

WA215 GOVT PD

1110 W. Main St.
ELDORADO ARK SEP 25 1203PMC

THE PRESIDENT ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I RESPECTFULLY WISH TO STRONGLY
PROTEST YOUR PRECIPITOUS ACTION IN ORDERING FEDERAL
TROOPS TO ARKANSAS FOR THE PURPOSE OF ENFORCING SCHOOL
INTEGRATION.

IN RECOGNITION OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE AND LOCAL
AUTHORITIES AND IN JUSTICE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF STATE

The White House
Washington

1957 SEP 26 AM 6 06

L JACK MARTIN

SEP 27 1957
CARDED

RESPONSIBILITY IN LOCAL MATTERS, I URGE YOU TO WITHDRAW
ARMED FEDERAL TROOPS IMMEDIATELY.

IF THE PEOPLE OF THIS STATE ARE GIVEN TIME AND
OPPORTUNITY THEY WILL RESOLVE THIS AND OTHER LOCAL
PROBLEMS ON A SOUND AND EQUITABLE BASIS UNDER LAW. THIS
QUESTION AT LITTLE ROCK IS A PART OF THE OVERALL CIVIL
RIGHTS PROGRAM LONG CONSIDERED AND DEBATED IN THE
CONGRESS.

ON PROPOSED LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED AND URGED BY YOU
COVERING THE ENTIRE FIELD OF CIVIL RIGHTS, THIS YEAR, WHICH

INCORPORATED THIS QUESTION IN LITTLE ROCK TO IMPLEMENT THE SUPREME COURT DECISION AND THE SAME QUESTION IN FEDERAL SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION RECOMMENDED BY YOU, THE CONGRESS HAS REFUSED TO ACT.

AS I RECALL WHEN YOUR CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AS ORIGINALLY PROPOSED WAS BEING CONSIDERED YOU WERE ASKED HOW SUCH LAWS WOULD BE ENFORCED AND RESPONDED, I BELIEVE, THAT BY "COURT ACTION". YOU WERE ASKED, AS I REMEMBER, IF YOU WOULD ENFORCE SUCH LAWS BY THE USE OF FEDERAL TROOPS AND YOU STATED EMPHATICALLY THAT YOU HAD NO INTENTION OF USING MILITARY FORCE.

YOUR ACTION YESTERDAY IS CONTRARY TO THIS STATEMENT
AND I THINK A REFLECTION AND DANGEROUS ENCROACHMENT
UPON THE PREROGATIVES AND RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE AND
LOCAL AFFAIRS

OREN HARRIS M C.

O.F.

Checked by Kardex

I. JACK MARTIN RECEIVED
OCT - 2 1957
GARDEIN CENTRAL FILES

142-A-5-A

H

Newport, Rhode Island
September 30, 1957

Dear Mr. Harris:

The feeling that prompts your telegram I can readily appreciate, for in my more than four decades of service to our country few events have saddened me as much as the necessity of resorting to Federal force to carry out Federal court orders in your State. I know of no State in the Union that cannot, if it so wills, carry into execution its own and Federal law, and this I feel has been quite as true of Arkansas as any other State. Unfortunately, however, the decision was reached to employ the power of Arkansas to frustrate instead of to effectuate the orders of the Federal court.

Your telegram rightly infers that ours is a Federal Union in which State Governments play an exceedingly vital role. That role I have sought in a host of ways to accentuate during the past five years. However, acquiescence in State use of force to block the implementation of Federal court orders, and acquiescence in the use of violence to thwart the Federal judiciary, would be acceding, first, to anarchy, and second, to the reversion of our Federal system to the impotent confederacy of 200 years ago from which our Union sprang.

I deplore quite as feelingly as you do the fact, almost incredible in these times, that extraordinary actions became imperatively necessary in Little Rock to ensure compliance with our Federal processes of government. #

With kind regard,

Sincerely,

*
The Honorable Oren Harris
Member of Congress
1110 West Main Street
Eldorado, Arkansas

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY.

BNH/sjs

The ARKANSAS GAZETTE of September 27, 1957, contained the text of the address of Governor FAUBUS to a nationwide television audience which was given on the evening of September 26, 1957, and which is quoted as follows:

"On Tuesday, September 24, while I was still absent from the state, attending the Southern governors conference at Sea Island, Ga., the cleverly conceived plans of the Justice Department, under HERBERT BROWNELL, for the military occupation of Arkansas were placed in execution. One thousand two hundred troops of the 101st Airborne Division were flown into the Jacksonville Air Base by air transport from Fort Campbell, Ky. Immediately thereafter, these troops occupied in force the grounds of Central High School.

