

OF-142-A-5-A Negro Matters-Colored Question
Integration Program for Public Schools, Colleges, and
Universities, Little Rock, Ark School Integration-Gov
Faubus' Use of Nat'l Guard (7)

O.F.
142-A-5-A
S

RECEIVED
OCT 16 1957
GENERAL FILES
T. JACK MARTIN
TABLE

October 7, 1957

PREPARED BY KAROLK

Dear Senator Stennis:

I am much impressed by the earnestness of your telegram of October first. I sense, however, that you may be laboring under a misimpression as to the relationship of the President and the Executive Branch to events now unfolding in Little Rock and elsewhere throughout the South. #

First, as to the mission of Federal soldiers in Little Rock, I emphasize that they are there not to enforce or to advance any governmental policy respecting integration, desegregation or segregation. They are there, simply, because the normal processes of law have been frustrated. Due to State use of force, first, to block Federal court orders, due next to State refusal to use troops to prevent mobs from blocking Federal court orders, and due finally to local inability to comply with Federal court orders because of mob violence unrestrained by State authorities, other than normal means had to be found to uphold the law. State and local law enforcement agencies being either unwilling or unable to uphold the law, it became imperatively necessary that the law be upheld by the Federal Government. x 07142-A-4
x 07100

The alternative to supporting the law in such a situation is to acquiesce in anarchy, mob rule, and incipient rebellion. Such unthinkable consequences would be quite as disastrous for the South as for any other region. Ultimately, of course, such a course would destroy the Nation.

Your earnest plea for understanding and for adequate consultation with representative leaders of the South I have every sympathy for. Repeatedly I have stressed the same point of view in press conferences, and it was emphasized once again in my statement to the Nation a few nights ago in respect to the Little Rock situation.

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

- 2 -

I have, in fact, just concluded a thorough discussion of this problem with the group who visited me on behalf of the Conference of Southern Governors, and certainly there is no disinclination on my part to have additional discussions with responsible officials and other leaders either of the South or of other regions concerned by the present course of events.

I must repeat, however, that my relationship to the problem at the moment is not one of attempting by force of arms to advance, impede, or otherwise affect the course of desegregation in the Nation's schools; that responsibility has been vested in United States District Courts by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Executive responsibility is presently confined to carrying out such duties as are placed upon it to support the orders of the District Courts.

x07111-C

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The Honorable ^XJohn Stennis
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

October 2, 1957

Dear Senator Stennis:

I am much impressed by the earnestness and sincerity of your telegram of October first. I sense, however, that you may be laboring under a misimpression as to the relationship of the President and the Executive Branch to events now unfolding in Little Rock and elsewhere throughout the South.

First, as to the mission of Federal soldiers in Little Rock, I emphasize that they are there not to enforce or to advance any governmental policy respecting integration, desegregation or segregation. They are there, simply, because the normal processes of law have been frustrated. Due to State use of force, first, to block Federal court orders, due next to State refusal to use troops to prevent mobs from blocking Federal court orders, and due finally to local inability to comply with Federal court orders because of mob violence unrestrained by State authorities, other than normal means had to be found to uphold the law. State and local law enforcement agencies being either unwilling or unable to uphold the law, it became imperatively necessary that the law be upheld by the Federal Government.

The alternative to supporting the law in such a situation is to acquiescence in anarchy, mob rule, and incipient rebellion. Such unthinkable consequences would be quite as disastrous for the South as for any other region. Ultimately, of course, such a course would destroy the Nation.

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Let not sent

- 2 -

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With best wishes,

Sincerely,

The Honorable John Stennis
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

BNH/sjs

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

RECEIVED
OCT - 2 1957
CENTRAL FILES

TO Mr. Hagerty

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

Date October 2, 1957

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

ACTION: Comment _____
Draft reply _____
For direct reply _____
For your information _____
For necessary action _____
For appropriate handling _____
See below _____

Remarks:

**The original telegram has been
sent to Mr. Harlow**

GPO 16-71284-1

By direction of the President:

Copy of tel of 10/1/57 to the P from Sen.
John Stennis; ~~re~~ situation concerning integration
in the schools, suggests P select a group of 20
or more personal advisors in each southern
state, requesting each of them to talk directly
with a minimum of 50 school patrons, and then to report their collective findings
and recommendations directly to the P.

A. J. GOODPASTER
Staff Secretary *AGP*

elb

O.F.
142-A-5-A
R

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1957
GENERAL CLERK
Checked by Kardex

October 8, 1957

Dear Dr. Reid:

Your letter of September twenty-fifth, transmitted to me by Dr. Elson, has just reached my desk. Despite the fine cooperation given by the four Southern Governors, the situation in Little Rock remains at a stalemate. I cannot, however, emphasize too strongly my appreciation of the attitude taken by these Governors as good citizens and responsible citizens.

Needless to say, I am more than grateful for your expressions of approval of the action it was necessary to take. One of the brighter spots in this whole distressing affair is that my mail brings me daily evidence that there are many people such as you, of Southern birth, who understand fully that there is no possible or acceptable alternative to obedience of the law of the land.

With many thanks for your letter, and best wishes,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Reverend ^xJohn Calvin Reid, Ph. D., D.D.
^xMt. Lebanon Presbyterian Church x 07144-B-1
Washington Road and Castle Shannon Blvd.
Pittsburgh 28, Pennsylvania

lw

THE NATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Connecticut Avenue at N Street N. W.
WASHINGTON

MINISTERS

Edward L. R. Elson, D. D., Litt. D., LL. D.

John Vedder Edwards, B.D.

John J. Rice, D. D.

Mailing address

1764 N Street, N. W.

Washington 6, D. C.

Phone NA. 8-5959

October 5, 1957

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am forwarding to you a letter from Dr. John Calvin Reid, the minister of the Mt. Lebanon Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, one of the large and influential churches of our denomination. Dr. Reid is received as an influential clergyman in various parts of this nation and this letter at this time is particularly significant since Dr. Reid is a southerner and has exercised most of his ministry in the deep South.

I hope you will find it possible to drop him a brief word of acknowledgment.

In recent days I have received many communications from clergymen expressing appreciation for your actions and pledging to uphold you in their prayers.

It is good to have you back in Washington and in church.

With prayers and good wishes

Faithfully yours,


Edward L. R. Elson

Enclosure

X

Mt. Lebanon Presbyterian Church

WASHINGTON ROAD AND CASTLE SHANNON BOULEVARD
PITTSBURGH 28, PA

JOHN CALVIN REID PH D. D D
MINISTER

FRED W CASSELL, B D
ASSOCIATE MINISTER

HARRY T. ADAMSON, B D
MINISTER OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

September 27, 1957

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

Dear Mr. President:

This is to whole-heartedly commend and endorse your action in ordering the Federal troops to Little Rock.

Frankly, I was somewhat disappointed that you did not deal more firmly with Governor Faubus at the beginning of the affair, particularly in view of the effect his attitude and actions were having upon our standing in the eyes of the world. But when you did move, it was with characteristic decisiveness and courage and you should have the support of all citizens who are committed to the principles of democracy, liberty, and justice for all. Your television presentation was excellent, particularly your analysis of how the Little Rock situation undermines our world prestige.

I trust you will be equally forthright with the southern governors next week. They should be given to understand that the one way to make sure that Federal troops will not be sent into their respective states is for each of them to use his influence, and if necessary the powers inherent in his office, on the side of observance of law and not (as Governor Faubus did) on the side of the obstruction of obedience.

It may add some weight to this letter to add that I am a North Carolinian by birth and heritage, a graduate of a southern college, and served some years as a Presbyterian minister in Georgia. Several members of my family still live in the South, and I am confident that they, as well as we who live in the North, all would endorse the sentiments expressed in this letter. So also would the majority of the 2800 members of the Congregation I now serve in Pittsburgh.

2.

I am presuming to send this letter to you through my honored friend, your pastor Dr. Edward L. R. Elson. I am also writing Senator John McClelland, Senator Brooks Hays, and Governor Luther Hodges of North Carolina.

Respectfully yours,

John Calvin Reid
John Calvin Reid

7
10-10-57

O.F.
143-A-5-A
B

October 8, 1957

Checked by Rader

Dear Mrs. Branscomb:

The telegram you sent me concerning the Arkansas situation has just now come to my desk.

Certainly the decision I had to make in that critical situation was one that I took reluctantly. Yet, as I have endeavored to make completely clear, there was no real alternative at that stage of the matter. Adherence to orderly processes of law is the cornerstone of our government and the action I took was purely in support of maintaining those orderly processes.

I earnestly hope that a full appreciation of the nature and necessity of the action will make it possible for men and women of good will and moderation to handle this problem as it ought to be handled.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

x
Mrs. Margaret Branscomb
105 Lynwood Boulevard
Belle Meade
Nashville, Tennessee

ACW

Wife of Chancellor of Vanderbilt
University. A violent telegram.
Draft by Minnich, approved by
Howard Pyle.

Mr Miller

Important?

(one of 10 richest
women in U.S. accord-
ing to Forbes)

CON

V.I.P. ?

WB287 NL PD

NASHVILLE TENN SEP 24

The White House
Washington

THE PRESIDENT -

1957 SEP 25 PM 9 57

THE WHITE HOUSE

I HAVE SUPPORTED YOU FROM THE BEGINNING AND ACCEPTED
MODERATE INTEGRATION AS NEGROES BECOME MORE MORAL AND
DEPENDABLE NOW I AM SHOCKED AND FRIGHTENED I NEVER
EXPECTED TO LIVE IN A DICTATORSHIP SUGGEST YOU PREPARE
LARGE CONCENTRATION CAMP. MY GRANDMOTHER ALSO LIVED
THROUGH RECONSTRUCTION

MARGARET BRANSCOMB.

