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motive Cover: This month's cover artist is Ann Willis, a professional commercial artist living in Pittsburgh, Pa. Ann has portrayed the tragic loneliness and rejection which are experienced by any person for whom segregation means discrimination, restriction, isolation—all the conditions that make for them a dehumanized existence. Ann's symbolic figure testifies to the separation that dominates in the climate of segregation.

SEGREGATION

There is no question but that the orneriest, most passion-ridden and tense problem of today is that of race.

One of the tokens of racism is segregation.

The Christian conscience cannot dodge the implications of the issue of segregation. They must be confronted. There is no other way.

To dodge the problems of tribalism by pretending it is not really there, or can work itself out without personal involvement is a futile kind of escapism. It would also seem to be an offense to true religion.

For we are advised that idolatry is grievous sin. To worship at the false shrine of segregation is sinful indeed.

This special "segregation" issue of *motive* at least attempts to meet the issue. The meeting is partial and tentative, and much of what we speak about is already past and ready to be forgotten.

Nor are we fair. We must admit it. We focus only upon the South, while anti-Semitism in Chicago bleeds its victims and Montana scorns its Indians while New York . . . well, we know it has not regained Paradise. Nevertheless the South is unique, at least for America. And the dilemma of the American democratic conscience is most acutely dramatized in the South.

So, while we know that all the rest of us are sinners too (maybe worse sinners for our prideful kind of self-righteousness when we talk about segregation), we pretty much limit ourselves to a hop-skip-and-jump scanning of segregation today—mostly in the South.

—ROGER ORTMAYER

by Marianne Smith Fink

i'll bet my money on a bob-tail nag

I want my children to grow up in the South. . . .
I want them to love the South, in all its variety of land and
people. . . .
A great day is coming for the South, just as soon as it can
straighten out. . . .

The author is director of Christian Education at Fairlington Methodist Church, Alexandria, Virginia. She was born and reared in the "Deep South" and is the niece of famed Lillian Smith, author of *Strange Fruit*, and other books on race problems in the South.

THERE are not many tall white columns in my memory. The porches I knew best in my growing-up years were set with homely rockers and low-hung porch swings, almost hidden in the restful green shade of wisteria and "pink-vine." They belonged to small-town houses, for the most part, whose livingrooms still cherished the faded old settees and the dark-flowered carpets of another age.

It was in this kind of gracious home that we, as children, gave our "tea parties" with all the protocol of the hostesses we had watched give theirs. While our mothers chatted, we "hide-and-seekers" got acquainted with the

closets in those houses where there were nooks big enough to stand in or funny little passageways to crawl through, and those where Christmas presents were stealthily tucked away ahead of time. I still know which shelves in their kitchens keep the secrets of pecan crescents or sugar cakes that melt in your mouth, or the pans for baking hot, flaky cheese biscuits, onion souffle, or chicken pilau. . . .

There were dusty red-clay roads in my childhood, where masses of Rambler roses and honeysuckle tangled together down the half-wild banks of neighboring yards; many of them now have been shaven and paved into the wide city streets or smooth interurban

highways. There were swampy places just on the end of town, whose thousand night sounds were for me the bridge that turns waking into sleeping. And there was the familiar rhythm of wind shushing the pine trees to sleep, or of an old lullaby or an everyday folk-phrase, things that now can open up inside me a bookful of memories and charming people.

Go to sleep, my litta baby,
'Fore the boogah-man git choo . . .

When you wake,
Have a sugah cake . . .
An' all the purty litta ponies.

When I sometimes wake up at dawn

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to the song of an early mockingbird and almost expect to find the high ceilings and long, low windows of rooms where I awoke many years ago, I know this will always, to me, be home.

YET I was not very old when I began to realize that in this beloved place there was bad among the good, wrong sitting next to the so-much right, and hard evil intertwined with the soft beautiful.

I have a vivid memory of one Saturday afternoon, nearly twenty years ago. It was evening, and a bent old Negro man was making his way in a mule-drawn wagon through the town, back out to his home in the country, I suppose. He had in the wagon a sack of meal, about twenty-five pounds, which I am sure was the exchange for most of his month's cash, "providence" for much of the month to come. The sack had met with misfortune, however, and a rip in one end was forming a spout out of which ran the meal in a slow, steady yellow stream down the street behind him.

As a child in those days of Depression, it hurt to see such tragedy occurring right in front of my eyes. The streets were lined with the usual Saturday crowds of people, so I turned to those nearby to watch for a rescue. But if the sight of a man's food wasting down the street unawares was a tragedy, it was nothing compared to the dawning truth that filled me then. For some of the adults on the scene were staring, some were giggling and pointing, a few slapping their hams at the sight of a poor old man who would not know until he reached home that his trip to town had been useless.

And yet, in those same years of Depression, I can remember how generously folks in my town responded to the desperate needs of those who were being crushed by the weight of a falling economy. Every few nights one radio station announced case after case of families in town, white and colored, who needed fuel or milk, clothing or medicine, or shoes for the children to wear to school; and before the program went off the air, almost

every need had been met by a phone call from someone offering help.

In that town there is a good Negro hospital, built there by white church people. It was one of the first institutions in the South to provide an opportunity for young Negro men and women to enter the medical profession and to give them a place to train and to practice. Yet it was in the general hospital of that same city that my uncle one day held in his arms an injured truck driver, and while attendants were deciding if they should accept this patient, whose skin was not white, the man's life-blood ran down my uncle's trousers and onto the pavement, until it was too late.

INCIDENTS like these are known all over the South. The intermingled emotions of sympathy and intolerance, the conflict between human benevolence and inhuman prejudice, the mutual concern and affection which are genuine between the two races but which are obviously contradicted on every street corner—all have been part of living in the South.

It has roots that go deep and spread far. The merging of two families long known to Georgia and Florida brought my sisters and me into existence, furnishing us at the same time with innumerable cousins, and stretching back beyond five generations on this soil. It was from their hearty pioneering and the work that new lands require; from the discipline, the gracious ways, and the ornery pride of those of them who sacrificed much for education and cultural achievements; from the suffering that came when civil war brought destruction to some of their land and much of their way of living, and took even more from their neighbors; it was from their deep religious faith, their prejudices, their folk-lullabies and their wonderful sense of humor—it was from all this that my generation came.

Go tell aunt Nancy,
Go tell aunt Nancy,
Go tell aunt Nancy,

The old grey goose is dead.

Feelings and beliefs had grown up

through a century and a half, as tangled as the brambles that cover many an eroded wayside ditch with their tapestry of blossoms. We were taught at school that, in a democracy, all citizens have certain rights guaranteed to them; and yet it was evident in our town that some did not. We were taught in Sunday school that "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you . . .," but our Sunday school teacher would not have stood up in a crowded streetcar to give a tired scrubwoman a seat. Nor would the women of our church have invited their colored sisters-in-the-faith to their comfortable missionary society meetings—not in those days anyhow.

I was still young when I decided that, for myself, I would not be that way. I made up my mind that the South could do better than it was doing in the way of human relations; and I pledged my conscience that, for my own part, decisions which affect the good of land and people should be based on the familiar democratic principle that *all* men—white or colored, wealthy or poor, with or without social prestige—are of equal value to their Creator and have been endowed by him with certain, *very* certain, inalienable rights. And there must have been hundreds like me down here who were deciding the same thing.

THOSE were the growing-up years, when we were afraid to say out loud what we believed about such things, and kept our fingers crossed that the subject would come up at family gatherings. If it should, and the green sheets of our beliefs be uncovered, some older cousin or aunt or visitor would likely say to my parents, "You know what all that will come to. . . . Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" And we wouldn't know how to answer. It is asked, not to get an answer, but to end all discussion. And we who were still pretty young didn't know how to meet it.

Not that we had any intention of marrying a Negro. Not that we had any objection to marrying a Negro, should he be the man any of us felt she could live with and love better than any other. That is a choice any

woman should be allowed to make for herself; and the question was inconceivably rude and unnecessary, since none of us had been asked by a Negro to marry him. Frankly, it made us furious that it could come from one of our kin. We knew our parents would be wise enough to leave such a decision, should it ever arise, up to us and to the training they had given us in those things which make a good marriage and a happy home. But we just didn't know what to say. So usually one of them would come to our rescue and say it for us.

Then nobody would say anything, just sit in the hot summer night—some of us rocking in tense silence, some slapping mosquitoes noisily—because the deepest feelings of those gathered on the dark porch would not possibly harmonize on that note.

Go to sleep, my litta baby,
'Fore the boogah-man git choo. . .

THEN came the years of trying out new freedoms away from home, and some of us became outright rebels. We wrote heated editorials for the college paper and picketed the university president when he curtailed interracial projects which had been carried on between student groups for years. We canceled our inherited membership in the U.D.C. and the D.A.R. because of their attitudes toward other races and nationalities. We lost all patience and got indecently furious at the rantings of Southern politicians who kept dragging the best virtues of the South through any slough of mud to get votes. We wrote letters hoping they would get published, brought up the subject in public whenever we could, delighted in shocking followers of the "Old Guard" with our conversation (which now sounds mild and unnecessary), and exulted wildly when some group would come out with a statement against discrimination or a proposition for interracial cooperation.

And those statements came.
So did the changes.

While I was in college, students in the southeastern region of the Y.W.C.A. got to the point where they

refused to have any segregated conferences on their beautiful conference-ground at Blue Ridge, North Carolina. Groups of the Methodist Youth Fellowship in several Southern States were passing resolution after resolution asking their elders in the church to abolish enforced segregation among Methodist groups. Students in some graduate schools and colleges petitioned the trustees of their universities to open their facilities to all qualified applicants, regardless of race; a few Southern universities did. Schoolteachers and college professors in almost every branch of education were working in mixed-racial groups on problems of mutual interest. In Jacksonville, Florida, I belonged to a city-wide council of young people which was both interdenominational and interracial, and one year we chose a Negro high-school senior to be our president; and the Southern Sociological Society elected Dr. Charles Johnson, outstanding Negro sociologist and now president of Fisk University, to be theirs.

It was during those years that boys from every state were working alongside other Americans of different racial and religious backgrounds, and more than one serviceman wrote home hoping the folks at home would do as well.

My home city elected its first Negro educator to the Board of Public Instruction, and another town nearby put Negro policemen on its local force and, despite ominous predictions, it proved an excellent idea. I can remember my first time riding on a train where the diner was opened to Negro passengers without the necessity of screens, and it was in the South. The Knoxville and Nashville City Councils lifted segregation bans in their municipal airport restaurants. Professional baseball leagues began to open their teams to Negro players and were glad to get them. Sermons were being preached by some ministers of almost every denomination in the South on the verse "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" with specific reference to race relations; and Catholics were putting it into practice, as one parochial school after another was opened

to students of both races. And interracial projects in city and in country, some of which had been going on quietly for years, began to gain new respectability and wider acceptance, as their worth was proven.

Not much of this was spectacular, but it was happening. In Stephen Foster's song "De Camptown Races"—which we call "Doodah"—there is an old bob-tail nag. He is almost like a homely virtue, one that might be found anywhere except on a racetrack! Yet there he was, in the midst of sleek black "hosses," grey mares, and a great big bay; and as the race gained pace, the others one after another flew the track or got hopelessly stuck in a big mud hole. That old bob-tail nag won the race because he was on the right track, and because he kept on going.

Gwine to run all night,
Gwine to run all day.
I'll bet my money on a bob-tail nag—
Somebody bet on the bay.

IT was at a Y.W.C.A. conference held at Daytona Beach that I had my first experience in a mixed-racial group. There a group of girls, Negro and white, all college students and bound together by a common intent to live as Christians, met together, talked together, and ate together. Nobody forced any of us to attend that conference; we were not pressured into eating together; we were not the victims of subversive agents or rabble-rousing agitators. So far as I know, all of us went there to discuss mutual interests, to work together on projects which concern all college campuses, and to benefit from that kind of sharing. We were Christians living and working together in a democracy—and that is a wonderful thing.

That was in 1941. Since then I have been in many such groups and have many such friends, but nothing has been more convincing to me of the good that can come from interracial cooperation than that experience. From that week end on, there has never been the slightest doubt in my mind that such a sharing between races in the South is *not only possible*

motive

without friction, without court orders, without condescension and other disguised contradictions, but is *the sincere desire* of hundreds of Southerners like myself.

• • • • •

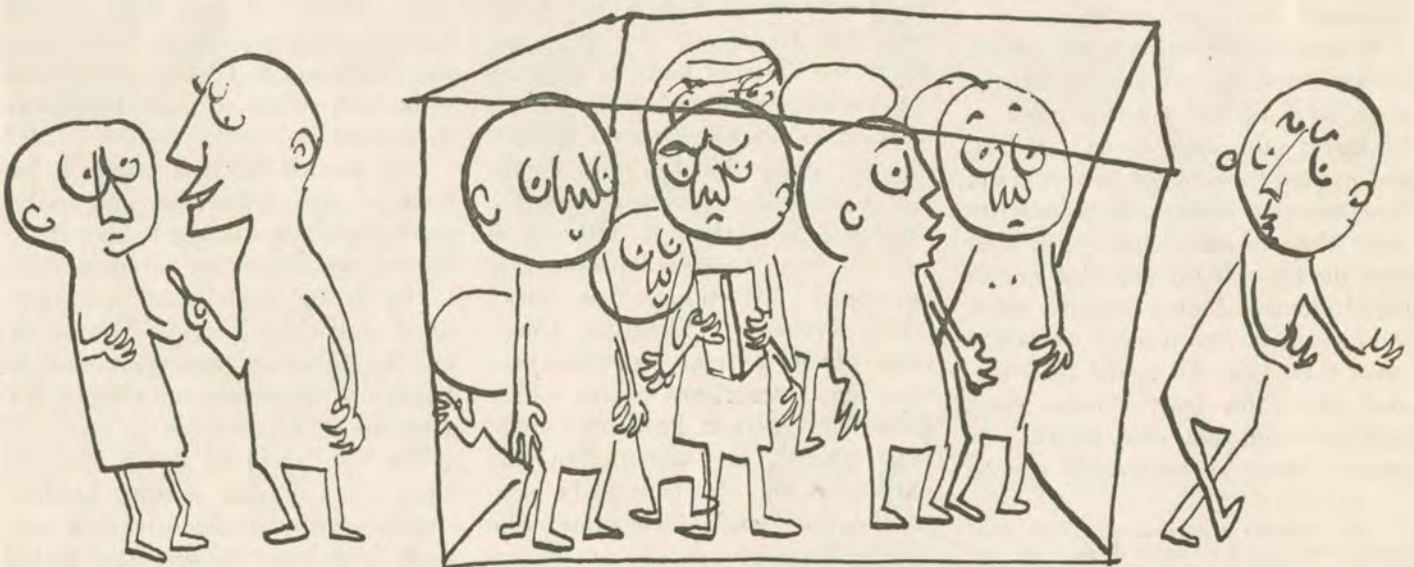
I want my children to grow up in the South. I want them to know the gracious customs of entertaining and the recipes for poundcake and squash souffle that are part of its tradition. I want them to spend more than one night sleeping out in the north Georgia mountains, where sometimes the summer air is balmy enough to require no cover, and let the peace and enchantment of its thousand night sounds dwell deeply within their personalities. I want them to be glad of what their family has done to make their region and their world a better place, but not with the kind of pride that destroys that same spirit within another person. I want them always to

see the South as a part of a much larger community—the world—and, if they choose to live and work here, to make its part an enriching, heartening, and peace-provoking contribution, being also willing to take from other regions of the earth their proffered gifts and to enjoy them. I want them to love the South, in all its variety of land and people, with its fragrant magnolias and its skunk cabbage, its broiled quail and its smoked cornbread, its droll mountain dialect and its Cajun melodies, its smelly courthouses and its ultramodern landscaped factories.

The smelly rest rooms of fifty years ago are going out. The brass spittoons and the tuberculosis-breeding filth are going out. The “nigger” jokes so popular among groups of men twenty-five years ago, and repeated with giggles among the girls, are going. Segregation is going.

A great day is coming for the South, just as soon as it can straighten out its crazy-patch of feelings and get to where every person living on its soil has at least a chance to breathe deeply and to sleep securely at night. For the South at this moment has a combination of old and new that have met in our generation—the richness of traditions that are good combined with the daring to pioneer for something better; the gentleness toward one's kin and the hospitality to guests which can now be shared with all friends, black or white; the physical and human resources which now can be coupled with several million more educated citizens, whose race has been waiting the chance to enrich our culture with their ideas and talents—

I'll bet my money on a bob-tail nag . . .
Somebody bet on the bay.



They are happier in their own society.

GOD

"Segregation is not a new philosophy generated by the states which practice it. When God created man he allotted each race to his own continent according to color—Europe to the white man, Asia to the yellow man, Africa to the black man, and America to the red man.

MOVES IN A MYSTERIOUS WAY

by Herbert Hackett* Department of English, University of Utah

"But now we are advised God was in error and must be reversed. The dove and the quail, the turkey and the turkey buzzard, chicken and guinea . . . are segregated. Segregation is a natural process as evidenced in churches, residential areas and other aspects. There is no agitation for a change."

Justice Glenn C. Terrell, Florida Supreme Court

I WASN'T there but I have it from the most impeccable authority that God created man in his own image and woman as an afterthought. There are some contradictions in this story but I will ignore them in favor of my own biases, which have always proved infallible.

It is obvious that since we are told that God made man in his own image that he made man white, God being an old white man in a long beard. If further proof were needed, we have only to look at the pictures of Mary and the Christ-child, both white though only Italian. Christ grew into a nice Nordic-type man with long blonde hair, a nice straight nose and dreamy blue eyes. I appreciate this since this is the way I look myself, except for the long hair which is old-fashioned.

Adam and Eve were created naked, but since this was immoral God made them wear clothes, aprons, pants or fig leaves (the story varies). If God had wanted them naked he would not have invented clothes. He wanted to cover them in certain places, at least from the knees to the neck, but not, as the Moslems and other heathens insist, the face. If he had wanted women to cover their faces he would have created them this way. Women need more covering than men, for obvious reasons, since an uncovered woman

puts bad ideas in the minds of innocent men and growing boys.

God created men to walk, but this is different; this was before the age of mass production, and cars were unknown. Certain savage people, Hindus for example, have resisted mechanization, but this is blasphemy since God believed in enterprise, forcing Adam to live by the sweat of his brow and working with Ford to develop the production line. As we look at history we find proof that the greatest nation is the United States which is great because of enterprise.

If God had wanted to make men equal he would have made them so, but he didn't since equality would eliminate opportunity, which is the thing that makes progress possible. If men were equal who would know who was responsible for progress? There are different kinds of progress—the Jews discovered that there is one God and the Greeks wrote philosophy and plays—but the most important is economic progress since the greatest nations show it. After all, it was not some backward people who developed advertising, but good, white, Protestant, Christian Americans. (There is some repetition here since good Americans means white-Protestant-Christian. Probably Republican should be added, but the purpose of this article is to be non-controversial and, Democrats who otherwise qualify, should not be excluded absolutely.)

GOD put bad people on the earth so we could tell who the good people were; the bad he called radicals. These people try to fluorinate our water, try to educate people, try to make peace by working with foreigners—all in the face of the fact that if God had wanted these things he would have provided for them. For example, if he had wanted us to live with Hottentots he would have had them live with us as neighbors; it is obvious that he did not since he won't even let them buy houses in our neighborhood.

But God knew that some of us, especially children, would have a hard time knowing good from bad, and so he made some people of different colors and gave them different tongues and dressed them differently so we would know who was who. In the Garden Adam and Eve spoke English, but God found that Adam couldn't tell right from wrong so made foreigners to help Adam.

God wanted the best people to be baptized with immersion and so he made them Baptists, but in his infinite wisdom he allowed for variation since in his house were many mansions; some people, for example Methodists and Presbyterians, were permitted to baptize by sprinkling and thereby get some degree of salvation.

The wisdom of all this is obvious, since I am a man, wearing clothes, striving for progress, driving a car, white with beautiful blue eyes and a straight nose . . . and a Baptist.

* To *motive's* contributing editor, Herbert Hackett, must go much of the credit for helping organize the segregation material in this issue of *motive*.

race relations --- a case study dilemma

by James Thomas, Staff Member,
Methodist Board of Education

FOR many years preceding the Supreme Court decision on public-school segregation, Orangeburg was generally known as one of South Carolina's best cities. This rating was, of course, relative, being based on patterns of behavior which avoided the worst of the segregated framework. Nevertheless, no resident of Orangeburg in the middle 1920's and 1930's was unaware of the pride which both whites and Negroes took in what was called "a good town."

Few citizens take time to list the reasons why a town is "good." Murders are sure material for newspapers, quiet expressions of friendship are almost never good news stories. Yet, in spite of some later disillusionment, I remember, as a boy, seeing white and Negro men in Orangeburg, unashamedly greeting each other as friends. Somehow this stands out against the dark background of the present pattern in Orangeburg's race relations.

Whatever the sentiment of a former resident, it is a fact that Orangeburg was and is the home of two Negro colleges. There is, then, an unusually large percentage of resident professional Negroes. This, ironically, is both a part of the explanation for yesterday's sentiment and today's dilemma in race relations. Communication between groups in Orangeburg has been generally good. Violence was rare. Family life was dignified and stable. It was a city which was little noted for the out-migration of Negroes.

THE Orangeburg of the present makes the above description sound like pure sentiment. It is convenient, these days, to date social events by the Supreme Court decision. Actually, no such fixed date can nail down the constant ebb and flow of social process. In any case, May 17, 1954, is a better date than another less significant. Let us then begin with May 18, 1954, and follow the sequence of events in Orangeburg.

Not long after the Supreme Court decision there was the apprehension of white South Carolinians concerning the next steps of Negroes. It was not long before parents signed petitions for in-

tegrated schools. In rapid succession, the following events transpired:

1. An Orangeburg Citizens Council was formed and a large mass meeting was held.
2. Suggestions were made to "sensible Negroes" not to follow the radicals, the rabble rousers.
3. These failing, several Negroes lost jobs, ostensibly for incompetence; others simply became "examples."
4. Economic pressure, in the form of cancelled accounts and mortgages, was exerted. In addition, some petition-signing Negro retailers were refused such basic products as bread, soft drinks, and milk. Mysteriously, the delivery of milk was stopped at the home of a chronically ill Negro boy.

Response was not lacking from the Negro community. Since Orangeburg is within fifty miles of Clarendon County, Negro residents seemed to develop a strong sense of mission regarding integration. The response took the following form:

BY grapevine and meetings, there developed a high degree of cohesion in the Negro community. Negroes began to boycott the stores and products of white businessmen who used economic pressure.

The NAACP, always a strong force in South Carolina Negro life, was revitalized to meet threats to security.

A white state legislator, disgusted with "radical Negroes," threatened to offer a bill calling for an investigation of South Carolina College for Negroes.

This, of course, is only a bare outline of the situation which has grown tense in the city of Orangeburg. So far it is safe to say that communication between Negroes and whites has broken down. How, it may be asked, can a city of such good race relations in the past become so tension-ridden in less than eighteen months? The answer is more basic than a paragraph can cover. Some things, however, should be said in the interest of future soundness in race relations.

HOW should the Christian look upon the situation described above? First, realism demands the statement that this situation did not arise primarily because segregation is being challenged, but precisely because segregation has become incompatible, in practice, with America's position in the world and with the Christian ideal. The groups, so long separate, now see the folly of claiming how well they know each other. Good race relations, which once meant control, mean little in a day when mutual respect alone can be a proper basis of communication.

Second, as dark as the picture seems, we must never lose faith in the Christian spirit to resolve such difficulties. It is still possible for Christian men of good will to free themselves of the concept of security and control and to act on the basis of what God wills for this age. All the analyses in the world cannot take from the Christian gospel this thought: This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.



between resolution and action

The members of Christian churches have always had a hard time making Sunday confession jibe with weekday doings. It has not been long since churches in the South were busy making hopeful resolutions; now it is time for action, and. . .

THE current debates over the efforts to circumvent or to implement the Supreme Court decision on racial segregation highlight anew an ancient problem. It is the difficulty of bridging the awesome gap between resolution and action.

It is not a new problem but the perennial one of trying to move from mere lip service to the ideal of religion to the actual mature incorporation of its faith in one's own life and that of his society. Paul, wrestling in his own spirit, could declare, "I do not do what I want, but I do the very thing I hate." And a sensitive religious spirit like Augustine describes the agonizing torment he endured: "I was on the point of the resolve. I all but did it, yet I did not do it. And I made another effort, and almost succeeded, yet I did not reach it, and did not grasp it, hesitating to die to death, and live to life. . . ." In another place he describes the plight of the soul, "I was afraid thou wouldst hear me too soon, and heal me at once of my disease of lust, which I wished to satiate rather than to see extinguished."

Without the comforts and the insights of either Paul or Augustine, the religious South struggles between resolution and action. For those who know the South the resolution stage came surprisingly easy. Shortly after the Supreme Court decision, religious groups of varying degrees of authoritarianism and of varying shades of opinion rushed to produce resolutions which, for the most part, reflected candid religious opinion of a high calibre.

CATHOLICS, representing an authoritarian group, expressed a desire to comply. From places like Oklahoma City; Austin, Texas; Nashville, Tennessee; Little Rock, Arkansas; Raleigh, North Carolina, came not only resolutions of support but even efforts to integrate the races in the Parochial schools. Even from the deep South the Catholic School Board of New Orleans called the decision of the Court "fully in accord with the principle of democracy," and urged Catholics to work "to the end that a practical implementation of the decision may be successfully and charitably effected."

At the other pole of authority, the Southern Baptists who pride themselves on the autonomy of the local congregation had their messengers from all over the South in the Southern Baptist Convention endorse the Court's ruling.

In between these extremes of authority in religion, came

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by Edwin Brock

equally enthusiastic endorsement from groups like the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, the Methodists.

The author of this article was one of those who worked on the draft of a statement endorsed by the Louisiana Conference of The Methodist Church. Those who worked on the resolution were surprised to find that only one voice of opposition was raised against it on the floor of the conference. The task of getting verbal support of the Court's decision from church people seemed almost too easy.

Indeed, that is part of the current difficulty in the South. Southerners have been able to effect an illogical but nonetheless real division between their assertions in the name of religion and their actions as citizens of a region with deeply rooted prejudices, an overly keen color consciousness, and an uncritical self-righteousness about their behavior toward Negroes. This pattern of difficulty with resolution and action tends to run a scale from easy to difficult adjustment that coincides roughly with the distance one penetrates the South. The border states seemingly have had less difficulty at this point than have the more incorrigible rebels like South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

The Catholics, for example, have made good strides toward bridging the resolution-action gap in states like North Carolina, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and even Arkansas. But in Louisiana their action which began promisingly has become embarrassingly slow and confused. Archbishop Rummell shortly after the Court's decision gave promise of effecting a rapid integration in the Parochial schools at least in South Louisiana where Catholicism is stronger. But public reaction, the deep-rooted traditions of the South, a prudent concern for maintaining interest in the Parochial schools, and the crowded conditions of the Parochial schools themselves have made him postpone integration until September of 1956.

THE Baptists have had their inconsistencies too. The Macon, Georgia, Baptist Association, following the sentiment of the Southern Baptist Convention recommended an "acceptance of the fact" of the decision regarding desegregation. On the other hand, Dr. William Frazier, a Baptist minister in Fort Worth, Texas, deplored "the brainwashing of the World Council of Churches that caused the Council to fight against racial segregation." The Missionary Baptist

motive

Association of Texas also denounced the efforts at desegregation saying that it "would inevitably lead to the fusion, union, and amalgamation of the races into a hybrid monstrosity that would defy the word and will of God."

The Presbyterians made a forthright call to open their churches and their schools to Negroes. But the Synod of Mississippi, on the other hand, rejected the proposal and called for the General Assembly to rescind its action.