"At the same time, the entire Arkansas National Guard and Air Guard were federalized, and are now a part of the United States Army and the United States Air Force.

"We are now an occupied territory. Evidence of the naked force of the federal government is here apparent in these unsheathed bayonets in the backs of school girls--in the backs of these students--in the bloody face of this railroad worker, who was bayoneted and then felled by the butt of a rifle, in the hands of a sergeant of the United States 101st Airborne Division. This man, on private property, as a guest in a home two blocks from the school, has been hospitalized.

"Others have suffered bayonet wounds from the hands of United States Army soldiers.

"Up until the time the injunction was issued against me by the imported federal judge, the peace had been kept in Little Rock by as few as 30 National Guardsmen. Not a blow was struck, no injury inflicted on any person and no property damage sustained. Neither was it necessary to make wholesale arrests of Arkansas citizens. No bayonets were used and the weapons of Guardsmen were never loaded.

"This is quite a contrast to the present situation--when some 12,000 United States Army troops are on duty, mobilized or standing ready for use. It is in stark contrast also as to the use of sharpened, naked bayonets on school girls and other Arkansas citizens, the bludgeoning of others with rifle butts, and the wholesale arrests made by these United States military forces.

"I wish also to point out that no violence broke out in the city until after the injunction was issued by the imported federal judge, and the Guard forces were withdrawn.

"Court Conflict Traced

"It might be well to mention briefly the actions of the imported judge in the first three hearings.

"An injunction was issued by a state court, presided over by Chancery Judge MURRAY REED, staying the execution date of the integration order, in order to preserve the peace. (And--I might add here--all we have ever asked for is a little time, and patience and understanding, as so often expressed by the president himself, in solving the problem.) Judge REED'S order was issued after taking sworn testimony in open court, with cross-examination of all witnesses.

"The first hearing in Federal Court, before the imported judge, lasted one hour and five minutes. No testimony whatsoever was taken. Only the argument of counsel was heard, after which the judge made his order, nullifying the order of the state court. The typewritten order of the court was then distributed, which had already been drawn up and ready before the hearing was held.

The second hearing took a total of four minutes. No testimony was taken and the order 'integrate forthwith' was issued.

"The third hearing consumed a total of 15 minutes. Some testimony was taken, you can judge how much, but the imported judge stated that no cross-examination was necessary, and then the order was issued.

"The total time consumed in all three hearings was one hour and twenty-four minutes, on litigation pertaining to a matter of such great import. Not only was the matter of integration-segregation involved, but also the matter of jurisdiction of state courts to maintain the peace, and the all-important matter of states rights,--if there are any such rights remaining at this time.

"101st His Ally in War

"During World War II, my division, the 35th Infantry, pushed up on the right of the Fourth Armored Division to relieve the 101st Airborne and my Division occupied the embattled city of Bastogne.

"Today, we find the members of the famed division, which I helped to rescue in Little Rock, Ark., bludgeoning innocent bystanders, with bayonets in the backs of school girls, and the warm red blood of patriotic American citizens staining the cold, naked unsheathed knives.

"In the name of God, whom we all revere, in the name of liberty we hold so dear, in the name of decency, which we all cherish, what is happening in America?

"Is every right reserved to the states by the federal Constitution now lost?

"Does the will of the people, that basic precept of democracy, no longer matter?

"Must the will of the majority now yield, under federal force, to the will of the minority regardless of the consequences?

"If the answers to these questions are in the affirmative, then the basic principles of democracy are destroyed, and we no longer have a union of states under a Republican form of government.

"If this be true--then the states are mere subdivisions of an all powerful federal government, these subdivisions being nothing more than districts for the operation of federal agents and federal military forces--forces which operate without any regard for the rights of a sovereign state, or its elected officials, and without due regard to personal and property rights.

"In addition to the federal military forces, we have in Arkansas a federal judge from a state a thousand miles away. He has no understanding whatsoever of the difficulties of our problems in the field of race relations.

"'Friends of Outside Forces'

"During periods of military occupation of areas outside forces, there can always be found those who, for one reason or another, takes sides with the outside forces.

"Of the mere handful of such individuals here, I would like to mention three.

