Senator Thomas Martin's Speech on Civil Rights, 1965 (Pg. 1)

CIVIL RIGHTS

The problem of ending racial segregation and bringing a full measure of civil rights to ALL Americans **exceptions** in ALL parts of the country, has been met head-on and is proving to be one of the toughest of current domestic problems. Everyone now admits that it is a problem which will take a long time to solve fully, **everyone** which requires a maximum of effort and patience and understanding on all **everyone** sides.

To many of you, it may seem like an unduly long process. On the other hand, those **provide who have been accustomed to racial segre**gation and to the discriminations which we now seek to end, contend that *A* manner, of living which we developed over many decades, cannot be **discrimination** overnight in favor of diametrically opposed manner, of living.

and justice in their argument. But conceding that the goal of equality for all will take some time and cannot be achieved overnight, there then arises the question of what is reasonable speed and how much delay is necessary. That, basically, is the core of today's civil rights **problem**.

The Supreme Court first decreed an end to/segregated public schools in 1954. Today, segregated schools are a thing of the past throughout the north. May Segregation has been largely ended in the so-called border states. But the problem remains in the settles 'DEEP South' states, in some of which there has been a token in racial integration of public schools but several of which are fighting to the bitter end against any integration, even to the point of closing down those schools to which admittance of negroes has been ordered by Federal courts.

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To some of us in the north, it appears on the surface that these southern states are blatantly flouting the authority of the Federal Government. In a sense, that may be true. But the real issue here is REALIZE MAKE the people of these states y the basic truth that our Conto stitution never was meant to be a document to bestow its rights and privileges only an a favored segment of our American people, but that rather it was intended to -- and does -- guarantee those rights and pri-the rest and our laws enacted under it, every American is entitled to these rights and privileges, regardless of race, creed or color T. The people of the south already are coming to realize this basic fact, is evidenced by the growing presiding public feeling, in those communities where schools align ENDING SEGREZ have been closed rather than obey court orders for racial integration, that no ill effects need be anticipated merely because white and negro children attend the same school. More and more, the people of these unfortunate communities are realizing that it is far better to keep their schools open and on a racially-integrated basis, than to allow their schools to be closed in a futile protest against ending a practice which from its very inception improperly and illegally deprived an some American citizens of some of the rights and privileges guaranteed them by our Constitution.

But this awakening **EVERENCE** still is only a stirring awareness among some of our southern people, and the awareness must spread far wider before full integration can be achieved peacefully. It will be done ultimately, but not until the South as a whole **EFECOLUTION** that under **the** Constitution, an American citizen is a American and AMERICANS there is no provision for **distinguisher** classifying them as first,

Senator Thomas Martin's Speech on Civil Rights, 1965 (Pg. 3)

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or third class Americans.

SECOND

There is, of course, more than schools to the problem. One phase involves the right of franchise -- the right to vote. The principal feature of the civil rights bill we enacted last year was to make it illegal to deprive any American of his right to vote because of race. Progress is being made on this count, as well as on integrating over ending school segregation. The Justice Department recently instituted its first action against a violation of this law, in the form of a civil suit to compel the voting registrar in Carroll County, Georgia, to place certain negro citizens on his roll of qualified voters. And the Civil Rights Commission, established under this same 1957 Civil Rights Law, is beginning to fulfill its function of improper investigating complaints a charging/deprivation of civil rights of our citizens.

The overall problem of ending discrimination against colored people is difficult of solution in the extreme, but far more progress has been made toward achieving that solution during the past five years than had notwithstanding the molecul reaction that has arised in some souther commutie been made infmany, many years previously. At the risk of being repetitious, I say again that it takes times and patience and effort to upset customs which have become almost inbred over a period of many decades.

