
The President's agreement to meet the Southern Governors next week affords me the unique opportunity of enclosing what seems to be source of reference material. I admit that there is a chance that the President has seen this already.

I happened to pick up this copy accidentally the other day, when I was in New York. I checked later and found it has long since been out of print.

I have perused some parts of the book, and if the President has not seen it, I think he would be particularly interested in Chapter XV. 'Founding the Public School. You will see that this is only about 24 pages of reading, and that the Chapter includes pertinent reference to the public school system in Arkansas.

(My own interest in the book was generated when I saw in the Index the reference to Governor R.B. Bullock, of Georgia, a namesake of mine, but no relative to my knowledge. I myself was born in England, and came here on my own after I graduated, but I have always been interested to read of 'Bullock' families here as no doubt some of us had common forbears).

I hope you will pardon my precocity in sending you this copy, and in assuming it might serve a high purpose at this time, and I also hope that you will accept the copy with my compliments.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely (

Enc: DuBois Black Reconstruction in America, published

S.A. Pussell Company, New York, 1935.

G.F.

October 11, 1957

Dear Dr. Motley:

Governor Adams has asked me to thank you for your letter of September twenty-seventh and assure you that it has been very carefully read.

Since, as an undeniable right, you have sincerely stated your personal convictions we feel sure you won't mind these few observations in reply.

Not one single soul in the entire Executive Department, beginning with the President, has relished any part of what has happened in Little Rock. Aside from the facts in the case, none of which have been pleasant, we have inevitably had to endure the consequences of all that is alleged to have happened, regardless of who was directly or indirectly responsible.

Had it not been for a decision that ordered the National Guard of Arkansas to block the execution of a Federal Court order issued in support of a proposal made by the Central High School Board and widely supported by a substantial majority of the voters of the District, the present situation would in all probability never have developed. In the wake of this state of affairs the question became one of supporting or failing to support that branch of government which, in the last analysis, is the one that protects the individual freedoms of us all.

It has been an unhappy and unwanted experience, therefore we hope you will be tolerant of the position into which the Administration has been pressed by circumstances entirely beyond its control.

Sincerely.

HOWARD PYLE Deputy Assistant to the President

Dr. Lyle Motley Lyle Motley Clinic 899 Madison Avenue Memphis 3, Tennessee LYLE MOTLEY CLINIC

899 MADISON AVENUE

MEMPHIS 3, TENNESSEE

SURGERY
HARWELL WILSON, M D

September 27, 1957

THE THIS HOUSE

SEP 30 9 41 AM '57

REL MIS

Mr. Sherman Adams The White House Washington, D. C.

MEDICINE

LYLE MOTLEY, M D

W W TAYLOR, M D A WILSON JULICH, M. D

Dear Mr. Adams:

The spectacle of federal troops in full battle equipment descending upon the unarmed citizens of a sovereign state is not a very noble one and is quite sad and alarming. It could easily be the first step toward the end of what has been the greatest democracy in the world. I am not raising the question of whether Mr. Faubus was wrong or not, but two wrongs never made a right.

This ill-advised action places us in a very embarrassing situation if we have the temerity to criticize Russia for doing the same thing in Hungary. It puts us in the position of living in a glass house. Ill-advised is the proper term, since I do not believe the President would have done this on his own initiative, particularly since it has been less than two months since he stated publicly he would never send troops into a state. There was, of course, some element of personal pique and anger behind the President's action but without extreme provocation and goading by some of his advisors I do not believe that that alone would have allowed him to go so far.

The conduct of the soldiers in Little Rock was shameful and disgraceful. The pictures of bayonets behind teen-age girls and of an unarmed citizen bleeding from bayonet cuts are sad indeed. Are soldiers such poor physical specimens that a regiment of them is unable to handle unarmed citizens without the use of bayonets and rifles? Such a show of tough and unnecessary naked military might was ordered from a high source and can be nothing except vindictively punitive. The commanding officer, who seems to be a General Walker, would hardly have talked and given orders as he did without instructions from higher up. The entire episode is a disgrace and has called the attention of the entire world to our weaknesses, which will be greatly exaggerated abroad, and our prestige will fall lower than ever -- if possible.

