

GEO. W. KEELING, Sr.

1523 FANNIN STREET
AMARILLO, TEXAS

March 6, 1955

Dr. Hector Garcia,
Corpus Christi, Texas.

My dear Dr. Garcia:

The enclosed is copy of an article I prepared early in January and mailed 500 copies. This has only been one of my efforts along this line to aid in bringing the people to acceptance of the Supreme Court ruling on segregation. They must be brought to a full realization of the inevitableness of fighting something that is now ninety years to late.

I mailed copies of the above to the governor, other state officials, and school leaders. Being a Baptist, I took occasion to mail copies to our Baptist leaders, head of every Baptist educational institution in the South. Also mailed copy to the governors of all the Southern states. Reaction has been good. I notice our Governor Shivers has refrained, so far, from doing anything to lead the Legislature in adopting some of the very radical legislation of other Southern states.

You will note I have emphasized our relationship to the Negro in this article. That is the greatest problem of our racial question. I appreciate Texans relationship to your people bears a more intense study than it has previously had and is getting now.

I now hark back to my association with the Ku Klux Klan in the twenties and appreciate so very much that the nationalistic influence set in motion then, although it is claimed the Klan is dead, is, together with similar organizations, making the task of eliminating racial, color and religious barriers, ^{very difficult} I consider such to be unChristian and so very, very dangerous to the future of America.

Am planning on preparation of a book exposing the fallacies of nationalism as propagated by the Klan and similar organizations. At my age and with physical handicaps I am considering it my last contribution to further perpetuation of our national welfare.

Will you please cooperate with me. I am seeking information concerning all minority groups. What is being done by organization and otherwise to improve conditions and bring about racial amity.

Yours very truly,

Geo. W. Keeling Sr.

TO THE PRESS

USE ANY PART OR ALL, IF YOU THINK IT WOULD INTEREST YOUR READERS.
CRITICAL COMMENT IS INVITED. PLEASE FURNISH CLIP SHEET IF USED OR CRITICAL
REFERENCE TO SAME.

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BELIEF IN THE IDEA THAT INFORMATION PROPERLY PRESENTED WILL BRING A

BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND LEAD TO PROPER SOLUTION OF A PROBLEM IS THE MOTIVE

Had some correspondence with Gov. Hall. Letter from him yesterday advised me that he was a colored receptionist in
"No integration problem in Kansas," says Governor Fred Hall, who so *his* TO A MINIMUM AND
advised the Reporter magazine. He further states, "We are probably fifty years ahead of most of the states in this particular field." *Office* JUDY BY THOSE SER-

This word comes from "Bleeding Kansas," so called because of certain legislation in 1854 that provoked the first blood letting of the Civil War.

Before you finish reading this article you will find information about the attitudes of governors, other state officials and what the churches are either doing or not doing about the segregation problem.

With a continuing threat of war there is a dire need of immediate solution of racial, color and religious problems confronting the people. With Catholic, Jewish, Negro and other racial or color groups, together with certain other religious denominations, numbering 50 percent of the population, there should be something done to offset the influence of nationalism such as the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations propose; social, legal and political citizenship to "Native born, white, Gentile."

A future article will deal with their methods of character and physical assassination, and social and political methods of operation to divide and conquer.

RACE AND COLOR

EGRO PROBLEM FOR THE

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AND WORLD INTERESTS

THE CHINESE PROVERB.

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BELIEF IN THE IDEA THAT INFORMATION PROPERLY PRESENTED WILL BRING A
BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND LEAD TO PROPER SOLUTION OF A PROBLEM IS THE MOTIVE
PROMPTING THE UNDERTAKING OF ASSEMBLING HISTORICAL FACTS THAT COVER A PERIOD
OF THREE AND ONE-HALF CENTURIES - REDUCING THE INFORMATION TO A MINIMUM AND
SET OUT IN A FORM REQUIRING THE LEAST POSSIBLE TIME FOR STUDY BY THOSE SER-
IOUSLY INCLINED TO FULLY UNDERSTAND THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE RACE AND COLOR
ISSUE NOW CONFRONTING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

STEP BY STEP, ONE CAN FOLLOW THE COURSE OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM FOR THE
THREE AND ONE-HALF CENTURIES OF AMERICAN HISTORY - A PROBLEM THAT WHITES MUST
SETTLE AND SETTLE RIGHTLY TO INSURE THE SAFETY OF NATIONAL AND WORLD INTERESTS
OF THE NATION. "IT IS LATER THAN YOU THINK," ACCORDING TO THE CHINESE PROVERB.

GEO. W. KEELING, SR.,

1523 FANNIN ST.,

AMARILLO, TEXAS

EMBRYONIC PRELUDE

THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF MAN, THE RECORD SHOWS THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A PEOPLE OF SOME RACE, COLOR OR CREED, WHOSE RIGHTS AS HUMAN BEINGS SUFFERED TRANSGRESSIONS AT THE HANDS OF A SUPERIOR PEOPLE. ALSO, ACCORDING TO HISTORY, IN EVERY INSTANCE OF OPPRESSION OF ONE PEOPLE BY ANOTHER THERE HAS BEEN A CERTAIN INDIVIDUAL, REBEL OR CRITIC TO LIGHT THE FUSE TO EXPLODE THE THEORIES HELD TO IN PROTECTING THOSE PRACTICES OF TRANSGRESSIONS.

THE GREATEST HINDRANCE TO INTELLECTUAL, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL PROGRESS IS, WHEN A PEOPLE HAVE REACHED AN IMPASSE, THAT THERE ARE NO CRITICS OR REBELS WHO DARE TO VIOLATE THE CONVENTIONAL OR CUSTOMARY PRACTICES, REGARDLESS THAT THE FACTS MAY SHOW CERTAIN PRACTICES ARE USED TO COVER UP ERRORS OR PROMOTE INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE INTELLECTUAL, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL SECURITY AGAINST THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE - FUTURE POSTERITY - OR SAFETY OF OUR PRESENT FORM OF GOVERNMENT (OF WHICH THERE IS NO BETTER FORM IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY, NOR HAS ANYONE OFFERED A SUBSTITUTE FOR ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY YEARS.)

MARTIN LUTHER DARED TO BE A CRITIC; HE BROKE RELIGIOUS TIES AND BECAME THE RELIGIOUS REBEL WHO DID MORE TO ENABLE EMERGENCE FROM THE DARK AGES AND MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO GIVE FREEDOM TO SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, UNHAMPERED BY CHURCH OR STATE.

VOLTAIRE DESPISED THE INJUSTICES AND TYRANNY OF THE RULERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND SOWED THE SEED THAT GREW REVOLUTIONS IN HIS AND FUTURE DAYS. HE SPARKED THE MOVEMENT TO DEFY THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE AND DEMAND CORRECTION OF THE LAWS AND ABOLISHMENT OF THE INQUISITION. NO DOUBT IT WAS VOLTAIRE WHO INSPIRED JEFFERSON TO BECOME THE GREAT VOICE OF LIBERTY OF THE AMERICAN NATION.

THREE AND ONE-HALF CENTURIES AGO (1607), ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR ENGLISH COLONISTS LANDED ON THE SHORES OF A NEWLY DISCOVERED CONTINENT AT WHAT IS NOW JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA. THIS WAS THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT AND HAD BEEN PRECEDED EARLIER BY FRENCH COLONISTS TO THE NORTH. FOLLOWING THE ENGLISH SETTLER, THERE CAME TO THE AREA OF WHAT WAS TO BE VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW YORK, SETTLERS OF DUTCH,

FRENCH, IRISH, SCOTCH AND GERMAN ORIGIN. THESE, TOGETHER WITH THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLERS, WERE DESTINED TO BE THE STURDY FOUNDATION STOCK IN WHAT WAS TO BE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FAIREST PORTION OF THE NORTHERN CONTINENT OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, AND ITS POWER TRANSCENDS THAT OF ANY NATION OR PEOPLE OF ANCIENT OR MODERN HISTORY.

IT WAS TO THE SHORES OF THIS NEW LAND OF OPPORTUNITY THAT A CONTINUOUS HORDE OF EUROPE'S MOST ADVENTUROUS AND FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE POURED. THESE PEOPLE, IN MOST INSTANCES, WERE SEEKING RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL REFUGE FROM THE OPPRESSION IMPOSED BY THEIR PARENT COUNTRY, THAT THEY MIGHT ASSURE UNTO THEMSELVES CERTAIN GOD-GIVEN INALIENABLE RIGHTS. THEY CAME OF THEIR OWN FREE WILL AND NOT BECAUSE OF EXPULSION BY THEIR PARENT GOVERNMENT.

A LITTLE MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY YEARS FOLLOWING THIS SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA AND ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY YEARS AGO, TO US OF TODAY, THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT BY RIGHT OF GREATER ENGLISH POPULATION IN CERTAIN AREAS AND CONQUEST OF OTHER NATIONS, HAD GRADUALLY IMPOSED ON THE INHABITANTS A SYSTEM OF LEGAL AND RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION THAT WAS SO REVOLTING THE PEOPLE SOUGHT FOR A WAY TO SEVER THE TIES THAT BOUND THEM TO THE PARENT GOVERNMENT. AND SO WE HAD:

BIRTH OF A NATION

JULY 4, 1776, THESE INTREPID SETTLERS DECLARED: "WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE BANDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSUME AMONG THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND NATURE'S GOD ENTITLE THEM, A DECENT RESPECT OF THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO THE SEPARATION."

WITH THIS DECLARATION AND CAUSES SET FORTH AS THEIR GUIDING LIGHT AND DEFENSE BEFORE GOD AND ALL MANKIND, IT WAS AFTER THREE YEARS OF HARDSHIP, PRIVATION AND BLOOD-SHED THAT THEY WON THE VICTORY THAT LEFT THEM TO WORK OUT THEIR FUTURE DESTINY IN THEIR OWN WAY.

"THEIR OWN WAY" OF WORKING OUT THEIR DESTINY HAS BESET THE NATION WITH MANY TRIALS AND TESTS THAT BROUGHT THEM TO THE EQUAL OF, OR PERHAPS, THE GREATEST POWER ON EARTH.