Classroom in the School, Siloam, Georgia, October 1941



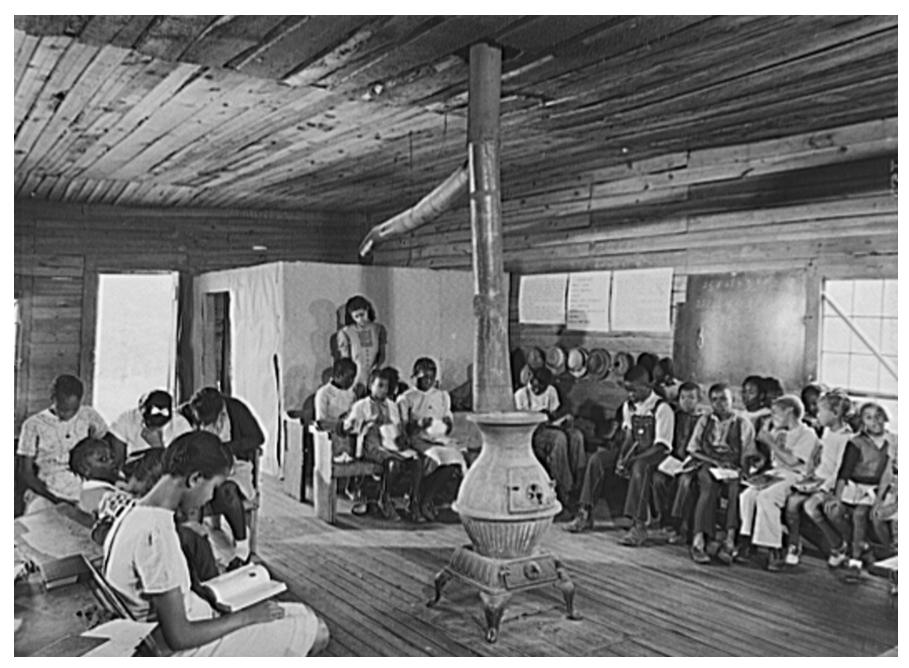
Delano, Jack, Siloam, Greene County, Georgia. Classroom in the school, U.S. Food and Drug Administration, October 1941. <u>Courtesy of Library of Congress</u>

"Separate Coaches," Segregation of the Railroad, May 26, 1896



"Separate Coaches," Hopkinsville Kentuckian, Page 5, Image 5, 26 May 1896. Courtesy of Library of Congress

The One-Teacher Negro School in Veazy, Georgia, October 1941



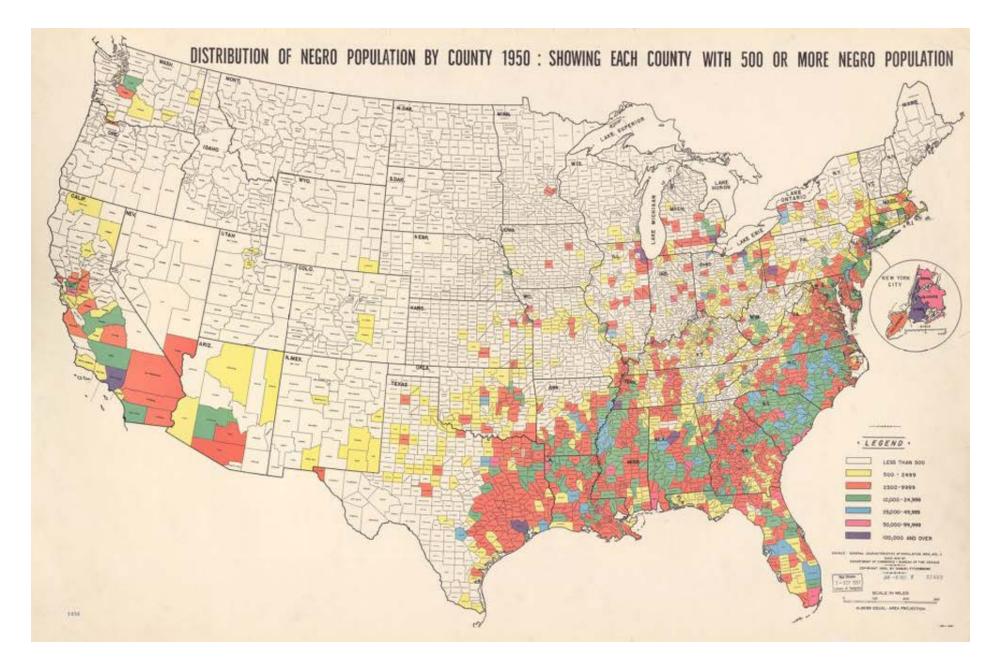
Delano, Jack, The One-Teacher Negro School in Veazy, U.S. Food and Drug Administration, October 1941. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Attorneys for Brown v. Board of Education, May 17, 1954