"HARRY ASHMORE, editor of the ARKANSAS GAZETTE, the ardent integrationist (and he has a right to his views) in addition to his slanted and distorted reporting of the news in his own paper, has also sought, successfully in many cases, to indoctrinate visiting newsmen with his biased and prejudiced attitude. To give you an idea of his personal influence, I relate that he was a member of the staff of ADLAI STEVENSON in both his campaigns for the presidency.

"It is well known here that in 1952 when he was working in STEVENSON'S campaign group, his own wife here in Little Rock voted for the Republican candidate, and Pulaski County was lost by the Democrats.

"WOODROW WILSON MANN, the lame duck mayor of Little Rock, in his campaign to defeat the city manager form of government for Little Rock, in order to hold his office, was defeated by the people of his own city by a vote of more than 3 to 1. His stand on this matter now at issue is repudiated by his own partner in the insurance business as evidenced by a telegram to me. His own City Council repudiated his stand by unanimous vote.

"And what of SID McMATH, the former Governor of Arkansas? In seeking re-election to the governor's office in 1952, he suffered the most disastrous defeat ever inflicted upon a candidate seeking re-election to any state office. Again in 1954, seeking the nomination for United States senator, he failed even to get to the run-off primary. He and other opponents went down before Senator JOHN L. McCLELLAN in the first contest. McMATH was supported by Mr. ASHMORE in both campaigns.

"These men and the few of their views are the ones who have sought to advise the president's 'palace guard' about the Little Rock situation. They bear a heavy responsibility for the unhappy events of the past few days.

"Would it not have been better for the president's advisers to listen to officials who have the people's confidence, as shown by the greatest of all democratic processes, the free exercise of the franchise at the ballot box?

"Little Rock and Budapest

"Still further, literally swarms of FBI agents have been operating throughout the city. Also agents of the Counter Intelligence Corps and Criminal Investigative Division have been combing the area for days. Teen-aged school girls have been taken by the FBI and held incommunicado for hours of questioning while their frantic parents knew nothing of their whereabouts.

"To those who know the facts of the Little Rock situation, these combined actions on the part of the judicial, executive and military departments of the federal government are 'police state' methods in a form never before seen in America.

"The news commentators and press reports of the day may proclaim the comparative calm of the Little Rock area. You will recall that it was quiet in Paris during the German occupation and it is quiet in Budapest today.

"It always becomes quiet under military rule.

"Points to Racial Record

"Prior to this time in Arkansas, the hand of fellowship and mutual self-respect has everywhere been extended between the races. Much progress has been made in this field and in others pertaining to the progress of the state and the human welfare of all citizens.

"Under my administration, all transportation systems have been integrated, and without serious incidents. Six of the seven state-supported colleges now have Negro students. In the other there were no applicants.

"I was the first Democratic governor of the South to place Negroes on the Democratic State Central Committee. Negroes also serve on the Republican Committee.

"Some years ago I was a member of the Resolutions Committee which recommended to the Democratic State Convention that the so-called white primary be abolished, opening the Democratic primaries to the members of all races. The convention adopted the resolution, and this was accomplished without any ruling by any federal court.

"Negroes have been appointed on boards and commissions during my administration, and have been appointed to administration positions never before held by members of their race.

"Eight public schools have been peacefully integrated during my administration, more than in any other Southern state outside the border areas.

"The first Negro to graduate from law school in a Southern college previously all white was in Arkansas. And the first Negro doctor to graduate from a previously all-white Southern college was in Arkansas. All this adds up to greater progress in Arkansas than in any other state of the Deep South.

"I am not in this fight, either as a segregationist or an integrationist. My only child, a son is now attending classes in a state-supported integrated college. This is more than can be said by many of the high officials of the national administration, who are responsible for the military occupation of Arkansas.

"This situation arose when I exercised my constitutional powers and discretion as governor to preserve the peace and good order of this community.

"Basically, the story I laid before the president at the Newport conference, was this story of progress and good race relations in Arkansas. Since Little Rock had become the focal point of contest between contending forces which have very strong feelings on the matter, my plea was for time--only a little time if it could be given--in order that I, as governor, and the people of the area could have an opportunity to work out the problem in a peaceful manner.

"Blames Judge's 'Haste'.

"The tragedy of the whole situation is that the imported judge, by exercising a little patience

and understanding, or by the taking of testimony to gain the facts, could have averted the whole situation.

"The federal government has made a grave and grievous error in the federalizing of the Guard and the use of federal troops. The troops are even inside the school building accompanying the Negro students from class to class. This constitutes a serious danger. The impetuous or thoughtless act of a white student could result in his penetration by a bayonet, just as has occurred outside the building.

