

TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS

A Documented History of the Negro "Freedom Movement"

A ninety-minute documentary review of the Boston school segregation issue, beginning with the nation's first Freedom School, held in Boston on June 18, 1963.

Participants:

Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Canon James Breeden, Co-Chairman, Freedom Stay-out

Noel Day, Co-Chairman, Freedom Stay-out

Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, Boston School Committee Member

Thomas Eisenstadt, Boston School Committee Member

Bishop Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Bishop, Episcopal Church, Mass.

Kenneth Guscott, President, Boston Branch, NAACP

Louis Lomax, Negro author and journalist

Bill Russell, Celtic Basketball Star

Endicott Peabody, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Joseph Lee, Boston School Committee Member

Thomas Atkins, Executive Secretary, Boston Branch, NAACP

James Meredith, Negro essayist

Richard Cardinal Cushing, the Catholic Archbishop of Boston

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ANNCR: Charges and Counter-Charges!

ATKINS: There is segregation!

HICKS: I don't believe that the Boston Public Schools are segregated!

BREEDEN: It's very obvious to anyone who looks around that there is segregation in the Boston Schools!

LEE: The School Committee does not practice the art of segregation!

PEABODY: I think that there is a general consensus amongst all groups that there is racial imbalance, not only in this city, but in other cities.

PICKETS SHOUTING:

"Jim Crow Must Go"

"Mrs. Hicks Must Go"

"School Committee Must Go"

"Is this the United States of America? Yes"

"Freedom"

"When do we want it? Now"

Where do we want it? Here"

ANNCR: "To Secure These Rights": A documented history of the Boston Negro School-protest Movement. Boston Negro leaders have felt that their rights are incomplete...."To Secure These Rights", last June they launched a vigorous effort to eliminate what they term, "de facto" segregation or racial imbalance in the Boston schools. In the next 90 minutes, we investigate and document, not only the charges and counter charges, but the complexities of the numerous meetings, press conferences, freedom schools, rallies and other demonstrations, which too long have confused and perplexed residents of the Greater Boston and New England area. The Boston Branch of the NAACP said that Boston schools were segregated.

ATKINS: The segregation is segregation that is based ... that is the result, primarily, of housing patterns. And this we recognize. We have said, to the School Committee, "segregation exists." The fact it is the result of housing patterns is another problem. The fact that it exists, is the School Committee's problem...and our problem. Now, we are living up to the responsibility of recognizing the situation as it exists - de facto. This is what we have said. Now we are asking the School Committee to look to their part of the responsibility and that is to work with this problem toward a solution.

ANNCR: Tom Atkins, Executive Secretary of the Boston Branch, NAACP, the day before the first School Stayout, continues with his explanation of the developments leading up to this dramatic

demonstration.

ATKINS: The School Committee has met with us....we...virtually all day Saturday, virtually all day Sunday, the Education Committee of the NAACP was in session, closed session, with the School Committee. And the School Committee, out of fourteen proposals submitted to it accepted twelve of them. This indicates a great deal of good faith on their part. We are not accusing the School Committee of bad faith. We are saying to the School Committee, "The good faith shown so far is not enough." This is what we have said and we are saying, and this is why tomorrow there will be a stay-out.

ANNCR: The other side of this issue was stated by school Committeeman William O'Connor and the then chairman of the Boston School Committee, Louise Day Hicks.

O'CONNOR: The leaders of the NAACP have been insisting on a formal admission that our schools are de facto segregated. I have felt for some time now that they had only one purpose in mind. If that is formally admitted, then the School Committee would be in the position of admitting their schools are segregated, and legally they may be forced to do something about it.

HICKS: De facto segregation has a new and profound meaning to me since I listened to many of the leaders of NAACP, who came before

us on June 15th, who berated our teachers, who threatened the School Committee, and who also stated that the negro child was being exploited, was discriminated against, that we were using poor teachers in the areas. This they call de facto segregation and I will have no part of it. The Boston schools are not de facto segregated or otherwise. They are an integrated school system here in Boston. You must remember that the negro child or any child throughout our system will receive equal treatment. We are now in the process of even giving more education to the child, because we feel he needs it because of sociological conditions that are beyond our control. We do understand the problem of the negro child in Boston. We are willing to meet this problem with educational programs for him.

ANNCR: But the term "de facto" segregation had another definition as explained by June Shagalloff, Special Assistant for Education of the National NAACP.

SHAGALOFF: The term, de facto school segregation, has been used to describe the problem of racial concentration, the problem of racial imbalance, the problem of separate white and negro schools in the north. Schools that, in fact, are segregated. The Boston School Committee is the only school committee in the entire United States, of some 18 or 19 northern and western states, that has refused to meet and discuss this problem with the NAACP, and has used the very evasive excuse of saying that it's not segregation.

ANNCR: The Education Committee of the Boston NAACP, early in June, submitted fourteen points to the School Committee for their consideration. These fourteen points dealt with training programs for principals and teachers, the establishment of special reading programs, curriculum, and various teaching aids. Tom Atkins of the NAACP prior to the School Stay-out stated

ATKINS: Of these 14, 12 have been accepted, one is in a twilight zone, and the 14th one, the one we consider most important, has been flatly denied. Now, the crux of the matter is point number 1, "an immediate public acknowledgment of the existence of de facto segregation in the Boston School System." The School Committee feels this it cannot do. Various reasons have been given for this. I will not attempt to enumerate their reasoning.

ANNCR: School Committeeman, William O'Connor....

O'CONNOR: We have yielded on every education problem presented to us. The only problem we have not yielded on is a formal vote of the School Committee admitting segregation in the Boston Schools. Under no circumstances do I ever intend to vote for that or any synonymous words indicating that. So therefore, I feel that the Committee has gone all out. They're very capable of solving their own problems. We are ready, have been, and always will be ready to discuss any educational problems they want solved.

