MIXED SCHOOLS—SECOND YEAR

More and More White Pupils Leave Washington

Negroes are pouring into Washington, white families leaving in droves. Result: a basic change in the population of the nation's capital.

In schools, 64 per cent of students now are Negroes. In some residential areas, Negroes take over.

In the nation's capital, where integration of public schools began last year, people are startled to discover that Negro pupils now outnumber white pupils 2 to 1.

Washington's enrollment trend in recent years has been toward more and more Negroes, fewer and fewer whites. Now that trend is being accelerated.

Twenty years ago, 64 per cent of the pupils in the city's public schools were white, 36 per cent Negroes. Today this is reversed—64 per cent Negroes, 36 per cent whites. These figures are disclosed by a new official count.

Washington now has a greater proportion of Negroes in the public schools than any other large U. S. city.

Migration from South. An end to this shift of the races is not in sight. What is happening in Washington is explained by two important developments:

First, as the southernmost unsegregated city in the East, Washington attracts more and more Negroes from the segregated South.

Second, and even more important, Washington is losing thousands of white families to the suburban areas of Maryland and Virginia—areas where schools are either segregated or heavily white in enrollment.

This rush of whites to the suburbs has been stepping up since 1948, when the Supreme Court outlawed "restricted covenants." As long as these covenants had legal effect, homeowners were committed not to sell to Negroes or persons of other minority groups. After the court ruling, Negroes penetrated white neighborhoods more rapidly, causing whites to hasten their flight to the suburbs.

In the last two years, since plans for integration of races in the schools were announced, still more white families have moved from the city.

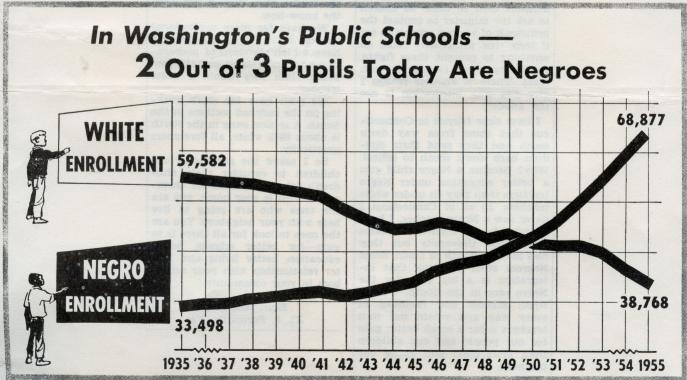
The white population that is left in the city is an unusual mixture—including less than the normal proportion of children. The young married couples and those with families tend to live in the suburbs. The older persons and young unmarried persons tend to stay in the city, finding it more convenient to live in downtown apartments.

White births drop. One result of these changes is that the birth rate among white Washingtonians is far below the national average. It is 19.7 per 1,000 population. At the same time, the Negro birth rate is unusually high—30.4 per 1,000.

A large proportion of the white children who are born in the city move away.

There is no net gain of white population in Washington. Some new people come, but a larger number leave. Between 1940 and 1950, the white persons moving away outnumbered those moving in by 12,932. At the same time there was a net migration of 63,967 Negroes into the city.

One result of all this is that, in nine out of 10 Washington public schools, there is some joint attendance by Negroes and white students, with Negroes predominating in most places.



ONE STATE'S IDEA—

South's Model for Separate Schools?

A school program worked out by Virginia now is coming to be widely regarded as the South's answer to the Supreme Court.

Its aim: To preserve segregation, and yet to avoid conflict with the Court.

How Virginia expects to do this is told here.

If this plan works, other States in the South are expected to follow suit.

What is this Virginia plan that is attracting so much attention?

It is a plan to revise Virginia's publicschool system in such a way as to avoid-or at least to minimize-the mixing of white and Negro children in

The basic outlines of this plan are shown in the chart on this page.

It proposes two main courses of action:

1. To maintain racial separation, as far as possible, by a new system of assigning students to specific schools.

2. To provide grants from public funds to help pay tuition in private schools for children where no segregated public school is available.

Announced aim of the plan is to make sure "that no child be required to attend an integrated school.'

The plan was drafted and unanimously recommended by a commission of 32 legislators appointed by Governor Thomas B. Stanley. Chairman of the commission was State Senator Garland Gray, so the plan has come to be known in Virginia as the Gray Commission Report.