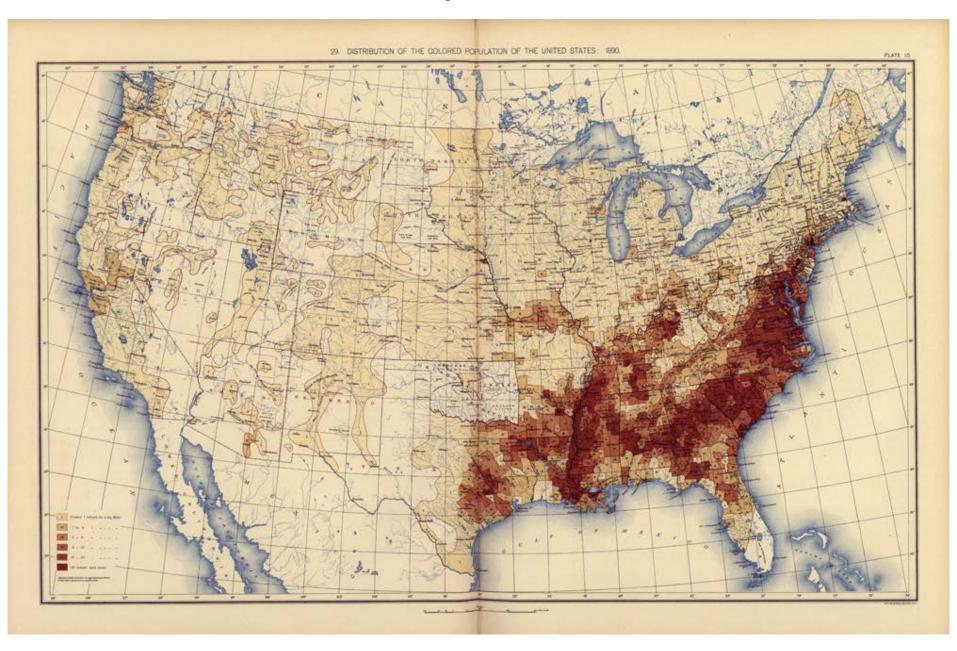
"George E. C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James M. Nabrit congratulating each other on the Brown decision," Associated Press, 17 May 1954. <u>Courtesy of Library of Congress</u>

Distribution of Negro Population by County, 1956



Fitzsimmons, Samuel, "Distribution of Negro population by county 1950," Washington, 1956. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Distribution of the Colored Population of the United States, 1898



United States Census Office, 11th Census (1890), and Henry Gannett, Statistical Atlas of the United States, based upon the results of the eleventh census, Washington, 1898. <u>Courtesy of Library of Congress</u>

Iowa Supreme Court Rules on Equal Access: Portrait of Alexander Clark, 1867

Juraternally yours Repander black Grand Master

Robin, Augustus, Portrait of Alexander Clark: Engraving, New York: Date unknown.

Iowa Supreme Court Rules on Equal Access: Excerpt from Access to Schools and Common Carriers

The Iowa Supreme Court Rules on Equal Access to Schools and Common Carriers

<u>Outside In: African-American History in Iowa</u> by Bill Silag, Susan Koch Bridgford and Hal Chase, Published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, 2001. Pg. 72-73

Alexander Clark was a man of many parts -- a political leader, an orator, a barber, an investor in Muscatine real estate, a conductor on the Underground Railroad, and a recruiter for the Union Army. Clark was also a father of three children and cared passionately about their education. In 1867 he wrote a letter to the *Muscatine Journal*: "[M]y personal object is that my children attend where they can receive the largest and best advantages of learning."

Clark noted the contrasts between Muscatine's segregated schools. The white schools were conveniently located in the city, while the black school was "nearly a mile from many of the small colored children, keeping more than a third of them from school." The white schools had "globes and charts and competent teachers," whose salaries ranged from \$700 to \$900 a year. The black school had none of these advantages, and its teacher was paid a yearly salary from \$150 to \$200. The white schools "have prepared and qualified pupils by the hundred for the high school; the colored school has never prepared or qualified one that could pass an examination for any class in the high school."