ANNCR: Secretary to Governor Peabody on Inter-Group Affairs and Vice-President of the Boston NAACP, Richard Banks....

BANKS: When the School Committee refused to accept this as a problem, refused to say that there was, in fact, segregation in the Boston Public School System, this is when the demonstration came about--and must have come about. Uh, somehow . . . people have got to be brought to face this problem. In point of fact, the point not accepted was the first point--the point that they accept this as a problem. It, it's almost like saying that you want the Constitution without the Preamble.

Annex: Tom Atkins....

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Atkins: Our position is that, if they cannot admit and recognize the existence of the problem, we're not at all convinced that the solutions they put into effect are going to be worthwhile. And this is why tomorrow is taking place.

Annex: Many people questioned why the Freedom Stay-out of June 18th was, indeed, taking place. Mrs. Hicks and Tom Atkins....

Hicks: It's a national problem and they have brought it to Boston, where it does not belong.

Atkins: Well I can give one reason, which is so overpowering that any other reasons aren't necessary, and that is: this is Boston; this is the Boston NAACP; the people taking part in tomorrow's demonstrations are Boston people. We're not concerned with what Philadelphia is doing, what Detroit is doing, Chicago, Birmingham, or Tuscaloosa. We live in Boston and we're concerned about Boston. The other cities are taking care of themselves.

Annex: That was Tom Atkins, next, the Then Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Frederick Gillis.

Gillis: There are a group, from outside of Boston, who have either come here for some reason or other or have been sent to create this dissention and stir up dissatisfaction.

Annex: Canon James Breeden and Noel Day, Co-Chairmen of the Freedom Stay-Out.....

Breeden and Day: We are in Boston and the situation is serious now. It's also in Boston, if I may add, because Boston is part of the United States and the situation is an American problem and we have a responsibility to deal with it wherever we find it.

ANNCR: We asked Canon Breeden last June to explain why there would be a Freedom Stay-Out. (page 8)

BREEDEN: The Freedom Stay-Out is an attempt to communicate, to the Boston School Committee and to the wider community, the seriousness of the situation. It is our belief that they have not yet really been honest about the seriousness of the situation. And so, we have chosen this way to allow those, who voluntarily undertake to convince people, to do so. In other words, we have set up the structure that will allow people to voluntarily stay away from public school and attend what we call "freedom schools" or "freedom centers" on this day, where they will not be moving away from education but will be coming to be educated about the situation that they're speaking out against.

ANNCR: We then asked Committeemen Thomas Eisenstadt and Joseph Lee to give their reactions to the scheduled stay-out.

EISENSTADT: The happening of this boycott is not going to bring home the message with any more drama or with any more effect, but rather the encouragement of it is the encouragement, clearly, of the violation of the law. LEE: If this boycott were to bring home the conditions that exist, there might, ideally be a justification for it. But, it would seem to me, the boycott is to obscure the conditions that exist.

ANNCR: But the Freedom Stay-out was to be held and we asked Noel Day to tell what was planned.

DAY: Well, we have what we feel is an all-star faculty of college teachers, retired teachers, teachers from suburban areas where the schools have closed down and people who are experienced in working

and teaching youth. Among them, we have Prof. Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard University, Professor Sumner Rosen of Simmons College, Professor Adelaide Hill of the Dept. of African Studies at Boston University, and we have a number of other people including Bishop Anson Phelps Stokes coming. Each Freedom Center will have its own faculty. The students there will be involved in singing freedom songs; they will hear lectures on negro history, on how our government works, on citizenship, on non-violence (the theory of non-violence and how it can be applied to different situations). And then we will break up into discussion groups to discuss problems of discrimination and how they affect us, how students can be involved and active in various aspects of the freedom movement, what they can do to insure better educational facilities and better job opportunities and so on. We expect to really have quite a comprehensive beginning here at least for a program in learning, or being educated for, citizenship and freedom.

ANNCR: The use of children was criticized by many.

EISENSTADT: We teach our children to obey the law (we inculcate in them a fundamental respect for the law) and here we have grown-ups, adults, encouraging these children to spit in the face of the law.

HICKS: I feel that the pending boycott of the Boston Public Schools will bring irreparable harm to our children. It is already causing a great deal of unrest among the children throughout the city. It is most unnecessary for we have tried to meet the problem of the culturally deprived child with many additional programs and curriculum which have already been introduced into the centers. We have found, and I truly believe, that it is through education

that the culturally deprived child will be helped.

HOLMES: Well as far as the boycott is concerned, I don't approve of it, because children should not be brought into a situation that's above them, you see. And it's training them, in my estimation, to break the law. The law is: the children belong in school, certain days and certain hours. And if the parents and the adults feel that they want to discuss this problem, it should be kept above the children's level. The children belong in school.

KIRKDON: I'm opposed to it. I feel that the children should not be used to settle matters that wholly concern adults.

ANNCR: The voices of Thomas Eisenstadt, Louise Day Hicks, a Negro parent and a Negro Clergyman, But there was justification cited as well, for instance, Tom Atkins, NAACP.

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ATKINS: Our reaction is: For some hundred and 50 years, 200 years, 300 years, children have been taken advantage of along with their parents. And the problems that we are facing today in America and in Boston are problems that children of today will face tomorrow as adults. And it's only a question of time, when they are going to face them. We're not asking the children to take the problems of their fathers and mothers, we're asking the fathers and mothers and children all to take part in this, because this is the way it's going to be most effectively done.

ANNCR: And what were the reactions of the children, themselves?

INTERVIEWER: First of all, what is your reaction to this plan of a boycott tomorrow?