The Methodists too have had their difficulties. In the fall of 1954 the Methodist bishops meeting as a council called on all Methodists "to provide leadership during this period in support of the principles involved in the action of the Court." With encouraging candor they affirmed, "We accept this responsibility." But the unanimity was far from real. Bishop Clare Purcell, upon returning to Birmingham, issued a statement to the press to the effect that the nine bishops of the Southeastern Jurisdiction did not concur in the statement. In other words, the region most directly affected was not going to assume the leadership which admittedly is desperately needed in the days of adjustment ahead.

IN addition, Methodism in the South has been plagued by another debate which is an outgrowth of the desegregation issue. Sentiment has been growing in The Methodist Church for the removal of the Central Jurisdiction—an expediency developed at the union of the churches to group Methodist Negroes in a segregated jurisdiction within the church. Against this move there has arisen an Association of Methodist Ministers and Laymen to oppose the efforts of the church "to break down long-established racial customs." They opposed the use of Methodist literature "as channels of propaganda looking toward integration." All efforts to "liberalize" the racial pattern in Methodist churches, schools and organizations they vigorously opposed. Throughout Methodism during this past year Memorials have been adopted looking toward the General Conference of the church in 1956. Many of these Memorials are dealing with the issue of the Central Jurisdiction. Generally speaking, the Northern, Western, and Eastern Jurisdictions favor an elimination of the Central Jurisdiction. The southern conferences generally call for its retention.

The dilemma of the South is highlighted in other developments. Five woman auxiliaries of the Protestant Episcopal church in South Carolina saw the threat of integration as a plan of the Communist Party and declared, "it is our duty to see that those in high office in our Government are not influenced by communist doctrine . . . [we will do] all in our power to continue segregation in both our schools and our churches."

Rev. Albert S. Thomas, a prominent churchman of South Carolina could write in *The Living Church*, "when we plan to facilitate and expedite the amalgamation of the Negro race with other races, we are verily frustrating a great purpose of God."

IN some areas of the South, however, there have been genuine demonstrations that there is some encouraging awareness that there is a bridge between resolution and action. When Bryant Bowles, president of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, went to Milford, Delaware, to carry on his agitations, he found Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Catholics, Jews and Unitarians united in an open and bold attack upon him.

Student movements in the South have likewise been moving for several years toward integrated programs on a state level. State conferences have been biracial in several areas of the South. With the Supreme Court decisions affecting higher education and the coming of Negroes to the uni-

versity campuses Wesley Foundations have quietly assimilated them in the foundation programs on the campus.

Numerous ministerial associations in the South have begun to open their doors to Negro ministers in their communities. The St. Petersburg, Florida, Ministerial Association, for example, admitted Negro clergymen "to increase understanding among leaders of both races, thereby easing tensions which might arise in the years ahead when segregation is slowly abolished."

Many church-related colleges have voluntarily welcomed Negroes to their campuses. Schools as diverse and as widely separated as the Presbyterian Seminary at Decatur, Georgia, the Baptist Seminary and Loyola University both in New Orleans, Louisiana, and Southern Methodist in Dallas as well as others have joined the growing ranks of those who see the need of the church's assuming a place of leadership in the South.

Others seem quietly hopeful that the storms of integration will not blow their way. The mantle of leadership they have casually permitted to slip from their shoulders.

The Methodist Woman's Societies of Christian Service have voiced courageous opinions in some areas but in others have shown a hesitant reluctance to embrace an ideal of Christian brotherhood. In Georgia the Society of the North Georgia Conference through its executive board attacked a state-supported plan to abolish the public school if necessary to maintain segregation. In part the board said, "Ours is a nation founded on respect for law and the courts. Attempts to defy or evade the law of the land attack the very foundations of our republic. Such subterfuges have not succeeded in the past and are unworthy of a great state and a great people." In other areas the efforts have seemed questionable. The Society in Mullins, South Carolina, passed resolutions disapproving a national endorsed policy of integration.

INDIVIDUAL ministers in the South have distinguished themselves by their courageous stands, many times completely unsupported by their church organizations which have passed resolutions that these individuals have sought to put into effect.

Rev. Guy Lemeiux, S. J., a professor at Loyola University in New Orleans, has said in a public address, "I find segregation both in principle and practice . . . impractical."

Rev. John V. Murray, Jr., was transferred from his Methodist charge in South Carolina for his part in a resolution criticizing pro-segregation Citizens Councils.

When the Wesley Foundation at the University of Florida endorsed a petition for immediate admission of Negroes to the campus, a lay board of the Monticello Methodist Church called for the dismissal of the director of the Wesley Foundation—Rev. Thaxton Springfield.

In a debate in the Mississippi Conference over a memorial to the General Conference asking that it retain the all-Negro Central Jurisdiction only two votes were cast in opposition. One was by Dr. Henry Bullock, the editor of Methodist Sunday school publications. The other came from Rev. Roy DeLamotte who was seeking to enter the Mississippi Conference. When the appointments were read, he was left without a pulpit because no church could be found for such an ardent advocate of integration.

It is too early to map with any certainty a pattern of action in the South as the churches face what may be called now even more than in the past the ominous assurance of integration in the not too distant future. But the churches seem to be wandering today without a clear-cut aim or a vigorous and clear-sighted Moses in the vast arid desert between enthusiastic though at times misguided resolution on the one hand and candid and fearless Christian action on the other hand.

SOURCE

"The Church has long preached the Gospel of all men as creatures of God regardless of their color or national origin," declared Dr. Jerald C. Brauer, dean of the Federated Theological Faculties at the University of Chicago. "Her message has proclaimed the responsibility of men to God and to each other through a just society. Thus when the Church sees exploited peoples seeking new forms of society that attempt to move toward justice and freedom she dare not oppose. She must seek to give understanding and guidance."

Julius Gecau, a native of Kenya, a graduate student at the University of Chicago, declared, "Africans are in revolt, not against white society, but rather against paternalism, racialism, economic and political domination by a small white minority."

"Mau Mau (Kenya terrorist movement) is only a mild protest compared with what may occur in Kenya unless this revolution is accepted as a genuine effort by those who are denied any channel of self-expression to secure rights, dignities, freedoms and opportunities which go along with acceptance of democratic ideas," he said.

On the same theme the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, a clergyman of the Congregational Christian Churches in Southern Rhodesia, warned that when the church builds on racial segregation it builds on "very rotten foundations."

"Africans are demanding first-class citizenship," he declared, and the church or any other institution which bases its actions on racial segregation is practicing the idea of "hate ye one another."

The other side of the picture was presented in a defense of the policy of apartheid—racial segregation—in the Union of South Africa by delegate Leon Malan. A South African student studying at the University of Chicago, he said the policy gives African natives a chance to develop "within their own sphere." Educational materials for natives are in no way inferior to that provided for whites, but "simply a little different," he declared. He added that he felt the picture in South Africa has been "misrepresented" in the United States and the white minority there is "trying to take into consideration the views of the native majority, but has found it nearly impossible to form contact with native intellectual leaders."

Another speaker, the Rev. Richard Shaull, general secretary of the Brazilian Student Christian Movement, expressed belief that the Christian church was America's "most segregated" institution. To break down barriers, he declared, Christians "must be ready to see the

traditional forms of society disintegrate in favor of new forms as God's will is worked out in history."

—from the quadrennial conference of the Student Volunteer Movement, meeting at Athens, Ohio, Dec. 27-Jan. 1.

The Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., told the Senate subcommittee on immigration that all discrimination based on race or color should be stricken from current U. S. immigration laws.

Speaking on behalf of the 30-community organization he heads, the Protestant spokesman said removal of discriminatory provisions "would be in accord with the spirit of the United Nations Charter, to which our country is a party, and with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, to which we are a signatory."

Testifying at the opening session of the subcommittee, under chairmanship of Senator Harley M. Kilgore (D., W. Va.), Dr. Blake stressed three major principles on immigration practices which have been established in past pronouncements of the National Council of Churches.

In addition to its stand against race or color discrimination, he said the National Council of Churches believes existing laws should also be changed to:

(1) Make the quota system "more flexible" and thus "ensure skills needed in our country and to offer asylum to persecuted victims of totalitarian regimes or victims of national calamity"—regardless of national origin of the prospective immigrants.

(2) Establish a system of fair hearings

and appeals respecting issuance of visas and deportation proceedings.

The National Council of Churches is comprised of 30 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox church communions which embrace 35,874,601 members in the United States. In his testimony Dr. Blake, a Philadelphian who is also stated clerk (top administrative officer) of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., referred to the official position the National Council adopted in a pronouncement of its governing General Board, March 21, 1952, and reaffirmed in a second pronouncement, October 6, 1955.

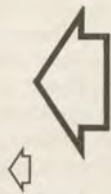
"Summarizing the Council's position on the issue," he declared, "at a time when the United States is striving to strengthen its own traditions and institutions of democratic freedom and its ties of comradeship with the freedom-loving peoples of the earth, we believe that Congress should seek to bring out immigration and naturalization legislation into conformity with those principles of justice and fair play which are so essential to the achieving of a just and durable peace."

Southern colleges and universities have been integrating white and Negro students in a "quiet revolution" since 1948, an educator, Guy D. Johnson, sociology professor from the University of North Carolina, said.

Integration at the top educational levels has been progressing rapidly in comparison to that in Southern elementary and secondary public schools.

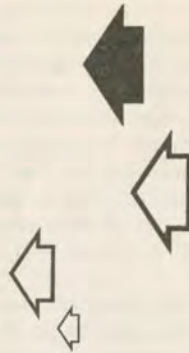
More than 1,000 Negroes are now studying in public institutions of higher learning, Johnson stated, and an equal number are enrolled in church and private institutions.





SEGREGATION CASES

LOOKING BACKWARD



by Sanford H. Kadish and Carl Prince

While the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and the victory of the North in the War Between the States banished slavery, equality between the races was not established, even before the law. So the law has had to be interpreted, and the direction seems to that of equality.

Sanford H. Kadish is a professor of law at the University of Utah. Carl Prince is a law student at the same institution.

THE 1954 decision of the Supreme Court invalidating compulsory segregation of public-school children (*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)), derives its greatest significance from its expected impact upon the future of race relations in the United States. It is not unreasonable, therefore, that the major concern with this decision is what it will mean for future generations of children freed of the effects of this form of discrimination, how this condition will eventually be achieved in practice and how long it will take to achieve it. Yet another dimension of this decision which warrants consideration is of history; for it is not likely that we can fully understand a legal and social phenomenon of this order and even roughly mark out its future course without some understanding of how it came to be.

The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 freeing the slaves, the military triumph of the North in the Civil War and the passage of the 13th Amendment in 1865 forbidding involuntary servitude constituted important, but not fatal, blows to the institution of slavery in the South. Even after these developments the repression of Negroes was perpetuated in the Southern and border states in many ways. Under the so-called "black codes" Negroes were compelled to work for arbitrarily limited pay; they were not permitted to testify in court against whites; they were required to use segregated public facilities. In short, in numerous respects they were free men in name only. When the 39th Congress convened in December, 1865, to consider the readmission of the Confederate States, therefore, it was with the realiza-

tion that, while slavery had been abolished, the complete legal and political equality of all men had not been attained in the South. To remedy this condition Congress launched a statutory and constitutional program of historic importance. The statutory program resulted in the enactment of what has come to be called the Civil Rights Acts, which made use of civil and penal sanctions as a means of enforcing those civil rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution. The constitutional program resulted in the 14th Amendment, finally effective in 1868, which proclaimed that no state should deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law or deprive any person of equal protection of the law.

THE 14th Amendment marked the beginning of a great constitutional revolution in the United States. It appeared to hold out the promise that the relationship between each state and its citizens was no longer the exclusive province of the state, but was the concern of all the people of all the states; in short, that the Federal Government had become the guardian of the social and political conscience of the states in the matter, at least, of fairness and equality in dealing with its citizens. But that promise was not fulfilled for three quarters of a century.

The chief constitutional rationalization for this broken promise was the interpretation of the equal protection of the laws provision of the 14th Amendment in the famous case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (163 U.S. 537 (1896)) *Plessy*, a one-

eighth Negro who was not readily recognizable as a Negro, took a railroad journey within Louisiana in a car reserved for whites. He was later convicted of the statutory crime of riding in a white car. When the case reached the Supreme Court of the United States, the issue presented was whether the statute which compelled Negroes under criminal sanction to ride in separate cars deprived them of the equal protection of the law. The Court held it did not on the theory that compulsory segregation of the races was not unequal so long as the segregated facilities were equal. Reasoned the Court:

The object of the Fourteenth Amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color or to enforce social as distinguished from political equality or a comingling of the two races upon terms satisfactory to either. . . . In determining the question of reasonableness [of a state's action] it is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs and traditions of the people and with a view to the promotion of their comfort and the preservation of the public peace and good order. Gauged by this standard we cannot say that a law which . . . requires the separation of the two races . . . is unreasonable. . . . We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. *If this be so it is not by reason of anything found in the act but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it.* (Italics added.)

IT was on the basis of this ingenious interpretation of the equal protection clause that subsequent legal attempts to enforce the principle of equality in behalf of the Negro were repeatedly turned aside. Subsequent cases saw the doctrine expand rather than contract; so, for example, in 1927 the same theory was used to sustain the constitutionality of compulsory segregation of public-school students. It was not until May 17, 1955, that the "separate but equal" theory was finally discarded. In holding on that date that state-imposed compulsory segregation of white and Negro pupils in public schools violated the requirement of equal protection of the law, regardless of the equality of the separated facilities, the Supreme Court brought to a much-delayed fulfillment the promise of the 14th Amendment of full legal equality for all men, regardless of color.

Few decisions of the Supreme Court have been as carefully and ponderously deliberated as the School Segregation Cases. The cases were argued for several days in December, 1952. Exhaustive briefs were filed not only by the parties to the various actions, but by numerous "friends of the court," including the NAACP, the ACLU, and the Attorney General of the United States. In June, 1953, the Court decided it required still further elucidation and ordered the parties to brief and argue further, the question of the intent of the framers of the 14th Amendment with regard to educational segregation. The second oral argument was held in December, 1953. Finally on May 17, 1954, a year and a half after the initial presentation of arguments, the Court handed down its unanimous decision overturning the separate but equal doctrine. But even then the matter was not finished. The Court postponed fashioning its decree pending still further briefing and argument by all the parties and "friends" on that delicate issue. This presentation took place on April 11-14, 1955; and on May 31, 1955, the Court finally disposed of the case (at least for the present) by directing

the lower courts to supervise the execution of the Court's mandate to desegregate. (*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 99 L. Ed. (Adv. Op.) 653(1955))

THE decision of the Court, unanimous for all the dissension among the Justices on virtually all other major issues, was remarkable also for its lack of rhetoric. Chief Justice Warren in writing the opinion for the Court eschewed the opportunity for ringing oratory furnished by the occasion. The opinion emphasized the fundamental value of education to our democratic society. "It is the foundation of good citizenship . . . (and) a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for latter professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment." In language contrasting sharply with the philosophy of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Court continued:

To separate [Negro children in grade and high schools] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to be undone. . . . Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. . . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate education facilities are inherently unequal.

For the educator, the sociologist and indeed, all men of good will, the important thing about this decision is that it was finally made. For the student of American institutions, however, there is another matter of intense interest. What were the factors which caused the Court in 1954 to overrule what had been accepted as constitutional doctrine for over half a century? Here we are in the realm of speculation; but speculation which may offer instructive insights into the growth of American constitutional history. Of the numerous possible considerations which may have played a part, I would like in the following paragraphs to consider five: considerations arising from present international relations; the intent of the framers of the 14th Amendment; the force of precedent; the influence of scientific documentation; and the force of social justice.

In the ideological competition for the support of the non-white peoples of the world, the announcement of the Court that the American Constitution does not countenance any governmental act which, even indirectly, implies the inferiority of the Negro to the white constitutes a diplomatic coup. So long as the chief international proponent of the democratic way of life permitted its nonwhite population to be treated as second-class citizens, the blessings of democracy seemed strangely unmixed to the nonwhite majority of the world's population. Whether, on the other hand, this thought played a significant role in causing the Court to decide as it did is problematical. Certainly there is little evidence that it did. The Court's opinion is silent on this consideration. In the thousands of pages of briefs there is perhaps one sentence which even vaguely refers to it. And the earlier decisions which set the stage for this decision were decided at a time when this international factor did not loom nearly as large.

THE influence of the intent of the framers of the 14th Amendment on the issue of the legality of compulsory school segregation can be answered with greater assurance. The fact that the Court postponed its decision and directed the parties to present evidence of that intent makes clear that the Court deemed this factor of major importance. It is equally clear, however, that reliable evidence of that intention was not forthcoming. That the 38th Congress intended

motive

to destroy the Southern caste system in regard to Negroes was indisputable. But did they have in mind a desegregated public-school system? The parties to the case in response to the Court order did prodigious historical research in search for an answer. They examined the Congressional debates and newspaper accounts throughout the country. They examined the records of the debates in the state legislatures over the issue of ratification. They examined the personality and ideological backgrounds of the leaders in the movement for the 14th Amendment. In the end, however, these mountainous labors produced the proverbial mouse; the Court dismissed this factor in a paragraph in which it stated:

This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive.

The reasons for these inconclusive results rested in part upon the fact that at the time of the adoption of the 14th Amendment there was no wide-scale system of public education. The education of white children in the South was largely in the hands of private groups; Negro education hardly existed. Further, while it appeared that the proponents of the Amendment meant it to have as wide an impact as possible, surely the opponents of the measure meant it to have as narrow an impact as possible. But of greatest significance is that the measure of what constitutes equal protection of the law in regard to public education in 1954 cannot be measured by the viewpoints of 1868. The observation of Thomas Jefferson that the Constitution belongs to the living generation of Americans was implicit in the Court's conclusion that:

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

TO say that precedent played a major role in the Court's decision in the face of the fact that the chief importance of that decision was its rejection of a well-established precedent is somewhat paradoxical. Yet precedent, taken in its larger sense as the course of an evolving pattern of adjudication, pointed inevitably to the conclusion reached by the Court. In 1938 the Court held unconstitutional the Florida practice of excluding Negroes from the only state law school despite statutory provision for tuition scholarships for Negroes to study law in other states. This was found to be not equal in fact and the Negro applicant was ordered admitted to the white school. (*Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Florida*, 305 U.S. 337 (1938).) In 1950 the Court found the exclusion of a Negro applicant from the law school of the University of Texas unconstitutional despite the existence of a separate state law school for Negroes. (*Sweat v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950).) While the rationale proceeded on the ground that the facilities offered the Negro were not in fact equal, the reasoning of the Court appeared to suggest that segregated legal education could not possibly be equal. Said the Court:

The law school to which Texas is willing to admit petitioner excludes from its student body members of racial groups which number 85 per cent of the population of the state and includes most of the lawyers, witnesses, jurors, judges and other officials of the Texas bar. With such a substantial and significant segment of society excluded we cannot conclude that the education offered petitioner is substantially equal to that which he would

receive if admitted to the University of Texas Law School.

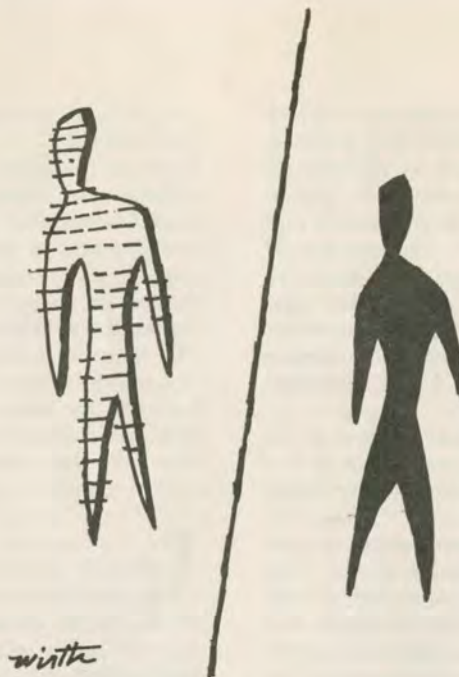
Later in the same year the Court handed down a similar decision with regard to a graduate student at the University of Oklahoma who, although admitted to the graduate school, was required by state statute to sit apart from the other students in an anteroom adjoining the classrooms, to sit only at designated desks in the library, to eat at different times, etc. (*McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U.S. 637 (1950).) The Court found this system to deprive the Negro student of equal protection of the law despite the identity of physical facilities for learning available to the Negro, stating that these restrictions "impair and inhibit his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students and in general to learn his profession."

THE gap between *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the *Segregation Cases* was therefore substantially narrowed by these decisions dealing with separate education. And it was narrowed as well by many decisions of the Court dealing with Negro discrimination outside the context of public education, such, for example, as the holdings that segregation on interstate carriers was invalid (*Morgan v. Virginia*, 328 U.S. 373 (1946)); that a municipal ordinance which established separate residential districts for Negroes and whites was unconstitutional (*Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60 (1917)); that the action of a state court in enforcing the terms of a private racial restrictive covenant constituted a deprivation of equal protection of the law (*Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948)); that a union's discrimination against Negro employees gave the Negro a federal cause of action (*Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Ry.*, 323 U.S. 192 (1944)). As a result of this pattern of cases the final act of cutting adrift the doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* was not hard. The decision in the *Segregation Cases* is properly viewable as the culmination of an evolutionary development, rather than as a revolutionary break with the past.

STILL another factor which some have thought had much to do with the Court's decision is the growth of scientific knowledge on the subject of the effect of compulsory segregation in education and elsewhere on the personality and educational development of the Negro. It may be noted that while the Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* concluded that if "enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority" it was only in the unjustified imagination of the colored race, the Court in the *Segregation Cases* rested on a very different analysis; namely, that compulsory public-school segregation on basis of race "generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

Was this insight, and therefore the entire decision, the result of the contribution of the social scientist? Certainly the findings of the social scientists were extensively placed before the Supreme Court. In two of the cases this material was introduced into the evidence and the lower courts had made findings of fact based on these observations of which the Court was cognizant; indeed, these findings are quoted by the Court. Further, a special brief was presented to the Supreme Court directly entitled "The Effect of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation: A Social Science Statement" authored by over a dozen leading sociologists, psychologists and social psychologists in the country. In the last analysis, however, it may be doubted that the Court actually needed all this evidence on an issue which had become so largely self-evident. It may be observed that Justice

(Continued on page 35)



desegregation . . .

HAS MANY FACETS

by Herbert Hackett

THE desegregation issue has been confused by many issues which have little to do with race; many groups have taken sides for reasons which do not appear on the surface and many of the pressures for integration are unrelated to the central problem except as by-products.

The opposing forces, regardless of the merits of the issues, are strikingly different, and the segregationists have attracted many discredited organizations. The most important segregation group is the Citizens Councils, with several hundred thousands of members. It is tempting but unfair to measure the Councils by their worst elements and by their most undemocratic programs, since many people have joined from principle, but these groups must carry the burden of proof.

The chief weapon of these and other groups has been economic boycott and threats of economic and other reprisals. They have attacked not only the problem of integration but also Jews, Catholics, labor unions, the NAACP, "progressive education," the United Nations, the Ford Foundation, "foreigners," Yankees, Eisenhower, the Supreme Court, newspapers, reporters, "fluorination," and the public-school system.

OTHER groups include a revived Klan, and racist groups identified by such words as "white," "Christain," "con-

stitutional," and "national." Spokesmen have used such expressions as: "Every man in this county that's killed at least one nigger wears a beard." (Manning, South Carolina); "This is a White Man's state." (Louisiana); "Negroes are morons"; "mongrelization of races"; etc. Actions include burning of crosses, firing of Negroes who signed petitions, denial of loans and the use of cotton gins, dynamite and shooting incidents, etc.

In favor of desegregation (although some local units disagree) have been such established groups as the Parent-Teachers Association, American Veterans Committee, American Federation of Teachers, CIO, the Catholic Church, NAACP, Anti-Defamation League, Urban League, American Council on Human Rights, American Friends Service Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, American Jewish Congress, Unitarian Fellowship, National Council of Christians and Jews, League of Women Voters, Council of Church Women, YMCA, YWCA, Girl Scouts, Southern Regional Conference, the national boards of most Protestant churches, and college student organizations of most churches. Without exception these groups have used democratic methods, petitions, court suits, public discussion and resolutions aimed at administrative and legislative officials. There have been only one or two cases of force, and some economic reprisal

(Negroes refusing to buy from white businesses).

One should not conclude that the right is all on one side, but the segregationists have permitted themselves to be used by groups and individuals whose credentials are open to question.

THE CHILDREN ARE READY

There is abundant evidence that school children are far ahead of their parents and of the community in their willingness to go to integrated schools. The following cases and statements are typical of hundreds:

Principal of Kenwood High School in Baltimore: "Immediately our former students extended a warm welcome to the newcomers. In the classrooms, corridors, cafeteria and on the campus, school activities proceeded as usual and included Negro students. . . . Not one incident has occurred. . . ."

Superintendent of D.C. schools: "Actually the plan has operated in Washington more smoothly than we had expected it would . . . marvelous cooperation among the school people, from the press, radio and TV, the general public. One and two-tenth per cent of students changed to private schools. . . . A greater proportion of the better-educated, younger and more affluent were favorable . . . professional and white-collar workers . . . Jews than Catholics . . . than Protestants. Adults with children under

motive

eighteen were more favorable than those without them."

Missouri: "Extraordinary calm" in St. Louis integration, now complete.

Oklahoma: Dr. Hodge told the State Board of Education: "no trouble" has been experienced; he predicted that integration would be complete by 1955-56.

Falmouth, Ky., Superintendent Lutes: "Integration is working like a charm." A white student told his father at end of first day, "You know, I believe the colored kids are going to like our school all right."

Carlisle, Ky., Coach Wells asked the football team how it felt about Negro players. One player replied, "Well, coach, we don't care about the color of their skin as long as their jerseys are green."

Fayetteville, Ark.: Negroes made "normal" progress in their studies, a girl was elected home-room cheerleader, a boy in chorus, a girl in chorus, a boy on student council, a girl as sophomore guide for new students, etc. Negroes were not withdrawn or "forward," but "getting along fine."

Wilmington, Del.: The assignment of Negro teachers to integrated schools "without unfavorable reaction."

FORCES HELPING INTEGRATION

In addition to the attitude of the children themselves, at least two forces have worked to make the community accept integration; the first is the general willingness to conform to law, and the second is financial.

All studies have shown that citizens in general are willing to conform to the law of the land as interpreted by the courts. For example an official study in Florida, completed by the universities of Florida and Miami, shows that while three fourths of the citizens oppose integration, about the same proportion said they would be willing to do what the courts and school boards decide. School officials and church groups have stressed the acceptance of law.

Equally powerful has been the realization that integration means better schools at reduced cost. In general the states which have been the least able to carry a double-school system have been segregated, and the cost has been staggering. For example: Washington schools were able to reduce their 1954-55 budget by \$52,948, largely as a result of integration; Kentucky transportation for colored students cost two or three times as much as for whites; Oklahoma Negro students cost the state \$65.10 more than white; Grundy County, Mo., paid \$1,360 a year to transport a Negro student 50 miles to school; and Fayetteville, Ark., spent about \$5,000 a year to transport nine high-school students 50 and 200 miles.

Elementary school class sizes were re-

duced in several cases, eliminating crowded classes; split-shift classes were eliminated; old buildings were abandoned, etc.

A third factor, much more difficult to evaluate, was the revulsion of many Southerners against the extremes of some pro-segregationists; church and other groups have disassociated themselves from what they call the unchristian and undemocratic efforts of not only the Klan and other "hate" groups but the more respectable Citizens Councils.

THE COLLEGES LEAD THE WAY

It is natural that the colleges should take the lead in desegregation; the first court decisions dealt with college cases; the inequality in graduate education was most obvious, and college students were traditionally more "liberal" than other groups in the community. So it is that in the second year of the Court's public-school decision most Southern colleges have either admitted Negro students or have made plans for their admission.

The transition has been made without incident, except for protests by non-campus groups and legislators. Student groups, student publications and individual faculty members have taken the lead, with the assistance of student religious organizations.

