History Module – The Little Rock 9
High School Module
Iteration 1 High School, Spring 2012

Project READi Curriculum Module
Technical Report CM #12

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INTRODUCTION

Over the next few weeks, we will be studying an important event in the struggle for Civil Rights in the United States during the 1950’s and 1960’s, The Little Rock 9.

The Little Rock 9 refers to a group of 9 African-American students who attempted to enroll in Little Rock Central High School in the fall of 1957, three years after the Supreme Court declared that segregated schools were unconstitutional.

While today it might seem strange that schools could prevent students from enrolling, in 1957 in Little Rock Arkansas it became the center of national attention. In this unit we will try into investigate this central question:

*What obstacles existed for those trying to desegregate Little Rock Central High School and how effective were their tactics to overcome those obstacles?*

To answer this question you will be reading several historical sources including photos, memos, telegrams, interviews, letters, and video. Together you will investigate this question to provide insights into the struggles for civil rights during this time period.

This interactive notebook is where you will record, your annotations of readings, organize claims and evidence, and respond to various questions and prompts. By the end of the unit, you will have reconstructed the events surrounding the Little Rock 9 in 1957 to make an argument about what obstacles they faced and how successful their tactics were in attempting to desegregate Little Rock Central High School.
What is History?

History is an account of the past.

Accounts/narratives differ depending on one’s perspective.

We rely on evidence to construct our accounts of the past.

We must question the reliability of each piece of evidence.

Any single piece of evidence is insufficient.

We must consult multiple pieces of evidence in order to build a plausible account.
Sourcing

Before reading the document ask yourself:

Who wrote this?

What is the author’s point of view?

Why was it written?

When was it written? (A long time or short time after the event?)

Is this source believable? Why? Why not?

From the Stanford History Education Group
Imagining the Setting (Contextualizing)

What else was going on at the time this was written?

What was it like to be alive at this time?

What things were different back then? What things were the same?

What would it look like to see this event through the eyes of someone who lived back then?

From the Stanford History Education Group
Cross–Checking
(Corroboration)

What do other pieces of evidence say?

Am I finding the same information everywhere?

Am I finding different versions of the story? (If yes, why might that be?)

Where else could I look to find out about this?

What pieces of evidence are most believable?

From the Stanford History Education Group
Close Reading

What claims does the author make?

What evidence does the author use to support those claims?

How is this document supposed to make me feel?

What words or phrases does the author use to convince me that he/she is right?

What information does the author leave out?

From the Stanford History Education Group
ACTIVITY 1 – WHAT IS HAPPENING IN LITTLE ROCK, AK?

You are going to analyze the following photos to generate inferences and questions about the crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957.

Photo 1

Elizabeth Eckford arrived alone at Central High on opening day, and was driven from the school by a hysterical mob while Arkansas National Guard stood by.

Photo 2 – Local police patrolling on the first day of school.
Photo 3 – Local Youth gathered hanging a student in effigy.

Photo 4 - The U.S. Army escorting members of the Little Rock 9 into school
ACTIVITY 1 – WHAT IS HAPPENING IN LITTLE ROCK?

Photo 5 – The U.S. Army escorting members of the Little Rock 9 into the front of Little Rock Central High School.
## OBSERVATION INERENCE QUESTION CHART

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ACTIVITY 2 – A BRIEF HISTORY UP TO 1957

Write Now!

What are some important features to keep in mind about reading a photograph?
Why is it important to recognize the parts of the photograph that are left out?
What are some important observations from yesterday’s class that stand out to you?
Timeline Activity

In order to build a narrative for the desegregation of Little Rock Central High School, we are going to construct a timeline from the text set in front of you. To accomplish this, consider the following:

Review the sources to determine the event or concept that belongs on the timeline. (Do all of the documents belong on the timeline? What is the most important/significant idea coming from the document?) Once you have identified the event or concept, place the event on the timeline with a brief summary statement for each event. **Remember: You will be continually adding events to the timeline.**

Construct your timeline here
ACTIVITY 2 – A BRIEF HISTORY UP TO 1957

Directions: Read and annotate
As you read make your annotations in the margins. Make sure you are reading like a historian (see pages 4-7).

Recorded eighteen Jim Crow laws between 1866 and 1959. Segregation of schools, public places and transportation were barred in 1873, but these laws were overturned by 1891.

1866: Education [Statute]
No Negro or mulatto would be allowed to attend any public school except one reserved for "colored persons."

1866: Misccegenation [Statute]
Repeals or modifications of statutes of common laws concerning intermarriage between whites and Negroes or mulattoes would be prohibited.

1873: Barred segregation of public carriers and accommodations [Statute]
Unlawful for railroads, steamboats, stage coaches, or other public carriers to refuse to provide same accommodations as are furnished others paying the same fare. Also unlawful to deny any person paying the same sum as others accommodation at public houses of entertainment, inns, hotels or restaurants.

1873: Barred school segregation [Statute]
Unlawful to refuse to provide equal and like accommodations for the education of each and every youth of school age.

1884: Misccegenation [State Code]
All marriages of white persons with Negroes or mulattoes declared illegal.

1891: Railroads [Statute]
Railroad companies and their employees have power to assign passengers to the proper seat or proper waiting room for each race. Penalties: Persons not complying with this ordinance were to be fined between $10 and $200. Employees who failed to assign a passenger to the correct place were to be fined $25. Railway companies not complying with the law would be fined between $100 and $500.

1893: Railroads [Statute]
All railroad companies to provide equal but separate accommodations for each race. In addition to providing separate passenger cars, the companies were to create separate waiting rooms at all passenger depots in the state.

1897: Education [Statute]
Separate colleges for teachers to be established for each race.
1903: Streetcars [Statute]
Streetcar companies are to separate white and black passengers. Penalties: Passengers who refused to take their assigned seat will be charged with a misdemeanor and fined $25. Companies that fail to enforce the law will also be found guilty of a misdemeanor and fined $25.

1921: Miscegenation [Statute]
Prohibits cohabitation between whites and blacks and defines the term "Negro" as any person who has any Negro blood in his veins.

1935: Public accommodations [Statute]
All race tracks and gaming establishments were to be segregated.

1947: Public Accommodation [Statute]
A series of statutes were passed that made segregation at polling places, on motor carriers and railroad cars and within prisons mandatory.

1947: Public accommodation [Statute]
Required separate washrooms in mines

1947: Voting rights [Statute]
Required voters to pay poll tax.

1947: Miscegenation [Statute]
Sexual relations and marriage between whites and blacks illegal. Penalty: First conviction $20 to $100, second, $100 minimum and up to 12 months imprisonment, third and subsequent convictions, one to three years imprisonment.

1957: Education [Statute]
No child required to enroll in a racially mixed school.

1957: Public Carrier [Statute]
Required segregation on all public carriers.

1958: Education [Statute]
Governor may close schools by election with ballot to read: "For racial integration of all schools within the ...school district," or "Against racial integration of all schools within the school district."

1959: Public Carriers [Statute]
Required assignment of passengers to segregated seats on all intrastate buses.
ACTIVITY 2 – A BRIEF HISTORY UP TO 1957

Individual Think-Write

Silently read the two questions below. Then, write notes on this page about your thoughts, any connections you make to what you know and questions you have.

What are your own experiences with segregation?

How relevant is the historical issue of desegregation to you, your family, your neighborhood, and community?
Pairs Talk

Take turns listening and sharing your ideas:

- **Speaker**: Show your partner your notes and discuss your thoughts, any connections you make to what you know and questions you have.

- **Listener**: Listen silently and add notes about your partner’s thinking to your own notes. When the speaker is done, tell your partner one thing that was interesting or that you had a question about.

- **Switch** listening and speaking roles when the teacher calls time.

WHOLE CLASS

Contribute to the class discussion:

- Tell the class about an idea you or your partner discussed.

- Add notes about the class discussion to your notes.
ACTIVITY 3 – SCHOOLS

Public schools for African American (bottom) and white (top) students in Paxville, S.C. in the 1940s

PAIRS

What observations can you make from this photograph?