AMONG THE FIRST TESTS WAS ONE WHICH WAS GIVEN LITTLE CONSIDERATION AT THE BEGINNING AS LIKELY TO BE A HAZARD IN THE SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE NEW NATION. FOR THE FIRST FEW YEARS OF MIGRATION FROM EUROPE TO AMERICA, THE IMMIGRANTS WERE DISTINCTLY OF THE WHITE OR CAUCASIAN RACE. THERE CAME WITH THE FIRST IMMIGRANTS RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THEIR FUTURE. BUT LITTLE DID THEY KNOW THAT THERE WOULD COME TO THEM SOON A PROBLEM OF COLOR THAT WOULD PROVE TO BE A PERPETUAL DESPAIR TO AMERICAN WHITES, AND WOULD FINALLY DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT PEOPLE OF ALL COLORS COULD FIND IT POSSIBLE TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE, FREE FROM A STATE OF SERVITUDE OF ONE TO THE OTHER, AND, BY MUTUAL COOPERATION, WORK FOR THE PERPETUATION OF THEIR, TO BE, NATIVE LAND, NOT BY CHOICE, BUT BY ACT OF GOD.

IN AUGUST, 1619, A DUTCH SHIP LANDED A SMALL CARGO OF NEGRO SLAVES AT JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA. FROM THE TIME OF THE LANDING OF THE FIRST SLAVES TO 1808, THERE WAS TO BE NO LET UP IN BRINGING SLAVES TO AMERICA'S SHORES. MOST OF THE SLAVES WERE TRANSPORTED IN ENGLISH VESSELS. THIS, IT WOULD BE WELL TO REMEMBER, IF FOR NO OTHER PURPOSE, IF IT NOT BE AN ACT OF GOD, TO KNOW WHERE THE BLAME SHALL FALL FOR THIS TRIAL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, IF IT BE A TRIAL.

FROM THE SMALL BEGINNING OF LESS THAN 100 SLAVES IMPORTED IN 1619, THE FURTHER IMPORTATION AND INCREASE BY BIRTH, THERE WAS A NEGRO POPULATION OF 385,000 IN 1760. 300,000 OF THIS NEGRO SLAVE POPULATION WAS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, WHICH COMPRISED AT THAT TIME MARYLAND, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA AND GEORGIA. THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE SAME AREA AT THIS TIME WAS AROUND 700,000. IN SOME OF THE STATES, THE SLAVE POPULATION EXCEEDED THE WHITE POPULATION.

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE GERMANTOWN PROTEST IN 1688 AGAINST SLAVERY BY WILLIAM PENN'S QUAKER FOLLOWERS, NO OUTSTANDING EFFORT TO CURB THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES WAS MADE, AND SEEKING FOR THEIR ULTIMATE FREEDOM, THE SLOW PROCESS OF ABOLITION OF SLAVERY HAD ITS REAL BEGINNING IN THE MIND OF THOMAS JEFFERSON IN DRAFTING THAT MEMORABLE DOCUMENT, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, WHICH WAS ADOPTED JULY 4, 1776, HE WAS, DOUBTLESS, SO DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY HIS EXPERIENCE AS A SLAVE OWNER, AND SWAYED BY THE DIVINE INJUNCTION, "LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF," THAT HE WAS INFLUENCED TO WRITE

INTO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS; THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

IN SUMMING UP CHARGES AGAINST HIS MAJESTY, THE KING OF ENGLAND, JEFFERSON WROTE: "FOR THE MOST TRIFLING REASON AND SOMETIMES FOR NO CONCEIVABLE REASON AT ALL, REJECTED LAWS OF THE MOST SALUTARY TENDENCY. ONE OF THESE LAWS WAS THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE PREVENTION OF FURTHER IMPORTATION OF SLAVES FROM AMERICA." (THAT CHICKENS DO COME HOME TO ROOST, REFERENCE IS MADE TO JANUARY 10, 1955 ISSUE OF NEWS-WEEK, PAGES 38-39, "RACIAL PROBLEM IN BRITAIN.")

PREVIOUS TO THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION BY THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN STATES, THERE HAD BEEN A GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF SENTIMENT THAT ENSLAVEMENT OF HUMAN BEINGS, REGARDLESS OF COLOR OR RACE, WAS CRUEL AND UN-CHRISTIAN. THE CONSTITUTION WAS ADOPTED IN 1789. PRIOR TO THIS, EIGHT OF THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN STATES LYING NORTH OF MARYLAND HAD PROVIDED FOR THE IMMEDIATE OR GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT SENTIMENT AGAINST SLAVERY WAS NOT CONFINED ALONE TO THE NORTHERN STATES. PROMINENT PERSONS OF VIRGINIA, THE LARGEST OF THE SOUTHERN STATES AND HAVING THE GREATEST SLAVE POPULATION - CLAIMING THE MOST OUTSTANDING MEN IN WINNING THE REVOLUTION (SOME OF WHOM BEING WASHINGTON, RANDOLPH, PATRICK HENRY AND THOMAS JEFFERSON) - HAD BECOME DEEPLY IMPRESSED THAT SLAVERY WAS UNJUST AND BEGAN TO LOOK ON THE NEGRO AS A HUMAN BEING.

IT CAN BE READILY SEEN HOW IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO REACH A CONCLUSION THAT SLAVERY WAS UNJUST WHEN THEY WERE CONFRONTED DAILY WITH THE NEGROES OF THEIR HOUSEHOLD AND THE TENDER CARE THEY BESTOWED UPON THE CHILDREN OF THEIR MASTERS. IT IS RECORDED THAT IN MANY INSTANCES THE YOUNGER SLAVE GIRLS HAD GLEANED SOME EDUCATION IN SPITE OF THEIR HANDICAPS, AND ACTING IN THE CAPACITY OF GOVERNESS, TAUGHT YOUNGER CHILDREN IN THE HOMES. THIS WOULD NATURALLY AROUSE A TENDERNESS AND CHRISTIAN SYMPATHY FOR THOSE NEGRO SLAVES WHO WERE HUMAN, AFTER ALL.

THREE YEARS AFTER THE DRAFTING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN 1776, AND TEN YEARS PRIOR TO THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION IN 1789, THOMAS JEFFERSON DRAFTED

A LAW WHICH WAS ENACTED BY VIRGINIA IN 1779, TO ABOLISH FURTHER IMPORTATION OF SLAVES INTO VIRGINIA, AND PROVIDED FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES BY DEED TO THE SLAVES OR BY THE PROCESS OF WILL OF THE OWNER. ALSO IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT AS EARLY AS 1769, JEFFERSON, THEN A MEMBER OF THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE, INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO ABOLISH SLAVERY. THEREFORE, TO THE NEGRO AND OTHERS OPPOSED TO SLAVERY, THOMAS JEFFERSON WILL ALWAYS BE AMERICA'S GREAT LIBERATOR OR HERALD OF FREEDOM FOR RACE, COLOR OR CREED. (THOUGH HISTORY RECORDS JEFFERSON AS NEVER HAVING FORMED TIES WITH ANY RELIGIOUS FAITH, IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS TO ALL THAT HIS POSITION OF REMAINING ALOOF FROM ALL RELIGIOUS SECTS BETTER ENABLED HIM TO CARRY ON HIS EFFORTS TOWARD BREAKING THE UNJUST IMPOSITIONS ON THE PEOPLE BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. AND, FURTHER, PROBABLY SAFEGUARD THE FUTURE AGAINST A UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.)

SPEAKING OF SLAVERY EMANCIPATION, JEFFERSON SAID: "IT WAS FOUND THE PUBLIC MIND WOULD NOT YET BEAR THE PROPOSITION, NOR WILL IT BEAR IT EVEN TODAY. YET THE DAY IS NOT DISTANT WHEN IT MUST BEAR AND ADOPT IT OR WORSE WILL FOLLOW. NOTHING IS MORE CERTAINLY WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF FATE THAN THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FREE, NOR IS IT LESS CERTAIN THAT THE TWO RACES, EQUALLY FREE, CANNOT LIVE IN THE SAME GOVERNMENT." PREVIOUS TO THE ABOVE STATEMENT BY JEFFERSON, HE HAD FREED HIS SLAVES AND ARRANGED TO PAY THE TRANSPORTATION OF MANY TO LIBERIA, AFRICA, A STATE THAT WAS BEING PROMOTED FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF LIBERATED SLAVES OF AMERICA.

IT IS TRUE JEFFERSON OFTEN SPOKE DESPAIRINGLY OF THE ABILITY OF THE NEGRO TO BE CAPABLE OF OR RECEPTIVE TO AN EDUCATION, OR DEPENDABLE ENOUGH TO RANK WITH OTHER RACES OF PEOPLE IN THE ORDINARY OR HIGHLY DEVELOPED NEEDS OR REQUIREMENTS OF THE SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL TIMES OF THE FUTURE. JEFFERSON WAS SPEAKING FOR HIS DAY AND COULD NOT SEE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS HENCE INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

AND SO, AFTER A DECLARATION OF FREEDOM, A FEW SHORT YEARS OF BATTLING TO SECURE THAT FREEDOM, AND THEN IN 1789, ESTABLISHING A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, THE ERA OF BIRTH OF THE NATION ENDED. BUT ALAS, A BIG AND MOST PONDERABLE QUESTION WENT UNSETTLED EXCEPT BY COMPROMISE AND POSTPONEMENT, WHEN THERE WAS WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION A CLAUSE, ARTICLE 9, SECTION 1, WHICH MADE THE SLAVE QUESTION PRACTICALLY A CLOSED ISSUE UNTIL THE YEAR, 1808.

ADOLESCENT PERIOD OF THE NATION

WITH THE COMPULSORY END OF SLAVERY TRANSPORTATION TO AMERICA AT THE END OF 1808, THE LOYALTY OF THE NEGROES IN THE WAR OF 1812, AND WITH THOUSANDS OF FREE NEGROES IN THE NORTHERN STATES, THERE BEGAN ORGANIZED AGITATION FOR FREEDOM OF SLAVES. THIS FERMENT HAD FOUND ITS WAY INTO POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS. POLITICAL PARTIES WERE BEING SHARPLY DIVIDED BETWEEN SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY. CHURCHES WERE PASSING RESOLUTIONS AND PASTORS OF CHURCHES WERE DEVOTING MANY OF THEIR SERMONS TO CONDEMNING RACE AND COLOR DISCRIMINATIONS, AND ESPECIALLY, SERVITUDE IMPOSED UPON THE NEGRO BY THE WHITE RACE.