Alabama: 2 Negro women have been ordered admitted to the university without delay. Talladega College, a Negro, Congregational school, opened its doors to whites in 1944 but few attended. Spring Hill College, Catholic, admitted Negroes in 1954.

Arkansas: At least 7 Negroes have been admitted to 4 state schools and the university has admitted Negro graduate students since 1948. There have been no applications to private colleges although Presbyterian College of the Ozarks has lifted restrictions. Philander Smith, Methodist Negro institution, graduated its first white student last spring. Methodist Hendrix is waiting for the 1956 General Conference, although two annual conferences have recommended desegregation.

Delaware: After a suit in 1950 the university was desegregated for both graduate and undergraduate students. All state schools desegregated although Delaware State College for Colored Students is still regarded as a Negro school even though some whites have attended.

District of Columbia: Catholic University was integrated in 1936, the two district teacher's colleges in 1954. A Georgetown (Catholic) professor said Negroes were morons (he once accused Lincoln of "provoking" the Civil War) but he was strongly repudiated by his president.

Florida: The Florida Supreme Court decided 5-2 that segregation as a prin-

ciple is not legal, but held over the case of Virgil Hawkins which was at issue for four months' study. He had applied to enter the university law school. In the past, as in most states, Negroes wishing to get graduate work in areas not available in state schools were given scholarships to Northern universities. Four church groups on the university campus (Friends, Methodist, Episcopal and Baptist) asked for desegregation on campus, but the Rev. Thaxton Springfield of the Wesley Foundation got in trouble with a church board: it "did not question his Christian character" but his political attitudes.

Georgia: Attorney General Cook threatened to shut down the university law school if a Negro is admitted, but the Regents say this is not contemplated. Columbia Theological Seminary, a Southern Presbyterian school, admitted three Negroes three years ago, against the state law, but no reaction. Student editors at Emory and at the university have editorialized in favor of desegregation.

Kentucky: In 1949 a federal court ruled that the university must admit Negro graduate students; up to 1954 there had been 1 undergraduate but since then Negroes admitted regularly. Berea, the University of Louisville, Union College (Methodist) and Catholic colleges admit Negroes and the University of Louisville has a Negro professor. Ashland and Paducah junior colleges are desegregated but the 4 white and 1 Negro state colleges have not as of fall, 1955.

Louisiana: At least 4 state schools have been ordered to admit Negro students. University president agreed that a Negro, A. P. Tureaud, would be admitted as an undergraduate as the court had ruled, but now says that he will be admitted only as a combined law and arts student (law is the only field now open to Negroes). Catholic Xavier and Loyola have led the way in desegregation in sports and graduate studies. Other graduate students are in State School of Nursing, New Orleans Baptist Seminary.

Maryland: Segregation is officially ended in 5 state colleges, 2 Negro and 3 white, but staffs of colleges remain all white or all Negro. Only a handful of Negroes have applied in "white" schools.

Mississippi: Medger Evers refused admittance to the university law school and no new efforts have been made by Negroes. Now all applications for admission must have the approval of at least 5 alumni of the institution in the county, the effect is much like the "granddaddy clauses" which permitted voting if a grandfather had voted.

Missouri: All colleges operated by the state are integrated. The status of Lin-

coln, Negro institution, is in doubt. Most private colleges in the state have some form of integration.

North Carolina: Graduate schools of the university have been admitting Negroes since 1951; there are at least 6 in law and 1 in medicine this year. Three Negroes have been admitted to the University as undergraduates after a state court ruling, but the case is being appealed by the Attorney General.

Oklahoma: The Regents for Higher Education have approved integration for 17 state colleges (white), but only about a dozen Negroes have enrolled; this figure does not include the university or Oklahoma A and M where there is no breakdown by races but where substantially more Negroes have entered. Oklahoma City University (Methodist), Phillips (Christian) and Oklahoma College for Women (state) have desegregated. Negro Langston has about the same enrolment as last year. At the university, Negroes were until recently forced to sit in an anteroom. A and M furnishes dormitory space for Negro students.

South Carolina: No applications from Negroes have been received by the state schools for 1955-56.

Tennessee: Federal Judge Boyd ruled that segregation is unconstitutional but upheld the gradual plan for integration worked out by the state, graduate students to be admitted this term, seniors next fall, then juniors, sophomores and freshmen in following years . . . to the state university. Rev. W. N. Daniel of St. John's Baptist church was the first Negro accepted at Austin Peay State College, January, 1955. Prof. Donald Davidson of Vanderbilt is president of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, an antisegregation group. Scarritt now admits Negroes.

Texas: In a survey of University of Texas students only 6 per cent were opposed to any kind of integration, 26 per cent favored complete desegregation and the rest were in between, but there is little student resistance to Negroes attending state colleges. At the university, Negroes are admitted to graduate schools and in 1956 a "selective" enrolment for undergraduates will be inaugurated. Texas Western College is already desegregated but application of 4 white students to enter Texas Southern University (Negro) has been held up by board. Southern Methodist has admitted Negroes to colleges of law and theology.

Virginia: 10 Negroes admitted to 3 state colleges last year and 12 new ones this school year. Carlyle Whitelaw is the first Negro to play football in a non-segregated college, Bridgewater (Brethren). Washington and Lee and the University of Richmond have opposed the

desegregation proposal of the Association of American Law Schools and W and L has threatened to withdraw from the association if the proposal is adopted.

West Virginia: Every state college had increased enrolment, with integration, except Negro Bluefield. Negroes are attending 8 of 9 state colleges. Storer, a private Negro college, closed its doors, at least for 1955-56. West Virginia State College, formerly Negro, is being accepted as an integrated college by local residents.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Mississippi and South Carolina are the only states without some integration and, with Georgia, form the hard core of resistance.

2. The border states have moved rapidly, led by West Virginia and Missouri, and present no significant problems.

3. The numbers of Negroes entering integrated schools is small, except in border states.

4. Some Negro schools will suffer and perhaps be abandoned. However, most will remain primarily Negro for a few years with the gradual integration of local white students.

5. Catholic colleges are ahead of other colleges, but not particularly in areas with a large number of Negro Catholics.

6. Threats of withdrawal of state support, or withdrawal from national accreditation associations, are not, in general, significant, since white students already enrolled would suffer and potential students would not enter such schools, at least for professional work.

7. Students are least concerned of all groups, faculty next; the greatest pressures against desegregation come from outside groups and from legislators.

8. There have been no campus problems of significance resulting from integration.

9. Federal and state courts have, with rare exception, ruled in favor of integration.

10. Church activity has been mixed, student groups taking the lead in efforts toward integration but some local and state groups resisting. All the state Methodist Student Movements are, without exception, integrated.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS, EQUAL AND NOT SEPARATE

In a democracy the individual is protected in two important ways, by popular vote and by the action of the courts. Since the "Black Monday" of May 17, 1954, the courts have spoken with increasing frequency and definiteness; with rare exceptions the state courts have followed the lead of the federal courts in ruling that segregation is illegal; in almost every state there has been legal recognition of the inevitability of integrated public schools.

Such a general statement should not imply that integration is almost here; hundreds of legal battles remain, legal stratagems of all kinds will be used by certain states and communities and individuals, illegal or extralegal activities will continue . . . but it can be said that the segregation forces have been able as yet to force little more than a delaying action. It remains to be seen whether the major threat to desegregation, the abolishment of the public-school system, will be realized.

Meanwhile the pattern of desegregation is confused; in border states like Missouri the schools are almost completely integrated; in the Cotton Belt not a single colored student has been admitted to a white school; in some states with an uneven distribution of the Negro population there has been a wide divergence in practice, some cities or counties being integrated and some completely segregated.

As of September, 1955, there were at least 27 cases before the courts, and each week has brought new cases, petitions, suits and countersuits.

Alabama: Governor Folsom won a decisive victory on a moderate platform. "I am going to be governor of all the people . . ." and has avoided extremes. He has vetoed three specific "segregation" laws. Thirteen petitions were presented last fall and a six-year-old child was refused admittance to school under a new "placement" law. The attitude of the state seems to be "wait and see."

Arkansas: Hoxie is not representative of Arkansas (see "Hoxie is not Arkansas"). Actually there are two Arkansas, with 6 counties with 50 per cent Negro populations and with 33 counties with less than 5 per cent. Many of the latter have integrated in part or are in the process, Fayetteville for example (discussed later). "White America" has so flouted legal processes that the FBI is investigating and the courts have enjoined it against interference with the schools. Little Rock Catholic schools were integrated in 1954.

Delaware: Delaware also can be considered as two states with most of the problems centered in the southern rural areas. The famous Milford case arose when 11 Negro students were admitted to the schools. There was no incident for a week and two days when a group of 1,500 whites, mostly from the rural areas outside the town, held a protest meeting. The leadership included Bryant Bowles, National Association for the Advancement of White People, and the meeting received antisemitic and anti-Negro "hate sheets." Bowles has since been in difficulties with several courts on a variety of counts. The schools were *resegregated*.

In September, 1955, 1,230 Negroes

out of a school population of 10,500 were attending integrated schools (not including New Castle county which had 1,212). Within the past five years two leading hotels, theaters and industrial plants have desegregated, Catholic schools in 1950 and most private schools since. Dover High will use Negro boys in football at home, but not against segregated schools away from home.

The House of Representatives passed a 44 million dollar building fund with identification of "colored" still in it, but the state will (with some exceptions in the South) move rapidly toward integration.

District of Columbia: 80 per cent of the District's 169 schools have been integrated; some of these schools are in all-Negro or all-white areas. Negro registration has increased. There are some problems of overcrowding and teacher shortage.

Florida: The only integration is at two Air Force bases and there has been no problem although one of the superintendents is under suit for permitting the two races to mix in violation of the state law. The state Supreme Court, 5-2, knocked out segregation as a legal principle (probably killing the above suit). A third of the counties have biracial committees to work out their educational problems. There has been little violent reaction to the Federal Court decision.

Georgia: There is no integration in Georgia although at least 6 petitions have been filed. Ten counties have no high schools for Negroes and send a few students to neighboring counties or states. In Atlanta there are 2 one-teacher schools, 2 two-teacher, 1 three-teacher, 1 four-teacher, all in islands of Negroes in white communities. Some Negro children live in sight of white schools but walk three or four miles to school. These small schools have outdoor toilets.

The Georgia Medical Association has granted full membership to Negro doctors, Negro baseball players compete on professional teams, two Negro women

have served on a grand jury, and an interracial "Hungry Club" has functioned for several years at the Y.M.C.A.

Kentucky: 300 of 43,361 Negroes were integrated in the fall of 1955 in 24 of 224 districts now desegregated. Louisville plans complete integration in fall, 1956. Only 21 of 2,632 Lexington Negroes took advantage of chance to enter desegregated schools. Carlisle High School admitted 10 Negroes, 4 of whom helped win first football game against an all-white school. The Governor thinks Kentucky will be the easiest state to desegregate, as far as schools are concerned.

Louisiana: The state appropriated \$100,000 to fight desegregation but the appropriation has been challenged in the courts. Two counties (parishes) have received petitions from Negroes to enter schools. Catholics, in general, will not move to integrate before the state schools. Negro schools have 1.9 library books per student, white schools 5.4; Negro teachers are paid \$429 less than white teachers, although the level of training of Negro teachers is as high as that of whites.

Maryland: 4,000 of 92,000 Negro students integrated in fall of 1955, in 8 of 23 counties plus Baltimore. Sixty-three Negro teachers in integrated schools in Baltimore, only 6 last year. In Montgomery County 10 Negro teachers have been reassigned, some to formerly white schools. Eight classes were moved from substandard Negro school to white, thus removing 16 classes from part-time status. There is no segregation in Baltimore City Hospital, Baltimore Housing Authority, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Girl Scouts. Segregation groups have been active but there has been only one disturbance of note.

Mississippi: The problem of desegregation has been pushed into the background because of the murder of Emmett Till, and no Negro has applied to enter a white school. The official Legal Educational Advisory Committee has proposed a six-point program: 1. champerty and stirring up of litigation illegal; out-of-

state lawyers must be "cleared" by State Bar Association; 2. repeal state compulsory attendance law; 3. abolish common marriage laws; 4. prohibit abusive phone calls and increase criminal libel laws; 5. form a permanent "Authority for Maintenance of Racial Segregation"; 6. enact a law against using federal law to interfere with the rights of an individual under state law.

Rev. L. J. Twomey, SJ, made a strong plea for desegregation before the state Federation of Labor in October and got a standing ovation.

Missouri: 85 per cent of Negroes integrated, 135 of 172 high-school districts having Negroes in the process of desegregation. All St. Louis schools desegregated this school year. The effect has been to make the sizes of classes in elementary schools smaller in many cases. Actually only 10 per cent of all students are in integrated classes, since many districts are all Negro or all white. In optional segregation about a third of students preferred to remain in Negro schools but this was more true of seniors than of underclassmen.

North Carolina: The authority over schools has been transferred from State Board of Education to the counties and cities, at least over enrolment and assignment of students. "Voluntary" segregation is meeting "overwhelming" acceptance. Strangely, North Carolina is closer to "Cotton Belt" than to other border states.

Oklahoma: 271 schools have been integrated; desegregation complete in 90 counties and partial in 60 more. One hundred forty-three Negro teachers have lost their jobs as a result of integration, but a Negro principal has become superintendent in a district which includes a white elementary school . . . in the so-called "Dixie" belt. The Oklahoma Education Association has been opened to Negroes.

South Carolina: Enrolment is up but no student has asked for desegregation. The Citizens Council has been active and many church groups have protested the

(Continued on page 27)



William Faulkner, Nobel prize-winning author from Mississippi, in the following dispatch written for the United Press, condemns those responsible for the kidnaping and slaying of Emmett Till, fourteen-year-old Negro boy from Chicago, near Greenwood, Miss.

if america

is to survive



by William Faulkner

WHEN will we learn that if one county in Mississippi is to survive it will be because all Mississippi survives, it will be because all America is to survive? And, if America is to survive, the whole white race must survive first?

Because, the whole white race is only one fourth of the earth's population of white and brown and yellow and black. So, when will we learn that the white man can no longer afford, he simply does not dare, to commit acts which the other three fourths of the human race can challenge him for, not because the acts are themselves criminal, but simply because the challengers and accusers of the acts are not white in pigment?

Not to speak of the other Aryan peoples who are already the Western world's enemies because of political ideologies. Have we, the white Americans who can commit or condone such acts, forgotten already how only fifteen years ago, what only the Japanese—a mere eighty million inhabitants of an island already insolvent and bankrupt—did to us?

HOW then can we hope to survive the next Pearl Harbor, if there should be one, with not only all peoples who are not white, but all peoples with political ideologies different from ours arrayed against us—after we have taught them (as we are doing) that when we talk of freedom and liberty, we not only mean neither, we don't even mean security and justice and even the preservation of life for people whose pigmentation is not the same as ours?

And not just the black people in

Boer South Africa, but the black people in America, too.

Because if we Americans are to survive, it will have to be because we choose and elect and defend to be first of all Americans to present to the world one homogeneous and unbroken front, whether of white Americans or black ones or purple or blue or green.

Perhaps we will find out now whether we are to survive or not. Perhaps the purpose of this sorry and tragic error committed in my native Mississippi by two white adults on an afflicted Negro child is to prove to us whether or not we deserve to survive.

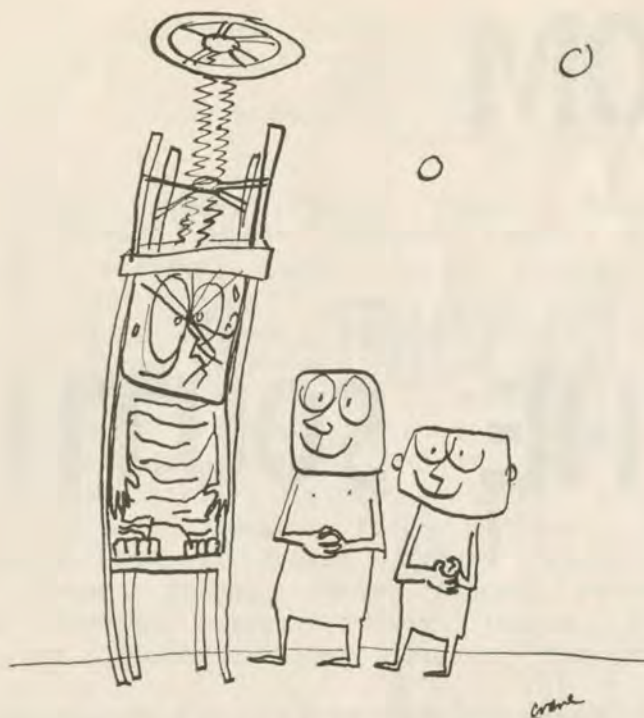
Because if we in America have reached that point in our desperate culture when we must murder children, no matter for what reason or what color, we don't deserve to survive, and probably won't!

[illegible]

Here are students, professors, student workers and clergymen telling some of the stories of their time and place. They are not intended to be conclusive or comprehensive. They are authentic and they do betray both the hopes and the despair of those who care.

What about the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People? Many of you in many parts of the country find in it a great champion of the downtrodden; many of us in Mississippi, too, have had great admiration for its persistence and determination. In the present situation, however, many of us feel that we have been betrayed by an organization which might have helped but which has, through the very same tactics used by the old demagogues—name calling, the big lie (you all read it—"there is no law in Mississippi today!"), and all the rest—created barriers which will be terribly difficult to surmount. As for myself, I feel the NAACP has forever lost its usefulness in Mississippi as a tool for finding a decent way out of our mess. With the NAACP gone mad, the church struck dumb, and only a handful of eager, frightened folk left to speak up, it is easy to get lonesome in Mississippi these days. Pray for us!

—Sam Barefield, Director of the Wesley Foundation, Mississippi Southern College



"We've done this for his own good."

MISSISSIPPI'S EMBRYONIC BULWARK OF BROTHERHOOD

It is now evident by certain vocal acts and organized groups in Mississippi that there is only one way left for people to work together. That "only way," so to speak, is the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

The Mississippi Council on Human Relations is a suborganization of the Southern Regional Council and is dedicated to the brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God, interracial, and nondenominational. It is dedicated to the ideal of education rather than violence and is now the only such organization that can meet without having to suffer protest from the one-way citizenry of the state.

Recently the organization met in Jackson, Mississippi, and several of my friends and I attended the meeting. What we found was amazing. The meeting lasted all day and was held in the Y. W. C. A. of the city. Although we traveled to the meeting with the president, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, of the B'nai Israel Temple of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, we had no trouble meeting the members. We received a warm welcome and immediately felt a fellowship that is very rare, almost extinct in our state, and all that day we talked; in groups, individually, and in a forum. As I looked around, I as a layman-student was amazed at the members of the group. There were college professors of English, sociology, etc., ministers of faiths from the Hebrews to the Catholics to the Baptists, and laymen, whose interest is in the betterment of mankind.

At the present, the main issue before the group is the problem of segregation, because it is the main issue facing Mississippi and the South as a whole. But the Mississippi Council on Human Relations also has other problems to face, i.e., the problems of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, communism, and education. Little by little the group is growing and although they are never given any glory, even if they did expect it, they continue to fight the battle against bigotry, etc.

The Southern Regional Council, an organization which doesn't share any lime-light, is continually working throughout the South. Recently the Ford Foundation contributed \$240,000 to be divided among ten Southern States (with the understanding that the local, state groups would match their share of the money), and the money is to be used in any way they see fit. The Southern Regional Council is more of a Confederation than a Federation. Therefore the most logical thing to do with the money was to hire a full-time state director and assistants. From the creed of the S.R.C. Charter come these words that help explain the idea of the organization:

To attain through research an action program, the ideas and practices of equal opportunity for all people in this program.

The members of the Southern Regional Council like to think their program is "Democracy in Action" because it is dedicated to a New South, which incidentally is the name of the council publication. Recently the Southern Regional Council

gained another recognition. Whenever a foreign country wants to receive information concerning the conditions of the South, the State Department recommends the Council to give the materials.

We, I now feel like a member, realize that the best means of overcoming our difficulties in the segregation issue is through "communication." By communication I do not mean something technical or out of a science-fiction comic, but forums and bull sessions. From the meeting in Jackson I saw communication in operation. The Mississippi Council on Human Relations began with a worship service and then divided into three different groups. In the smaller groups, we discussed several areas in which the work had been done and what were the results. And, too, we discussed the ways in which we could better our work so that maybe more could be accomplished.

In the discussion group of which I was a member, the types of individuals varied quite a bit. The leader was a Ph.D., working in sociology, two ministers of different faiths, one college student, a plantation owner's wife, a minister's wife and a businessman. We had a long discussion, true, but we didn't solve any problems; instead, we came out a little more confused—a blessing? We will know someday!

—Gene Manning, senior, Mississippi Southern College

ONE accurate measure of the extent to which the mores of a community



have changed is the way the church looks at an issue. The church is expected to be more sensitive than any other institution to the diseases of humanity, and to respond as conditions change. So for a real understanding of the segregation problem in Mississippi, it is necessary to know the position of the church.

In Durant, Mississippi, the Presbyterian elders asked their sixty-year-old minister to resign. Their reason? He had gotten "involved in politics." A town meeting in nearby Tchula was held for the purpose of playing a tape recording of several Negroes' statements that two white men advocated integration. The Presbyterian minister stood up twice, once to ask "what legal or moral right do you have for such a meeting as this?" and another time to vouch for the character of one of the white men. Both times he was booed so loudly he had to

motive

sit down. This was called "involvement in politics." A spokesman for the board of elders said those two remarks caused "many of the church members to lose faith in the minister. . . . Therefore, his usefulness is at an end here."

This is only the most recent of many cases in which church congregations have censured their ministers. In another Mississippi town an assistant pastor's one-year contract was not renewed because he had taken some of the young people, at their own insistence, to lead recreation in a colored church. In the same town, another minister was moved from one of the major pulpits in Mississippi to a lower-paying church where he would reach fewer people because his "progressive" sermons were objected to by certain influential church people. A chairman of a board of stewards moved that the church not send any more young people to Lake Junaluska, because the president of the MYF had mentioned that one of the most valuable aspects of the conference to him was its lack of racial tension.

Church indifference (or more frequently, active resistance) to brotherly acts is not limited to the local level. Because they fear the reactions of local congregations, members of state-wide and conference-wide governing bodies deliberately squelch any ideas that sound "too liberal," though they themselves see nothing wrong with the plans. They just do not want bad publicity.

But the Christian Church in Mississippi is not completely unaware of its responsibility. A real effort is made in activities sponsored by the Mississippi Conference council of the MYF to help youth to analyze racial problems under a Christian system of values. At the annual conference assembly, there is always a discussion group on "Christ and Race," or some such topic, and many young folks do their first thinking on the subject in such groups. Often Methodist students attend meetings of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, an interracial organization headed by a rabbi, with a Catholic priest as treasurer. It is significant that not a single leading Protestant minister is active in the council.

In December of 1954, when the state voted on the last-resort constitutional amendment to authorize local public schools to close down if integration pressure became too great, some Christian students in the Mississippi Methodist Student Movement worked to make money to buy auto stickers campaigning against the amendment. Of course, the amendment passed. But there was a one-third minority opposed to the bill, where before there had been little. But it is easy to become discouraged by the seeming futility of bucking a whole

society. The Mississippi Methodist Student Movement, which two years ago adopted a constitution recognizing as members all Methodist students, regardless of race, found it cannot even begin making plans for an interracial meeting. There is simply no place such a meeting could be held. This vexation alone is enough to make many college generations despair of working on major problems, because the minor ones cannot be solved.

Yet Mississippi is full of thoughtful Christians who have not given up. They are silent, perhaps because they do not know their numbers and realize their strength.

Mary Lynn Johnson, motive *Editorial Board, senior, Mississippi Southern College.*

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE TILL MURDER CASE

THE recent and notorious Till murder and kidnap case in Mississippi has afforded observers of social events an excellent opportunity to take the pulse of race relations in this area of the South.

Perhaps the most enlightening aspect of the case was the response made by the whites in Mississippi. The expected response in the past has been that of great and righteous indignation at the insult and injury to a representative of the white group. Instead, in this case we find that the overwhelming response was anger at an outside threat to *status quo* in the form of the NAACP and, to a lesser degree, "Yankees."

In the past, such a case would have been handled with dispatch and little fuss. That is, either it would have not been solved and no one would have cared or the suspected parties would have been brought to trial and dealt with under the existing code for whites who circumvent the law in carrying out their version of justice. But things did not work out so simply this time. First, the victim was from "up north" which made the situation newsworthy on a national scale and, secondly, he was a minor which made the form of retribution taken against him appear somewhat high-handed to even the most rabid "racist."

As a result of these two factors the case became a national issue, and Mississippi found itself with its back to the wall in disposing of it. The solution arrived at was to become righteously indignant at the "interference" of the NAACP which was both an outsider and "red inspired." This reduced the conflict to the level of "us against them" instead of a simple criminal court trial. The result was inevitable. No self-respecting, ethnocentric white Mississippian could fail to meet the challenge, and the trial ended on schedule with a demonstration that no outsider could dictate to the peo-

ple of Mississippi in the handling of its internal affairs.

anger at an outside threat to *status quo*
Dr. John Allen, professor of Sociology,
Mississippi Southern College.

HOXIE IS NOT ARKANSAS

EARLY in the summer, the Hoxie school board voted to abolish segregation for the 1,000 white and the 25 Negro pupils in that district. This integration began in a summer session (which is held each year so the students may be dismissed in September to pick cotton). All seemed to be going well, according to the school board, until a group of parents met to protest. At this meeting 125 signed a pact agreeing not to allow their children to attend school until segregation was re-established. The school board refused to back down and ignored petitions asking for their resignations. Because of the boycott, the schools were closed two weeks earlier than usual.

The segregation forces began to organize. This opposition was shown in three groups: the White Citizens Committee in Arkansas, the White America, Inc. of Arkansas, and the Committee Representing Segregation in Hoxie Schools. Each of these organizations hired a lawyer. The attorney for the Committee Representing Segregation in Hoxie Schools filed suit against the school board for violating a statute which separated the races in that district. A court order was issued which protected the board members and particularly the superintendent of schools from annoyance by the three organizations.

In September there was an anti-integration rally which was attended by a large responsive crowd. The main speaker was the same lawyer who filed the suit against the board and who seemed to be the main leader of the segregation forces. He tacked the name "leftist" to the leading state newspaper and to one of its editors. This publication was called "more dangerous than the *Daily Worker*." The speaker attacked the state-supported colleges which were considering admitting Negro students and warned their presidents that a legislature would soon be elected which would refuse to appropriate funds for integrated institutions. The state university was called "one of the most leftist universities in the country." One fact given as evidence of this statement was that the county in which the university is located sent more men to the Union army than to the Confederate army during the Civil War. Football teams were asked to cancel games with schools which allowed an interracial group to play. The attorney then told his listeners he had refused to let his daughter join a certain Methodist church because its pastor had written a resolution praising the action of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Another speaker, a former state senator, stated that if he sent his children to an integrated school, he would soon be bouncing a Negro grandchild on his knee.

The governor of Arkansas refused to interfere, saying it was a local problem and would have to be solved by the people of Hoxie.

The next month a court hearing was scheduled and postponed indefinitely. The schools reopened a few days later. Absenteeism was high. Many uneasy parents were adopting a wait-and-see attitude. Soon, however, the school settled down to normal, and the opponents apparently were reconciled to defeat.

This was the big story, but other things have been happening. Perhaps the quieter events are really the more indicative of a trend.

The board of the largest school system in the state considered the integration question, but delayed action for this year.

Another of the largest school systems will begin integrating next year in the first grade and will make the process a gradual one.

Several schools have already taken the step of complete integration and have been successful. One high school admitted Negroes to its football team and kept them on it in spite of the fact that some of their opponents cancelled games with them.