What inferences can you make based upon these observations?
ARGUMENTS IN BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

As with many historical decisions, perhaps the greatest challenge of Brown v. Board of Education is understanding the arguments for each side of the case, particularly the arguments of those who argued in favor of “separate but equal.”

Below are nine arguments that were presented as part of the Brown decision.

(1) With a partner, read through each argument and decide whether it supports Brown’s side against segregation (Brown), the Board of Education Topeka’s position in favor of segregation (Topeka), both sides (Both), or neither side (Neither). Fill in the blank with your response.

(2) Working with another pair of partners, reach a consensus on which argument you feel is the most persuasive in favor of the Topeka Board of Education’s position. Be prepared to explain your choice to the entire group.

1. _______ The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution states:
   ○ "No State shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."
   ○ The Fourteenth Amendment precludes a state from imposing distinctions based upon race. Racial segregation in public schools reduces the benefits of public education to one group solely on the basis of race and is unconstitutional.

2. _______ The Fourteenth Amendment states that people should be treated equally; it does not state that people should be treated the same. Treating people equally means giving them what they need. This could include providing an educational environment in which they are most comfortable learning. White students are probably more comfortable learning with other white students; black students are probably more comfortable learning with other black students. These students do not have to attend the same schools to be treated equally under the law; they must simply be given an equal environment for learning. The U.S. District Court found that the facilities provided for black children in Topeka were equal to those of white children.

3. _______ Psychological studies have shown that segregation has negative effects on black children. By segregating white students from black students, a badge of inferiority is placed on the black students, a system of separation beyond school is perpetuated, and the unequal benefits accorded to white students as a result of their informal contacts with one another is reinforced. The U.S. District Court found that segregation did have negative effects on black children.

4. _______ No psychological studies have been done on children in the Topeka, Kansas school district. The findings of the psychological studies that demonstrate
the negative effects of segregation cannot be stretched to the Topeka school district. There is no indication of personal harm to the appellants.

5. In 1896 the Supreme Court of the United States decided the case of Plessy v. Ferguson. In this case, Homer Plessy sued, alleging that his Fourteenth Amendment rights were violated by a Louisiana law requiring the railroad companies to provide equal, but separate, facilities for white and black passengers. The Court declared that segregation was legal as long as facilities provided to each race were equal. The Court declared that the legal separation of the races did not automatically imply that the black race was inferior. Legislation and court rulings could not overcome social prejudices, according to Justice Brown. "If one race be inferior to the other socially, the constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane."

6. In 1950 the Supreme Court of the United States decided the case of Sweatt v. Painter. In this case Herman Sweatt was rejected from the University of Texas Law School because he was black. He sued school officials alleging a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment rights. The Court examined the educational opportunities at the University of Texas Law School and a new law school at the Texas State University for Negroes and determined that the facilities, curricula, faculty and other tangible factors were not equal. Furthermore, the justices argued that other factors such as the reputation of the faculty and position and influence of the alumni could not be equalized. They therefore ruled in favor of Sweatt.

7. The United States has a federal system of government that leaves educational decision making to state and local legislatures.

8. At the time the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution was drafted, widespread public education had not yet taken hold. Education was usually in the hands of private organizations. Most black children received no education at all. It is unlikely that those involved with passing the Fourteenth Amendment thought about its implications for education.

9. Housing and schooling have become interdependent. The segregation of schools has reinforced segregation in housing, making it likely that a change in school admission policies will have a dramatic effect on neighborhoods, placing a heavy burden on local government to deal with the changes. The local conditions of an area must be taken into consideration.
Argument Chart – Here you will copy text examples of arguments made either in support of segregation, opposes segregation, takes both sides, or neither side.

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<th>Text example</th>
<th>Explanation of the argument</th>
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ACTIVITY 4 – THE DOLL TESTS
Annotate the text as you read

“How Children Learn About Race”
Kenneth B. Clark

The Supreme Court’s unanimous decision in the Brown case relied quite heavily on the research findings of social scientists. Among the seven scholarly works cited in footnote 11 of the opinion was the report entitled Effect of the Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development prepared for the 1950 Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth by Kenneth B. Clark. Below is an excerpt.

The development of racial awareness and racial preferences in Negro children has been studied by the author and his wife. To determine the extent of consciousness of skin color in these children between three and seven years old, we showed the children four dolls all from the same mold and dressed alike; the only difference in the dolls was that two were brown and two were white. We asked the children to choose among the dolls in answer to certain requests:

1. Give me the white doll.
2. Give me the colored doll.
3. Give me the Negro doll.

These children reacted with strong awareness of skin color. Among three-year old Negro children in both northern and southern communities, more than 75 per cent showed that they were conscious of the difference between “white” and “colored”. Among older children, an increasingly greater number made the correct choices.

These findings clearly support the conclusion that racial awareness is present in Negro children as young as three years old. Furthermore, this knowledge develops in stability and clarity from year to year, and by the age of seven, it is a part of the knowledge of all Negro children. Other investigators have shown that the same is true of white children.

Many personal and emotional factors probably affected the ability of these Negro children to select the brown doll. In an effort to determine their racial preferences, we asked the children the following four questions:

1) “Give me the doll that you like to play with” or “the doll you like best.”
2) “Give me the doll that is the nice doll.”
3) “Give me the doll that looks bad.”
4) “Give me the doll that is the nice color.”

The majority of these Negro children at each age indicated an unmistakable preference for the white doll and a rejection of the brown doll.
The fact that young Negro children would prefer to be white reflects their knowledge that society prefers white people. White children are generally found to prefer their white skin – an indication that they too know that society likes whites better. It is clear, therefore, that the self acceptance or self rejection found so early in a child’s developing complex of racial ideas reflects the awareness and acceptance of the prevailing racial attitudes in his community.
ACTIVITY 4 – THE DOLL TEST

Text Rendering Protocol
In your small group use the following protocol to guide your discussion

(1) Share one sentence you feel/think is important.

(2) Share one phrase you feel/think is important.

(2) Share one word you feels/think is important.
So far we have read about several obstacles encountered during the struggle to desegregate schools. Summarize the evidence of obstacles you have read so far in each category of legal, political, and social.

- **LEGAL -

- **POLITICAL

- **SOCIAL
### ACTIVITY 5 – HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Observation Inference Chart – As you watch the video record your observations about the role of segregation and the tactics used to overcome segregation prior to 1957. After viewing the film, you will record your inferences about what you recorded about what you saw on the film.

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ACTIVITY 5 – HISTORICAL CONTEXT

PAIRS TALK – SHARE ONE OBSERVATION AND INFERENCE
Take turns listening and sharing your ideas:

- **Speaker:** Show your partner your notes and discuss your thoughts, any connections you make to what you know and questions you have.
- **Listener:** Listen silently and add notes about your partner’s thinking to your own notes. When the speaker is done, tell your partner one thing that was interesting or that you had a question about.
- **Switch** listening and speaking roles when the teacher calls time.

WHOLE CLASS
Contribute to the class discussion:

- Tell the class about an idea you or your partner discussed.
- Add notes about the class discussion to your notes.
ACTIVITY 5 – HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Return to the timeline you created in Activity 2 on page.

What events would you add to the timeline? Please add those now.

Return to the argument chart. Other events in the 1950s, like the murder of Emmett Till and the Montgomery Bus Boycott, expose other tactics? What tactics can we add to the argument chart notetaker?
ACTIVITY 6 – THE FIRST DAY AT LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

Reflect on their first day of entering high school. What was it like for you to enter high school for the first time? How might your own experience compare to the Little Rock 9 students?
ACTIVITY 6 – THE FIRST DAY AT LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

What was the experience like for the Little Rock 9 students entering the building on September 4?
On September 7, 1957, and September 8, 1957, BEVERLY MAXINE BURKS, 1812 Security Street, Little Rock, Arkansas, furnished the following signed statements:

"Little Rock, Ark.
September 7, 1957

"I, Beverly Maxine Burks, furnish the following free and voluntary statement to Claburn T. White and Henry L. Tuck who have identified themselves as Special Agents of the FBI. This statement is being made in connection with an official investigation being conducted by the FBI, and I realize it can be used in a court of law.

