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Return to Central High, Wednesday, September 4, 1957

## Here's What Eisenhower Said About Little Rock

GAZETTE WASHINGTON BUREAU, 1202 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

Washington, Sept. 3. -- The official transcript of President Eisenhower's press conference this morning shows the following questions and answers on the Little Rock school situation.

**Question:** "Mr. President, over quite a section of the South today and this week, children are going back to school under difficult circumstances in places where integration is being attempted for the first time. We have a case in Arkansas this morning where the governor has ordered state troops around the school that a Federal Court had ordered integrated. I just wonder what you think of this situation?"

**Eisenhower:** "Well, first, to say what you think about it is very--sort of a broad subject that you are giving me. Actually, this particular incident came to my attention the first thing this morning. I have been in contact with the attorney general's office. They are taking a look at it. They are going to find out exactly what has happened and discuss it with the federal judge. As of this moment, I cannot say anything about the particular point because that is all I know about it.

"Now, time and again, a number of people--I among them--have argued that you cannot change people's hearts merely by laws. Laws are presumably--press the conscious of the nation and its determination to do something. But the laws here are to be executed generally according to the dictum of the Supreme Court, and I understand that the plan worked out by the School Board of Little Rock was approved by the district judge. I believe it is a 10-year plan. Now there seems to have been a roadblock thrown in the way of that plan, and the next decision will have to be by the lawyers and jurists."

**Question:** "As to school integration, Mr. President, do you have any intention to take a personal part in the problem this fall--for example, by speaking on it or getting in touch with Governor Faubus?"

**Answer:** "My speaking will always be on this subject, as I have always done, urging Americans to recognize what America is, the concepts on which it is based and to do their part so far as they possibly can to bring about the kind of America that was visualized by our forebears.

"Now it is for this reason because I know this is a slow process the Supreme Court in its decision of '54 pointed out the emotional difficulties that would be encountered by a Negro even if given--or by Negroes if given--equal but separate schools. And I think their reasoning was correct; at least, I have no quarrel with it.

"But there are very strong emotions on the other side. People that see a picture of mongrelization of the race, they call it. There are very strong emotions, and we are going to whip this thing in the long run by Americans being true to themselves and not merely by law."

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Return to Central High, Wednesday, September 4, 1957

# North Little Rock Board Votes to Delay Integration, To Await Clarification by Courts

**ROY REED  
OF THE GAZETTE STAFF**

The North Little Rock School Board voted unanimously in a specially called meeting last night to postpone "indefinitely" the racial integration scheduled to start today in the twelfth grade of the city's public schools.

A prepared statement by the Board said the decision had been prompted largely by Governor Faubus' action Monday in calling out the Arkansas National Guard and the State Police to prevent integration at Little Rock Central High School. The governor had indicated the militia would act to preserve segregation at all schools in Pulaski County.

"We don't want the National Guard camped on our doorstep," one Board member commented wryly.

Seven Negro seniors had registered to attend the previously all-white North Little Rock High School. The fall semester will start Monday. School Superintendent F. B. Wright said the Negroes would be notified of the Board action.

Asked what the North Little Rock Board would do if Little Rock went ahead and integrated this semester, Board President Byron R. Bogard said it was "very doubtful" that North Little Rock schools would have any desegregation during the 1957-58 school year. The other members concurred but cautioned that that was not a "definitive" statement.

The prepared statement said that integration would be held up "until the status of the problem of integration has been fully cleared by the Courts."

The members and the Board's attorney, Municipal Court Judge Milton McLees, said this referred to litigation to test the validity of the 1957 state laws and not to any federal court action affecting the Little Rock School District.

The North Little Rock situation differs from Little Rock's. The North Side Board has not been taken to court over segregation. The Little Rock Board is under a Federal Court order to begin integration as a result of a suit brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Board's written statement:

"The immediate developments dealing with the problem of integration, particularly the action taken by governor Orval Faubus treating Pulaski County as a unit makes it imperative that the Board of Education of the North Little Rock Special School District reconsider its announced plan for integration at North Little Rock Senior High School on September 9, 1957.

"The uncertainty and confusion which now surrounds any plan which the Board may attempt to implement at this time is so great that the board deems it necessary to forego indefinitely its present plan for integration.

"The Board has made every effort to keep good faith in its

announced intentions and feels that this move is not a breach of faith but rather a recognition of the reality of present conditions in the face of which it would not be wise to persist. Furthermore, the Board is unwilling to accept the full responsibility for what might happen until it has complete assurance that compliance with the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, may be done orderly and peaceably. The Board is, further, unwilling to risk the disturbance to the schools as now seems evident.

"Therefore, in special session, September 3, 1957, at 7 p.m. at the School Board office, Twenty-eight and Poplar Streets, North Little Rock, it is the action of the Board to postpone its plan of integration indefinitely and that no further move be made in this direction until the status of the problem of integration has been fully cleared by the Courts."

### **Board Questioned**

Newsmen questioned Board members after the statement was handed out.

Bogard said he believed from personal observation that the "rank and file" of North Little Rock were "overwhelmingly opposed to integration" at this time.

Bogard said he was skeptical of the effect of the state segregation laws. But neither he nor any other Board member would predict the outcome of the litigation over these laws and whether North Little Rock eventually would have integration.

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Return to Central High, Wednesday, September 4, 1957

## Guardsmen Won't Get Federal Pay

Washington, Sept. 3 (AP) -- The National Guardsmen who are stationed at Central High School at Little Rock are acting on behalf of the state and cannot be paid by the federal government for such duty.

The federal government exercises general supervision over the Guard units across the nation, numbering some 400,000 men. But control of the units rests with the states except when they are called into federal service.

Each state's National Guard is the state militia with the governor acting as commander-in-chief. The uniformed commander in each state is the adjutant general.

At Little Rock, the state troops are acting on orders from Governor Orval E. Faubus. He stationed them around Central High School under his powers to maintain order in the state.

The federal government provides most of the money used to support the Guard but pays individual Guardsmen only for specified drill periods and active duty training.

Most of the Guard's equipment is supplied by the Defense Department.

The state troops can be called into federal service in the event of an emergency declared by Congress, or through a procedure in which the governors call them for federal duty.

In the Arkansas case, there appears to be little if anything the Pentagon could do now to direct the activities of the Guard units involved.

All inquiries on this point were met with a statement that the Justice Department was studying the entire situation. -

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Return to Central High, Thursday, September 5, 1957

# 'What They're Saying About Little Rock'

## Press and Individuals React With Brickbats and Bouquets

GAZETTE WASHINGTON BUREAU, 1202 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

Washington, Sept. 4 -- Senator Richard L. Neuberger (Dem. Ore.) telegraphed today to both Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson and Neil McElroy, who soon will succeed Wilson, calling for a review immediately of federal contributions to the Arkansas National Guard.

In a message, Neuberger asked "Is it either advisable from the standpoint of public policy or within the law for such contributions to continue if the Arkansas National Guard is to be an instrument used for avoidance of complying with an order of the federal District Court? This situation calls for a review at the highest level of the Defense Department. Trust you will undertake such action."

Defense Department records show that in the fiscal year which closed June 30, Uncle Sam contributed \$3,320,700 in the Army Guard in Arkansas \$2,288,220 to the Air Guard.

The acting chief of the National Guard Bureau of the Defense Department, Maj. Gen. Winston B. Wilson, had no comment on the use of National Guard by Governor Faubus.

The president of the National Guard Association of the United States, Maj. Gen. Ellard N. Walsh, retired, also said "no comment."

### Newspapers Comment

Eastern newspapers are playing Little Rock as the top news event of the day.

The *New York Times*, in a personality sketch of Governor Faubus in its "Man in the News" column, said he "has always exhibited an almost painful desire for 'legitimacy,' that is, acceptance by the conservative element that opposed him almost to the man in his first campaign."

The *Washington Post* and *Times Herald* said editorially: "It would be tragic indeed if Governor Faubus had responded to a manufactured scare, to a threat of violence fabricated by lawless elements in no sense representative of the community. One wonders whether the governor did all he could do to promote and encourage observance of the law, whether, in this situation, order might not have been coupled with law for the maintenance of both."

The *Washington Evening Star* said in an editorial, "The reasonable inference [from events in Arkansas] is that the governor, despite his earlier disclaimer, intends to bring about a court test of his power to resist the court order. If so, he has embarked on a lost cause. For while the governor has a duty to use the Guard to maintain order, he has no duty to prevent Little Rock's school Board from carrying out its own plan of integration."

### Griffin Applauds From the Associated Press

Georgia's Governor Marvin Griffin commended use of troops to prevent integration of Little Rock's Central High School and said he

would have done likewise.

"I would like to extend my encouragement and appreciation to the governor of the great state of Arkansas." Griffin said yesterday at his news conference.

In his formal comment on the Arkansas situation, Griffin added that "one of the guarantees of the Constitution of the United States is the right of the people to bear arms, and it has not been changed."

"The governor of Arkansas is the commander-in-chief of the military forces and preservator of the peace..." he said.

"Thus it becomes a matter of whose judgment will prevail--the governor of the state or one of many federal judges, particularly one sent to Arkansas from North Dakota."

"Governor Faubus is within his rights. I remember sitting at the Williamsburg (Virginia, governors') conference and hearing the president call on the governors for restoration of states' rights. This would be a good place for Mr. Eisenhower to make a beginning."

Griffin was then asked "Would you have taken the same action Governor Faubus did?"

"Yes sir." the Georgia governor snapped briskly.

### **Hailed by Citizens Council**

The New Orleans Citizens Council sent Governor Faubus a telegram supporting his stand in the dispute.

The telegram said, in part:

"Should all chief executives in the Southern states take your courageous stand, there would never be any racial strife in the South.

"We urge you to stand firm and keep faith so that you may serve as an example for others to do likewise."

### **Segregationist Pleased**

Circuit Judge Tom Brady, Mississippi segregationist, said at Brookhaven, Miss., Little Rock dispute might determine whether the states become "satellites of an all-powerful federal judiciary."

In a statement praising Governor Faubus for "acting courageously," the author of the pamphlet "Black Monday" said Mr. Faubus exercised "the police powers...granted to each state of the Union by the federal Constitution.

"It is not believed that even the present United States Supreme Court will presume to proclaim that its decrees supercede the sacred police powers vested in the state under our Constitution.

"If it does, however, then the fact is that the states as such have been destroyed and are now satellites of an all-powerful federal judiciary and the people of the South are its vassals."

### **Ike Urged to Intercede**

At Washington, the political organization Americans for Democratic Action called on President Eisenhower to intercede with the governor. "and persuade him to desist from his course of forcing segregation at the point of rifles and carbines."

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Return to Central High, Saturday, September 7, 1957

# Integration Dispute Draws Mixed Editorial Comment

Governor Faubus' action in calling out the National Guard to prevent racial integration at Little Rock Central High School has brought mixed editorial reactions from Arkansas newspapers. Many of the editorials are appearing on front pages.

Here are excerpts from some of them:

### Boone County Headlight:

In ordering National Guardsmen to preserve "peace and order" in the integration row \* \* \* Governor Faubus is apparently seeking to resolve a question as yet untested in court since the Civil War \* \* \* "Is a sitting governor, as the sovereign head of his state, beyond the reach of the federal courts?" The question may soon be resolved. \* \* \* It will be interesting to see the outcome.

During the row, the Arkansas Gazette, openly editorializing in its news columns for integration, called Governor Faubus' course "extreme action." On the other hand, the governor's office reported receiving more than 500 telegrams--98 per cent in favor of his action. The Gazette also sought to classify Arkansas as being in the "Upper South" as opposed to the "Deep South." Along the Mason-Dixon line here in North Arkansas I guess we're "Southern Northerners."

The governor's action before violence occurred is to be commended.

### Van Buren Press-Argus

We are sure that the 24 colored youngsters \* \* \* realized Tuesday that they are component parts of history--the first Negroes ever to enroll in a white school in Van Buren. \* \* \* Everything was OK due to parents and others keeping their common sense and keeping it quietly. Everett Kelley [superintendent of Van Buren Public Schools] permitted us to quote him only on one item: "This has been the best opening day at High School since I have been here." It was the only opening day that no teacher had to send a child to the principal for infraction of the rules. \* \* \*

The truth is: People in Van Buren look on the segregation issue quite a lot different than do the people of Little Rock, because the situation is different--and being different makes a different attitude. But who is so wise as to deny that, should war break out at Little Rock, it also would break out in Van Buren. \* \* \*

You never please everybody: but we might say that, right now, we are on Governor Faubus's side in this dispute, and we beg leave to challenge our esteemed contemporary, the Arkansas Gazette, and its editor, who lambasted the governor for what it termed "The Crisis Mr. Faubus Made." The Gazette seems to infer that Mr. Faubus either cooked up a rebellion or used one as an argument to defy the federal court ruling for integration. As the battle progresses over which side shall prevail, may we recall that it was the self-same Gazette that reported on a citizens meeting in which a man asked if every man didn't have a shotgun to stop integration and also that a preacher at Benton had organized a cavalcade to go to the relief of Little Rock. Are those two items indicative of the need for preventive military intervention?

### Berryville Star-Progress:

In defiance of the national government, the governor stood ready to make another Clinton, Tenn., out of the Arkansas capital in a move

resisting the admittance of Americans to the schools of their home land and failing to give citizens their rights for which America so basically stands. The feeling of the South are strong on this issue, but they should not be so strong, and the bitterness of the past so secretly nurtured as to deny citizens the rights of freedom as we know it today, won by the principles which developed a great nation from the sparks of freedom set by our ancestors.

Arkansas's governor used poor judgment when he moved in his troops in what he said via television, radio and the press [was] to put down disorder. No violence had occurred, but the presence of force by arms in itself promotes and encourages violence. \* \* \*

Human emotions are hard to control by law. But little good can come using armed guards to force people from trying to accept what is offered them by their own government. Our section has no colored population, but if it had, we, as law abiding citizens and descendants of a religious people, would fail miserably as such if we tried to prevent young people from attending our educational institutions because of the color of their skin. \* \* \* Their forefathers didn't ask to come here as our slaves. \* \* \* They vote for our politicians and they are members of our Army and Navy and fight for our freedoms, then, even though Southern ideals wince at the thought of having them attending our schools, we shouldn't deny them the same education opportunities offered to our own white students.

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Return to Central High, Sunday, September 8, 1957

## Backstage at the Capitol

### Faubus Keeping Promise On Issue of Integration

**GEORGE DOUTHIT.**  
**(DEMOCRAT STAFF WRITER.)**

This Little Rock Central High School integration situation came to a climax last week, but it really had its inception in last summer's primary elections when Governor Faubus said:

"No school district will be forced to integrate against its will as long as I am governor."

Now, when a politician makes a flat promise like that, he had better do everything he can to keep it -- unless he is planning retirement. And no one has seen any evidence that Mr. Faubus plans to retire from politics.

Also, no one expected that the governor, in trying to keep that promise, would go as far as he went last week in calling out the Arkansas National Guard, forcibly stopping integration in face of the federal court and causing President Eisenhower to be late to a game of golf.

But let's go back to the governor and his race for a second term. He had expressed the hope that segregation in Arkansas would not become an issue in the elections because it was a South-wide problem and not just an issue in this state.

Then along came former state Sen. Jim Johnson, Crossett, running for governor on a segregationist platform. Mr. Faubus sized up the situation, saw the following Mr. Johnson was getting and learned he had to make a statement on segregation.

The governor did not want to come out all the way and say he would block integration in Arkansas because this state already was being integrated and Negroes already were in a number of schools, including the University of Arkansas.

#### **Not Against Will.**

So, he made the promise: No integrating against your will. This satisfied eastern Arkansas segregationists, of whom there are thousands, and they gave the governor voting support. Consequently, he won over Mr. Johnson by a big majority.

Eastern Arkansas segregationists didn't let it go at that. They evolved a set of constitutional amendments, including interposition, and put them on the November general election ballot.

The people, given their first chance to express themselves on the integration issue, voted for every one of them, including one placed on the ballot by Mr. Johnson.