The state Board of Education refused to remove racial designations from application blanks for school building construction loans, but this does not necessarily reflect the attitude of the leaders in the education field. In a speech before a civic club, the state Assistant Commissioner of Education urged a thorough study of the situation and suggested possible steps which might be taken. He said we must forget the "separate but equal" theory.

This attitude has been reflected in speeches at civic clubs and at community forums in several cities throughout the state. There is a growing recognition, even by segregation forces, that integration is on the way.

The problem causes many reactions. On one side are those who make speeches for "the American way of life," while on the other side are well-meaning people who push others a little too fast. These two extremes cause events which make the headlines. But there are more events, the quiet ones, which receive little attention. These are the ones which gradually move toward a solution.

—Ruth Anderson, Hendrix College.

A REPORT FROM THE LOUISIANA CONVENTION OF THE NAACP

Mrs. Clarence Marie Collier, a Negro

school principal, urged other members of her race to have faith in the Supreme Court's ruling ending segregation in public schools.

Speaking to the opening session of the convention, Mrs. Collier said:

The change which we seek can be brought about gradually or slowly, the speed depends upon people's honesty of mind, their values, their insights and their will to act. One of the greatest values to the Supreme Court's decision is the Negro himself, and the fears which



he personally faces in regard to change—fears about facing the unknown.

It is our task to work with Negroes and other groups to help them develop the true concepts of the principles of Christian brotherhood and American democracy.

There are 15 million Negroes with a total buying power of 15 billion dollars. It is our responsibility to see that we spend this money wisely. We need more Negro bankers, housing developers and contractors if we are to improve our economic status.

A REPORT FROM A RECENT MEETING OF THE BATON ROUGE MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION

The five candidates for governor gave their views on the various campaign issues. When asked for their position on the application of the Supreme Court decision on segregation, they replied:

Earl K. Long:

I am for segregation. I think it is the best thing. I don't believe the colored people are ready for integration. I believe a lot of people are trying to shove them. No race in history has made as much progress as the colored race.

One hundred years ago they were back in Africa eating each other. I like the colored people. I believe I can say I am the best friend the colored race has ever had in this state. I have no ill will against any race or any religion.

de Lesseps S. Morrison:

I believe in maintaining the segregation we now have. I believe the

colored people are for it. In some solid colored precincts in New Orleans they voted for the 16th Amendment.

The New Orleans mayor told the ministers of the progress made in New Orleans in providing equalized schools, parks and swimming pools for Negroes.

He said that while a Negro can file suit and probably gain admission to the Louisiana State University law school, that doesn't mean he is going to be happy there.

He added that even where segregation is not legally compulsory, it often prevails as a practical matter.

James M. McLemore:

I am a very firm believer in segregation. I am strongly opposed to integration. I believe the Supreme Court ruling was wrong. I feel the people of Louisiana and the South should organize in an open, above-board organization to keep our way of life.

The worst thing that could happen to Louisiana and the South is to have intermarriage and a mongrel race. I think it can be handled firmly without any bloodshed. I will use every legal means to maintain segregation.

Francis C. Grevemberg:

I promise to preserve segregation with the framework of Louisiana's laws and without bloodshed and confusion. At the same time I promise to try to make Negro and white facilities equal.

I think the bulk of the people have shown they are definitely in favor of segregation. At the same time they realize the colored people are the children of God.

Fred Preaus:

Integration will not best serve the interests of all the people of this state. The colored people of our area don't want integration. They are not ready for it.

He added that he believed the best interests of both races could be served by providing the best facilities for both races.

A REPORT ON AN INCIDENT WITHIN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

New Orleans archdiocesan officials were forced with a petition being circulated by a group of Catholic laymen

motive

who formed a citizens council to protest the assignment of Negro priests. The citizens council was formed in little river towns south of New Orleans after the Archbishop suspended several services at Jesuit Bend when parishioners refused to let a Negro priest say Mass. The group announced that one hundred people showed up at an organizational meeting in the firehouse at Belle Chasse, and more than three hundred names have been obtained on a petition protesting assignment of Negro priests.

A leader in the movement claimed the Archbishop "is trying to compel us to go against the way we were raised and the things we believe in." The petition said integration is contrary to church teaching and assignment of Negro priests is a step toward breaking down segregation barriers.

The Archbishop took disciplinary action against the Jesuit Bend congregation when parishioners turned away the Rev. Gerald Lewis, a Negro priest, assigned to help out in a shortage of priests. Archbishop J. F. Rummel was praised in the Vatican newspaper for his swift action in ruling that the refusal to accept a Negro priest was contrary to canon law and a violation of Church teachings. Catholic schools are segregated in the New Orleans archdiocese, but Negroes regularly attend most churches in the diocese without regard to special seating arrangements. By custom, however, most of them take the back pews. When the Louisiana Legislature took steps to circumvent the U. S. Supreme Court decision banning school segregation, Archbishop Rummel saw to it that Catholic schools were left out of the laws.

A diocesan committee is now at work on plans to attempt gradual desegregation of Catholic schools after September, 1956.

A REPORT FROM THE 1954 SESSION OF THE LOUISIANA ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

We take cognizance of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States rejecting as unconstitutional "segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal." We recognize that the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land. We hold that Christian citizenship involves adherence to the Constitution even when the Supreme Court, its final and authoritative interpreter, renders a decision contrary to our individual sentiment.

We feel that this decision is consistent with and supports the view of the General Conference of The Methodist Church when it declared: "Ours is a

world church. As such its responsibility is to unite in one fellowship men and women of all races and nations. As Christians we confess ourselves to be children of God, brothers and sisters of Jesus Christ."

In the year of difficult adjustment ahead we call upon the members of our Methodist churches to become a stabilizing emotional factor in our own communities. The situation we face requires calmness and a reasonable examination of the problem. The issue must be approached without rancor. We call upon the Governor, the members of the State Legislature, the public-school authorities and our people to explore ways and means of implementing this historic and unanimous decision and to pursue only those ways and means which will preserve interracial good will, domestic order and peace, and the inalienable right of all free men.

AND FROM THE 1955 SESSION:

We believe that better racial understanding cannot be promoted by the formation of extreme pressure groups within or without the Church. We urge ministers and laymen of our conference and state to discourage the formation of and the participation in, such groups.

We reaffirm our statement of last year on the Supreme Court decision on public school segregation, and we commend to our people the statement on race relations issued by the Council of Bishops of the Church meeting in Chicago, November 18-21, 1954. (from the Reports of the Board of Social and Economic Relations.)

—Hubert Harber, Louisiana State University

GEORGIA has tried to block any effort being made to integrate any education in the state. Many state officials have stated publicly that they will go to jail before they give any funds toward integration of education. Every state official from the Governor on down has pledged that during his administration they will not have integration of education in the state of Georgia. Efforts are being made by several groups to open our schools for students of all races. However, these efforts have been blocked at every turn. In spite of this background in the May election of 1953 in the city of Atlanta, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, who is president of Atlanta University and a Negro, was elected to the Atlanta Board of Education for a term of four years. His opponent in this race was a white man. This is the first time that a Negro has been elected to the Board of Education in Atlanta. Since his election to the Board, Dr. Clement has served with distinction. The Atlanta Board of Education has been receiving petitions from

parents of Negro children to integrate the public school system of Atlanta. So far, no action in this regard has been reported.

For a number of years the Georgia Methodist Student Movement wanted to invite students of all races to attend its annual student conference. At the annual student conference, 1953, it was voted by a three-fourths majority to invite students of all races to attend the next student conference and participate in the program of the Georgia Methodist Student Movement. This came after a two-year study of this problem. Local campus groups were asked to give their opinion concerning this proposal. Fifteen groups voted on this. Fourteen groups voted in the affirmative, wanting to invite Negro students to come to this conference and participate in the student movement. The first interracial Georgia Methodist Student Conference was held in the fall of 1954 at Clark College. Approximately 190 registered delegates attended this conference. At this time, a Negro student was elected to the Council of the Georgia Methodist Student Movement. Since that time the Georgia Methodist Student Movement has held several interracial meetings of a smaller nature. For example, the Spring Planning Retreat and a Citizenship Seminar. The student conference of 1955 was held at Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta. At that time 237 delegates attended the conference. This was the largest registration in several years at a student conference in Georgia. The program of the Georgia Student Movement has certainly been enriched and increased since the decision of 1953 to invite students of all races to come to the conference.

—Sam Laird, Georgia

EXPERIMENT IN INTEGRATION

"Segregation shall not be recognized in any public schools!" The South roared. Integrated schools! Stores? Movies?



Churches? It would not be! Even the Supreme Court could not do that! Another more definite decision—"Segregation in public schools should be abolished as soon as feasible with the details of integration left up to the states." And in the midst of this comes the quiet witness of a community group in Georgia, the center of the strife. For twelve years they have tried to show their neighborhood that the Kingdom of God "cannot recognize boundaries of race, color, or



nationality." Now they announce they will have a summer camp—interracial!

There was little doubt as to where the campers would come from—John knew some families who would be interested, Indiana and Ohio, Claud knew some families in Atlanta, and gradually the contacts were made and the campers signed. But what about counselors? An advertisement appeared in *motive*, applications came in and the staff was chosen.

If one has a pioneering spirit he will realize the thrill, and apprehension which we felt when we were chosen. The challenge of being partially responsible for the success or failure of the first interracial camp in the Deep South—the challenge of being responsible!

Koinonia is a community of forty-five people bound together by their beliefs in nonviolence, racial equality, and communal property. Not only was the camp to demonstrate these ideals, but it functioned on the new-style camping.

Instead of the highly organized, heavily scheduled program, this camp was divided into age groups with one boy's and one girl's cabin composing an outpost group which moved to meet the need of the participating children. The counselors worked through the day with the campers—building, hiking, swimming, handwork, archery, farming. . . . Nature studies arose from natural situations with questions being asked by the children. When they realized we always carried snake-bite kits on our hikes, they asked why and in the informal discussion that followed we learned about snake-bite, poisonous and nonpoisonous snakes, in the Georgia area. When, on a hike, they found part of a cow skeleton they learned about how bones look, are joined together, and their function in the body—and anyway the ribs made good foils for fencing! The hog house became a biology lecture room when we visited it just in time to see a sow give birth to four pigs.

Worship, too, was often spontaneous. Upon the discovery of a beautiful spot among oaks and magnolias, the group wanted to thank God, so we formed our own litany of thanks. Songs of praise and thanks were often sung because of similar stimuli.

Most of the program was carried on within the limits of the 1,200-acre farm, but occasional trips were made to state parks and other points of interest. Though we were able to lose race consciousness on the farm it was brought

rather sharply to us on these outings. It was impossible for an integrated group to lose itself in a segregated society. The walls of prejudice moved our bounds to the farm but the campers rose above this handicap by developing friendships that were not limited by race. Being asked to leave the white waiting room of the railway station did not dampen the spirits of the group, but let them see that segregation by race is completely without foundation. Here the children were much better witnesses than the counselors because they had the courage to ask "why?" of the station master. The church, too, showed hostility to integration in a sermon, and we could not think of taking the campers to church with us. Why? There were no reasons; no one could even think of reasonable excuses.

In some minds there might be some doubt as to the success of the camp. The skills which usually mark camp experience weren't carried home in all cases—but at the end of camp the campers were asking *why* they are not allowed the fellowship of each other in all places. We feel they will not have to be asked *why* because they have seen from experience that color does not change a person's worth.

—Emily Learner, Junior, Centenary College, Shreveport, La.

ALTHOUGH not in that territory labeled the "Deep South," South Carolina is resting on the fringes and represents in the issue on segregation the typical stand of the "Old South." The trends of thought are the same as found anywhere—pro, con, and "middle of the road." From the viewpoint of the student, the majority of the pro-segregationists are of the parent and grandparent generation; the majority of the "cons" are in the student and older-youth age groups; and the majority of the "middle of the roaders" belong to the substudent ages who hardly know what to think.

The young people naturally are at an impressionable age. If they do not understand all the implications of the issue, they do know it is serious, that their future depends upon it to a large degree; and they are curious to know at every turn what this person thinks or that person—this or that church—this or that newspaper. And the following is the essence of what they see.

THE "PROS" ARE UNYIELDING!

Those people who are fighting integration are doing it from every angle that is conceivable. The motives behind their efforts would be unintelligible to a person outside the situation, but many Southerners excuse the strong tones by saying their feelings have "deep roots

in my past" and are not to be easily adjusted.

One small-town newspaper suggested that the leading politicians who want to fight integration should quit taking the stand, "We'll fight it with every legal weapon at our command," since the Supreme Court is not "even remotely acquainted with the word 'legal!'" They suggest fighting with every *psychological* and *sociological* weapon known, since it was on this basis, rather than a legal one, that the Supreme Court based its 1954 decision.

The Supreme Court's subsequent ruling banning segregation in public parks, playgrounds and golf courses, others present as an encroachment upon the principles of freedom—the Negro's freedom. "This idea of freedom is the only one that can unseat the legal idea fostered by the Supreme Court and now written under the constitution."

Another approach was to remind the Negro it was to the white owners of the industries and corporations that he owed his livelihood, and that he would do well not to force integration on them while in such a position. Many urge to not "push the South too hard"—listing possible (even inevitable) results as being the closing of public schools, which would be disaster to the South.

One local newspaper begged its people not to divide the races in such a way as to cause economic warfare. In some towns, small groups are propagandizing among the Negroes that certain stores and employers would not do business with them. There are boycotts. People find themselves without jobs and without employees.

A leading newspaper in Charleston condemned a leading newspaper in North Carolina (which they state is run by "Northerners") for taking the stand that millions of Southerners must face defeat and expect integration inevitably.

STILL, SOME LIGHT FROM THE OTHER SIDE

The steadying influence among South Carolinians are the people who have somehow kept more logical wits about them! Their viewpoint has been represented by the minority of moderate South Carolina newspapers (about three). They advocate a return to the more moderate position—warn against the extremists on both sides. They beg South Carolinians to be realists, and to see the futility of the "fight" they are determined to give; to evaluate the immediate losses against the final gains.

The *Florence Morning News* urged the people to face the situation: "Ask state officials to be honest. Then, move as close to objectivity as is possible when facing an emotional issue, and ask your-

motive

self what price you and your children want to pay for a short period of time.

"Segregation is going—it's all but gone. South Carolina and the rest of the South can't reverse the trend. We can fight—and will fight; but let's be honest with ourselves and ask how hard we want to fight when we know we can't win!"

WHAT ABOUT THE METHODISTS?

An influential factor in the minds of South Carolina Methodists on any critical issue would be the stand of the Methodist publication in the state, the *South Carolina Methodist Advocate*. As editor, one of the esteemed ministers in the South Carolina Conference, J. Claude Evans, presents a concrete middle-of-the-road program policy. The *Advocate* suggests as a *modus vivendi* a plan of desegregation that would begin now in the graduate schools of state colleges and universities, then, on an agreed timetable, proceed to the undergraduate, high-school, junior high-school, and elementary levels.

This would permit the "separate but equal" principle to do its leavening work in society. And education, too, would have side effects on health, morality, and economics. . . . There is, we believe, no comfort in the proposal to abolish public schools. This is counsel based on the assumption that ignorance, except for those able to afford private schools, is better than desegregation. If followed, it would ultimately end in the destruction of Protestantism. It was the Protestant emphasis on the Bible and the universal priesthood of all believers that gave impetus to universal public-school education in Western culture."

Such a program "would satisfy the demands of the Christian faith. Granted that Christianity believes in the absolute of love revealed to us in the life and death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Granted that this love must be incarnated in his followers, and directed to all people regardless of class, race, or nation. At the same time, this absolute does not deny the reality of practical situations and the necessity of taking these practical considerations into account."

MINISTERS TAKE OPPOSITE STANDS

For the students and young people who were hit by this problem, called the "most crucial regional issue since secession," almost before they fully realized there *was* a problem, the process of formulating their stand has been a tedious undergoing. Their basic principles of brotherhood and ethics have been attacked from all sides and many are torn between the question of whether or not a person can believe in segrega-

tion and be Christian! Their ministers quite naturally have been among those to whom they have looked for enlightenment as to "what is right."

Representing those Methodist ministers in South Carolina who favor segregation and have made public their views is E. S. Jones of Orangeburg, who says, "I have from the beginning felt it was unwise for the races to be thrown together in the public schools. It is my conviction that the Church and its ministry must always be positively Christian, not only in its ends, but in the ways and means adopted to attain these ends. In view of this, let all of us approach this problem in ways that seem to us best and Christian."

He sums up his position by quoting from the statement officially made by the South Carolina Conference on its stand, at the 1954 conference meeting: "It is apparent to us that an attempt to integrate the races in our public schools without regard to their relative numbers would work grave injustice to many innocent persons, and in the present instance, we fear that the Negro would suffer most, as he has often when those far removed from his everyday problems have undertaken to speak in his name."

"We earnestly entreat all our people to exercise patience and forbearance, to refrain from hasty words, and in every circumstance to maintain the spirit of him whom we call our Lord and Master. Let our white citizens respect in every way the person and inherent rights of the Negro. Let our Negro citizens believe in the genuine concern of their white brethren for their welfare and progress. Let us labor and pray together that nothing—whether from without or within—shall disturb the harmony and understanding that have existed so long among us."

An extreme opposite viewpoint is that of a prointegrationist, Reverend James M. Copeland of Union. He deplores the position of Southern people and churches. "It is sad, but true, that many ministers and churches are defending a decadent and unchristian position with reference to the integration of races."

He states a deep conviction that Divine Love replacing human prejudices is the answer. "Behind the hesitation and outright opposition of many well-thinking and well-meaning Southerners lies a prejudice deep rooted in our traditions." And yet, what is the difference between the Negro and the white man? He says it is the pigment of the skin—

physical characteristics. "The fact that the Negro's skin is black, his hair kinky, and his nose flat, does not alter in the least our responsibility under God to accept him as a brother in Christ and an equal member in the family of God."

"If Christ were in South Carolina in the flesh, would he preach and practice segregation? Could he? You know he could not be Savior of all men and refuse to associate with some because of racial differences. Love sees clearer and farther than does anything else in life. It is prejudice and hate that blind. Love opens eyes, and hearts, and understanding."

"I feel reasonably certain that a baptism with the Spirit of Holy Love would abolish every impediment and obstacle in the path of the brotherhood of all races of men. The shame of this whole procedure is that force must be used to accomplish what love alone should and would accomplish."

EXTERNAL FORCES: THE PRESSURE GROUPS

The influence of the NAACP has been seen in integration petitions, mostly in the coastal region in Charleston and Beaufort counties. In the predominantly white upcountry, only one integration petition has been filed (at Greenville) and no Citizens Councils have been formed.

Citizens Councils exist in the greatest number in the predominantly Negro counties (9) in the Low Country. Orangeburg furnishes the outstanding example of the formation and functioning of these groups in the state. Against a background of a predominantly (63 per cent) Negro population, the councils sprang up spontaneously as an immediate aftermath to the filing of NAACP petitions for integration.

Meanwhile, Ku Klux Klan activity ebbed somewhat. Outdoor public rallies were held in the vicinity of four towns in June and August. A cross was burned in the front yard of a Walterboro newspaper editor on August 22, after he had castigated the Klan editorially.

There has been obvious antagonism against the NAACP, righteous indignation by the majority against the Ku Klux Klan. But there have been mixed feelings about the Citizens Councils. *The News and Courier*, in Charleston, strongly supports them. They state their purpose to be to "protect this region from degradation and bloodshed. We wish the movement would spread even faster." Against the attack on the Councils that they exerted "economic pressure," *The News and Courier* defends them on the basis of prejudice and misunderstanding. "The use of political and economic pressure has been a basic weapon from the beginning among people seeking to break down racial barriers."



THE CONVICTIONS OF SOME HAVE BECOME THEIR CROSS

An episode in the history of The Methodist Church in South Carolina and of segregation vs. integration—an episode in the life of one man which could have disillusioned him for life had his convictions not been so deep and his character so strong—took place in the summer of 1955, immediately following the meeting of the annual conference of The Methodist Church. Reverend John B. Murry was asked to leave his church in Springfield because of his coauthorship of a resolution passed at the annual conference opposing economic pressure by Citizens Councils.

Convictions on both sides were so deeply felt that seemingly action was necessary in order to be true to what they held to be right. There was no obvious repercussion from the church of the other signer, the Reverend McKay Brabham, of Aiken. Within the state, itself, there are great differences in the emotion which the people show in this issue. Families have been "disappointed" in their children; children have been disappointed in their families. There have been arguments among family groups, adult-student groups, adult groups that have been heated and have ended in ill-feelings and no common agreement. Who can say how long the span of time will be before the people involved in this will be of "one mind and spirit" about it? The student generation seems to be a pretty courageous one this "go-around." There may be little compromise. —Harriet Ann Floyd, Winthrop College.



FLORIDA SUPREME COURT DECISION

For the past six years Virgil Hawkins, a 46-year-old Negro publicist for Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach, has been fighting for admission to the law school at the University of Florida. During those years he has been turned down by the University of Florida, by the State Board of Control, and by the Florida Supreme Court. Insisting that a new law school established at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University for Negroes in Tallahassee made adequate provision for Hawkins to study law, the Florida high court said "no" to all his requests.

"I am not a test case," said Hawkins. "I want to be a lawyer. I've wanted to be a lawyer all my life." And the United States Supreme Court remanded his appeal to the Florida high court with instructions to re-examine its previous

decision in the light of the federal court's integration decision.

On October 19, 1955, the Supreme Court of the State of Florida issued its latest decision in the Hawkins affair. The Florida justices refused to order his immediate admission to the law school at Gainesville, but banned school segregation as a legal principle. By a vote of five to two the Court held that the Board of Control governing Florida's state universities "cannot lawfully refuse to admit [Hawkins] to the University of Florida Law School merely because he is a Negro." The court further decreed that conflicting state laws have no force and effect, and state agencies have no authority to bar a student merely on grounds of color. The Court added, however, that the federal ruling does not require "a clear legal duty" to admit Negro students to schools "at any particular time in the future."

To see that the rights of Hawkins are protected, the Supreme Court appointed Circuit Judge John A. Murphree of Gainesville, home of the University of Florida, as a special court commissioner. He is to take testimony from Hawkins and the University "and such witnesses as they may produce to show whether or not the university law school is ready at this time to accept Negro students." Murphree's report must be completed in four months [about February, 1956] and "must be limited in scope to the conditions that may prevail and that may lawfully be taken into account in respect to the college of law at the University of Florida." On the basis of Judge Murphree's findings, the Supreme Court will determine when Hawkins shall be admitted to the University.

Two supplementary opinions by Florida justices dealt with the whole question of segregation. Justice Glenn C. Terrell, senior member of the Court, wrote a special concurring opinion questioning integration in principle. He said, in part: "Segregation is not a new philosophy generated by the states that practice it. When God created man he allotted each race to his own continent according to color—Europe to the white man, Asia to the yellow man, Africa to the black man, and America to the red man. But we are now advised God was in error and must be reversed." Terrell's opinion continued: "States with segregated schools have them from a deep-seated conviction. They are as loyal to that conviction as to any other philosophy to which they are devoted." Both races are, in his opinion, "totally unprepared in mind and attitude" for non-segregated schools.

A dissenting opinion, in which Justice Elwyn Thomas concurred, was prepared by Justice H. L. Sebring, who has recently retired to become dean of the

Stetson University Law School. The Sebring opinion, which held that segregation is unlawful and should be ended immediately, said in part: "The only federal judicial guide that we have as to what the states must do to provide 'equal opportunities' to their citizens within the purview of the 14th Amendment is laid down in *Brown v. the Board of Education*, supra [the desegregation ruling], which expressly holds that in the field of education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. That it is our judicial duty to give effect to this new pronouncement cannot be seriously questioned."

Although the case before the Florida court concerned only the College of Law at the University of Florida, it lays down procedures that will in time be applied to the other state universities, to the tax-supported junior colleges, and to public elementary and secondary schools. Most authorities agree that the decision means that Florida is moving in the direction of integration, but that the state is in no hurry.

General reaction throughout the State appeared favorable. Thomas D. Bailey, state superintendent of public instruction, said that "The Florida Supreme Court decision . . . established a pattern which may preserve the orderly functioning of our public school system." On October 19 the *Tallahassee Democrat* headline read, "Court Delays Integration at UF for Further Study." And on October 20 the *Democrat* expressed its editorial opinion: "The Florida Supreme Court majority laid down a precedent for careful and deliberate action based on practical considerations in future desegregation cases when it assigned a Gainesville circuit judge to take testimony on when it will be best to admit a Negro to the University Florida law college. . . . This is in line with the U. S. Supreme Court's recognition of the real fact that some communities may be ready for peaceful desegregation much sooner than others and that only the local courts are in a position to make the determination." —Gregg Phifer and Betty Flory, *Florida State University, Tallahassee.*

DESEGREGATION IN KNOXVILLE

The laying of a foundation for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision regarding nonsegregated public schools really began in Knoxville some six years ago. At that time a group of citizens of both races joined in the organization of a "Fellowship House" patterned after the program in Philadelphia. Several hundred people have met together under one phase or another of its program which includes an interracial day camp each summer, a "Units for Unity" study series in the fall, special

motive

events, and regular membership meetings.

Knoxville has a population of some 150,000, about 11 per cent of the total being Negro. It is a former state capital and the site of the State University of Tennessee. It retains many "county seat town" characteristics, but it has been greatly influenced by the proximity of Oak Ridge, where integration of the high school has already taken place without untoward incident. Both the University and the nearby atomic energy installations have brought in a significant number of individuals born and educated in the North or West.

The graduate schools of the University were opened by court action in 1952 to Negro citizens, and the airport cafe was required by the mayor to serve all persons without the necessity of court action. Several of the best dining facilities have been opened to interracial meetings on occasion. The local unit of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, most ministerial associations, the United Council of Church Women, and several other groups are already unsegregated, most having become so in recent years.

In January, 1955, a Joint Committee was organized in which Fellowship House and 38 other church and civic organizations joined together in anticipation of the handing down of the actual decrees. The local Wesley Foundation is a member. In a series of five letters, signed by the affiliated organizations, the group has offered its services to the city and county school boards. It has both expressed its willingness to help in any way possible to smooth the transition to integrated schools and also from time to time made concrete suggestions as to steps which were felt to be in order at a given time.

Representatives from the member bodies meet once a month for strategy planning and information sharing. No action is taken in the name of the Joint Committee itself. All letters are signed by the organizations which approve them. Relations with the school boards have been cordial.

The group has been assured that no effort will be made to evade the ruling and that plans are well advanced for the required integration. Release of these plans to the public is expected very shortly.

—Glen Otis Martin, Knoxville, Tennessee



Explain this big difference to me once more.

Desegregation Has Many Facets

(Continued from page 17)

Court order. A Negro minister left the state after gunplay, the first act of violence inaugurated by a Negro or partisan of desegregation.

Tennessee: 85 Negro students entered federal Oak Ridge schools and the Anderson County Federation for Constitutional Government has demanded the superintendent be fired for violating state laws. A Chattanooga education commissioner withdraws a pro-segregation statement. The Negro PTA of Davidson County has asked for segregation.

Texas: The Texas Supreme Court has declared invalid segregation provisions of state constitution and school laws in the Springs case. El Paso, Corpus Christi, San Marcos are desegregated and between 1 per cent and 2 per cent of students in state are attending integrated schools in 65 of 1,800 districts. A federal judge has ruled that Dallas can continue to operate "separate but equal" schools.

Virginia: Special session of the legislature is studying ways to maintain segregation, perhaps by abolishing public schools (as suggested in Georgia and other states). The state CIO Council has opposed this latter move and supports the decision of the Court. At least 6 petitions have been filed for desegregation.

West Virginia: All but 10 of 55 counties have begun to remove segregation, but Raleigh County, 20,418 white and 3,040 Negro students involved, has rescinded its desegregation order. Greenbrier County tried, then failed, and will try again to desegregate.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Except in border states of Missouri, West Virginia, and Oklahoma the move to desegregate is slow or nonexistent.