"I am 15 years of age and an a 10th grade student at Central High School, Little Rock, Arkansas.

"On about September 4, 1957, before classes which commence at 8:45 AM, I was in Pander's Drug Store located across the street from Central High School. There were numerous students in the drug store and also some boys that were not students.

"I recall John Dix, an 11th grade student at Central High having a belt with some tacks or nails in it. Dix said the belt was to wrap around his fist and hit with the tacks or nails. He also had a switchblade knife.

"Ronnie Muller, a 12th grade student at Central High showed a switchblade knife.

"Dix and Muller said they keep the belt and knives in their lockers at school.

"Don Duncan also known as Duncan, a 12th grade student at Central High, has a large pocket knife that I also saw on the morning of September 4, 1957.

"Danny Johnson, who is not a student at Central High and whose address I do not know, keeps a tire tool in his car. I saw this tire tool in Danny's car Wednesday, Sept. 4, 1957. On this same day I also saw a tire tool in the car of Marion Catrell, who is not a student and who I do not know the address. On September 6, 1957, I saw a tire tool in the car of Bill Johnson, who is not a student at Central High."
"said he would like to get hold of one of the Negroes to use what he has on him referring to the tire tool.

"All of the above listed persons have stated in my presence they had the above weapons to use in case of trouble with the Negroes. Each has also said they would not start any trouble but if it did start they would be in the middle of it. They also said they had the weapons to protect themselves in the event trouble started.

"I do not know where any of these boys reside and have not seen any knives, guns, or any other type of weapons in possession of anyone else.

"I have read the above statement consisting of this and two other pages and it is true and correct.

/s/ "BEVERLY MAXINE BURKS

Witnesses:

/s/ "CLABURN T. WHITE, Special Agent, FBI, Little Rock, Ark. 9/7/57.

/s/ "HENRY L. TUCK, Special Agent, FBI, Little Rock, Ark. 9/7/57"

****

"Little Rock, Ark.
September 8, 1957

"I, Beverly Maxine Burks, furnish the following free and voluntary statement to Claburn T. White and Henry L. Tuck who have identified themselves to me as Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This statement is being made in connection with an official investigation being conducted by the FBI, and I realize it can be used in a court of law.

"I am 16 years of age and am a 10th grade student at Central High School, Little Rock, Arkansas. I reside at 1912 Security Street, Little Rock."
"In reference to any knives, tire tools and weapons I have seen in possession of John Dix, Ronnie Muller, Don Duncan, Danny Johnson, and Bill Johnson, these weapons were all observed after the commencing of school on September 3, 1957. I did not see any knives, tire tools, or any other weapons in possession of the above persons or other individuals until after Sept. 3, 1957, and the National Guard was at the Central High School. I did not hear any remarks or discussion of violence toward the Negroes attending Central High School prior to September 3, 1957.

"I do not recall that on September 6, 1957, or any other time at Ponder's Drug Store when Bill Johnson said anything about if they allow the Negroes to enter Central High School, we are going over to the school, pretend like we are students, and hide in the school, and if we catch a Negro walking down the hallway we are going to take him some place, and beat him up. I understand I was supposed to be present when Bill Johnson made this remark but I do not recall hearing this.

"On September 4, 1957, I was given a petition to circulate among the crowd at Central High School. I was to obtain names on the petition and it was being circulated to obtain names for the purpose of removing Mr. Virgil Blossom and all of the school board members from office with the exception of Dr. Dale Alford. I obtained about 200 names on this petition. I mailed the petition to a Little Rock Post Office box number after I had finished obtaining names. I do not know the box number and do not know who gave me this petition.

"After school on September 6, 1957, a Mr. Bickel contacted me at Central High School and wanted to know if I would talk to the FBI. I told him I guess so. I did not furnish any information to Mr. Bickel and had never seen him before. I had never furnished any information about seeing any type of weapons in possession of anyone or any remarks made by anyone concerning the Negroes entering Central High School prior to talking to Special Agents of the FBI on Sept. 7, 1957. No one had asked me about talking to anyone until I had talked to Mr. Bickel on September 6, 1957.

"I do not know of any other incidents concerning Negroes entering Central High School of a violent nature or anything that has happened to cause violence.
"I have read the above statements consisting of this and three other pages and it is true and correct.

/s/ Beverly Maxine Burks

Witnesses:

Source: Special Collections Department, University of Arkansas Libraries
Elizabeth Eckford arrived alone at Central High on opening day, and was driven from the school by a hysterical mob while Arkansas National Guard stood by.
Melba Patillo Beals Memoir

The First Day at Central High: An Interview with Melba Patillo Beals

There was no thought on my part, on any of our parts, that our going to Central High would trigger this terrible catastrophe. I wanted to go because [students at Central] had more privileges. They had more equipment; they had five floors of opportunity. I understood education before I understood anything else. From the time I was two, my mother said, “You will go to college. Education is your key to survival.” I did not have an overwhelming desire to integrate this school and change history. Oh, no, there was none of that.

My getting into Central was almost an accident. I simply raised my hand one day when they said, “Who of you lives in the area of Central High School? Who has good grades?” I had excellent grades. It was an accident of fate. I was sitting in Cincinnati, Ohio, with my mother when Walter Cronkite came on television and said that in late August, Central High School in Little Rock was going to be integrated... and these were the children who were going. He mispronounced my name. My mother said, “What did you say?” And that was it... Then we came back to Little Rock and I began to be involved in the NAACP’s preparations.

The first time, the first day I was able to enter Central High School, what I felt inside was stark raving fear—terrible, wrenching, awful fear. A fear that I cannot explain to you. There are no words for how I felt inside. I had known no pain like that because I did not know what I had done wrong. You see, when you’re fifteen years old and someone’s going to hit you or hurt you, you want to know what you did wrong. Although I knew the differences between black and white, I didn’t know the penalties one paid for being black at that time.

On the first day, the kinds of things that I endured were parents kicking, parents hitting, parents throwing things. You would get tripped; people would just walk up and hit you in the face. And you couldn’t hit back. We had been instructed that any attempts to hit back, to respond, to call a name would
mean the end of the case.

They separated us. The school officials said to us, “You want integration? We’ll give you integration. We will separate you.” And so, in a school of 2,500 or so, they sent us nine different ways. My homeroom was, I believe, number 313. That meant I had to go up, by myself, three flights of stairs. The only way I could get up those stairs was to say the Lord’s Prayer repeatedly. And that’s how I got there. I could not look to my left or my right.

I’d only been in the school a couple of hours and by this time it was apparent that the mob was overrunning the school. Policemen were throwing down their badges and the mob was getting past the wooden sawhorses because the police would no longer fight their own in order to protect us. We were all called into the principal’s office and there was great fear that we would not get out of this building... Even the adults, the school officials, were panicked. A couple of the black kids who were with me were crying. Someone made a suggestion that if they allowed the mob to hang one kid, then they could get the rest out while they were hanging the one kid. And a gentleman, whom I believed to be the police chief, said, “How are you going to choose? You’re going to let them draw straws?” He said, “I’ll get them out.” And we were taken to the basement of this place and put into two cars, grayish-blue Fords. The drivers were told, “Once you start driving, do not stop.” They told us to put our heads down. So the guy revved up the engine and came out of the bowels of this building and as he came up, I could just see hands reaching across this car. I could hear the yelling. I could see guns. The driver didn’t hit anybody, but he certainly was forceful and aggressive in the way he exited this driveway because people tried to stop him. He dropped me off at home, and I remember saying, “Thank you for the ride.” I should have said, “Thank you for my life.”
Daisy Bates Memoir

Daisy Bates and the Long Fight in Little Rock

Long before desegregation became an issue in Little Rock, Daisy Bates played an active role in the battle for civil rights. In 1941, Bates and her husband, L. C., bought the Arkansas State Press, a weekly newspaper with a circulation of 20,000 at its peak. “Our decision was based on the conviction that a newspaper was needed to carry on the fight for Negro rights as nothing else can,” Bates wrote later. The State Press crusaded against police brutality, slum housing, and injustice in the courts.