The unwarranted and ill-advised move transcends the mere question of intergration and becomes one of constitutional law and democratic processes, and smells strongly of totalitarian rule and government by military force and has an aroma that is faintly reminiscent of Hitler's Gestapo.

Mr. Sherman Adams Page Two September 27, 1957

I am addressing this to you since, rightly or wrongly, it is generally understood that you are Assistant President and a considerable power behind the throne. West Tennessee voted Republican in the last election, for the first time since the Civil War, but I will bet you, doubled, all the money I spent to help accomplish this end, ten to one, that it will not happen again for many, many years.

Very sadly yours,

Sp. M.

LM:se

P.S. It is interesting to note that Mr. Eisenhower's grandchildren go to a private white school, Mr. Brownell's children do the same, as well as Mr. Nixon's children.

- cc. Mr. R. B. Snowden Cotton Exchange Building Memphis, Tennessee
- cc. Governor Frank Clement
   State Capitol
   Nashville, Tennessee

nizucivit. JENTRAL FILES

THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

October 12, 1957

Dear Mr. Hickman:

It was good of you to send us a copy of the September 27 issue of the Cotton Trade Journal. Thank you very much. I can assure you that we are all thoroughly aware of the depth of the emotional impact that revolves around the Little Rock situation. I can assure you further that we are as unhappy as anyone could possibly be over this unfortunate state of affairs.

We will continue to search for solutions, remembering at all times that differences of opinion involved here demand the utmost patience and understanding.

Sincerely,

Mr. Francis G. Hickman The Cotton Trade Journal Hickman Building Memphis 3, Tennessee

HP:1rs

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 11, 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY BURNS

FROM:

Howard Pyle

Suggested reply to the attached letter from Francis G. Hickman.

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

It was good of you to send us a copy of the September 27 issue of the Cotton Trade Journal. Thank you very much. I can assure you that we are all thoroughly aware of the depth of the emotional impact that revolves around the Little Rock situation. I can assure you further that we are as unhappy as anyone could possibly be over this unfortunate state of affairs.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

OCT 4 4 of PM '57

RECEIVED

THE COTION Trade FOUTTAIL THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY

TELEPHONE JA 5-0837 · HICKMIN BETTOING MEMPHIS S. TENNESSEE · CABLE "COTRADE"

October 3, 1957

Mr. Sherman Adams
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sherman:

The eyes of the nation, particularly of the South, are on our good president. The Republican Party made remarkable progress here in Memphis and Tennessee at the last election, as you well know. As precinct chairman of the Republican Party here, I am especially interested in what is happening - I mean the Little Rock mess.

Last Wednesday, September 25th, I left Memphis at 5:00 A. M. and drove to Little Rock in order to obtain firsthand impressions. The enclosed story reports my findings. You may read it when you have seven free minutes - which is no doubt seldom in your twenty-four-hour day.

I think one has to be born here in the South, or migrate as I did - came down in 1922 - to evaluate fully this situation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Mallin C. Hickman

Francis G. Hickman

Dartmouth, Class of '21

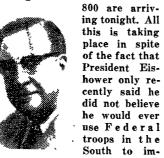
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Enclosure

## Little Rock People Resent Army's Entry As Invasion Of Their Rights To Run Their Own Affairs In State

By Francis G. Hickman Editor, Publisher, The Cotton Trade Journal LITTLE ROCK, Sept. 25. integration and the issues at stake in the Little Rock controversy. However, many of the facts regarding the situation have been distorted or improperly set forth so that our readers overseas cannot accurately appraise the situation. For that reason, it seemed necessary for me to be on the spot and report what is happening and

Some 400 of the 101st Airborne Division of the United States Army flew to Little Rock last night and another 600 cr



Mr. Hickman gration.

As I look back on today's happenings, I must confess that America is not presenting itself well as a leader of free nations and equality for the individual. Papers in England, France, Egypt, India and in many other countries may say that in America we do not practice what we preach.

no uncertain words. His answer was "Integrate forthwith!" practice what we preach.

plement inte-

Like Comic Opera or Invasion The arrival of Federal troops

Our readers in America and par a comic opera; but secondly more ticularly those throughout the like a foreign invasion. I said to South understand the problem of myself, "Why all the display of

> Before describing today's happenings, let me give some of the background of this unfortunate situation. Many people have not had the opportunity to follow the integration situation here and can easily be misinformed by biased reports. Here are the

Arkansas has integrated some of its colleges, many of its lower schools, and almost every activity in the State which comes under the Governor's authority. Governor Faubus' son attends a college in Arkansas which is integrated. In fact, the Governor says his State has gone farther in integration than any other in the deep South.