FIRST BOY: Well, I think it's the only way we can show that we're all interested in the schools of Boston, in mainly the Negro communities, and how we could help to maintain or get up to a high standard.

INTERVIEWER: What do you, yourself, plan to do tomorrow?

FIRST BOY: I'm staying out of school.

INTERVIEWER: Will you stay at home, or will you go somewhere else?

FIRST BOY: I'll go to the Saint Mark's Social Center.

INTERVIEWER: Is something planned there officially?

FIRST BOY: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: Do you know what kind of a program?

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FIRST BOY: Well, it's mainly to get over the idea of what it's all about and I think a lot of kids staying out of school will be there.

INTERVIEWER: Do you feel, yourself, that there is segregation in the Boston Schools?

FIRST BOY; Yes, definitely.

INTERVIEWER: You say you're not going to school tomorrow?

GIRL: I'm in jr. high.

INTERVIEWER: You're in jr. high. Why aren't you going to school?

GIRL: My mother just told me not to go.

INTERVIEWER: Why did she tell you not to go?

GIRL: I don't know. She said for me not to go to school Tuesday.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think this is a good thing for you not to do?

GIRL: I wouldn't know. Coming tomorrow won't help you anyway, 'cause all they're going to do is clean up.

INTERVIEWER: You mean because it's the end of the year?

GIRL: They're going to clean up and that's all they're going to do tomorrow anyway.

INTERVIEWER: Are any of the others of you not going to school tomorrow?

Not me.

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I'm not.

INTERVIEWER: Why aren't you going tomorrow?

SECOND BOY: I don't know... I just... I don't

FIRST BOY: That's exactly the reason why they're having the meeting at Saint Mark's Social Center, so they can get over the idea of, to some of the younger people, why they're not going to school.

ANNCR: Shortly before the first child entered Boston's first Freedom School, the Chairman of the School Committee told us....

HICKS: There is no further action that I can take. I have appealed to the parents and I have appealed to the leaders of the organizations in question. I feel that now it rests with the people whether or not they're going to allow their children to flaunt the law. I do hope that they will be sensible and realize that the fate of their children may rest on their decisions on Tuesday.

MUSIC: "I Woke Up This Morning With My Mind on Freedom"

PEGGY DAY: First, I'd like to welcome you to your Freedom School. But, before we begin the program, let me remind you very briefly first, why we stayed out of school and why it is for freedom. In the last few days, some people have made a great discovery or, at least, recognized the fact that Roxbury and the South End - in these places we go to segregated schools. These schools are too segregated to be equal. They are not as segregated as Birmingham or as Jackson, but they're segregated enough. They're not segregated by law, but in fact. And this is what "de facto" means - the term you've heard bantered about a great deal. It has been proved, and proved to the satisfaction of the Supreme Court of the United States, that segregated schools, by law or "de facto", can not be equal schools. We are staying out of school to tell the School Committee and the community that we don't want inferior schools. We want equal schools. Some parts of the program today will give us a taste of what we feel and believe. It is important for us to learn - and the things we should learn

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in the public schools. Listen closely today, and I'm sure you will learn.

ANNCR: And now we hear what the children did learn.

PEGGY DAY: We will learn some Negro history today to remind us of our heritage: where we come from, why, and why we should be proud of our people. We will learn freedom songs to remind us of what is going on now and what we're working for. And we can also learn an attitude and a fact - an attitude of non-violence. I'm sure many of you have heard this term, and today you will get it explained to you and how it pertains to you. You will hear more about that and that fact in America, and that, in America, it is a citizen's responsibility to insist on human rights for everyone - insist firmly, actively, but with love and understanding, because all men are not able to love immediately. Many of us have suffered many things, but we must always try to see the other man's side. And this is what the essence of non-violence means.

ANNCR: The children at St. Mark's Social Center, the largest Freedom School, heard other words.

ROLLINS: I think that what's disturbing most of us who have been involved in this thing from the start is that the Boston School Committee still doesn't know what's happening up here. And we are not going to stop, we don't intend to stop, until they do know what's happening and until they show some sign that they're going to do something about it. They don't know about the basement classes with water dripping right next to, you know, toilets.

ANNCR: Bryant Rollins, who worked in the planning of the Stay-out. Peggy Day, Chairman of the Curriculum Committee continued later in the day with a more serious message.

PEGGY DAY: Charlie Winfield is nineteen and he still isn't out of his Freshman Year in high school.. and, why? Because every time he attempts to go back, they put him back a grade; 'cause they're afraid of him, because he's got his dignity and he knows what he's gonna do. Now Charlie wrote me a letter when I came back from Georgia last summer. And he said, "Dear Peggy, if you never hear from me again don't worry, because I know what I have to do. Without an education, I might as well be dead. I'm going back to Georgia, even though my family was forced to move to Florida because their house was shot into sixteen times one night. I'm going back to Georgia, and I'm going to set up voter registration schools and I'm going to teach my people. And I'm going to try to teach them not to hate - and it's going to be hard. But I don't want them to hate all white people, because all white people aren't the same." Now this was a young fellow, who'd never really met any white people who weren't against him and yet he was trying his best, in his Christian way and in his human way, to get around it. He said, "I'm going to go back to southwest Georgia, and I'm going to set up voter registration schools. And if I get shot, and if I get hung, or if I get lynched, don't feel sorry for me. Just remember me as a guy who got lost along the way."