I walked out onto the lawn. I heard the deep drone of big planes, and it sounded like music to my ears. I walked around the yard. I saw other women standing in their yards, looking upward, listening. I heard the subdued laughter of children and realized how long it had been since I’d heard that sound. Kept within doors in recent days, they now spilled out onto yards and driveways. From an open kitchen doorway Mrs. Anderson was heard singing. “Nobody knows the trouble I’ve seen . . .” A fear-paralyzed city had begun to stir.

Around 6 p.m., the long line of trucks, jeeps, and staff cars entered the heart of the city to the wailing sound of sirens and the dramatic flashing of lights from the police cars escorting the caravan to Central High School. The “Battle of Little Rock” was on.

Some of the citizens watching the arrival of the troops cried with relief. Others cursed the federal government for “invading our city.” One got the impression that the “Solid South” was no longer solid.

A young white reporter rushed to my house and grabbed me by the hands, swinging me around. “Daisy, they’re here! The soldiers are here! Aren’t you excited? Aren’t you happy?”

“Excited, yes, but not happy.” I said after getting myself unwhirled. “Any time it takes eleven thousand five hundred soldiers to assure nine Negro children their constitutional right in a democratic society, I can’t be happy.”

“I think I understand how you feel,” the reporter said. “You’re thinking about all the other southern Negro children who’ll have to ‘hit the line’ someday.”

“Yes, and I’m sure there will be many.”

“What’s the next move?” he asked.

“Will the children be going back to Central tomorrow?”

I parried the question. I knew the parents would be on tenterhooks waiting to hear from me, and with the same question on their minds. I delayed calling them. I was awaiting a call from Superintendent Blossom. Finally, about 10 p.m., I called all the parents to tell them I had not heard from Mr. Blossom. I assumed that the mob would be at the school the next morning, and therefore decided that the children could not be sent to Central the next day, troops or not.

Shortly after midnight Mr. Blossom telephoned. “Mrs. Bates, I understand you instructed the children that they were not to go to Central in the morning.”

“That is correct.”

“But General Walker said that he is here to put the children in school. So you must have them at your house by eight thirty in the morning.” Major General Edwin A. Walker, chief of the Arkansas Military District, had been put in command of the 101st Airborne
Division and newly federalized Arkansas militia.

"I can't," I said. "I can't reach them. We have an agreement that if I want them, I will call before midnight. In order to get some sleep and avoid the harassing calls, they take their phones off the hook after midnight." How I wish I had done the same, I thought wearily, as I listened to the superintendent's urgent tones. "I suppose I could go to each home, but I can't go alone," I said.

"I'll call Hawkins and Christophe and ask them to accompany you," Mr. Blossom said. "You may expect them shortly." Edwin Hawkins was principal of Dunbar Junior High School and L. M. Christophe was principal of Horace Mann High School, both Negro schools.

At about 1 A.M. the three of us set out. Our first stop was some eight blocks away, the home of fifteen-year-old Gloria Ray. We knocked for what seemed ten minutes before we got an answer. The door opened about three inches exposing the muzzle of a shotgun. Behind it stood Gloria's father.

"What do you want now?" was his none-too-cordial greeting, as he looked straight at me. He forgot—I hope that was the reason—to remove his finger from the trigger or at least to lower the gun.

My eyes were fixed on the muzzle, and I could sense that Hawkins and Christophe, standing behind me, were riveted in attention. In my most pleasant, friendliest voice, and trying to look at him instead of the gun, I said that the children were to be at my house by eight thirty the next morning, and that those were the instructions of Superintendent Blossom.

"I don’t care if the President of the United States gave you those instructions!" he said irritably. "I won't let Gloria go. She's faced two mobs and that's enough."

Both Mr. Christophe and Mr. Hawkins assured him that with the federal troops there, the children would be safe. We all, of course, added that the decision was up to him. At that point I asked if he wouldn't mind lowering his gun. He did. I told him if he changed his mind to bring Gloria to my house in the morning. Somewhat shakily we made our way to the car.

"Good Lord," sighed Mr. Christophe, "are we going to have to go through this with all nine sets of parents?"

The children's homes were widely scattered over Little Rock, and so our tour took better than three hours. Our encounter with Mr. Ray impressed on our minds the need to identify ourselves immediately upon entering the grounds of each home. But the cautious parents still greeted us with gun in hand, although they were a little more calm than Mr. Ray, and accepted the change in
plans without objection.

At eight twenty-five the next morning, all the children except Gloria had arrived. My phone rang. “What time are we to be there, Mrs. Bates?” It was Gloria.

“They’re all here now,” she said. “I’ll be right over!”

In less than ten minutes, Mr. Ray, shy and smiling, led Gloria into the house. He looked down at his daughter with pride. “Here, Daisy, she’s yours. She’s determined to go. Take her. You seem to have more influence over her than I have, anyhow.”

No sooner had Gloria joined the group than I was called to the telephone. A school official wanted to know whether the children were there. “All nine,” I answered. I was told that a convoy for them was on its way.

While we waited, reporters were asking the nine how they felt, and the children, tense and excited, found it difficult to articulate about the significance of the troops’ mission. Half an hour crawled by. Jeff (Jefferson Thomas), standing at the window, called out, “The Army’s here! They’re here!”

Jeeps were rolling down Twenty-eighth Street. Two passed our house and parked at the end of the block, while two remained at the other end of the block. Paratroopers quickly jumped out and stood across the width of the street at each end of the block—those at the western end facing the children facing west, and those at the eastern end facing east.

An Army station wagon stopped in front of our house. While photographers, perched precariously on the tops of cars and rooftops, went into action, the paratrooper in charge of the detail leaped out of the station wagon and started up our driveway. As he approached, I heard Minnie Jean say gleefully, “Oh, look at them. They’re so—so soldierly! It gives you goose pimples to look at them!” And then she added solemnly, “For the first time in my life, I feel like an American citizen.”

The officer was at the door, and as I opened it, he saluted and said, his voice ringing through the sudden quiet of the livingroom where a number of friends and parents of the nine had gathered to witness this moment in history: “Mrs. Bates, we’re ready for the children. We will return them to your home at three thirty o’clock.”

I watched them follow him down the sidewalk. Another paratrooper held open the door of the station wagon, and they got in. Turning back into the room, my eyes none too dry, I saw the parents with tears of happiness in their eyes as they watched the group drive off.
How was your response to your first day of school similar and different to the experiences described by the Little Rock 9?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Your Experience</th>
<th>Similarities</th>
<th>Little Rock 9</th>
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ACTIVITY 7 – THE GOVERNOR VS. THE PRESIDENT

Who has power over you in these areas? How did the person in power get this power? How do the person with power exercise this power? And what is its impact?
What evidence do we have that the people of Little Rock opposed integration?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evidence</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Explanation of the evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Eyes on the Prize Reading pg 102-107
As you pair read

(1) source the document
(2) generate historical inquiry questions
(3) read the document
(4) using evidence from the document, answer the questions
(5) summarize the document
(6) write the questions that are left unanswered
Using the evidence from the excerpt, what political obstacles were present in the Little Rock incident?

Place these responses on the argument notetaker.

Exit slip: What role are Faubus and Eisenhower playing in the Little Rock Incident?
So far we have read about several tactics used during the struggle to desegregate schools. Summarize the evidence of tactics you have read so far in each category of legal, political, and social.

- **LEGAL** -

- **POLITICAL** -

- **SOCIAL** -
Activity 8 – Student Attitudes

Examine the Eckford Photograph again.

Generate a list of thoughts and feelings of the white student community upon learning of the desegregation efforts. How do you think the white students felt about the nine African American students attending school?
Paired Reading

(1) source the document
(2) generate historical inquiry questions
(3) read the document
(4) using evidence from the document, answer the questions
(5) summarize the document
(6) write the questions that are left unanswered
You are being watched! Today the world is watching you, the students of Central High. They want to know what your reactions, behavior, and impulses will be concerning a matter now before us. After all, as we see it, it settles now to a matter of interpretation of law and order.

Will you be stubborn, obstinate, or refuse to listen to both sides of the question? Will your knowledge of science help you determine your action or will you let customs, superstition, or tradition determine the decision for you?