Now Governor Faubus did agree to integrate the Central High School at Little Rock under the program formulated by the local school board. However, when he received certain information that convinced him possible disorders would break out if integration in Central High School proceeded as planned, he begged for a little more time and patience to work out the situation by peaceful methods.

The newly appointed Federal Judge Davies however refused in

To prevent violence and dis-(Continued on Page 4, Col. 4)

today in battle helmets and with bayonets fixed seemed, first, like arms?" It seemed downright fool-

### At Stake In Little Rock: Survival Of The States As Political Entities, The

Dispatch by President Eisenhower of Federal troops to Little Rock to force at bayonet point integration of the races in Little Rock Central High brings into sharp focus a question fundamental to the traditional American concept of Government:

Do the several States which compose this Union still possess the sovereignty which they retained when the Constitution of the United States was ratified?

If the answer is in the affirmative, then undoubtedly the fateful 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court ordering school integration was a usurpation of power, and the President's resort to use of Federal troops in Little Rock a flagrant violation of the Constitution.

The 10th amendment to the Constitution states that powers not delegated to the United States by that document, nor prohibited by it to the States, "are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The Constitution does not delegate to the Federal Government the power to control educational systems within the States, nor does it delegate police power within the States.

Here is an illustration: North Carolina and Rhode Island did not ratify the Constitution until after the new Federal Government had become operative. If they had chosen not to enter the Union, they would have had all the powers inherent in independent Government — to make war, to raise armies, to coin money, to make treaties, and so on-powers which the States yielded to the Federal Government for the general welfare under the

# Liberty Of The People

person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Until 1954, this was held by the Supreme Court to mean, as the language imports, the privileges and immunities of national citizenship, and not to include those belonging to the citizens of the State as such. The privilege of a child to attend the public schools is one springing from the State, and not the Nation, and therefore the child cannot assert a Constitutional right to admission to any particular school under this clause.

Until the 1954 decision by the Supreme Court, the matter of equal treatment for Negro children-or Negroes in any aspect of civil life—had always been decided by this tribunal as being fully satisfied by the providing of "equal but separate" facilities.

The design of this clause was "to prevent any person or class of persons from being singled out as a special subject for discriminating or hostile legislation." For example, the Supreme Court in 1896 upheld a State law requiring railway companies to provide separate accommodations for white and colored passengers. In 1902 the Supreme Court held that where schools for Chinese afforded the advantages of other schools, equal protection was not denied.

The fact is that schools for Negroes in the South are, in some places, not only equal to schools for white citizens, but even superior to them.

The fact is that the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court was dictated not by wisdom, not by judicial determination but hy politics and based largely on ques-

## Little Rock People Resent Army's Entry **As** Invasion Of Rights To Run Their Affairs

(Continued from Page 1) order, Governor Faubus called out the State Militia and stopped nine Negro students from entering the High School.

As a result of the Governor's precaution, President Eisenhower yesterday ordered the United States Army into the area and federalized the Arkansas National Guard. These airborne Federal troops who flew into Little Rock this morning were stationed both inside and outside of the school building. They personally conducted the nine Negro students into the school to their classes and from class to class; then at the close of school to a waiting army ve-

Mayor Proven Wrong

The Mayor of Little Rock had said all along that no danger existed. Happenings on Monday, yesterday and today prove he was totally wrong.

While the President said his sending of troops to Little Rock was to uphold the law and maintain respect for the courts, many believe he was ill-advised by Republican leaders who felt that the action was necessary to win the Negro vote in the populous cities in the North.