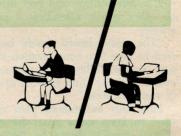
Would this plan conflict with the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court which held that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional?

Sponsors of the plan say that it would not, because there would be no official segregation by race in public schools. Whether federal courts will uphold this view is yet to be tested.

If public-school pupils are not to be separated by race, under the plan, then how does Virginia expect to keep the races apart in public schools?

By a new system of assignment. School boards would be authorized to assign (Continued on page 50)

Virginia's Plan **To Avoid Mixed Schools**



FIRST STEP-

Set up a new system of assigning children to schools

- * Officially, color line is to be abandoned and assignments made on such grounds as health, aptitude and availability of school facilities.
- * Actually, assignment plan is designed to keep races, generally, in separate schools.

AIM:

To avoid racial mixing, or at least hold it to a minimum.

SECOND STEP-

If assignment plan fails, a community would have 2 choices:

- 1. Mix public schools, but help "objectors" pay for segregated private schooling.
- 2. Abolish public schools and help finance segregated private schooling for all.
 - ★ Grants from school funds would be made to help pay tuition in private schools.
 - ★ To finance tuition grants, local taxes and State aid would continue.

AIM:

To insure that no child is compelled to attend a mixed school.

[continued]

SOUTH'S MODEL FOR SEPARATE SCHOOLS?

pupils to particular schools. The text of the plan says:

"Assignments would be based upon the welfare of the particular child as well as the welfare and best interests of all other pupils attending a particular school

"The school board should be authorized to take into consideration such factors as availability of facilities, health, aptitude of the child and the availability of transportation."

How this assignment plan could be used to keep races apart for the next several years is shown by this sentence of the plan's text:

"Children who have heretofore attended a particular public school would not be reassigned to a different one except for good cause shown."

This would mean that children now in school would remain in their present schools—which are segregated—for the remainder of their school careers.

In assigning new students, it is generally expected, most school boards would interpret the regulations in such a way as to assign Negroes to certain schools and whites to others.

What could a Negro do if he objected to his school assignment?

Parents of any student, Negro or white, could ask for a review of the assignment by the school board. If the board refused to change the assignment, parents could appeal to a State circuit court or corporation court for a trial of the issue.

It generally takes about a year to conclude such a court test, and then the verdict still could be appealed all the way up to the U.S. Supreme Court.

So some opponents of mixed schools hope that, even if the assignment plan should eventually be ruled unconstitutional, several years of delay might be won for continued segregation.

What happens if a school board assigns Negroes and whites to the same school?

The plan for private-school tuition is designed to meet that eventuality.

If all schools in his community were mixed, a child, through his parents, could apply for a grant from public funds to help pay his tuition in a segregated private school. Grants would be made available to both Negroes and whites.

Tuition grants could be used only for nonsectarian schools.

The amount of the grant, for each child, would be limited to the amount per student being spent in the community for public education. Generally, in Virginia, those amounts would range from \$110 per year to \$350.

Then any community would be permitted to mix its schools if it desired?

Yes. The plan provides "local option"

on this question.

In parts of Virginia where Negroes are only a small percentage of the population, it is expected that some communities will go ahead and integrate their schools.

One idea being discussed is that one school in a locality might be mixed, another school kept unmixed, through the assignment system. In this case, objec-

tors to integration could be assigned to the unmixed school. This would provide a form of "individual option" as well as "local option." But private-school tuition would not be granted if a segregated public school were available.

Some Virginians predict that several communities might find themselves maintaining public schools attended only by Negroes—with all the white children going to private schools.

Could a school district close its public schools to avoid any integration?

Yes, the plan provides for that, too. And some counties already have begun making preparations to do so. In counties where public schools are abandoned, all children—white or Negro—would be eligible for grants for private-school tuition.

State-wide closing of public schools, however, is not proposed, and sponsors of the Virginia plan say it is not contemplated. Hope is expressed that few schools actually would be shut down.

Virginia's State constitution requires that the State maintain an efficient system of free public education—and the plan does not propose to repeal or alter that constitutional provision.

Where would the money to pay private-school tuition come from?