This is the chance that the youth of America has been waiting for. Through an open mind, broad outlook, wise thinking, and a careful choice you can prove that America's youth has not "gone to the dogs" that their moral, spiritual, and educational standards are not being lowered. This is the opportunity for you as citizens of Arkansas and students of Little Rock Central High to show the world that Arkansas is a progressive thriving state of wide-awake alert people. It is a state that is rapidly growing and improving its social, health, and educational facilities. That it is a state with friendly, happy, and conscientious citizens who love and cherish their freedom.

It has been said that life is just a chain of problems. If this is true, then this experience in making up your own mind and determining right from wrong will be of great value to you in life.

The challenge is yours, as future adults of America, to prove your maturity, intelligence, and ability to make decisions by how your react, behave, and conduct yourself in this controversial question. What is your answer to this challenge?
NBC Roundtable Discussion

NBC invited students at Central High to participate in a roundtable discussion moderated by Jorunn Ricketts. It was to be aired nationally. A close friend of the girl that Elizabeth Huckaby called into her office took part in that discussion. Her name was Sammy Dean Parker. The excerpt that follows focuses on Sammy's comments as well as those made by three other white students—Kay Bacon, Robin Woods, and Joe Fox—and two black students—Ernest Green and Minnie Jean Brown.

MRS. RICKETTS: Do you think it is possible to start working this out on a more sensible basis than violent demonstration?

SAMMY: No. I don't because the South has always been against racial mixing and I think they will fight this thing to the end. . . . We fight for our freedom—that's one thing. And we don't have any freedom anymore.

ERNEST: Sammy, you say you don't have freedom. I wonder what you mean by it—that you don't have freedom? You are guaranteed your freedoms in the Bill of Rights and your Constitution. You have the freedom of speech—I noticed that has been exercised a whole lot in Little Rock. The freedom of petition, the freedom of religion, and the other freedoms are guaranteed to you. As far as freedom, I think that if anybody should kick about freedoms, it should be us. Because I think we have been given a pretty bad side on this thing as far as freedom.

SAMMY: Do you call those troops freedom? I don't. And I also do not call it free when you are being escorted into the school every morning.

ERNEST: You say, Why did the troops come here? It is because our government—our state government—went against the federal law. . . . Our country is set up so that we have 48 states and no one state has the ability to overrule our nation's government. I thought that was what our country was built around. I mean, that is why we fight. We fought in World War II together—the fellows that I know died in World War II, they died in the Korean War. I mean, why should my friends go out there and die for a cause called "democracy" when I can't exercise my rights—tell me that. . . .

JOE: Well, Sammy, I don't know what freedom has been taken away from you because the truth is—I know as a senior myself—the troops haven't kept me from going to my classes or participating in any school activity. I mean, they're there just to keep order in case—I might use the term "hotheads"—get riled up. But I think as long as—if parents would just stay out of it and let the children of the school at Central High figure it out for themselves, I think it would be a whole lot better. I think the students are mature enough to figure it out for themselves. . . . As far as I'm concerned, I'll lay the whole blame of this trouble in Governor Faubus's lap.

SAMMY: I think we knew before this ever started that someday we were going to have to integrate the schools. And I think our governor was trying to protect all of us when he called out the National Guard—and he was trying to prepare
us, I think.

ERNEST: . . . Well, I have to disagree. . . . I know a student that’s over there with us, Elizabeth [Eckford], and that young lady, she walked two blocks, I guess—as you all know—and the mob was behind her. Did the troops break up the mob?

ROBIN: . . . And when Elizabeth had to walk down in front of the school, I was there and I saw that. And may I say, I was very ashamed—I felt like crying—because she was so brave when she did that. And we just weren’t behaving ourselves—just jeering her. I think if we had had any sort of decency, we wouldn’t have acted that way. But I think if everybody would just obey the Golden Rule—do unto others as you would have others do unto you—that might be the solution. How would you like to have to. . . walk down the street with everybody yelling behind you like they yelled behind Elizabeth?

MRS. RICKETTS: Sammy, why do these children not want to go to school with Negroes?

SAMMY: Well, I think it is mostly race mixing.

MRS. RICKETTS: Race mixing? What do you mean?

SAMMY: Well, marrying each other.

MINNUEAN: Hold your hand up. I’m brown, you are white. What’s the difference? We are all of the same thoughts. You’re thinking about your boy—he’s going to the Navy. I’m thinking about mine—he’s in the Air Force. We think about the same thing.

SAMMY: I’ll have to agree with you.

SAMMY: I’ll have to agree with you. . . .

MINNUEAN: Kay, Joe, and Robin—do you know anything about me, or is it just that your mother has told you about Negroes?

MRS. RICKETTS: . . . Have you ever really made an effort to find out what they’re like?

KAY: Not until today.

SAMMY: Not until today.

MRS. RICKETTS: And what do you think about it after today?

KAY: Well, you know that my parents and a lot of the other students and their parents think the Negroes aren’t equal to us. But—I don’t know. It seems like they are, to me.
SAMMY: These people are—we'll have to admit that.

ERNEST: I think, like we're doing today, discussing our different views. . . . If the people of Little Rock . . . would get together, I believe they would find out a different story—and try to discuss the thing instead of getting out in the street and kicking people around and calling names—and that sort of thing. If . . . people got together it would be smoothed over.

KAY: I think that if . . . our friends had been getting in this discussion today, I think that maybe some of them—not all of them—in time, they would change their mind. But probably some of them would change their mind today.
One Down, Eight to Go, *Eyes on the Prize Reader*

*See page 117 in the Eyes on the Prize Reader*
“Football Player? No!” Political Cartoon
Write a letter in response to Jane Emery.
ACTIVITY 9 – ROLE OF THE PRESS

Warm-up: Imagine you have been sent to Little Rock, Arkansas as a journalist covering the events in the fall of 1957. Who would you be most interested in interviewing first? What questions would you ask?
“To explore the role of the media with more depth, you will analyze the coverage of Little Rock Nine from four different newspapers.”

As you read, address these questions for each text in your synthesis journal.

Who is the intended audience?
What is the tone of the newspaper article?
What language does the newspaper article use to describe the situation?
Which perspectives are included in the news coverage?
Which perspectives are absent in the news coverage
Occupying federal troops--the first in the South since 1877--remained eight months, until
the nine African-American pupils could attend the high school without serious
molestation. Many white southerners who were resigned to gradual integration of the
schools bitterly resented President Eisenhower's armed intervention. In the light of the
following article in a Little Rock newspaper, explain why. Where is the editor on the
weakest ground? The strongest ground?

Little Rock's Central High School is still under military occupation. The troops are still
there--on the campus, in the building.

The troops are still there, despite the fact that their presence is resented by the big
majority of the students, the parents, and the people in general throughout the South.

The troops continue to stand guard during school hours, on the grounds and within the
corridors and classrooms, despite the fact that there is no law or precedent--Federal or
State--that permits them to do so.

There is not even an order, or so much as a sanction, from the U.S. Supreme Court that
makes its own "laws" on mixing of races in the public schools.

Federal troops continue to occupy Central High--in defiance of the Constitution, law, and
precedent--while the Congress of the United States sits out the sessions and does nothing.

Never before in the history of America has any area of our so-called Free Republic been
so shamefully treated.

When two sections of this country were at war with each other, no troops ever patrolled
the public school buildings and grounds from day to day. After the South had been beaten
down, Federal forces kept the vanquished under the iron heel for the duration of the
"Reconstruction" period. But not once did they molest the public schools with troop
occupation.

Education, or attempted education, under the scrutiny of armed troops is un-American,
un-Godly.

It is not even Communistic. Russia, in all her cruelty, has never bothered school children
in occupied territory by stationing armed soldiers on the grounds and in the buildings.
Germany never did it.

No other nation, however barbaric and cruel and relentless, ever--in the history of the
human race--resorted to such tactics--only the United States, which sets itself up as a
world example of peace, freedom, and democracy, forces the military upon a free school.