ANNCR: One of the most prominent members of the Boston Community also addressed the children at the St. Mark's Freedom School... the Right Reverend Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts

STOKES: I think you boys and girls, who are sharing in this witness today, can make a great contribution if our city (and it's a grand city) can really open itself up to recognize that it can be a far, far better city, and quit defending the areas where we're at fault. I'm glad we, here, speak about The New Boston. And I'm sure we're all delighted that there is a New Boston in process. But it can't be a New Boston just in terms of plans and buildings. It's got to be a New Boston in terms of spirit and opportunity. And I know that you represent a segment of our community that doesn't have the opportunity as greatly as other segments do. And I hope you can help us see it.

ANNCR: And Negro leaders such as Alan Gartner, local Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, spoke to the children.

GARTNER: I don't think the New Boston exists in the Prudential Center or the Government Center or that big crater down in what used to be Scolley Square. The New Boston is right here in this room. This is the new thing that has happened in the city and you're making it new. I would give you
applause
three final words/We want all our rights, we want them now, and we want them here.

cross-fade applause into freedom song

clapping I woke up this morning with my mind set on freedom.

ANNCR: Reactions were in conflict. The Superintendent of Schools, reportedly, called the Stay-Out a failure. Co-Chairman of the Stay-Out, Canon Breeden

had this to say.. shortly before Noon on the day of the Stay-out....

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BREEDEN: I'll leave it for others to regard. There were many, many opinions of what exactly I was trying to do and what exactly the result would be. Because all of these opinions have a chance to change today, I won't say. From my point of view, I think it's a tremendous success. This is the beginning of educating the community to take responsibility and to attempt to communicate to others their responsibility as American citizens.

ANNCR: The children had their own reactions....

BOY: Cause my mother, she told me that the St. Mark's Social Center and the NAACP was doing a good job. And she said that I should go around there and see, because she don't think that that's right - what they're doing to people down south. And she says that they tried once before, that they wouldn't let 'em have their freedom, but she says that this time she thinks that they'll get it this time, 'cause they're really trying for it this time.

ANNCR: I see. Do you believe there's segregation in the Boston schools?

BOY: Segregation? Well, my mother, she says that I seem to be getting a pretty good education but some teachers, some teachers are prejudiced and they just don't treat you right. But my teacher, I think he's a nice teacher.

ANNCR: Negro leader, ⁰¹¹⁰~~Paul~~ Snowden's reaction.....

SNOWDEN: One of the most dramatic things I saw this morning was a parent and her two children, one on each arm. She brought them to the school and she says, "Children, you will go in and learn of freedom and I will come to pick you up at 2:15." I feel that Noel Day and Reverend Breedon and the

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NAACP Education Committee should be whole-heartedly congratulated on the work they have done, prior to the Stay-out For Freedom Day and the participation that is going on now by all of the adults and clergy in the Boston area.

ANNCR: And a Negro adult in the area.....

MAN: It's like, the American Indian. You know how they did him. They sat down in this pow wow and smoked this pipe and signed a few papers, and passed out a few trinkets - a pat on the back, everything's alright. That is why the Indian is on the reservation today in my opinion. But I think the colored man, or so-called "black-man," sees a little above that. And he's tired of the pats on the back and the promises.

ANNCR: You do believe there is de facto segregation in the Boston School system?

MAN: There always has been. But, you know, it's done with that pat on the back. Things are swept under the rug. And that's the way it has been ever since I can remember.

ANNCR: Bill Russell, Boston Celtics Basketball Star....

RUSSELL: We think it's been rather successful for a number of reasons. I think we accomplished what we wanted to accomplish, in that, we expressed the fact that we were dissatisfied with this Boston school system. But we're dissatisfied with the whole social setup. And this is just sort of a breakthrough, an expression of dissatisfaction. You see, the School Board has refused to recognize the problem as such. Now, the first thing to do in solving a problem is to recognize it as a problem. And this is what we feel

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the School Board failed to do. That's why we... If they had recognized this as a problem a few years ago, this would be completely unnecessary. But we feel it is necessary and we feel it was successful, in that we got their attention and... we're gaining their attention. Now - this is just a beginning, you see. This is a monster we're fighting - a real monster. And it's a cancerous monster. And if the fight isn't successful, it could, conceivably, destroy democracy here and everywhere. This is not a fight of black and white; this is not a black and white problem. This is an American problem. But the important thing is that we have taken the first step. And we have, as they say, "thrown the gauntlet down," or whatever the phrase is. We're ready. We're into the fight now. When I say we, I mean America, Boston, Massachusetts, New England, the country, everybody. If we lose this fight, the country loses. And if we win, the country wins.

ANNCR: And on the National level.... Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National NAACP.

WILKINS: The National office of the NAACP is very happy to lend encouragement to its Boston Chapter and to the parents and students and people, generally, of Boston in this intelligent and forceful campaign to eliminate de facto segregation in the schools. I am happy to see the Boston branch tackling this in this broad way, and with the desire of informing the community how to go about it, and I wish them every success.

Music C, "Truth Shall Make Us Free" (excerpt from We Shall Overcome)

ANNCR: The Stay-out for Freedom ended in the early afternoon of June 18th, 1963... 8 days later, June 26th, these sounds were heard on the Boston Common.. The Memorial Service for the late Medgar Evers, which climaxed a troubled

month. The brother of Medgar Evers, Charles Evers, commented on the recent demonstrations in Boston.

EVERS: Boston has as much right to demonstrate, for what I've seen in the few hours I've been here (in fact, they have more right to demonstrate) than we have in Mississippi. The hurting part about the negro in the north: he has been fooled by most of his cohorts (shouldI say - we use in the south) that he is semi-free. And he is satisfied. He is too complacent. And we feel that the negro here is to be pitied.

ANNCR: That afternoon on the Boston Common, Attorney General Edward Brooke addressed the crowd of over 3,000.