BY THE 1830'S THERE HAD DEVELOPED TWO CLEARLY DEFINED ELEMENTS WORKING FOR THE ULTIMATE ABOLISHMENT OF SLAVERY - THE ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABOLITIONISTS. THERE WERE MANY FOLLOWERS FOR ANTI-SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH - THOSE WHO HOPED THAT THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY WOULD BE POSPONED OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME. WHEREAS, THE RADICAL ELEMENT OR ABOLITION FACTION, WORKING FOR THE IMMEDIATE FREEDOM OF THE SLAVES WITHOUT RECOMPENSE TO THE SLAVE OWNERS, WAS CONFINED TO THE NORTH.

IN 1831, ACCORDING TO HISTORY, WAS THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA. NULLIFICATION OF TAX LAWS, THREAT OF SECESSION BY SOUTH CAROLINA, AND THE FIGHT ON THE UNITED STATES BANK BROUGHT RIFTS IN BOTH PARTIES. THE NATION WAS NO LONGER INDIVISIBLE BUT DISTINCTLY ALMOST TWO DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. THE NORTH AND SOUTH - THE LINE DIVIDING THEM WAS NOT TO BE COMPLETELY WIPED OUT FOR SCORES OF YEARS.

BOSTON MASSACHUSETTS, THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CITY OF THE NORTH, THE ORIGIN OF THE REVOLUTION, WAS ALSO THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT. HERE RESIDED WILLIAM GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, SENATOR SUMNER AND OTHER PROMINENT LEADERS, WHO WERE CONSPICUOUS IN PROMOTING THE MOVEMENT. SUMNER, A BRILLIANT YOUNG AMERICAN LAWYER, WHO WAS FIRST AN ADVOCATE OF ANTI-SLAVERY AND OPPOSED GARRISON'S AND PHILLIPS' ABOLITION POLICIES. HE LATER ALMOST LOST HIS LIFE BECAUSE OF HIS VIOLENT ATTACKS ON PRO-SLAVERY-ITES, AND BECAME A STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

WILLIAM GARRISON PUBLISHED HIS FIRST ISSUE OF THE LIBERATOR AND PROCLAIMED ITS DEDICATION TO "WAR TO THE DEATH ON THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY" ON JANUARY 1, 1831.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, AN EQUALLY PROMISING YOUNG ATTORNEY AS SUMNER, CHALLENGED THE ANTI-SLAVERY SLOW PROCESS OF LIBERATION OF THE SLAVES, WAS A CONTRIBUTOR TO THE LIBERATOR AND STUMPED THE COUNTRY FOR THE IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

NOVEMBER 7, 1837, REV. ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY, YOUNG PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER AND EDITOR OF THE OBSERVER, A RELIGIOUS PUBLICATION, AT ALTON, ILLINOIS, WAS SLAIN BY A MOB OF PRO-SLAVERY ADHERENTS BECAUSE OF HIS EDITORIALS ADVOCATING ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. THIS ACT OF VIOLENCE STIRRED THE NATION THROUGHOUT, AND BITTERNESS BETWEEN THE PRO AND ANTI-SLAVERY ELEMENTS ROARED TO ITS CLIMAX WHEN, ON JANUARY 1, 1863, LINCOLN ISSUED HIS EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, SETTING FREE 3,500,000 SLAVES IN CERTAIN AREAS. THEN ON DECEMBER 18, 1865, THERE WAS WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION THE DEATH KNEEL TO SLAVERY WITHIN THE BORDERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA, IN 1830, ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, A FRENCH WRITER, WROTE: "IF EVER AMERICA UNDERGOES GREAT REVOLUTIONS, THEY WILL BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE PRESENCE OF THE BLACK RACE ON THE SOIL OF THE UNITED STATES. THAT IS TO SAY, THEY (REVOLUTIONS) WILL OWE THEIR ORIGIN NOT TO THE EQUALITY BUT THE INEQUALITY OF CONDITIONS."

IN SOME MEASURE DE TOCQUEVILLE WAS RIGHT. THE FIRST REVOLUTION HAD ITS REAL BEGINNING IN 1830. THE SECOND HAD ITS BEGINNING DECEMBER 18, 1865, AND IS STILL WITH US TODAY, AND WILL CONTINUE UNTIL EVERY VESTIGE OF LEGAL AND POLITICAL INEQUALITY HAS BEEN WIPED FROM THE STATUTES OF NATIONAL, STATE AND CITY GOVERNMENTS OF AMERICA.

(IS THIS TO BE AS THE WRITER SHALL WISH? NOT NECESSARILY, BUT ONLY A RECOGNITION OF THE INEVITABLE AND BECAUSE OF THE DANGER TO THE FUTURE DESTINY OF THE NATION. WHY SHOULD LEGAL OR POLITICAL INEQUALITY OR RESTRICTION OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM BE A DANGER? NO BETTER PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE NATION THAN 1920 WILL ILLUSTRATE THE POINT WHEN THERE WAS A POPULATION OF 106,418,284. AT THAT TIME THERE SPREAD FROM BORDER TO BORDER OF THE NATION AN ORGANIZATION WHICH CONFINED ITS MEMBERSHIP ONLY TO THOSE, AS LOYAL AMERICANS, WHO CLAIMED TO BE "WHITE, GENTILE AMERICANS." IN ADDITION TO THOSE WHO REFUSED TO ALLIGN THEMSELVES WITH SUCH AN ORGANIZATION, ALTHOUGH QUALIFIED TO MEET EVERY REQUIREMENT, THERE WAS 42,307,360 INELIGIBLE BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR OR CREED - A DANGEROUS DIVISION OF EQUAL AND UNEQUAL, IF FORCED LEGAL, SOCIAL OR POLITICAL REQUIREMENT IS PUSHED TOO FAR.)

MANHOOD OF THE NATION

FOR NEARLY NINETY YEARS NOW, THE NATION HAS BEEN EXPERIENCING ITS STATE OF MANHOOD. IT IS THE STATURE OF, OR EQUAL TO, ANY OTHER NATION ON EARTH. THE SECOND REVOLUTION HAS ENDED WITH THE WRITING INTO THE LEGAL STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT THE END OF LEGAL OR POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS OF ANY RACE, COLOR OR CREED (OTHER THAN CERTAIN INDIANS). ADJUSTMENTS IN SOME AREAS ARE NECESSARY FOR AMICABLE DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIP. THIS WILL SOON BE REALIZED. TO AVOID A LENGTHY PERIOD OF SOLUTION OF THE NON-SEGREGATION PROBLEM AND THE FUTURE OF AMERICA AS A WORLD POWER DEPENDS ON THE SOLIDARITY OF MAN AS CHRIST TAUGHT. IT WAS HE WHO SET THE PATTERN IN THE DIVINE INJUNCTION, "LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF." TO FOLLOW AND PRACTICE THIS COMMAND, PREJUDICE AGAINST ANY RACE, COLOR OR CREED MUST BE SWEEPED FROM THE BORDERS OF AMERICA AND MAKE SECURE LEGAL AND POLITICAL EQUALITY UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. ALTHOUGH IT IS SHOCKING TO HAVE TO CONFESS THAT AMERICA HAS BECOME SO ENMESHED IN WORLD AFFAIRS IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY TO SO SUBORDINATE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS TO INTERNATIONALISM WHICH MAKES NECESSARY THE EXPENDITURE OF TWO DOLLARS, PLUS INTEREST, FOR MILITARY POWER TO MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL SUPREMACY, FOR EVERY DOLLAR SPENT TO AMELIORATE DOMESTIC NEEDS AND SECURE SOME MEASURE OF SECURITY AT HOME. IF THE NATION IS TO SURVIVE FUTURE THREATS FROM ABROAD, WHICH ARE SURE TO BECOME MORE NUMEROUS THAN IN THE PAST, THERE MUST BE PREVENTION OF CONFLICT BETWEEN DIFFERENT RACES, COLOR OR CREEDS, AND A SINCERE BELIEF IN THE SOLIDARITY OF MAN. TO ATTAIN THIS IDEAL THERE MUST BE UNITY OF ACTION ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENT, RELIGIOUS BODIES, INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING AND VARIOUS FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATING FOR A SINGLE PURPOSE, BECAUSE "UNITED WE STAND," - OTHERWISE, "DIVIDED WE FALL."

OFTEN A BACKWARD LOOK, WHEN TAKEN WITH A DESIRE FOR UNDERSTANDING, WILL AID IN FINDING A SOLUTION FOR A PROBLEM. WE ARE PRONE TO BE AFRAID OF THE PAST. IT HOLDS TOO MANY SKELETONS; BUT WE SHOULD ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT THE PAST IS ALL THAT WE HAVE DEFINITELY. WE ARE TOLD TO "BOAST NOT THYSELF OF TOMORROW." WE MAY HAVE NO FUTURE, FOR WE KNOW WE LIVE AND EXIST ONLY MINUTE TO MINUTE, OR MAYBE, HOUR TO HOUR, OR YEAR TO YEAR, AND THEN, ETERNITY.

WE HAVE REACHED THE POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE NATION, THAT FOR SAFETY, A

SURVEY OF THE PAST SHOULD BE MADE TO HELP FIND A PRESENT-DAY SOLUTION FOR A TROUBLESOME PROBLEM THAT HAS DISTURBED THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FABRIC OF AMERICA FOR ALMOST ITS ENTIRE HISTORY. NO ONE CAN DENY THAT HISTORY DOES REPEAT IN SOME MEASURE. SO NOW, WHEN CONFRONTED WITH THIS PROBLEM THAT MAY MEAN SO MUCH IN A PROPER SOLUTION, WHY NOT MAKE A SERIOUS AND INTELLIGENT REVERSION TO PREVIOUS HISTORY FOR SIMILAR PROBLEMS AND MAYBE FIND THEIR SOLUTION COULD POINT TODAY, TO A BETTER WAY TO SOFTEN AND SOLVE SATISFACTORILY, THE PROBLEM NOW CONFRONTING THE PEOPLE. OR MUST WE DO IT THE HARD WAY BY NEVER PROFITING BY PAST EXPERIENCE? THEN HAVING DONE IT THE HARD WAY, WE TAKE A BACKWARD LOOK AND REALIZE HOW PITIFULLY CHILDISH AND FOOLISH IT IS TO PAY A PENALTY FOR A LACK OF THOUGHTFUL WISDOM AND PRUDENCE BEFOREHAND.