How much longer will Congress sit idly by and let such brazen violation of American
principle and law continue on and on and on?
“Mr. Faubus is Where He Was” *Arkansas Gazette*, 10 October 1957

**Faubus and the Press**

Throughout the Little Rock school crisis, the *Arkansas Gazette* wrote a series of editorials criticizing the actions of Governor Faubus and urging gradual implementation of desegregation under the terms spelled out by the federal courts. The Gazette became a target for the governor and the object of an economic boycott run by Faubus' supporters. Despite such opposition, the newspaper received a Pulitzer Prize in 1958 for public service. The newspaper's executive editor, Harry S. Ashmore, won a second Pulitzer for distinguished editorial writing. This editorial originally appeared on October 10, 1957.

**Mr. Faubus Is Where He Was**

Governor Faubus said at his press conference yesterday that the Little Rock crisis now hinges upon the withdrawal of the nine Negro children who are presently peacefully attending Central High School under federal court order and federal military protection.

This, of course, is one answer. It happens to be the answer the Citizens Councils have been offering ever since the United States Supreme Court ruled that Negroes could no longer be barred from any school solely on the basis of race. If the Negroes voluntarily choose not to attend white schools then there is no problem. And if they do not voluntarily so choose, but can be coerced or intimidated into withdrawing, there is no problem.

But the federal government has said that these nine children cannot be so coerced or intimidated, and has used the full weight of both the judicial and executive departments to guarantee that they shall not be.

So what Mr. Faubus is saying is that the federal government must abandon its position and let him have his way on his own terms. There is no indication that the federal government will do so.

But still, with all this, the governor contends that all he wants is delay. He says that Negroes cannot attend Central High School peaceably now, but he suggests that they can at some indefinite future date. At one point or another he has suggested that this might be possible next semester or next fall—the last date being, in our judgment, the significant one since it comes after the next gubernatorial election.

But what the governor never explains is why he thinks it will be any easier to carry out the court order then than it was this time around—or any easier, that is, than it would have been had he not recklessly chosen to disrupt the patient and careful work of the responsible local school officials who had every reason to believe that their limited and gradual plan was acceptable to a vast majority of the people.

Could the governor guarantee that no mob would form next semester, or next fall, if the Negro children again presented themselves under court order? He probably could, as a matter of fact, but he has repeatedly indicated that he will not do so—as indeed he cannot do without sacrificing the temporary political advantages he has gained. And so there is no valid reason to assume that delay will resolve the impasse which Mr. Faubus has made.

We doubt that Mr. Faubus can simply wear the federals out—although he is doing a pretty good job of wearing out his own people.
Chicago Daily Defender, 28 May 1958

Few incidents in recent American history can match the courage shown by the nine teenage Negroes of Little Rock. They risked their lives for the sake of establishing a principle: the right to attend an integrated high school. They did it in the face of ugly and determined opposition; they did it under circumstances that would have caused many stout-hearted grownups to withdraw behind the protective shield of their own homes. This was the most severe test of the law. The Federal courts paved the way; Federal troops held the angry mob at bay. But the nine Negro pupils did not have to march through the guardsmen to enter Little Rock’s Central High School. . . . How many of us would have had the fortitude to do what these youngsters have done?

“President Threatens to Use U.S. Troops, Orders Rioters in Little Rock to Desist; Mob Compels 9 Negroes to Leave School” by Benjamin Fine in *New York Times*, 24 September 1957

**September 24, 1957**

President Threatens to Use U.S. Troops, Orders Rioters in Little Rock to Desist; Mob Compels 9 Negroes to Leave School

Students Unhurt

Return Today Unlikely--City Authorities Yield to Crowd

By BENJAMIN FINE SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

Little Rock, Ark., Sept. 23--A mob of belligerent, shrieking and hysterical demonstrators forced the withdrawal today of nine Negro students from Central High School here.

Despite a heavy turnout of local and state police to see that the Negroes were not molested in Little Rock's newest attempt to integrate the high school, city authorities bowed to the fury of about 1,000 white supremacists. They ordered the Negro students to leave the school about noon. The integration attempt had lasted 3 hours 13 minutes.

While fringe fights broke out, and several persons were "roughed up" by irate segregationists, the mob shouted insults and obscenities against the "niggers" and "nigger lovers." Groups of white students who had walked out of the school after the nine Negroes entered chanted: "Two, four, six, eight, we ain't gonna integrate."

Students Deny Violence

Reports that some of the Negro youngsters had been attacked inside the school by white students were denied by the Negro students.

One of them said that he thought he had been pushed once, but that was apparently the extent of activities within classes.

There was uncertainty about what the Negro students would do tomorrow. Mrs. L. C. Bates, president of the Arkansas branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that "a little more assurance" than President Eisenhower had given in his proclamation would be necessary before the Negroes would go back to school.
Virgil T. Blossom, Superintendent of Schools, said that authorities were working on the assumption that the Negroes would not show up for classes tomorrow.

Meanwhile, at midnight, Little Rock still showed signs of tenseness. Several fist fights between Negroes and whites were reported by the police. Two Negroes who were in a car being chased by the police were injured when the automobile crashed off the highway.

Police squad cars patrolled the city's streets throughout the night, ready to break up any large groups and prevent racial violence if it developed. The authorities do not believe that in this city of 117,000 persons, of which 25 per cent are Negroes, a race riot will occur, but every precaution was being taken.

The police tonight intercepted a caravan of fifty to 100 cars near a Little Rock factory. Occupants of the cars, mostly men and youths, were dispersed easily by the police.

Lieut. Gov. Nathan Gordon, Acting Governor, called on the people of Little Rock to be calm and engage in no acts of violence.

Out of more than 1,900 students enrolled in Central High School, about 300 left classes in the first hour of the attempted integration. The school superintendent said that about 450 students had either left the building or were absent this morning. Many of them, it is believed, withdrew or stayed away to avoid trouble.

The Negroes were escorted safely through the mob by the police and taken to their homes without injury.

Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann charged that the violence outside the school had been stirred up by plan and "bore all the marks of the professional agitators." He said that detailed information on the events of the day would be turned over to the Department of Justice for whatever action the Federal Government considered warranted.

"The names of individuals who were ringleaders of this incitement will be turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation," the Mayor declared.

Many of those who milled in front of the school today were from out of town, some from communities 200 miles distant. It was noted that one of those in the crowd of demonstrators was Jimmy Karam, Athletic Commissioner for the state and a close friend of the Governor.

N. A. A. C. P. 'Gratified'

President Eisenhower's proclamation, pledging to use the full power of the United States, including force if necessary, to carry out the orders of Federal Judge Ronald N. Davies for integration of the school, was welcomed by officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People here. They termed it "gratifying and a step forward."

Mrs. Bates had declared earlier that the Negro youngsters "will not be out there again until they have the assurance of the President of the United States that they will be protected from the mob."

Mrs. Bates said after the proclamation:

"I want to be absolutely sure that they will be protected and how before they [the students] will be advised to return.
"I hope that the immediate and wholehearted compliance of all the citizens with the existing court decrees, assuring these youngsters of nonsegregated education, will take place in our community."

She said that the Negro students who went into the school today were surprised when they were withdrawn from their classes. They felt that they had been treated by the white students.

9 Students Show Up

Mr. Blossom, in his statement tonight, said he understood the Negro students did not plan to return to school tomorrow. He declared, however, that the Negroes were still enrolled in the school and were still eligible to enter if they wished.

Ten Negro students had been selected to enter classes at Central High, and nine of them-- six girls and three boys--showed up for the test today. They were taken into the school through another entrance, quietly and apparently unnoticed by most of the demonstrators, who were shouting from across the barricades in front of the school.

Several persons suffered minor injuries in the clashes. Francis Miller, a photographer for Life magazine, was knocked down and struck in the face. Later two other Life representatives were attacked.

Another newsman, Alex Wilson, a Negro, representing a Memphis, Tenn., Negro newspaper, was beaten and kicked by members of the mob. It was during this incident that the nine Negro students were driven on to the campus of the high school and were escorted through a side door into the building.

While the crowd was still milling in front of the high school, some white students went to a near-by Catholic school for Negroes, St. Bartholomew's, and went after a group of students. The students ducked inside the building and escaped injury.