105 Lynwood Blvd - C
Bill Mead
VASH Tenn

67

O.F.

142-A-5-A

C

October 8, 1957

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1957
GENERAL FILES

ST

Dear Mrs. Schmidt:

Thank you for your letter with the copy of the
X resolution adopted by the members of the
Christian Women's Fellowship of the Disciples
of Christ of Northern California-Western
Nevada during the recent annual Retreat at
Mission Springs, California.

I appreciate this thoughtful statement of the
feelings of your membership and the heartening
commendation of the decision I had to make in
the difficult Arkansas situation. //

I have endeavored repeatedly to make clear
that adherence to orderly processes of law is
a cornerstone of our form of government. With-
out it, the traditional way of life that we prize
so greatly would become impossible. It is good
to know that I have your support and your prayers.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mrs. T. R. Schmidt
President
X Christian Women's Fellowship
X The Christian Churches
of Northern California-Western Nevada
2082 Center Street
Berkeley 4, California

X 07 144-B-1

lw

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

OE

CHRISTIAN WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP

The Christian Churches of Northern California DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

10/5
7

encl

MRS. T. R. SCHMIDT, *President*
MRS. CHESTER ESLINGER, *First Vice President*
MRS. EDWIN SPARKS, *Second Vice President*
MRS. DENZIL CARLISLE, *Recorder*
MRS. ARCHIE LEFFEN, *Treasurer*

MRS. GRETA J. BROWN, *Executive Secretary*
Room 504 Mercantile Building
2082 Center Street
Berkeley 4, California
ASHberry 3-9722

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

October
1
1957

Dear Mr. President:

The members of the Christian Women's Fellowship of the Disciples of Christ of Northern California-Western Nevada in their annual Retreat last week felt compelled to make some statement regarding their feeling about integration of negro and white people, and especially the situation in Little Rock, Arkansas.

It seems especially imperative because the Study for all, or nearly all, Protestant women this half year is "Christ, The Church and Race."

The enclosed resolution was therefore drafted and unanimously adopted and we would request your consideration of it in your thinking and possible action.

Our earnest prayers go with this.

Yours very truly,

Blanche Schmidt (Mrs. T.R.)

President
The Christian Women's Fellowship of the
Christian Churches of Northern California-
Western Nevada.

R E S O L U T I O N

WHEREAS we of the Christian faith believe in equal opportunity for all people, and

WHEREAS, the practice of the brotherhood of man has become an imperative if peace on earth is to become a reality, and

WHEREAS the laws of our land have been based on this preface, and

WHEREAS we live in a democracy and desire to have its principles upheld in all areas of life, and

WHEREAS the Christian Women's Fellowship of the Disciples of Christ of Northern California, Western Nevada has deep concern and feelings regarding our Christian heritage in the belief that all men are equal in the sight of God;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That we write a letter of commendation to the President of the United States for his stand in upholding the Constitution and enforcing the decision of the courts, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we also send a letter of commendation to Congressman Brooks Hays for his efforts toward mediation, and that letters be written to the Little Rock, Arkansas Council of Churches and Ministerial Association urging them to support the upholding of these sacred laws.

Adopted by the women of the Christian Women's Fellowship
of the Disciples of Christ of Northern California
in their annual Retreat at Mission Springs, California
September 1957.

Handwritten scribbles and lines at the top of the page.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jack Martin

Will you look this over and see if there
is anything wrong with it?

acw



~~put one copy
in the
sub folder~~

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1957
GENERAL FILES

64
O.F.
142-A-3-A
7
October 8, 1957
J-T

PERSONAL

Dear Mr. Forbes:

I have pondered carefully your letter of October first, since in it you state clearly and, I know, sincerely your personal convictions as to the problem now troubling so many of us. May I ask you, in return, to concern yourself for a moment with the decision facing me when the National Guard of Arkansas was ordered by its Governor to block the execution of the orders of a Federal Court. The question then became solely that of supporting or failing to support that branch of government which, in the last analysis, is the one that protects each of us against capricious action by government.

As President of the United States, I have taken an oath to uphold the Constitution. That Constitution, due to the wisdom of our forebears, is subject to the interpretation of one of the three separate branches of our government, the Supreme Court.

A situation arose in Little Rock that distresses me as much as it does you. Many thoughtful Americans agree with you as to the unwisdom of the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court. But those Americans, and in this group I include the Governors of the four Southern States who, with me, have worked hard to try to find a solution to the Arkansas question, respect our laws and know they must be obeyed. Those Governors emphatically agreed that I, as President, had a duty of making certain that the Court's order was not obstructed.

PERSONAL

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

PERSONAL

From the beginning, in 1789, there have been individuals in our nation who have publicly and emphatically disagreed with particular laws. Parenthetically I might say that America would not be the nation of freedom of thought and expression that it is, and of which we are so proud, were not such disagreements possible. But such disagreements must not be translated into open defiance of the Constitution, as interpreted by the Courts. If we allow that, we have anarchy.

With portions of your letter I entirely agree, and I would most earnestly hope that you would understand the position of the Administration and would, in your area, do everything possible to further the good race relations that have been achieved in your own company. Time and again I have personally and publicly urged patience, education and understanding as the real cure to this problem and have pointed out the difficulties that arise from extremism on any question.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mr. Walter T. Forbes^x
President
Walter T. Forbes Company^x
Twelfth and Chestnut Streets
Chattanooga, Tennessee

PERSONAL

WALTER T. FORBES COMPANY

KNITTING AND WEAVING YARNS

Twelfth and Chestnut Sts. • Phone AMherst 7-9591

Chattanooga, Tennessee

October 1, 1957

THE WHITE HOUSE

OCT 4 9 31 AM '57

RECEIVED

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

My dear Mr. President:

x Sherman Adams

*nothing
the
sent to
file
10-2-57*

I am a great admirer of your sacrifices and fine work for the people of America, but this is to state I am declining the invitation for lunch with Sherman Adams here tomorrow, as I feel that he, Nixon, and Brownell, who are closer to you than anyone, have given you unsound advice that is not in keeping with our problems here in the South - that this wrong advice has not only intensified, but hurt the fine relationships between the white and colored races. x 6772-1
Adams
x 6799-
x 075

Last February I took our mutual friend, Bill Henry, to Perry, Georgia, and showed him the new colored and white schools there, where roughly 50% of the population is colored. He was amazed at the wonderful facilities for both races. We, of the South, want good medical care, good educational facilities, etc. for the negroes, but to have the Supreme Court order the races thrown together down here is just like ordering the Jews and the Arabs to associate together. To me, there is no solution in any court ruling.

Outside agitators, a biased press, NAACP lawsuits, and lack of understanding on the part of your close associates - and particularly Attorney General Brownell - are bringing this situation rapidly to chaos, which will only lead to lasting hatred between the races. It can still be smoothed over, if handled correctly, and as an American and a Southerner, with a son in the Marines, I urge you to strive for leniency now before the wounds go too deep.

In writing you this letter I speak for every member of our company, including our fine negro men that are actually working side by side with our white ladies. There is no other spot in the world where race relations have been as good as in our Southland. Now all are embarrassed by the unjustified Supreme Court 1954 meddling.

I regret you have had such poor advice, and I sincerely hope this letter will be of help to you, because I am a great admirer of yours, and we certainly have no problem between the races, provided we are left alone to solve our own problems.

Respectfully,
WALTER T. FORBES COMPANY

Walter T. Forbes

President

O.F.

142-A-5-A

M

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1957
CENTRAL FILES

October 8, 1957

Checked by Kardex

Dear Reba:

Thank you for your letter. I am, of course, gratified that as an ex-Arkansan you understand why it was necessary for me to act as I did in this troublesome business. Incidentally, I have had a number of letters from church and business leaders of Little Rock (even two, I believe, from members of the School Board), all setting forth their support of the decision I had to make. I believe that the good sense and judgment of the many fine people of your State will eventually mean that local authorities will stand firmly behind the Court order and that the Federal troops can be withdrawn.

Meantime, once again my appreciation of your thoughtfulness in writing.

With warm regard to you and Pell,

Sincerely,

X DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mrs. J. Pell Miller X PP 7 16 47
The Sheraton-Park
Washington, D. C.

Iw

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

3

THE WHITE HOUSE

OCT 7 10 53 AM '57

W

The President RECEIVED

The White House
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President

For many weeks
now I have felt
I simply had to
write a letter to
you, or talk to
you, or something,
to let you know
how very grieved
I am that it had

to be my State...
that has brought
this horrible thing
upon you. But I
want you to know
that I and the
people of Arkansas
would do anything
in the world to
undo what has
been done if it
were humanly possible.
To think that it
had to come at

your vacation time
was disgraceful, too.
I sincerely hope
that you and
Mamie had a
delightful stay
at Newport in
spite of it.

I love you both
very much and
shall be eternally
grateful for ^{your} having
been so wonderful to
Pell and me.