HENRY ADAMS, GRANDSON OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, WROTE: "NO MAN IN AMERICA WANTED THE CIVIL WAR, EXPECTED IT, OR INTENDED IT. A SMALL MINORITY WANTED SECESSION. THE REST WANTED TO GO ON WITH THEIR OCCUPATIONS IN PEACE. NO ONE, HOWEVER CLEVER OR LEARNED, GUESSED WHAT HAPPENED."

A BACKWARD LOOK ONE HUNDRED YEARS..... ONE HISTORIAN WROTE: "ON JULY 6, 1854, THE NEW REPUBLICAN PARTY WAS FORMALLY LAUNCHED AT A MEETING IN A GROVE OF OAKS ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF JACKSON, MICHIGAN. THE MEETING DECLARED THAT SLAVERY WAS A GREAT MORAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EVIL."

"THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ACHIEVED AN OVERWHELMING SUCCESS AT THE POLLS IN 1852; THE SOUTHERN STATES HAD DECLARED THEIR ADHERENCE TO THE UNION. PROSPERITY WAS GENERAL; THE COUNTRY SEEMED CALM. ONE MIGHT HAVE PROPHESED AT THE OPENING OF THE YEAR 1854 A LONG AND UNDISPUTED TENURE OF POWER FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. BUT AT THE END OF THAT YEAR, THE COUNTRY WAS IN A FERMENT." IT CAN BE SAID THAT 1854 WAS THE BEGINNING OF THE END; THAT WITH THE SPEED OF THE COMET, THE NATION WAS PLUNGED INTO ITS FOUR YEARS OF BLOOD BATH.

SCOFF NOT AT THE COMPARISON OF 1954 WITH 1854, AND ITS SIMILARITY OF EVENTS, ALTHOUGH SOMEWHAT IN REVERSE. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ACHIEVED AN OVERWHELMING SUCCESS AT THE POLLS IN 1952. THE SOUTH WAS SO WELL ALIGNED WITH THE NORTH THAT SEVERAL SOUTHERN STATES VOTED REPUBLICAN. PROSPERITY WAS GENERAL; THE COUNTRY SEEMED CALM. (DUE CONSIDERATION MUST BE GIVEN TO THE FACT THAT 1854 DID NOT FIND THE NATION INVOLVED IN WORLD

AFFAIRS SIMILAR TO TODAY.) ONE MIGHT HAVE PROPHESED AT THE OPENING OF THE YEAR 1954, A LONG AND UNDISPUTED TENURE OF POWER FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. NOVEMBER CAME AND THE DEMOCRATS WON CONTROL OF THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. IN 1854, THE PRINCIPAL POLITICAL ISSUE WAS ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, AND FOR ITS MOST HOSTILE SUPPORTERS, HAD RABBLE-ROUSING LEADERS OF THE NORTH. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN 1954 THERE IS FOUND THE REVERSE, FOLLOWING THE MAY 17 OPINION OF THE SUPREME COURT DECLARING SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS UNCONSTITUTIONAL. THE GOVERNORS OF SOME SIX OF THE SOUTHERN STATES WERE THE RABBLE-ROUSERS, VIOLENTLY ATTACKING THE SUPREME COURT, AND IN SOME INSTANCES, SECURING STATE LEGISLATION FOR THE ABOLITION OF FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN FAVOR OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS AS A MEANS OF EVADING ACCEPTANCE OF THE SUPREME COURT MANDATE. OTHER NOTICEABLE EVENTS OF A POLITICAL NATURE IN 1954, COMPARABLE TO 1854, THAT WOULD SHOW THE DISTURBED CONDITION ARE: THE MCCARTHY VS. ARMY HEARINGS, FOLLOWED BY THE CENSURE OF SENATOR MCCARTHY BY THE SENATE - ALL OF WHICH SHOWED A SERIOUS RIFT IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WHICH, WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF THE "FOR AMERICA" PARTY, A SPLINTER OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAVING PROMINENT POLITICIANS, PUBLICISTS, INDUSTRIAL LEADERS AND VOLUNTARY OR (BEHIND THE SCENES) FORCED, RETIRED MILITARY OFFICERS FOR ITS LEADERS, HAS LEFT THE PEOPLE IN A STATE OF UNREST TO THE EXTENT THAT IT CAN BE SAID 1954 ENDED, AS DID 1854, "IN A STATE OF FERMENT."

THE RULING OF THE SUPREME COURT, MAY 17, 1954, THAT SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE NATION WAS CONSTITUTIONALLY ILLEGAL AND MUST BE ABOLISHED WAS, TO SOME OF THE SOUTH'S LEADING POLITICAL DEMAGOGUES, AS DRASTIC AND CALAMITOUS AS LINCOLN'S CHALLENGE OF THE SOUTH, WHEN HE SAID: "THE NATION CANNOT SURVIVE HALF FREE AND HALF SLAVE." AND NOW, REGARDLESS OF DEFIANCE OF THE SOUTH'S POLITICAL DEMAGOGUES, THE NATION IS FACED WITH THE INEVITABLE, THAT FOR NINETY YEARS HAS BEEN AN APPROACHING CRISIS, AND TO MEET THE GRAVE, WORLD-WIDE PROBLEMS, THE FUTURE MUST BE DEFINITELY SETTLED. FOR THE NATION CANNOT SURVIVE WITH SO LARGE A PORTION OF ITS POPULATION SUBJECT TO ILLEGAL SEGREGATION BECAUSE OF RACE OR COLOR.

"CONSISTENCY, THOU ART A JEWEL," IS A TRUTH HAVING SLIGHT APPRECIATION BY THE GOVERNOR OF A STATE WHO ENDEAVORS TO LEAD HIS CONSTITUENCY IN DEFIANCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY AND INDICATES BY WORD AND ACTION THAT BY EVASION OF COURT EDICT OR OTHER MEANS

"I SHALL USE BY IMPOSITION ON ANOTHER PEOPLE, I PROCLAIM 'THERE SHALL BE NO NON-SEGREGATION IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS SO LONG AS I AM GOVERNOR'." IN THE ESTIMATION OF THE PATRIOTIC AMERICAN WHO APPRECIATES THE GRAVITY OF THE UNSTABLE WORLD CONDITION CONFRONTING THE NATION, SUCH POLITICAL DEMAGOGUERY SHOULD AND DOES DISCREDIT LEADERS ENGAGING IN INCITING THE PEOPLE TO ANGER AND DEFIANCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY. THAT THESE ARE NOT HARSH AND UNJUST CRITICISMS, AND JUSTLY BEAR OUT THE ODIUM OF POLITICAL DEMAGOGUERY AND DISLOYALTY ON THE PART OF CERTAIN GOVERNORS SO CHARGED, LET THE RECORD SPEAK.

THE RULING OF THE SUPREME COURT THAT SEGREGATIONS IN THE FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS SHALL BE ABOLISHED WAS BASED ON THE 14TH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH READS AS FOLLOWS:

"ALL PERSONS BORN OR NATURALIZED IN THE UNITED STATES, AND SUBJECT TO THE JURISDICTION THEREOF, ARE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE STATE WHEREIN THEY RESIDE. NO STATE SHALL MAKE OR ENFORCE ANY LAW WHICH SHALL ABRIDGE THE PRIVILEGES OR IMMUNITIES OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES"....., ETC.

THE AMENDMENT WAS SUBMITTED BY ACT OF CONGRESS, JUNE 16, 1866 TO THE LEGISLATURES OF THE STATES AND DECLARED EFFECTIVE JULY 28, 1868. (THIS AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WAS RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF TEXAS IN 1870. ALSO NOTE THAT ON FEBRUARY 15, 1876, THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF TEXAS ADOPTED THE TEXAS' BILL OF RIGHTS, ARTICLE 1, SECTION 3, AS FOLLOWS: "ALL FREE MEN HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS."

GOVERNORS AND OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE FIVE OR SIX SOUTHERN STATES, WHO ARE LEADING THEIR CONSTITUENCY IN AN EFFORT TO THWART, BY EVASION OR OTHERWISE, THE EDICT OF THE SUPREME COURT REQUIRING THE ABOLITION OF SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, HAVE BEEN REQUIRED, WHEN ASSUMING OFFICE, TO EMPHASIZE THEIR LOYALTY WITH RIGHT HAND RAISED AND LEFT HAND ON THE BIBLE, REPEAT THE CUSTOMARY OATH: "I MOST SOLEMNLY SWEAR OR AFFIRM THAT I WILL FAITHFULLY, TO THE BEST OF MY ABILITY, PRESERVE, PROTECT AND DEFEND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. SO HELP ME GOD." THIS OATH, OR SIMILAR WORDS, ARE REQUIRED UNDER ARTICLE 6, SECTION 3 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH READS AS FOLLOWS: "THE SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES BEFORE MENTIONED, AND THE MEMBERS

OF THE SEVERAL STATE LEGISLATURES, AND ALL EXECUTIVE OFFICERS, BOTH OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE SEVERAL STATES, SHALL BE BOUND BY OATH OR AFFIRMATION TO SUPPORT THIS CONSTITUTION."

THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT AS TO THE MEANING OF THE PLEDGE, OR ROOM FOR MENTAL RESERVATION OR EQUIVOCATION. IT IS HERE THAT MENTION SHOULD BE MADE THAT, AS IN PAST HISTORY, THE STATE NOW LEADING THE POLITICAL DISSENTERS IN THEIR ABUSIVE TIRADES AGAINST THE SUPREME COURT IS SOUTH CAROLINA, THE STATE WHICH HAS DEALT IN NULLIFICATION ACTS AND THREATENED SECESSION FOR 125 YEARS.

OF THE FORTY-EIGHT STATES ONLY SIX SOUTHERN STATES ARE OUTSTANDING IN OPPOSITION TO THE RULING OF THE SUPREME COURT ON DESEGREGATION. IT IS TRUE THERE WAS SOME TROUBLE IN DELAWARE, WASHINGTON, D.C. AND MARYLAND WHICH WAS BROUGHT ABOUT PRINCIPALLY BY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. IN THESE AREAS THERE WERE SERIOUS THREATS MADE BUT NO BLOODSHED ENSUED. THE PUBLICITY BY PRESS AND OTHER MEANS OF COMMUNICATION GIVEN TO THE GOVERNORS OF SOME OF THE SOUTHERN STATES WHO HAVE PRESUMED TO SPEAK FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH IN OPPOSITION TO THE SUPREME COURT RULING HAS RESULTED IN CONFUSION IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE AND HAS LED TO THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ENTIRE POPULACE OF THE SOUTH ARE NEGRO-HATERS AND OPPOSED TO DE-SEGREGATION. THIS IS FAR FROM THE TRUTH. LET THE POLITICIANS SPEAK; THEN, BE FOLLOWED IN REBUTTAL BY SANE AND MILD MANNERED THINKERS AMONG LEADERS OF THE STATE GOVERNMENTS, PRESS, YOUTH AND CHURCHES OF THE SOUTH.