From the sources where public schools now get their money. Counties would continue to levy taxes for education, and the State would continue to contribute to counties' school funds on the same basis as at present. This would

(Continued on page 52)



THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES OF VIRGINIA

-Richmond News Leader

Legislators have a plan to make sure "that no child be required to attend an integrated school"

'Integration in Public Places Would Abolish Second Class Citizenship'

To the editors:

There is an hysterical fear that admitting Negroes to public and restaurants will somehow result in their introduction into white society. This fear seems to motivate the resistance to integration voiced in a letter October 18 from two State organizations whose prime purpose is to "combat forced integration of the races."

Now, forced integration has never been contemplated by any responsible group in the country. The current trend is to establish by law a public policy that no race be barred because of race from public schools or any public places such as restaurants, theaters, bowling alleys,

This implies no forced integration of races. Many races Leesburg other than white have always been admitted to these places without any noticeable number with of them intermarrying whites or joining white clubs or even caring for white society. The importance of the current movement lies in its effort to abolish second-class citizenship by admitting all people to all public establishments.

This is necessary to the dignity and self esteem of every person and every group. It is essential to the integrity of every self-governing state. It is, in fact, the granting of one of those individual liberties which this State organization presumably means to defend.

Beyond that, the social mingling of the races is not to be expected. Quoting from one antiintegration group's own statement of principles—The various races "willingly and by nature segregate themselves."

This has been the history of our Northern states, our most vital and cultured areas and of our most massive cities where there is not evidence that the public mingling of children and adults has degraded the whites. John W. Tolbert Jr.

Success is achieved by the ability to persuade others to follow or agree with you.

Fifteen years ago most of us were getting along fine without those items now called neces- I sities.

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The Blue Ridge Herald

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**To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women . . . and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. - United Nations Charter. (This article by Webster McClary in the Williamsburg, S. C., Record was published in the Richmond Times-Dispatch. It is reprinted

here by special request of a Middleburg reader of The Blue Ridge Herald)

liamsburg County:

There are times to speak and times to keep quiet and this is a time to speak.

I am a Negro who was bornand raised in your county. At present I am serving as local preacher in St. Paul M. E. Church near Kingstree, S. C. During the week I farm my own land and also run a licensed taxi service in town. I belong to the Free & Accepted Masons, to the Grand Order of Odd Fellows

and to the Joint Stock Society

It has been reported that I belong to the NAACP also.

FIRST, let me say to my white friends that I have never belonged to the NAACP and never expect to. I'm too free and happy praising God, working hard and living in the friendship of both races.

I ask you to show this to your colored friends.

Second, let me say to my colored brethren and sisters:

You are doing a lot of talking about White Citizens Councils. You say they are not like a bunch of young drunks whooping and hollering on a possum You say councils are springing up quiet as mushrooms in the night. And you say right. Those are smart, steady men and they mean business. They have told you there won't be any mixed schools hereabouts and I'm telling you you can depend on that. You can quit your secret worrying and fretting about mixed schools, for most of you don't want them any more than whites do. You just didn't know how to keep from having them.

I CAN SAY THIS to any Negro who has it sticking in his craw that he can't be happy without trying mixed schools. All you have to do to get your heart's desire is buy a ticket to Philly or other points north where they are already mixed. Nobody has to tell you that colored children don't learn books as fast as whites. But see

TO THE PEOPLE of Wil- for yourself how pitiful your big msburg County: colored children will look in the same grades with smaller white children. Have you got enough money to dress your brood in clothes they won't be ashamed of? Go ahead and try it if you must. But don't be fool enough to slam the door in your white friends' faces before you go. You might want to come back like I did after I had lived up there awhile.

How if you come home and find the door locked? Your old key won't be much good in a door fastened with a dozen ten-penny nails. Who is going to help you then? Will the NAACP give you a handout? Laugh, folks, laugh!

THE YEARS I lived in Philly and New York I made big money as a house painter, but money as a house painter, but it took it all to keep going. When finally came back home I hardly had one dime to rub against another. What did I do? I went to my white friends and got a job. Later, who lent me money to start farming? Who sold me seed and fertilizer and mules on credit? When dry weather ruined my crops, who let my debt ride till the next year? Who let me have groceries and clothes on credit when I needed them? When I was sick, who fed and clothed me free? Not the Red Cross, not the Welfare Department, not the NAA-CP, but my own white friends. I say God bless them and their seed.