Pell is raving
mad about the
situation and says
Faubus has set
Civilization back
a hundred years -

Forgive me for
this long letter Mr.
President, but I
just had to let
you know how one
Arkansan feels -

Respectfully yours,
Reba Miller
10-5-'57

4+
O.E.
142-A-5-A
W

October 8, 1957

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1957
JFK FILES

Checked by Kardex

Dear Bob:

x PP71225

I suspect that in your area you get even more of the brickbats that fly my way than I do here. At any rate, Ralph McGill's article gratifies me highly, and I appreciate very much your making certain that it came to my attention.

re Little Rock situation

Some day soon I hope we can get together to discuss Little Rock and other, more pleasant, subjects.

X07135-E

Give my love to the charming Nell and, as always, warm regard to yourself.

As ever,

D.E.

x PP7353
x
Mr. R. W. Woodruff
Box 1734
Atlanta, Georgia

lw

R. W. WOODRUFF
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Atlanta, October 5, 1957

Dear Ann:

With all the intemperate things one
reads and hears, I thought maybe the Boss and you
might like to see the column by Ralph McGill in
this morning's Atlanta paper.

Yours sincerely,



Mrs. Ann C. Whitman
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

~~NO~~
Ask Jim
whether we should
send note?
D

O.F.

142-A-5-A
R

October 8, 1957

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1957
GENERAL FILES

Dear Mr. Shartzter:

Needless to say, I am gratified at the content of the resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Republican State Central Committee at its meeting on October third. Thank you, too, for calling my attention to the newspaper story concerning the opposition view.

Checked by Kardex

x 07135-C

Time and again I have personally and publicly urged patience, education and understanding as the real cure to the problem that concerns all of us, and have pointed out the difficulties that arise from extremism on any question. But in the Little Rock situation I, as President of the United States, had no alternative to the duty of making certain that the Court's order was not obstructed.

Again, my thanks to you and the members of the Executive Committee for your support of the law of the land, and warm regard,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The Honorable ^x William B. Shartzter
Chairman
Republican State Central Committee
of Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

x 07135-C

lw

THE ATLANTA JOURNAL
FRI OCT 4, 1957.

Bid to Censure Ike Rejected By State GOP Strategists

By ROBERT JOINER

A formal request by a top Georgia Republican for censure of President Eisenhower has been turned down by state GOP strategists.

At the same time, the executive committee of the GOP issued a "statement of policy" on the Little Rock, Ark., school situation, dealing with the President's sending Army troops to enforce school integration.

That statement said the Little Rock situation "is extremely regrettable" but that it "is not a political issue."

THE MEETING was held in Atlanta Thursday. Members of the press were barred from the meeting.

Miss Margaret Twiggs of Augusta, vice chairman of the Republican state central committee, had asked for censure of the President. Her resolution was discussed for the first 50 minutes of the Thursday meeting, said Tom Hays, public relations aide to the Republican executive committee.

Mr. Hays said the committee decided not to release the text of Miss Twiggs' resolution. However, he said, Miss Twiggs asked the committee "as a body to resolve that the President be censured for his actions in the Little Rock school situation."

NO INFORMATION was released on what went on during the long debate on the request for censure. William B. Shartz, chairman of the Republican state central committee, refused to talk to newspapermen.

However, the text of the Twiggs resolution was released in Augusta.

In the resolution which she released, Miss Twiggs asked the executive committee, of which she is a member, to declare that "our belief and trust and confidence in the leadership of the Republican Party has been dealt a devastating blow. She said that

was "because of the recent peremptory and unconscionable invasion of the sovereign rights of the people of Arkansas through executive fiat and the naked use of force."

REFERRING to "tragic events in the State of Arkansas," she said, "such events tend to foreshadow and threaten and point out a pattern of similar reckless action to be followed in other sovereign states."

Miss Twiggs did not attend the meeting in Atlanta Thursday. Also absent were four of the 10 district chairmen and two of the five vice presidents, the committee's public relations aide said. District chairmen and state officers are members of the executive committee.

According to a statement issued from the Thursday meeting, the members present unanimously voted to reject Miss Twiggs' resolution.

The "statement of policy" from

the committee came shortly after the action to reject.

THE FULL TEXT of that statement was:

"The Little Rock situation is extremely regrettable. President Eisenhower made clear he regretted taking this course of action; however he is charged with enforcing the law as interpreted by our federal courts.

"If the problem of school integration is not to be handled by mob violence it must be handled in accordance with the law.

"This is not a political issue and Republicans and Democrats alike in the South must not encourage extremists who are promoting violence and the destruction of our public school system."

THE MEETING was originally called on Sept. 16, "to formulate plans for Georgia's financial needs." The state GOP finance chairman, Robert R. Snodgrass, signed the call to the meeting.

State GOPs Back Ike On Troops

Continued From Page 1

courage extremists who are promoting violence and destruction of our public school system"

Two Atlanta Negro Republicans—Clayton R. Yates, a vice chairman of the State Central Committee, and W J Shaw, secretary of the central committee—attended the session which originally had been called by Robert R Snodgrass of Atlanta, state financial chairman, to discuss fund-raising problems.

FROM MISS TWIGGS

Hays said the committee decided not to release the text of the resolution which it had just rejected. The text, however, was obtained from Miss Twiggs by the Associated Press.

In the telegram Miss Twiggs said that under the Eisenhower leadership Republicans in Georgia and the South had "entertained high hopes that a healthy and vigorous two-party system might evolve" in Dixie.

The optimism of Georgia Republicans, she said, had been strengthened by the "moderate and temperate opinions concerning civil rights" that Eisenhower had "voiced from time to time"

BLOW TO TRUST

But, she declared, "our belief and trust and confidence in the leadership of the Republican Party has been dealt a devastating blow because of the recent peremptory and unconscionable invasion of the sovereign rights of the people of Arkansas through executive fiat and the naked use of force"

That leadership, she asserted, "has declined so miserably, and the promises we once valued... have been debased"

The executive committee was urged by Miss Twiggs "to deplore the recent tragic events in Arkansas.

Others attending the conference included James L. Sundry, Savannah, First District; Russell A. Kahher, Albany, Second District; James M Brophy, Rhine, Third District; Roy W Harrell, Fayetteville, Fourth District; Charles

Moye Pr., Atlanta, Fifth District; Mrs. J. Marvin Elliott, national committeewoman from the Sixth District; J. M. Kent, St. Simons, Eighth District; Reid Mull, Blue Ridge, Ninth District, Inman Brandon, Atlanta, Fifth District finance chairman, and William J. Schloth, Columbus, a central committee vice chairman.

Twiggs Says

and comedy of errors and insinuation
Burdette whipped his curve his
in... and... sawball past the
Yankees for a seven-hitter which
sent little Bobby...
defeat in a game marked
by brush-back pitches and spitball
passes and made the Yankees
sorry that they let Burdette go in
a deal which won one world

State GOPs Support Ike On Troops

A Georgia Republican's proposal to censure President Eisenhower's "naked use of force" in Little Rock was rebuffed Thursday by state GOP leaders who said the President was merely "enforcing the law."

After voting to bar newsmen from its session in Atlanta, the Republican State Executive Committee debated 50 minutes before unanimously vetoing a censure resolution drawn up by Miss Margaret S. Twiggs of Augusta, a vice chairman of the committee.

Miss Twiggs, who did not attend the conference, sent her proposal deploring the "unconscionable invasion" of Arkansas to state chairman William B. Shartzer.

SECRET DEBATE

The committee voted to back Eisenhower following secret debate that was "not at all heated," according to Tom Hays, assistant to the state chairman.

Hays released to newsmen a "statement of policy" drafted by the executive committee which said:

"The Little Rock situation is extremely regrettable President Eisenhower made clear he regretted taking this course of action; however, he is charged with enforcing the law as interpreted by our federal courts.

MUST BE BY LAW

"If the problem of school integration is not to be handled by mob violence, it must be handled in accordance with the law.

"This is not a political issue, and Republicans and Democrats alike in the South must not en-

Continued on Page 13, Column 1



Republican State Central Committee of Georgia

612 LOEWS GRAND THEATRE BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

JACKSON 5-5470

W. B. SHARTZER
CHAIRMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

OCT 5 11 39 AM '57

RECEIVED

October 4, 1957

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

Mr. President:

At the request of the Executive Committee of the Republican State Central Committee of Georgia, I am enclosing herewith a copy of a resolution that was unanimously adopted yesterday.

Also enclosed are copies of news stories from today's Atlanta Constitution and the Atlanta Journal.

Respectfully yours,

W. B. Shartzer
William B. Shartzer

Resolution submitted by W. B. Shartzler, Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Georgia and passed by the Executive Committee of the Republican State Central Committee of Georgia, October 3, 1957:

The Little Rock situation is extremely regrettable. President Eisenhower made clear he regretted taking this course of action; however, he is charged with enforcing the law as interpreted by our federal courts.

If the problem of school intergration is not to be handled by mob violence, it must be handled in accordance with the law.

This is not a political issue and Republicans and Democrats in the South must not encourage extremists who are promoting violence and the destruction of our public school system.



O.F.
142-A-5-A
14

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1957
GENERAL FILES

October 8, 1957

Checked by K...ez

Dear Charlie:

* PP71225 Ralph McGill's ^x article in the "Atlanta Constitution" of the fifth is, of course, a source of gratification to me. Thank you for sending it along (as well as for the other McGill editorials that Mrs. Whitman tells me you arranged to have forwarded but that have somehow or other become lost in transit). *re Little Rock Situation* x 07135-E

And, needless to say, I appreciate your comments about the last press conference. It wasn't an easy half hour -- but then I don't remember any one that I have felt I could coast through. x 67101-L

With warm regard,

As ever,

11

* PP7356
x
Mr. Charles R. Yates
313 Trust Company of Georgia Building
Atlanta, Georgia

lw

CROSS COPY FOR STAFF SECRETARY

CHARLES R. YATES
313 TRUST COMPANY OF GEORGIA BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

10/5/57

Dear Ann,

Enclosed is a front page article in today's Atlanta Constitution that I hope will be of interest to you and perhaps The President.