On September 10th, 1867, Alexander Clark's 12-year-old daughter, Susan, presented herself at Muscatine's white "Grammar School No. 2" And was refused entry. That same day, the principal of the school wrote to Alexander Clark: "I am authorized by the school board of this city to refuse your children admittance into Grammar School No. 2."

Clark, as "next friend" of his daughter, filed a lawsuit in the Muscatine County District Court, asking for a writ of mandamus to compel the school board to admit Susan into Grammar School No. 2. The district court ordered the writ, and the board of directors appealed, claiming that it had the right to maintain a separate school for black children. In *Clark v. The Board of Directors, etc.,* the Iowa Supreme Court affirmed The District Court's decision, holding that children of color could not be refused admission to Iowa's district schools.

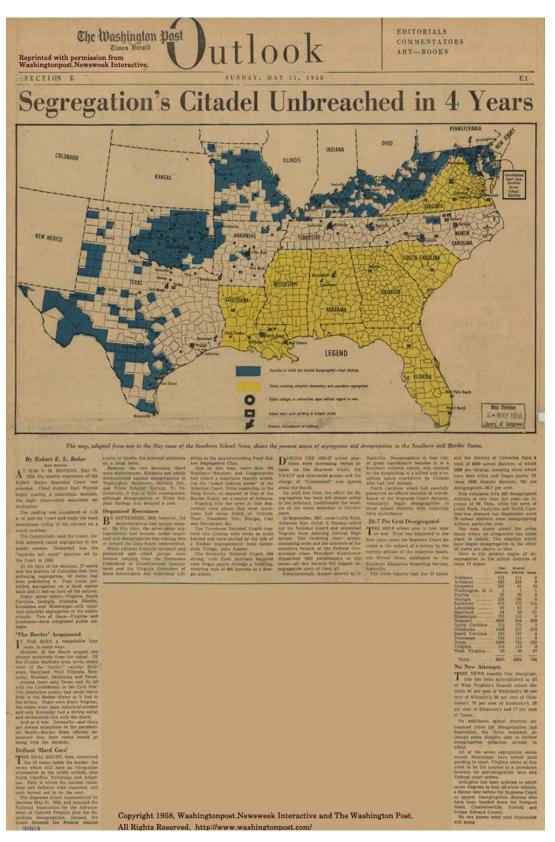
In its opinion, the court reviewed the history of Iowa's discriminatory school statutes, but noted that the Constitution of 1857 had created a statewide board of education, which was required to "provide for the education of *all the youths of the State,* through a system of common schools." The court reasoned that this constitutional provision and subsequent legislation removed from the board of directors all discretion to decide "what *youths* shall be admitted."

The court rejected the board's argument that because it maintained several schools within the district, it could decide which of the several schools a student could attend and, pursuant to this discussion, could require Susan Clark to attend the black school. If the board would require African American children to attend separate schools, it equally could require German, Irish, French, English, and children of other nationalities to attend separate schools. The court concluded: "[T]he board cannot, in their discretion...deny a youth admission to any particular school because of his or her nationality, religion, color, clothing or the like."

In 1870, the Iowa legislature struck out the words "white male" from the statute concerning the qualifications to practice law. Now Alexander Clark could realize and even higher ambition for his children, and his son, Alexander Clark Jr., became the first African-American student to enroll in the State University's Law Department in Iowa City, receiving his law degree in 1879. Clark Sr. himself attended the law school in 1883 and graduated the following year.

Courtesy of State Historical Society of Iowa

"Segregation's Citadel Unbreached in 4 Years," May 11, 1958



Baker, Robert E. L., "Segregation's Citadel Unbreached in 4 Years," Washington Observer, 11 May 1958. <u>Courtesy of Library of Congress</u>

Anti-Integration Story in Little Rock, Arkansas, September 1958



O'Halloran, Thomas J., Little Rock, Arkansas, September 1958. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Daisy Bates' Letter about "Little Rock Nine," December 17, 1957 (Pg. 1)

"The Paper That's Published For Its Readers"



P. 0. BOX 2029 Little Rock, Arkansas December 17, 1957

Mr. Roy Wilkins 20 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

30618DEC1957

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

Conditions are yet pretty rough in the school for the children. Last week, Minnie Jean's mother, Mrs. W. E. Brown, asked me to go over to the school with her for a conference with the principal, and the two assistant principals. Subject of conference: "Firmer disciplinary measures, and the withdrawal of Minnie Jean from the glee club's Christmas program." The principal had informed Minnie Jean in withdrawing her from the program that "When it is definitely decided that Negroes will go to school here with the whites, and the troops are removed, then you will be able to participate in all activities." We strongly challenged this statement, which he denied making in that fashion.