Governor Faubus thought that was enough, but he was wrong. When the legislature convened, along came the eastern Arkansas group again, this time with four segregation laws aimed at maintaining separate schools for Negroes and whites in Arkansas.

There was quite a battle in the legislature and a stormy hearing one night in the House chamber in which ministers of all denominations, taking the side of integration, were heckled unmercifully. But the laws went through with the governor's backing.

#### **Long Wait.**

The most powerful of the four pieces of legislation was that creating the Sovereignty Commission. The legislature ended March 14. Yet the governor completed naming the commission only three weeks ago, and the commission held its first meeting only Friday, August 30. That shows how anxious the governor was to get into using this sovereignty stick.

Now let's connect the governor with the Little Rock situation. Supt. Virgil Blossom presented a "slow segregation" problem that was approved by the federal courts. However, no matter how "slow" the program, sooner or later the day must be faced when Negro children walked into Central High School.

That day was to have been the opening of school last week. All during the "delay" period, Mr. Blossom received lots of applause for his program, simply because he had managed a year's delay. Therefore, we thought the people of Little Rock were ready to "accept the inevitable."

### **Why Fight?**

Even before the summer we got a hint that some of the people were not so acceptable. A friend asked us what we thought of Central High integrating this fall. We gave the usual "inevitable so why fight it?" reply.

This friend told us there was trouble brewing, but that was all he would say. This was before school was out last May. Parents already were discussing what the situation would be this fall.

We didn't know that. In fact we were surprised when the school mothers held their big meeting in such strength just a week before the opening of school last week. That meeting revealed what the friend had been talking about. The mothers definitely had not "accepted the inevitable."

A delegation reminded the governor of his promise: No school district will be forced to integrate against its will as long as he was governor.

### **Move needed.**

Mr. Faubus felt he had to make a move. We don't know how much evidence, if any, he had that there would be violence. But we do know that a crowd was going to gather at the high school. We also know how quickly a heckling mob can become a violent mob, when one member makes one wrong move.

We talked by phone to Mr. Faubus on Saturday morning before school opened. He asked: "What would you do?" We advised the presence of state troopers to prevent any violence, assuming, of course, that the federal court order of integration was going to be carried out.

It never entered our mind that the governor would go so far as to block integration. It was our idea to take every precaution against somebody getting hurt when the integration took place.

Then we learned a new angle to the situation. The governor had asked the U.S. Justice Department in Washington to send an agent to explain what could be expected in the way of enforcement assistance from the federal government.

Mr. Faubus said they told him they couldn't put any agents here to prevent violence, but would handle it when and if it happened. It is our opinion that it was at that moment that Arkansas' governor got really teed off.

He told us: "They're going to cram it down our throats and make us enforce their own laws." He was speaking of federal authorities. It was possibly during the next few hours that he made the big decision to stop integration by force. He gave us no hint of his plans.

Now, Mr. Faubus did not tell us this, but we have an idea this

question entered his mind: If the federal government has to depend on me to enforce integration, what can they do to me if I enforce segregation instead?

In any case, he called out his National Guard and the state troopers and using threatened violence as a reason, or an excuse, he stopped nine Negroes from entering Central High School.

To say he caused consternation among federal officials is putting it mildly. His action reverberated through the nation and in countries of the world. He also revealed that the federal officials had not actually prepared themselves to enforce the integration orders. They were depending on the Southern governors to see that this was done. Most of them have done this.

Last Tuesday, after a rather large press conference was ended, we went back to ask the governor a question we had overlooked. He had not yet blocked the Negroes by force. That was to come on Wednesday. But his Guardsmen were around the school.

We found the governor with his feet on his desk gazing at the ceiling. He asked: "What do you think of it now?"

We told him we thought he was biting off a pretty big chunk because in our minds integration was handed to us by the Supreme Court which certainly had no intentions of backing down.

Mr. Faubus said: "I am not so sure of that." Then he added: "This whole thing is a political maneuver by the Republicans in the first place."

Then he fumed: "And they are not even prepared to enforce their own orders. Look at Hoxie (Hoxie, Ark., where violence accompanied integration). Did they do anything to help up there? No. People up there who had been friends for years became enemies over this thing. And what did the federal government do about it? Nothing."

The next day the federal officials put it up to the governor. The Negro students tried to enter Central High School. The governor's troops turned them back, and Mr. Faubus said it was done on his orders.

Federal officials went into conference.

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Return to Central High, Tuesday, September 10, 1957

# Need Seen For Extra Police Duty

## Council Moves To Cut City Staff If Funds Are Exhausted

The Little Rock City Council today upheld Mayor Mann's contention that a need exists for extra police duty and they moved to cut city personnel if necessary to pay the costs.

At the same time they directed the city clerk to wire President Eisenhower and Governor Faubus that they request the National Guard and State Police be on duty "indefinitely to protect the life and property of the citizens of the city."

The major problem facing the city administration is that the cost of the suspension of holidays and days off for police, amounts to between \$3,500 and \$4,000 a week. Previously the council put the city on an emergency financial basis because it only had \$2,000 a month in its budget after payment of fixed expenses.

Yesterday the finance committee received a letter from Police Chief Marvin Potts in which he noted that because the mayor had called for extra police duty last week the cost would be in excess of \$2,500. Chief Potts said last week was a "short week" and that the regular extra cost will run about \$4,000 a week for police overtime.

The council noted that it has a pared down budget of \$29,000 a month including \$27,000 fixed expenses and only a possible income of \$27,000.

Alderman Franklin E. Loy told Mann that an additional \$4,000 a week could bankrupt the city and result in jailing of the city council and the mayor.

The council session was unusual today in that it met last night and arrived at an impasse because of the absence of the mayor. The council recessed until today.

### Received Report.

At the session last night was learned for the first time that previous to the opening of Central High School, Attorney Amis Guthridge and Rev. Wesley Pruden called on Assistant Police Chief Gene Smith and told him that 300 white mothers would be at the school when it opened Tuesday.

Chief Smith and Potts said that it was as a result of his information that the mayor was contacted Sunday and asked if extra precautions should be taken for the first day of school.

Monday night Gov. Faubus posted the National Guard at the school and the mayor met with the Police Chief Tuesday and decided after an hour and a half conference to keep the police at full strength.

Last week Mann strongly criticized Governor Faubus for taking the National Guard action he did without consulting or being requested to do so by city officials. Mann repeated the comment today but the council took the action in the wire which they directed be sent to the president and governor.

### Text of the wire:

"The Little Rock City Council meeting in emergency session this day, unanimously requests that the National Guard and the Arkansas State Police remain on duty at Little Rock Central High School

indefinitely to protect the life and property of the citizens of the city.

"The City Council unanimously adopted a motion commending Governor Orval E. Faubus for his prompt action in taking preventative measures to preserve and maintain the public peace and safety to the citizens of our community."

The council vote was 8-0. Aldermen E. B. Miller and Arthur M. Corley were absent. Mann took the vote of the council without comment.

The council directed that copies of the wire be sent to Attorney General Herbert Brownell and Federal Judge Ronald Davies.

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# Church Women Call Mass Prayer in Crisis

A group of church women expressing "shock and dismay" at Governor Faubus' use of troops to block school integration here has urged Arkansas citizens to join prayer to express confidence in Little Rock school authorities.

The council of church women of Little Rock and North Little Rock meeting in special session yesterday, scheduled the time for the mass prayer for Thursday at noon.

"We must say... that it is our Christian conviction that enforced segregation on any group of persons because of race, creed or color is a violation of Christian principles," the group said.

The women said "we believe in the right of dissent and the right of those persons who disagree to follow the due process of law in efforts to change laws which they disagree."

However, the council added "we believe it is the obligation of every citizen to uphold what is the law of the land... we are shocked and dismayed that the governor of our state has placed military troops within our community, to defy the order of the federal court we deplore the unchristian acts of some of our citizens expressing hatred of others..."

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# Central High Crowd in Discussion Groups

LARRY WILLIAMS  
(DEMOCRAT STAFF WRITER)

An aura of almost disinterested observation hangs around the Central High School now, one week after school started its fall term.

There are distinct cliques and factions in the crowd, there being "regulars," the curious, and some who merely walk a block out of their way to see if anything new has happened.

National Guardsmen pay little attention to the now small gatherings, and they in turn, pay about the same amount of attention to the guardsmen.

It's a strange metamorphosis that the crowd has undergone. The first few days there was nervous tension, and rumors and reports ran through the crowd like electricity.

### Factions Formed.

Now the crowd has split up into factions, each faction seeming to have a discussion leader.

"We can't let this thing go any further," one man told his group. He spoke with an Eastern accent. "We must show the people how we feel."

"The next thing you know they will be coming into our churches, and our hotels and our eating places," a middle-aged woman said.

"Frankly, that wouldn't bother me," the Easterner said. "But the problem is this: the Negro's cultural and spiritual aims are not as high as white people's. Their only aim is the immediate end."

One small group was different.

"We're just curious," a man in this group said. "I guess we want to see what will happen next."

But another man spoke up:

"We're more than curious, we're serious. Those FBI men might try to escort some Negroes in. We want to be here when they do."

Outside of general curiosity, another thing that seems most responsible for keeping the crowd on the spot is the desire to get the news first.

### Get News.

"We get all the federal news out here," one man said. "I guess we get it quicker than the radio does."

A late arrival, a woman in her 40s, was obviously displeased with the small gathering today. "Well, at least there are a few people with good sense left," she said as she appraised the crowd.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the National Guard said that as far as he knew, none of the residents across the street from the school had complained about people milling on the lawns.

"We heard or read that there was one complaint, but the only thing we've known first hand is that most of the people said the crowd could use their yard as long as they wanted to."

And on the inside of the school it was another attempt to keep things on an even keel.

Signs of "Beat CBC" (Christian Brothers College of Memphis) the

school's first football foe, and other posters urging support of the team hung on the walls. There were some yells, and the students, on the surface at least, seemed to be much more concerned with keeping a victory string alive than worrying about segregation or integration.

### **Need Spirit.**

Principal Jess W. Matthews expressed as much, saying: "We hope to generate enough spirit to keep our winning streak going." The football team has a winning streak of 21 straight games.

Matthews said that he "had heard that some students had notes from parents requesting that they leave school in the case of violence, but I haven't had an official report on it."

In the daily bulletin read to the home rooms, Matthews urged the students to co-operate with the National Guard. The bulletin read:

"Students are urged to show only respect and compliance with the requests of the National Guard. These men are here to do a job assigned, and you and I must co-operate willingly. Only a few isolated instances of such disregard have been reported but we do expect 100 per cent co-operation."

Matthews said that about 125 students who registered last year had not shown up for classes, but he said that was normal procedure. "It happens every year," he said, "they might move away or something. We have at least that many more new students enrolled." He said the enrollment was 1,999, about the number he anticipated before school started.

Somewhat detached from the issue at hand, but very much a by-product of it is a filling station at the corner of 14th and Park, and a drug store at the other end of the block at 15th and Park.

Both have reported that concession sales have tripled since the crowds started congregating, but the service station manager said his service jobs had almost stopped, and the drug store reported that its book supply business, always good at this time of the year, was practically nil, and cosmetics, and other sales have almost stopped, too.

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# Davies Sets Hearing in Fight on 4 Segregation Laws

Federal Judge Ronald N. Davies ordered yesterday that a hearing be held September 19 at Little Rock on a motion to stay litigation in a federal District Court suit asking that four Arkansas segregation laws be declared unconstitutional.

Judge Davies' order said that "in the event such motion to stay is denied, the case shall immediately proceed to trial on the merits."

The stay motion was filed last month by Attorney General Bruce Bennett, an ex-officio member of the state Sovereignty Commission and one of the defendants in the suit. One of the laws challenged in the suit established the Sovereignty Commission.

The suit, filed by 10 Negro ministers, also challenges the validity of laws which provided that parents do not have to send their children to integrated schools, required certain organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to report to the Commission and allow school districts to employ attorneys to help them in integration suits.

Bennett asked that any federal action be postponed until a similar suit, filed in Pulaski Chancery Court, had reached the state Supreme Court for a ruling. The Chancery Court suit had asked for a declaratory judgment on the validity and effect of the four laws.

But Pulaski Chancellor Murray O. Reed ruled at a hearing on the suit that integration at Little Rock should not proceed. He based his ruling on testimony by Governor Faubus who said that there would be violence if Little Rock schools were integrated.

Attorney J. R. Booker of Little Rock, representing the plaintiffs in the federal court suit, said he and other attorneys for the ministers would oppose the stay motion.

The hearing on the motion, set for 10 a.m. September 19 in Judge Harry J. Lemley's courtroom at the Federal Building, presumably will be held by the three-judge court named to hear the case. The court will be comprised of Judge Davies, Judge Martin D. Van Oosterhout of Sioux City, Ia., and Judge John E. Miller of Fort Smith.

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# Calm, Confident, Talked-out

## Crowd at Central High Is Passive As Guard 'Escorts' Negro Newsman

JERRY DHONAU  
OF THE GAZETTE STAFF

A calm, confident and talked-out crowd of only 200 took the attitude of watchful waiting on Park Avenue in front of Little Rock Central High School yesterday and was hardly roused when a Negro newsman entered the scene and was asked to leave by the Arkansas National Guard.

Newsmen heard only bits of the heckling which had characterized the crowds in the morning hours of five other days of classes at the strife-torn school.

The crowd of segregationists and curiosity seekers had dwindled to about 50 when two deputy marshals passed the Guard line at Fourteenth Street and Park Avenue at 12:01 p.m. to serve a summons on Lt. Col. Marion E. Johnson, the troop commander.

Only a dozen of the hard-core spectators stood in front of the line of 200 guardsmen when the pall of fog began lifting at 7:30 a.m. A few others were added to the crowd when a Negro woman walked north on Park Avenue, unnoticed by many. She was not heckled and the largest gathering of segregationists apparently didn't even see her.

### Negro Reporter Arrives

The orderly crowd had grown to about 100 when the Negro reporter, Moses J. Newsom, 30, of Memphis entered the scene. He walked on the east sidewalk of Park Avenue after entering the area from Fourteenth Street. Two white men followed him up the walk. A few steps later Colonel Johnson stopped him and several Guardsmen ringed their interview.

Newsom, who was carrying a camera strapped around his neck, showed the colonel a press card indicating he was a reporter for the Tri-State Defender of Memphis. The colonel stepped back and other newsmen were told by Newsom that he had "just started" to work for the Afro-American at Baltimore but lived at Memphis. Colonel Johnson called Newsom to the side and they walked with other Guardsmen back toward Fourteenth Street where they stopped.

There Colonel Johnson told Newsom that he was not allowing any Negroes on the scene for their own protection and asked the reporter the location of his car. Then he called three additional Guardsmen.

Eight of the militiamen escorted Newsom down the east sidewalk of Park for 1 1/2 blocks. They walked silently and the handful of the crowd which followed didn't utter a loud word. The crowd had done no heckling when Newsom was stopped earlier. When the armed party and Newsom reached the car which bore Tennessee license plates, the newsman got in and drove off at the direction of State Troopers.

The crowd, mainly other newsmen, peacefully walked back to the school grounds.

One segregationist, who has been seen at the school each of the six days, commented "I knew that Nashville bunch would come through" when he noted the Gazette's report of the bombing at the Tennessee city

earlier in the morning.

At 8:40 a man who said he was Bill Johnson of Little Rock showed a Governor Faubus campaign tie which he said was borrowed from a friend. The black writing on the pink cravat said "Forward with Faubus."

By 8:45 the calm crowd had reached its peak of 200 and, as they had done five other days, a good many of the members applauded when the American flag was raised on the school lawn to start the school day.

Fewer than 25 persons remained on the street when word reached the grounds that Colonel Johnson would be served with a summons. Maj. Gen. Sherman T. Clinger, the state adjutant general, had not been seen on the grounds for two days.