"By the use of federal troops, rights just as precious, if not more so, than integration, have been trampled into the dust under the boots of the paratroopers, or cut to pieces by their shining, unsheathed bayonets.

"Aside from this, another great harm has been done. The hand of fellowship heretofore extended everywhere in Arkansas, between the races, has been largely withdrawn. Neither Negro or white now knows whether the hand will be friendly or unfriendly. This is a grievous setback to the cause of progress, justice and Christian charity, but nevertheless it is true.

"While we are thus an occupied area--General WALKER says his area of jurisdiction has no perimeter--we must endure as best we can. Remember that all law and individual rights give way to military power, when that power is strong enough to enforce its will. There can be no question of the supremacy of the United States Army, when used against a defenseless state.

"Therefore, we must continue our peaceful pursuits of life, being good citizens as the overwhelming majority of our people have always been.

"I have been working and fighting for the right of my people to solve their problems peacefully.

This as we know requires time and patience.

"I shall continue relentlessly on this course. The Constitution, the traditions of our republic and the will of the people uphold me in this course. Our cause is just and will ultimately prevail.

"It Can Happen Elsewhere

"I am subject to the will of my people, within the framework of the Constitution and federal laws. We are not now enjoying those rights, but the inherent decency and good judgment of the people of America will eventually restore those rights to us. For if we are permanently deprived of those rights --then the people of other rights will likewise be so deprived.

"Today the excuse for use of federal troops is said to be integration. Tomorrow, in any state, the excuse could be a labor dispute, or any number of other things.

"The Supreme Court ruled that the president could not take over the steel industry, but they have taken over our schools in Little Rock.

"To the people of my state, I now ask again for calmness and a law abiding approach to all our problems.

"The federal authorities--including federal troops are in control. They are handling the situation and there is nothing we can do about it.

"I appreciate the upwards of 100,000 letters and telegrams from every state in the Union I have received, which have ranged from 95 to 98 per cent in support of my efforts to maintain the peace and good order of my own state. We have had no opportunity at all to answer any of them, but they are non-the-less appreciated.

"I know that when the American people have had time to think, and to learn more of the facts of this situation, they--in their good judgment--will rebuke the national administration for the ill-advised and unwarranted use of federal troops.

"School attendance at bayonet point is not compatible with the American way of life.

"Let us go about our normal pursuits in a friendly peaceful manner, obeying all laws and orders, including those of General WALKER and his troops.

"This cross we now must bear--but, as the poet said, 'Even this shall pass away.'"

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC SEPT 27 1957

MRS WHITMAN, NEWPORT

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM SENATOR RUSSELL.

WA580 GOVT PD

SN WASHINGTON DC SEP 26 717PME



THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

AS A CITIZEN, AS A SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES,
AND AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
I MUST VIGOROUSLY PROTEST THE HIGHHANDED AND ILLEGAL METHODS
BEING EMPLOYED BY THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER
YOUR COMMAND WHO ARE CARRYING OUT YOUR ORDERS TO MIX THE RACES
IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS.
IF REPORTS OF REPUTABLE PRESS ASSOCIATIONS AND NEWS WRITERS ARE TO
BE BELIEVED, THESE SOLDIERS ARE DISREGARDING AND
OVERRIDING THE ELEMENTARY RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS BY
APPLYING TACTICS WHICH MUST HAVE BEEN COPIED FROM THE MANUAL
ISSUED THE OFFICERS OF HITLER'S STORM TROOPERS. THE OVERPOWER-
ING MILITARY MIGHT YOU HAVE ASSEMBLED THERE MAKES SUCH ACTIONS
AS THESE NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS DESCRIBE COMPLETELY INEXCUSABLE
UNLESS THE PURPOSE BE TO INTIMIDATE AND OVERAWE ALL THE PEOPLE
OF THE COUNTRY WHO ARE OPPOSED TO MIXING THE RACES BY FORCE.

THESE DISPATCHES AGREE THAT AN UNARMED CITIZEN HAD
HIS HEAD CRACKED BY A RIFLE BUTT WHILE STANDING PEACEFULLY ON
PRIVATE PROPERTY MORE THAN ONE BLOCK REMOVED FROM THE SCHOOL
AFTER HE HAD TOLD YOUR TROOPERS THAT HE WAS THERE WITH THE
CONSENT OF THE OWNER OF THE PROPERTY.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT RELATES THAT THREE OR MORE CITIZENS
WERE PUSHED DOWN A STREET, WITH BAYONETS AT THEIR THROATS,
WHILE A BELLICOSE SERGEANT SHOUTED AGAIN AND AGAIN QUOTE KEEP
THE BAYONETS AT THEIR THROATS UNQUOTE.