I have just read the transcript of Thursday's Press Conference. It was masterful.

Regards,
Charlie Yates

LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE WASHINGTON CHAPTER, AVC. *File*

Place: YWCA, Fourth Floor Dining Room, 17th & K Sts., N.W.

Time: Tuesday, October 8, 1957, 12:30 p.m.

Speaker: *W. A. 534* WILLIAM M. HINES, JR., Staff Reporter, The (Washington) Evening Star. *X*

Topic: "THE LITTLE ROCK STORY: AN EXPERT EYEWITNESS REPORTS". Mr. Hines covered the Little Rock story for The Star until he was pulled out, after threats on his life were made by segregationists indignant about his blunt questioning of Governor Faubus in a television interview.

Price: \$1.35 plus D. C. Sales Tax.

PLEASE TELEPHONE RESERVATIONS FOR YOURSELF AND GUESTS TO RAY WATTS, EXECUTIVE 5-3812, BY NOON MONDAY, OCT. 7, OR EARLIER.

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OCT - 4 1957
GENERAL FILES

O.F.

142-A-5-A

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October 8, 1957

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1957
GENERAL FILES

Checked by Kardex

Dear George:

I don't quite know when anything has pleased me as much as your letter. Incidentally, I might add that in addition to the good advice I get daily from the columnists, my mail concerns itself in large measure to two types of letters. There are those who write to the President because of the headlines they read (and I assure you they rarely read further than the headlines). These letters follow with astonishing accuracy the "suggestions" of the so-called liberal press. The other, and more difficult to handle, is mail that comes from people who have real problems and who in desperation turn to the President. (And in so many cases the President or the government cannot do a single thing, even in cases of obvious injustice).

X 04 135
X 04 72-A-12

At the very least I mean to imply by the above lengthy paragraph that I deeply appreciate the sentiments you express in your letter of the fourth. Thank you for taking the trouble to write me.

X PP 720-15 "7"

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mr. George A. Poole
85 West Harrison Street
Chicago, Illinois

X PP 7 1392

Leticia Beck
Leticia Beck
lw

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

GEORGE A. POOLF 85 WEST HARRISON STREET, CHICAGO

October 4, 1957

THE WHITE HOUSE
OCT 7 2 50 PM '57
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My dear President Eisenhower,

Of all your speeches and actions which have pleased me - and they have been many - few have given me as much pleasure as your answer to William McGaffin of the Chicago Daily News in your news conference yesterday. I thought it was very appropriate. X 07101-L

During the last five years I have gotten an inferiority complex because I am practically the only one in my acquaintance who does not know precisely how taxes could be substantially reduced, how the United States could win the unselfish, unswerving loyalty of every nation in the free world, how we could have kept the Communists completely out of Indochina, and many other simple little things of a similar nature.

I would imagine that you too must feel some such personal inadequacy when you are constantly confronted with the fact that scores of people could have long since solved many of the problems with which you are still wrestling. To give only one example: if Mr. Walter Lippmann had been calling the shots, he apparently would have been able to keep the Little Rock incident from ever even taking place.

- 2 -

October 4, 1957

In spite of all this, you can be sure that not more than an extremely small percentage of the American people think you should have united and infuriated the South by stepping in before exhausting every possibility of having the court order carried out by the local authorities in Arkansas, and an equally small percentage think you should have committed the unthinkable dereliction of not stepping in when it became obvious that such an action was the only way to have the court order carried out. The overwhelming majority of the people from coast to coast with whom I have talked think you have handled the whole matter in the best possible way.

Incidentally, in addition to certain other limitations, Governor ^{James} Faubus is a mighty poor judge of people. No one should have to be around you more than ten minutes to know that, notwithstanding your great personal humility, no one living can push you around where your duty is concerned.

I hope your golf game is good. With best regards,

Sincerely,

George A. Peol

GAP:jsn

O.F.

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30414
OCT 12 1957
GEN. HILL

ST

October 9, 1957.

Dear Captain Randall:

Thank you very much for your note regarding the difficult, but necessary, action in the Little Rock situation.

I am always delighted to hear from friends of West Point days, and I especially appreciate your taking the trouble to write me at this particular time.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

(Soc) Dwight D. Eisenhower

x
Captain William Randall,
358 East 17th Street,
Brooklyn 26, New York.

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

~~OK~~

358 East 17th St.

Brooklyn 26,

ny. 30 Sept. 57

Dear Mr. President,

As your friend from Highland Falls and West Point for over 40 years, I want you to know that all real Americans are saddened, with you, over the foolish behaviour of Gov. Faubus of Arkansas. You could not have acted in any other way - than you did - to insure an education for Negro children, which is guaranteed them by our laws.

If Gov. Faubus continues with his rantings and untrue remarks, the U. S. Dist. Court should charge him with Contempt of Court - and put him in jail.

He is merely resorting to trick and device, but he is fooling nobody.

May Almighty God let this choice pass, and continue you in good health. That is our prayers!

Sincerely,

Capt. Bill Randall.

The President -

The White House

Wash. D.C.

ACW

Mr. President

Do you remember him?

acw



THE DIOCESE OF ARKANSAS
 CATHEDRAL HOUSE
 300 WEST SEVENTEENTH STREET
 LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

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 OCT 15 1957
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THE RT. REV. ROBERT R. BROWN, D. D.

October 9, 1957

O.F.
 142-A-5-A
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THE WHITE HOUSE
 Oct 10 2 05 PM '57
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The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower
 The White House
 Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

May I offer a progress report concerning our situation here in Little Rock and the efforts of some of our church leaders to exercise a "ministry of reconciliation".

This coming Saturday, Columbus Day, October 12, approximately eighty-one churches of all denominations will conduct prayer services according to their own worship forms in line with the request contained in your communication.

I have been informed, further, that the National Council of Churches of Christ of America is calling for similar services to be held throughout the Nation on this same date and that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations is doing the same.

At least this petitioning of an almighty and loving Father for guidance during these crucial hours will offer a first step to those who stand for law and order.

Faithfully yours,

RB

Robert R. Brown

Bishop of Arkansas

O.F.
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U.S. Post Office
Washington

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THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

YOUR COMMUNICATION TO ME RECEIVED ENTHUSIASTICALLY BY CLERGY OF ALL FAITHS HERE IN LITTLE ROCK. JEWISH AND ROMAN CATHOLIC LEADERS HAVE JOINED WITH PROTESTANTS TO APPROVE PUBLIC SERVICES AT INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES ON COLUMBUS DAY OCTOBER 12TH AT 11 AM TO PRAY FOR THE SUPPORT AND PRESERVATION OF LAW AND ORDER, LEADERS OF COMMUNITY, STATE, NATION, THE YOUTH OF THIS

COMMUNITY, CASTING OUT RANCOR AND PREJUDICE IN FAVOR OF UNDERSTANDING AND COMPASSION, FOR THE PEOPLES RESISTANCE AGAINST UNTHINKING AGITATORS. AM ENCOURAGED BY THIS RESPONSE COMING SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THAT OF THE COMMUNITIES BUSINESS LEADERS ROBERT R BROWN BISHOP OF ARKANSAS.

O.F.

RECEIVED
OCT - 1 1957
GENERAL FILES

Newport, Rhode Island,
September 27, 1957.

RT

Dear Bishop Brown:

X OF 8 X OF 144-B

From Walter Robertson I have learned with gratitude of your offer, made on behalf of the church leaders in Little Rock, to be helpful in the present troublesome situation arising there out of court decisions affecting desegregation of the races in the public schools. I deeply believe that there is much that Little Rock's ministers, as the spiritual and moral leaders of the community, can do to help place the matter in proper perspective before all citizens.

X OF 142-A-5

X OF 33

The founders of our nation clearly felt that free government is a political expression of religious faith, with basic human rights deriving directly from the individual's Creator. Religious leaders have an especial opportunity, I think, to help keep such a government strong and vital and continuously devoted to the concepts that inspired the signers of our Declaration of Independence.

X OF 102-A

What is now at stake is whether we as citizens of this great nation will remain faithful to the institutions that have been provided for us to make effective the will of the majority as authorized and limited by our Constitution. The immediate question is not at all whether any particular individual agrees with a particular decision of the Supreme Court. The real question is whether we shall respect the institutions of free government or, by defying them, set up either a process of deterioration and disruption or compel the authorities to resort to force to obtain that respect which we all should willingly give.

X OF 102-B

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY.

Never has it been more important than now that we, as a united nation, give to our system and to our laws the unswerving loyalty and devotion which has always been the strength of free government.

Today the very concepts of freedom are under relentless attack by an atheistic ideology that denies any right or any dignity to the individual not accorded him by the state. The liberties we so much love, that we can practice among ourselves because of the basic belief that we constitute one brotherhood under the fatherhood of God, demand that we stand together steadfastly against the relentless assaults of international communism. If we ourselves defy the instruments by which our liberties have been and are being preserved, our vulnerability to the outside threat will be vastly, even terrifyingly, increased.

X OF 133-E-1

On the positive side to obey the law is one mark of our devotion to our country. It is one means open to every individual through which he may make that country stronger.