We also pointed out that the treatment of the children had been getting steadily worse for the last two weeks in the form of kicking, spitting, and general abuse. As a result of our visit, stronger measures are being taken against the white students who are guilty of committing these offenses. For instance, a boy who had been suspended for two weeks, flunked both six-weeks tests, and on his return to school, the first day he knocked Gloria day into her locker. As a result of our visit, he was given an indefinite suspension.

The superintendent of schools also requested a conference the same afternoon. Clarence and I went down and opent about two hours. Here, again we pointed out that a three-day suspension given Hugh Williams for a sneak attack perpetrated on one of the Negro boys which knocked him out, and required a doctor's attention, was not sufficient punishment. We also informed him that our investigation revealed that there were many pupils willing to help if given the opportunity, and that Fresident Eisenhower was very much concerned about the Little Rock crisis. He has stated his willingness to come down and address the student body if invited by student leaders of the school. This information was passed on to the principals of the school, but we have not been assured that leadership would be given to children in the school who are willing to organize for law and order. However, we have not abandoned the idea. Last Friday, the 13th, I was asked to call Washington and see if we could get FBI men placed in the school December 16-18.

Daisy Bates' Letter about "Little Rock Nine," December 17, 1957 (Pg. 2)

2. WILKINS

Thanks for sending Clarence to help. I don't know how I would have made it without him. I am enclosing a financial statement, and as you can see, we are in pretty bad shape financially. On December 18, we will probably have to make bond for three of our officials from the North Little Rock Branch. December 18, midnight, is the deadline for filing names and addresses of members and contributors. I have talked with Mrs.Birdie Williams, and we are attempting to have them spend the night away from their homes, because we have been informed that they plan to arrest them after midnite.

I am suggesting that a revolving fund be set up here of \$1,000.00 to take care of emergencies, and an accounting could be given at the end of each month. We are having trouble getting cost bonds executed on the North Little Rock suit. We had to put up \$510.00 collateral plus three co-signers. We informed Bob Carter of our difficulty, and he asked Jack to see what could be done on that end. Please check with him.

I have not heard anything from the scholarship trust papers. We have deposited the money received for the scholarship. Mrs. A. L. Mothershed, 1313 Chester street, mother of one of the children, is serving as trustee.

I would appreciate hearing from you pertaining to the above mentioned matters at your earliest convenience.

I plan to attend the board meeting on January 6.

Sincerely, ain Bates

LCB:1

co: Mr. Current

Rally at State Capitol in Little Rock, Arkansas, August 20, 1959



Bledsoe, John T., Little Rock, Arkansas, 20 August 1959. Courtesy of Library of Congress

"Free School" in Farmville, Virginia, September 16, 1963



O'Halloran, Thomas J., "African American school children entering the Mary E. Branch School at S. Main Street and Griffin Boulevard, Farmville, Prince Edward County, Virginia," 16 September 1963. <u>Courtesy of Library of Congress</u>

Obstructions and Delays: Griffin v. County Board of Prince Edward County Draft Ruling, January 6, 1964 (Pg. 1)

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Desk Capy Recir 1-3-64

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8.E. 2d -

GRIFFIN ET AL. V. COUNTY SCHOOL BOARD OF PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY ET AL.

ON PETITION FOR WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FOURTH CIRCUIT.

No. 592. Decided January 6, 1964.

PER CURIAM.