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH FROM LITTLE ROCK DATED
TODAY STATES THAT EIGHT PERSONS ARRESTED BY YOUR TROOPERS AT
VENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL YESTERDAY HAD BEEN HELD IN JAIL
INCOMMUNICADO OVERNIGHT WITHOUT ANY CHARGES HAVING BEEN FILED
AGAINST THEM AND HAD BEEN DENIED THE RIGHT TO CALL A LAWYER.
THE DISPATCH FURTHER STATES THAT EFFORTS TO FIND OUT WHAT
WOULD BE DONE WITH THE EIGHT PEOPLE WERE FRUITLESS, AND BOTH
THE FBI AND THE UNITED STATES MARSHAL DISCLAIMED ANY KNOWLEDGE
OF THE CASE.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM



WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

THE PRESENT SUPREME COURT HAS IN A NUMBER OF CASES FREED
CONFESSED NEGRO RAPISTS AND MURDERS BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT
ARRAIGNED WITHIN A PERIOD OF TIME THAT THESE EIGHT PEOPLE HAVE
BEEN IMPRISONED AND DENIED THE RIGHT OF COUNSEL BY MILITARY MIGHT.

UNDER THE DECISION OF EX PARTE MILLIGAN, MILITARY
COURTS HAVE NO JURISDICTION WHERE CIVIL COURTS ARE AVAILABLE.
I WOULD NOT CHALLENGE ANY CONTENTION THAT THE PRESENT SUPREME
COURT WOULD REVERSE THIS DECISION IN ANY CASE INVOLVING SCHOOL
INTEGRATION, BUT THEY HAVE NOT YET DONE SO, AND UNDER EXISTING
LAW THESE EIGHT MEN, WHATEVER MAY HAVE BEEN THEIR CRIME, HAVE
BEEN CLEARLY DENIED THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

I DO NOT HAVE FIRST HAND INFORMATION OF THE FEELING
OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE IN LITTLE ROCK. THE ATTENDANCE
IN THIS SCHOOL WOULD INDICATE THAT A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE
DO NOT HAVE VERY STRONG FEELINGS AGAINST INTEGRATING THE SCHOOL.
BUT IF A MINORITY OF ONE WHO HAS CONFESSED THE CRIME OF RAPE
AND MURDER IS ENTITLED TO EARLY ARRAIGNMENT AND COUNSEL, THE
EIGHT DISSENTERS AT LITTLE ROCK SHOULD NOT BE DENIED THEIR
RIGHTS MERELY BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SAW
FIT TO PLACE THE SCHOOL UNDER MILITARY CONTROL.

THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY GIVE AMPLE AUTHORITY TO
UNITED STATES MARSHALS TO DEPUTIZE A POSSE OF SUFFICIENT
STRENGTH TO MAINTAIN ORDER AND CARRY OUT ANY DECISION OF THE
COURTS. IT HAS NEVER CONTEMPLATED THAT SUCH A GREAT AGGREGATION
OF MILITARY MIGHT WOULD BE DIVERTED FOR THIS PURPOSE.

HOWEVER, SINCE YOU HAVE SEEN FIT TO ORDER THE TROOPERS
INTO ACTION, THEY SHOULD OBSERVE THE ELEMENTARY RIGHTS OF
AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO ARE VIOLATING NO FEDERAL LAW, ESPECIALLY
IN THE ABSENCE OF A DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW.

THERE ARE MILLIONS OF PATRIOTIC PEOPLE IN THIS
COUNTRY WHO WILL STRONGLY RESENT THE STRONG ARMED
TOTALITARIAN POLICE-STATE METHODS BEING EMPLOYED AT LITTLE
ROCK. THE FACT THAT THESE TACTICS ARE UNNECESSARY MAKES
IT EVEN MORE TRAGIC.