### **Summons Served**

At 11:55 about half the Guard left for lunch at Adams Field. Several minutes later the deputy marshals, Bob Powell and Ira Satterfield, walked up to the Guardsmen on the corner of Fourteenth and Park. They identified themselves and a major walked with them to Colonel Johnson.

Powell said formally: "Lieutenant Colonel Johnson"

Johnson replied. "Hi, Bob."

While newsmen and other Guard officers surrounded the deputies and the colonel, Powell read part of the summons. Then Johnson and Powell, obviously friends in civilian life, talked of more personal matters and the two deputies left.

The colonel stuffed the papers in his back pants pocket and went on about his business.

A Guardsman remarked soon after: "Well, now the pressure's off."

Newsom was the second Negro newsman in two days to get an escort away from the scene. Alvin Nall of the Amsterdam News, a Negro weekly newspaper published at New York city, was ejected Monday.

Yesterday, James L. Hicks, managing editor of the Amsterdam News, sent duplicate telegrams to Mayor Mann and Governor Faubus.

"Al Nall, a reporter for this paper was prevented from performing his duties by a mob at the Central High School of Little Rock and was escorted from the scene by military authorities," the telegrams said. "I have instructed him to go back to the school and again try to report the Little Rock story for our readers.

"In the interests of a free press in a democratic society, I urge you to give him the protection he is entitled to as an American and to permit him the freedom of movement which he should have as a newspaperman."

Nall did not show up at the school yesterday despite his instructions. Later, at his hotel he said he had phoned the mayor and the National Guard to ask them if he would be permitted to do so. He said he asked both offices to call him back with their answers by they didn't.

Nall said he would leave Little Rock last night for Nashville where he hopes to report on that city's integration crisis.

Only half the Guardsmen remained on the scene during the afternoon and like other days lounged on the lawn, played cards, read newspapers and posed for sketches by art students.

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# Police Collect 30 Weapons

A State Police officer said yesterday that "about 30 weapons" had been confiscated in the vicinity of Little Rock Central High School since the integration dispute began early last week.

Lt. Paul R. McDonald said the weapons included a bullwhip, BB pistol, high-powered rifle, brass knuckles, a billy club and daggers.

He said no arrests had been made although most of the weapons were taken from individuals, "both white and Negro." Other weapons were found in vehicles and in high weeds, he said.

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# Backstage at the Capitol

## 'Violence' in Little Rock Occurred on Typewriters

GEORGE DOUTHIT.  
(DEMOCRAT STAFF WRITER.)

Editorial writers and magazine editors over the nation really have had a party the last two weeks at the expense of Arkansas' Governor Faubus. They gave the words of condemnation and ridicule a heavy workout.

There was a reason for it other than the fact that they disagreed with Mr. Faubus' action in calling out the National Guard in the Central High School case. The editors got some good one-sided stories from their reporters who came rushing to the scene looking for violence and riots.

Probably the biggest jolt the reporters received was when they came into Little Rock and discovered a quiet Southern city going about its business instead of police riding through the city brandishing riot guns.

Instead of the reporters finding white and Negro people pushing each other off the sidewalk, they saw them just as they always had lived for a hundred years--getting along together peacefully.

The reporters who had just hit Little Rock weren't getting much of a riot story to send back to their editors. So they went out to the high school where the guard was on duty.

We will admit that one lone Negro girl walked the entire block in front of the school after she had been told by the guard that the school was closed to her. We will admit that people followed her and called out things they should not have said.

But here is the pay-off. We have read descriptions of the various reporters who saw the incident. They varied from "walking with the dignity of a lady" to "she was hysterical and wept."

They had to write about her because most of them missed a few minutes later the main group of seven Negro students trying to enter the school.

There was not one word called out from the crowd, not one obscene statement made to this group. They were turned away and went quickly back from where they had come. But you should read the accounts by the foreign reporters.

### Distorted Reports

They pictured these horrified Negro children being shunted away by hundreds of National Guardsmen brandishing armed carbines and rifles.

What we're trying to say is that what Little Rock lacked in "blood and thunder" the visiting press provided for the rest of the nation. They were so busy trying to be sensational about this situation here that we haven't found a single account that tried to present the situation that faces Little Rock and Arkansas.

By the end of the week before last the reporters on the "battle front" had run out of material. Then Mayor Woodrow Mann took the limelight and held a few press conferences.

So, for the next few days the Little Rock story was kept alive on the front pages of the nation as the city's mayor became a hero in the face

of this "dastardly" thing that the governor had pulled.

### **Editorials, Too.**

The reporters quoted and the editors editorialized that Little Rock's mayor could have handled the whole thing if the governor had stayed out of it.

In the meantime, the North Little Rock school board had decided that in view of the situation the North Side should hold up its integration plans.

But a group of six Negroes decided to push ahead anyway, although the school board had ordered them not to try it. North Little Rock students took things in their own hands and pushed them back. No one was hurt but what a great story the foreign press had. And what pictures.

Governor Faubus was blamed for the North Little Rock action, although he had made no plans to interfere with integration in North Little Rock. It sounded better blaming it on him. So that punch was directed at him, too.

No sooner had the North Little Rock incident cooled off than over in Nashville, Tenn., citizens there resisted integration. John Kasper, the Northern troublemaker, had been walking free around Nashville for several weeks trying to stir up some action.

### **Faubus Blamed.**

One night a school was dynamited. The Nashville school superintendent called it the "backwash" of Governor Faubus' action in Little Rock. In other words, whatever happened anywhere, it was blamed on Faubus. Yes, the nation's editors certainly have had a field day at his expense.

There was one incident in the South that wasn't blamed on the Arkansas governor. A Negro was emasculated by some white men, and an investigation developed that this horrid incident was an initiation test for a Ku Klux Klan member.

Now, after two weeks, what have we got? No one has tried to understand the problem facing the South. It has millions of law abiding people who will accept integration because the U.S. Supreme Court says we must.

Our people were given only two choices by the courts: integration without violence or integration with violence. The majority of the people, against integration, prefer no violence.

So, now the big question for the South: Will you accept integration without violence? We know most of the people will. But there is still a small minority of persons who, law abiding in everything else, cannot bring themselves to the point of ending the century-old tradition of segregation.

Until these few people are willing to accept this new thing quietly and peacefully, we have a problem.

And we need not expect the editors of the nation to understand. Anyway, many reporters didn't come here to seek out the real story; they came here for a sensation--riots, violence, guns, uniforms.

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# UA Expects 7 Negroes To Enroll

Fayetteville (AP) -- Seven Negroes were expected to register at the University of Arkansas today and school officials expected no trouble.

This is the 9th straight year that the university has been open to Negroes.

Storm Whaley, public relations director, said "the peaceful entry of seven and maybe more Negroes is expected."

He said not more than 10 Negroes have ever been enrolled during a regular term but between 200 and 250 studied at the university during the past summer session. Most of these were Negro school teachers completing degree work or pursuing advanced studies.

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# Aldermen Request That Guard, Police Be Retained at CHS

Eight Little Rock aldermen yesterday asked state and federal authorities to keep the National Guard and State Police on duty at Little Rock Central High School.

The request came after the aldermen heard Mayor Mann refuse to withdraw an order putting all city patrolmen on a seven-day work week during the unrest over integration of the school.

The aldermen also for the second time praised Governor Faubus for calling out the Guard. Mann has blasted the governor for the same action.

The breach between the mayor and the aldermen widened at a special Council meeting.

The alderman called on Mann to withdraw the order to prevent the city from being bankrupted. Mann refused to let the aldermen tell him what to do.

He said that as chief executive of the city he was responsible for the public safety. He added that this was something that Mr. Faubus was also ignoring.

The Council finally agreed that Mann was justified in keeping the policemen on extra duty for the time being. They said that they may have to cut a number of non-uniformed city employees off to pay the bill.

Alderman Franklin E. Loy, a longtime critic of the mayor's, didn't waste any time in attacking Mann.

Loy accused Mann of: (1) trying to bankrupt the city before he turns it over to the city manager Board of Directors in November, (2) refusing to listen to Police Chief Martin H. Potts who wanted to return to a five-day week when the Guard was called out, and (3) of misstatements and failing to keep the Council advised of his actions.

## No 'Third Degree'

Mann refused to be drawn into an argument with Loy. He said that he would "not permit myself to undergo a third degree."

"You don't want to have your hand called," Loy retorted.

"I wouldn't believe you, Mr. Mayor," Loy added. "if you put your hand on a stack of Bibles a mile high."

Mann shrugged his shoulders and turned to confer with City Attorney O. D. Longstreth Jr.

The latest blowup resulted from a report that putting the policemen on extra duty would cost the city about \$4,000 a week. The aldermen said the city could not pay the bill.

Loy repeatedly baited Mann to say that he was keeping the police on extra duty because of an emergency. Mann has said that no emergency exists. He blames Governor Faubus' intervention in the city for creating tension.

Mann would only say that the extra duty is a precaution. The Council gave in and termed the situation "an unusual condition" that requires precautionary measures.

## Sent Telegrams

As soon as this action came, the aldermen directed a telegram to Governor Faubus, President Eisenhower, United States Attorney

General Herbert Brownell Jr. and Federal District Judge Ronald N. Davies asking for Guard and State Police protection for the city.

The text of the message:

"The Little Rock City Council meeting in emergency session this date unanimously requests that he National Guard and Arkansas State Police remain on duty at the Little Rock School indefinitely to protect the life and property of the citizens of this city.

"The City Council unanimously adopted a motion commending Governor Orval E. Faubus for his prompt action in taking preventative measures to preserve and maintain the public peace and safety of our community."

Alderman W. T. ("Pete") Hollis, William C. Hood Jr., Ray Winder, Lee H. Evans, James A. Griffey, Harold H. Reed and Fred W. Parris signed the message.

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# NLR School Board Says 'No' To Petition of Negro Parents

**ROY REED  
OF THE GAZETTE STAFF**

The North Little Rock School Board met on 90 minutes notice yesterday and denied a petition by the parents of seven Negro seniors to enroll the seven in the all-white North Little Rock High School. This reaffirmed the Board's decision of September 3 to postpone its planned integration "indefinitely."

The refusal apparently cleared the way for court action by the Negroes which could force the Board to allow integration. The Negro parents had not decided late yesterday whether to bring a law suit.

"This situation today is more tense than it was September 3." Board Member Robert R. Means told four Negro ministers representing the parents. "The Negro students are in worse danger of physical harm now than when we postponed integration."

The second day of classes at the still segregated High School was quiet in contrast to Monday when a crowd of white students and adults pushed back six Negro boys who sought enrollment.

A seventh boy was registered but did not try to enter the school Monday. The petition yesterday asked his admittance, too.

Sixty-five armed peace officers blocked nearby streets and guarded the school grounds yesterday morning to prevent a recurrence of opening-day violence.

A crowd gathered but remained fairly orderly. No Negro students tried to enter.

Capt. John E. Charles, acting chief of North Little Rock Police Department, said the same police force would be at the school at 6 a. m. today as a precaution. It included 45 policemen from his department, 11 State Policemen and nine Pulaski County Sheriff's deputies.

After the Board meeting at 12:30 p. m. yesterday there appeared to be no further threat of violence in the immediate future.

A Negro spokesman said last night that he thought the seven Negroes had decided to enroll this week at Scipio A. Jones High School, the Negro school that they had previously attended.

The North Little Rock City Council instructed Mayor Perry Monday night to ask Governor Faubus to have Arkansas National Guard troops stand by for a possible emergency at North Little Rock. Perry said yesterday he had arranged the Guard alert through a governor's aide.

The Guard did not appear to be needed yesterday. The 65 officers on the scene made up a force 25 percent as large as the crowd. At its largest the crowd numbered about 250, some segregationists and some curiosity seekers.

The police restricted the crowd to the south side of Twenty-second Street, the side farthest from the school by placing road blocks at the intersections of Main, Maple and Orange Streets.

Possibly the morning's most spectacular development was the discovery by the horde of newspaper, radio and television workers on the scene that a small cafe nearby still sold coffee for five cents a cup. After 9 a. m. the newsmen deserted the school and swarmed into the cafe.

The early crowd was mostly students but by the time school started at 8:30 a. m. it had become mainly adults. It numbered over 200 until about 9 a. m. By noon only a handful of spectators and some police remained.

The only noise was from the heckling of a few passing Negroes and the off-key singing of "Dixie" by some of the younger members of the crowd. For the benefit of television cameramen the youngsters sang it again a few minutes later --Éwith more gusto if not melody.

The singing stopped when eight policemen drifted toward the crowd.

### **Easier Heckling Distance**

Police at Orange and Twenty-second Streets directed Negroes headed toward Main Street on foot to walk on the south sidewalk of Twenty-second. This kept them away from the school ground but put them within easier heckling distance of the crowd of whites.

About 30 Negro boys went by in one group. Not many others walked Twenty-second Street.

An unidentified young woman circulated through the crowd half secretly gathering information in a small notebook. She ducked reporters and photographers. It was learned from one with whom she talked that she was taking names and telephone numbers to form a "telephone committee, just in case it is needed in an emergency."

Captain Charles said most of the hecklers in the crowd had been identified as non-students. Some were former trouble makers at the High School, he said.

School Superintendent F. B. Wright had asked parents and spectators to stay away from the school after Monday.

### **Pastors at Meeting**

The Board meeting was in the School Administration Building at Twenty-eighth and Poplar Streets. Meeting with the Board were Rev. John Gipson, pastor of Lee Chapel AME Church of North Little Rock; Rev. D. J. Webster, presiding elder of the Marianna District of the AME Church; Rev. W. B. Banks, presiding elder of the North Little Rock District, and F. D. Gipson, presiding elder of the Hot Springs District of the AME Church. All are from North Little Rock.

The ministers had delivered the petition at 11 a. m. asking the Board to rescind its September 3 postponement of integration of the twelfth grade.

Board President Byron R. Bogard asked the ministers if they thought it was safe to go ahead with integration after the violence of Monday.

Banks replied. "Since so much has happened in North Little Rock I don't think it would be nearly as safe now as a week ago."

The ministers have blamed the rise in tension on Governor Faubus' calling out the National Guard at Little Rock.

In reply to the ministers' questions, the Board members would not say when they thought it would be safe to go ahead with integration.

The Board postponed desegregation because of "the immediate developments dealing with the problem of integration, particularly the action taken by Governor Orval Faubus."

Rev. John Gipson said last night that he thought the seven Negro seniors would enroll this week at Scipio A. Jones High School. He said one boy, Gerald Persons, enrolled at Jones yesterday.

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# What Happened at Little Rock? City Apparently Taking It Calmly Suddenly Center of Great Dispute

SY RAMSEY OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

There seems to be no ready answer as to why the carefully planned system of gradual integration at Little Rock went astray in a city which reluctantly was accepting it.

Item: School Superintendent Virgil T. Blossom has explained the plan to nearly 200 white and Negro civic groups in the last 2 1/2 years.

Item: Two dedicated segregationists ran for posts on the school board last March. Integration was the only apparent issue. The segregationists, both prominent members of the community, lost by about three to one.

Item: Governor Faubus said early this summer that "everybody knows federal law supersedes state law."

Item: The Arkansas Gazette, with the largest circulation in the state, staunchly advocated orderly compliance with the United States Supreme Court desegregation ruling. The Arkansas Democrat, largest afternoon paper, mildly supported the School Board plan.

Item: Little Rock is one of the least rigidly segregated cities in the South. Both integrationists and segregationists also agree that Arkansas is hardly a "massive resistance" showpiece compared to other Dixie states.

Yet today, National Guardsmen bristling with weapons surround Central High School while a crowd whose temper sometimes is menacing shows up every morning a few feet away. And none of the 10 Negroes eligible for admission to the High School have been able to enter.

### Why the Dispute?

What happened? What caused the apparent tide of resentment against integration a few days before classes began here?

A casual observer might attribute the excitement to the recent visit of recent visit of Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia, whose speech to the Capital Citizens Council was a ringing denunciation of everything related to integration. Mr. Faubus himself strengthened this view by testifying in a state court that Griffin had given Arkansans the idea that they could dodge impending integration with no serious consequences.