Now don't take the notion that I'm talking against my own race. I am not. I'm trying with the help of God to lead my people right. I'm warning all you Negroes not to be misled by a few NAACP folks you see strutting their stuff in your community. Remember the old saying, "Give a calf enough rope and he will hang himself." Just keep an eye on the calves around you and you are apt to see a show turn into a circus.

If you are one of the calves,

cut the rope now. Come out into the open and throw your weight for equal but separate schools where Negro children can learn to take pride in their own racinstead of being ashamed of it.

Did you read in the papers about councils in other counties "exercising economic pressure?" Do you know what that means? I didn't either till I had it explained to me. In our kind of talk it means getting fired from a job or having your credit cut off. Be fair. If you were paying wages to a fellow and found he was doublecrossing you, what would you do? You would fire him so quick it would make his head swim. He would be lucky if he didn't get a kick in the pants for good measure. As for giving him credit, who? You?

IF YOU THINK the NAACP will get those lost jobs back, get somebody to explain the meaning of the news from Washington in the papers with big print in the top line saying, "Justice Department Lacking Interest in Economic Pressure.

Listen, my colored brethren and sisters: Come out into the open and tell the world it's equal schools you want, not mixed. If you are too bashful, get some-body else to speak for you. Get on the winning side while you can. Forget the NAACP and the Supreme Court before they forget you. How long do you think they are going to stay in a lather trying to force mixed schools in South Carolina with all the whites reared back on their hind legs saying, "We won't have them!" and threefourths the Negroes slipping around to whisper, "We don't want them!" Take an open stand with your white and colored friends so things can settle down.

Let's all work together again

on the program to build equal schools so your children can get a good education before they get gray-headed. Beg your Christian leaders to furnish you with good leadership. What this country needs is more Christian leaders on both sides who will teach their people to pray more and work toward friendship and peace and prosperity instead of mixing breeds against God's plan.

MY FRIENDS, let all the nitwit talking about mixing races go in one ear and out the other. It was God Almighty's plan to have a white race and a Negro race and when Gabriel blows his last trump, the two races will still be on earth to answer. The sprinkling of mixed breeds will only show that both races were human and sinful and standing in the need of prayer.

If I were a betting man I would bet you that you'll see the day before too long that North-

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Phillips Favors Gray Commission Stand on Schools

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General Assembly plans call for the introduction of only one bill—the one drafted by the Gray Commission. This would provide for the holding of a Statewide referendum on whether there should be a constitutional convention limited to the tuition grants question. Such a referendum would be held within 60 days on a date to be fixed by the Governor. Whether it laste two days

Neather Summary

Lincoln.)

n	Temperature		
28	High	Low	
7	60	45	cloudy
	52	35	clear
	46	29	clear
5	38	30	cloudy
3	42	28	clear
	60	26	clear
			A CONTRACT OF THE CONTRACT OF

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1. S. Weather Bureau Observer Bentley Futility, The Price Of Broadmindedness.

To the editors:

In last Thursday's Herald there is a reprinted article, published at the request of a nameless reader, evidently intended to influence public opinion against a recent decision of the Supreme Court requiring racial integration in public schools. Such reprinted or three stories through a sky articles, unless carefully balanced light, and live to tell the tale by articles representing an op- A rat is a good swimmer and posite view are, I think, con- can enter a building through sidered by readers as represent- water seals in the plumbing. ing the editorial policy of a When trying to burrow under a newspaper as distinguished from wall, a rat will dig to intersect signed articles and letters to the the wall face about 18 inches editor where the responsibility of below the ground level. As he contributors is beyond question. goes deeper along the wall, he

If this article was published will stop burrowing if he comes to oblige a reader and to maintain an open forum for the expression of divergent views, it futility as the price to be paid is suggested that another article, for broadmindedness. of equal length and force, favoring integration be published. This will demonstrate to readers that the article already published does not necessarily represent the -United Nations Charter, the editors are willing to accept PAGE 4

a 11/2 to 4 inch inside diameter. He can reach 13 inches vertically, so a reaching distance of 18 inches is used for ratproofing. A rat can jump 2 feet vertically from a standing position, and more than 3 feet with a short running start.

From a standing position, rat can jump 4 feet horizontally From a height of 15 feet he car jump 8 feet horizontally. He car enter a building by dropping two

Horace Truesdell Skyfields, Bluemont

PURCELLVILLE, VA. Thursday, November 24, 1955

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Whether or not he'll vote for the bill, Phillips said, depends on what form it finally takes.