SOUTH CAROLINA - ANTICIPATING THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT HASTENED TO TAKE THE LEAD IN OPPOSING DE-SEGREGATION, AND IN 1953, LED BY GOVERNOR BYRNES, ENACTED LEGISLATION TO ABOLISH THE FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND PROMOTE SUBSIDIZED PRIVATE SCHOOLS, HOPING THEREBY TO EVADE THE MANDATE OF THE COURT TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS. GOVERNOR BYRNES SAID: "IF THE COURT CHANGES WHAT IS NOW THE LAW OF THE LAND, WE WILL, IF IT IS POSSIBLE, LIVE WITHIN THE LAW, PRESERVE THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, AND AT THE SAME TIME, MAINTAIN SEGREGATION. IF THAT IS NOT POSSIBLE, RELUCTANTLY, WE WILL ABANDON THE SCHOOL SYSTEM."

ALABAMA - PRACTICALLY LIES WITHIN THE CENTER OF THE AREA OF THE STATES HAVING LEADERS OUTSTANDINGLY OPPOSING THE COURT RULING. YET, ALABAMA HAS BEEN QUIETLY CALM,

ASSUMING AN ATTITUDE OF SILENTLY WAITING. GOVERNOR JAMES E. FOLSOM REFUSED TO SIGN ANY KIND OF PROTEST OR DEMANDS AT THE BOCA RATON, FLORIDA GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE.

GEORGIA:

THE THREE MUSKETEERS OF THE PRESENT OPPOSITION OF THE SOUTH ARE GOVERNORS ALAN SHIVERS, TEXAS; HUGH WHITE, MISSISSIPPI; AND HERMAN TALMADGE; FORMER AND PRESENT GOVERNOR MARVIN GRIFFIN OF MISSISSIPPI. GOVERNOR TALMADGE WAS EQUALLY AS EXTREME IN HIS DEFIANCE OF THE COURT MANDATE AS GOVERNOR BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA. HE CHARGED: "THE COURT HAS REDUCED OUR CONSTITUTION TO A SCRAP OF PAPER." HE SAID FURTHER, "SEGREGATION WILL NOT BE ENDED IN GEORGIA AT ANY TIME." HE INDUCED GEORGIA'S LEGISLATURE TO SUBMIT TO THE VOTERS' LEGISLATION TO ABOLISH THE FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN FAVOR OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS RATHER THAN SUBMIT TO DE-SEGREGATION. THE VOTE TO SUPPORT WAS EXTREMELY LIGHT AND THE MAJORITY MARGIN SMALL.

MISSISSIPPI: GOVERNOR HUGH WHITE IS LEADING HIS PEOPLE BY A VOTE OF ONE-THIRD OF THE QUALIFIED VOTERS IN A MANY MILLION DOLLAR TAX TO BE USED IN A SCHOOL EQUALIZATION PROGRAM, HOPING TO KEEP SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS BY GIVING EQUAL EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES TO THE NEGROES. MISSISSIPPI HAS WAITED TOO LONG. THEY PROPOSE TO DO NOW WHAT THEY HAVE DELAYED DOING FOR FIFTY YEARS. THE RECORD SHOWS THE STATE HAS BEEN SPENDING THREE TIMES AS MUCH FOR EDUCATION OF WHITE CHILDREN AS IT DID FOR NEARLY AN EQUAL NUMBER OF NEGROES. IN SOME COUNTIES THE RATIO WAS TEN TO ONE.

SAID A MISSISSIPPI JUDGE: "ULTIMATELY SCHOOLS WILL BE INTEGRATED, WE ALL REALIZE THAT." THAT SEEMS TO BE THE CONSENSUS OF OPINION OF MOST OUTSTANDING CITIZENS OF THE STATE. THE ATTITUDE OF THE POLITICIAN IS "WHY SETTLE A DISTRESSING QUESTION SO LONG AS IT SERVES MY PERSONAL AMBITION?"

TEXAS - HAS HAD LITTLE MENTION IN THE PRESS ON THE SUPREME COURT DECISION. LOCALLY IN THE STATE, GOVERNOR SHIVERS USED THE ISSUE AS A PLANK IN HIS PLATFORM, WHEN CAMPAIGNING FOR REELECTION AS GOVERNOR. HE DID EMPHASIZE: "THERE WILL BE NO DE-SEGREGATION WHILE I AM GOVERNOR." THERE WERE OTHER ISSUES MORE PROMINENT CONTRIBUTING TO HIS RE-ELECTION, AND SINCE HIS OPPONENT ASSERTED LIKE OPPOSITION TO DE-SEGREGATION, NO ONE HAS REALLY TAKEN THE GOVERNOR'S ATTITUDE ON THE QUESTION SERIOUSLY.

SINCE THE TEXAS GOVERNOR'S REELECTION, HE HAS BEEN OUT OF THE STATE MOST OF THE TIME ATTENDING CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND GOVERNORS' CONFERENCES, WHERE HE HAS BEEN INCITING GOVERNORS AND OTHER LEGAL OFFICERS TO OPPOSE THIS AND THAT AND DE-SEGREGATION. HE BREATHED THREATS AND THEN, WITH AN ADMIRABLE CHOICE OF WORDS, ADMITS THE THREAT OF DEFEAT AND PAVES THE WAY FOR AN ABOUT-FACE AT HOME, WHEN POLITICAL EXTENUATION REQUIRES.

TO MENTION THE GOVERNORS AND OTHER LEGAL OFFICERS OF STATES WHO HAVE BEEN EXPRESSING ABUSE OF THE SUPREME COURT AND REFUSAL BY EVASION TO LEAD THEIR CONSTITUENTS IN ABIDING BY THE MANDATE OF THE COURT, IT WOULD BE UNFAIR AND VERY INAPPROPRIATE TO MAKE REFERENCE TO THE GOVERNORS OF OTHER STATES WHO REFRAINED FROM POLITICAL DEMAGOGUERY AND USE OF THE ISSUE TO AROUSE THEIR PEOPLE TO THE USE OF UNWISE STEPS TO FORESTALL DE-SEGREGATION. AMONG THESE ARE LAWRENCE W. WETHERLY, KENTUCKY; FRANK G. CLEMENT, TENNESSEE; FRANCIS CHERRY, ARKANSAS; WILLIAM C. MARLAND, WEST VIRGINIA; GOVERNOR-ELECT, JAMES E. FOLSOM, ALABAMA; AND THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, MARYLAND. IN THE GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE AT BOCA RATON, THEY DID NOT APPROVE OF AN APPEAL TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO CALL SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS TO ENACT AN AMENDMENT TO PLACE BEFORE THE STATE LEGISLATURES FOR THEIR APPROVAL OF OVERRIDING THE SUPREME COURT. THEY KNEW THIS WAS ONLY POLITICAL AND A PLAY FOR TIME AND WOULD NEVER BECOME A LAW. THEY ALSO REFUSED TO GO ALONG WITH THE OTHER GOVERNORS IN A VERY DRASTIC STATEMENT OF PROTEST. THEY DID SIGN A MILD FORM OF PROTEST LATER, WHICH WAS MERELY A GESTURE FOR HOME CONSUMPTION.

OKLAHOMA: - THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION HAS RECOMMENDED TO THE LEGISLATURE A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FOR THE INTEGRATION OF ITS SCHOOLS. SOME SCHOOLS HAVE ALREADY BEEN INTEGRATED.

NEW MEXICO: - CLOVIS AND HOBBS, NEW MEXICO SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN DE-SEGREGATED WITHOUT ANY SERIOUS DISTURBANCE, AND NO VIOLENCE HAS OCCURED. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE OF NEW MEXICO SAYS OPERATION OF A SEPARATE SCHOOL FOR NEGROES IS NOW ILLEGAL. ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL, C. C. McCULLOH, STATES HIS OPINION ON SEGREGATED SCHOOLS: "THE SECTION OF THE STATUTES OF NEW MEXICO DEALING WITH SCHOOL SEGREGATION IS NOW UNCONSTITUTIONAL IN THAT IT VIOLATES THE EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAW'S CLAUSE OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES' CONSTITUTION." HE SAYS, FURTHER: "IT IS OUR OPINION THAT

AT THE PRESENT TIME, MUNICIPAL BOARDS OF EDUCATION MAINTAINING SEGREGATED SCHOOL SYSTEMS ARE SUBJECT TO SUITS IN EQUITY UNDER FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS STATUTES TO ENJOIN THEM FROM SO DOING, AND THAT INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF SUCH BOARDS, AS WELL AS OTHER SCHOOL OFFICIALS, ARE SUBJECT AT THE PRESENT TIME TO ACTIONS AT LAW FOR DAMAGES, AS WELL AS TO SUITS IN EQUITY, FOR PERMITTING SUCH SEGREGATED SCHOOL SYSTEMS TO BE MAINTAINED; ALSO, CRIMINAL PROSECUTION."

KANSAS:- IN A BRIEF WITH THE SUPREME COURT, THE TOPEKA, KANSAS BOARD OF EDUCATION OUTLINED PLANS FOR FULL SCHOOL INTEGRATION BY SEPTEMBER, 1954. THE BOARD SAID THERE IS NO NEED FOR THE COURT TO ISSUE DE-SEGREGATION ORDERS BECAUSE SEGREGATION IS BEING ENDED WITH "FULL COOPERATION AND ACCEPTANCE BY BOTH WHITE AND NEGRO PUPILS, TEACHERS AND PARENTS."