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OTHER ASPECTS OF THIS CASE
AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS WHICH DO NOT REFLECT CREDIT UPON
THOSE IN COMMAND OF THIS ARMY OF TROOPERS. UNLESS CORRECTED
THIS WILL BRING THE ARMED SERVICES INTO DISREPUTE.
I EARNESTLY INSIST THAT ORDERS BE ISSUED PROHIBITING THESE
ACTS OF VIOLENCE WHICH ARE WHOLLY UNNECESSARY, ESPECIALLY
IN VIEW OF THE FACTS THAT THE NEGRO CHILDREN HAVE A LARGE
ARMED PERSONAL ESCORT TO AND FROM THE SCHOOL; THAT ARMED
TROOPERS PATROL THE CORRIDORS AND CLASSROOMS; AND THAT A
CORDON OF ARMED TROOPERS SURROUNDS THE SCHOOL.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS UNDOUBTEDLY LIABLE
IN PECUNIARY DAMAGES FOR ANY ATTACKS UPON UNOFFENDING
CITIZENS. WE HAVE SURRENDERED AN AMERICAN SOLDIER ACCUSED
OF AN ATTACK OF VIOLENCE AGAINST A JAPANESE NATIONAL TO THE
JAPANESE COURTS FOR TRIAL. WE CANNOT DO LESS THAN INVESTIGATE
THESE ATTACKS AND PROPERLY PUNISH ALL OF THOSE WHO MAY HAVE
BEEN GUILTY OF UNNECESSARY VIOLENCE AGAINST INOFFENSIVE AND
PEACABLE AMERICAN CITIZENS.

RICHARD B. RUSSELL.

NIGHT LETTER

Newport, Rhode Island,
September 27, 1957

The Honorable Richard B. Russell
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.



Few times in my life have I felt as saddened as when the obligations of my office required me to order the use of force within a state to carry out the decisions of a Federal Court. My conviction is that had the police powers of the State of Arkansas been utilized not to frustrate the orders of the Court but to support them, the ensuing violence and open disrespect for the law and the Federal Judiciary would never have occurred. The Arkansas National Guard could have handled the situation with ease had it been instructed to do so. As a matter of fact, had the integration of Central High School been permitted to take place without the intervention of the National Guard, there is little doubt that the process would have gone along quite as smoothly and quietly as it has in other Arkansas communities. When a State, by seeking to frustrate the orders of a Federal Court, encourages mobs of extremists to flout the orders of a Federal Court, and when a State refuses to utilize its police powers to protect against mobs persons who are peaceably exercising their right under the Constitution as defined in such Court orders, the oath of office of the President requires that he take action to give that protection. Failure to act in such a case would be tantamount to acquiescence in anarchy and the dissolution of the union.

I must say that I completely fail to comprehend your comparison of our troops to Hitler's storm troopers. In one case military power was used to further the ambitions and purposes of a ruthless dictator; in the other to preserve the institutions of free government.

You allege certain wrong-doings on the part of individual soldiers



- 2 -

at Little Rock. The Secretary of the Army will assemble the facts and report them directly to you.

With warm regard,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The White House
Washington

WA136 GOVT PD

1957 OCT 1 PM 6 35

SN WASHINGTON DC OCT 1 422PME

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR MR PRESIDENT: THE UNFORTUNATE SITUATION CONCERNING OUR
SCHOOLS, WHICH CAN RAPIDLY AND STEADILY WORSEN, PRESENTS THE
MOST SERIOUS AND THE GRAVEST DOMESTIC CRISIS OF THIS CENTURY. I
AM CONVINCED WE HAVE NOT YET MADE CLEAR TO YOU THE STRONG AND ALMOST
UNANIMOUS SENTIMENT PREVAILING AMONG THE MOTHERS AND FATHERS OF
THE SOUTH AGAINST ENFORCED INTEGRATION OF OUR SCHOOLS. THIS

12040

APPLIES TO BOTH WHITE AND COLORED PARENTS. NOR HAVE WE MADE
CLEAR TO YOU WHAT WILL BE THE ULTIMATE AND FATAL CONSEQUENCES
OF ENFORCED INTEGRATION. THIS IS NO LONGER A QUESTION MERELY OF
CIVIL RIGHTS, NOR A QUESTION OF STATE'S RIGHTS. THE REAL ISSUE
AT STAKE IS THE SURVIVAL OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS. SCHOOLS
ORIGINATE AND ARE SUSTAINED THROUGH THE COMBINED ACTIVE SUPPORT
AND COOPERATION OF PARENTS AND THE EFFORTS OF DEDICATED TEACHERS.
THIS SUPPORT AND COOPERATION CANNOT EXIST WITH SCHOOLS INTEGRATED
BY FORCE. CONTINUED OPERATIONS OF A MILITANT DEPARTMENT
OF JUSTICE IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AT THE STATE LEVEL,