But a penetrating observer, while conceding that Griffin added fuel to smoldering embers of racial tension, would place little importance on the speech.

As one of the most vehement segregationists outside Central High School put it the other day: "Griffin? I didn't even read his speech."

To get at the root of the trouble, an outsider must listen to exponents of two broad fields of thinking.

Those who support the School Board feel that racial integration at Central High could have been handled as quietly as in North Carolina.

"Sure, maybe a few kids would have slugged it out for a minute but in a few days it all would have been over but the heckling," said one white observer.

### **Encouraged by Faubus**

They also contend that Mr. Faubus' states rights pronouncements in the days preceding the opening of school gave courage to faint-hearted racists and that the governor's mobilization of the National Guard flashed the green light to the extremist faction.

Why the governor --known as a moderate and cautious man-- acted as he did is a mystery to these people. They blame variously Mr. Faubus' purported desire for a third term or United States senatorship, bad advice from close friends, a craving for national publicity and a wish to embarrass the Republican administration.

They say they find some comfort in the hope that an aroused Negro electorate might cancel out any voting gain from East Arkansas segregationists. They think the federal government inevitably will win the legal battle with the governor. They know that the momentary failure of a painful experiment will leave scars on this city for a long time.

In short, they maintain that Mr. Faubus created a Frankenstein's monster from a small segment of the people and that unless he backs down, the consequences may be shattering. This is the published opinion of the Arkansas Gazette.

### **Segregationists Answer**

Segregationists fire their familiar volleys at the United States Supreme Court, the Northern federal judge who has ordered immediate integration, the NAACP and out-of-state newsmen who they claim have fanned the racial fires.

Possibly their most telling point is that school integration failed because most white Little Rock residents did not want it.

"What Blossom and the School Board did not realize," one Citizens Council sympathizer said "is that the luncheon clubs and do-gooder groups that approved integration did not represent the average family. The people the school officials encountered are not the basically rural people that populate this area."

The same observer pointed out that the two segregationist candidates for the school board were defeated in the Pulaski Heights section of Little Rock which Mr. Faubus years ago referred to as the "silk stocking district."

"This city looked to Pulaski Heights for leadership," the observer said, "The leaders who live there want to appear modern and tolerant."

### **Violence Believed**

An alderman who believes integration is inevitable says that he supported Mr. Faubus' summoning of troops. "I have seen some evidence that violence was brewing and I believe it."

The statement was made by Harold H. Reid, who with several other aldermen commended the governor Sunday for the mobilization. The other councilmen were out-of-town at the time.

Reid said that although he thinks integration is inevitable the planning for it at Little Rock was neither broad nor gradual enough.

The action of the aldermen was an inadvertent or deliberate slap at Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann, who has condemned Mr. Faubus for calling out troops. Most councilmen had been involved in disagreements with Mann long before the racial issue came up.

Aside from the aldermen's praise of Faubus, there has been no

statement on the integration issue as such. The council officially always has kept hands off racial matters.

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# Board Member Points To Equality of Schools

The subject of equal school facilities for white and Negro students hasn't been broached publicly during the current racial controversy now in its fourth day in North Little Rock.

One school board member suggested that presentation of certain facts along the line of equal facilities would prove interesting to newspaper readers. He attempted to get out-of-state newsmen interested enough in the subject to write stories about it but apparently failed in his mission.

Figures furnished a Democrat reporter by W. E. Shelton, business manager of the North Little Rock School District, show more than \$1 million has been expended for Negro school construction since 1948. That's slightly more than half the amount spent for White schools during the same period. The ratio of white students to Negroes in North Little Rock is four to one.

The district has put \$1,035,094.15 into Negro school construction in the past nine years and approximately \$2 million into projects for whites. The largest amount expended for Negroes during the period was for the construction of Jones High School five years ago. That cost was \$373,210.56.

Woodson School was completed in 1951 at a cost of \$125,078.94; Woodson School annex in 1955 at a cost of \$65,580.58; Hillside School addition, 1955, \$73,435.62; Carver School, 1952, \$143,877.38; Roosevelt School, 1957, \$138,607.59; Jones home economics department building, 1951, \$32,460.05, and Jones Trade School, 1948, \$82,843.43.

In other words, the school board member pointed out, all the Negro schools in North Little Rock have been erected since 1948 except the Lincoln Elementary School which was constructed in 1909 and added to in 1928, and Hillside's first section which was built in 1943.

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# State Editors See Good, Bad In School Crisis

*Here is more editorial comment from Arkansas newspapers on the Little Rock integration dispute and Governor Faubus' actions:*

## El Dorado Daily News

The events in Little Rock's row over the plan to integrate the Central High School there serves as a dramatic spotlight on a problem which has been growing for decades and which threatens to engulf the states. That is the encroaching of the federal government on the state and individuals. One has only to stop and think of the many ways the federal government enters his daily life to get the impact of this ...

Governor Faubus has, intentionally or not, pulled the federal power grab into daylight. Now that congressmen and senators are at home, it might be well for citizens to let them know how they feel on the subject.

President Eisenhower has said he intends to uphold the federal Constitution. We hope he includes that section of the document which reads: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, or prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

## Texarkana Gazette

Governor Faubus played Little Eva to the Washington Star's Simon Legree on Sunday night's TV, causing us much embarrassment for the fear the public might get the idea that the procedure followed by the Star's reporter is typical of ethical newspapermen. He was in sharp contrast to International News Service's Bob Considine, a big city reporter himself, who accorded Governor Faubus the deference due to his high office and yet asked some of the more penetrating questions of the interview ...

Newspaper reporters have no business getting mad while they are working. That is the prerogative of editorial writers. If we had been the managing editor of the Washington Star ... we would have called him home not only because his manners were bad in a section of the country noted for its gentility but because it was obvious that he could not have written an objective story about integration in Arkansas.

## Malvern Daily Record

More starkly than since Reconstruction days, the conflict between state and federal law is presented. For Governor Faubus is acting under the mandate of an Arkansas law by which he would forfeit his office if he failed to oppose desegregation. This fact is unknown or unregarded by much of the nation, which sees only an act of defiance ...

To multitudes of Americans accustomed to think only of national law, this was a natural conclusion. But Arkansans were very aware of another law -- one they had set up specifically to annul the Supreme Court's decision ... It requires state officials to make and enforce segregation laws. It represents a widespread conviction that federal intervention in school affairs is wholly unconstitutional. Much as we disagree with this view, it is a basic factor in a situation which must be better understood before this conflict can be resolved.

This newspaper believes the North Carolina plan which [provided

for] local option and gradual desegregation under a pupil assignment system is wiser ... We are convinced that the rigid segregationists, by setting up state laws to defy federal laws, are embittering and delaying adjustments which eventually must and should be made.

But the people of the rest of the nation can also delay solution of racial problems if they fail to understand Southern feeling and conditions.

### **Searcy Daily Citizen**

Many people are looking on this battle between Governor Faubus and the federal government as a strict matter of integration against segregation ... which it isn't.

There is, of course, no question but what the matter of integration was the starting point. But things have gone much farther than that. We now have on our hands a very definite constitutional question as to whether or not a governor has the right to rule his state under the terms of his oath of office or whether that rule may be foiled by federal order. In short, this is nothing more and nothing less than a grave and unsettled point of constitutional law.

We are not prepared to say that Governor Faubus is right. But we also find it impossible to say that he is wrong.

But this one thing we do know: Regardless of the final outcome, this challenge of federal authority will result as all other such challenges have by broadening our American system of government. Unlike totalitarian governments, our free system thrives on crisis. And we are sure that in the final analysis we will have a stronger nation because of it.

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# Integration Halted At Ozark

Ozark (AP) -- Voluntary integration here hit a stumbling block of violence last week and a police officer warned three Negro students attending the previously all-white high school to stay at home, a Negro father has reported.

Riley West, father of two of the students, said last night that "one person tried to run over the children with a car as they were walking home from school."

School authorities and other officials who could be reached declined to comment.

Ozark, a city of 1,700, began integration this semester. Previously it had sent its few Negro students to an all-Negro high school in Ft. Smith, a distance of 61 miles.

West said his two children Inola, 16, and Rayford, 18, and a 3rd student, Nola Blanche Kuykendoll, 16, attended classes with white students for only two days.

There were several incidents of mild violence during those two days, he said. "A boy hit Nola Kuykendoll with a clothes hanger and my boy was hit in the back with a book."

He said City Marshal Dick Sowell last Wednesday ordered the Negro students not to return to Ozark High School.

Sowell was unavailable for comment and school officials refused to discuss the matter.

School Board President W. H. Oliver said the board had agreed not to release any information on the situation, a practice it has followed since first announcing plans for integration apparently as an economy measure.

First indication of trouble came from a white resident who said expulsion of the Negroes was "hushed up" in an effort to avoid unfavorable publicity.

"I don't know what I'm going to do now," West said. "They tell me it's too late to get the kids in school anywhere else this year. I guess I'll wait till next year and try to get them in somewhere."

West added that since the Negro children left the white school "we haven't had any trouble."

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# New Court Action Filed By Branton

An attorney for Negro students yesterday afternoon filed a petition apparently designed to bring the original suit against the Little Rock School Board in line with the latest legal action of the U. S. attorney.

The new petition, submitted here in federal court by Wiley Branton, Pine Bluff, requests:

That permission be given to file a supplemental complaint in the original suit against the school board.

That Governor Faubus and National Guard officials be added as defendants.

That a hearing be held September 17 at 10 a. m. on a request to restrain Governor Faubus and Guardsmen from interfering with Negroes seeking to enter Central High School.

A federal official said it is likely that Judge Ronald Davies will consolidate this action with that filed yesterday by Attorney General Herbert Brownell and U. S. Attorney Osro Cobb.

Their petition seeking to bar interference with Negro students' admission to high school was filed as an action of "friends of the court."

If the actions are consolidated, the judge could hear the case September 17 if he desired, instead of September 20, the date set for a hearing on the U. S. attorney's petition, according to a federal spokesman.

The original suit grew out of the board's refusal last year to permit 33 Negroes to enroll at Central High. The court ordered the board to submit a plan for integration, and it was in answer to this order that the board came forth with its plan of gradual integration.

This plan was approved by the court, which ordered the board to carry it out. Governor Faubus' Guardsmen have since stopped the plan from being executed.

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# Presbytery Hits Faubus' Use of Guard

A "strong protest" against Governor Faubus' calling out of the National Guard in integration at Little Rock Central High School was adopted yesterday by the Presbytery of Ouachita comprised of ministers and lay representatives of several Presbyterian churches in Arkansas.

The protest, approved by a vote of 30 to 12, stated:

"We deplore his (Mr. Faubus') disregard of the national law, his intrusion into the ordered processes of a local school district and his incitement of racial tensions. We earnestly beseech him to announce immediately an intention to exercise executive leadership in obedience to the law of the land. Finally, we call upon all Christian citizens to join us in a prayer for God's grace and guidance in this time of crisis."

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# 'Faubus Fallout' Set Off Violence

HELEN THOMAS OF THE UNITED PRESS

Washington, Sept. 12 -- Administration sources said today the rash of integration was being touched off by "Faubus fallout."

They said racial disturbances from Nashville to Birmingham were triggered like a "psychological" chain reaction by the stand of Governor Faubus.

Justice Department sources said they could find no proof that any of the school segregation outbreaks in the past few days were related. But they are convinced one event led to another starting with Faubus' ordering out the National Guard to block integration of Central High School in Little Rock.

One thing that emboldened segregationists elsewhere in the south was suddenly finding they had a governor "on our side." Justice authorities pointed out.

The Justice Department sources said that unless the Little Rock case is resolved quickly rising sentiment could affect other areas where schools were integrated by a narrow margin, like Hoxie, Ark. They said these areas could revert to segregation.

The sources called the struggle with White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan over school segregation a battle for men's minds.

Officials in the department believe that Faubus is showing signs of softening. They fully expect that Federal Judge Ronald N. Davies will issue an injunction after the September 20 hearing. They also are confident that the Governor would abide by an injunction to prohibit use of troops to block integration.

In this event, the sources said, there could be a settlement to the Little Rock situation in two weeks. If the Governor appeals, and that is not expected, drawn-out litigation would delay integration this year.

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## Sid McMath Leading Foes Of Governor

Former Governor Sid McMath disclosed yesterday that he had directed locally a "pressure campaign" for liberals of state and national reputation who opposed Governor Faubus' action in the school integration impasse.

The role played by McMath underscores the extent to which political and socio-economic forces have been involved during the period of crisis.

McMath was the man who first brought Governor Faubus into statewide political recognition. They were close friends for years but in recent months had drawn apart on ideological differences.

This relationship was not unknown in the powerful areas where public figures move to pull strings behind the scenes in great crises. Once the Little Rock issue became important nationally and internationally, the search was on for periphery figures who could pressure the "hard center."

### Requested by Leaders

McMath said he had assumed his role at the request of national Democratic Party leaders and even high-placed members of the Eisenhower administration. Other requests, he said, came from prominent industrialists and national public opinion-moulders with whom he had formed friendships in the years that he was governor of the state.

It was made clear in McMath's words that his role was not in any close way related with the activities of Representative Brooks Hays, but that some intercommunication was kept between the two forces so there would be no risk of any grave missteps.

"I don't agree with the stand taken by Governor Faubus," McMath said, "but I do think that it must be emphasized that those who know him well believe that the firmest criticism should be that it was an action out-of-character.

"Orval Faubus was a moderate liberal and he did grand work for the industrial progress of this state. He stood with all of us on the moderate approach to race relations as being in the best traditions of Arkansas.

"What led him to take this step, I can't say, but I feel sure he has seen the light for the welfare of this state in the long run. He seems to be ready to accede to the basic American tenant that the laws must be upheld and enforced to protect the integrity of the courts. We are overridingly a law-abiding people in this state and we cherish our country's heritage of freedom and opportunity for all people under law."

### Friendship Cooled

In 1954, Mr. Faubus was elected governor and McMath lost to Senator John L. McClellan. In succeeding months, McMath and Governor Faubus became cool to each other after years of friendship. McMath says the coolness developed because Faubus "wavered on the solid liberal programs for conservative and wise adjustment of race relations and also pushed increased tax for the little fellow, we lost the old contact."

But when the school integration controversy erupted McMath's

telephone because busy with calls from liberals and moderates around the country urging him to rally the forces that might be in danger of tipping to Faubus's side.

"I think we were able to hold back Faubus supporters and race extremists from capturing any great number of middle-of -the-roaders who were off balance by reasons of unexpected developments that came so swiftly." McMath said.

"We just kept pressure on all the time." he added. "We stressed that history was against the Faubus position, that at most he was a mistaken man and that the one issue for all Arkansans was to consider was the welfare of our state and the progress-march of our country."

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## Ministers Outline Principles

Thirty five ministers from 14 Arkansas cities, acting as individuals, and the Board of Managers of the United Church Women of Arkansas, have released statements on the school integration situation in Little Rock senior high schools.

The statement came from separate meetings held yesterday.

The board of the Church Women by a vote of 30-1, expressed "great concern", while the ministers issued a statement of "convictions."

The church women criticized the 1957 Arkansas sovereignty laws as "embittering and delaying adjustments which eventually must and should be made."

The ministers' statement "stresses that all are equal in God's sight," according to the Rev. Dunbar H. Ogden jr., pastor of Central Presbyterian church who is also chairman of the Ministerial Alliance of Greater Little Rock.

The statement itself declared that the ministers had met to "offer common prayers" and to "witness to a unity given in Christ which transcends all racial, cultural and denominational differences."

The declaration made no reference to Governor Faubus or other leaders in the school matter.

"We believe in the right of persons to disagree and to try to change laws with which they disagree," said the statement from the Church Women. "The constitution of the United States outlines procedures for amending that body of law. We feel that no state has to power to enact laws which limit the God-given rights of the individual."

Members of the United Church Women represent all denominations except Southern Baptist and Roman Catholic.