2. There have been almost no internal problems in segregated schools, but community pressures remain strong.

3. The Court decisions have already resulted in rapid moves to equalize Negro and white schools, even in the core states of Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi. In some of these states the budget for Negro school construction is far greater than for white schools. The inequality still exists in every state.

4. In Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Virginia, and West Virginia (at least) the Negro teacher is better prepared on the average than the white teacher, but earns lower pay in most cases.

5. Many court cases are on the docket and most court decisions have upheld desegregation.

6. Most of the court decisions have put on time limits on the process.

7. Negro teachers are losing their jobs in desegregated areas and this will probably continue although there is some effort to strengthen tenure laws.

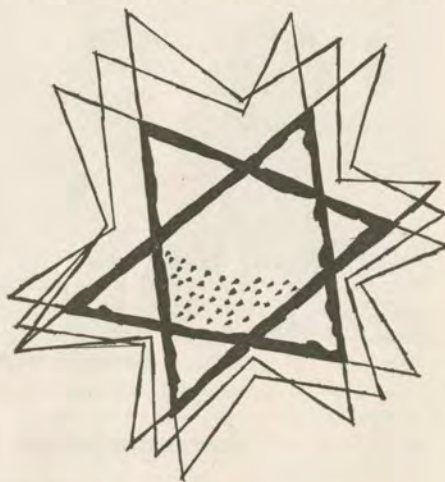
8. The biggest threat to desegregation is to close the public schools, and this may be attempted in several states. However, this will, it is generally agreed, wreck the educational standards of these states since they are the poorer states which receive directly or indirectly a lot of federal aid. The legality of the move is in doubt.

9. In some areas the integration will move rapidly, in some areas very slowly, and in some areas will not move at all without some dramatic event. In general the "cotton belt" will be the last to integrate, industrial and tobacco areas somewhat more rapidly and border areas rapidly.



an answer for doubt . . .

THY GOD REIGNETH



by Jim Sanders

HOW beautiful indeed an experience it must have been for the exiled Jews to hear the good news of peace and salvation, "Your God Reigns" (Isa. 52:7).

The significance of both the calamity of the exile, around 597-586 B.C., and the hope of restoration of the Jewish state, which came to concrete realization some fifty to sixty years later, is conveyed to us by the great prophets of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The principal source for understanding how the returning exiles should interpret these experiences is the message of the Second Isaiah, found in the book of Isaiah, chapters 40 to 55. Other sources include the preaching of Haggai and Zechariah, scattered passages dating from the critical sixth century B.C., as well as the later views and events recorded of the following century.

However, before one can fully understand the convictions of the Second Isaiah, he must first comprehend the background of his message. This means we must first discover the all-important ideas of his predecessors Jeremiah and Ezekiel upon which he constructed his argument of what God was saying to his people in the wake of tragedy and the eve of a new and hopeful departure.

A common and popular ancient belief which the prophets had to combat was the idea that God could be bound by a single principle and that principle could work against him. Such a principle was the purely nationalist character of the deity wherein a god was so tied to the nation that defeat of the nation meant

defeat of its god, hence his death. Another such principle was divine justice. While it may (or may not) be true that the God of Amos was entirely a "just" God there is no evidence for thinking, as many biblical students have thought, that the God of the other pre-exilic prophets was totally lacking in other attributes. These things must be kept in mind as we attempt to comprehend the struggle of the prophets in Israel's most critical hour, the defeat of Judah and the question of the future.

Jeremiah

If one analyzes the message of Jeremiah as it is received in the Bible he finds that most all of what the prophet said, communicated in symbolic actions or had recorded, falls into four categories: (1) indictments against the people, (2) sentences of judgment leveled for sins committed, (3) how the people should accept divine justice, and (4) the consequences they may expect therefrom. Such an analysis can be dangerous or it may reveal the heart of the prophet's message. These four parts of Jeremiah's thought are so interwoven in many passages that a too-rigid investigation yields little of what the prophet meant to convey. It would be highly dangerous to suppose that Jeremiah systematized his thought in this way. On the other hand we are quite liable to miss the crux of his message unless we in some manner such as this read the *total* record. The important thing is to read it all, at least all that is originally from Jeremiah, in such a way as to be able to relate the

motive

calamity he predicts to the hope he is confident lies beyond.

If Jeremiah's message has a motto, or contains a single phrase indicative of his main thought, it is undoubtedly to be found in 2:19:

Your evil will discipline you,
And your apostasy will reprove you.

Here, as elsewhere many times, Jeremiah says that because the people had done evil God would bring evil against them. Here in general terms are both indictment and sentence. Similarly in 5: 4-6 the prophet indicts the poor and the rich, the small and the great for breaking the yoke and bursting the bonds which had related people to God. They no longer know the way of the Lord, the plan of their God. Therefore, because their transgressions are many and their apostasies great the judgment against them will be harsh.

Harsh, but with a purpose. In 30:14 the judgment of God brought against the people is called harsh, but it is defined as discipline just as, earlier, in 2:19 it had been called disciplinary. In other words we come to step three, how the people are to accept the calamity.

Very briefly then, the heart of Jeremiah's message is that there will be hope for the decimated people of Judah if they accept God's judgment of their past as hope for the future, if they accept the calamity as divine discipline (see 31: 18, 19). That hope of restoration is recorded in chapters 30 and 31. But the all-important crucial transition from judgment to hope must not be overlooked. It was the heart of the prophet's preaching as well as the most difficult point in his message. He explains the transition from calamity to salvation quite clearly in 31:2, 3:

The people who survived the sword
Have found grace in the desert,
Israel going to his rest.

From afar the Lord appears to him,
saying,
With an everlasting love have I loved
you;
Now shall I extend to you my faithfulness.

"Those who survive the sword" means precisely those who accept God's judgment as divine discipline. They stand naked in the desert, their hearts shorn of sham, deceit and falsehood. And there, *mirabile visu*, God appears to reclothe them in love and faithfulness. Gone is the falsehood they had thought their security and defense.

It is in this same chapter that Jeremiah records his tenderest hope, 31:31-34. There he explains the nature of this reclothing, the grace, the love and the

faithfulness. They form the basis of a new covenant wherein God's law and plan for them are at the very heart of their being and will constitute the very stuff of their most basic thinking. Their lives will be lives of grace, love and faithfulness. All this, *if*, and only *if*, they accept the calamity, God's judgment, as divine discipline.

Underlying this difficult message is the prophet's firm conviction, of which we learn most clearly in the confessions of his own experience, that God was, is, and will be in control of the whole situation from beginning to end with a plan, a plan executed from the start with "an everlasting love." God at no point lost out to either the Babylonian invading forces or his own anger. It was never a case of his "holiness" requiring something of him which his mercy later corrected. His plan was executed in graceful love from the start, tearing down in order to rebuild (1:10). If we look only at judgment and calamity on the one hand and salvation and restoration on the other we miss the real significance of Jeremiah's lesson about God. He at no point lost control to others or himself. He at no point died.

Ezekiel

For Ezekiel too the judgment and calamity must have an effect on the people before "Return" is possible. Scattered through his harsh exposé of indictments and sentences which form the burden of chapters 1-24, are clear indications of the effect the judgment should have. 4:17 says the people will look at one another in dismay; 6:9, that they will be loathsome in their own sight; 21:15, that their hearts will melt; and 24:23, that they will pine away in their iniquities and groan to one another. Finally in 33:10 the expected happens; the people come to the prophet and confess, "Our transgressions and our sins are upon us, and we waste away because of them; how then can we live?"

The pattern for life for Ezekiel as for Jeremiah is clear: God has done all this that the people may be righteous and live, that they may have life under God. There will be a new covenant (34:25) wherein God's spirit is within them (36:26), at the very heart of their being. Furthermore, God will be the shepherd and the king in a true theocracy. To this idea we shall return later.

Though Ezekiel often says God will spend his anger and fury in judgment (5:13) the heart of his message is that God at no point lost control either to Babylon or to himself. At no point did God change; at no point did he die. His plan was in effect from beginning to end.

Habakkuk 1:12

The simplest and clearest statement of

this basic conviction of the great prophets is found in the message of another great prophet of whom we know very little. What we do have from him is found in Habakkuk 1:11 to 2:4. He obviously accepted the truth of the oracle found in 1:5-10 which pertains to the invasion of Babylonian forces and dates probably from around 604 B.C. Our prophet, a late contemporary of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and perhaps influenced by them, around 580-570 B.C., perceived clearly the significance of the calamity. It is not the Babylonian forces who actually are in dominance (1:11) but rather God who is in control.

Art thou not from everlasting,
O Lord, my God, my Holy One,
Who do not die?

Our English Bibles translate "We shall not die." They are led by a scribal change in the text which originally had the more pertinent assertion that through it all the God of poor, defeated, decimated Israel, had not been defeated or in any way died. This undoubtedly appeared sacrilegious to later readers and copiers of the text. But it was a burning question in the sixth century B.C. to the Jews in exile. What has happened to our God?

The prophet goes on to say that he now sees clearly that the Babylonians bore the judgment of God against his people, that the Babylonians had defeated Judah as the instruments of God's disciplinary action for chastisement. Israel's God did not die. On the contrary he was in control all along.

This same prophet ends by asserting what the prophet (the First) Isaiah had asserted over a century before, "The righteous shall live by his faith" (Hab. 2:4). That is, those who have suffered disciplinary calamity find life through faith in God that his plan and way will prevail, through knowing that God has not died in letting his people be defeated. Isaiah had said the same in 28: 16, "He who believes need not haste" or be in a frenzy. Believe or have faith in what? That God is in control and has not failed, that he does not depend upon our weak materialistic national defenses. The significance of life does not lie in such weakness. Our ultimate belief or faith must be in God and not in our own devices which can fail even before the less righteous (Habakkuk 1:13) Babylonians. Only then can we live or grasp the meaning of life. God did not pass away with the national defenses. He yet lives!

Psalms 137

The one psalm which *all* students of the Bible agree comes from the exile period is Ps. 137. It is one of the most beautiful psalms in the Psalter and is

familiar the world over, having been set to music many times. The extent of the original psalm is through verse six only.

In Babylon, it is said, the Jews hung up their lyres and would not sing a song to the Lord though their captors tormented them demanding they sing. The psalm is usually interpreted to mean that the Jews would not sing because they were homesick in a foreign land or did not want to please the Babylonian guards who mocked them. It is undoubtedly true that the Jews on such an occasion could not find it in themselves to be amusing. But the real reason they would not sing a song to the Lord was not for nostalgia but that they were disconsolate and downcast—not because of homesickness but despair. The captors asked for a song not to be amused but to “harry” (Moffatt) the Jews and mock them. Captives and slaves have always sung of their homeland. It was not nostalgia which restrained them but dejection. If Judah was defeated, popularly that meant to the Babylonian guards mocking them, as well as to the Jews, that the God of Judah was defeated and the god of Babylon had been victorious. Therefore the question, “How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a foreign land?” is not an expression of piety as often thought but evidence of a downcast state. “How can we sing the Lord’s praises (when he has let us be led captive here) in a foreign land?” is the meaning.

The Babylonians indeed mocked and harried them. Your God is defeated, he is no god. Marduk has defeated him. He is dead!

The piety is shown not in refusing to sing—but in the following verses (5 and 6). The resolution of the psalm and a tremendous expression of faith are evident in the form of an oath. Here is the psalmist himself speaking in the face of despair. Let my right hand wither and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I ever forget Jerusalem or ever permit whatever joys and pleasures are afforded me here in Babylon to induce me to forsake the true faith. These verses, 5 and 6, are in the first person singular and are the psalmist’s reaction to what he sees and hears of his fellow Jews in exile, downcast and dejected, in despair. He will have faith though all around him despair. No, the Lord did not die. He yet lives. He is God!

Deutero-Isaiah

The task of the Second Isaiah was immense. He was God’s spokesman to his exiled people in Babylon; he was himself in exile. His message, contrary to that of the pre-exilic prophets, was not to pronounce judgment teaching the people how it should be accepted, but rather to announce the imminence of the return of

the people to Judah and Jerusalem. His task was to console the people and comfort them. He starts his message by declaring that judgment is done, sins are pardoned, and the time has arrived to return home (40:2).

One fine point to remember in Deutero-Isaiah’s message is that he did not simply preach comfort to an exiled people or announce coming days of hope to a people in captivity. He in his message, as the earlier prophets in their messages, related hope to judgment. Whereas the greater part of the preaching of the pre-exilic prophets had been pronouncement of calamity, the greater part of the message of the Second Isaiah was assurance of hope. But wherever judgment and hope *both* appear in the prophetic message, in whatever proportion, the *relation* of the two is always established.

Judgment is ended, sins are pardoned and the sentence, as Jeremiah asserted, has been harsh. Judah has paid double for all her sins (40:2). Hardships endured have not been forgotten. Not one moment of the fifty years of oppression has escaped God’s attention. God knows his people have suffered. It is admitted that they have paid twice over for the sins they had committed.

This is a people robbed and plundered,
They are all of them trapped in holes
and hidden in prisons;

They have become a prey with none to
rescue,

A spoil with none to say, “Restore!”
(42:22)

Who did this to them? Only secondarily the Babylonians.

Actually it was the Lord against whom they had sinned (42:24).

He did it on the one hand to magnify his law, to execute justice, but also, as Jeremiah had said, that the people take the judgment to heart (42:25; 48:10).

For a brief moment I forsook you,

And with great compassion I will
gather you.

In overflowing wrath for a moment

I hid my face from you,

And with everlasting love I will have
compassion on you. (54:7, 8.)

The love has been everlasting. It was not absent in the judgment of calamity and exile. For only a brief moment did God seem to forsake his people. One of the most important things Deutero-Isaiah has to say to his people is that God has not been idle these fifty years of the exile. In his seeming abandonment of his people he has actually been working out their salvation. He has all along been their God laboring for his people.

Behold, his reward is with him,
And his recompense before him.
(40:10)

It is evident from his message that the prophet is working against great odds in trying to convince his people of the salvation Yahweh, God of Israel, is bringing about. Many people had understandably forsaken the Lord for faith in the Babylonian deities. It would be only logical to think that if Judah was defeated by the Babylonians then the Lord was defeated by Marduk and the other Mesopotamian gods. The purpose of chapter 46 is to persuade those who have defected to the victorious gods of Babylon that they have done wrong. These he calls the “stubborn of heart” (46:12). They engage in outward practice of Babylonian religions (50:11). What we must understand is that it would be entirely natural for the people to do just as they did. They went to Babylon and found similar assertions, as in the creation myths, claimed for the gods there as they had been taught of the Lord. The prophet tries to deal with that argument by asserting that the Lord is the Creator God and none other (45:12, 18; 51:9).

The primary message of Deutero-Isaiah is one of hope: the exiled people will soon return home. But his greatest task is in dealing with the doubt in his people’s hearts entrenched there by the long exile and oppression. It was only natural that the people believe that Yahweh had been defeated, that he was no more indeed, that he had died! Hence the greater part of chapters 40 to 55 is given over to his argument that the gods of Babylon and the idols which represent them are the ones who are not and do not exist—and indeed, never have existed! Rather it is Yahweh who is God and he alone (43:11-13).

It is Deutero-Isaiah who first in the Bible sets forth in full exposition the idea of monotheism (48:12). What the people thought was the work of the Babylonian deities in the defeat of Judah was actually a moment in the plan of the one universal God, Yahweh. This was his answer to the doubt in the breasts of his people. Furthermore, just as God could use Babylon to reign judgment on Judah so he can use Cyrus and Persia to effect their return home.

What a crucial moment in the history of Israel! And what a revelation was wrought through the faith of this great prophet! Accepting the teaching of Jeremiah before him that the deserved judgment of God in the calamity of defeat should be accepted as divine discipline, the Second Isaiah not only asserted that his people were wrong to think that Yahweh had been defeated or had died but, far from that, their God was the one and only God, whose purposes were made manifest in the suffering of his people.

And the excessive suffering, the paying double for their sins, could that too

motive

be a part of "everlasting love"? The answer to that question brings us to Israel's future. Such suffering has seasoned God's people to be his witness among the nations, to be his servant (41:8, 9; 44:21). God had sent his prophets continually to Israel throughout her history to preserve her from the way of destruction (Hosea 12:13) and show her the way of salvation and peace. Now he would send the decimated nation, disciplined by suffering and exile as a prophet to the nations and a light to the world (53:5; 49:6).

What an answer for doubt! Had God died? No. His purposes have been evident from calamity and defeat through to hope and restoration. His love has been manifest not only in the joys of salvation but in the sufferings of judgment. He lives! And we are his servants.

Hearken to me, you who know righteousness,

The people in whose heart is my law;
Fear not the reproach of men,

And be not dismayed at their revilings . . .

My deliverance will be forever,

And my salvation to all generations.
(Isa. 51:7, 8.)

The defeat of Judah, the fall of Jerusalem and the exile of the people were uncritically interpreted by most of the survivors as the end of the power of Yahweh. To some, such weaknesses as to let his people be so disgraced, meant that Yahweh had died. Certainly for most the calamitous events of the fall of the state cast great doubts over the ancient faith of Israel. And it must be remembered that Deutero-Isaiah in his heroic and saintly fight for the faith could not belittle in any way the tragedies of defeat. To do that, only emphasizing the positive aspects of hope of returning home, could not have borne the immensely revealing message which emerged from a total perspective of all that had happened.

Indeed, some sixteen or seventeen

years later, back home in Judah, the prophet Haggai ran into just the difficulties one might expect from an isolated view of the return alone. The people, doubtlessly happy to be home, turned all their energies to seeing after themselves, building their own homes, neglecting their worship of God, leaving the temple in its ruins. Zechariah, Haggai's fellow prophet, had to remind the people of the results of such behavior in former times announced by the prophets. Judgment and hope go together. Exile and return had to be seen in perspective. It was only through that dual perspective that the message of the events of the sixth century B.C. could be perceived. He yet lives!

The consequences of such a revelation could mean only one thing: God is sovereign of our lives. He is king and none other. In the uncertain days after the return this was interpreted in various ways. The temporal rule of the revived state of Judah became a big question. According to Jeremiah, some passages in Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah, this was to mean what we now call prophetic theocracy wherein God is king with no earthly king in his place; the spirit of God was to reign through the mission of Israel to all the world as his prophetic servant. According to other passages in Ezekiel and Zechariah God would be represented by an earthly king. In Zechariah this king was to be Zerubbabel. According to yet other passages in Ezekiel and Zechariah, as well as the views expressed generally in the following century, including Ezra, Nehemiah and the priestly writings of the Pentateuch, there was to be a high priest to rule over the nation.

Of often, the Bible presents a variety of views quite freely. But whether or not the emerging theocracy of Judah was to be prophetic, royalist or priestly, the biblical record of the time insists that the one universal God was ruler of all.

This was the lesson of the sixth century B.C. Accepting the basic message of the prophets before him, particularly

Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah wrestled with the doubts of the people and emerged with the most basic article of faith of Judaism and Christianity: He lives! And not only does he live, he is the one true universal God, creator and sustainer of the world, author of history, both the exile and the return, both suffering and joy, Judge and Redeemer! Comfort ye, comfort ye, the return is imminent, salvation is at hand.

Yet more! Return for what? Saved for what? Here is the climactic lesson evolving from judgment and redemption and it should be the same to all generations.

You are my witnesses, says the Lord,

And my servant whom I have chosen
(43:10)

Just as it was not enough to assert dogmatically that God yet lives so it was not enough simply to preach comfort and hope. Not only does Yahweh live but he is king and ruler of all the world, "Your God reigns!" It is not enough that we experience salvation ourselves, we are to carry this message of wholeness, peace and salvation to all other peoples. "The discipline necessary to our peace was upon him, and because of his suffering we may learn wholeness, peace and salvation" (from 53:5), say the neighboring nations as they observe God's servant disciplined in suffering. Here past suffering and future hope come to fullest fruition.

Nor can we simply lick our wounds keeping this salvation to ourselves. To realize our own salvation we must carry the message of salvation to the end of the earth. He who so loses his life will find it.

It is too light a thing that you should be my servant

(for your own salvation) . . .

I will give you as a light to the nations,

That my salvation may reach to the end of the earth. (49:6)

SOURCE

Southern School News, Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tenn. \$2. Special mention must be made of this publication established by Southern newspaper editors and educators with the "aim of providing accurate, unbiased information . . . on developments in education arising from the U. S. Supreme Court opinion of May 17, 1954." It is neither prosegregation nor antisegregation, but simply reports the facts.

Journal of Negro Education, Bureau of Educational Research, Howard University, Washington 1, D. C. \$4. This publication, edited at the largest of the Negro universities, is paying special attention to the whole list of problems arising from the Supreme Court decision. Solid,

factual, with the twist of the scholarly journal.

New South, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. Southern Regional Council. \$3. This publication deals with the issues confronting the South of today edited from the liberal position. It has led in many fights, as, for instance, the hiring of Negro policemen in the large Southern cities.

Crisis, official organ of the NAACP. Publishing office, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York. \$1.50. This publication features short articles and editorials concerning the struggle of the Negro for first-class American citizenship. Beginning in 1910, its life spans almost the entire lifetime of the NAACP.

The South's \$64,000 Question

by Maury Phillips

THERE'S a new quiz game. It's called "The South's \$64,000 Question." It plays in all Southern States before packed houses. The audience is sometimes "hot under the collar"; sometimes agreeable; sometimes unconcerned.

The show is booked for University, Mississippi. Principal participants come from all parts of the State, and this fabulous quiz show is about to be turned into a panel called "What's My View?"

The emcee of the occasion, and the center of attraction, is Rev. Alvin Kershaw, of TV's \$64,000 fame.

Mr. Kershaw is slated to lead seminars on religion and literature as an expert on "religion and modern drama," for Religious Emphasis Week at the University of Mississippi.

Recent developments raise doubts as to whether "the show will go on." Chancellor J. D. Williams is considering canceling Mr. Kershaw's invitation. Why?

Wallace Sherwood, editor, *The Mississippian*, campus newspaper at the university, fills in the chain of events that has taken place:

(1) The Committee of 100 of the "Y" invited Rev. Mr. Kershaw (before his \$64,000 fame, or infamy); (2) Rev. Mr. Kershaw appeared on "The \$64,000 Question" TV quiz game; (3) he later stated that he might donate part of his "winnings" to the NAACP; (4) Representative James Morrow of Rankin County notified Chancellor Williams that they (the Citizens Councils) objected to Mr. Kershaw's appearance at the university because of his views on segregation; (5) *The Mississippian* published editorial No. 1 in support of Mr. Kershaw's coming to the university; (6) *The Jackson Daily News* attacked *The Mississippian* editorially; (7) *The Mississippian* replied in front-page editorial.

Meanwhile, student polls were taken, committees and groups of the university expressed themselves. Other editors and newspapers have taken up the fight.

As far as the editorial attacks and counterattacks are concerned, it all began when Ann Flautt, assistant editor of *The Mississippian*, wrote "editorial No. 1" and later followed with "editorial No. 2." Miss Flautt said in part:

"... We are not endorsing the Reverend Mr. Kershaw's views of the NAACP in fighting this issue. We are merely stating that we feel students are mature enough to listen to him. But one of the

practical aspects seems to be lacking. Rev. Mr. Kershaw was not invited to the university as a speaker on integration, social equality or mixed marriages. He was invited to conduct seminars on religion and literature. . . ."

The Jackson Daily News printed an editorial slamming the action taken by *The Mississippian* concerning the Kershaw question. The university paper had stated that the barring of any citizen from speaking merely because of his own personal views on a subject is an infringement of the constitutional right of freedom of speech.

The Daily News editorial stated: "Put on your thinking caps, youngsters. Nobody is trying to keep you from making your own decisions or forming your own opinions. They seek only to keep you from being asked to listen to a man who, by his own confession, is in sympathy with an organization that is not only a sworn enemy of the South but is also heavily infiltrated with communism as a list of its members plainly shows."

Staff writer Phil Stroupe of *The Daily News* comments: "Freedom of thought and expression is a constitutional right which if tampered with may become a right without a constitutional guarantee. . . ."

The Jackson State Times, in an editorial, wisely commented: "... Our blessed guarantees of freedom cover the right to be alone instead of with the crowd, to be stupidly wrong as well as brilliantly right, to be cussedly obstinate as well as sweetly agreeable.

"In times when we have to strain to keep our heads, it's harder to remember these principles, but we ought to try.

"A man has the right to be wrong and continue to live in any community as long as he keeps the peace.

"A man has the right to be wrong and still be heard on campus as long as he comes for a legitimate purpose.

"A man has the right to be wrong, period. He gets along better when he's right, of course, but if he wants to be a fool, he should be able to pursue that career without restraint or hindrance."

Another quote from the *State Times* says "... The only right solution is to let the man come to the university, lead his discussion groups and depart without undue notice. . . ."

James Ellis, editor of *Mississippi Southern's Student Printz*: "... We do

not agree with Rev. Mr. Kershaw's support of the NAACP, but we believe his speech should not be canceled because some disagree with his views."

Curtis Mullen, editor of *Canton's Madison County Herald*: "... We can be against the NAACP and those who are friendly toward it without acting like simpletons and injecting hatred and prejudice toward them."

All this brings us to student opinion.

Seventy-three per cent of the students polled at the university said: "Let Kershaw come!" The Campus Senate of the university has gone on record requesting Chancellor Williams not to cancel the invitation extended to Mr. Kershaw.

Pros and cons came from individual students.

Kathy Rodgers, national college queen: "Since he was invited to come before he decided to give money to NAACP, I think he should be allowed to come."

Don Whitten, law: "The State, university, and student body are leaving themselves wide open for the NAACP to make an incident on which they can capitalize. . . ."

Jim Rowsey, chairman of the department of social affairs: "I think he should be allowed to come here. We should be allowed to see all sides of the picture, in order to develop and mature, and learn how to run our own lives—I didn't come to the university to be treated like a child."

Tony Carbonar, senior: "Since he (Kershaw) has been invited, I think we should go ahead and let him come. But I disagree with his method of spending money, and I disagree with the NAACP. "But it's his money and I suppose he can do what he wants to with it."

(This last statement seems to be the general opinion at the University of Mississippi and at the colleges that have lent their support to the question).

Paul Pittman, Lt. (jg) U. S. Navy, Norfolk, Virginia, a former editor of *The Mississippian*, writes: "Though I may disagree with what or whom you may choose to hear, I will defend until my death your right to hear it."

Final results were not known when this article went to press.

(Thanks to Wallace Sherwood, editor; Ann Flautt, assistant editor; Walter Hurt, news editor; and Billy Ray, assistant news editor, of *The Mississippian* for information in this article.)

I FREQUENT THE PHOENIX

a review, not of a play, but of a theater

by Tom F. Driver

ANYONE interested in the trials, tribulations, and welfare of the New York stage (which sooner or later means the stage all across the country) has to pay attention to the Phoenix Theater. That is because it is partly an experiment in "different" theater, and partly a proven venture now in its third season. But mostly it is because of its dauntless director, Norris Houghton.

The Phoenix is not a Broadway theater, and yet it is not exactly what is known as an off-Broadway theater, either. It is not on Broadway, to be sure. (Neither are most of the Broadway theaters, for that matter.) It is down on unfashionable, dimly lit Second Avenue at Twelfth Street, instead of up around popular, brightly lit Forty-fifth Street. Still, it is not like the several tiny theaters which have exerted such an influence on the New York theater in the last four or five years, mostly in Greenwich Village, mostly in basements, lofts, churches, or former cabarets. The Phoenix is a standard-sized regular theater, seating (I'm guessing) around 2,500 people. It was either the last or the next-to-the-last legitimate theater constructed in New York. It and the Ethel Barrymore Theater were built in 1929. There was a stock-market crash in 1929, and that's the last time anyone has built a theater in this city—except for some movie houses and the lavish Center Theater at Rockefeller Center, which got torn down last year to make way for an office building.