ATTITUDE OF PRESS

IT HAS BEEN UNFORTUNATE THAT THE PRESS OF THE NORTH HAS DEALT WITH THE DE-SEGREGATION PROBLEM ALMOST IN THE SAME MANNER AS WITH THE SLAVERY QUESTION PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR. THEY SEE VIOLENCE EVERYWHERE. TO QUOTE: "ONLY A SMALL MINORITY OF LEADERS OF BOTH RACES ADVOCATE IMMEDIATE, COMPLETE DE-SEGREGATION." THEN: "WHILE A MINORITY OF BOTH WHITE AND NEGRO LEADERS EXPECT SERIOUS VIOLENCE...." "WIDESPREAD LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY OF PEACE OFFICERS TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER."... AND SO IT GOES, WITH MOST OF THE ARTICLES COMING FROM THE MAGAZINES OF THE NORTH. TO THEM, IT IS NOT SENSATIONAL TO BE FOR A MORAL OR RIGHTEOUS CAUSE; BUT TO BE VIOLENTLY OPPOSED TO ANYTHING MEANS FINDING THE SPOTLIGHT ON THE PAGES OF THE PRESS.

NOW FOR A LOOK TO THE SOUTH TO SEE WHAT THE PRESS HAS TO SAY:

GEORGIA: - THE HOME OF RABID HERMAN TALMADGE: "SEGREGATION IS ON THE WAY OUT," RALPH MCGILL, EDITOR OF THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, WROTE, "AND HE WHO TRIES TO TELL THE PEOPLE OTHERWISE DOES THEM A GREAT DISSERVICE."

ARKANSAS: HARRY S. ASHMORE, EXECUTIVE EDITOR OF THE ARKANSAS GAZETTE, REPORTED THE FINDINGS OF FORTY-FIVE EXPERTS, PREDOMINANTLY SOUTHERNERS, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE FORD FOUNDATION FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION, AS FOLLOWS: THE PROBLEM OF THREATENED VIOLENCE STUDIED IN TWENTY STATE UNIVERSITIES, FORTY-SIX PRIVATE AND CHURCH EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS THAT HAVE ADMITTED NEGROES SINCE 1949, SEVENTEEN OF

THESE INSTITUTIONS REVEALED SEVERAL TENSE SITUATIONS, "BUT TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, THE FIRST DROP OF BLOOD IS TO BE SHED." THEY ALSO REPORTED AT LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY THAT NEGROES ROOM IN THE SAME DORMATORIES AND EAT IN THE SAME DINING ROOM WITH WHITES. ALSO, IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS WAS A NEGRO STUDENT WHO WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE DORMITORY.

LET YOUTH SPEAK

MISSOURI: - HUNDREDS OF SCHOOLS IN THE STATE HAVE BEEN DE-SEGREGATED. TO QUOTE A STUDENT HIGH SCHOOL PUBLICATION IN NEW MEXICO, MISSOURI: "A PROCESS KNOWN AS INTEGRATION HAS BEGUN. WE JUST HOPE THE TOWN'S PEOPLE DON'T SHOW TOO MUCH CONCERN, BECAUSE WE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WILL TAKE THE CHANGE IN STRIDE."

TEXAS: - FOLLOWING THE ELECTION IN NOVEMBER, WITH GOVERNOR SHIVERS OUT OF THE STATE MAKING ADDRESSES, PRINCIPALLY ATTACKS ON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THERE MET IN AUSTIN THE HI Y YOUTH LEGISLATURE WHICH WAS MADE UP OF 450 HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS OF TEXAS. THEY SELECTED OF THEIR NUMBER THE EQUIVALENT OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE, AND FOR SEVERAL DAYS PATTERNED THEIR OPERATIONS AFTER THE REGULAR LEGISLATURE, INTRODUCING, DISCUSSING AND PASSING BILLS OF LEGISLATION.

LARRY HOLT, STUDENT FROM BORGER, TEXAS, SPONSORED A BILL ON DE-SEGREGATION WHICH WAS DECLARED EMERGENCY LEGISLATION. HE DESCRIBED THE BILL AS A "STATE LAW TO BRING ABOUT COMMUNITY ACTION. IF WE DON'T PASS SOMETHING, IT WILL BE RUN BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THIS WAY, WE WILL RUN IT. WE WANT TO SHOW THE PEOPLE OF TEXAS HOW YOUTH FEELS ABOUT THE PROBLEM." HE EMPHASIZED, "THIS CONCERNS THE YOUTH. THE NEGROES WILL BE GOING TO SCHOOL WITH US, NOT WITH THE ADULTS."

SEVEN OF THE JUNIOR COLLEGES OF TEXAS HAVE ABOLISHED SEGREGATION AND NOW ACCEPT NEGRO STUDENTS.

OF ALL THE VARIOUS PHASES OF LIFE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN THE MOST VOCAL IN BRINGING ABOUT A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP OF ALL KINDS OF RACES OR COLOR IN THE NATION, IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN THE RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS. HAVE THE CHURCHES WAITED FIFTY YEARS TOO LONG TO SAVE THE NATION FROM A TRAVAIL OF BLOOD, AS BEFORE, BECAUSE OF A PEOPLE OF COLOR WHO HAVE BEEN OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR A PERIOD OF THREE CEN-

TURIES - NOT BECAUSE OF WHAT THEY HAVE DONE TO US BUT BECAUSE OF WHAT WE HAVE AND ARE DOING TO THEM? THIS CRITICISM HAS NO REBUTTAL.

A RELIGIOUS AWAKENING

METHODISTS: - METHODIST BISHOPS MEETING IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, NOV. 21, 1954 - MEMBERSHIP REPORTED IN 1950, 11,600,549; ANNOUNCED SUPPORT OF SUPREME COURT ACTION IN ABOLISHING SEGREGATION IN SCHOOLS. "ONE OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR FAITH IS THE BELIEF THAT ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS EQUAL IN THE SIGHT OF GOD."

THE SOUTHWEST TEXAS CONFERENCE IN ITS 96TH SESSION, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, MAY 26-30, 1954: THE BOARD CALLS UPON OUR PEOPLE TO ABIDE BY BOTH THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT OF THE RECENT DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT CONCERNING THE PRACTICE OF SEGREGATION. THEREFORE, LET US FACE THE CHANGES AHEAD WITH CONFIDENCE, SINCE THE LAW OF THE LAND REQUIRES IT AND GOD APPROVES IT."

BAPTISTS: - BAPTIST GENERAL CONVENTION OF TEXAS, REPORTING 1,363,685 MEMBERSHIP FOR 1954. (THIS DOES NOT INCLUDE COLORED BAPTISTS OR OTHERS OF THE BAPTIST FAITH NOT AFFILIATED.)

IN THEIR 69TH ANNUAL SESSION, FT. WORTH, TEXAS, OCTOBER 19-21, 1954:

"IN THE REALM OF RACE RELATIONS THE WORLD IS WATCHING WHAT WE IN THE SOUTH ARE ABOUT TO DO AND ARE DOING. WE CANNOT AFFORD, UNDER GOD, TO SIT AROUND AND WHINE ABOUT WHAT THE SUPREME COURT HAS DONE. THAT TEXAS BAPTISTS ASSUME THE INITIATIVE AT ONCE IN WORKING OUT A CHRISTIAN SOLUTION TO OUR RACE PROBLEM, NOT ALLOWING EITHER DEMAGOGUES OR RADICALS TO ROB US AS CHRISTIANS OF THAT MORAL LEADERSHIP WHICH GOD WANTS US TO EXERT IN THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM WHICH IS PRIMARILY MORAL AND SPIRITUAL."

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, REPORTING NEARLY NINE MILLION MEMBERSHIP, WHICH DOES NOT INCLUDE MORE THAN 3,000,000 NEGRO AND OTHER BAPTISTS NOT AFFILIATED, MEETING IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, JUNE 2-5, 1954:

"THE CURRENT SUPREME COURT DECISIONS ON SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN A SURPRISE TO ANY OF US. THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE MAKING FOR MORE THAN A HALF CENTURY. IT IS TIME FOR BAPTISTS AND THE OTHER CITIZENS OF OUR COUNTRY TO RESTORE (WRONG WORD USED - SHOULD HAVE BEEN GIVE) TO OUR 13,000,000 (SHOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER THAN SIXTEEN MILLION) NEGRO PEOPLE THEIR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AS GUARANTEED TO THEM BY OUR

CONSTITUTION."

DR. M. T. RANKIN, LATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE FOREIGN MISSION BOARD OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION SAID, "OUR MISSIONARIES HAVE LEFT CHINA AND ARE FINDING IT MORE DIFFICULT TO WORK IN AFRICA, ASIA AND OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD." HE ADDED, "THE SINCERITY OF OUR INTEREST IN THE COLORED PEOPLE WITHIN THEIR NATIVE LANDS WILL BE JUDGED BY OUR TREATMENT OF THE PEOPLES OF THOSE LANDS WHO LIVE IN OUR COUNTRY."

DR. A. C. MILLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, WRITES: "THE CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP OF THE SOUTH AND OF THE NATION DARE NOT HOLD THEIR PEACE ON THE SEGREGATION ISSUE. IT IS A QUESTION OF IMPERATIVE IMPORTANCE TO THE CHURCHES BECAUSE THE PRACTICE OF LEGAL SEGREGATION ON THE BASE OF RACE WEAKENS OUR CHRISTIAN WITNESS AT HOME AND ABROAD, AND LAYS A ROADBLOCK ACROSS THE PATH OF OUR MISSIONARIES. IN THIS GREAT DAY OF WORLD AWAKENING, THE MIGHTY ARM OF GOD MUST NOT BE SHORTENED BY POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY, NOR BY THE RACIAL EXCLUSIVENESS OF THOSE WHO PROFESS TO FOLLOW HIM."

WAYLAND BAPTIST COLLEGE, PLAINVIEW, TEXAS, BOARD PASSED A RULING, APPROXIMATELY THREE YEARS AGO TO ACCEPT STUDENTS WITHOUT RESPECT TO COLOR. THE COLLEGE HAS IN ATTENDANCE THIS SESSION, FIVE STUDENTS FROM NIGERIA, AFRICA; ONE FROM THE BAHAMAS, AND SIX FROM POINTS IN TEXAS. MR. & MRS. OJO, NATIONALISTS FROM NIGERIA, AFRICA, STUDENTS OF WAYLAND, FOUND THE DOORS OF ALL BAPTIST COLLEGES, EXCEPT WAYLAND, CLOSED TO THEM.

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF WAYLAND COLLEGE, GRAND CANYON COLLEGE, PHOENIX, ARIZONA AND SOUTHERN BAPTIST SEMINARIES HAVE COLOR BARRIERS.