But, he said, he is in favor of what the Governor's Gray Commission has been trying to do—prevent forced integration.

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Whether it lasts two days or 30, the special session probably will cost the taxpayers close to \$100,000. Members are entitled to a minimum of 30 days' pay at \$18 per day, or \$540. Other expenses for travel costs, printing, clerks, pages and similar personnel will run up the total.

Too Late To Classify

GIFTS. 1000 or more to select from. Come in and browse. Gap View Gift Shop, Route 340, D Harpers Ferry, W. Va. 11-23-5t

Letters To Editor

Segregated South Beats Integrated North Says Negro

Editor of Herald:

Do we want integration in Virginia? I have searched up and down in and out, pro and con, and I have not been able to find but one answer to this question. The answer is "No."

First, I want to say that I am a Negro and I am proud of it. I love my race, and I will still fight for anything and everything that will benefit my race.

I believe we should have equal work with equal pay. We should not be turned away from jobs on account of color. Lots of places could hire Negroes, both male and female, but they have not done this before, just haven't given it much thought, I guess. I would like very much to see this done, but I want it done on a voluntary basis. I believe it can be done to the great advantage of both races. But integration will hinder such a program. Here is just one of the reasons why integration will not work.

As I have said before I have lived in New York and Connecticut for a long time, where I don't think they ever had segregation in schools, and after all of this time the white and Negro children still have fights. Some of the mothers used to come to church to ask the minister to contact the principals of various schools to see if they (the principals) could do anything to prevent these fights, caused by name calling by both races. There is another reason I give you why integration is not the answer.

I have close friends in Connecticut that come from way down south and they send their children back down south to school. Why? Because a Negro child gets a better education under Negro teachers than they do under white teachers. In all of Connecticut I never saw a Negro teacher. I have friends who are teacher graduates from Yale University but they had to come South to teach. Some Negroes seem to think that in-tegration is a big gain for the Negro race in the South. I think equal schools and facilities in every way and retain our own teachers is far a much better gain for our people and our children than integration and losing our teachers.

Of course, according to the speaker that was supposed to be speaking for all of the Negro teachers in Virginia at the VTA convention in Richmond last month, all of the Negro teachers in Virginia wanted integration. Of course, that is not true, because I have contacted some of the teachers and they told me that they were not at the con-

vention, and had not been there at all when this statement was made. These teachers are not for integration. Now is the time for all of the Negro teachers that are opposed to integration to let themselves be heard. It certainly is not a crime for them to stand up and be counted.

We have by far better educated Negroes in the South than in the North. We have far more Negro businesses in the South and far more wealthy Negroes. Some of you who have lived up North or even just visited, stop for a mament and think how many of our people have you seen laying bricks, carpentering, electricians, plumbing. You can find all of these and lots of the other trades in practically every town and village in the South. Why is this not up North where they have every op-

portunity, so they say? One of the reasons is that a Negro tradesman can not get into the union. So it don't make any difference how much you know about a trade if you are not a union man you can't work on the job. And they won't take Negroes in the mines. I know because I was turned down on several occasions. I can and you can work at any of the trades down here if you have the know-how.

We have far more professional Negroes in the South. Our teachers have a high standard of preparation and understand our children better than they would a white teacher.

We even have far more working on the railroad sections in the South. A section gang in the North is about 99% white, all foreigners practically.

So I asked the parents of our children to consider their children's future. To think for themselves. This is your home, you are the ones who are going to live here with your neighbors. You are the ones to look for all there is to gain—for better schools, better education, better living and better relationship with your neighbors in your community.

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A Clergyman Speaks; Favors **Constitutional Amendment**

Editor, the Times-Dispatch:

The Times-Dispatch, in its issue of December 9, carried news story reporting the action of 26 clergymen in publishing a statement opposing the State school plan as proposed in the Gray Commission report, and urging as strongly as possible that the proposition to amend the Constitution of the State of Virginia be defeated in the referendum election that is to be held on January 9.