FORM 802 - (REVISED BY THE BUREAU OF POSTAL SERVICE FEBRUARY 1964)

WITH THE USE OR THREATENED USE OF SOLDIERS MARCHING FROM SCHOOL TO SCHOOL, WILL TOTALLY DESTROY THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN GREAT AREAS OF THE SOUTH. THE INNOCENT VICTIMS WILL BE THE CHILDREN OF BOTH RACES. OPPOSITION TO INTEGRATION IS ACTUALLY THE OVERWHELMING VOICE OF THE MOTHERS AND FATHERS OF THESE CHILDREN, THOSE MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED. THEIR OBJECTION IS IN NO SPIRIT OF DEFIANCE OR LAWLESSNESS ON THEIR PART, THEY ARE SINCERE, PATRIOTIC AND LAW ABIDING CITIZENS. TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS FOR A PATTERN OF SEPARATE SOCIAL AND CIVIC ACTIVITIES BETWEEN THE RACES HAVE BEEN HANDLED DOWN FROM MOTHER TO DAUGHTER, FROM FATHER TO SON.

THIS PATTERN HAS AFFORDED GENERATIONS OF PEACEFUL AND HARMONIOUS COOPERATION AMONG THE PEOPLE OF THE TWO RACES. THESE TRADITIONS CANNOT BE ERASED BY COURT ORDERS, NOT SWEEPED ASIDE BY FORCE. I HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR YOUR SINCERE DESIRE TO SERVE THE PEOPLE AND YOUR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE WELFARE OF ALL CITIZENS. TO GET THE TRUE FACTS AND TO CHART ANY SOUND COURSE OF ACTION, I BELIEVE YOU MUST SEEK INFORMATION AND ADVICE BEYOND YOUR ORDINARY CHANNELS. I THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT YOU SELECT A GROUP OF TWENTY OR MORE PERSONAL ADVISORS IN EACH SOUTHERN STATE, REQUESTING EACH OF THEM TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH A MINIMUM OF

FIFTY SCHOOL PATRONS, AND THEN TO REPORT THEIR COLLECTIVE FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS DIRECTLY TO YOU. I PLEAD FOR YOUR EARNEST PERSONAL REFLECTION ON THESE FACTS. ANY DECISION ON YOUR PART FOR ACTION IN THE PRESENT CRISIS WHICH FAILS TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE BASIC DESIRES AND FIRM CONVICTIONS OF THOSE MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED WILL PLAGUE OUR NATION FOR GENERATIONS TO COME, COMPLETELY WIPING OUT PROGRESS MADE THUS FAR IN PEACEFUL AND HARMONIOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO RACES, AND TOTALLY DESTROYING OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS. RESPECTFULLY YOURS

JOHN STENNIS UNITED STATES SENATOR.

O.F.

142-A-5-A

S

RECEIVED
OCT 16 1957
GENERAL FILES

C. JACK MARTIN
EARLED

CHECKED BY KARDEX

October 7, 1957

Dear Senator Stennis:

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

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

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

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

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

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

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

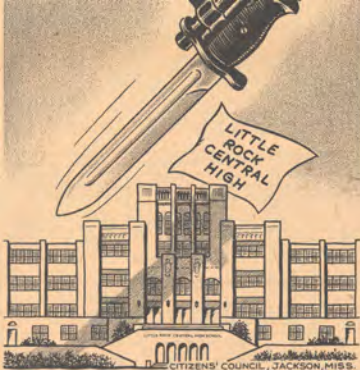
X07111-C

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

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



Source: Special Collections Department, University of Arkansas Libraries

RECEIVED
OCT - 7 1957
CENTRAL FILES

The White House
Washington

Files

Replies signed
by Pres 10/3
and sent to
Files 10/4

WA037 NL PD

LITTLE ROCK ARK SEP 30 1957 OCT 1 AM 7 43

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WE THE PARENTS OF NINE NEGRO CHILDREN ENROLLED AT LITTLE
ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT YOUR
ACTION IN SAFE GUARDING THEIR RIGHTS HAVE STRENGTHENED
OUR FAITH IN DEMOCRACY STOP NOW AS NEVER BEFORE WE HAVE
AN ABIDING FEELING OF BELONGING AND PURPOSEFULNESS STOP
WE BELIEVE THAT FREEDOM AND EQUALITY WITH WHICH ALL MEN