Consequently I hope that you and the ministers of Little Rock will be able not only to lead all of the citizens of the city to disregard the incitements of agitators, but will join in support of the law and the preservation of our country and the institutions of government under which it lives. And I could hope that your prayers would seek the power for all of us to cast out rancor and prejudice in favor of understanding and compassion. In such a climate the distressing problem that has so stirred up the emotions of many citizens in our land can, in good time, be solved. All of us realize that not through legislation alone can X OF 99-Z prejudice and hatred be eliminated from the hearts of men. Leadership, including religious leadership, must play its part.

-3-

Again my gratitude to you and your associates in the clergy for your offer to be helpful. I am convinced that if all of us work together in the spirit implicit in your suggestion, we should eventually be able to work out all our problems, including those of race, and as a consequence, our beloved country will be greater, stronger and more secure in all the years to come.

Sincerely,

ELMER D. LITTLEWOOD

Right Reverend Robert E. ^XBrown,
Bishop of Arkansas,
X 300 West 17th Street,
Little Rock,
Arkansas.

cc - Attorney General
Mr. Hagerty
Mrs. Whitman



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

September 25, 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR

MRS. WHITMAN:

Mr. Walter Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State, telephoned me today to say he had received a telephone call from a very old friend of his, Bishop Robert R. Brown of Little Rock, Arkansas, who is the Episcopal Bishop of Arkansas.

X OF 144-B-1

He said he was speaking for all the Little Rock churches (which included among their membership members of the Little Rock Board of Education and also some advisers of Governor Faubus) and that it was his opinion that the church leaders in Little Rock supported the President's action yesterday.

He stated to Mr. Robertson that if the President felt there was anything the churches or church leaders of Little Rock could do to help him that they would be glad to do so.

Bishop Brown's address is 300 West 17th Street, Little Rock, and his telephone numbers there are FRanklin 2-4265 and FRanklin 2-1030.

I told Secretary Robertson I would transmit this message to you at Newport and knew that the President would appreciate receiving it, and that any action to be taken would be decided upon in Newport.

763. X OF 5

BZ

The Assistant to the President
LAM/d

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1957
GENERAL FILES

O.F.

142-A-5-A
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October 9, 1957

Dear Dr. Lowry:

The President was most appreciative of your letter of the seventh and the interest that prompted your suggestions with regard to the difficult situation in Little Rock.

As you know, one of the greatest forces for good in this entire matter has been that distinguished religious leader, Congressman Brooks Hays. Rather than trying to deal with specificities, the President thought that you might best consult with Congressman Hays. Certainly his great familiarity with the local situation and his real appreciation of the force of religious leadership would combine to produce some very useful guidance in what is necessarily a sensitive area.

You have the President's thanks for your desire to be helpful in any appropriate way.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

SHERMAN ADAMS

X
Dr. Charles Wesley Lowry
Chairman and Executive Director
X Foundation for Religious Action
in the Social and Civil Order
1112 Dupont Circle Building
Washington 6, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mary Burns

I have not shown this to the President,
thinking that perhaps Governor Adams would
answer for him.

acw

FOUNDATION FOR RELIGIOUS ACTION



"To make religious truth an effective force for the promotion of ordered freedom and the common good in every Nation and in the family of Nations."

IN THE SOCIAL AND CIVIL ORDER

CHARLES WESLEY LOWRY PH D (OXON)
CHAIRMAN AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
EDWARD L R ELSON, D D, LITT D
CO-CHAIRMAN

October 7, 1957

1112 DUPONT CIRCLE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 6, D C DU 7-4100

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

10/7/57 - A-5 A "B"

In New York last Friday I read with extreme interest your correspondence with Bishop Robert Brown in Little Rock, and the plans for a ministry of reconciliation centering around services planned for Saturday, October 12th. It happens that Robert Brown was one of my pupils at the Virginia Seminary, Alexandria. Another pupil, Charles Higgins, is Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral in Little Rock.

In the last ten days I have had to make several speeches on the general theme of the Church and Communism. In this context I have been speaking strongly on race relations and Church leadership, and have found a surprisingly sober and positive response. This coming Wednesday I am to speak at noon in Richmond in Robert Brown's former church, Old St. Paul's, on "The Church and Communism's Bold Challenge."

All this has led to my thinking and brooding a good deal on the Little Rock situation, and the larger national problem of which it is simply one part. Being a clergyman without portfolio, but having behind me this interesting all-faith organization concerned to bring spiritual motivation to bear in problems of the common good, it has occurred to me that I might be able to be of some help to you, and to our country, by going out to Little Rock in one of two possible capacities: (1) entirely as a private individual to observe and talk with my friends and other key clergymen and lay leaders in the area; or (2) as your unofficial representative to take messages from you to the key religious leaders, and to study what goes on on Saturday and Sunday, October 12th and 13th, with a view to bringing back a comprehensive report to you.

In my mind, also, is the possibility that FRASCO might call a Conference of moderate Southerners of all faiths and of both races on "Our Spiritual Responsibility as Citizens to Overcome Racial Tensions". As a Southerner who for many years has worked on moderate lines for better race relations, I believe that the big factor so far missing in the integration question is the exertion of force by moderates. This is the third force that alone can turn the tide.

May I say, Mr. President, that I believe your personal point of view on government and religion, as expressed so eloquently in your Address at FRASCO's First National Conference, and on many other occasions, could be most effective if transmitted to our religious leaders. It is even possible that I might take copies of the attached Booklet and present them to religious leaders in Little Rock.

In all this I am only thinking out loud and I have no personal feelings should your reaction be negative as to the value of my personal participation at this time.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

MAXWELL ABBELL JOHN QUINCY ADAMS RT REV ATHENAGORAS EDWARD W EARRETT *THE HON WILLIAM R CASTLE *REV JOHN F CRONIN, S S GEORGE L CROSS N R DANIELIAN *THODORE A DISTLER WILLIAM YANDELL ELLIOTT REV DR LOUIS H EVANS HENRY FORD II FRANCIS PENDLETON GAINES *RABBI NORMAN GERSTENFELD KENNETH S GINIGER REV DR BILLY GRAHAM GORDON GRAY REV DR FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS ALBERT J HAYES REV THEODORE M HESBURGH, C S C BISHOP IVAN LEE HOLT THE HON HERBERT HOOVER *ROBERT L JOHNSON ROBERT WOOD JOHNSON JEROME G KERWIN FRANK C LAUBACH HENRY R LUCE *THE HON GEORGE C MCGHEE RABBI EDGAR MAGNIN THOMAS H MAHONEY JOHN MARSHALL BENJAMIN E MAYS GEORGE MEANY THOMAS E MURRAY WINFRED OVERHOLSER, M D THOMAS W PANGBORN LT GEN WILLARD S PAUL REV DR NORMAN VINCENT PEALE RT REV NOBLE C POWELL JUDGE JOSEPH M PROSKAUER MOST REV MICHAEL J READY FRANK A ROSE GEORGE SHUSTER REV DR JOSEPH R SIZOO SPYROS P SKOURAS ROBERT E SMITH GUY E SNAVELY REV DR RALPH W SOCKMAN ROBERT G STOREY *THE HON JOHN L SULLIVAN D ELTON TRUEBLOOD RT REV HENRY ST GEORGE TUCKER JAMES F TWOHY KENNETH D WELLS WILLIAM R WHITE CHARLES EDWARD WILSON MOST REV JOHN J WRIGHT RICHARD S ZEISLER *STANDING POLICY COMMITTEE

-2-

On the other hand, the whole matter is so urgent that I felt I ought to make these tentative suggestions and offer my services should it appear to you that I could be of use.

This morning, in the current Christian Century, I read an article by a Little Rock Pastor which is so important that I am taking the liberty of enclosing it with this letter. If the facts alleged in this Pastor's article are correct, it seems to me that they provide a most valuable lesson in what has to be done in any Southern community as the basis for first steps in integration.

with appreciation of your courageous leadership, and with warm personal regard,

Sincerely,


Charles Wesley Lowry

Encls.

CC: The Honorable Sherman Adams

CC: Rev. Dr. Edward L. R. Elson

Lesson from Little Rock

By Colbert S. Cartwright

ON THE DAY that Arkansas national guardsmen first formed a cordon around Little Rock's Central High School to block the entry of nine Negro students, a Lutheran pastor had occasion to make a sick call at a house across from the school. As he walked past a rocket launcher partially blocking the street, he asked one of the guardsmen if he thought such heavy weapons were necessary.

"If you'll pardon the expression, sir," was the reply, "I feel like a damned fool—protecting 2,000 white high school students from nine colored students."

There are many aspects of the Little Rock school crisis which can only be termed foolish—regardless of one's choice of theological modifiers. However, behind Gov. Orval E. Faubus' action lie facets of the Little Rock school problem which are in danger of being overlooked. It will be tragic if the nation sees nothing more at Little Rock than a picture of Faubus' folly.

Others Share Responsibility

The Little Rock school board and Superintendent Virgil Blossom must share responsibility for the Little Rock debacle. Their whole approach to the task of making a transition from a dual to an integrated school system unwittingly invited the drastic action which Governor Faubus took on September 2 when he called out the national guard.

It has been Faubus' contention that the Little Rock community "is not in the condition to have integration at the moment." This is a judgment impossible to prove or disprove. Many observers are convinced that the transition would have been made with a minimum of trouble if the governor had not interfered. There are other persons of both races who have watched with growing alarm the school board's development of an approach to the problem which disregarded everything experience has taught about human nature.