The theater now known as the Phoenix wasn't successful as a home for legitimate stage attractions (perhaps because of the afore-mentioned stock-market crash), and so it went the way of many and became a movie house under the name of the Stuyvesant. And that's how it remained until 1953 (or maybe before) when Mr. Houghton began to envision other plans for it.

MORRIS HOUGHTON, who is chairman of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Drama, hailed originally from Indianapolis, where he belonged to a Methodist church and produced enough plays and pageants therein to become known in Indianapolis as, he tells us, "Mr. Religious Drama." "But," he hastens to add, "only in Indianapolis." From that metropolis he migrated eastward to Princeton University, where he received his A.B. degree together with a great deal of know-how in the theater.

After that, his energies were dedicated entirely to the stage, as they say in Playbills, and he eventually found himself directing plays on Broadway. Those ranged from *Macbeth* to *Clutterbuck* and then to *Billy Budd*. It was the latter, one of the most glorious failures in the history of American theater, that finally propelled Mr. Houghton into the Phoenix. He was convinced the play had merit. Everybody told him it would be financial suicide to produce a play about good and evil based on a novel by Herman Melville. Who wanted to see that on a night out? Nevertheless, he persevered, collected the necessary funds, and produced it on Broadway with Dennis King as the star. Everybody loved it except the general public. The cast took cuts in salary to help keep down expenses, and it stayed on for a great many weeks, but in the end it had to close several hundred thousand dollars in the red. Says Mr. Houghton: "I figured it was time to stop losing other people's money." What he wanted, and had always wanted, was a theater where people could see the play which, having real merit, was not about to turn into a sensational hit. The Broadway theater has no room for such a commodity. Your play is either a smash hit or it loses money. But the classics, the plays of social significance, and the off-beat writings of new playwrights don't come under the smash-hit category. Does that mean they can't be done at all? The Phoenix Theater was conceived as the answer.

There was in London a prototype for the kind of thing Houghton (and his partner, T. Edward Hambleton) wanted to establish. It was known as the Lyric Theater in Hammersmith. If you go there you are likely to see good actors from London's West End (equivalent of Broadway, Britishly speaking) doing plays they have a particular interest in but which aren't calculated to be commercial bonanzas. Your writer saw Trevor Howard there in a production of *The Cherry Orchard*, directed by Sir John Gielgud, excellently done. Houghton wanted to do a similar thing in America. A theater offering quality fare, at low cost (the top used to be \$3, has now gone up slightly), drawing upon some of the better talent in the theater. The public sees good plays, the actors have fun acting.

IN December, 1953, the Phoenix opened. A listing of the productions it

has offered in its short history will give an idea of the variety of fare it has sought to provide:

First Season—

Madam, Will You Walk? A modern allegory of good and evil by the late Sidney Howard, with Hume Cronyn and his wife, Jessica Tandy.

Coriolanus. Robert Ryan in the Shakespearean tragedy performed only once in New York since 1885.

The Golden Apple. A musical based on the return of the heroes from the Trojan War, set in the Pacific Northwest around the turn of the century.

The Seagull. Montgomery Clift, Judith Evelyn, and a list of other stars in Chekov.

Second Season—

Sing Me No Lullaby. A play by Robert Ardrey on the controversial theme of a professor who gets starved out of his profession because some people think he's un-American.

Sandhog. A musical based on Theodore Dreiser's story "St. Columba and the River," being a story of workers building a tunnel beneath the Hudson River and one who got blown clean up through the river bed, and lived to sing about it.

The Doctor's Dilemma. Geraldine Fitzgerald and Roddy MacDowell in Shaw's very funny tragedy.

The Master Builder. Oscar Homolka and the Mrs. (Joan Tetzel) in Ibsen's symbolic (or is it?) drama.

Phoenix '55. Nancy Walker in a musical based on an economic report in *Fortune* magazine!

Present Season—

The Carefree Tree. Farley Granger in a new play in something like the old Chinese style, about fighting, and love, and peace.

Six Characters in Search of an Author. A much-awaited revival of Luigi Pirandello's now-you-see-it-now-you-don't play, directed by Tyrone Guthrie.

Other attractions to be announced.

IN addition, to all that, there have been numerous attractions presented for short stands or one night. Marcel Marceau, the wonderful French mime, was there for two weeks this fall, and one night Geraldine Page read *Anna Christie*. Last

year the town was set buzzing with a Monday night stage reading of John Webster's *The White Devil*, a Jacobean thriller which all drama students read but which had never before been seen on a New York stage.

It's quite an impressive record, and there doesn't seem to be any slowing down yet. Whether they're making money, I don't know. I doubt if they're getting rich. But the point is, they're doing what they want to do and what need's doing.

NOW having said all that, it is necessary also to pose a question and make a wish. The question is why so many of the Phoenix productions strike one as being a whole lot more tame than they ought to be. The conception of the Phoenix Theater is tremendously exciting. And so is the proffered material—Shaw, Chekov, Shakespeare, Ibsen, Pirandello, and new things besides. But the actual productions have in many cases been not nearly as exciting on stage as they appeared in prospect. It doesn't seem to matter who directs, the result is just about the same: Not always, but often the edge is taken off.

The wish is that the Phoenix might become a repertory theater, using the same cast over and over but doing a varied bill. The Phoenix has tended to reflect some of the ills of the American stage in general: reliance on a name player who draws in the customers, but who does not work in a harmonious style with the rest of the cast. Occasionally, there are several names, and they don't fit together too well. That kind of thing is especially noticeable when the playwright is Shakespeare or Chekov, where practically everything depends on getting a co-ordinated approach, a common style. If you're going to do the classics, you've got to have a company that has acted together enough, and acted in the classics enough, to bring to them a particular and distinctive approach. The plays aren't new anymore, you see, and so it depends on how satisfactorily they can be performed. What's needed is a company as well trained and flexible as a good orchestra. Then you can work on interpretation.

Maybe the Phoenix isn't the place to do that kind of thing. And goodness knows we ought not to complain, because we've gotten far more for our dollar balcony seat than we'd get elsewhere for twice the money (or even six times). But when the vision is so good, and there's a theater there, and everything—you can't help wishing.

Meantime, keep your eye on what the Phoenix does. It's a lesson in perseverance and belief in quality, even amid the hard, cold, economic realities of show business.

recordings

ON CLASSICAL COLLECTIONS

by Lindsey P. Pherigo

WE live in a wonderful age. Never before has it been possible to be so well acquainted with good music. By means of records, even a modest budget enables us to know an enormous amount of music. Buying records, however, presents its own peculiar problems. In the maze of different kinds of music, different record companies, different performers, and different prices, to know what to buy is itself quite a job.

The basic principle in wise buying is to buy systematically rather than haphazardly. The usual guide to buying is accidental selection, made from whatever is currently available in the local shop. I have found much more satisfaction in buying according to a more systematic plan.

General collections offer the best beginning to this practice of systematic buying. They have the advantage of laying the foundation for a permanently satisfying series of special collections later on.

One might, for example, make a collection of representative works from each important composer. There's enough of these so-called "representative" works to permit a wide latitude in choices. Consultation with other record collectors, music books, and any other available source of information, will aid the rank beginner. The biggest problem in building up this kind of a collection is to decide which composers to exclude. Making these decisions, however, is a source of many happy hours in the record booths.

THE big advantage of this kind of a general collection is that it allows you really to judge for yourself just which composers speak most directly to you. Music isn't "good" or "bad"; it's just that some of it speaks more directly to us than others. In order to know what the full possibilities are, however, every record collector should own and repeatedly expose himself to each composer's idiom of musical expression. This is the only way to discover modes of expression that will provide permanently satisfying investments in the special collections that will come later.

Another kind of general collection, one

that could be carried on simultaneously with the representative composer collection, is the collection of every type of musical form. To know what you really like the best you must taste a good example of each music form. The well-rounded library of records not only has a representative work of each important composer, but has also a representative example of each kind of music form. It has at least one symphony, opera, oratorio, and cantata. It has a musical setting of the Mass, early madrigals, plain songs, and early "Gregorian" chants. It has all kinds of chamber music, from string orchestra suites, through double quartets, quintets (of several kinds), string quartets, trios, duets, and solos for all the standard solo concert instruments. It has all kinds of concertos, orchestral tone poems, and concert overtures. It has a representation of the rich variety of solo vocal music, from the sturdy German "lieder" to the fragile art songs of modern France, and classical dance music from the early court dances, through Strauss and Lumbye, to modern ballet music. This list is not exhaustive by any means, but only suggestive. Just as different people respond differently to different music idioms, so they respond differently to different forms of expressing this idiom. Each of us develops a special liking for chamber music, or art song, or orchestral compositions, or opera, or something else.

ANOTHER kind of general collection is one that is oriented around performers and artists rather than compositions and composers. This collection will represent every major artist by at least one representative performance. This will include orchestras, conductors, singers, and instrumentalists of all kinds. This kind of a collection is another great aid to specialization later on. Many dollars would be saved if we listened carefully to each of the great violinists in a characteristic performance before getting too enamoured of the style of one in particular. Judicious planning and buying could easily combine this kind of collection with the two described above. In getting representative compositions of all the com-

motive

posers, give full rein to the possibilities of the various artists. Then, as you discover the idioms you like best, and the forms of expression, you'll also be discovering the performers that are best able to convey to you the musical message which the composer has.

Those record collectors who are special addicts of "hi-fi" may find another kind of general collection more immediately attractive. In this kind, the music takes a secondary role. The main principle is to get a representative record from each company and check the fidelity of reproduction. When this is extended to foreign labels, the collection can get extensive indeed, and quite exotic. This is not quite as impractical as it might appear at first to one whose interest centers on the music rather than the sound. Some companies do produce consistently better records than others, and it is well to consider this in buying records. Then, too, many interesting small companies are discovered in the process and many real musical treasures come to light that are not generally available in ordinary shops. Much of the buying, in building up this kind of collection, must be done by mail rather than in a shop, and this has both advantages and disadvantages.

From these general collections are spawned the permanently valuable special collections. A warning for the specialist is in order at this point. Special collections built up too early in the record-collecting game usually prove to be financially and esthetically disappointing in the long run. Before you can know who your real favorites are you must know the whole field pretty well. In spite of all the well-meaning recommendations of your more experienced record-collecting friends, or a musical "expert," or reviewers, the final decision for what speaks most effectively to *you* is none other than *you*. There's no short cut to a good, permanently satisfying special collection; the one prerequisite is a careful, patient, thorough exposure to the whole field of composers, music forms, performers, and recording characteristics.

WHEN the time comes, however, you're among the upperclassmen of record-collecting. You're ready for concentrated work in a major. The real fun begins.

The special collections range over an enormous number of possibilities, from

early acoustic vocals to the latest hi-fi orchestral splash. For those making special collections I have several general words of advice. First, have several going at the same time. It adds a lot to the zest of record hunting to be looking for several types of things at the same time. Furthermore, have some of your collections small enough in scope to *complete*. Get *all* the orchestral works of Brahms, or *all* the Toscanini performances (if you like his best) of Brahms, or *all* the songs of Beethoven, or *all* the old Orthophonic Victor albums.

Then, too, have a special concern for disappearing items. If you want two items but can afford only one, buy the one most likely to go off the market first. Have also a special concern for the form of the record. It should be adapted to the length of the musical selection. Ideally, music should not be interrupted, and separate compositions should not be eternally coupled together. The 45 r.p.m. record, the 10 inch 1.p., and the 12 inch each has its special function.

Finally, keep your collections separate. Label them. Watch them grow. Share experiences with other collectors. Good luck and happy listening!

SEGREGATION CASES

(Continued from page 13)

Harlan in his dissent in 1896 from the majority opinion in *Plessy v. Ferguson* had even then reached the same conclusion when he pointed out that, "The arbitrary separation of citizens on the basis of race . . . is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution." In short, while it appears that the recognition of this fact was crucial, it is doubtful that the Court needed this elaborate scientific documentation to demonstrate what, after all, was so much a matter of common knowledge.

PERHAPS in the last analysis what was most significant in causing the Court to decide as it did was the evolving recognition of the immorality and incompatibility with democratic precepts of state-sponsored segregation of a significant class of American citizens. Judges, no less than others, breathe the moral atmosphere of the times in which they live. The urgent and insistent pressure of a moral claim must ultimately find its way into the law—at least to the extent that our judicial institutions have retained their democratic resilience. This is to put the basis of the decision at the door of the force of social justice, which has been described by Justice Cardozo in these words:

When the social needs demand one settlement rather than another there are times when we must bend symmetry, ignore history and sacrifice custom in the pursuit of other and larger ends. From history and philosophy and custom, we pass, therefore, to the force which in our day and generation is becoming the greatest of them all, the power of social justice which finds its outlet and expression in the method of sociology. . . . The final cause of law is the welfare of society.



You'll do better here to stay in your own place. . . .

CARAVANS

Methodist Youth Caravans are seeking youth under twenty-four who have had outstanding experience in youth work in the Methodist Youth Fellowship, who have completed at least two years of college, and who want to help other young people find a greater joy in youth work. All accepted will be expected to meet the following requirements: Give approximately eight weeks to the caravan project—ten days at training center and six weeks in local churches and communities; serve without remuneration; serve in annual conferences other than their own; care for transportation to training center and home from last church served; pay expenses of a purely personal nature; go where assigned and conduct themselves as good servants of Jesus Christ. Training centers: *Southeast*—Scarritt College, Nashville, Tennessee, June 12-22; *Midwest*—Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas, June 12-22; *Northeast*—West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, West Virginia, June 26-July 6; *West*—Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 19-29. Applications are available from Wesley Foundation directors, directors of religious life on Methodist college campuses, conference directors of youth work, or from Methodist Youth Caravans, Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee. Send completed applications to Dr. Harvey C. Brown, Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee.

Specialized teams will be sent to Cuba, and others will work in the field of religious drama in the United States. Applicants for Cuba caravan should be upperclassmen or graduates, with a speaking knowledge of Spanish and preferably some previous experience in summer-service work. Upperclassmen and graduate students with a major or minor in drama or special training experience are urged to apply for drama caravans, one of which will be interdenominational. Students interested and qualified should write Dr. Harvey C. Brown, Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee.

Methodist Youth Caravans also need adults to serve as counselors for caravan teams. Former caravaners, now twenty-eight or past, would find this an excellent opportunity for service. Christian character and maturity in Christian experience, college training or its equivalent, knowledge of and experience in youth program of Methodist Youth Fellowship, ability to get along with people necessary. Write: Rev. Harold W. Ewing, Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee.

American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring a six-week Peace Caravan, June 7-July 18. Following an Institute of International Relations in New York State, small teams of students will visit communities in the Middle Atlantic

region to discuss international problems and share their concerns for peace with churches, service clubs and other groups. Local committees arrange hospitality, meetings and programs. Cost: Total cost for the institute and caravan, \$125. Financial assistance available, depending on need. Write: American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Youth Fellowship of the Evangelical and Reformed Church is promoting traveling caravans, June 20-August 3, in Iowa, Minnesota, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Ohio; stay-put caravans, June 18—middle of August, in Chicago, St. Louis, Ozarks of Missouri and Womelsdorf, Pennsylvania. Fifty young people, seventeen and over, who wish to put their Christian faith in action, who are physically strong, enjoy people. Deadline: May 1. Cost: \$5 registration fee plus travel expenses to training sessions and return home after roundup. Write: Miss Ethel A. Shellenberger, 200 Schaff Building, 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania.



WORK CAMPS

Department of College and University Religious Life of the Board of Education and the Department of Student Work in the Board of Missions and Church Extension of The Methodist Church offer varied service opportunities, including a travel seminar in Europe (see Miscellaneous) and a Christian Witness Project.

The Alaska work camp, June 20-August 1 (tentative), is a joint project of the Pacific Northwest Conference and the National Methodist Student Movement. Work involves building, road and bridge construction, and ground clearing. Living quarters will likely be in tents over

Summer

This directory of information on interdenominational summer service projects is the most complete compilation of summer vocation investments for college students, and is made available to *motive* readers as a special *motive* feature.

wooden frames and floors; the group will need to be self-sufficient in terms of cooking and laundry. A study, worship, and fellowship program will be incorporated into the project. Approximately twelve to fourteen students, both boys and girls, who have completed their sophomore year in college or its equivalent, needed. They should be able to do hard work, share their Christian experience and participate in group process democratically and creatively. Work campers pay transportation to Seattle, Washington, and return, plus activities fee of \$50. Write: Rev. R. C. Singleton, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York.

The Cuba work camp, June 27-August 6 (time actually spent in Cuba), will be located at La Gloria, Camaguey Province. Principal projects will be construction of buildings on both church and camp property which compose the La Gloria Rural Center. Campers will also assist in community activities, such as road repairs and other necessary work. Helpful skills include practical knowledge of construction, grading, carpentry, brick-laying, and leadership in religious education, recreation, youth and children's work and music. Twelve North American students, both boys and girls, and eight Cuban students needed. All must have completed their sophomore year in college or its equivalent. Knowledge of Spanish helpful. Each participant should be motivated by Christian love and an intelligent desire to serve; have ability to work hard; get along well with people of another culture as equals; and conform to patterns of behavior set by Cuban Christians. Students pay transportation to Miami, Florida, and return, plus \$50 for creational purposes and other costs connected with camp. Write: Dr. Harvey C. Brown, Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee.

The Mexico work camp, June 20-August 12 (tentative), will be separated into two projects: one in Monterrey, the other in the Mexico City area. Program will consist of phases of the following: religious education, recreation, evangelism, worship, physical work. Practical skills in health, construction, homemaking, education and community life needed. Twelve to eighteen students (both boys and girls) from the United

Service Projects

compiled by Eddie Lee McCall

States and some from Mexico needed. Students must have completed their sophomore year in college or its equivalent; show willingness to live according to group discipline; be willing to conform to local customs at many points; have friendly attitudes; and be motivated by Christian love and a desire to serve. A knowledge of Spanish desired. Students provide transportation to and from camp, plus a fee of \$60 for certain activities and expenses of room and board. Write: Dr. Harvey C. Brown, Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee.

The *Rio Grande Valley* work camp, June 19-July 31, is located in southwest Texas, near Mexican border, in Pharr, Texas. An outstanding experiment in intercultural relations, camp will be housed in Valley Institute, project of Woman's Division of Christian Service. Students will assist in summer program of Valley Institute and Latin-American churches in area. Participants will work in daily vacation church schools, lead worship services, provide leadership for valley youth nights, paint and renovate churches, parsonage, kindergartens and pews. Twelve to fourteen students, both boys and girls, who have skills necessary for this type of work needed. Speaking knowledge of Spanish helpful. Students should be healthy and able to do hard work, with rather mature judgment and personalities. Students pay travel to and from Pharr, plus activities fee of \$20 which should accompany application. Write: Rev. R. C. Singleton, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York.

Scott's Run Community Center, located in the coal fields of West Virginia just outside Morgantown, is operated by the Woman's Division of Christian Service of The Methodist Church. This will be Methodist and Presbyterian camp related to ecumenical work camp program. Twelve to fourteen students needed, June 20-August 1 (tentative). Principal physical work project will be landscaping grounds surrounding the settlement center. Walkways, playgrounds and terraces to be constructed. Campers will live in settlement, and assist with other social and educational projects in community. Participants should have a kind of maturity which will enable them to understand something of the complex society of a coal-mining community. Skills for group work with boys and girls

and simple construction needed. Students pay travel from their homes to camp and return, plus a work camp fee to be used for recreation, food, and cost of living. A few scholarships available for Methodist students. Write: Rev. R. C. Singleton, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York.

The *San Antonio*, Texas, work camp, June 13-August 4 calls for interracial group of about sixteen young people (eight young men and eight young women) of mature Christian experience. Day-time hours will be spent in manual labor for different social agencies in San Antonio. Evening hours given over to leadership training work with local Methodist Youth Fellowship in Negro, Latin, and Anglo churches. Local high-school youth will work with campers for portion of each day. Opportunities provided for personal growth through Bible study and informal seminar periods, as well as through regular program of labor and leadership work. Camp has threefold purpose: render service to social agencies in a large city; instill new spirit of commitment in MYF groups; provide witness to validity of the belief in Christian brotherhood. Participants must have completed two years of college work or equivalent; have had considerable experience in MYF work. Campers will be selected from Negro, Latin and Anglo backgrounds. Students pay transportation to and from San Antonio, plus activities fee of \$20. Write: Rev. LeRoy King, Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee.

Urban work camp plans underway for project in *Washington, D. C.*, tentative dates, June 20-August 1. Twelve or fourteen college and university students of high Christian character needed, to include both boys and girls, who have desire to serve in complicated urban culture. Participants pay transportation from their homes to project and return, plus reasonable activity fee. Write: Rev. R. C. Singleton, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York.

Tuolumne Cooperative Farm, five miles west of *Modesto, California*, can use four or five students—both men and women—at any time during summer season, for any length of time. Live in community group which is seeking to find way to a life based on highest values. Notice should be given sufficiently far

in advance of coming so arrangements can be made for housing. Work clothes and bedding should be brought. Write: George Burlison, Rt. 8, Box 1059, Modesto, California.

Student Christian Movement of Brazil (UCEB), the Youth Department of the Evangelical Confederation of Brazil, and probably the WCC Youth Department will conduct three work camps, July 1-July 30 (approximately), in *Brazil*: (1) community service camp in industrial city; (2) community service camp in rural area; (3) a more "standard" camp constructing buildings for a conference center. Twenty-five to thirty non-Brazilian students, including North Americans. Portuguese or Spanish very important. Previous work camp experience highly desirable. Cost to North American camper will run from \$650 to \$750, including travel to Brazil and a minimum of travel in Brazil. Write: Committee on Ecumenical Voluntary Service Projects, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

Universalist Service Committee, June 25-August 15, needs young people who are entering junior year in high school through college age to work at *Ryder Interracial Community Center, Chicago*. Campers will assist professional social work staff in conducting day-camp program for children and youth. Applicants must possess desire to serve, plus skills in two of following areas: sports, arts and crafts, nature study, cooking, sewing, music, work with children. Cost: \$75 to \$100 plus travel to and from project. Write: Universalist Service Committee, 16 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts.

The Department of Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., will conduct projects: *Cordele, Georgia*, July 1-August 15 (tentative). Six students with one year of college or one year of work after high school to help convert building into combined youth center and community library. Cost: Travel, insurance and \$1 a day toward room and board. *Albuquerque, New Mexico*, August 15-31 (tentative). Fifteen men and women with at least one year of college or one year of work after high school to help in remodeling dormitory; building campus walks; building root cellar. Cost: Travel, insurance, and \$1 a day toward room and board.

Ganado, Arizona, August 1-31. Ten men and five women with at least one year of college or one year of work after high school needed at Ganado Mission to renovate interior of unused two-room school building into staff quarters; build two-room addition to staff residence; build fence around athletic field; close off old highway and construct entranceway to main campus. Cost: Travel, insurance and \$1 a day toward room and board. *Truchas, New Mexico*, August 1-10. Men and women with at least one year of college or one year of work after high school to do construction work and painting on clinic building and school building at Truchas Presbyterian Day School and Health Center. Women will be housed in cottage already built; men should have bedrolls. Cost: Travel, insurance, and \$1 a day toward room and board. *Keysville, Georgia*, July 1-August 15. Continuing construction of buildings for conference ground at Boggs Academy, near Augusta. Cost: Travel, insurance and \$1 a day toward room and board. *Sitka, Alaska*, June 20-August 10. Ten men and women to help finish construction of church building which serves the Sitka community, Government Indian School, and Sheldon Jackson Junior College. Cost: Travel, insurance and \$1 a day toward room and board. *Haines, Alaska*, June 20-August 10. Eight people (men preferred) to put small house in livable condition; do fencing and landscaping around Haines House; build a retreat center. Cost: Travel, insurance and \$1 a day toward room and board. *Gambell, Alaska* (St. Lawrence Island), June 20-August 20. Participants must have at least one year of college and previous work camp or construction experience. Work on construction of church flooring, paneling, lighting and exterior and interior finish and painting. Cost: \$550 includes round-trip air travel from Seattle to St. Lawrence Island, as well as insurance and all accommodations en route and at the project. *Uyambico, Ecuador*, July-August. Eight participants with at least one year of college and one year of Spanish. Participation limited to young people of member churches of United Andean Indian Mission, Presbyterian, U.S.A.; Presbyterian, U.S.; Evangelical United Brethren; Evangelical and Reformed. Building unit of Student Christian Center, project of United Andean Indian Mission. Cost: Travel to and from Ecuador, plus daily maintenance. *Mayaguez, Puerto Rico*, June 15-August 1. Participants with one year of college or one year of work after high school and speaking knowledge of Spanish, joining with Puerto Rican young people in project of painting churches and completing one or two buildings. Cost: Travel, insurance, and \$1 a day toward room and board. White: Department of

Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 808 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Youth Department of World Council of Churches sponsors the following ecumenical projects: *Asia*—in April, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Hong Kong; April 27-May 18, Assam, India (construction of building at Union Christian College); July-August, Japan, Korea, Malaya, Burma. Cost: Approximately \$900-\$1,000. *Europe and Near East*—July and September, construction and service projects in Austria, France, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Finland, Greece, Norway, Lebanon, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Sweden and Jordan. Cost: Approximately \$650. *Latin America*—July, Mexico and Brazil. Cost: Mexico, \$1 per day plus travel and insurance; Brazil, approximately \$800. Ages of applicants nineteen to thirty in each case. *United States*—July-August. *Georgia*: construction of farmer's cottage on grounds of Negro boarding school; *Michigan*: construction of migrant center for children and family group meetings; *Missouri*: construction of community center in Negro community; construction of wing of retreat center for groups from nearby St. Louis and others on grounds of Evangelical and Reformed Home for Epileptics. *Rapid City, South Dakota*: construction of addition to Community Center of great significance to 3,000 Indian Americans in community. Cost: Approximately \$1 a day plus insurance and travel. Ages of applicants, eighteen to thirty for U. S. projects. Final deadline for overseas: March 1; for the U. S., April 15. Write: Ecumenical Voluntary Service Projects, Room 1031, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

Luther League of America will sponsor projects: *Towners, New York*, June 30-July 8. Campers will help improve grounds and buildings by landscaping and painting. *Toledo, Ohio*, June 30-July 8. Help establish day-camp program for sections of community with no recreational facilities. Participants will clear land, erect log building, lay out ball diamond. *Washington, D. C.*, July 14-22. Evangelical Lutheran Church of Our Redeemer has now obtained building of relocated congregation. Pastor and people are Negro. Participants will paint basement of parish hall unit. *Modesto, California*, July 14-22. Participants will assist in processing clothing for Lutheran World Relief and Church World Service. *Lincoln, Nebraska*, July 21-29. Painting and maintenance of Tabitha Home which serves the aged and children of broken homes. *Albuquerque, New Mexico*, July 28-August 5. Yard work, erect fence, some painting at Community Center which serves Indians, Spanish-Americans and Mexicans. *New Windsor, Maryland*,

August 18-26. Assist in processing clothing for Lutheran World Relief and Church World Service. Also special study of "Christian Responsibility in International Affairs." Write: The Luther League of America, 825 Muhlenberg Building, 1228 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Mennonite Central Committee will conduct *Mexico* tour and work camp project, June 18-August 10. Eighteen men and women, high-school graduates, will leave Newton, Kansas, spend two weeks in educational travel and sight-seeing, going to Mexico City, then returning to Cuahutemoc, Chihuahua, will participate in five-week camp, living and working with Mexican families. Registration date: June 18. Cost: \$225 plus travel to and from Kansas. Write: Mennonite Central Committee, Voluntary Service, Akron, Pennsylvania.