ARKANSAS BAPTIST CONVENTION, MEETING AT WICHITA, KANSAS, IN THEIR 95TH SESSION, ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS URGING STRONG SUPPORT OF THE SUPREME COURT RULING OUTLAWING SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

VIRGINIA BAPTIST GENERAL ASSOCIATION AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING IN NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, ADOPTED A REPORT CALLING ADHERENCE TO THE SUPREME COURT DECISION OUTLAWING SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THE REPORT, ADOPTED OVERWHELMINGLY BY THE DELEGATES, OPPOSED ANY PLAN "WHICH SEEKS TO ELIMINATE PUBLIC SCHOOLS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY."

NEGRO BAPTIST POPULATION: - OF THE MORE THAN 15,000,000 NEGRO POPULATION

IN THE UNITED STATES, IN 1953, 7,342,592, OR ABOUT HALF OF THE BAPTIST POPULATION OF 17,762,763 ARE NEGROES. WHITE BAPTISTS CANNOT, CONSISTENTLY, ASSUME ANY OTHER POSITION ON SEGREGATION THAN THEY HAVE TAKEN THE PAST YEAR.

(THAT THERE MAY BE NO MISAPPREHENSION AS TO WHO THE WRITER MAY BE - HAVING DEVOTED QUITE A BIT OF SPACE TO BAPTISTS, THE AUTHOR GLADLY ACCEPTS THE ONUS, IF THERE BE ANY, AND ADMITS HE IS PROUD TO BE A BAPTIST, AND DEFENDER OF ITS FAITH AND PRACTICES, WHEN, IN HIS ESTIMATION, THEY ARE RIGHT. HE CONTRIBUTES TO THE PROMOTION OF THE OBJECTS OF HIS CHURCH.)

CATHOLIC - ROMAN: - REPORTING MEMBERSHIP OF 31,648,424.

QUOTING FROM NEWSWEEK, MAY 24, 1954: "IN THE SOUTH, CATHOLICISM IS GROWING ALMOST AS RAPIDLY AS IN THE WEST. THE MISSION TO THE NEGROES HAS ALSO BEEN FRUITFUL. IN ALABAMA, WHERE THERE WERE ALMOST NO CATHOLICS IN 1934, THERE ARE ALMOST TEN THOUSAND. IN MISSISSIPPI, THE NUMBER OF NEGRO CATHOLICS HAS GONE FROM ALMOST ZERO TO 6,500; AND IN TENNESSEE FROM DEAD ZERO TO 5,500. THE CHURCH'S FIRM ATTITUDE OF ANTI-SEGREGATION HAS BEEN THE GREAT FACTOR IN MAKING THESE CONVERTS." THE DIOCESES OF RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, WASHINGTON, D.C., SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS AND NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA HAVE COMPLETELY ABOLISHED SEGREGATION IN THEIR CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, TEXAS MEETING, IN FT. WORTH, REPRESENTING 1,250,000 PROTESTANTS OF TEXAS, IN A MESSAGE TO THE CHURCHES OF TEXAS SAID, "WITH THE SUPREME COURT DECISION TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, WE ARE CHALLENGED WITH THE NEW INTERPRETATION AND PATTERN OF BROTHERHOOD. THESE CHANGES ARE IN KEEPING WITH OUR CHRISTIAN CONVICTIONS AND CHALLENGE US TO APPLY THEM."

PRESBYTERIAN: - PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S. (SOUTHERN) SYNOD OF TEXAS, MEETING IN SAN ANTONIO, SEPTEMBER 15, 1954:

"CHRISTIAN EDUCATION COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS, 'THE SYNOD OF TEXAS AFFIRMS THAT ENFORCED RACIAL SEGREGATION IS DISCRIMINATORY OUT OF HARMONY WITH CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND ETHICS.' THAT TRUSTEES, DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES OF THE SYNOD BE URGED TO ADOPT POLICIES FOR OPERATING THESE INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES ON AN UNSEGREGATED BASIS."

AN ANALOGY

AS DID THE FIRST SETTLERS MIGRATE FROM THEIR PARENT LAND TO SEEK REFUGE FROM POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION, SO WE FIND THREE AND A HALF CENTURIES LATER AN ANALOGY OF PEOPLE OF COLOR MIGRATING FROM ONE SECTION OF THE NATION TO ANOTHER SEEKING TO FIND REFUGE FROM POLITICAL AND LEGAL DISCRIMINATIONS.

SHIFTS IN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES THE PAST FORTY YEARS, AND THE PART IT HAS PLAYED IN DE-SEGREGATION FOR THE NEGROES OF THE SOUTH HAS APPARENTLY BEEN GIVEN LITTLE CONSIDERATION. THERE CAN BE LITTLE DOUBT IT HAS BEEN ONE OF THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO THE ADVANCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

FOLLOWING WORLD WAR I, THE NEGRO HAS BECOME MORE OR LESS A MIGRANT PEOPLE, SEEKING OUT AND MOVING, WHAT TO HIM, HAS BEEN GREENER PASTURES. HE HOPED FOR AND HAS FOUND SURCEASE FROM LOCAL AND STATE LAWS, AND VULGAR, VICIOUS ATTITUDES THAT HAVE CONTINUALLY EMBARRASSED AND REMINDED HIM OF SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CIRCUMSCRIPTIONS. WITH THIS BACKGROUND OF URGE--THE SHIFT OF NEGRO POPULATION FROM THE SOUTH TO THE NORTH AND WEST, WHERE IN FEW INSTANCES THE NEGRO IS NOT HAMPERED BY LEGAL SEPARATION AND ENJOYS THE BENEFIT OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES EQUAL WITH THE WHITES. NO JIM CROW LAWS TO ISOLATE AND EMBARRASS. THERE IS NO BETTER ILLUSTRATION OF THE EFFECT ON POPULATION BY NEGRO MIGRATION TO OTHER AREAS THAN IS FOUND IN THE CHANGE IN TEXAS.

CENSUS OF 1940 SHOWED 924,391 NEGRO POPULATION IN TEXAS; WHEREAS, THE CENSUS OF 1950 NEGRO POPULATION WAS ONLY 977,458, WHICH WAS AN INCREASE OF 53,067, OR FOR THE PERIOD OF TEN YEARS, A PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF .05, WHICH IS MUCH BELOW THE AVERAGE BIRTH RATE INCREASE. THIS WOULD INDICATE THAT IN THE PAST TEN YEARS, AS IN PREVIOUS DECADES OF THE PAST FORTY YEARS, THOUSANDS OF NEGROES HAVE MIGRATED FROM TEXAS TO OTHER AREAS. IT COULD TRULY BE SAID THEY WERE SEEKING BETTER SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES.

IN TEXAS COMMUNITIES THE NEGROES HAVE CONFINED THEMSELVES TO THEIR PARTICULAR RESIDENTIAL AREAS. THEY HAVE THEIR COMMUNITY CENTERS, CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, AND, OF LATE YEARS, NICE GRADED AND HIGH SCHOOLS; SPORTS TEAMS HAVING PUBLICITY IN THE LOCAL PAPERS, AND THEIR ACTIVITIES APPEALING TO THE WHITES; IN MANY CITIES, POLICE AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THEIR OWN COLOR; AND NEWS OF INTEREST TO THE NEGRO CARRIED IN THE LOCAL PRESS. AS A WHOLE IT CAN BE SAID, THE NEGRO OF TEXAS DOES NOT LIVE IN A HOVEL WITH NO PERSONAL PRIDE

IN DRESS OR CARE OF HOME, BUT HAS A BETTER STANDARD OF LIVING AND PRIDE OF CITIZENSHIP THAN SOME WHITE PEOPLE OF THE STATE.

TEXAS HAS ANOTHER RACE PROBLEM OTHER THAN THE NEGRO. FOLLOWING WORLD WAR I, THE NEGRO BEGAN MIGRATION FROM TEXAS, WHEREAS, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE LATIN AMERICAN OR MEXICAN FROM MEXICO BEGAN RAPID MIGRATION TO TEXAS. POPULATION OF TEXAS IN 1950 WAS 7,711,194. MEXICAN POPULATION THE SAME YEAR WAS 1,346,000, WHICH TOGETHER WITH THE NEGRO POPULATION, WAS A TOTAL OF 2,323,458, OR 31.4 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE STATE.

HAS TEXAS MEASURED UP TO ITS RESPONSIBILITY OF EDUCATING THE NEGRO OR MEXICAN? TEXAS' RECORDS IN ITS RELATIONSHIP TO ALL RACES AND COLOR HAS BEEN BAD. ASIDE FROM ITS EDUCATION OF OTHER RACES AND COLOR, THERE IS THE RECORD OF 352 NEGROES AND 141 WHITES LYNCHED IN TEXAS DURING THE PAST SEVENTY YEARS AND FEW WERE LYNCHED FOR WHAT WAS CONSIDERED STATUTORY CRIMES. (THIS PART OF TEXAS HISTORY WAS WITHIN THE MEMORY OF THE WRITER AND HE RECALLS THAT THERE WERE MANY WILFUL AND MALICIOUS MURDERS BECAUSE OF LAXITY OF LAW ENFORCEMENT.) THE RECORD HAS IMPROVED OVER THE LAST TWENTY YEARS.

THE NEGRO HAS HAD TO STRUGGLE FOR HIS PLACE IN SPITE OF LEGAL RESTRICTIONS, WHEREAS THE MEXICAN, WITHOUT LEGAL RESTRICTIONS, HAS FAILED TO MEASURE LITTLE ABOVE HIS STATUS BEFORE COMING HERE. THIS, IN SOME MEASURE, IS ATTRIBUTABLE TO ALMOST PRACTICALLY PEONAGE PRACTICES IN THE SOUTHWEST AREA AND ESPECIALLY IN THE RIO GRANDE VALLEY. THE TREATMENT OF LABOR BEING EQUAL TO, OR WORSE THAN, THAT EXPERIENCED BY NEGRO SLAVES.

HAS THE NEGRO QUALIFIED FOR CITIZENSHIP?