Ministers by denominations who signed the "statement of convictions" included:

Methodist: Rev. Robert Paul Sessions, Booneville; Rev. Nat Griswold, executive of Arkansas Council on Human Relations; Rev. John D. Jump, Quitman; and Rev. Charles E. Martin, Rev. William Byrd, and Rev. Cagle E. Fair all of Pine Bluff.

Presbyterian: Rev. T. B. Hay, Pulaski Heights; Rev. Gary Hofius, North Little Rock; Rev. Richard B. Hardie, Westover Hills; Rev. Dean H. Lewis, Springdale; Rev. Ogden, Rev. Robert J. Moser, Rogers; Rev. Richard E. Thwaiter jr., Mt. Comfort; Rev. Richard R. Streeter, Atkins; Rev. Donald E. Shoemaker, Benton; Dr. J. F. Henderson, Allen Memorial, Little Rock; Rev. Daniel L. Durway, Des Arc, and Rev. George A. Chauncy, Monticello.

Episcopal: Rev. Theodore Peter Devlin, Pine Bluff; Rev. James C. Jackson, vicar St. Phillip's Mission; Rev. J. Hodge, Alves, Christ church; Very Rev. Charles A. Higgins, Trinity Cathedral, and Rev. William A. Willcox, St. Mark's.

Christian: Rev. William C. Howland jr., Hot Springs; Rev. James I. Spainhower, Fayetteville; Rev. Robert D. Chambliss, Hot Springs; Rev. Austin Denney, Hot Springs, and Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright, Pulaski Heights.

CME: Rev. C. F. Odom, Rev. G. P. Pulliam, Rev. N. Charles Thomas, Wrightsville, and Rev. M. L. Darnell, Miles Chapel.

Congregational: Rev. Charles E. Walker.

Baptist: Rev. N. Nichols, Collins Temple.

AME: Rev. Rufus King Young, Bethel Church.

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## **Integration Injunction Points Made**

Legal support for the government's application for a preliminary injunction against Governor Faubus and two National Guard officers is outlined in a memorandum of points and authorities.

The argumentative six-page pleading, filed in U. S. District court yesterday, set forth the position of these "friends of the court" -- Attorney General Herbert Brownell and U. S. Attorney Osro Cobb -- opening bluntly with the statement:

"The officials of the state of Arkansas should be enjoined from obstructing or interfering with the carrying out of this court's orders of Aug. 28, 1956 and Sept. 3, 1957."

The memorandum in the Aaron-Cooper integration case declared: "There can be no doubt that the state authorities have been and still are taking action which completely frustrates the effectuation of this court's orders," quoting the command to place certain schools off-limits to white and colored students.

Principal reliance of the government appeared to be upon "a remarkably similar situation" (in *Sterling, Gov. and Texas et al. vs. Constantin et al.*) in which the Texas National Guard was used to enforce orders of the state railroad commission limiting the production of oil.

Federal constitutional rights were challenged in that case and a temporary restraining order was secured from the district court upon its finding that no evidence supported the "asserted belief of the governor that unless he used military forces to limit the production of oil 'a war-like riot and insurrection would ensue'" and the injunction was upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court.

The memorandum quotes the Supreme Court's comment at length and also cites nine other cases to support its legal stand.

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## **Rep. Hays Fills Interpreter's Role in Parley of Faubus, Ike**

**RELMAN MORIN (AP WRITER.)**

They say a crisis always puts the right man in the right role at just the right moment.

If that's true, the powder-keg events in Arkansas this week, with sparks flying between the races and between the federal and state governments, were pointing from the first toward a gentle, widely-admired congressman.

He is Rep. Brooks Hays.

Hays emerged as the mysterious emissary who helped bring Gov. Orval E. Faubus to the conference tomorrow with President Eisenhower.

Only two days ago, Faubus and the U. S. government appeared to be caught in a hopeless and dangerous deadlock. Faubus had ordered National Guardsmen to keep Negroes from enrolling in a Little Rock high school. A federal judge had ordered the school to be integrated.

Neither side seemed prepared to budge an inch.

Suddenly, the news came that Faubus had asked for a meeting with the president at Newport, R. I.

Hays says the meeting was his idea.

Further, he says, "I have been transmitting information on the situation to the White House almost from the beginning. I felt it was my duty to keep the White House informed."

He was in a strategic position for the role of go-between. He is a close friend of Eisenhower's key assistant, Sherman Adams. He stood by Eisenhower's foreign aid program and foreign policy when other Democratic congressmen were opposing it.

He can and does stand as a kind of interpreter of the views of the South and the north on integration, pleading for understanding.

For these and other reasons, he is highly persona grata at the White House.

Hays does not claim to be a close personal friend of Faubus. "But," he says with a twinkle, "he's a Baptist, too."

Brooks Hays, 59, a lawyer and long-time member of Congress, is a man of many facets.

He is deeply religious -- president of the eight million-member Southern Baptist Convention and one of the few laymen to hold that office, sponsor of the bill that created a special room for prayer in the capitol in Washington, organizer of the 32-year-old Brooks Hays Bible Class, deacon of his church.

### **Witty. Brave.**

He is witty, the amateur cartoonist who created the friendly "willipus wallipus," a legendary Arkansas beast with eight legs which became the subject of a debate in the House. Under great pressure, Hays admitted it did not exist.

And he is brave -- the man who countered a Soviet proposal to admit Outer Mongolia to the United Nations by proposing that Texas be admitted, too, under the name of "Outer Arkansas."

Hays believes in keeping the church and state separate. but, as a churchman, he says:

"We are just as interested in what the prophet says to the politician as we are in what the politician says to the prophet. For centuries, beginning with Nathan's pointing the finger of condemnation at King David, the right of moralists to question their rulers has been safeguarded by society."

He comes naturally by this dualist view.

Hays likes to recall that one of his grandfathers was a country doctor and also an ordained minister.

"He would take care of peoples' bodies on week days and look after their souls on Sundays," he says.

He frequently quotes Benjamin Franklin --

"I have lived, sir, a long time and the longer I live, the more convincing proof I see of this truth -- that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid?"

Hays is married and has a married son and daughter, Mrs. William E. Bell, and Steele Hays, a lawyer.

He has served on the House Foreign Relations Committee and as a member of the Arkansas delegation to the United Nations.

At home, he likes to draw and write -- funny stories about funny animals. In Washington, he is in wide demand as an after dinner speaker.

He has been talking about going to Moscow to encourage Baptist churches there.

He received an award from the Freedom Foundation of Valley Forge for helping create the prayer room in the Capitol.

Reports have been current for some time that Hays may be named federal judge in eastern Arkansas -- and his role as a mediator in the Little Rock integration struggle may lend greater probability to the report.

When that struggle first developed, Hays pleaded for "re-establishing the spirit of calmness in which solutions can be sought."

That, no doubt, will be the same plea he makes tomorrow when he joins the conference between the president and the governor.

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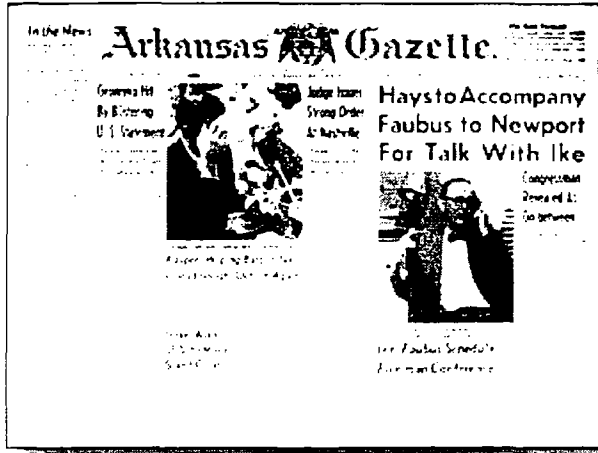
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## Friday, September 13, 1957

Selected stories from the inside pages of the *Arkansas Democrat* and *Arkansas Gazette* from this day 40 years ago are listed below the newspaper images.



(Image size: 306 K)



(Image size: 231 K)

### Selected inside stories from this day, 40 years ago:

#### Rep. Hays Fills Interpreter's Role in Parley of Faubus, Ike - *Relman Morin (AP Writer.)*

They say a crisis always puts the right man in the right role at just the right moment.

#### Integration Injunction Points Made

Legal support for the government's application for a preliminary injunction against Governor Faubus and two National Guard officers is outlined in a memorandum of points and authorities.

### Ministers Outline Principles

Thirty five ministers from 14 Arkansas cities, acting as individuals, and the Board of Managers of the United Church Women of Arkansas, have released statements on the school integration situation in Little Rock senior high schools.

### Sid McMath Leading Foes Of Governor

Former Governor Sid McMath disclosed yesterday that he had directed locally a "pressure campaign" for liberals of state and national reputation who opposed Governor Faubus' action in the school integration impasse.

'Faubus Fallout' Set Off Violence - Helen Thomas of the United Press  
Washington, Sept. 12 --Administration sources said today the rash of integration was being touched off by "Faubus fallout."

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Return to Central High, Saturday, September 14, 1957

# Faubus Set Poor Example, Harmed U.S., Says Jackson

Bellingham, Wash., Sept. 13 (AP) -- Senator Henry M. Jackson (Dem., Wash.) said today Governor Faubus has "made a fool of himself" and has harmed his country immeasurably abroad.

Jackson, in an address to the Washington Club, questioned Mr. Faubus' sincerity in calling out the National Guard to patrol Little Rock Central High School.

The senator said that if Mr. Faubus had information that serious trouble would break out over integration he could have given it to the courts.

"There is nothing that hurts us more abroad than the stories that get out concerning our integration troubles," Jackson said. "Faubus has set a poor example for the whole country."

Jackson said it was "high time this foolishness stops," and added. "I think that until the Arkansas governor stepped in we had progressed very well" toward workable integration.

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## Threat to Rights Seen by Douglas

Washington, Sept. 13 (AP.) -- Senator Paul H. Douglas (Dem., Ill.) said today that a victory for governor Faubus in the Little Rock dispute over integration of schools would be "fatal for integration everywhere."

"It would give every local politician encouragement to go ahead and flout the law," Douglas said at a news conference.

The Illinois senator said he hoped that in conversations with Mr. Faubus President Eisenhower realized he was "dealing with a local court order upholding a basic constitutional right of American citizens."

"There should be no particle of doubt, no wavering nor delay about the president's full support of constitutional processes and rights," Douglas said.

Asked what he would have done to meet the Little Rock school crisis, Douglas said that although it now was "coaching from the sidelines" he believed a presidential radio and television appeal to the nation would be valuable.

And secondly he said the situation could have been met as "Abe Lincoln would have done it -- taking a Negro child with one hand and another Negro child by the other hand and leading them into the School."

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# AIDC Skips Integration

The Arkansas Industrial Development Commission has decided that it will not comment immediately about the impact of Little Rock's integration crises on the state industrial program.

After a meeting here yesterday William R. Ewald jr., AIDC chief of development, said "all we decided was that it would be ill-advised to make a statement at this time."

Recently, an official of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce said the integration dispute would set the city's industrial program "back considerably." Everett Tucker jr., the chamber's industrial director, also said that in the past most firms contacted as industrial prospects had enquired into the racial situation.

The AIDC will hold another meeting at Jonesboro October 11.

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Return to Central High, Sunday, September 15, 1957

# Constitutional Crisis

## School Cases Weighed

PHILLIP M. CARDEN

Nashville, Tenn. -- The U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decisions set off the greatest constitutional crisis since the Civil War, with an impact which has spread far beyond the South and the schools in the three years.

Prof. Paul H. Sanders of Vanderbilt University Law School, director of the Race Relations Law Reporter, documents these conclusions in a summary in the current edition of the Reporter of legal developments in the first three years of the new legal principle.

The article summarizes court cases, legislative action and other materials; most of which were published in full text by the Reporter as they occurred through the first three years of the crisis.

"The Supreme Court's proclamation and the action in many of the southern states to avert the effect of the pronouncement," Sanders wrote, "have produced a constitutional crisis of unprecedented magnitude in the period since 1865.

"Congressional debate over civil rights and even the controversial reception of other recent Supreme Court decisions are all parts of the larger pattern.

"The dynamism of the 1954 school decisions is demonstrated by the fact that the principle...has been applied...to invalidate legalized racial segregation in governmentally-owned recreational facilities and in local as well as interstate transportation facilities.

"Whether the principle will be considered broad enough to invalidate...any racial distinction based on law or supported by governmental authority remains to be determined."

Sanders noted that the impact has also extended beyond the southern states. Citing the Pennsylvania case in which the new principle overrode the 1830 will of Stephen Girard setting up a fund for white male orphans, because the fund was administered by the city of Philadelphia.

He also cited school segregation cases in Ohio, California, New Jersey and New York which reflected the impact of the decisions.

"The decisions do not, of course, reach directly 'merely private' racial discrimination in such matters as employment or in the use of accommodations normally open to the public," he said.

"But added impetus has been given to enacting additional state statutes and municipal ordinances invalidating such discrimination."

Subsequent school litigation, Sanders noted, has clarified the picture with these points.

That the states are not required to mix the races, or require them to attend schools or deprive them of the right of choosing their schools, but merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation.

That state use of the police power label for its action does not in itself carry magic which will limit the effect of the principle.

That questions raised as to the validity of the 14th Amendment itself -- the basis of the principle -- is a political question which the courts will not pass on.

Sanders said none of the interposition resolutions passed by some southern states has been used to defend segregation in court action. In fact, he said, the Virginia resolution has resulted in invalidating companion legislation which had been pleaded by the state.

He cited the wide variety of the method and extent of implementation in the decisions by the lower courts even in the five cases immediately before the high court in the original litigation.

In the Delaware and District of Columbia cases immediate compliance was undertaken by the school authorities involved.

In the Kansas case which has provided general title for the consolidated group, *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, a desegregation plan involving some delay and free choice was approved.

In the South Carolina and Virginia cases no time limit was set in the lower court decrees and no steps toward desegregation have been taken.

In other cases the courts have approved a variety of local plans for gradual or immediate desegregation. In some cases where school officials submitted no plan, immediate desegregation was ordered and in other requests delays were granted.

Sanders also noted the injunction actions taken in Hoxie, Ark., to protect school officials undertaking desegregation without court order, and in Clinton, Tenn., to protect officials acting under court order. These decisions provided precedent for the recent injunction in Nashville.

The summary of pupil placement laws allowing school boards to assign pupils on factors other than race showed sharply varying results in the courts turning on the wording of the individual statutes and the peculiar facts of individual cases.

Sanders said affirmative state action to resist the court's decree had included principally legislative and administrative moves aimed at curbing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In other portions of the lengthy summary, Sanders noted:

There has been no tendency to grant delays in college desegregation.

The validity of school bonds is not affected by the fact that the schools would be segregated.

That actions to desegregate golf courses, parks and other public facilities have been stepped up, that closing or bona fide sale of the facilities may defeat the court action, but nothing short of that will.

That city housing authorities may not impose racial segregation, but federal loan guaranteeing agencies have no duty to prevent housing discrimination.

Segregation in intrastate and local transport facilities has been ruled out and administrative agencies have taken affirmative action to implement the principle in transportation.

In other privately owned public accommodations, such as restaurants, in which "state action" is not involved, major effects have been in spurring of state and local legislation against discrimination, and state court action under them.

Labor unions have been required to exercise bargaining power without discrimination on the basis of race under the national labor relations law.

But the mass of litigation resulting from the segregation cases has brought no novel developments in court procedures, and most of the cases reaffirmed established principles as to the right to fair jury trials free of racial prejudice.

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# Little Rock Negroes Give Views On School Integration Dispute

STAN MEISLER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The balding stocky white man pointed a finger excitedly.

"You newsmen are missing the real story," he said. "The Negroes don't want integration any more than we white folks do.

"Why don't you talk to them? Pick out any group. You'll find out what I know."

The Associated Press followed the suggestion of the man in the angry crowd at Little Rock Central High, the school kept segregated by Governor Faubus and the Arkansas National Guard.