BROOKE: Every man and woman, who has come to our shores, has come in the search of freedom. And freedom is not for the English; it is not for the Irish, or the Italian or the Portuguese or the Jew - it is for all men. Applause. And if freedom does not apply to all men, as has often been said, it applies to no man. And the time is now, if not yesterday, to make this move for unequivocal, unconditional, first-class citizenship for all people in this country. Applause. Freedom-loving people are on the march; bigots are on the run. And we must keep them on the run. Applause. I have often heard it said, emotionally, that Boston is Jackson, Mississippi and Birmingham, Alabama. I have lived in both. I have lived in Atlanta, Georgia and in Virginia. But I know that Boston is not Birmingham, Alabama. And Boston is not Jackson, Mississippi. And we should be willing, and honorable, and courageous enough to say that it is not. But we should add, very hastily, that Boston does have its own problem which itself must now solve - and not wait. Applause. We have a problem of education, on which the Committee is working. Progress has been made. More progress must be made.

PICKETING OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE BUILDING, 8/16/63

OP: singing ("Brotherhood for man...")

CL: singing ("Freedom now, freedom now")

ANNCR: Now, almost 2 months have passed...the date, Aug. 16th, 1963.

ANNCR: There were attempts to make progress in early August, 1963. On the night of August 15th, the Education Committee of the Boston NAACP met with the School Committee. There were two subjects for consideration..."de facto" segregation in the Boston Public Schools and methods of eliminating this problem. The meeting lasted a little more than fifteen minutes. The stumbling block once again....the NAACP request for the School Committee to acknowledge the existence of "de facto" segregation. The Committee refused...the meeting ended. The next morning, August 16th, the NAACP held a Press Conference. Mrs. Ruth Batson, then Chairman of the Education Committee, gave us this statement.

BATSON: Last night the Boston School Committee acted in bad faith. They were discourteous and insulting. Their attitude was contemptuous. They voted to continue to deprive all pupils of Boston of the right to the best education available. On August 6th, we received a letter from the Chairman of the Boston School Committee asking for the list of educational matters to be discussed at the meeting last night. On August 8th after the meeting of the Education Committee I responded listing these educational matters. The first two subjects listed were:

1. De facto segregation in the Boston Public Schools.
2. Methods of eliminating de facto segregation from the Boston Public Schools.

On Monday night August 12th at approximately 10 p.m. - I was contacted by the Chairman of the Boston School Committee by phone. Among the things we discussed was the NAACP's opinion that de facto segregation was an educational matter. At no time has

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the NAACP received any official word that this subject would be censored by the Boston School Committee. We did not consider newspaper reports to be an official answer. I can only conclude that the Boston School Committee's only reason for having us appear last night was to attempt to publicly discredit the work that the NAACP has been doing with the Boston Public School for ten years. The Chairman allowed me to read only the introduction before using her gavel to silence me. If the complete report had been read - they would have heard reports of action that is being taken by many school officials throughout our nation on racial imbalance. This is not unusual or extreme action that we are asking of the Boston School Committee. They would have heard reasonable and specific proposals designed to eliminate segregation in fact from the Boston School system. They would have heard us repeat that the NAACP does not hold the Boston School Committee or any school board responsible for what is accepted fact - we have schools that are racially imbalanced. It is unfortunate for Negro citizens that this subject was brought up during our election year, we were naive enough to believe that politics would not enter an important and serious crisis such as this. To cut off all discussion is to say - we do not want to solve these problems. May I point out that if our nation can sit with the other world powers to reach an agreement on something as world shaking as the atom bomb, why then cannot citizens of Boston have a fair and open discussion on this serious problem.

ANNCR: Also present at this Press Conference of the Boston NAACP was June Shagaloff, Special Assistant for Education, of the National office.

SHAGALOFF: School officials and educators throughout the North are increasingly aware that separate white and Negro schools, segregated-in-fact, are educationally harmful to all children regardless of the causes. The President of the United States, speaking in San Diego in June, called attention to the lasting detrimental effects of segregated schools and specifically referred to "de facto school segregation" in the North as well as deliberate or de jure segregation in the South. It is absolute folly to pretend that racial concentration in the Boston schools does not exist or that the harmful effects of de facto segregation are not among the most important educational problems to be solved. The National NAACP wholeheartedly supports the Boston Branch in insisting upon a clear policy recognizing the educational undesirability of racially concentrated public schools and a firm timetable for eliminating de facto school segregation to the fullest extent possible.

ANNCR: A notable change took place at this Press Conference. The NAACP, from this date on, became more specific...they now enumerated evidence in support of their statements that a segregated or racially imbalanced education is harmful. The Negro leaders realized that the term "de facto" segregation had become too charged with past emotions and events...and they began to use the term "racial imbalance". Governor Peabody, himself, suggested this on August 21st, 1963.

PEABODY: The "de facto" segregation term, to me is...a term that doesn't mean anything. And I suggest that, if that be eliminated and the term "racial imbalance" substituted (which is more meaningful, which does not suggest that there's been any

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active policy by any public officials to bring it about), that maybe we can reach solutions, which are satisfactory to the colored community as well as to the School Committee.

ANNCR: Yet, School Committee reaction was not encouraging, as evidenced by the comments of Louise Day Hicks and Tom Eisenstadt....

HICKS: With regard to the term of "racially imbalanced," this has been used synonymously by people with de facto segregation, and therefore it has the same implication of discrimination. I don't feel that at this time there's any necessity for using terms to describe a condition. The Boston School Committee has acknowledged that there is a predominantly negro school population where there is a predominantly negro population. The term "racially imbalanced," to me, has many connotations, and therefore it would not be acceptable to me. I honestly don't know why, at this time, that there must be any terminology given to the situation, when we are most willing to give the cure. The cure is education. We offer this key to the NAACP and ask them to use the key, rather than to hammer down our door.