It is very much doubted that President Eisenhower or others close to him realize the difficulties which face the schools in our South. The school systems hereas elsewhere throughout the country-have always been managed locally. In Little Rock, for example, there are two Negro high schools, the Horace Mann High School which I visited this afternoon, and the Dunbar Center. Together, these schools have cost between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000. As to the quality of teaching, I was told today that if the degrees held by teachers in the Negro high schools were totalled, it would be a greater figure than the sum total

In the deplorable and tragic | run our schools is a matter for situation I witnessed today, Negro children were the ones given protection. However, people say 'There is no police protection for the white folks.

Many were shocked when E. C. Blake, a veteran of two World Wars was hit on the head with the butt of a rifle while on private property and lay bleeding on the ground.

When you saw high school students-boys and girls-forced to move ahead at the point of a bayonet, and some students who congregated in the school neighborhood being prodded with outstretched rifles and turned over to local police because the Army contingent feared a possible disturbance, it was rough.

These paratroopers are toughly



Gov. Orval Faubus

of the degrees held by the teach- trained and one can hardly blame

local authorities to regulate and not the Federal Government. Governor Faubus had said 82% of his people prefer to have their schools segregated. We are supposed to be living in a democracy where the majority rule but the soldiers and bayonets ordered from Washington challenge our right to solve our own problems."

While few people want integration, no one wants violence, and Little Rock newspapers are urging people to obey the law. Youth is often irresponsible when provoked or unwisely led, and for that reason, the majority of parents are keeping their children away from school. . . Only a third of the 2,400 Central High School students at-

tended today. To really correct the situation here which might spread to other Southern states, steps should be taken to have Congress pass a law to abrogate the Supreme Court decisions and separate these local problems from National politics.

## At Stake In Little Rock: Survival Of The States As Political Entities, The Liberty Of The People

Dispatch by President Eisenhower of Federal troops to Little Rock to force at bayonet point integration of the races in Little Rock Central High brings into sharp focus a question fundamental to the traditional American concept of Gov-

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If the answer is in the affirmative, then undoubtedly the fateful 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court ordering school integration was a usurpation of power, and the President's resort to use of Federal troops in Little Rock a flagrant violation of the Constitution.

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Here is an illustration: North Carolina and Rhode Island did not ratify the Constitution until after the new Federal Government had become operative. If they had chosen not to enter the Union, they would have had all the powers inherent in independent Government — to make war, to raise armies, to coin money, to make treaties, and so on—powers which the States yielded to the Federal Government for the general welfare under the Constitution. All other powers, the States retained, and—at least in theory—still

Discussing the surrendered powers of the States, the U.S. Supreme Court in 1911 used this language: "Among the powers of the State not surrenderedwhich power therefore remains with the State—is the power to so regulate the relative rights and duties of all within its jurisdiction as to guard the public morals, the public safety, and the public health, as well as promote the public convenience and the common good."

"American Jurisprudence," the accepted textbook in American law colleges, says: "The police power under the American Constitutional system has been left to the States. It has always belonged to them and was not surrendered by them to the general government, or directly restricted by the Constitution of the United States. It has repeatedly been held that no provisions of the Federal Constitution and none of the amendments added to that instrument were intended or designed to interfere with the police power of the several States."

So much for the States' police power, which was clearly violated by the President's sending U.S. Army troops into Little Rock without a special request by the Governor.

The 13th amendment to the Constitution abolished slavery. The 14th amendment declared all persons born or naturalized in the United States to be citizens, and provided that, "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunites of citizens of the United States . . . nor deny to any

person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Until 1954, this was held by the Supreme Court to mean, as the language imports, the privileges and immunities of national citizenship, and not to include those belonging to the citizens of the State as such. The privilege of a child to attend the public schools is one springing from the State, and not the Nation, and therefore the child cannot assert a Constitutional right to admission to any particular school under this clause.

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The fact is that schools for Negroes in the South are, in some places, not only equal to schools for white citizens, but even superior to them.

The fact is that the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court was dictated not by wisdom, not by judicial determinationbut by politics, and based largely on questionable findings by psychologists rather than on the Constitution and on legal precedent.

The fact is that never before in history has such tremendous progress been made in so short a time by any minority race as by the Negroes in the South—in less than a century.

It is sad to reflect that this progress has been set back indefinitely by the Supreme Court decision — and by the President's use of the Federal Government's armed forces.