Later, three Negroes attacked a 16-year-old white boy, James Mill, as he was walking home. Lou Ann Montgomery, 15, a sophomore at Central High, said that two Negro men stopped her while she was going home for lunch and cut her right hand "with what looked like a piece of a broken whisky bottle."

24 Are Arrested

During the day, the police seized twenty-four men and women in front of the Central High School for disturbing the peace and resisting arrest. Many of those arrested grappled with the police and had to be carried forcibly away. Four policemen carried one struggling man to the patrol car, swinging him by his hands and feet, before he was finally subdued.

"Leave that man alone," the mob shouted, trying to break through the barriers. The police held fast.

Several women, shrieking and screaming, also were carried away. As one woman was placed into the patrol wagon, a man shrieked and tried to get by the police line. He yelled, "That's my wife."

The local authorities took no action today to get National Guard units to the scene. Mr. Gordon had promised to call out Guardsmen if city officials requested them. The National Guard had been stationed at the school from Sept. 3 until last Friday, during which period they barred Negroes from entering the school. But the military units were withdrawn Friday in conformity with Judge Davies's order.

The National Guard had been stationed at the school by Gov. Orval E. Faubus to "prevent violence" after
the Federal Court had approved a plan for integration. When Governor Faubus, who is now in Sea Island Ga., attending the Southern Governors Conference, ordered troops withdrawn on Friday he advised the Negro students not to try to enter the school until a "cooling-off" period had passed.

**Street Barricaded**

For a time this morning it appeared as though integration would take place smoothly in this city of 102,213 population. A few persons arrived at the high school by 6 o'clock. By 7, with the sun just benning to break through the clouds, only 100 or so had gathered at both ends of the street leading to the two-lock-long school. Wooden barricades, placed on both ends of the street 1/8 stopped them at those points.

Eighty members of the local police force, some on motorcycles and in squad cars, but most on foot, were on the schools grounds or in the vicinity. Fifty state troopers were in the area, ready to help if needed.

At 8 o'clock it was evident that the violence that Governor Faibus had predicted would take place. By this time some 500 persons had gathered. They appeared in a fighting mood.

"The niggers won't get in," members of the crowd said, time and again.

At 8:45 the school buzzer could be dimly heard. School was in session.

"Where are the niggers?" one person asked another. "Let them try to get in. . . ."

"We'll lynch them all," several yelled.

"Sure, and all you Yankee newspaper men with them," a gravel-voiced man shouted. This was met with a howl of approval.

The police tried to keep the crowd off the street. The surging angry mob kept pushing forward.

"Please keep back, step back," the police said politely at first, then with more authority.

"Don't you dare lay your hands on me," one woman screamed as a police officer asked her to move away.

"Lady," he pleaded, "I'm not going to touch you. I'm just doing my duty."

Suddenly a yell went up.

"There they are, they're coming." came a shout.

The crowd rushed after four men who turned out to be Negro newspaper men. They were manhandled by the crowd, but managed to escape.

A man yelled:

"Look, they're going into our school."

Six girls and three boys crossed over into the school yard. They had arrived in two automobiles and had
driven to the side of the school. Mrs. Bates accompanied them.

Slowly, almost as though they were entering a normal classroom on a normal school day, the students walked toward the side door of the school. The boys, in open shirts, the girls, in bobbysox, joked and chatted among themselves. They carried armfuls of textbooks.

The crowd now let out a roar of rage. "They've gone in," a man shouted.

"Oh, God," said a woman, "the niggers are in school."

A group of six girls, dressed in skirts and sweaters, hair in pony-tails, started to shriek and wail.

"The nigger are in our school," they howled hysterically.

One of them jumped up and down on the sidewalk, waving her arms toward her classmates in the school who were looking out of the windows, and screamed over and over again:

"Come on out, come on out."

Tears flowed down her face, her body shook in uncontrollable spasms.

Three of her classmates grew hysterical, and threw their arms around each other. They began dancing up and down.

"The niggers are in," they shrieked, "come on out of the school. Don't stay there with the niggers. Come on out. Come on. . . ."

Hysteria swept from the shrieking girls to members of the crowd. Women cried hysterically, tears running down their faces.

"I'm going to get the niggers out," said Mrs. Clyde Thomason, recording secretary of the Mothers League of Central High, a segregationist group.

She started toward the school. Two policemen blocked her way.

"Please go back on the sidewalk," one begged quietly.

"Go on and hit me, just go and hit me," Mrs. Thomason, who had been enjoined by Judge Davies not to interfere with the integration program, said. She became hysterical.

A man walked over to the policemen who were struggling to restrain Mrs. Thomason.

"This is my wife, officer," he said. "I'll take her with me."

An elderly man jumped upon the barricade.

"Let's go over the top," he shouted. "Who's going over with me?"
"We'll all go," the crowd yelled.

Over the wooden barricade they went. A dozen policemen stood in the way. Slowly the crowd gave way.

The police were taunted by the mob, well out of hand by now. Instead of tapering off, as it had at previous morning demonstrations, the crowd grew in numbers. By 10 o'clock it had grown to about 1,000.

"Turn in your badge," the crowd yelled at the police.

One of the policemen said, apologetically:

"I'm only doing my duty. If I didn't I'd lose my job."

**Takes Off Badge**

Another one, Thomas Dunaway, took off his badge and walked away.

"Hurray! hurray!" the crowd cheered.

"He's the only white man on the force," a young man in a plaid shirt shouted.

"Let's pass the hat around," some one suggested.

In a moment several persons went through the crowd, collecting money. Dollar bills were tossed into the hat. It was estimated that about $200 had been collected for the policeman who gave up his badge.

The men and women, augmented by students, surged over the "off limits" line and spread into the street facing the school grounds.

A dozen state troopers, with service revolvers and Sam Browne belts, were rushed to the school grounds. For a time it appeared as though the local police would be completely overwhelmed by the angry crowd.

"Come on out of school, come on out, the niggers are in there," the crowd yelled.

Four girls slowly walked down the wide steps of the high school.

A tremendous cheer echoed through the crowd.

"They're coming out," was shouted time and time again.

Then a group of six left. The students began to leave the school at more frequent intervals. At first the police did not permit adults to enter the school. They were acting under order of Mr. Blossom.

"I'm going to get my child," one parent said defiantly.

"Sorry, you'll stay right here," the policeman answered.

Quickly this order changed. One by one, mothers and fathers walked up the school steps, and then returned.
with their children. Each time a student walked out of the school the cheers increased.

"Mother, come and get me," a girl telephoned. "They're fighting something awful here inside the school."

By 12 o'clock the mob had reached its greatest strength, and by now completely ignored the local police. The crowd remained behind the barricade, but it did not maintain order there. Several newsmen were attacked and beaten. A Negro reporter was kicked and manhandled.

Threats, jeers, and insults became more ominous.

"Let's rush the police," a ringleader shouted. "They can't stop us."

At noon the police received this message on their shortwave radios:

"This is the Mayor. Tell Principal Jeff Matthews [of Central High] that the Negroes have been withdrawn. Tell Mr. Matthews to announce that to the student body. I've talked with Virgil Blossom and the Negroes have been withdrawn."

Negroes Withdrawn

At 12:14 Lieut. Carl Jackson of the Little Rock police force stood on the school grounds facing the crowd. Over a loudspeaker set up on the sidewalk in front of the school the officer said:

"The Negroes have been withdrawn from school."

"We don't believe you." the crowd yelled back. "That's just a pack of lies."

"Is there anyone whom you would believe?" he asked.

"I saw a nigger standing in the doorway just now," a woman yelled.

"Let's go in and see," another shouted.

"If you have any one person in the crowd you believe, they can go in and see, then report to you," Lieutenant Jackson said.

Mrs. Allen Thevenet of the Mothers League of Central High School, stepped forward across the street.

"Will you accept Mrs. Thevenet's word?" the lieutenant asked. The crowd gave a reluctant approval.

Accompanied by a policeman, Mrs. Thevenet went into the school. On her return she came to the loudspeaker and said:

"We went through every room in the school and there was no niggers there."

"How do we know they ain't hiding some place in the school?" a man shouted.
Afraid to Leave

Lieutenant Jackson called for Mr. Matthews. He too reassured the crowd with the statement:

"The Negroes have been withdrawn from school."