The *Arkansas Gazette* summarized that approach accurately: "(1) The Little Rock plan of integration was voluntarily evolved by the Little Rock school board over a period of three years. It was a legal design intended to accomplish the minimum integration over the longest period of time permissible under the Supreme Court ruling. (2) The plan was presented to the people of Little Rock in these terms and fully explained. School Superintendent Virgil Blossom himself made an estimated 200 speeches in this three-year period setting forth the plan in detail to interested white and colored parent groups."

The general attitude of Dr. Blossom in explaining the plans for integration to white groups was that the prospect was as distasteful to him and the school board as to anyone else. His argument rested solely on the fact that the school board knew no way to get around the Supreme Court decision. He emphasized the wisdom of the school board's "deliberate" program to avoid federal district court

should delineate a plan. The superintendent explained the plan to anyone who would listen. He asked help from no one.

This approach to preparing the community for the mingling of the races in public schools revealed no awareness of the lessons taught by troublesome Clinton, Tennessee, or peaceful Louisville, Kentucky. Superintendent Omer Carmichael of Louisville has said that one thing was plain to him from the beginning: preparation for so radical a change has little hope of success unless it is a communitywide program. In *The Louisville Story* he explains the manner in which he sought to involve the whole community in a discussion of desegregation. He solicited help from parent-teacher associations, the Kentucky council on human relations, churches and church-related groups, women's clubs, civic groups and other organizations. He secured the cooperation of radio stations and disseminated literature on race relations. As the whole Louisville community became involved in thinking about race relations, the problem was seen not only from the legal but from the moral, social and psychological points of view.

It is significant that the hindsight of the people of Clinton points to the wisdom of the Louisville approach. Looking backward, Mayor W. E. Lewallen said: "We thought we had done enough when we set up a sort of committee and talked the situation over with some of the civic clubs and leaders. We were wrong." He observed that events have scuttled the old southern maxim that the less said about race relations the better.

No Consultation on the Proposal

In relationship to the community the Little Rock school board has consistently taken an autocratic approach. Carefully avoiding consultation with either Negro or white patrons, the board on May 24, 1955, announced to the public a plan of gradual integration under which high school level grades would be desegregated probably in September 1957. If all went well integration would follow in the other grades over a period of approximately six years. Since no one had been consulted, many persons questioned the plan. Many Negroes wanted a faster plan; many white persons wanted no plan at all. Interested citizens, both Negro and white, went to Dr. Blossom with questions. When any point of the plan was questioned there was only one reaction—a defensive bristling.

Five months after the plan was announced the Arkansas council on human relations convened a meeting at Little Rock at which Dr. Blossom explained his plan. Irene Osborne, who had been working in Washington, D.C., to marshal community support for the school desegregation program there, spoke on the importance of community relations in making the transition. Dr. Blossom exhibited open hostility toward the approach she suggested.

1955 the interdenominational ministeria

alliance of Greater Little Rock, composed of Negro ministers, asked the school board to appoint an advisory committee, which would include Negroes, "to work in the direction of racial integration in the schools." The board not only declined, but refused to suggest any alternate way in which the Little Rock community might help in paving the way to a smoother transition. At about the same time, Dr. Blossom presented the plan of gradual integration to the Greater Little Rock ministerial alliance, composed of white ministers. The plan was received with general enthusiasm. But when the alliance suggested that it endorse the plan officially and publicly, Dr. Blossom urged it not to do so. To the present time he has not sought the help of ministers of either race in preparing the community for the board's plan of integration.

During the 1955-1956 school year professional educators in Little Rock became concerned because no preparation was being given high school teachers for the new problems they would face when integration came. They suggested to Dr. Blossom that informal meetings of teachers be arranged to discuss such problems. He did not think well of the suggestion, and at no time has he sought to help teachers face their own prejudices or to provide them with guidance in dealing with problems of group dynamics.

At a luncheon meeting on October 12, 1956, Robert Snyder, for three years chairman of the St. Louis council on human relations, explained to a number of Little Rock civic leaders the way in which 85 organizations in his city worked to help the schools meet the problem of school desegregation. Dr. Blossom was present, but indicated no interest in gaining such support from Little Rock agencies. On March 11, 1957, he explained the school board's plan to the community council, a group made up of representatives from all metropolitan area organizations and agencies concerned for civic betterment. Although he did not emphasize the need for preparing the community for school integration, he did state for the first time publicly that he would call on the various groups to help prepare the community. He did not say when. To date their help has not been requested.

Increasing Uneasiness

During the past summer the Negro community grew uneasy as it saw the Little Rock school board doing all within its power to discourage Negro pupils from entering the previously all-white high school. A group of concerned Negroes went to Dr. Blossom with a complaint. He admitted that "screening" had been taking place, but defended it as being in the best interests of all. The Negroes suggested that it might be well if some channel of communication could be established between him and the Negro community. He readily agreed that it would be a good idea to have a committee which could help interpret to the Negro community what the school board was trying to do, and said he would call on the group the next week to work out details. But he never called. Throughout the summer months persons of both races, deeply concerned for the problems of human relations, became increasingly disturbed as they realized that the social forces of Little Rock were not being marshaled to aid in a smooth transition to integration. No one knew what might happen.

There might be trouble, for which no one was ready.

Had the school board developed adequate plans with law enforcement officials for every eventuality? Several prominent Little Rock citizens investigated the possibility of bringing to the city a law enforcement official nationally known as an expert in the field of police-community relations to counsel quietly with local officials. When Dr. Blossom was approached on the possibility, he replied that he had adequately studied the problem and needed no outside help.

The Governor to the Rescue

Governor Faubus' decision on September 2 to call out the troops and to block integration was the natural outcome of every step the Little Rock school board had taken. It had insisted all along that the only reason the schools were being integrated was that the federal government was forcing it to do so. It had consistently refused to seek the help of the community in gaining moral support for its reluctant step. Then the governor in shining armor came to the rescue. He said the school board did not need to integrate, that since the community was not prepared for integration there would be violence. He would call out the militia as the "preservator of the peace."

Dr. Blossom, the school board and Little Rock's leading citizens were stunned by Faubus' unprecedented actions. They did not want the governor to interfere. Knowing that some racial mixing in the public schools is inevitable, they would prefer to have it come about peacefully and on their own terms. What they failed to consider was that their whole approach had played directly into the hands of the members of white citizens councils. Having sought to prepare the community solely upon a legalistic basis, they had no defense when the governor, prompted by rabid segregationists in Little Rock, insisted he had found the needed loophole.

Three days after the governor ordered his troops to prevent integration in the name of states' rights, the school board found itself in the position of being on the governor's side. It went to federal court and petitioned the judge to suspend "temporarily" the plan of integration. This was exactly what the governor and his white citizens council cohorts were pleading for. The school board's house of cards had fully collapsed. Citizens who had agreed to compliance if there was no other way out now took fresh hope in the governor's action and the school board's acquiescence. Little Rock became sharply divided.

Arguments among Little Rock citizens will continue for years as to whether Governor Faubus got a square deal in federal court. Few will question why the problem arose in the first place. Fewer still will be aware of the responsibility the school board must share for the ridiculous situation which arose.

The experiences of Washington, Louisville and Clinton all point to the fact that transition, difficult at best, can come about only if all the resources of the community are marshaled to help. They have taught that the moral and social psychological aspects of the problem must be adequately considered. Little Rock tried a different path. On September 2 it was confronted with a "lead end" sign. It is still a question whether the sign can lead the way.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Remarks
by
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Delivered on November 9, 1954
at the
First National Conference
on
THE SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS OF
AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

HOTEL SHERATON-CARLTON
Washington, D. C.

O come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what destruction
he hath brought upon the earth

He maketh wars to cease in all the world, he breaketh the bow,
and knappeth the spear in sunder, and burneth the chariots in the fire

Be still then, and know that I am God. I will be exalted among
the nations, and I will be exalted in the earth

—Old Testament
(Great Bible 1538)

I heard a great voice from the throne saying, "Behold, the dwelling
of God is with men. He will dwell with them, and they shall be his
people, and God himself will be with them."

And he who sat upon the throne said, "Behold, I make all
things new."

—New Testament
(Revised Standard Version 1946)

INTRODUCTION

By

Dr. Charles Wesley Lowry, Chairman
FOUNDATION FOR RELIGIOUS ACTION

Friends, I feel that I cannot present our most distinguished
guest without expressing on your behalf, representing as you do
a cross-section and almost the whole spectrum of the American
religious community, the sense that we and the American people
have of the leadership of President Eisenhower not only in
matters of state, but also in the things of the spirit.

As we survey the present world situation, the gravest
since the fall of the Roman Empire, it is outstanding and an
occasion for the deepest gratitude that we have as Chief Executive
of this mighty nation a man whose heart and mind are ruled
above all by the conviction that there is a God in heaven and on
earth, the Judge of nations, the Father of all men.

Friends and members of this Conference, I have the honor
to present the President of the United States



The President chats with Foundation Chairman Charles Wesley Lowry and Co-Chairman Edward L. R. Elson at the Conference.

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The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois 60607

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Lowry, ladies and gentlemen—It is one of the happier duties that devolve upon the President that he is privileged occasionally to greet and welcome to the city—to the Capital City of our country—groups that have joined together in some great civic enterprise.

Usually there is some thought that occurs to me, when I perform this pleasant duty, that I think is appropriate to the occasion. But I must confess, I am having a little trouble today.