EISENSTADT: Although I think that the term racial imbalance is an improvement over "de facto segregation," I still don't think that it's an accurate label. The term "racial imbalance in our schools" would imply an obligation on the part of the School Committee to take steps to balance. This leads to many serious and difficult problems. First of all, no educator or scientist, psychiatrist or psychologist, has indicated or proven beyond a reasonable doubt (or even less so) that the mere conglomeration of children of one particular race in one school is inherently, per se, evil. But rather it's the things which are attendant to this situ-

ation which makes the situation not the most pleasurable,
education-wise, in the world.

ANNCR: But just seven days prior to these statements by Mrs. Hicks and Mr. Eisenstadt, June Shagaloff of the National NAACP had indicated why racial imbalance was an educational matter.

SHAGALOFF: The effects of de facto school segregation on Negro pupils are clear: lowered pupil and teacher motivation; inferior educational standards; and lowered academic achievement. White children in turn are affected by being denied the opportunity to grow and learn in a multi-racial educational setting. Finally, schools segregated-in-fact violate in spirit and in reality the basic objectives of a democratic education.

School officials have an educational and legal responsibility to recognize the educational undesirability of segregation-in-fact regardless of the causes, and to eliminate existing segregation to the fullest extent possible. The California Supreme Court, the California State Board of Education, the New York and New Jersey State Commissioners of Education have directed local school boards to end racially imbalanced schools even when no deliberate intent to segregate has been found. Similarly, the President of Teachers College, Columbia University, Dr. John H. Fischer, has urged northern school officials to seek actively racial integration as "sound education."

The methods of achieving maximum desegregation vary from city to city but certain basic approaches effectively used in northern school systems can and must be adapted in Boston: rezoning; the Princeton Plan whereby students are assigned to school by grade; changing the feeder pattern of elementary to secondary schools; full utilization of available classroom space by transferring pupils from overcrowded to underutilized schools; the establishment of educational centers and careful site selection as long range plans.

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ANNCR: There was one member of the Boston School Committee who had taken into consideration these comments. He was Arthur Gartland the single member of the Committee, who, from the beginning was willing to state that there was "de facto" segregation in the Boston School System.

GARTLAND: I believe that "racial imbalance" is a superior term for describing the situation which exists in I think, perhaps, 14 or 15 schools in the South End - Roxbury area - as descriptive of the fact that, corresponding to the high impaction of negro population in the area, the schools have a major percentage (90% or over) of negro pupils. I think this is indisputable. The question really is, it seems to me, whether or not the learning environment is, in fact, a poorer one for negro pupils. And I think that there's a good deal of responsible opinion among social relation experts and others that this condition of racial imbalance is not appropriate to the most effective education of children.

ANNCR: Mr. Gartland continued

GARTLAND: Now, I don't find that there's any admission necessary on my part or on the Committee's part for guilt in what has taken place through the accumulated social custom of many years. I believe that the term "de facto segregation" is a disagreeable one and that its implications are incorrect, in-so-far-as somebody may assume that deliberate discriminatory practice of the superintendent or the faculties or the School Committee has brought about this impaction of negro students in the Roxbury area. I don't believe that there is any such descrimination practiced towards students, or in the selection of teachers, or in the appointment of administrative office holders on the educational side. And I think that "racial imbalance" is superior as a

descriptive term, because it simply says that the numbers clearly demonstrate there are schools with a high percentage of negro students, without fault ascribed to or admitted by the School Committee. If this statement, if this kind of statement, will help us to move forward to the development, to the mutual development of programs, and the mutual understanding of negro needs, I'm all for it.

ANNCR: But two weeks later, on Sept. 5th, 1963, Kenneth Guscott, President of the Boston Branch, NAACP stated..

GUSCOTT: We are still insisting that the School Committee recognize the problem that exists. In the past, this term, "de facto segregation" has been tossed around. We used the term, "de facto segregation," because that's what the rest of the country used. But the NAACP will accept any other term that anybody else wants to use (which we already have stated), as long as there is recognition of the fact that a problem does exist, and that we can intelligently go about solving it.

ANNCR: Boston was to witness a new type of protest demonstration and Tom Atkins explained the NAACP's position regarding demonstrations.

ATKINS: This country was founded as a result of demonstrations. This country became a country through a demonstration (a demonstration on the part of citizens - that they were no longer going to be pushed around - at that time by a colonialist). This country's life blood has flowed from demonstrations - demonstrations by the citizens, legitimate grievances when held by a group of citizens (whether it be a labor union, whether it be a group of teachers, whether it be a minister of a church, whether it be a school board, or whether it be an NAACP branch across the country). These grievances have to be aired. If they can't be aired in the traditional manners

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of letters, of telephone calls, of meetings, then they'll be aired another way. They'll be aired either through the courts, they'll be aired through demonstrations. We certainly feel the demonstrations are effective and we're going to employ them where necessary.

ANNCR: Also on Sept. 5th, Kenneth Guscott announced the new form that their protest would take.

GUSCOTT: This morning we sent sit-in demonstrators into the School Committee building to attempt to educate the School Committee members and the School Superintendent as to what it was that we wished to discuss with the School Committee.

ANNCR: Tom Alkins, himself, took part in the sit-ins. We asked him why these sit-ins were taking place.

ATKINS: For the very same reason that we came. And the reason that we came is the Boston School Committee has to accept responsibility for implementing and introducing programs to eliminate racial imbalance or "de facto Segregation" in the Boston School system. This is the very same reason it brought us originally to the School Committee on June the 11th. This is the very same reason that tied us up in the negotiation with the School Committee on the 14th of June. This is the very same reason that brought us to a meeting on the 13th of August that ended after 15 minutes. It is the reason that brought us here today and it's why I'm here now and I'll be staying here all night.