The first fact to be considered is that the action of the 24 clergymen (actually there were 24, not 26) is in no sense an official action of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. It is simply a statement adopted by clergy men of that church who belong to a voluntary clericus, which may include ministers in active work, retired ministers. parochial ministers, and even ministers from the city of Wash ington and having no connection at all with this State. Their names are not given: the simple fact is that out of some 60 or more clergymen of the Episcopal Church in that section of Northern Virginia, 24 are opposed to the amendment sufficiently to fight openly against it.

The great majority of the population of that rapidly growing section are not natives of Virginia, but are families of persons connected in some way with the United States government, or in public service. They have come from every section of the country. They know little or nothing of conditions within the State, and their sole right to vote arises from their present residence. The great majority of Episcopal clergymen in this section of Northern Virginia have also come from outside of the

Let us take the four objections and consider them one by one.

(1) "That the proposed plan of aiding pupils to attend private schools will weaken the whole public school system of the State."

In reply to that it must be stated most emphatically that the weakening of the public school system of Virginia has already been brought to pass by the fiat of the Supreme Court of the United States in breaking up in a moment a system which has been in existence for a great many years, and had been developed under prior decisions of the Supreme Court. The State had established and was developing as steadily as it could a system of separate schools for

And today the State is in des- sion to study the problem, and perate uncertainty because of a new and different plan which the Supreme Court assumed authority to order put into effect. The weakening is already manifest; and the State in all its educational interests is reeling under the thunderbolt blow of destruction, as we face the necessity of saving our own ideal of public instruction.

(2) "There are not enough private schools in existence at present.'

The answer is, "Of course not." Private schools, from the business standpoint, like all other forms of business, are based upon public demand. If a new system of private schools is to be the solution of our problem, the State, working through the General Assembly, must undoubtedly do what it can to develop the private schools into a strong and useful system. It will require brains and money to do this, but the people of the State are stirred to the core to prevent forcible integration where it is not desired; and members of the General Assembly will find the great majority of the people solidly behind them, and willing to pay for the saving of our sys_tem of education.

(3) "The purpose of the whole movement is to circumvent the

That is exactly what every Tory in the American colonies in 1776 said of the American Revolution. "The law of our sovereign," they said, "is our supreme law." And just as our forefathers resisted even to blood and to death the aggressions of King and Parliament upon their rights as free men, so it seems that the free people of today have the right to resist by all proper legal means a decision which they believe to be an unconstitutional assumption of authority by the Supreme Court. May God help us if we ever stop resisting such decisions.

(4) "That it is being rushed through without due time for consideration.

May one ask in all honesty just how much time is to be required to think about a danger so pressing as the one we face? It has been 18 months since the Supreme Court rendered its decision. Is not that time enough to produce action? The brethren in the Arlington-Fairfax area may have been dilatory in their thinking upon this subject, but the rest of the State has known for months that the Governor, in response to public demand, the white and the Negro children. had appointed the Gray Commiseveryone was waiting eagerly for its report.

Those who live in sections of Virginia where the Negro population is largest have grown up side by side with them and have formed many friendships among them. And a very great many white people have been interested through the past two generations in the development of the Negro race, and have worked to down old restrictions. break Virginians realize very clearly that the great hope of our future lies in the helping of each race to develop its own life according to its own genius. May God save us from becoming an integrated mongrel race.

Our very strong conviction based upon pride and love of our own race, as well as upon our friendship and interest in the Negro race, is that it would be clamitous in the utmost degree to the welfare and the future of the white race and of the Negro race to integrate our schools and force Negro children and white children, with their vastly differing ideas and concepts of life and conduct, to grow up in the close intimacy of the same schools. There is, therefore, a very strong determination that such integration shall not be forced upon people of either race.

The report of the Gray Commission has won general approval. Complaint has been made that it does not go into sufficient detail. But principles must be established first, and details will inevitably be worked out later. The General Assembly cannot give attention to details until the principles upon which a system of education can be built are settled.

The whole effort of the Gray Commission report is to work out a plan which will carry the decision of the Supreme Court into effect in a way which will be a help and not a hurt to the course of public education. The plan as outlined will make it possible for every county in the State to decide by vote of its own people whether they wish their schools to be integrated or not. Under that plan Fairfax and Arlington Counties and the cities of Alexandria and Falls Church may have their integrated schools if they wish, just as in common fairness and in conformity with the democratic ideal other counties and cities may have separate and private schools.

(REV.) G. MacLAREN BRYDON Richmond.