But the results did not show what the segregationist said he knew.

Nineteen Negroes were interviewed, some in their homes, some at their jobs. They were rich and poor, with elegant furniture and threadbare rugs. Some spoke with college accents, others mumbled. A few were grandmothers, two were old maids. One man shoveled dirt for a plumber, another headed a large school.

## 2 for Segregation

Only two -- both over 70 years of age -- favored continued separation of the races in the schools of Little Rock. Three others would not say. The rest -- in one degree or another -- favored integration right now.

Many admitted though that they would hesitate to send their children to a school guarded by grim men with guns and angry men with shouts. They do not want to hurt their children. But a surprisingly large number said perhaps it would be better to get the hurt over with as soon as possible.

Older Negroes like a 70-year-old general clean-up man echoed the sentiments of white segregationists.

"Lots of folks don't agree," he said, "but God made you a white man and me a colored man and said we should be in different places."

"There will always be trouble," said a 72-year-old washing and ironing woman as she sat sadly on the porch of her tattered home.

"They'll be fussing and spating and throwing things at each other in school if they're together."

## 'The Right Thing'

But almost all others wanted integration. Some felt it was the right thing. Others felt that Negro schools in Little Rock were not up to par. But they had varying views about the trouble at Little Rock.

"Trouble?" laughed Will Reece proudly. "I don't believe there is going to be any trouble after the 20th."

Reece, 54-year-old uncle of a girl turned away from school by the Guardsmen, meant that he was sure that the Federal Court at a September 20 injunction hearing, would force Mr. Faubus to remove the Guard.

"Naturally if my child went to school one day and a mob turned him back, I'd be hesitant about telling him to come back the next day," said a 47-year-old letter carrier, father of a 2-year-old boy. "But somebody has to come back day after day and the sooner you get it over with the better."

"I'm for integration," said a 43-year-old school teacher as she helped her 11-month-old boy try to walk. "But if it means bloodshed, I don't think it's worth it."

Then she looked at her child and added: "Somebody has to be a martyr."

"They say wait until the trouble is over," said Mrs. Eldora Seaton, a 63-year-old grandmother of a high school student. "All right, let's wait -- if the wait isn't going to be too long."

Tommy King, a 47-year-old plumber's assistant, had a clear formula: "No, I wouldn't send my children if there was trouble. I wouldn't even send you. When you see a man with a gun, you walk the other way."

Oscar Eckford, Sr., an elderly storekeeper and grandfather of one of the children who wanted to enter Little Rock Central, said he thought his granddaughter "did the right thing." But he stressed the need for good will between the races and said "among Negroes, humbleness is a way of life."

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# Faubus Takes Verbal Poke At Mann During Interview

Hillsgrove, R.I., Sept. 14 -- Governor Orval E. Faubus took a slap at Mayor Woodrow Mann of Little Rock tonight as he left Rhode Island.

He was asked by three Brown University news and radio men for his reaction to the mayor's statement that he didn't believe calling out the National Guard in Little Rock was necessary.

"This man's last call before the people was repudiated 3 to 1," the Brown trio, Robert Schwartzman, Michael Epstein and Wallace Terry, quoted him as saying. "He is a discredited, repudiated politician who will soon go out of office."

Epstein asked: "If the courts ordered you personally to withdraw the National Guard troops from Little Rock High, will you do it?"

"I will comply with any court order," the governor was quoted by the Brown men as saying. "Of course you realize there may be some litigation involved and it may go to higher courts. But I will comply with any order given by the court."

Terry, a Negro, said he asked Faubus, "Have you observed and studied Northern integration and have you visited any Northern schools?"

He quoted the governor as saying that Negroes were going to colleges and universities in Arkansas and as adding: "I fought with, ate in officers' clubs with and traveled on trains with Negro soldiers and had the opportunity to experience integration."

He shook hands with the Negro reporter for the Brown Daily Herald as he left and invited him to visit Arkansas.

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# Poll Shows Support

## Faubus Backed Solid

**PHYLLIS DILLAHA (DEMOCRAT STAFF WRITER)**

The man on the street appears to be standing solidly behind Governor Faubus on the integration issue.

Approximately 30 persons were stopped at random by a Democrat reporter in downtown Little Rock yesterday. They included the old and young, both men and women.

Only one person quizzed, a Central High Student, indicated opposition to Faubus by expressing the opinion that she was in favor of removing the Guard.

It was expected by the reporter that a more even balance of pros and cons would be expressed. But, after an hour and a half of polling, the inescapable conclusion was:

### **Not on Street.**

If there were significant numbers of persons against Governor Faubus' integration stand, they simply were not on Main St. in downtown Little Rock yesterday between 2:30 and 4 p.m.

Another conclusion was that Little Rockians on the whole just didn't want to be quoted on the integration issue, but told the reporter "off the record" they were "for him."

Answers received ran like this:

G.C. Merriman, 2800 Woodrow, assistant road and bridge commissioner for Pulaski county: "I think he (Faubus) has done a wonderful job in keeping the trouble down. I feel there could have been trouble and he kept it down with the National Guard the same as the North Little Rock police, deputy sheriffs and state police have done over there. I agree with his stand. If he leaves the Guard up to prevent trouble and bloodshed, then I think he has done a good job."

### **"Wonderful"**

Mrs. Frank Durham, Ft. Smith: "I think Faubus is wonderful, and I wish all the South had governors like him. I'm for him 100 per cent on anything he does, and I've just returned from the West and everyone out there was for him."

Judy Gay, 4919 Woodlawn, senior at Central High School: "I think he is doing the best that he can under the circumstances. I'm not in favor of the Guard staying in front of the school because I think everything should be brought out into the open and if the Guard was removed then we could see what was going to happen."

### **"States-Righter."**

W.P. Best, 719 E. 6th, salesman: "I think that each state should have the right to control intrastate affairs and when it becomes interstate then the federal government can take over. I am a confirmed states-righter and am in favor of the Guard staying there till they settle things peaceably. I don't think we should be forced into integrating and I think Faubus means what he says."

O.O. Kennedy, 121 W. 14th, Apt. F: "I think his actions are very, very commendable. I think he used his head in the beginning and

should continue as he sees fit at the present time. I hope this situation is cleared up and everyone is satisfied with the results."

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# Transcript of Faubus Press Conference

Providence, R.I., Sept. 14 (AP) -- Here is a transcript of the press conference held here this afternoon by Governor Faubus of Arkansas, who earlier had issued a prepared statement:

Q - Governor, do you expect more meetings?

A - Gentlemen, I do not wish to anticipate at this moment any further actions or conferences. I think that we should wait for developments and events.

Q - Governor, I'd like to ask you one question. I'm from San Francisco and we have about 5,000 telegrams from the people of San Francisco. And they want to know, as Negro-Americans, as American citizens, do we have a right to attend the schools of our choice under the Constitution and will you endeavor to do all you can to help to that end?

A - I believe that if you will study the record of progress that has been achieved in Arkansas that it will speak for itself. All the public transportation systems, city buses and others, have some time ago been integrated. All of the institutions of higher learning including the state-supported colleges and universities.

Q - Governor, will the National Guard be in front of the school on Monday?

A - Those problems I'll have to take care of when I reach home.

Q - Governor, do you expect the Court proceedings to go off as scheduled?

A - I do not wish to anticipate any action by anyone else.

## Leaves It to Ike

Q - Governor, did you discuss with the president any extension of time before implementing the court order?

A - I believe that I had better leave that for the president to answer should he choose to do so.

Q - Governor, did you ask the president for a one-year suspension of Federal Court action pending a cooling-off period in Arkansas?

A - Gentlemen, I'm going to stand on the statement and not discuss it further.

Q - Governor, the Court has ordered integration and you say you're going to abide by the Court's order. How can you go on with the troops in front of Central High School?

A - I have consistently, time after time, state the purpose of calling out the troops was to maintain the peace and order of the community. I'm sure that you, the same as I and everyone else, doesn't want anyone to get hurt or killed.

## Won't Debate

Q - Governor, Elizabeth Eckford and the Parents and Teachers Association president of Little Rock, Ark., will be in San Francisco Sunday to address a mass rally there. I have talked with them by long-distance telephone in Little Rock, and I talked with the little girl. She said this: That there was no violence but she was scared to death, and she'd like to go back to Central High School and she feels that as governor you should be able to help her go back. She wants to learn, that's all she wants to do, and she's depending on you.

A - I'm sorry, I can't engage in a debate or argument with you on the issue.

Q - Are you a member of the Arkansas National Guard, Governor?

A - No.

Q - When are you going home, Governor?

A - Just as soon as I can get out of here.

### **Matter of Opinion**

Q - Of those who attended the scene at Little Rock there seems to have been peace and quiet before the National Guard was called out; it seems the tension was created after the National Guard was called out.

A - That is a matter of opinion.

Q - Governor, did President Eisenhower have some idea as to what you were going to say this afternoon?

A - I wouldn't want to speak for the president.

Q - Governor, will the children be able to go to school next week? The Negro children, will they be able to go to Central High School?

A - Well, you're asking a question along with a lot of others, a lot of us would like to know the answer to.

### **Says He's on His Own**

Q - Governor, when was the last time you've seen Senator Talmadge?

A - The last time I saw Senator Talmadge...I think the only time I've ever seen Senator Talmadge was some 10 years ago.

Q - How about Governor Griffin?

A - When he visited Little Rock, which is a matter of record.

Q - Governor, have there been any attempts by you to get with other Southern governors to make sure that the violence throughout the Southern states is stopped?

A - No, I've handled this according to my constitutional duties and obligations as the governor of the state of Arkansas. It is the problem of the state and no other state.

Q - Are you considering withdrawing the troops from Central High School next week?

A - Sorry, I'll have to wait eventualities.

### **Refuses to Argue**

Q - Governor, if the children from the high school, if the Negro children from the Central High School who want to attend Central High School, I'm a Negro and I want to bring this out nationally or I won't be happy. All right?

A - It is a mighty difficult thing to make everyone happy.

Q - The Negro students who want to attend the school, I mean I feel this way, I'm an American citizen. I don't say we can handle all the problems here in this country overnight, but for goodness sake, don't you think other countries are watching our progress? Don't you feel -- let 'em go to school, let 'em go to school Monday and if anything happens then use the National Guard. Give them a chance to cross the line, let them go in the school and try to work it out. You can take a little five-year-old Negro child and a five-year-old white girl and put them together and they'll play. You can take teenagers that have something in common and they'll coordinate their abilities. Give them a chance. I know you can do it.

A - I'm sorry, I didn't come here to argue.

Q - Governor, did you make any specific request to President Eisenhower or did you merely give him your views?

A - Gentlemen, I'm sorry, I've answered all the questions that I

think is feasible and proper. and you have the statement.

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Return to Central High. Sunday. September 15. 1957

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Return to Central High, Sunday, September 15, 1957

# Integration Exploded From Theory to Fact

**BOBBIE FORSTER (DEMOCRAT STAFF WRITER.)**

Perhaps a partial explanation of what seemed to be "sudden" opposition to integration in Central High School can be found in two points:

1. Up to September 3 of this year integration was something that was happening in other cities and other states, but not in Little Rock. Nearly two years of "explaining" an integration plan had literally overnight gone from theory to fact.

2. School authorities and others were giving such varied information, the general public could not be certain of anything.

On point No. 1, it is one thing for a group of parents to hear a plan six months or two years ahead of time and quite another thing for it to be placed in use.

It also is possible that parents of junior high and grade school children are not particularly interested in the Central High situation because, for them, integration would not come until 1960 for junior high and 1963 for grade school.

But this is 1957 and integration for senior high schools was scheduled to start in Little Rock in 1957.

On point No. 2, school authorities have appeared somewhat reluctant to be quoted and to pinpoint answers to questions on figures. They have acknowledged that the subject matter is a "touchy" one and have tried to avoid arousing sentiment. But many feel this reluctance is a contributory factor to the confusion.

## **First Unveiling.**

The integration plan was first "unveiled" to reporters in a briefing session nearly two years ago. Reporters came away from that meeting with the impression that the plan was to be carried out over a 12-year period, with one grade to be integrated each year.

The longevity of the plan still persists in the minds of some out-of-state reporters to judge from U.S. News and World Report's description last week of the process as a "leisurely, 10-year integration program."

What local reporters first understood as a 12-year-plan emerged in a federal court opinion as a six-year program with Federal Judge John E. Miller writing: "In other words, complete integration would be effected not later than 1963."

Under the approved plan as submitted by the board, three grades would be integrated (10 through 12) this year, another three grades (seven through nine) after a "successful" senior integration ("two to three years" in the words of Judge Miller) and then grades one through six after another "successful" period (again in Judge Miller's words after another two or three years).

## **More Confusion.**

There has been confusion, too, in accounts from the school board offices as to the number of children actually eligible for integration.

The court opinion held that this would be determined by "attendance areas." Judge Miller's opinion noted that on the senior high level, Central and Technical High Schools had city-wide attendance for

all white students and Horace Mann school. city-wide attendance for all Negroes. Under "the plan" Tech would remain with city-wide attendance for all students; Central, Horace Mann and the new "West End High School" (Hall High) would have residential attendance areas.

The judge's opinion noted that both white and Negro students would live in the attendance areas for Central and Horace Mann, but that "no Negroes at present (August, 1956) are in the West End attendance area."

Presumably, the judge was basing "no Negroes" in the Hall High area on representations from the school officials, although at the beginning of this present school year authorities said "perhaps five or six" Negro students did live in the Hall High area.

**Never Divulged.**

The number of Negro students actually living in the Central High attendance area has never been divulged by the school officials. And the "estimate" of those eligible continues as a varying factor.

Statements have variously placed the number at "less than a score," "15 or less" and then "nine."

Leaders among the Negro citizens have said that 35 were "eligible to attend but had been screened down to 25." The court suit seeking immediate integration contained 33 names of Negro children as plaintiffs. Nine -- previously enrolled -- sought physical entrance and were barred. A court petition asking Governor Faubus to answer complaints that the Guard prevented integration listed 10 students as having been denied admission.

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Return to Central High, Monday, September 16, 1957

## Faubus' Action Leaves a Scar, Democrats Say

Washington, Sept. 15 UPI -- Democratic political pains over school integration were eased somewhat today by Governor Faubus' assurance to President Eisenhower that he will obey federal court orders in Arkansas.

But Party leaders said privately that Mr. Faubus' action in calling out the National Guard to keep Negro students from Little Rock Central High School has left a political scar not likely to be erased before next year's campaign for control of Congress.

The consensus of these leaders was that Mr. Faubus' course, plus school integration flare-ups elsewhere, has ripped open the Party unity Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas patched together during congressional action on the civil rights bill.

They said Mr. Faubus' decision not to defy the federal courts eases this situation somewhat but doesn't cure it.

Johnson's obvious intent in getting the voting rights measure passed was to show that the division within his Party was not such as to render a Democratic Congress impotent to act on civil rights.

This was aimed at offsetting the expected contention of Republican candidates that the only way for Negro voters to be sure of obtaining any progress in this field would be for them to vote for Republican candidates for Congress seats.

The futile 24-hour Senate filibuster by Senator J. Strom Thurmond (Dem., S.C.), Mr. Faubus' actions, and integration outbreaks elsewhere in the South have tended to label the Democrats as the Party of white supremacy.

### Eisenhower Accused

A majority of the Democratic Advisory Council including former President Harry S. Truman and Adlai Stevenson accused President Eisenhower of failing to take a strong stand against "defiance of law" at Little Rock.

The Democratic National Committee made public a statement approved by 15 of the Advisory Council's 24 members. It said three members, all from the South, disapproved and the other members couldn't be reached.

While sharply critical of Mr. Eisenhower, the statement also struck at Governor Faubus for calling out the National Guard to prevent Negro students from enrolling at all-white Central High School in Little Rock.

"It need hardly be said," the Council members asserted, "that the action of Governor Faubus does not represent the position or policy of the Democratic Party."