This case is one of the school segregation cases which we dealt with nearly a decade ago in Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483, 349 U. S. 294. After remand, numerous opinions were written by the District Court and the Court of Appeals* but the mandate issued at the time of the Brown case has never been implemented. In 1956 respondent school board voted not to levy taxes or appropriate funds for integrated public schools; and white children have attended white-only schools operated by the Prince Edward)Foundation which has received state support. The District Court enjoined allowance of such support (198 F. Supp. 497) and held that the public schools could not remain closed while public schools in other counties stayed open. 207 F. Supp. 347. Thereafter litigation was instituted in the Virginia courts which resulted in a ruling by the Virginia Supreme Court that the Virginia Constitution compels neither the State nor the county to reopen the public schools in Prince Edward County or to furnish funds for the purpose. The Court of Appeals, prior to that decision, vacated the judgment of the District Court with instructions to abstain from further proceedings until the Virginia state decision became final-a judgment which was stayed by MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN on September 30, 1963, "pending the timely

*See 249 F. 2d 462, reversing 149 F. Supp. 431; 266 F. 2d 507, reversing 164 F. Supp. 786.

Douglas, William O., draft per curiam opinion, U.S. Supreme Court of the United States, January 6, 1964.

Obstructions and Delays: Griffin v. County Board of Prince Edward County Draft Ruling, January 6, 1964 (Pg. 2)

2 GRIFFIN v. PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY BD.

filing and disposition of a petition for a writ of certiorari." The case is here on a petition for certiorari which raises not only the propriety of the judgment of the Court of Appeals insofar as it directed the District Court to abstain until the Virginia courts had acted, but other issues going to the merits.

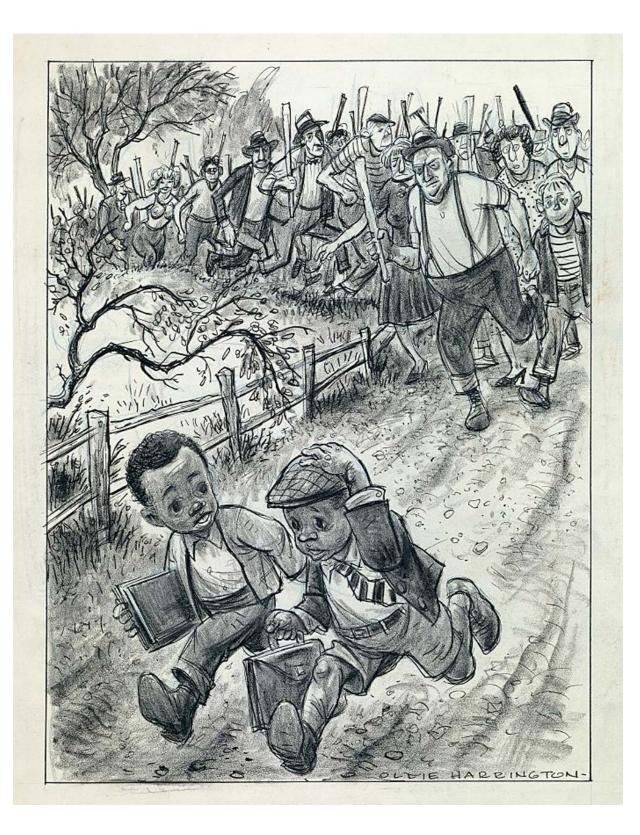
In view of the long delay in the case since our decision in the *Brown* case and the importance of the questions presented, we grant certiorari and put the case down for argument March 30, 1964 on the merits, as we have done in other comparable situations without waiting for final action by the Court of Appeals. See 28 U. S. C. § 1254 (1); Youngstown Co. v. Sawyer, 343 U. S. 579, 584; Wilson v. Girard, 354 U. S. 524, 526.

African-American Children Encounter Protesters, September 13, 1965



DeMarsico, Dick, New York World-Telegram and the Sun Newspaper, 13 September 1965. Courtesy of Library of Congress

"Dark laughter. Now I aint so sure I wanna get educated," September 21, 1963



Harrington, Oliver W., "Dark laughter. Now I aint so sure I wanna get educated," 21 September 1963. <u>Courtesy of Library of Congress</u>

Governor George Wallace Attempting to Block Integration at the University of Alabama, June 11, 1963



Leffler, Warren K., U.S. News & World Report : Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 11 June 1963. Courtesy of Library of Congress

Integration in D.C. Schools, December 15, 1964



Leffler, Warren, U.S. News & World Report Magazine, 15 December 1964. Courtesy of Library of Congress