American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring approximately five projects in various parts of the *United States*, June 22-August 17. Campers help community members build and repair homes and schools, plan and direct recreation for children and adults, establish community centers—while learning new patterns of living and points of view. Cost: \$135 per camper. Financial aid is available. Write: American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

STUDENTS-IN-GOVERNMENT

American Ethical Union is sponsoring eleventh Encampment for Citizenship at *Fieldston School, Riverdale, New York City*, July 1-August 11, to help young men and women, eighteen to twenty-three, to be clear on meaning of democracy and promote improved, effective and responsible citizenship. Lectures by prominent guests, small group discussions, films, field trips, self-government, full recreational program, wide use of resources of New York City. Participants form cross section of America, plus foreign students, from all backgrounds—unions, farms, colleges, churches, civic groups. Cost: \$350 for tuition, room and board. Some partial and full scholarships available. College credit may be obtained through selected institution. Write: Encampment for Citizenship, 2 West 64th Street, New York 23, New York.

American Friends Service Committee provides opportunity for firsthand observation of our Government in week-long *Washington, D. C.*, Institute, June 9-16. Participants meet with legislators on Capitol Hill, see Congress and Committee Hearings in action, visit interested nongovernmental agencies, meet with administrators, economists, journalists, farm and labor leaders. Cost: Room, meals and transportation within Washington

about \$30. Write: American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.



INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Lisle Fellowship, Inc., has scheduled one study tour and five International Institutes in Human Relations abroad, including cooperative group living, community field trips, and attitudes consonant with understanding oneself and others in world community. *Scandinavia*, near Copenhagen, Denmark, official language English, July 1-August 12; *Germany*, Rhine Valley, official language German, July 20-August 31; *Puerto Rico*, July 1-August 12, official language English; *Japan*, near Tokyo, part of air study tour in Pacific stopping at Hawaii, Philippines, Hong Kong, Formosa, Okinawa, with regular six-week unit, June 28 (from West Coast)-August 31; *Philippines*, near Manila, part of same study tour as to Japan, with unit for six weeks dividing tour, June 28-August 31. Study tour to Soviet Union for 35 days, July 19-August 23, spending several days in Scandinavia, Finland, Austria, Germany and France. Fifteen students and other young adults from North America accepted for each unit and tour, as part of the total membership of thirty-five for each unit at location. Cost: Puerto Rico—\$275 complete from Miami; Europe—\$600 complete with passage on student ships; Japan and Philippines—\$1,585 for tour and unit, by air; Soviet Union—\$1,495, by air. Write: Rev. DeWitt C. Baldwin, Director, Lisle Fellowship, Inc., 204 S. State Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Universalist Service Committee will sponsor two International Voluntary Units. One will be assigned to Refugee Youth home at *Druhwal* near Soltau, the other to Neighborhood House at *Bremen*. Applicants must be nineteen to thirty-two years old; have speaking knowledge of German; an ability to accept personal discomfort; able to work with others; possess special talents in music, recreation, arts and crafts, dancing, athletics. Cost: Unit members pay \$450-\$500 toward cost of camps. Applicants should be available June 15-September 15. Free time allowed for personal travel in Europe following camp. Members should have \$50-\$100 additional for

extra travel. Write: Universalist Service Committee, 16 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts.

Brethren Service Commission wants approximately twenty-five to thirty persons between eighteen and thirty for camps in *Europe*. Leave States June 8, arrive back August 30. *Austria*: refugee housing construction and Protestant church construction. *Germany*: construction—children's home, Protestant refugee youth home, Protestant refugee adult community center, East Zone refugee youth free-time home, recreational-physical project in camp for young refugee men from East Zone, recreational-physical project with refugees, peace seminar at Kassel using theme: "Love as an energy for peacemaking." Registration date: March 15. Estimated cost: \$650.

Brethren Service Commission wants approximately twelve persons between eighteen and thirty to further lead communities of *Cerro* and *Castaner* (*Puerto Rico*) toward self-help and to work on community playground and road. Leave July 22; return August 2. Registration date: March 15. Cost: Approximately \$190 for work camp, including round-trip flight from New York, room, board and laundry. Five-day optional tour of island following camp \$20 extra.

Brethren Service Commission needs approximately fourteen persons, eighteen to thirty, for camp located at *Calderon, Ecuador*. Leave States between July 15-20; return September 1. Cost: Approximately \$650. Registration date: April 1. Write: Brethren Service Commission, 22 South State Street, Elgin, Illinois.

The Experiment in International Living will conduct camps in eighteen countries of *Europe, Asia, Near and Far East and Mexico*, June 15-September 15; except for Japan (March 15-July 15) and India (August 15-January 15). Projects include educational travel involving living for month in home in country visited; trip through country accompanied by young people from host community. Qualifications include: personal interest in international understanding; satisfactory academic and extracurricular record; ability to get along well with others; experience in outdoor living; good health; demonstrated conversational fluency where foreign language is required. Cost: Fees include all expenses from port of embarkation and return, except for personal items. Fees for Europe range \$725-\$790. Small number of scholarships available. Write: Admissions Office, The Experiment, Putney, Vermont.

Mennonite Central Committee will sponsor project in *Central Europe*, June-August (definite dates not yet available). Thirty American and one hundred European young people, eighteen years or older, high-school graduates, to do reconstruction and rehabilitation work.

Also participate in strong religious and educational program. Includes travel in Central Europe. Cost: Approximately \$850 paid by participants. Write: Mennonite Central Committee, Voluntary Service, Akron, Pennsylvania.

American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring two four-week and two two-week seminars on "International Tensions and Peaceful Change." *South-east*, June 22-July 21; *Southern California*, August 10-September 8; *New England*, June 22-July 7; *Midwest*, August 24-September 8. Participants, twenty-one to thirty-five, are students or young working people and represent about twenty-five countries. Five or six Americans take part in each thirty-five-member seminar. Cost: Tuition, room and board, \$130 for four-week seminar; \$80 for two-week seminar. Scholarships available. Participants expected to pay travel expenses. Write: American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

American Friends Service Committee will appoint approximately sixty volunteers at least twenty years old, with good physical stamina, June to September, to international work camps in *Algeria, Austria, Belgium, the Caribbean, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Yugoslavia*. Projects include: avalanche clearing; flood damage repair, preparation of land for agriculture; home, road and bridge building; recreational planning in refugee camps. Language facility and experience in other service projects desirable. Cost: Volunteers contribute according to financial ability; about \$500 for Europe, the Middle East and Africa; \$800 for Japan; \$200 for the Caribbean. Some financial aid available. Write: American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

INSTITUTIONAL SERVICE

Brethren Service Commission will sponsor two projects: *Bethany Hospital, Chicago, Illinois*, June 4-September 1. Work in general hospital, assisting nurses in caring for medical patients and other activities. Six women needed. Write: Personnel Department, Bethany Hospital, 3420 W. Van Buren Street, Chicago 24, Illinois. *Elgin State Hospital, Elgin, Illinois*, June 4-September 1. Work as regular ward attendants, caring for mentally ill. Possibly work in laboratories, offices, dietetics department and recreational and occupational therapy. Group living, programs of study, worship and recreation in interracial unit. Thirty-five men and women, eighteen years and older, with at least one year of college. Cost: Pay board and room plus 7 per

cent of salary received from hospital to Brethren Service Commission. Write: Brethren Service Commission, 22 South State Street, Elgin, Illinois.

Universalist Service Committee will sponsor three units: *Norman Beatty Memorial Hospital, Westville, Indiana*, will receive unit of twelve college students of sophomore status or older who will be assigned to various therapy departments: music, recreation, physical, occupational, etc. State hospitals at *Loganport* and/or *Evansville, Indiana*, or *Manteno, Illinois*, where unit members will be classified as attendants. Applicants must be eighteen years or older; possess a "warm, outgoing, friendly spirit," be willing to do manual work, if necessary; and have genuine concern for mentally ill. All accepted applicants must deposit \$10 good-faith fee with the USC. Salary: Indiana hospitals pay unit members \$175 per month; \$25 of this deducted for room, board and laundry. Each member pays 10 per cent of take-home pay to USC for expenses of setting up unit. Write: Universalist Service Committee, 16 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts.

Mennonite Central Committee will provide personnel for the following: *Crestline, California*, June 20-September 1. Ten men and women, two years' college, to serve as counselors at camp for crippled children. Registration date: June 20. Financial arrangements: \$135 for the summer, maintenance. *Minneapolis, Minnesota*, June 20-August 24 (approximately). Ten men and women, two years' college, serve as counselors at camp for crippled children. Registration date: June 20. Financial arrangements: Probably \$135 for summer, maintenance. *Wichita, Kansas*, June 13-August 27. Four men and women, high-school graduates, to assist in rehabilitation program of speech and hearing handicapped. Registration date: June 13. Financial arrangements: \$15 per month, maintenance. *Delaware City, Delaware*, June 13-August 27 (approximately). Five men and women, two years' college, to lead recreational activities for emotionally maladjusted crippled children. Registration date: June 13. Financial arrangements: \$40 per month, maintenance; 10 per cent deducted from cash allowance for long-term program operated by MCC. *Bethesda, Maryland*, June 15-September 1. Thirty men and women, high-school graduates, to serve as "normal control patients" in medical research, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Registration date: June 15. Financial arrangements: \$100 per month, maintenance; 10 per cent deducted by MCC for long-term program. *Brandon, Manitoba, Canada*, early May-September 1. Six men and twelve women, high-school graduates, to serve as psychiatric

aides in institution for mentally ill. Registration date: May 7. Financial arrangements: \$145 per month, maintenance for men; \$100 per month, maintenance for women; 10 per cent deductible for long-term program. *Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, Canada*, May 1-September 1. Eight men and eight women, high-school graduates, to work as psychiatric aides in institution for mentally ill. Registration date: May 1. Financial arrangements: \$145 per month, maintenance for men; \$100 per month, maintenance for women; 10 per cent deductible for long-term program. *London, Ontario, Canada*, June 15-September 1. Ten men and ten women, high-school graduates, as psychiatric aides in hospital for mentally ill. Registration date: June 15. Financial arrangements: To be determined. *Bethesda Home, Vineland, Ontario, Canada*, July 1-September 1. Two men, three women, high-school graduates, serve as psychiatric aides in hospital for mentally ill operated by MBC. Registration date: July 1. Financial arrangements: \$50 per month, maintenance; 10 per cent deducted for long-term program. *Newton, Kansas*, June 13-August 27. Two men or women, high-school graduates, to serve as psychiatric aides in private institution operated by MCC for mentally ill. Registration date: June 13. Financial arrangements: \$15 per month, maintenance. *Hagerstown, Maryland*, June 13-August 27. Two men or women, high-school graduates, to serve as psychiatric aides in institution for mentally ill. Registration date: June 13. Financial arrangements: \$15 per month, maintenance. *Reedley, California*, June 13-August 27. Two men or women, high-school graduates, to serve as psychiatric aides in private institution for mentally ill. Registration date: June 13. Financial arrangements: \$15 per month, maintenance. *Manitoba, Canada*, June 1-September 1. Two men and five women, high-school graduates, to serve as hospital aides in sanatorium for tubercular patients. Registration date: June 1. Financial arrangements: \$100 per month less \$39 for maintenance; 10 per cent deductible for long-term program. *Ninette, Manitoba, Canada*, July 1-September 15. Twelve women, high-school graduates, to serve as aides in provincial institution for tubercular patients. Registration date: July 1. Financial arrangements: \$100 per month less \$39 for maintenance; 10 per cent deductible for long-term program. Write: Mennonite Central Committee, Voluntary Service, Akron, Pennsylvania.

The American Friends Service Committee unit members will work in mental hospitals, schools for mentally retarded and correctional institutions in the *East*, *Midwest*, and *West Coast* of the *United States*, early June-late August. Volunteers

must be at least eighteen for mental institutions, and twenty-one for correctional institutions. Cost: Volunteers receive same salary as regular employees (\$100-\$150 per month plus maintenance) from which they contribute 9 per cent for projects costs. Write: American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Brethren Service Commission will sponsor projects: *Fresno, California*: June 24-August 5. Four to six mature fellows and girls to work in recreation, playground supervision and teaching crafts in semimigrant interracial area. Cost: \$1 per day. *Baltimore, Maryland*: June 25-August 20. Six mature young people for part of city-wide slum clearance program in predominantly Negro community. Work with children in recreation, arts and crafts, religious instruction. Group shares housekeeping duties. Cost: \$60. *Monroeville, Pennsylvania*: June 20-July 20. Four girls and two fellows, mature and capable of working in community church in recreation, evangelism, visitation, construction of outdoor chapel and teaching in vacation church school. Cost: \$1 per day. *Pottstown, Pennsylvania*: July 1-August 17. Four girls and two fellows, mature and capable of working in program of group integration in unchurched area. Cost: \$1 per day. *Mills Mountain, Virginia*: July 23-August 26. Six girls and six fellows, sixteen or older, to build playground for mountain public school and work with people of community in vacation Bible schools and other community activities. Cost: \$1 per day. *Chicago, Illinois*: July 2-August 17. Four women and four men, eighteen or older, to assist in four-week day camp and two-week vacation Bible school for children of interracial community. Cost: \$1 per day. Write: Brethren Service Commission, 22 South State Street, Elgin, Illinois.

Baptist Student Movement, American Baptist Convention, will sponsor students-in-the-changing-community program in *Chicago, Illinois*, June 9-August 20. Fifteen to twenty students with at least two years of college, genuine interest in study of sociological problems of community in transition. Cost: Registration fee \$15; room and board \$14 per week; conference fee \$2 per week. Registration date: May 1. Write: Baptist Student Movement, 21st Floor, 152 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York.

Department of Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., will sponsor projects: *Seabrook, New Jersey*, third week in June-August. Fourteen students who have completed at least one year of college to serve as counselors and share in opportunities of providing day

camp for 6- to 12-year-old children among migrant workers in frozen food industry. *Dietitian also needed.* Camping experience and skills especially helpful. Cost: Travel to field and insurance. Some scholarships may be available. *Cleveland, Ohio*, June 12-August 17. Ten workers who have completed at least one year of college to serve as assistant staff members of Inner City Protestant Parish. Cost: Transportation and \$15 registration fee to cover insurance, recreation. *Detroit, Michigan*, June 19-August 15. Ten to fifteen undergraduates; ten seminary students for work at Dodge House. Program involves neighborhood day camps, community recreation, bus trips, vacation church school, outdoor movies, street dances and home calling. Cost: Transportation and insurance. *El Guacío, Puerto Rico*, June-August (work for any number of two-week periods). Twelve to fifteen students who have completed at least one year of college and young people who have been out of high school at least one year. Knowledge of Spanish, also skills such as lab technician, social casework, agriculture (4-H), recreation, and crafts especially helpful. Cost: Round-trip travel from home to San Juan. *West Virginia* (Whitesville and Colcord), June-August 10. Four students with at least one year of college or one year of work after high school to work with children in camps, vacation schools in larger parish. Cost: Travel to and from field. *Ohio Unit of City and Industry*, June-August. Thirty workers, one year of college or at least one year of work after high school, to serve as staff members, teaching in vacation church school program, directing schools and leading recreational activities. Cost: Unit provides room and board as well as travel to and from field and necessary supplies. Additional scholarship help possible. *Southeastern Alaska*, June-July. Two land-based teams of three each and one extra person for *Princeton-Hall* mission boat. College seniors or older. Serve in vacation church school and church-community programs, lead recreation and visit in homes. Cost: Travel to and from Sitka and insurance. *San Francisco*, June 15-August 10. Four or more students with at least one year of college or have worked at least one year after high school to serve in day camps and assist in vacation church schools and weekday church school. Cost: Travel to and from San Francisco, and insurance. *Albion, New York*, July-August. Eight students who have had at least one year of college, to offer ministry of Christian service and fellowship to some 300 Negro migrant workers in fruit and vegetable producing area. Cost: Travel and insurance. *San Joaquin and Santa Clara Valleys, California*, June 25-August 18. Seven or

eight teams of students who have completed at least one year of college. An ecumenical service unit ministering to needs of agricultural migrants. Cost: Travel and insurance. *Chicago, Illinois*, June 23-August 31. Fifteen students with at least one year of college to work in *Neighborhood Houses* in various parts of the city, in city day camps, vacation church schools, teen-age clubs. July 5-August 31, fifteen students to work at *Camp Gray* just outside Chicago. Volunteers serve as counselors for series of two-week camping periods. June 23-August 15, five students with at least one year of college to conduct survey for church in changing area, teach in vacation church schools, conduct leadership training school for lay members of church. Cost: Transportation and insurance. Some scholarships possible. Write: Department of Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 808 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania, or Department of Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian Church in the U.S., 8 North Sixth Street, Richmond 9, Virginia.

Mennonite Central Committee will conduct projects: *Camp Landon, Gulfport, Mississippi*, June 12-August 12. Five men and two women, high school graduates, to teach Bible school and lead in recreational activities, teach crafts to colored and underprivileged white people. Registration date: June 12. *Waterville, New York*, June 18-August 24. Eight men and women, two years' college, preferably college graduation and seminary training, work with agricultural migrants. Registration date: June 18. *Santa Clara Valley, California*, June 25-August 18. Four men and women work with agricultural migrants. Registration date: June 25. *Hamilton, New York*, June 18-August 24. Eight men and women, two years' college, preferably college graduation and seminary training, work with migratory people. Registration: June 18. Cost: \$15 per month maintenance in each case. Write: Mennonite Central Committee, Voluntary Service, Akron, Pennsylvania.

American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring units in eight underdeveloped *Mexican* villages. Volunteers encourage villagers to initiate self-help programs of health, sanitation, construction, agriculture, education, crafts and recreation, and share in richness of community life. Cost: Participants contribute \$175 plus transportation costs. Some financial aid available. Write: American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring both summer and year-round projects in *Chicago* and *Oakland (California)*. Internes, ages eighteen to thirty-five, work as staff members with small welfare agencies to conduct sur-

veys of housing, delinquency and minority integration; work with neighborhoods to improve home and community environment; direct recreation; organize homemaking and craft classes. Cost: Internes work for maintenance, which includes room, board and insurance, and receive modest stipend for personal expenses. Write: American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.



STUDENTS-IN-INDUSTRY

Department of Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., will sponsor project in *Cleveland, Ohio*, June 12-August 27. Ten students who have completed at least one year of college, will secure employment; live in Inner City Protestant Parish; and participate in study of community conditions, labor-management relations, work of the church, Bible study, worship and recreation. Cost: Registration fee of \$15, covering insurance, study material and recreation; \$2 a day for food costs. Write: Department of Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 808 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Baptist Student Movement, American Baptist Convention, will sponsor project in *Minneapolis*, June 9-August 20. Twenty-five to thirty college, graduate or seminary students will study labor-management problems from Christian point of view. Cost: Registration fee of \$15; room and board \$14 per week; conference fee \$2 per week. Registration date: May 1. Write: Baptist Student Movement, 21st Floor, 152 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York.

American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring five internes-in-industry projects for eleven weeks, beginning late June. Locations are: *Atlanta, Chicago, Louisville, Lynn (Massachusetts)* and *Philadelphia*. Through working in factory jobs, living in crowded urban communities and meeting with industrial, social and religious leaders, internes (ages eighteen to thirty-five) discover the implications of industrialization for society and for individuals. Cost: Participants contribute approximately \$16 per week for room, board, insurance, project expenses. Write: American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.



CHRISTIAN WITNESS PROJECTS

National Conference of Methodist Youth, in cooperation with National Board of Evangelism and conference boards and agencies, will sponsor inter-conference evangelistic project in *California*, June 25-August 4 (tentative). About twenty students, ten from Western conferences and ten from rest of United States, will work in teams surveying communities, visiting, strengthening youth programs in local churches, and in this fellowship exploring possibilities for other approaches to effective evangelism. Each participant must have had experience in Methodist Youth Fellowship and a desire to share his Christian experience. Cost: \$25 contribution to travel pool is required to help defray travel expenses of participants on pro rata basis. Write: Rev. LeRoy King, Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee.

Virginia Methodist Student Movement and Virginia Conference Town and Country Commission will conduct Rural Christian Witness Mission in *Virginia*, June 18-August 3. Project will provide opportunity for firsthand, on-the-job training in work of rural church. A week of training, June 18-27, will be followed by four weeks of intensive work. Twenty students, ten from Virginia and ten from outside the State, will participate in this in-service evangelistic project, which will also include surveying of communities, helping start new churches, training lay workers in evangelism and strengthening rural Methodist Youth Fellowships. Cost: Each student responsible for travel to training center. Subsistence will be provided. Write: Miss Malinda Ayres, 204 High Street, Farmville, Virginia.



MISCELLANEOUS

The Methodist Student Movement, in cooperation with other church agencies, will sponsor combination travel

seminar and work camp in *Europe*. Leave New York July 12, return to New York September 4. In addition to visiting regular tourist attractions, group will have Christian purpose and seek to promote world Christian community. Such countries as England, Holland, Germany, France, Switzerland, and Austria will be visited. Both Methodist and ecumenical centers included. Work camp period will be spent in Vienna, Austria area. Ground will be cleared and made ready for building homes for refugees. Participants must be at least eighteen, with the kind of maturity which will enable them to establish proper rapport with group and people abroad. Must have Christian attitudes and feelings toward other races and cultures; be physically fit; must develop language skills and study history of people. Both boys and girls needed. Cost: Approximately \$1,000. Write: Rev. R. C. Singleton, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York, or Dr. Harvey C. Brown, Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee.

National Council of Churches, in cooperation with local committees and churches in National Parks, is sponsoring "A Christian Ministry in the National Parks" for one hundred ten college and seminary students. Participants must be in parks not later than June 10, and are expected to stay to end of contracts, usually between September 10-15. Both men and women needed. Seminary students should have some preaching experience and organizational skills. College students should have special abilities in one or all of following: athletics, music, discussion groups and Bible study groups. Participants will be expected to attend one regional spring training conference. Women will work as cabin maids, desk clerks, cashiers, counter girls, kitchen help. Men will work as cabin boys, yard men, desk clerks, commissary stewards. In off time, students volunteer for Ministry program which is to proclaim the Creator as God of our salvation through Jesus Christ. Deadline: March 15. Write Rev. Warren W. Ost, Director, A Christian Ministry in the National Parks, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

Department of Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., is sponsoring seminar on Christian Responsibility in the World of Nations in *New York City*, June 20-August 31. Project will involve concentrated study by mature students who find employment in order to participate in a community of serious study. Students must have completed at least sophomore year of college and have skills to find employment in various international agencies and organizations. Cost: Out of individual incomes, group will underwrite cost of project: housing, resources, books, subscriptions, etc. Write: Department of Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian

Church in the U.S.A., 808 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Department of Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., will sponsor seminar on campus Christian life in *Pennsylvania*, June-Labor Day week end. Christian students committed to serious study and to creative Christian witness find employment in summer hotels. Program will have two basic orientations: to the summer colony for purpose of discovering and demonstrating how Christian witness can be borne in typical American resort; to share and minister to personal and spiritual needs of students of project within a community of worship, study and fellowship. Students must have completed at least one year of college. Write: Department of Campus Christian Life, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 808 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Lisle Fellowship, Inc., offers practical experience in intercultural relations through group cooperative living, community field trips, and attitudes consonant with understanding oneself and others in world community. Two units in the United States: *California*, San Francisco Bay area, June 18-July 30; *Colorado*, Lookout Mountain (near Denver), July 22-August 31. Forty accepted in each unit. College students and young adults seriously seeking to understand attitudes and forces at work in our world, and those with desire to think through problems of our day. Open to students of all cultures and religions. Cost: \$150, or some part of this amount, according to individual financial resources. Write: Rev. DeWitt C. Baldwin, Director, Lisle Fellowship, Inc., 204 S. State Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Baptist Student Movement, American Baptist Convention, will conduct a study of the Protestant Church in a metropolitan community in *New York City*, June 8-August 27. Twenty to twenty-five students, junior, senior or graduate, needed. Registration date: May 1. Cost: Registration fee, \$10; room and board, \$14 per week; conference fee, \$2 per week. Write: Baptist Student Movement, 21st Floor, 162 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York.

Baptist Student Movement, American Baptist Convention, wants sixty-five college or graduate students, June 8-September 9, to work as dining room carriers, waitresses, bellboys, etc., at *Green Lake, Wisconsin*. Students will share in program of worship and study while rendering service to American Baptist Assembly. Registration date: February 15. Cost: \$50 per month, plus maintenance, transportation above \$25. Write: Baptist Student Movement, 21st Floor, 152 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York.

Mennonite Central Committee will conduct projects: *Kearney, Ontario,*

motive

Campus Roundup

BIAS GOING . . .

Racial and religious discrimination in college fraternities and sororities is on its way out and might disappear even faster if it were up to local chapters, in the opinion of **Dean Emeritus Harry J. Carman** of **Columbia (S. C.) College**.

"I have written some 150 campuses in the past five years and have found that the local chapters usually are ahead of their national organizations," he said. Dean Carman predicted that the issue will be fully resolved within 10 to 15 years.

AID FOR THE DISPLACED

Negro teachers in Virginia who lose their jobs because of school desegregation will be aided by a fund created by the Virginia Teachers Association. The Negro teacher's organization says widespread "dislodging" of Negro teachers is not anticipated because "there probably won't be enough integration to create a problem in the immediate future."

But in places where it does happen, the special fund will be used to keep displaced teachers going until they can find new jobs.

WINTHROP STUDENTS SET AFFILIATION RECORD

Only four of **Winthrop College's** 1,051 women students have no church affiliation. The 99 per cent with church affiliation marks the highest recorded since the annual survey was begun.

Among the church members, 88.5 belong to Baptist, Methodist, or Presbyterian denominations.

Winthrop is a teacher-training school, supported by the State of South Carolina.

GRADUATE STUDENTS EXCEED UNDERGRADUATES

Catholic University, Washington, D. C., has become the only major university in the United States which has more graduate students than undergraduates.

Enrolment in the university for the 1955-56 academic year totals 1,545 undergraduates and 1,935 graduate students. Enrolment figures point up the fact that the university is becoming a major center of Catholic graduate work, particularly in the fields of philosophy and theology.

"ALL-OUT" CAMPAIGN AGAINST DISCRIMINATORY MEMBERSHIP

Alpha Chapter of **Delta Tau Delta** fraternity at **Allegheny College**, Meadville, Pa., has announced the formation of an undergraduate committee to direct an "all-out" campaign against discriminatory membership policies of the national fraternity.

Organization of the Alpha Chapter committee comes as a result of the "social member" issue which forced the closing of the chapter home early in September. A compromise on the status of two "social members," one a Jew, who were not eligible for formal initiation into Delta Tau Delta ended the dispute at that time.

The committee, headed by Allegheny junior **Douglas Bedell** of New York City, has announced intention of "seeking out all public and private opinion which can be presented as evidence that the Delta Tau Delta discrimination clause should be dropped."

Delta Tau Delta meets in national convention at Houston, Texas, in June, 1956.

Canada, "Camp Shalem," June 1-September 1, for Jewish children. One man, five women needed. *Boys' Village, Smithville, Ohio*, June 22-August 24, cottage plan for delinquent boys. Two men and two women to serve in office and as assistant counselors. Registration date: June 22. "Craigholme," *Ontario, Canada*, June 1-September 1. Two men and two women to serve as counselors on farm for delinquent boys. Registration date: June 1. Cost: \$15 per month, maintenance, in each case. Write: Mennonite Central Committee, Voluntary Service, Akron, Pennsylvania.