At stake in this tragic situation is far more than the timing of integration or the keeping of the public peace. The President himself repeatedly said force is not the answer—before he reversed himself and the situation in Little Rock was pretty well under control of local police.

This is the burning question: Is our Federal Government becoming a centralized bureaucracy which is swiftly swallowing the sovereignty of the States?

If so, the traditional American structure of government—with powers nicely balanced among the executive, the legislative and the judicial—and between the Federal Government on the one hand and the sovereign states on the other — is doomed to extinction. And with it would disappear the liberties of the people.

#### TEXT OF THE WEEK

Beloved, follow not that which is evil, but that which is good. He that doeth good is of God: but he that docth evil hath not

--III John 11

## Little Rock People Resent Army's Entry As Invasion Of Rights To Run Their Affairs

Continued from Page 1) order, Governor Faubus called out the State Militia and stopped nine Negro students from entering the High School.

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Opinion Crystalizing Not everyone here in Little Rock is against integration. But people tell me that opinion is crystalizing, and many who were before willing to integrate the schools now oppose it.

I was also told when the question was asked an army officer violence, Federal Judge Davies here, "How long will the troops stay? he replied, "I don't know, but we have been in Germany 15 years.'

Apparently when the troops leave, the same situation will remain as before to be dealt with by local authorities.

I sense a mingling of injustice and frustration amongst the people I have talked with. Actually, the situation is explosive. Anything can happen. Some anticipate martial law in Little Rock. As one prominent cotton man expressed it, There are only two answers to this situation: one, to accept integration, the other, to close the schools."

"Incensed Our People"

I interviewed many people in thought of the situation, he replied Little Rock. One lady sitting on in a calm and considered manner, the steps of her home across the "The sovereignty of our State is street from the High School with a threatened because the decision of little child beside her said, "This the Supreme Court interpreted the bringing in of Federal troops has 14th Amendment to mean the Nejust incensed our people. We, gro boys and girls must go to the Southerners, do not like the use of same identical schools as White force, especially when it involves children.

our children."
"She said, "I wouldn't mind my boy going to school with Colored boys but my little girl here will never go to school with Negroes unless they first put me six feet under the ground."

I entered into conversation with a man at a filling station. He said, "I kept my boy home from school today because you know the temperament of a 17 year old boy. If trouble starts, he will get into

Another man said, "It looks to soft spot here in Arkansas and we children." are being used as guinea pigs."

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These paratroopers are toughly



Gov. Orval Faubus

trained and one can hardly blame the onlookers for saying, "We see the shades of Hungary right here in our midst."

Judge Refused To Wait

While Governor Faubus had refused to use State Troops to enforce the intergration order of the Federal Court, because his first duty as governor was to avoid who was brought here from the North and issued the order, was pleaded with by the Governor to delay it, but he refused.

Most people believe this Judge could not have known the true situation which existed in Arkansas as it was evident that his decision was already made before testimony was given.

Those with whom I talked were convinced of Governor Faubus' sincerity when he asserted that violence was imminent and called out State Troops last week to prevent trouble. Have not events proven that he was right?

Sovereignty Threatened

In asking another man what he

"These armed troops in our midst are taking over the situation which should be handled by our own selves."

He added: 'As you know, we here in the South do not consider the 14th Amendment legal anyway since it was passed during reconstruction days and did not have the real vote of 2/3rds of the sovereign states. Anyhow, for 80 years that amendment was construed to mean that the Negro should have equal facilities - it did not say me like the Government saw a identical facilities with the White

Another man said, "The way we

In the deplorable and tragic run our schools is a matter for local authorities to regulate and not the Federal Government. Governor Faubus had said 82% of his people prefer to have their schools segregated. We are supposed to be living in a democracy where the majority rule but the soldiers and bayonets ordered from Washington challenge our right to solve our own problems.

> While few people want integration, no one wants violence, and Little Rock newspapers are urging people to obey the law. Youth is often irresponsible when provoked or unwisely led. and for that reason, the majority of parents are keeping their children away from school. . . . Only a third of the 2,400 Central High School students attended today.

To really correct the situation here which might spread to other Southern states, steps should be taken to have Congress pass a law to abrogate the Supreme Court decisions and separate these local problems from National politics.

# FOLDER CONTINUED ON NEXT REEL