The Council members said statements issued by Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Faubus after their conference at Newport, R.I., were "disappointing to all Americans who believe that respect for the law of the land must be paramount."

"Certainly any other course will be a defeat for law and order and for the Constitution itself," they said.

Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler said it was very difficult to interpret the statements issued yesterday by Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Faubus. Butler said the president did not indicate he expected

immediate enforcement of the federal court's integration order at Little Rock. And he said Mr. Faubus didn't say whether he would keep National Guardsmen stationed around the School.

Butler said the Little Rock situation represents "one of the greatest crises in American history," and he said Mr. Eisenhower has not been taking an active enough hand in bringing a solution.

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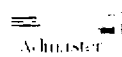
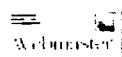
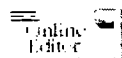
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## Arlington To Appeal School Case

Arlington, Va. UPI -- School officials will appeal, possibly tomorrow, a federal district judge's order that seven Negro children be allowed to attend all-white schools in Arlington county.

The county school board announced last night it had decided to appeal the order handed down Saturday by Judge Albert V. Bryan in nearby Alexandria.

The board also said it will ask a stay of Bryan's order, which is effective next Monday. An aide in the state attorney general's office in Richmond said a request for a stay and a notice of appeal probably will be filed tomorrow both in Alexandria and Richmond.

Meanwhile, parents of five of the Negro children involved said they would try next Monday to get the youngsters into the currently white schools. Parents of the other two children said they had decided to give up their attempts.

Bryan's order Saturday was his second directed against racial segregation in the schools of Arlington County, which lies along the Potomac River across from Washington, D.C. The Supreme Court last March refused to review -- and thus let stand -- Bryan's integration order issued July 31, 1956.

The judge was sharply critical Saturday of Virginia's pupil placement act, the avowed purpose of which is to circumvent the Supreme Court's 1954 decree outlawing integration in the public schools. Bryan said the parents of the seven Negroes need not comply with the placement law.

"Submission to that act amounts almost to assent to a racially segregated school," Bryan said.

The placement law makes no mention of race, but it specifies a series of standards for assigning pupils to schools. Among other things, it lists "intangible social scientific factors."

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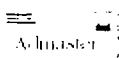
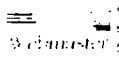
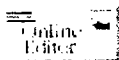
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Return to Central High, Monday, September 16, 1957

# The Face of the South

## Georgia Editor Takes Look At School Problem

RALPH MCGILL  
IN THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

There is an old proverb: "Oh, great and wise, be ill at ease when your words and deeds please the mob."

There was a picture of a smiling Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas. Neatly dressed and flawlessly barbered, he was accepting a federal contempt citation in the school issue from an impeccably-clad and proper federal marshal.

There were other pictures. They revealed that the Nashville demonstrators, some of whom provided the criminals who dynamited a \$500,000 school to ruins, in a typical answer of a mob, were neither smiling nor neat. Most of them, indeed, were not from Nashville. They looked, in their posed pictures, as if they had been dressed for the part by some movie director with extras hired to portray a mob. Many of them, judging from their pictures, could have walked onto the stage, without change of dress, and fitted into a scene from Erskine Caldwell's Tobacco Road.

The same generalization would describe the demonstrators as depicted by photographers taken in Little Rock and Alabama.

Looking at them, one feels pity and compassion, knowing them to be the pawns of agitators and ignorance. But one feels strongly that they must not be allowed to become the face of the South.

In both Little Rock and Nashville, the citizens, white and colored, went about their business as usual. The stores had white and Negro customers. Traffic moved in the streets. One could not assume these peaceable white citizens approved of the Supreme Court decision. But they are American citizens and are law-abiding.

\*\*\*

We saw demonstrated that mobs of from 500 to 1,000 out of a population of several hundred thousand, have provided the headlines of violence. The great body of citizens, whatever their discontent, have lived by law.

Too often neat and impeccable men, occupying high, sound ground, withdrawing carefully from violence and, indeed, denouncing it nonetheless have reason to be ill at ease. Their words and deeds have pleased the mob.

The South has suffered an irreparable blow.

All the sympathy, all the respectable attention focused on the problem by the Southern Senate leadership in the civil rights debate, now has been blown down by the dynamite, the violence and the demonstrations of the mobs.

This Senate leadership succeeded, to a great extent, in persuading the nation their region would take a legal approach: that life and property and human rights were safe and would be protected.

The men who mutilated an admittedly innocent Negro in Alabama merely to impress their fellow klansmen, the dynamiters who blew

down a \$500,000 school building when the South needs more schools, not less; the disorder and violence of utterance in Little Rock--all these have become the face of the South.

And yet, the total number of those who have demonstrated and dynamited, is less than 2,500.

\*\*\*

People do not like to be told the truth. Too much of the comment today is on the narrow basis of whether one is "for or against segregation." That is not at all the basic issue before us. The fact is that millions of Southerners who strongly support segregation and who would do all that is possible to retain it, are not willing to tear down the government with violence and anarchy. Another truth too often is concealed from the Southern people, who are as decent and law-abiding as any other. The rest of the nation is not sympathetic with, and does not approve of, the defiant and violent positions taken. These people, too, may approve of school segregation, but they are first of all Americans and know we must live by law.

There are yet legal steps to be taken.

They have begun in Little Rock.

In Nashville the local police are able to handle the 500-odd demonstrators. They have moved against the agitator, John Kasper, who has been throwing raw meat to the mobs.

In Alabama Ku Klux Klansmen are under arrest.

When the due processes of law are exhausted, the decision must be accepted as law. As a civilized Christian people we cannot live by the rule of dynamite or bombs.

Editors, governors, commentators, ministers--all those who speak out--will do well to remember the old text: "Be ill at ease when your words and deeds please the mob."

The face of the South must not be that of the mob.

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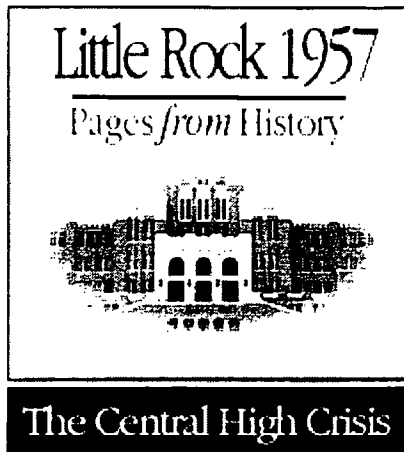
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**HISTORIC  
PHOTOGRAPHS  
FROM THE  
Arkansas  
Democrat**  
Through the lens of  
former staff photographer  
**Will Counts**

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## A Look Back at Central High



Little Rock native **Will Counts** nearly won the Pulitzer Prize for his photographs of the September 1957 Central High School desegregation crisis for the *Arkansas Democrat*.



He says "the Central High photographs from 1957 show that journalism can make a difference. I was told that after President Eisenhower saw the pictures of Alex Wilson [black editor of the *Chicago Daily Defender*] being kicked (last image this page), he said to an aide, 'I knew then I had to do something.' That's when Ike sent in the federal troops."

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Hecklers follow Elizabeth Eckford as she walks in front of Central High.

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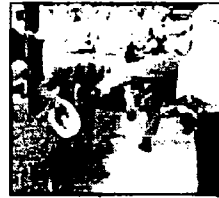
A white student passes through an Arkansas National Guard line as Elizabeth Eckford is turned away.



After being heckled by protesters, Elizabeth Eckford waits for a bus.

---

Alex Wilson is kicked by a school integration protester after refusing to run from a mob near Little Rock Central High.



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# Time Line: The Stage Is Set

It hit like a tornado, with a whirlwind impact both sudden and shattering.

The desegregation storm of September 1957 ripped into Little Rock's self-image of Southern racial moderation and plunged the city into turmoil for nearly two years. The Central High crisis became the most defining chapter in Little Rock's history.

Feelings about the issue ran high nationally on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line. When a Sept. 10, 1957, performance of *South Pacific* in a New York City suburb reached the line where Nellie Forbush says she is "a little girl from Little Rock," the audience booed so loudly that the show had to be halted. When Gov. Orval E. Faubus' presence was announced at the Sept. 21 Texas-Georgia football game in Atlanta, the 33,000 fans gave him a standing ovation.

Four decades later, the desegregation crisis is part of the history books, lying beyond active recollection for most Arkansans. But it also remains a current event, because some of the participants are still alive and some of the scars have yet to heal. How to integrate schools equitably continues to bedevil officials and parents here as elsewhere.

From the distance of 40 years, in a state where public life is now substantially desegregated, younger Arkansans especially may wonder: How could something like Central ever have happened? A large leap of imagination and empathy is required to understand the events and emotions of a time when segregation in most public venues remained the law across the South.

One straightforward way to return to 1957 is via the front pages of the two statewide newspapers during that turbulent period. When Central High was in the headlines daily and the world's eyes were focused on Little Rock, both the morning *Arkansas Gazette* and the afternoon *Arkansas Democrat* covered the story with their full resources.

Starting today on pages 2B and 3B, the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* will reprint the front pages of both newspapers from the corresponding dates in 1957. This unprecedented series will continue for five weeks, spanning the whole of the crisis period 40 years ago.

"The aim," says Griffin Smith, jr., *Democrat-Gazette* executive editor, "is to give current readers an unfiltered and unmediated view of how the momentous news was reported when it happened, in the place where it was happening. We want our readers to be able to relive first-hand the events that shaped Little Rock's history."

The intensity of the coverage in both newspapers can be gauged by the fact that they printed 385 front-page stories and 134 front-page photographs related to the Central High situation from Aug. 29 to Oct. 4, 1957. The *Democrat* published 206 of those stories and 89 pictures; the *Gazette* printed 179 stories and 45 photos.

Central High School was the *Gazette's* primary Page 1 story for 36 consecutive mornings, from Aug. 30 to Oct. 4. The desegregation crisis led Page 1 of the afternoon *Democrat* Aug. 29-31 and then for 33 straight days, Sept. 2 to Oct. 4. It took the Soviet launching of Sputnik on the world's first space flight to displace Central High as the No. 1 story in both papers on Oct. 5.

The *Gazette* was awarded two Pulitzer Prizes for its coverage -- one for meritorious public service, the other for Harry S. Ashmore's editorials. And it was disclosed this year that the Pulitzer photography

jury recommended that its prize go to the *Democrat's* Will Counts for his Central High pictures -- a decision overruled by the Pulitzer board.

The seeds of the Little Rock confrontation were sown in May 1954 by one of the century's most important and controversial U.S. Supreme Court decisions, *Brown vs. Board of Education*. The following time line traces developments on the 39-month path from *Brown* to Central.

## 1954

**May 17:** The U.S. Supreme Court rules unanimously in *Brown vs. Board of Education* that state laws mandating public school segregation are unconstitutional under the equal-protection clause of the 14th Amendment. The high court rejects the "separate but equal" doctrine in force since its *Plessy vs. Ferguson* ruling of 1896, declaring that segregated schools "are inherently unequal."

**May 18:** Gov. Francis Cherry says Arkansas will "comply with the requirements" of the Supreme Court desegregation ruling.

**May 22:** The school boards in Fayetteville and Sheridan announce that their systems will desegregate in the fall. The Sheridan board rescinds its decision the next day in the face of public outcry.

**June 5:** Gubernatorial candidate Orval E. Faubus, a former state highway commissioner and the postmaster at Huntsville, pledges in his first campaign statement on school integration "that the rights of all will be protected but that the problem of desegregation will be solved on the local level, with state authorities standing ready to assist in every way possible."

**Aug. 10:** Faubus wins the Democratic nomination for governor by defeating incumbent Cherry after a heated primary runoff campaign, 191,328 to 184,509.

**Aug. 23:** Public schools in Charleston, Ark., admit 11 black students, making that Franklin County community the first in the former Confederacy's 11 states to end school segregation. Charleston's school superintendent waits until Sept. 14 to disclose the desegregation to the news media.

**Sept. 4:** Arch Ford, Arkansas commissioner of education, reminds 14 school districts that have submitted petitions to desegregate: "There is a state law against integration. ... The State Board suggests local boards comply with state law in the absence of any decree from the U.S. court."

**Sept. 7:** Fayetteville High School enrolls nine blacks along with 500 white students, following Charleston as the second desegregated system in Arkansas and the Old South.

Gradual school desegregation begins in several Border States and the District of Columbia.

**Oct. 6:** Desegregation in Baltimore and Washington, D.C., high schools is upheld by local officials in the face of anti-black "strikes" by about 2,000 white students in each city.

**Nov. 2:** Faubus wins his first term as Arkansas governor by capturing 62 percent of the vote over Republican Pratt Rummel.

Louisiana voters approve a state constitutional amendment to permit segregated education under the state's "police powers."

**Nov. 15:** Arkansas and six other Southern states plus the District of Columbia file briefs urging that the Supreme Court permit gradual application of its ruling against school segregation. Attorneys for black parent groups in four states petition the court to order total desegregation by September 1955 or September 1956.

**Dec. 21:** Mississippi voters approve by a 2-1 majority a state

constitutional amendment to permit abolition of public schools if there proves to be no other way to avoid racial integration.

## 1955

**April 13:** U.S. Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff, representing the Eisenhower administration, tells a Supreme Court hearing that racial segregation of public schools should be halted gradually and with "moderation."

**May 24:** The Little Rock School Board and Superintendent Virgil T. Blossom disclose early details of their desegregation plan to comply with the *Brown* decision. Later known as the Blossom Plan, it is designed to phase in limited desegregation, starting with one high school in 1957 and gradually reaching down to the first grade by 1963.

**May 31:** Public school segregation must be ended "with all deliberate speed," the Supreme Court rules unanimously in what becomes known as the *Brown II* decision. Written by Chief Justice Earl Warren, it sets no deadlines.

**July 11:** Twenty-five blacks enroll peacefully amid 1,000 white students in Hoxie, the third Arkansas school system to desegregate and the first in an area of the state with a substantial black population.

**July 14:** North Little Rock's school board adopts a plan to desegregate at the high school level in the fall of 1957.

**Aug. 4:** Dr. William G. Cooper Jr., president of the Little Rock School Board, sends a letter informing Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that there will be no integration of students before September 1957.

**Aug. 20:** Mounting white opposition to integration in Hoxie, following a story in *Life* magazine, leads the local board to close its schools.

**Oct. 24:** Hoxie schools reopen after a federal court bars segregationists from preventing the admission of blacks. Widespread white absenteeism is reported.

**Nov. 7:** The U.S. Supreme Court, in two unanimous decisions, bans racial segregation in publicly financed parks, playgrounds and golf courses.

**Dec. 5:** Blacks begin boycotting the municipal bus line in Montgomery, Ala., after Rosa Parks is fined \$14 for refusing to give up her seat and move to the rear as law required when white passengers entered the bus. Martin Luther King Jr., a 26-year-old minister, becomes leader of the protests.

## 1956

**Jan. 23:** Twenty-seven black students, under the aegis of the NAACP's Bates, are turned away when they try to enroll for the spring semester at Central High, Tech High, Forest Heights Junior High and Forest Park Elementary School. Their enrollment is refused on the grounds that school authorities haven't yet had time to make plans.

**Jan 28:** Gov. Faubus reports that "85 percent of all the people" in Arkansas opposed school desegregation in a statewide poll he commissioned in November.

**Feb. 8:** A federal lawsuit is filed in Little Rock by 12 black parents on behalf of 33 students to compel the School Board to desegregate the city's schools without further delay. NAACP lawyers in the suit include Thurgood Marshall, a future U.S. Supreme Court justice.

**March 11:** All eight members of Arkansas' congressional delegation are among the 19 U.S. senators and 81 U.S. representatives to sign the Southern Manifesto. The document denounces the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* decision and pledges to use "all lawful means" to have it reversed. Arkansas signers include Sens. John L. McClellan and J. William Fulbright and Reps. Wilbur D. Mills, Brooks Hays, James W. Trimble, Oren Harris, E.C. Gathings and W.F. Norell.