National Student Council, Y.M.-Y.W.C.A. will sponsor: Students-in-vocation project, *Los Angeles*, June 21-

August 19. Fees about \$40. Write: Miss Frances Moser, 715 South Hope Street, Los Angeles 17, California. Work-study seminar, *Estes Park, Colorado*, June 1-August 21. Write: Harold Keubler, 1269 Topeka Avenue, Topeka, Kansas. Meet-your-Government seminar, *Washington, D. C.*, cost: approximately \$25-\$30. Write: Mrs. Wells Harrington, 6708 Forest Hill Drive, University Park, Maryland. Community service project, *Chicago*, cost: \$10. Write: Miss Frances Helen Mains, Y.W.C.A., 410 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago 5, Illinois. Students-in-industry, *Twin Cities*, June 15-August 31, cost: \$30. Write: Vernon Hathaway, 30 South Ninth Street, Minneapolis 2, Minnesota. Leadership seminar, *Martha's*

Vineyard (Massachusetts), June 24-September 4. Write: Charles O'Connor, 167 Tremont Street, Boston 11, Massachusetts. For information regarding student citizenship seminar, *Washington, D. C.*, mid-June to mid-August; two leadership schools, Union Theological Seminary, *New York*, six weeks commencing July 5 and Pacific School of Religion, *Berkeley, California*, six weeks commencing late June; college summer service group, *New York*, June 29-August 20; two United Nations seminars, *New York*, March 29-31 and April 27-29; international seminars in *London, Paris, Geneva, Rome* and *Berlin*, mid-June to September 1, write: Leon O. Marion, NSCY Projects, 291 Broadway, New York 7, New York.

the strange career of jim

HERBERT BREWER, an opponent of the integration of schools in Hoxie, Arkansas, appeals to the Bible in defense of his stand. He quotes freely from the tract published by Evangelist George W. Cooper under the title, "Bible Facts About Segregation," especially the section which reads: "In Genesis 9:26-27 we read that Almighty God, through Noah, pronounced . . . only a curse upon him (Ham) and his descendants, which are the Negroes. . . . Social equality brands the Bible as false."

Obviously Brewer regards Jim Crow as a cultural Methuselah, older than America and just as indestructible. Unless I misconstrue his aim, which hardly seems likely, he expects Jim Crow to play the same key role in the New South he played in the Old South. Doubtless, he would answer the question, What do you regard as the primary task of Jim Crow, the preservation of white supremacy or biblical equality? in favor of the latter.

Like so many of the people who have joined the battle for or against segregation, Hoxie's chairman of the Citizens Committee lives in that "twilight zone between living memory and written history" in which irrational prejudice and irrepressible passion join hands with social and economic pressures to distort history into mythology. As any student of the history of religions knows, the survival possibility of any myth varies in direct proportion to its transcendence of temporal categories. By this standard, the myth of segregation faces an uphill struggle, if not a losing battle. For contrary to the opinion of Cooper and Brewer, far from being a biblical figure of ancient origin, Jim Crow still has several years to go (and it looks as if he may never make it!) on his allotted three score years and ten. As a matter of fact, Brewer's Arkansas ancestors defended biblical truth without the help of Jim Crowism until well into the first decade of the twentieth century, so insists C. Vann Woodward in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (Oxford University Press, \$2.50), a vivid and lucid account of the rise and decline of Negro segregation in America.

The unprejudiced spectator who contends Jim Crow defies rational explanation does not have to look beyond Woodward in search of the wherewithal for documentation of this thesis. Woodward leaves little room for doubt that Jim

Crow's career makes up for its comparative brevity in endless variety or, better, I should say, incredible contradiction. If this seems startling, consider the unpredictable ups and downs, the surprising friends and unexpected foes of this curious fellow: though he once had entrance only into the circles of bums and rabble-rousers, now a welcomed guest in the highest circles of society and politics; whereas he alienated the conservatives of the Old South, he leans on the conservatives of the New South; despite his lack of status in the Old North, he has a whole galaxy of friends in the New North; notwithstanding the affection in which he was held by the leading Democrats of another generation, he has become a *persona non grata* among the leading Democrats of ours. These swift and shocking changes highlight the tale of Jim Crow's hectic life, from 1904, the date of his legal birth, to May 17, 1954, the date of his legal death.

An Unpromising Beginning

Contrary to the thinking alike of "impatient reformers" and "foot-dragging conservatives," Jim Crow met formidable opposition in his effort to fasten a full nelson on Dixie. Private citizens, black as well as white, from Dixieland as well as Yankeeland, joined the South's leading newspapers in resisting his growing demands.

WHEN T. McCants Stewart, a transplanted Negro of South Carolina origin, left Boston in 1885 to visit the state of his birth, he got the surprise of his life. Though he put a chip on his shoulder

and "inwardly dared anybody to knock it off," nobody did. He ate with whites, rode beside whites and talked to whites, not only without incident but to the apparent enjoyment of all. "I think the whites of the South are really less afraid to have contact with colored people than the whites of the North," he wrote in an article for the *New York Freeman*.

One of the most revolutionary abolitionists, Wentworth Higginson, could scarcely believe what he learned from his trip through the South in 1878. Comparing the treatment of Negroes in the South with that of New England, he decided the former came off quite well. "How can we ask more of the States formerly in rebellion than they . . . be abreast of New England in granting rights and privileges to the colored race?" he asks. "Yet this is now the case in the three states I name," he adds, "or at least if they fall behind in some points they lead at some points."

The *Charleston News and Courier* fired one final broadside into the clamor for introduction of the Jim Crow car. Aware of the absurd lengths to which the logic of this principle could lead, the editor resorted to ridicule in his attack on what he regarded as a silly and nonsensical proposal. "If there must be Jim Crow cars on the railroads," he wrote "there should be Jim Crow cars on the street railways. Also on all passenger boats. . . . There should be Jim Crow waiting saloons at all stations, and Jim Crow eating houses . . . Jim Crow sections of the jury box, and a Jim Crow dock and witness stand in every court—and a Jim Crow Bible for colored witnesses to kiss."

REALITY, SYMBOL AND IMAGES

Paul Tillich has insisted that the fundamental problem of Protestantism is the developing of an attitude in which it first can accept symbols and then come to recognize them and know that which they represent. Protestantism's tradition of "continuous iconoclasm" must be replaced by the knowledge and feeling that religious symbols are the reality of the religious encounter out of which they are produced.

Symbols have their meaning in terms of that to which they point. Signs, images, and metaphors are another step

removed. One of the troubles with Protestantism is that it has refused to face up to the problem of the difference between signs and symbols—and reality.

Feeling that these are basic questions for Protestantism, Dr. Tillich has tried to meet them in the choice manner in which these questions can really be discussed; that is, philosophically. By many, Tillich has been accused of being more philosopher than theologian. He admits to the accusations, but insists that it is a meaningless attack for one cannot be a theologian without being involved in the basic analogical problem (i.e. phil-

motive

crow: in church and out

a review article

by Everett Tilson

A Rapid Rise

As if to compound contempt with irony, fellow citizens soon translated every last one of this editor's ridiculous suggestions into legal statute, with the single exception of the Jim Crow Bible—a legal oversight private citizens took steps to correct, as indicated by Ray Stannard Baker's discovery of Jim Crow Bibles for Negro witnesses in Atlanta courts. A New Orleans ordinance carried the movement a step beyond the ridiculous by segregating white and Negro prostitutes into separate districts. If they were to have a Jim Crow Decalogue, at least they could break it in Jim Crow style.

Within a score of years after his first serious bid for power, Jim Crow was riding off in all directions, claiming squatter's rights on every institution of public life. His conquests included everything from hospitals to cemeteries; he insinuated himself into all of life's ventures, though without attempting to explain just how his presence blessed either the infant or the deceased.

NO single factor can explain the rapid capitulation to racism. Numerous influences facilitated the surrender. Woodward assigns a primary role to the simultaneous loss of restraint by Northern liberalism, Southern conservatism and Southern radicalism. Racists in Congress and out turned every weakness of their opponents into a sanction for Jim Crow. They found a powerful ally in the social theory of such men as William Graham Sumner, Franklin Henry Giddings and William McDougall, whose writings en-

couraged the tendency to look on existing social patterns as inflexible and irrevocable. While segregationists did not arrive at their position from the study of this social theory, they used it freely as a weapon against those who sought to eliminate segregation by legislation. They nevertheless continued to work for the translation of segregation philosophy into legislative enactment. By doing so, as Woodward insists, they called in question the theory "stateways cannot change folkways." "Whether railways qualify as folkways or stateways," he writes, "black man and white man rode them together and without a partition between them. Later on the stateways apparently changed the folkways—or at any rate the railways—for the partitions and Jim Crow cars became universal." If "universal" in this instance applies only to the South, any reference to the segregation of residential areas would make the term applicable to the entire nation.

A Slow Death

The first world war kindled among Negroes a new hope for the early recovery of first-class citizenship, but this dream fell victim to an unprecedented wave of interracial strife and mob riots, the worst coming in the North. Matters grew worse rather than better in the twenties, due in large measure to the spread of the Ku Klux Klan. Scattered signs of hope began to appear on the horizon in the late thirties and early forties. Air transportation aided and abetted the cause; it seemed silly to require "a Jim Crow compartment on . . . a DC-6, particularly one that touched the ground only once between Washing-

ton and Miami." This trend became clear in 1940 when the city of Atlanta accepted the area occupied by the zoo in Grant Park from its ordinance requiring segregation; at least "in the presence of the lower anthropoids could law-abiding Atlantans of different races consort together." Ever since, and on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line, the pressures for integration have multiplied in number, power and influence. While some of these pressures have been felt without being seen, at least the following have been observed with sufficient clarity to be regarded as crucial: the importance of the Negro vote in local, state and national elections, the growth of such organizations as the NAACP and the National Urban League, the "Harlem Renaissance" in literature, the spread of the social gospel, the acquisition of key editorships by Southern liberals, the work of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and the action of the courts in declaring segregation ordinances null and void.

Strangely enough, our national enemies have forced us into an agonizing reappraisal of the presuppositions of segregation. When we expressed abhorrence for Hitler's brand of racism, others pointed immediately to our own brand of racism. They did concede a significant difference in degree but saw little difference in principle. The communists further exploited this stain on our democratic record; they pointed to Negro segregation in America as proof of Russia's claim to be the only major power practicing true democracy. High government officials have taken cognizance of these claims in their plea for an early

osophical) which is an attempt to analyze things as they are given, in order "to discover the principles, the structures, and the nature of being as it is embodied in everything that is."

In a brief and fresh discussion, *Biblical Religion and the Search for Ultimate Reality* (The University of Chicago Press, \$2.25), Tillich vigorously insists that the symbols used in biblical religion cannot be divorced from, but demand philosophical analysis.

A particularly fascinating aspect of this discussion is Tillich's use of the symbol "person" in biblical religion as related

to his whole argument. Recent theological discussions, except for one vigorous group, have almost boycotted the use of the word "personalism." Tillich brings it vigorously back into the discussion with the insistence that biblical religion is based upon it.

The biblical symbols, in Tillich's understanding, are not fragmentary nor limited to logical discussions of the problem of knowledge. They are part of the problem of faith, and like faith itself, live in tension with themselves.

It might be, at first note, a rather curious juxtaposition to take Herbert

Read's discussion of the relationship of the artistic image to the idea, immediately following a note on Tillich. I, at least, found them mutually stimulating, if not complementary.

Herbert Read has made a place for himself as one of the most vigorous and perceptive thinkers on the meaning of art. In such volumes as his discussion of *The Philosophy of Modern Art*, *The True Voice of Feeling* and other papers and books, he has given a perceptive depth to the discussion which has too often been carried on at a superficial level of opinion.

end to all racial discrimination. Their statements carry the plain implication that the nature of today's international struggle for power has turned pride of race into an obsolete luxury. A speech in 1952 by the Secretary of State pretty accurately reflects the attitude of high administration officials on this point: "Other peoples cannot understand how such a practice can exist in a country which professes to be a staunch supporter of freedom, justice and democracy."

TWO attacks on Jim Crow reveal the determination of governmental officials to bridge the gap between American profession and practice: the executive order by President Truman in 1948, calling for "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin," and the unanimous decision of May 17, 1954, by the Supreme Court, citing psychological and sociological authorities, nullifying once and for all the "separate but equal" argument for segregation in the public schools.

Pessimists greeted these actions with the prediction the end of Jim Crow would mark the beginning of anarchy. Little has happened so far to justify their fear. Integration has been proceeding apace for the past decade with little bad feeling and a minimum of open conflict. In the Armed Services and on the athletic fields, in labor unions and on governmental boards, in hospitals and on the campus of one college and university after another, Jim Crow has become increasingly conspicuous for his quiet exits. In fact, if the shrill and coarse voices of his champions make us feel his death may be slow, they also betray his friends' belief his death will be sure!

A Church Funeral

If slow, who will be to blame? *Dwight W. Culver's Negro Segregation in The Methodist Church* (Yale University Press, \$3) offers a partial answer to this question. On the basis of his study of the number and extent of interracial contacts in the national offices and meetings, hospitals and home, colleges and church of The Methodist Church, he concludes: "The Methodist Church can meet the challenge presented by Negro segregation in its own denomination, but it will require a dedication that has not yet been made." Though Culver does not boldly echo thought of Waldo Beach, who frankly says, "Secular" forces have proved themselves more Christian than have "Christians" in their attack on Jim Crow, obviously he would not be surprised if Christians, whether Methodist or something else, should provide for him a church funeral.

Culver's research does a good piece of work so far as it goes, but I question if that's far enough. Can we measure the influence of The Methodist Church against segregation without making some attempt to weigh its impact on the workers for integration? How much of their attitude roots in the Christian view of man and his destiny, society and its purpose, God and his will? To what extent has this attitude been nurtured and cultivated in and by the church?

If Culver had investigated the problem from this angle, I have the feeling his conclusion would be more favorable to Methodism in particular and more hopeful of the church in general. Be that as it may, let's not overlook the gaping hiatus he has discovered between the brotherhood we preach and that we practice. The church has a right to claim credit for its power to implement brotherhood through its influence on government. Only may she never forget that she and not the government has the responsibility of functioning as the body of Christ.

SYMBOL AND SIGN

In *Icon and Idea* (Harvard University Press, \$7.50), Mr. Read has pressed a most stimulating theory; namely, that the artistic image always comes before the idea. That is, ideas, philosophy, even religion are developed out of the images which the artist first "creates."

He makes much of Bergson's vitalism in the development of this theory and rests much of his case upon biological processes. This is debatable, and although I am not sure his theory can be divorced from this questionable philosophy, it should be clearly examined by Christian theologians. It should be seriously studied by those Christian theologians who think of art simply as "illustration" for their own theories, and have refused to face the significance of the symbol and the image in itself.

It is peculiarly the function of the artist to dig deeper than even the theologian can do. The artist, through the forms which he uses, be they poetry, in the plastic field, or whatever, tries somehow in the making of his images to say not only what reality is, but what reality means as it is still to come. So if we would know, or know what to expect, we must be intimately acquainted with the artist.

I think this is one of the most important of recent books. It is a seminal theory because much depends upon how we conceive of our symbols and signs and how we treat those who form the signs or the symbols that are basic to faith. The image points to the reality of the symbol—but the symbol is still but a representation of being.

F. W. Dillistone has written one of

the best books dealing with the Christian religion and its symbolic tokens: *Christianity and Symbolism* (Westminster Press, \$4.50). He has attempted to get behind the sign and to see that which the symbol means. His concern has been stimulated by the sacraments as used in the Christian tradition.

Dillistone takes an existentialist meaning for symbolism: that is, the symbol represents action: e.g., Christ himself, as the event of the incarnation, the action of death and the resurrection, the event of creation, etc. The signs and the images are to point to the more fundamental reality which is their symbol. The metaphors dramatize it in a vigorous, even sometimes violent, fashion.

I do have a feeling sometimes that, although he has made a vigorous attempt sharply to define the difference between symbol and sign, Dillistone is sometimes guilty of confusing the two in his discussions.

The symbolic acts which are relived in the sacraments are not to be construed in an inflexible, unchanging ceremonial pattern. Theirs cannot even be unity, for times change and cultures vary and, within the Christian tradition, there are many different interpretations and symbols which make manifest the true nature of God.

One of the particular values of Dillistone's discussion is his understanding of the nature of culture and his appreciation of the different cultural patterns for symbolic meaning. The symbolism of nature, of time, of language are treated in relationship to the profound movement of culture and their significance is always one of "context."

Although Dillistone insists that symbolic meanings are not inflexibly fixed, he does feel that traditional Christian symbols have contemporary relevance. Now, it seems to me at this point that he is sometimes in danger of confusing his own discussion of the difference between signs and symbols—a difference which most Protestants have never even noticed. I would certainly agree with him that the traditional symbols have contemporary relevance. I think even many of the traditional signs have significance for the present, but the signs are the most ephemeral and changing of all, and we should not think, because we put up a different sign, that the symbol has been lost.

Documentation for the claim that the problem of symbolics is a basic one to culture, and particularly to contemporary Protestantism, is provided by our growing demand for an understanding of the arts. The arts are peculiarly involved in the whole process of the representation of true being in the interpretation of reality. I think the point of Read, that the artist in the creation of his images

motive

may be making investigations into that meaning which the theologians and philosopher comes along later to rationalize, is well taken. At the same time, the artist comments on the changing signs and symbols of our culture.

It is particularly excellent that the current revolution in book making (the coming of the first-class, paper-back editions) coincides with this revival of interest in the arts. One of the best has been the series published under the title, *Seven Arts* and edited by **Fernando Puma**. The third volume in this most excellent series is now in print, *Seven Arts, No. 3 (The Falcon's Wing Press, cloth bound, \$2.95; paper bound 95 cents)*.

The book leads off with Max Brod's "Notes on Kafka." These are familiar to those who have been reading the works of this existentialist writer who has had such an influence on contemporary literature. It is followed by one of the most important of the "religious" painters today, Georges Rouault, discussing "The Painter's Rights in His Work." Other chapters discuss the function of the novel today, the Salzburg Festival and such reprintings as excerpts from Goethe and Oscar Wilde.

Perhaps no writer in our time has received quite such approbation as **Thomas Mann**. His interpretation, through his novels and short stories, of the great religious symbols, and even more specifically, the biblical symbols has illuminated their meaning and made existence a reality in the play of lies upon life.

Shortly after the death of this monumental literary person, was published a bibliography which underscores the admiration which men throughout Western culture have for Thomas Mann: *Fifty Years of Thomas Mann Studies: A Bibliography of Criticism (University of Minnesota Press, \$5)*.

The focus of this bibliography, as noted in the subtitle, is critical. This includes Mann's own self-criticism and autobiographical material. The author has limited the number of items to about three thousand, selecting only that which will be of greatest possible usefulness to the student of Mann. It is interesting to note there are more than ninety books and pamphlets devoted entirely to Mann and over one hundred dissertations and some two hundred fifty books of which a significant proportion deals with Mann. The rest of the items are from periodicals, yearbooks and newspapers.

This is a most useful tool, and would seem to be indispensable to those who love the work of one who, in the images of his writings, could make the basic symbols of man to live. This is the most and the best that could be asked of any artist.

JAPANESE, SPANISH, AND A NICE POTPOURRI

One of the tokens of our poverty is that we have known so little and showed such meager curiosity in seeking to discover the fine qualities of Japanese literature. This is true of most of the literature of Asia, with the possible exception of some of the religious writings of India and China, and these have been investigated more for their esoteric religious patterns than as a vital and fruitful artistic experience.

Compiled and edited by **Donald Keene** is the first volume of a new *Anthology of Japanese Literature (Grove Press, \$6.50)*. In fact, the book is one of the happier auguries of the postwar years: a project in which the ubiquitous Ford Foundation has a hand and a publishing arrangement between UNESCO and the Japanese Government.

This first volume of the anthology takes selections from the earliest era to the mid-nineteenth century. A second volume to be published later will deal with the remarkable vitality of the period from the Meiji restoration to the current moment.

One of the pieces of American folklore has been that which assigns all Japanese literature, as well as its ordinary patterns of life, into one single stylistic mode. You say, "Japanese writing," and the response, or reaction, is to imagine a stylistic devotion nearly void of meaning. But like any full-bodied literature, the Japanese is crammed, not only with delicate imagery, but with melodramatic bombasts and about everything in between. It has its moments of rowdy humor, and of delicate surmise. It has the strange and melancholic beauty of loneliness and the vivid sense of crowd and movement. There is a delicate charm about some Japanese writings, and one of the most interesting to me is the "link" verses of the "Three Poets at Minase." Three poets working together composed alternate verses of 7, 5, 7 syllables and blank syllables. They have to follow many rules, one of which is

that any of three links taken from a sequence shall produce two complete poems and generally with different meanings—a fascinating play of ideas and words.

But while these fit the general conception of Japanese writing, there are the others of boisterous excitement and rowdy adventure.

Another word about the make-up of this book. The Grove Press is one of those smaller publishers that is going about the exciting job of producing books in a thoroughly interesting fashion. The make-up of this book is excellent.

A new translation of *Poet in New York* by **Federico Garcia Lorca** has been made by **Ben Belitt (Grove Press, \$3.75)**. Those who do not know the poetry of Lorca, and particularly this series of poems coming out of his year at Columbia University at the beginning of the depression, should take this new stimulant and get acquainted.

Inevitably, Lorca's poems of New York arouse discussion, controversy and bewilderment. The task of a poet is a strange, strange vocation. He is gifted with prescience, as well as hindsight. He speaks of things to come with the delicate antenna of his sensibilities which stretched into those areas that are clouded over for the rest of us. In the symbol which he has, he tells of many things; of birth and death, heaven and earth, sin and redemption, spirit and passion—man in his constant clashes.

The difficulty that we so often experience with the poet, and this is certainly true of *Poet in New York*, is that he has the disturbing facility of prophecy, and not always does he, himself, comprehend its meaning—nor do we.

Lorca's days in New York were those of a Spaniard who knew no English, in a city twisted by the depression. His reactions were violent and distorted.

It is fine poetry, even in translation. This book has the Spanish text side by side with the new work of Mr. Belitt.

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A gift unique to the creature called man is the ability to step outside of self — to be involved in and yet observer of his life. So can he also project himself out of his physical environment, can from some distant vantagepoint observe his nation and his world.

Perhaps the President's January 5th "State of the Union" address can best be interpreted from such a "stellar perch."

Understanding of the program presented is helped by two awarenesses: the coming elections; the communist threat. And a philosophical point of reference can be found in T. S. Eliot's lines from Murder in the Cathedral: "The last temptation is the greatest treason: to do the right deed for the wrong reason."

In the case of agriculture, the party conflict is clear. While the President's message calls for working together "regardless of party," he is very aware of the deep dissatisfaction of farmers across the country over the ever-growing gap between costs and income. Although farm experts insist no single answer will solve the problem, the President's message emphasizes a "soil bank program," and the Democrats are pushing in the Senate for the House-passed bill providing "90 per cent parity."

One domestic recommendation — that a bipartisan Commission be enacted by Congress to investigate charges that "in some localities Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressure" — evoked immediate cries from some Democrats and from the NAACP. The pro-Civil Rights people call the proposal a stalling measure, declaring that everyone knows the facts already. To the Democrats, this move poses another threat to their already-strained North-South coalition.

In a way, the "international" sections of the message seemed also directed toward "votes" — the "uncommitted peoples of the world."

Take, for example, the foreign aid program. The President makes the commendable recommendation that he have authority "to make longer-term commitments for assistance," the present program having been hampered by its dependence on yearly reauthorization. But what is the justification? "Because the conditions of poverty and unrest in less-developed areas make their people a special target for international communism."

In this message the President goes beyond previous requests in asking for revision of the immigration and nationality laws. He asks that the quotas be based on the 1950 rather than the more-discriminatory 1920 census; that unused quotas be no longer wasted, but made available to needy countries; that the much-criticized fingerprinting requirement be waived for temporary visitors to this country. But how is this change justified? "In keeping with our responsibility of world leadership and in our own self-interest. . . ."

So far the national-international analogy can be carried, but it breaks down at the point where choice ends and military force begins. Our international policy is based on the assumption that only fear of atomic retaliation prevents the USSR from using force to "win" votes. So it is not surprising that the President's message speaks of "collective security" and "deterrent military power." And while there are words about reducing "the burden of armaments," it adds the qualification "under effective inspection and control." For here the two political parties are united against the common enemy, and can be expected to outdo each other in vigilance — that our scientific manpower, air strength, atomic development, etc., be ahead of Russia's. While the cost of armaments is deplored, while Stassen continues his job as special advisor to the President for disarmament, while a bipartisan Senate subcommittee explores disarmament problems, while the UN disarmament subcommittee seeks agreement between the US and USSR, the arms race continues because neither side dares stop.

From the "stellar perch," the State of the Union address reveals these two battles: the one, a part of our way of life, our belief that out of the competition between two parties the individual benefits; the other, a conflict between a "party" calling itself servant, and one calling itself master of the individual — a conflict bearing threat of extinction of all human life.

Where, then, are the "right reasons"? If we believe in competition between political parties, is it "wrong" to emphasize the interests of a particular party? If we are confronted by an international threat, is it "wrong" to subordinate individual human concerns to national security needs?

Such are some of the dilemmas behind the President's State of the Union message, and behind the legislation which will come before Congress this session.

Opposite page: Gregor Thompson Goethals calls her interpretation, "Resurrection." In this issue, dealing with segregation, this significant expression of the longing in every man for the right to stand erect among

his fellows marks the hope toward which there is already much work being done. As a native of Mississippi, Mrs. Goethals has seen the misery and realizes the work that needs to be done.



editorial:

even up the score

(The Professor is talking to a group of students in a mid-South university. Most of the students are not white.)

NUMBER ONE: There is only one thing they understand: throw the fear of God into them.

PROFESSOR: What do you mean?

ONE: I mean that violence is all that they will recognize. They murder a Negro boy. I say that the only thing that will stop them is to kill one of them. An eye for an eye, a life for a life.

NUMBER TWO: That's right. If you refuse to live like an Uncle Tom and bow and scrape and get out of the way, then you will have to stand up to them and give them back exactly what they throw at you.

ONE: It's the only thing they understand—fear!

TWO: Scare them enough and they'll lay off.

PROF.: It has never seemed to me that fear could be understood, especially by the person who is afraid.

ONE: They'll know why they are afraid. And they will know how to stop being afraid—give us our rights.

PROF.: I still think that when you talk about knowing and fear you are using two incompatibles. When afraid you quit thinking. You act with blinders on.

TWO: Blinders you say! What do you think they wear now?

PROF.: Blinders, I'd say. And probably because they are afraid. But how do you take blinders off—

by firing up the fear that put them on in the first place?

TWO: But you don't understand. There is no justice. They can kill us if we dare to whistle and they know that they will go free. Now who's afraid?

PROF.: We all are. And where there is fear there is no justice. That we can all agree on.

ONE: All right. We're all afraid. But we're more afraid than they are. We can't even stand straight up as human beings. So at least we'll even up the fear.

PROF.: I'm not so sure that you are correct. You have omitted something, there is a right and there is a wrong.

ONE: Now we're going back to being preached at. All our lives we have been told to keep our places and hold our tempers and things will work themselves out in the end. Well, that's not so.

PROF.: Save me from preaching! But let's take at least a short look at something other than getting even.

TWO: That's plenty easy for you. Suppose you were me?

PROF.: You are right. I can't know. I am not you and cannot imagine as you do, for I have not had your experiences. Just a word, however, about right and wrong.

TWO: Sermons!

PROF.: I'm not good at preaching. There is a right cause, and certainly the attempt to dignify all human beings in a democracy with equal rights and status is a righteous effort. Righteousness does not, however, end with the

goal. In fact it has to operate long before the goal is reached. Unless the right is used in the struggle, then the right will have disappeared, no matter who is victor.

TWO: The worst kind of sermon, an abstract one!

PROF.: Sorry. Look, you have the right on your side. And you have time, for theirs is a dying order. But, if you strike back at them with their violence, their prejudgments, their vain and anxious kind of superiority you will have lost both your cause and your rights.

ONE: There isn't time. We are tired of waiting. We won't sit back any longer.

PROF.: I am not counseling you to sit back. Fight, of course. But fight with goodness and in the end both of you will be victors. If they will not choose the better way, you will have to show it to them, and now it looks as if that is how it is.

ONE: We would need a Gandhi.

PROF.: You need no hero to lead you.

ONE: At least an organizer?

PROF.: Not even that. Just be one of the brotherhood. Live and act as the brother, even to Cain.

ONE: Even when they shoot my brother?

PROF.: When they start shooting, then you know they are beaten. That is the moment it is most important to be a brother. For the fearful man does not need to be twice as scared. He must be known as brother.

TWO: Oh brother!

ONE: Oh!