ANNCR: And Mrs. Hicks gave us her reaction to the sit-in protest.

HICKS: I believe that the cause of the Negro child in Boston has been tragically damaged by the events of today. The sit-ins came without warning to the Boston School Committee Headquarters at 10:30 this morning. They sat in my office, the Office of the Superintendent of Schools, and the office of Committeeman, Joseph Lee. Thomas Atkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP selected my private office as his camping headquarters. I talked, at length, for more than four hours with Mr. Atkins, in a sincere attempt to persuade him that this action would do irreparable harm to his case. We have acted in good faith throughout this controversy and I call upon the leadership of the NAACP to demonstrate good faith and withdraw the sit-ins, who are presently disrupting the work of the entire School Department. The task of caring for the 93,500 children in our school system requires the full attention of every Administrator at Beacon Street. As things stand tonight, every child in the Boston Public School System is being neglected. We are trying to care for the needs of the parents and children. However, it is difficult to perform business, as usual, with sit-ins camped in our offices, and loud singing just outside. I ask the NAACP and all citizens of Boston, How can we be expected to work for more progress in the areas of culturally deprived children with a club over our heads. I, for one, will not bow down to this irresponsible type of leadership exercised by the NAACP.

ANNCR: Tom Atkins responded...

ATKINS: The School Committee has had several alternatives to

the gun that it says is now posed at its head. We have asked the School Committee to sit down with us and to discuss the problem. The School Committee has first...did...has first refused to even discuss the problem. It has then denied that the problem exists. We say, perhaps we are wrong. We don't think we are. But we would at least like to have a chance to be convinced that we are wrong. We would like to have a chance to show the School Committee that there is a problem and that there are solutions to this problem - that if we work together, we can find the solutions to these problems.

ANNCR: On Sept. 6th, 1963, at a regularly scheduled meeting of the Boston School Committee, the Committee unanimously approved a motion that the sit-in demonstrators must go. An hour and a half later, while the School Committee considered other items on its agenda and while the sit-in demonstrators remained, NAACP President, Kenneth Guscott, announced their response to the School Committee's order.

GUSCOTT: Before making our statement this evening, it is necessary to set forth certain facts. The Greater Boston Community should know something of the recent history of this situation. A week ago, the NAACP and the School Committee were asked by the Mayor of Boston to discuss the problems of our school system with him or with....as....or with our mediator. The NAACP agreed immediately. The Boston School Committee rejected this offer of the Mayor. On Wednesday night, the eve of the opening of School, and of our sit-ins, the NAACP Education Committee met for seven hours to attempt to find a practical solution to this problem. The Education Committee met with

Governor Peabody on that evening. And at that time, at the request of the Governor, drafted a statement which they hoped would end any difficulty over words, and renewed their request for a fair hearing by the School Committee of the NAACP's position. Moreover the Sit-In demonstration was postponed to allow time for the School Committee to discuss this statement. This statement was submitted to the Chairman of the Boston School Committee and other members of the School Committee. No positive reply was ever forthcoming from these persons. This afternoon, the Chairman of the School Committee proposed that the NAACP forward a formal request to her for submission to the School Committee. The NAACP Education Committee, again, drafted a request for a hearing which was submitted to the Chairman prior to their meeting this evening. The NAACP agreed at that time that the granting of a meeting would be reason to stop the present sit-in. The NAACP Education Committee asked that the Chairman of the Boston School Committee indicate her agreement to such a meeting. That this agreement was not forthcoming is now evident. The Chairman of the Boston School Committee was quoted in a Boston newspaper this aft....this morning of saying that their door was always open. We feel that the citizens of Boston should recognize how little truth there is in this statement. The NAACP believes in America and the dream of democracy as so eloquently described by Dr. Martin Luther King. An inherent part of that belief and dream is equal education opportunities for all children, regardless of race or color. Our belief in educational opportunities have led us to request that the Boston School Committee meet with our education Committee to discuss the necessary steps to remove the

barriers that separate Negro children from a good education. Like all parents, Negro parents want the best education for their children. This cannot be done where racially imbalanced or "de facto" segregated schools exist. We...we are therefore taking the only alternative left open to us....non-violent demonstration. We shall stay at School Committee Headquarters and we will not leave voluntarily. Every man or woman must someday face the possibility that a sincere and honest belief in a principle must cau....might cause him to make some personal sacrifice. Some years ago Henry David Thoreau was arrested and jailed for refusing to pay taxes, he felt that would be used for immoral purposes. While Thoreau was in jail, he was visited by Ralph Waldo Emerson who said: "Henry is that you? What are you doing in there?" In reply to which Thoreau said: "Ralph, what are you doing out there?" To those people who ask us why we are staying in here we ask them, why are you staying out there?

ANNCR: In front of the School Committee building, while the meeting continued...

PICKETING:

"JIM CROW"

"MUST GO"

"JIM CROW"

"MUST GO"

"MRS. HICKS"

"MUST GO"

"MRS. HICKS"

"MUST GO"

"MRS. HICKS"

"MUST GO"

"TOMMY EISENSTADT"

"MUST GO"

"TOMMY EISENSTADT"

"MUST GO"

MASCOTT: In the background there is one person naming off
School Committee members and the rest of the pickets answer
"MUST GO".

"SCHOOL COMMITTEE"

"MUST GO"

"SCHOOL COMMITTEE"

"MUST GO"

"IS THIS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA?"

"YES"

MASCOTT: In the background you can hear yelling, "Is this the
United States of America? Yes. Is this the city of Boston? Yes.
Do we have freedom? No. What do we want?"