"We don't believe you," the mob shouted. The principal was loudly booed.

"Are they coming back after dinner?" the crowd asked the lieutenant.

"No," he said.

The Negro students, meantime, had been taken out through a side door, and escorted in two police cars to their homes. Despite the rumors that had been flying through the crowd that the students "had been beat up," they were not molested while in school.

"They were surprised when they were told to leave at noontime," Mrs. Bates said later.

"Nothing much happened at all," Thelma Mothershed, one of the nine Negro students, said.

"Nothing really happened," agreed Terrance Roberts, 16. "We went to classes as scheduled. After the third period we were taken out and driven home. Some school officials came in to see us.

He added: "I was pushed once but I wasn't hit. It was quiet after we got into our classes. A few white students walked out."

Another of the girls, Elizabeth Ann Eckford, 15, said:

"I was the only Negro girl in my class."

Would they want to comeback?

"Yes," they agreed, "if we can come here without causing any trouble. The students will accept us once we go with them for a while."

Osro Cobb, United States Attorney, said that complaints of violations of Federal laws would receive prompt attention. He said:

"I will not hesitate to proceed criminally against provocators who conspire together and act in concert in an effort to forcibly deny rights secured to our citizens by the Constitution of the United States.

"Our grand jury is now in session and if such incidents occur, while this grand jury is in session, it is possible that the matter can be presented immediately to the grand jury. In any event we will act firmly and with dispatch as the situation warrants."
ACTIVITY 10 – ROLE OF THE NAACP

Daisy Bates with the Little Rock 9. Bates is sitting in the right corner.

Who is Daisy Bates? How would you describe her work in the local branch of the NAACP?
Use the Text Rendering Protocol with the Letter from Daisy Bates to Roy Wilkins

Text Rendering Protocol
In your small group use the following protocol to guide your discussion

(1) Share one sentence you feel/think is important.

(2) Share one phrase you feel/think is important.

(2) Share one word you feels/think is important.
Mr. Roy Wilkins
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

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: “Pierced 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 Key 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 spent 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 President 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.
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. Bessie 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 $10,000 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,

[Signature]

LGB:

cc: Mr. Current
What were the legal goals of the NAACP?
**ACTIVITY 11 – POLITICAL TACTICS**

Paired Reading

(1) source the document  
(2) generate historical inquiry questions  
(3) read the document  
(4) using evidence from the document, answer the questions  
(5) summarize the document  
(6) write the questions that are left unanswered
IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 5, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

U. S. Naval Base
Newport, Rhode Island

THE PRESIDENT TODAY SENT THE
FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO THE
HONORABLE ORVAL E. FAUBUS,
THE GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS

The Honorable Orval E. Faubus
Governor of Arkansas
Little Rock, Arkansas

Your telegram received requesting my assurance of understanding of and cooperation in the course of action you have taken on school integration recommended by the Little Rock School Board and ordered by the United States District Court pursuant to the mandate of the United States Supreme Court.

When I became President, I took an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. The only assurance I can give you is that the Federal Constitution will be upheld by me by every legal means at my command.

There is no basis of fact to the statements you make in your telegram that Federal authorities have been considering taking you into custody or that telephone lines to your Executive Mansion have been tapped by any agency of the Federal Government.

At the request of Judge Davies, the Department of Justice is presently collecting facts as to interference with or failure to comply with the District Court's order. You and other state officials -- as well as the National Guard which, of course, is uniformed, armed and partially sustained by the Government -- will, I am sure, give full cooperation to the United States District Court.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

# # # # #
DIARY
Notes dictated by the President on October 8, 1957 concerning visit of Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas to Little Rock on September 14, 1957.

Interview was held in the President’s tiny office at the Naval Station at Newport. At the beginning of what was approximately a two hour session, the President and the Governor were alone in the President’s office for about twenty minutes. They then adjourned to acw’s office, which was larger.

"What he had to say was pretty well represented in the press releases given out that day (attached). Governor Faubus protested again and again he was a law abiding citizen, that he was a veteran, fought in the war, and that everybody recognizes that the Federal law is supreme to State law. So I suggested to him that he go home and not necessarily withdraw his National Guard troops, but just change their orders to say that having been assured that there was no attempt to do anything except to obey the Courts and that the Federal government was not trying to do anything that had not been already agreed to by the School Board and directed by the Courts; that he should tell the Guard to continue to preserve order but to allow the Negro children to attend Central High School. I pointed out at that time he was due to appear the following Friday, the 20th, before the Court to determine whether an injunction was to be issued. In any event, I urged him to take this action promptly whereupon the Justice Department would go to the Court and ask that the Governor not be brought into Court. I further said that I did not believe it was beneficial to anybody to have a trial of strength between the President and a Governor because in any area where the Federal government had assumed jurisdiction and this was upheld by the Supreme Court, there could be only one outcome -- that is, the State would lose, and I did not want to see any Governor humiliated.

"He seemed to be very appreciative of this attitude and I got definitely the understanding that he was going back to Arkansas to act within a matter of hours to revoke his orders to the Guard to prevent re-entry of the Negro children into the school.

"He told me of his war experiences and vigorously asserted his deep feelings of loyalty and dedication to the Federal government, and repeated several times that he had shown respect for the law in all his actions.

"After some 20 minutes of personal conference, we invited Governor Adams and Brooks Hays, and later, the Attorney General, to join us. The ensuing conversation was generally along the same lines as he had talked to me in private."
IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 21, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

U.S. NAVAL BASE
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

In the last few hours three events of major importance have occurred in the City of Little Rock.

1. The Governor of Arkansas has withdrawn the contingent of Arkansas National Guard at Central High School.

2. The Little Rock School Board has announced its intention to proceed to carry into effect its plans for school admissions.

3. The local law enforcement agencies have announced that they are prepared to maintain law and order.

The sincere and conscientious efforts of the citizens of Little Rock prior to September second show that they are persons of good will and feel a responsibility to preserve and respect the law -- whether or not they personally agree with it. I am confident that they will vigorously oppose any violence by extremists.

All parents must have a sympathetic understanding of the ordeal to which the nine Negro children who have been prevented from attending Central High School have been subjected. They and their parents have conducted themselves with dignity and with restraint. As I said this morning, I am confident that the citizens of the City of Little Rock and the State of Arkansas will welcome this opportunity to demonstrate that in their city and in their state proper orders of a United States Court will be executed promptly and without disorder.

# # # # #
Troops -

Not to enforce integration

but

to prevent violence

of position

by violence to orders given.

In Arkansas -

Governor ordered troops,

armed and equipped and partially

manned by federal troops

under instructions to prevent destruction

or any other interference

or destruction of school buildings

approved by Federal Judge.

In

President can stand and

stop the entire system

good sense the entire race system

deshygate (remove) all

from school and take his oath of office.
NP328 P LRA006 LONG PRD RX=LITTLEROCK ARK 24 916AMC=

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D EISENHOWER=
THE WHITE HOUSE NEWPORT RI=

THE IMMEDIATE NEED FOR FEDERAL TROOPS IS URGENT. THE MOB
IS MUCH LARGER IN NUMBERS AT 8AM THAN AT ANY TIME
YESTERDAY PEOPLE ARE CONVERGING ON THE SCENE FROM ALL
DIRECTIONS MOB IS ARMED AND ENGAGING IN FISTICUFFS AND
OTHER ACTS OF VIOLENCE. SITUATION IS OUT OF CONTROL AND
POLICE CANNOT DISPERSE THE MOB I AM PLEADING TO YOU AS
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE INTEREST OF
HUMANITY LAW AND ORDER AND BECAUSE OF DEMOCRACY WORLD

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

WIDE TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY FEDERAL TROOPS WITHIN
SEVERAL HOURS. ACTION BY YOU WILL RESTORE PEACE AND
ORDER AND COMPLIANCE WITH YOUR PROCLAMATION=

WOODROW WILSON MANN MAYOR OF LITTLEROCK ARKANSAS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE
What tactics did Faubus and Eisenhower use to either resist or promote integration of Little Rock High School?

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