We are talking about the spiritual foundations of our form of government, and I meet with the spiritual leaders of the Nation, and I am one of these poor laymen, and it looks to me it's a little bit like Daniel in the lion's den in reverse.

Now Dr. Lowry said something about my having certain convictions as to a God in Heaven and an Almighty power. Well, I don't think anyone needs a great deal of credit for believing what seems to me to be obvious.

I remember once that Carter Glass was given a decoration, an honorary doctorate at a university, and the citation read in his behalf stressed very greatly that he was an honest man. And finally, when he got up, he said he thought he ought to decline this decoration because if the United States had gotten to the point that they had to decorate a man because he was honest, well he despaired of the Republic.

Now it seems to me that this relationship between a spiritual faith, a religious faith, and our form of government is so clearly defined and so obvious that we should really not need to identify a man as unusual because he recognizes it.

Now I am not going to go into any long dissertation today. That is not my purpose in coming and telling you how much I support the work that you are now initiating. I do believe we need this kind of thing. But as we go back and trace, let us not go back to the Judeo-Christian tradition and its introduction into the forms of man's attempts at self-government, but let us just come down to modern times since the Reformation.

Milton asserted that all men are born equal, because each is born in the image of his God. Our whole theory of government finally expressed in our Declaration, you will recall, said—and remember the first part of the Preamble of the Declaration was to give the reasons to mankind why we had established such a government: "Man is endowed by his Creator." It did not assert that Americans had certain rights. "Man" is endowed by his Creator—or "All Men." I believe was the expression used.

So this connection is very, very clear. And no matter what Democracy tries to do in the terms of maximum individual liberty for an individual, in the economic and in the intellectual and every other field, no matter what it tries to do in providing a system of justice, and a system of responsibility—of public servants to all the people—and identifying the people as the source of political power in that government, when you come back to it, there is just one thing. It is a concept, it is a subjective sort of thing, that man is worth-while because he is born in the image of his God.

And so it seems to me that the spiritual foundation is not so much the effort we have now, to prove it, as it is to make people recognize it and live accordingly. Because if we are going to have maximum freedom in carrying on the business of government, then there must be self-discipline, a fervor that establishes self-discipline; because if we don't, freedom runs so far that we cannot meet the challenges of today.

The challenges of today, I think, are of two kinds, one from within ourselves, because our fervor, our strength, in our spiritual convictions as to the worth-whileness of this form of government, weakens; and on the other side we are attacked by the communists who in their own documents state that capitalism—Democracy—carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and give, as you know, several reasons why they claim that

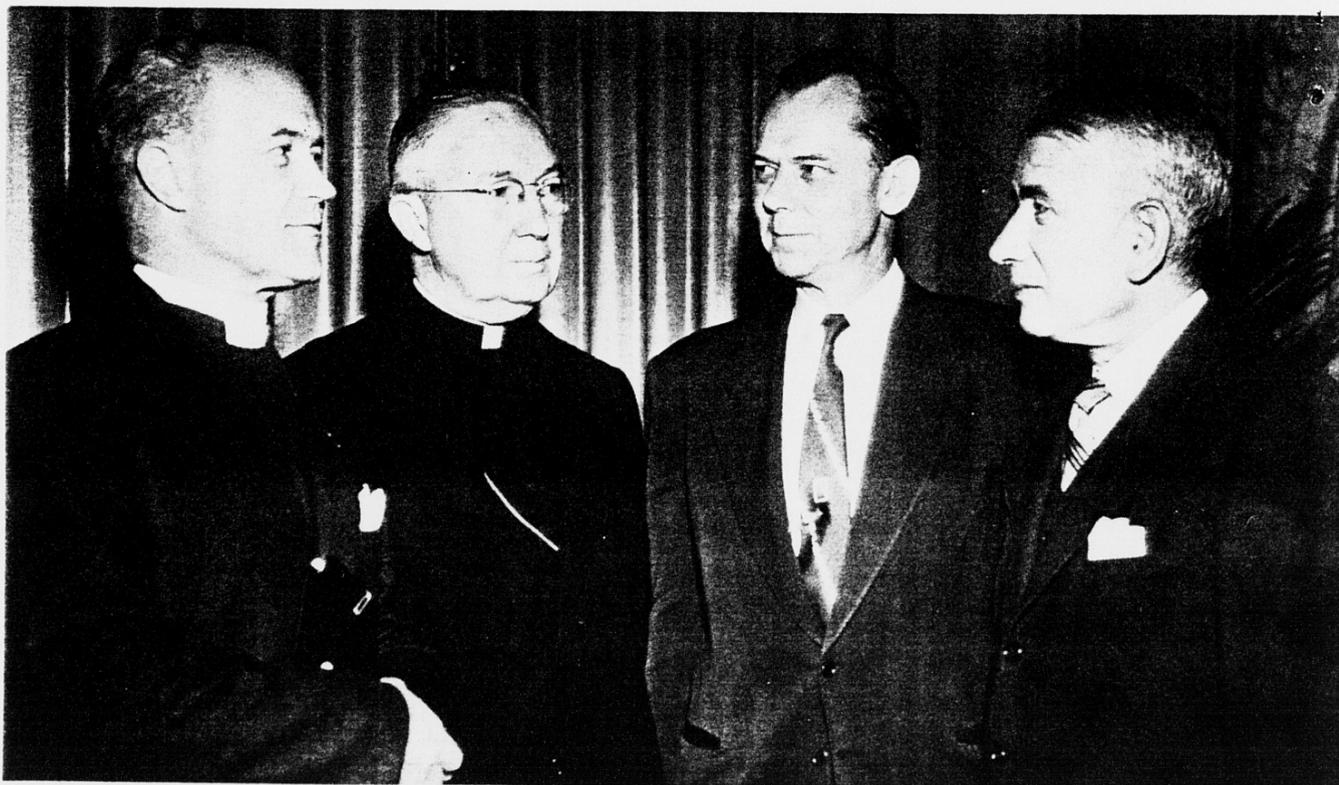
So we are under tremendous attacks. But it is not that we have just to establish the fact. We have to establish the fervor, the strength of our convictions, because fundamentally Democracy is nothing in the world but a spiritual conviction, a conviction that each of us is enormously valuable because of a certain standing before our own God.

Now, any group that binds itself together to awaken all of us to these simple things, and to discover new ways and means by which they are brought home to us through our surroundings, through our relationships with other nations, our relationships with one another, and through our peering into the future, any organization such as that is, to my mind, a dedicated, patriotic group that can well take the Bible in one hand and the Flag in the other, and march ahead.

Now that is what I am for. And I am delighted, therefore, that you have met here, that you are having this kind of convention which I hope will, as one of its results, grow and grow and grow until this kind of thing is habitual in every city, town, and hamlet of the United States, back to the remotest village.

Again my thanks for your welcome. I will watch with keen interest the outcome of your work, and I am sure that the United States cannot fail to prosper through what you are doing.

Goodbye.



Edward L. R. Elson The Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle Charles Wesley Lowry Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld

A
lasting
and
living
souvenir

of the
First National Conference
with the compliments and good wishes
of
THE FOUNDATION FOR RELIGIOUS ACTION
IN THE SOCIAL AND THE CIVIL ORDER
DuPont Circle Building
Washington 6, D. C.

"Words . . . are spirit and are life."

54

O.F.

142-A-5-A
E

October 9, 1957

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GENERAL FILES

BT

Dear Mr. Holloway:

It was encouraging to learn of the understanding on the part of the membership of your Committee of a decision for which there was, in fact, no real alternative.

Adherence to orderly processes of law is a cornerstone of our form of government. Without it, the traditional way of life that we prize so highly would become impossible. That fact will, I trust, expedite an early and satisfactory outcome of the entire matter.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

X
Mr. Vernon H. Holloway
Chairman
The Ohio Conference of
X Congregational Christian Churches
3056 Prospect Avenue
Cleveland 15, Ohio X 07144-B-1

Little Rock
Evangelical
#

THE OHIO CONFERENCE OF *Congregational Christian* CHURCHES

3056 PROSPECT AVENUE • CLEVELAND 15 OHIO • TELEPHONE EXPRESS 1-0797

REV. EVERETT A. BABCOCK, D. D.
Minister and Superintendent

October 3, 1957



REV LEWIS L. GILBERT
Minister and Asst. Supt

REV JOHN M. BYERS
Minister and Asst. Supt

REV WILLIAM G. BARNDT
Minister and Asst. Supt

REV ERNEST L. SEELY
Minister of Stewardship
and Laymen's Work

REV. HARRY WIDMAN
Minister to Youth

LOUISE TRIPLETT
Director of
Christian Education

HELEN HUNTINGTON SMITH
Director of Women's Work

REV ORMUND A. SCHULZ
Director of Pilgrim Hills
and Church Finance



ROBERT M. BARTLETT, M.D.
Moderator

REV RICHARD T. ANDREWS, JR.
Associate Moderator

MRS PAUL LEIMBACH
Associate Moderator

CHARLES A. HOSKIN
Treasurer

HAROLD K. SCHELLENGER
Editor

MRS PAUL HALLAM
Assistant Treasurer

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

My dear Mr. President:

The Social Action Committee of the Ohio Conference of Congregational Christian Churches commends you for the position and the action you have taken with respect to the tragic situation in Little Rock, Arkansas.

The national interest in the enforcement of the law needed to be defined, and action needed to be taken in view not only of the civil disorder, but of the improper use of the National Guard by Governor Faubus to turn away Negro students.