**March 18:** Pro-segregation candidates win the school board election in Hoxie.

**April 26:** Little Rock integrates its municipal bus system, three days after the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed segregation on intrastate buses. No trouble is reported.

**April 30:** Former State Sen. James D. "Jim" Johnson of Crossett announces his Democratic candidacy for governor at a rally in Little Rock, after Hoxie segregationist leader Herbert Brewer comes to the stage and "suggests" that he run. Johnson attacks Faubus' "do-nothing stand on segregation."

**May 9:** Little Rock's new Horace Mann High School, a segregated facility for black students, opens at McAlmont Street and Roosevelt Road. Superintendent Blossom calls the \$925,000 school "the very best this community could offer."

**July 11:** Faubus tells a campaign rally in Marianna: "No school district will be forced to mix the races as long as I am governor of Arkansas."

**July 23:** Candidate Johnson labels Faubus "a race-mixer."

**July 31:** Faubus wins the Democratic primary without a runoff, garnering 180,760 votes to 83,856 for Johnson.

**Aug. 28:** U.S. District Judge John E. Miller upholds the Little Rock School Board's gradual desegregation plan in the case brought by black parents. "This court shall not substitute its own judgment" for the School Board's, Miller writes.

**Aug. 31:** Texas Gov. Allan Shivers sends Texas Rangers to Mansfield to preserve order after segregationist demonstrators prevent eight black students from enrolling. Four days later, the blacks give up attempts to go to classes.

**Sept. 25:** Democratic presidential candidate Adlai E. Stevenson, introduced by Faubus at a rally in Little Rock's MacArthur Park, says the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling was right and asks Arkansans for peaceful compliance.

**Nov. 6:** Faubus is re-elected governor with 80 percent of the vote over Republican Roy Mitchell.

Voters statewide approve three segregation measures. Initiated Act 2, which authorizes school boards to assign pupils to preserve segregation, gets 73 percent of the vote. The Arkansas Resolution and Act of Interposition, which puts the state on record as opposing racial mixing in schools, gets 60 percent. Constitutional Amendment 44, which propounds nullification of the Supreme Court's *Brown* rulings by interposing the sovereignty of the state, gets 56 percent.

Little Rock voters adopt a new city manager form of government by a 2-1 majority, leaving Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann as a lame duck.

**Dec. 20:** Buses are integrated in Montgomery, Ala., under a federal injunction after a Supreme Court ruling. Blacks end their boycott of more than a year.

## 1957

**Feb. 26:** Faubus signs into law four segregation bills passed by the

Arkansas Legislature. The laws establish the Arkansas Sovereignty Commission to make anti-integration investigations; authorize parents to refuse to send their children to desegregated schools; require organizations such as the NAACP to disclose membership and financial data; and allow the use of school district funds to hire lawyers and pay other legal costs of opposing desegregation suits.

**April 29:** A federal appellate court upholds the previous August's District Court approval of the Little Rock School Board's gradual desegregation plan. Expressing his pleasure with the decision, Superintendent Blossom says Hall High School, being built at 6700 H St., will open on schedule in September.

**April 30:** The pro-segregation Capital Citizens Council of Little Rock appeals to Faubus in a letter from its president, Robert E. Brown, to "order the two races to attend their own schools" in the fall.

**June 22:** The North Little Rock School Board announces that 28 black seniors will be eligible to enter previously segregated North Little Rock Senior High in September.

**June 25:** The School Board in Fort Smith votes to desegregate classes in the fall.

**June 27:** Attorney Amis Guthridge and the Rev. Wesley Pruden, both opposed to integration, submit official requests to the Little Rock School Board posing a series of questions. Guthridge asks the board to act under a 1957 legislative act and provide separate schools for white and black children whose parents don't want them attending integrated schools. Among Pruden's questions: "If Negro children go to integrated schools, will they be permitted to attend school sponsored dances, and would the Negro boys be allowed to solicit the white girls for dances?"

**June 30:** A newspaper advertisement by the Capital Citizens Council calls on Faubus to require maintenance of school segregation. "since a sovereign state is immune to federal court orders and since the governor as head of the sovereign state is also immune to federal court orders."

**July 2:** Ozark's School Board discloses its desegregation plans for the fall term.

**July 27:** The Little Rock School Board, answering the June 27 questions submitted by Guthridge and Pruden, says maintaining separate schools for whites or blacks who oppose integration would violate the U.S. Supreme Court ruling. It assures Pruden that the mingling of races at social events will be forbidden. The School Board also reveals that Central High will be the system's only school with integrated enrollment in September. All 700 students at the new Hall High will be white, it reports, and Mann High will remain all-black for the 1957-58 school year.

**Aug. 16:** Two black ministers file a federal suit seeking to have declared unconstitutional the four segregation bills passed by the Arkansas Legislature in February.

**Aug. 17:** A suit filed in state Chancery Court by Little Rock insurance man William F. "Billy" Rector questions the validity of the Arkansas Resolution and Act of Interposition adopted by voters the previous November.

**Aug. 19:** A Chancery Court suit filed by Eva Wilbern for her 14-year-old daughter Kay asks that the Little Rock School Board allow white Central High students to transfer to a school that remains segregated.

**Aug. 20:** Van Buren's schools, desegregating under federal court order, report that they expect 23 black students.

**Aug. 22:** Georgia Gov. Marvin Griffin is roundly applauded when he tells a dinner meeting of 350 members of the Little Rock Capital

Citizens Council that he will fight to maintain school segregation in his state. Griffin spends the night at the Governor's Mansion and breakfasts with Faubus.

**Aug. 23:** Just after midnight, a rock is thrown through the picture window at the home of Daisy Bates and her husband. L.C. Bates, publisher and editor of the black *Free Press* newspaper. Daisy Bates tells police that a note tied to the rock said, "Stone this time. Dynamite next."

**Aug. 25:** A cross 8 feet high is burned on the lawn of L.C. and Daisy Bates. A sign near the cross bears a white-lettered message: "Go back to Africa. KKK."

**Aug. 26:** U.S. District Judge Ronald N. Davies arrives from Fargo, N.D., to handle Arkansas desegregation cases after the withdrawal of Judge John E. Miller.

**Aug. 27:** An anti-integration order is sought in a state Chancery Court suit filed by Mrs. Clyde Thomason, secretary of the recently formed Mothers League of Little Rock Central High School. The 250 people attending a Mothers League evening meeting petition Faubus "to prevent forcible integration of the Little Rock schools."

**Aug. 28:** Faubus meets privately for more than an hour with Arthur Caldwell, an Arkansan in the U.S. Justice Department. Caldwell has been sent from Washington by Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers in response to an Aug. 21 call from the governor inquiring what the federal government would do if violence broke out in Little Rock. Caldwell reports later that when he asked Faubus for evidence of impending violence to turn over to the FBI, the governor replied that his information was too vague to be of value to law officers. Faubus disputes Caldwell's account in his 1980 book, *Down From the Hills*.

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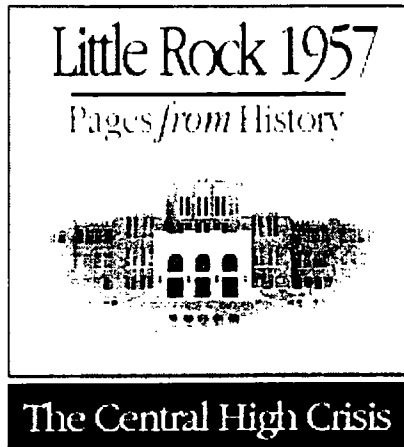


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Return to Central High. Thursday, September 19, 1957

# Here Is More State Press Comment

Here is more editorial comment from Arkansas newspapers on the Little Rock school integration dispute.

## Nashville News

The National Guard's presence at Central high in Little Rock is a fact that is now known in Uzbek, Samarkand and Siberia, and "the girl from Little Rock" in the South Pacific musical got a boo from the audience that halted the stage show in the East. Wide, wide world coverage of the school situation was doubly assured when the government's own "Voice of America" peddled it over the air waves. And, not to be outdone, Arkansas's own Publicity and Parks division, which should busy itself with the attractions of the state and not the controversy, is sending out almost daily stories reflecting the governor's moves in the federal-state embroglio. The Publicity-Parks blurbs are a waste of time, effort, paper and postage because the releases run 24 to 48 hours after the wire services.

## Lafayette County Democrat, Stamps

The eyes of the world ... are centered on one man who did more in one act to wake the American people to what is going on than any man has ever done ... It may be true that neither Eisenhower, Brownell or Justice Warren want to be dictator of this country, but if the government punishes Governor Faubus for his actions it can be only a matter of time or opportunity; till some man can use the power of the Supreme Court to place himself at the head of the country, and we will all be powerless to stop it ... When Faubus ran against Cherry for Cherry's second term, I did not support him, but he was elected. When Faubus ran for his second term I did not support him then because I could not see that he had done too well as governor, but today if he were running for the office of governor, or the presidency of the United States, he would get my support and I do not believe you could find a better man right now for either office ... We are all in this same boat together and there is no one between us and the Supreme Court but Orval Faubus, so let's stand beside him and let him know that we are with him in this fight.

## Hot Springs Sentinel Record

The situation is that no one knows whether violence will erupt until it has actually erupted. The governor says he is taking no chances but Washington views the presence of the National Guard as defiance of the order of the Supreme Court that all schools be integrated ... We wonder if the Supreme Court had any idea such a situation would develop when it handed down its now infamous decision that white and Negro children must go to school together.

## Fort Smith Times Record

The actual issue now is: Does a state governor still have his constitutional authority to use the powers of his office to preserve the peace? Or has the federal government taken away even that remaining state right? ... The Little Rock Gazette the other day attacked Faubus for his action and said that "The question has now become the

supremacy of the government of the United States in all matters of law. And clearly the federal government can not let the issue remain unresolved, no matter what the cost to this community." Thus the Gazette blasted Faubus and endorsed federal efforts to cancel this authority. We don't agree that the federal government has any constitutional "supremacy" in "all" matters of law. ... The whole thing is the result of a clash between a state's power and what seems to us is an unrealistic, impractical and unjustified Supreme Court attempt to take over the job of legislating. And we think the result will have a mighty influence on the law books -- and the South -- of the future.

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Return to Central High. Thursday, September 19, 1957

# Satchmo Up In Air Over Faubus' Act

Grand Forks, (AP) -- Negro trumpet player Louis (Satchmo) Armstrong says he is dropping plans for a government-sponsored trip to Russia "because the way they are treating my people in the South, the government can go to hell."

"It's getting almost so bad a colored man hasn't any country," said Armstrong.

Armstrong said President Eisenhower is "two-faced," has "no guts," and is letting Arkansas Governor Faubus "run the country." He said Faubus is "an uneducated plow boy."

The trumpet player, shown a published copy of an interview in which he made those remarks, said "that's just fine. Don't take nothing out of that story. That's just what I said and still say."

Armstrong said that use of National Guardsmen to prevent integration at Little Rock was "a publicity stunt led by the greatest of all publicity hounds." He added that such things could affect relations with other countries.

"The people over there ask me what's wrong with my country, what am I supposed to say?" he queried. He added that if he should go to Russia, he would travel on his own.

"But don't get me wrong," he told a Grand Forks Herald reporter. "The South is full of intelligent white people, it's bad the lower class people who make all the noise, though."

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Return to Central High, Thursday, September 19, 1957

# School Crisis Under Attack From Moscow

THE UNITED PRESS

Russian and other Communist propagandists are concentrating their fire on United States school integration troubles, a survey showed yesterday.

Among other things, the Russians are telling the world that American authorities are standing idly by while "bands of wild and tough men attack Negro children seeking to enter legally integrated schools."

A review of Russian-bloc propaganda, compiled by the United States Information Service, disclosed that the Communist broadcasts were continuing to feature the racial strife at Little Rock, Nashville, Tenn., and other American cities.

The Russian satellite nations have joined in the campaign. The East German radio has broadcast that while United States officials talk about freedom in Hungary, the United States itself is beset by the "grimmiest of the Ku Klux Klan masks of terror."

Taking note of the recent United Nations debate on the Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolt, the East German radio said:

"While the American UN delegate spoke of freedom and democracy in Hungary, the piercing cries for help from Negro children in Arkansas and Tennessee penetrated the bright and elegant UN Assembly hall, from the back yard of exemplary American democracy."

## Compared to Nazis

"Some of the Negro children come from highly educated, professional families," the broadcast added. "but they are [called] 'dirty niggers' and are spat upon, mocked and vilified. Their treatment is no different than that of the Jews in the days of Nazi racial persecution."

A Moscow broadcast in French said "racial terror is again raging in the United States." When Negro pupils sought to enter Southern schools, it said they were attacked by "bands of wild and tough men."

American authorities "have done nothing to protect from these attacks little American citizens whose only guilt is having a black skin," the broadcast said.

It further said that Negro civil rights "exist only on paper" in the North as well as the South. Citing a racial clash at Chicago, it said this "American brand of liberty and equality" contrasts with United States claims of being a "model of democracy and freedom."

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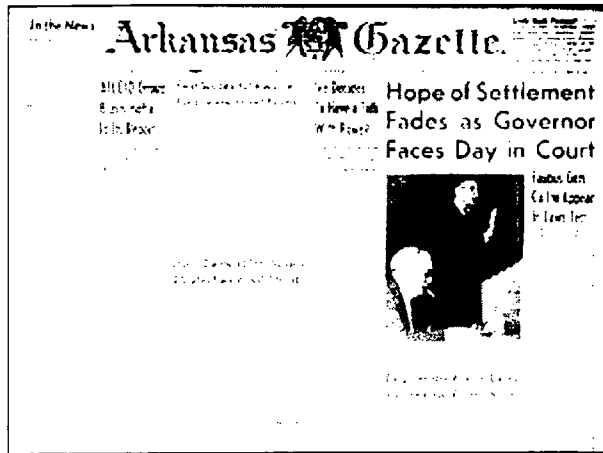
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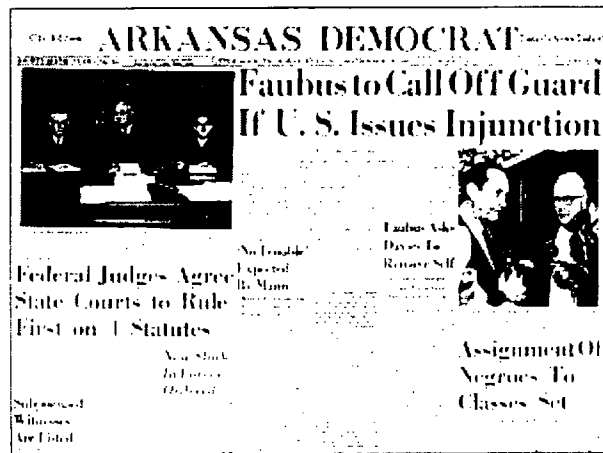
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## Thursday, September 19, 1957

Selected stories from the inside pages of the *Arkansas Democrat* and *Arkansas Gazette* from this day 40 years ago are listed below the newspaper images.



(Image size: 376 K)



(Image size: 250 K)

### Selected inside stories from this day, 40 years ago:

Adkins, Laney Support States' Rights Stand - Phyllis Dillaha  
*(Democrat Staff Writer)*

Two former Arkansas governors are solidly for states' rights, but are cautious about giving any specific suggestions on the Little Rock integration situation.

Satchmo Up In Air Over Faubus' Act

Grand Forks, (AP) -- Negro trumpet player Louis (Satchmo) Armstrong says he is dropping plans for a government-sponsored trip to Russia

"because the way they are treating my people in the South, the government can go to hell."

School Integration In Virginia Delayed

Alexandria, Va., Sept. 18 (AP) -- An order for integration Monday of four Arlington County, Va. white schools was suspended today by a federal judge pending an appeal.

School Crisis Under Attack From Moscow - *The United Press*

Russian and other Communist propagandists are concentrating their fire on United States school integration troubles, a survey showed yesterday.

Here Is More State Press Comment

Here is more editorial comment from Arkansas newspapers on the Little Rock school integration dispute.

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