ANYONE HAVING RESIDED WITHIN THE UNITED STATES FOR FIVE YEARS, WHO SHOWS GOOD MORAL CHARACTER, HAS SOME KNOWLEDGE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, SOME UNDERSTANDING OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, READS, WRITES AND SPEAKS WORDS IN ORDINARY USAGE IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, (PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES SEPTEMBER 23, 1950 AND FIFTY YEARS OF AGE, EXEMPTED) HAS TWO WITNESSES AND \$8.00, CAN QUALIFY FOR CITIZENSHIP IF THEY ARE OF THE FOLLOWING RACIAL OR COLOR GROUPS: WHITE PERSONS, NEGROES, DESCENDANTS OF RACES NATIVE TO NORTH OR SOUTH AMERICA OR NEARBY ISLANDS, FILIPINOS, CHINESE PERSONS, PERSONS OF RACES NATIVE TO INDIA, GUAMANIAN PERSONS AND PERSONS OF GUAMANIAN DESCENT. ANY OF THESE WHO HAVE SERVED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY ARE EXEMPT FROM THE REQUIREMENTS.

WHAT A TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE AND SHADOW OF SHAME THAT HANGS OVER THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, A PALL OF DISGRACE AND DISHONOR, WHEN 16,000,000 PEOPLE OF COLOR, WHO HAVE UNDERGONE THE TRIALS AND HARDSHIPS OF BUILDING A NATION WITHOUT A PEER, WITH THE WHITES, FOR THREE AND ONE-HALF CENTURIES, AND YET ARE STILL DEPRIVED IN MANY WAYS OF THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL PRIVILEGES GRANTED UNTO OTHERS OF THE SAME COLOR IN A PERIOD OF FIVE YEARS.

AS TO THE MORAL OR INTELLECTUAL INFERIORITY OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, DURING THE PERIOD OF SLAVERY, THERE IS NO ARGUMENT ON THIS QUESTION. BUT IN THE PAST NINETY YEARS IT IS QUITE OBVIOUS THE NEGRO HAS SHOWN HE HAS HAD THE SKILL, CAPACITY AND ABILITY TO RISE ABOVE HIS LOW ESTATE. REGARDLESS OF THE STIGMA OF SOCIAL OSTRACISM, LEGAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS BARRIERS, HE HAS CLIMBED TO A NEW PLACE IN AMERICA'S SUN. NOTICE SHOULD BE TAKEN THAT IN THE SOUTH IT WAS FORBIDDEN BY SEVERE PENALTIES TO TEACH THE SLAVE TO READ AND WRITE. BUT DESPITE THE HANDICAP OF NOT HAVING EQUAL FACILITIES FOR EVERY PHASE OF EDUCATION AND DISBARMENT FOR YEARS FROM OUR VAST TECHNICAL AND INDUSTRIAL PLANTS, HE HAS MADE STEADY PROGRESS, AND TODAY THERE IS FOUND IN THE NEGRO POPULATION NUMBERS OF SUCCESSFUL AND POPULAR MERCHANTS, BANKERS, TEACHERS, ACTORS, WRITERS, MUSICIANS, PHYSICIANS, LAWYERS, PREACHERS AND ENGINEERS.

IT WOULD BE WILLFUL NEGLECT NOT TO MENTION THAT OF ALL RACES OR COLORS OR CREED IN AMERICA, THE NEGRO IS LEAST INFLUENCED BY THE DOCTRINE OF COMMUNISM. IT IS TRUE THAT SOME NEGROES HAVE BECOME ENMESHED IN THE TENTACLES OF COMMUNISM; BUT A NOTICEABLE FACT IS, THAT WITH VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS, SUCH AS PAUL ROBESON AND SOME THREE OTHERS, HAVE THERE BEEN ANY OF PROMINENCE IN COMMUNISM IN AMERICA.

IN THE LATTER THIRTIES A CERTAIN POPULAR ENCYCLOPEDIA, PUBLISHED FOR ADOLESCENTS STATED: "IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED 60 OR 75 PER CENT OF ALL THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE AT LEAST A TRACE OF WHITE BLOOD." ARE THERE THOSE (IF THIS STATEMENT BE TRUE) WHO WILL CLAIM THAT IT WAS THE WHITE BLOOD OF THE NEGRO WHICH HAS CONTRIBUTED SO MUCH TO THE REMARKABLE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO? SHAME ON SUCH AN OPINION. THIS WAS ADDED TO SHOW HOW THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD RESORT TO ANY SCURRILOUS METHOD TO ACCOUNT FOR THE REMARKABLE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO.

IT CAN BE SAID, WITHOUT FEAR OF SUCCESSFUL CONTRADICTION, NO COLORED RACE

HAS CROSSED WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF THE WHITE RACE UNTIL THE WHITE RACE HAS LOWERED THE BARRIER OF COLOR AND CROSSED WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF THE COLORED RACE. HISTORY OF RACES WILL BEAR THIS OUT.

THE RECORD OF PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO WOULD BE INCOMPLETE IF REFERENCE TO ILLITERACY WAS NOT MENTIONED. CONSIDERATION MUST BE GIVEN TO THE FACT THAT THE NEGRO HAD NO BENEFIT OF FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OR HIGHER INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING UNTIL AFTER THE CIVIL WAR, AND FOR NINETY YEARS SINCE THE WAR, THE WHITES HAVE STINTED IN CONTRIBUTING TO THEIR NEEDS IN LEARNING. TO PROPERLY UNDERSTAND WHAT A TASK IT HAS BEEN FOR THE NEGRO TO ADVANCE, REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE NEGRO POPULATION IN 1808 WHEN IMPORTATION OF SLAVES WAS PROHIBITED. THE SLAVE POPULATION THEN WAS 1,400,000, WHEREAS IN FIFTY-TWO YEARS, THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR, THE NEGRO POPULATION HAD INCREASED TO 4,000,000 IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, AND AN ESTIMATED POPULATION OF 600,000 FREE NEGROES IN THE NORTH.

WHAT A SUPREME TASK TO UNDERTAKE TO RALLY AND BEGIN AN ORGANIZED EFFORT FOR THE EDUCATION OF 4,000,000 PEOPLE, AND GET THEM STARTED IN ASSUMING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EARNING A LIVELIHOOD WHICH REQUIRES THEIR DEVELOPMENT OF GREATER MENTAL CAPACITY, IF THEY WOULD SUCCEED IN MEETING THE DEMANDS NECESSARY TO MEET COMPETITIVE METHODS IN THE SALE OF THEIR LABOR OR PRODUCTS THEY PRODUCE. HAS THE EFFORT PAID OFF? HAS IT BEEN JUSTIFIED AND PRODUCED RESULTS THAT DESERVE THE BEST IN RECOGNITION OF THEIR ACHIEVEMENT?

NOT ONLY HAS THE NEGRO SECURED RECOGNITION IN THE POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL SPHERES OF AMERICAN LIFE, BUT ALSO IN THE MILITARY AS WELL. A THIRD OF A CENTURY AFTER HE WAS LEGALLY MADE A FREE MAN, WE FIND NEGRO TROOPS, A PART OF A VOLUNTEER ARMY, GETTING ITS FIRST BLOOD BATH AT SAN JUAN HILL IN CUBA IN 1898. THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF DISCIPLINE AND BRAVERY WAS NOT QUESTIONED. SINCE THEN NEGRO TROOPS HAVE ACQUITTED THEMSELVES, EQUALLY AS PATRIOTICALLY AND UNASSUMING OF HEROISM AS ANY SOLDIERS OF HISTORY. A SON OF THE DEEP SOUTH GAVE THIS TESTIMONY: "I HAVE LEARNED HOW WRONG IS THE RACIAL HATRED AND PREJUDICES OF THE PEOPLE OF OUR SECTION. AS A COMMANDING OFFICER, I FOUGHT BESIDE THESE MEN (NEGROES) FOR TWELVE MONTHS. I KNOW WHAT THEY CAN DO, AND SOMETHING OF THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THEY DO IT."

OF COURSE IN QUOTING STATISTICS OF THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO OVER THE SHORT PERIOD OF NINETY YEARS, CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE FACT THAT THERE WERE AROUND 600,000 FREE NEGROES IN THE NORTHERN STATES AT THE TIME OF THE CIVIL WAR WHO HAD MADE

SOME PROGRESS IN SECURING SOME MEASURE OF EDUCATION. BUT REGARDLESS OF THOSE FEW, WE RE-ITERATE AS FORMERLY STATED, IF THOMAS JEFFERSON WERE HERE TODAY, MORE THAN ONE AND A QUARTER CENTURY SINCE HIS DAY, HE WOULD REMEMBER THAT THEN THE NEGRO WAS PROBABLY 95 PER CENT ILLITERATE. HE WOULD BE SHOCKED AT THE REMARKABLE PROGRESS THE NEGRO HAS MADE IN BANISHING ILLITERACY FROM HIS RACE. HE, DOUBTLESS, WITH MORE RAGE THAN HE EXHIBITED WHEN CRITICIZING HIS KING OR DRAFTING POLEMICS ON THE AFFAIRS OF HIS DAY, HE WOULD DENOUNCE THE POLITICAL DEMAGOGUES AND RADICALS FOR THEIR FIGHT TO CONTINUE VICIOUS AND UNFAIR LEGAL AND POLITICAL CIRCUMSCRIPTION. HE COULD READILY SAY HE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE WROTE, "NOTHING IS MORE CERTAINLY WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF FATE, THAN THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FREE; NOR IS IT LESS CERTAIN THAT THE TWO RACES, EQUALLY FREE, CANNOT LIVE IN THE SAME GOVERNMENT."

FOR THE RECORD, THESE ARE THE STATISTICS ON ILLITERACY:

	NATIVE WHITE	FOREIGN OR MIXED	FOREIGN BORN	NEGRO
1920	2.5	.8	13.1	22.9
1930	1.5		9.9	16.3 IN CITIES 5.0
1950	BECAUSE OF THE INSTITUTION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION, ILLITERACY AS A WHOLE FOR THE NATION REDUCED TO 3.2			

INTERESTING TO NOTE ILLITERACY IN NEW YORK STATE.

1920	NEGRO POPULATION 132,487	ILLITERATE 2.9	FOREIGN BORN ILLITERATE 14.2
1950	NEGRO POPULATION 918,191	ILLITERATE 2.	

THE AMERICAN CREED

I BELIEVE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AS A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE; WHOSE JUST POWERS ARE DERIVED FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED; A DEMOCRACY IN A REPUBLIC; A SOVEREIGN NATION OF MANY SOVEREIGN STATES; A PERFECT UNION, ONE AND INSEPARABLE; ESTABLISHED UPON THOSE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM, EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND HUMANITY FOR WHICH AMERICAN PATRIOTS SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES AND FORTUNES.