We feel that you are doing your duty in a grave and difficult situation.

With best wishes for you in the faithful discharge of your many duties, we are

Sincerely yours,

Social Action Committee of
The Ohio Conference of
Congregational Christian Churches

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Vernon H. Holloway".

Vernon H. Holloway, Chairman

VHH:ES



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GENERAL

ST

October 9, 1957

Dear Mr. Mills:

Thank you very much for your note. As you suggested in your comments, the decision I had to make in the Little Rock situation was virtually commanded by our form of government. It is my earnest hope, and I am sure yours also, that this fact will expedite a proper outcome of the matter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mr. Merle L. Mills
President
Southern New England Conference
of Seventh-Day Adventists
South Lancaster
Massachusetts
x 07144-B-1

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

Telephone: CLinton 3003

CONNECTICUT
MASSACHUSETTS
RHODE ISLAND

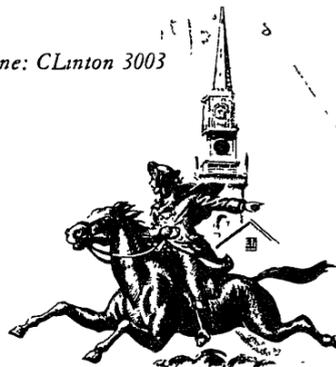
Southern New England Conference

OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS

SOUTH LANCASTER, MASSACHUSETTS

October 2, 1957

Office of the President



"To Give the Warning Message in
the Land of the Pilgrims' Pride"

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

Dear President Eisenhower

I have been following with interest the complex situation that has developed in regard to the problem of integration in Arkansas. I feel that you had no other alternative than to do what you did in calling out the federal troops, for Governor Faubus has challenged the power of the court as well as the United States government and this challenge had to be accepted.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Merle L. Mills".

Merle L. Mills, President

MLM:cj

O.F.

142-A-5-A

C

GENERAL FILES Checked by Kardex

JACK MARTIN
CARDED

October 9, 1957

Dear Bill:

I appreciate your October first letter respecting the situation in Little Rock.

On becoming President I took an oath to defend the Constitution of the United States. This includes the responsibility to respond effectively to a situation which involves the defiance of the orders of the United States District Court in its endeavor to implement a decision of the Supreme Court where the chief executive of the particular State does not rectify the situation and the local authorities cannot cope with it. I have said, and I say again, nothing has saddened me more since I took office than my conviction that it was necessary to send Federal troops to Little Rock, and I assure you I will be most happy to order their withdrawal at the proper time.

Our free institutions depend upon a respect by all citizens of our Courts and their decisions. Chaos and anarchy will prevail if their orders can be flouted by mobs.

In this particular situation enforcement of integration was not the basis of my decision to send Federal troops into the area. I was motivated by the principle that the decisions of our Courts must be sustained.

I am most anxious that a solution be evolved which will assure obedience to the orders of the United States District Court, the protection of the Negro children involved, and the maintenance of law and order. When these conditions prevail there the necessity for Federal troops will exist no longer.

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY.

- 2 -

Concerning your request that I make a public statement on this matter, I have stated my position over and over again, on the air, through released statements, and just last week at a press conference. I shall continue to discuss the situation on all appropriate occasions.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The Honorable William C. Cramer^X
Member of Congress
St. Petersburg, Florida

IJM:mh

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 3, 1957

Bryce:

I hate to be persistent at a time when I see so many evidences of your being snowed under but I really think the President's answer to Congressman Cramer on the Little Rock situation should go out soon if he is to make any political hay out of stand he has taken.

If there is something I can do to help or if you can suggest some one else to whom I should talk with, I will be glad to get out of your hair.


Robert Gray

Copy not sent to file 10-19-57

WILLIAM C. CRAMER
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

October 1, 1957

COMMITTEES:
COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

JUDICIARY
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

PUBLIC WORKS
SUBCOMMITTEES:
RIVERS AND HARBORS
FLOOD CONTROL
PUBLIC ROADS

Dear Mr. President:

I respectfully request that you give serious consideration to the immediate withdrawal of the Federal troops from Little Rock, Arkansas, and thus implement the return of the law enforcement function to that state, it being my belief that the people of that great sovereign state are willing and desirous to regain this most precious state right and to accept the full responsibility which it entails. Only in this manner can the complete self respect and confidence of the people of Arkansas and of the south be restored and the basis for healing the Nation's gaping wounds of misunderstandings can be found, only in this manner can the state and the south return to a degree of normalcy and sober and dispassionate reflection.

The people of the south are law abiding citizens, are loyal Americans and are devoted adherents to the Constitutional Government but they must be given time in an environment of national enlightened understanding when a social revolution is ordered upon them, particularly when such an order completely reverses the social structure and previous decrees that have, for 80 years prevailed and further when the people of the south have accepted and abided by these decrees in good faith as the law of the land and where a complete reversal is decreed by the same tribunal, the Supreme Court, making illegal what the Court itself had repeatedly decreed was legal.

Social evolution not revolution is the natural way particularly under our Republican form of Government and when revolution is substituted for evolution by Court decree having the effect of reversing previous Court decrees making illegal what for 80 years was declared legal, some possible resistance is inevitable, a period of adjustment is essential and a natural understanding of the problem created in the areas affected must be encouraged by all responsible office holders. The use of Federal troops with drawn bayonets to supplant the state law enforcement function in order to enforce a Federal Court decree is no more an answer to the problem than is the use of the National Guard by the state to thwart the carrying out of its own laws, no matter how much we might agree or disagree with the law itself.

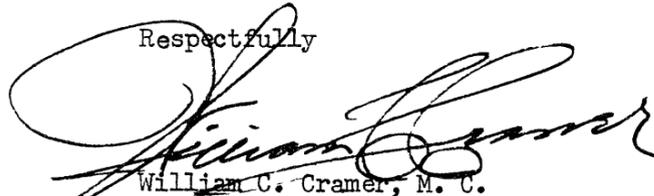
The solution seems to me to be the immediate withdrawal of Federal troops and the substitution of state law enforcement authority, a better understanding in the future by the Nation and the Federal Government of the prob-

lems of the people involved and a realistic realization by the executive branch of the Government that that problem being dealt with is a sociological one requiring people's acceptance and that such acceptance will take a reasonable period of time and that the time involved will vary depending upon local circumstances. The effort to force such acceptance will result only in resistance.

I trust you will use your high office to accomplish a better understanding between the north and the south and an acknowledgment of the fundamental rights of the states to enforce their own laws and in this manner to accept their own responsibility and therein doing so the state need not in the future be fearful or apprehensive of the future use of Federal troops which in itself feeds the flame of extremists on both sides of this issue.

I am hopeful that a definitive and forthright statement of your position which recognizes all the vicissitudes of this problem will be forthcoming in the near future in order that the people of the south as well as of the nation might go forth in their daily tasks in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and self pride.

Respectfully

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "William C. Cramer". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

William C. Cramer, M. C.

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

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October 9, 1957

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RECORDS FILES
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PERSONAL

Dear Dr. Mays:

I deeply appreciated having your comments on the necessity of the decision I had to make in the difficult Arkansas situation. ~~It~~
It was encouraging to know of the support of all those associated with Morehouse College.

I share your confidence that Americans everywhere remain devoted to our tradition of adherence to orderly processes of law.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

x
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
x Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

x 0711-C

PERSONAL

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

1957

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 3, 1957

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

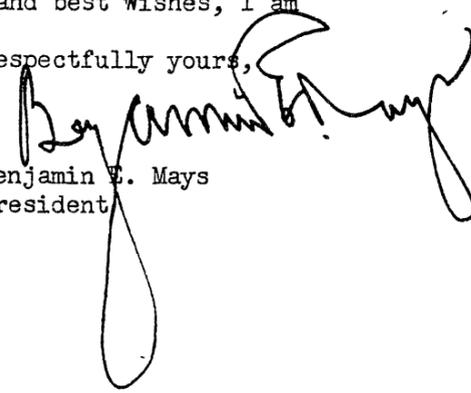
Mr. President:

When there are so many conflicting views about what is happening in Little Rock, I want you to know that the administration, faculty, and students of Morehouse College are highly pleased with the position you have taken with respect to integration at the Central High School in Little Rock. We know too how painful it must have been for you to meet a situation that made it necessary for you to send federal troops into Little Rock but we also know, Mr. President, that as the Chief Executive of this nation you had no choice.

It is my opinion that the vast majority of the people of this nation applaud what you have done and I am quite sure that history will vindicate your action.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Respectfully yours,


Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:J

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O.F.

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RECEIVED
OCT 10 1957
CENTRAL FILES

October 9, 1957.

Checked by Kardex

PERSONAL

Dear Ralph:

I am always at a loss in trying to acknowledge any comment favorable to me that appears in the public print, but I cannot resist thanking you for your editorial of the fifth. You are highly sensitive to my emotions and convictions -- and more articulate than I could possibly be about them; in addition, you understand fully the necessity for the decision I had to make in the troublesome Little Rock situation. About all I can say is that I am truly more than grateful to you. #

x 07125

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

x 1271225

Mr. Ralph McGill,
The Atlanta Constitution,
Atlanta, Georgia.

PERSONAL

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

PERSONAL

P.S.: Some day, if I am so fortunate as to have the opportunity, I shall tell you the story of how I learned, the hard way, to practice patience and conciliation in human affairs. For a man of my disposition it was not easy.


D.D.E.

PERSONAL