ARE ENDOWED AT BIRTH CAN BE MAINTAINED ONLY THROUGH
FREEDOM AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR SELF DEVELOPMENT
GROWTH AND PURPOSEFUL CITIZENSHIP STOP WE BELIEVE THAT
THE DEGREE TO WHICH PEOPLE EVERYWHERE REALIZE AND ACCEPT
THIS CONCEPT WILL DETERMINE IN A LARGE MEASURE AMERICAS
TRUE GROWTH AND TRUE GREATNESS STOP YOU HAVE DEMONSTRATED
ADMIRABLY TO US THE NATION AND THE WORLD HOW PROFOUNDLY
YOU BELIEVE IN THIS CONCEPT STOP FOR THIS WE ARE DEEPLY
GRATEFUL AND RESPECTFULLY EXTEND TO YOU OUR HEARTFELT
AND LASTING THANKS STOP MAY THE ALMIGHTY AND ALL WISE

FATHER OF US ALL BLESS GUIDE AND KEEP YOU ALWAYS

OSCAR ECKFORD JR 4405 WEST 18TH LOTHAIRE S GREEN 1224

WEST 21ST ST JUANITA WALLS 1500 VALENTINE W B BROWN

1117 RINGO LOIS M PATTILLO 1121 CROSS H C RAY 2111

CROSS ELLIS THOMAS 1214 WEST 20TH W L ROBERTS 2301

HOWARD H L MOTHERSHED 1313 CHESTER.

NINE LITTLE NIGGERS

"Two, four, six, eight, We ain't gonna integrate!"—School song, Central High School, Little Rock

Nine little niggers in Little Rock School?
Arkansas citizens start mob-ride.

Integration the White forbids,
"No little niggers sit with our kids!"

God's White children from the classroom run—
Nine little niggers? No, not one!

The Federal Court removed the ban—
Let little niggers in—if they can!

The Governor posted the National Guard,
The school-house doors were locked and barred,

But nine little niggers were smuggled in,
They had to fly to save their skin.

But citizens who the law would thwart
Stand in contempt of the Federal Court,

And National Guard and State Police
In Little Rock failed to keep the peace,

And the President said to Little Rock,
"Arkansas won't put back the clock!"

New Federal Troops move in to show
All God's children to school may go.

Deep South Governors urge a stand—
"Halt integration in Dixieland!"

Will nine little niggers set off the spark?
The eyes of the world are on Little Rock, Ark.

Will citizens now include lynch law
In the sovereign rights of Arkansas?

Or will they heed the order true,
"Lawless assemblies must disperse"?

Federal troops the law enforce—
All little niggers take the High School course,

Till Little Rock, Ark., accepts the view
That colored folk are citizens too.

SCOTT ARKES

IF YOU'D LIKE TO KNOW: *Open Season*

DAISY BATES lives at 1207 West 28th Street

HARRY S. ASHMORE at 5424 Southwood Rd.

VIRGIL BLOSSOM at 300 McMillin Trail

DIAL DAILY - FR. 4-5081

FR. 4-4881

IKE, GO HOME!

LIBERATION DAY

MAY 29, 1958

Telephone
Murray Hill 2-0500

Chock Full o' Nuts

425 LEXINGTON AVENUE
New York 17, N. Y.

May 13, 1958

THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 14 11 36 AM '58
RECEIVED

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I was sitting in the audience at the Summit Meeting of Negro Leaders yesterday when you said we must have patience. On hearing you say this, I felt like standing up and saying, "Oh no! Not again."

I respectfully remind you sir, that we have been the most patient of all people. When you said we must have self-respect, I wondered how we could have self-respect and remain patient considering the treatment accorded us through the years.

17 million Negroes cannot do as you suggest and wait for the hearts of men to change. We want to enjoy now the rights that we feel we are entitled to as Americans. This we cannot do unless we pursue aggressively goals which all other Americans achieved over 150 years ago.

As the chief executive of our nation, I respectfully suggest that you unwittingly crush the spirit of freedom in Negroes by constantly urging forbearance and give hope to those pro-segregation leaders like Governor Faubus who would take from us even those freedoms we now enjoy. Your own experience with Governor Faubus is proof enough that forbearance and not eventual integration is the goal the pro-segregation leaders seek.

In my view, an unequivocal statement backed up by action such as you demonstrated you could take last fall in deal-

MAY 26 1958

May 13, 1958

ing with Governor Faubus if it became necessary, would let it be known that America is determined to provide -- in the near future -- for Negroes -- the freedoms we are entitled to under the constitution.

Respectfully yours,

Jackie Robinson
Jackie Robinson

JR:cc