CROWD SHOUTS:

"FREEDOM"

"WHEN DO WE WANT IT?"

"NOW."

WHEN DO WE WANT IT?"

"NOW"

"WHERE DO WE WANT IT?"

"HERE"

"WHERE DO WE WANT IT?"

"HERE"

"WHERE DO WE WANT IT?"

"HERE"

"WHERE DO WE WANT IT?"

"HERE"

MASCOTT: "Jim Crow"

CROWD YELLS:

"MUST GO"

"SCHOOL COMMITTEE"

"MUST GO"

ANNCR: The sit-in demonstrators did not leave until early in the morning of Sept. 7th when a bomb scare forced everyone to evacuate the School Committee Building. The heat generated by this latest protest, combined with the Boston primary to be held later on in Sept. produced the following remarks by Kenneth Guscott.

GUSCOTT: The four members of the School Committee (O'Connor, Eisenstadt, Mrs. Hicks, and Lee) are engaging in the most vicious type of racism, in order to win a political election, that this town has ever seen. We say that, if these four School Committee people intend to win an election in this way, that they may win the election but they will be elected as the rulers of bigotry, Boston style. I feel that, if they are elected in the coming election that they will be elected as the champions of bigotry, Boston style; and that, if this is what the people of Boston want, then they should make it known, and they will make it known by their vote.

ANNCR: But the citizens of Boston did not seem to hear these words. Louise Day Hicks led the School Committee ticket in the primary, and in the November election, Mrs. Hicks outpolled Mayor Collins. Things seemed quiet in Boston. There was a visit to Boston, by James Meredith....the first Negro to enter the University of Mississippi

MEREDITH: Exactly whether or not the people of Boston will be ready to change and make America the country it should be when I leave, I'm not sure. As a matter of fact, I rather doubt.

ANNCR: Then in early January, 1964....the Boston Council on Religion and Race, announced that there would be another stay-out in Boston. Canon James Breeden explains....

BREEDEN: The crisis in the schools remains unsolved. Boston has blinded itself to the disease of segregation in our classrooms. Our children are damaged daily, and their hurt and pain remain untended. We have asked that our grievances be dealt with. We have prayed, we have talked, we have picketed, we have patiently attended one well-meaning conference after another. We have been met with insult, misunderstanding, and ineffective sympathy. What must we do to be heard? We have decided that, on February 26th, our children will attend Freedom Schools instead of public schools.

ANNCR: On Jan. 29, Kenneth Guscott announced the Boston NAACP's support of the February 26th boycott.

GUSCOTT: We, along with every other responsible organization or person in the city, regret the necessity of a boycott, and we continue to hope that the School Committee will see fit to call

off this action by answering the complaints which brought it to life. If nothing is done to change the existing situation, then the citizens of Roxbury, and their friends elsewhere in the city, will carry out the stay-out which is the logical response to the School Committee's inactivity.

GUSCOTT: IS ACTION NECESSARY? - Every concerned parent in the Roxbury community knows from experience what educational experts in all other northern cities have recognized; what the State Commissioners of New Jersey and New York and California and Massachusetts have declared; what the Supreme Court has decreed: The separation of children in the schools harms the children educationally and psychologically and breeds prejudice in a new generation by keeping the children ignorant of other groups. The new chairman of the School Committee has said: "We have no inferior schools in Boston. What we have is an inferior type of student." In the face of irresponsibility of this magnitude, we have but two alternatives: either to accept meekly the indictment of this man or, carry our grievances to those political and religious leaders in the city who share our concern lest the liberal image of Boston be smeared across the nation with the mud of inhuman treatment to minority groups. We do not need to name these leaders; you know them!

GUSCOTT: WHY A STAY-OUT? - The School Stay-Out is merely another way to bring our case before the bench of moral justice. We cannot emphasize too strongly that our children will be staying out FOR education, and not against it. The hours spent at a Freedom School will be of a higher educational and moral

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value, at this time, than were they spent with a system which has repeatedly shown its inability to adequately educate our children. The experience of the June 18 stay-out shows that the child who stays out is the child who cares and whose parents care. Following as it does in the direct tradition of those protests which gave this country its freedom, the stay-out must be seen as a legal and responsible form of protest for equality and fair play. We, the Boston Branch of the NAACP, support the Freedom "Stay-out" so that our children may meaningfully "stay-in".

ANNCR: Some public figures still hoped that the forces of moderation would prevail. Among them, Governor Peabody and Richard Cardinal Cushing.

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PEABODY: I think that, where there's good will involved, and I think there's plenty of good will involved with Mrs. Hicks and other members of the Commission, and also on the other side, these problems can be worked out and they will be worked out.

CUSHING: I don't see why we can't get together and adjust matters to the satisfaction of all concerned in a peaceful constructive and mutually helpful way. We're faced with a problem that cannot be solved overnight and I think they're quarreling over terminology and not over fact.

ANNCR: But the Freedom Stay-out seemed unavoidable. There were two demands that would have to be met before the NAACP and the Freedom Stay-out leaders would call a halt to this action.

GUSCOTT: The two points that we want: 1, a program for the integration of schools and, 2, a timetable for the implementation of this program, that is acceptable to our community.

In the matter of the preparation of the program, we, the NAACP, do not profess to be educators, nor do we say that the School Committee members are educators. In the preparation of a program, it is necessary to have a commitment for the development of this program, that is, for example, that you would call upon professional educators, of which there are many and do the same thing that New York City is doing.... Cleveland, Ohio is doing,.... for the development of a program and put dates on when the certain phases of this program will be accomplished. And this program must be geared towards the integration of our school system.

ANNCR: In the weeks preceeding the scheduled Stay-out, many events took place: numerous press conferences, rallies in support of the Stay-out, and a hearing by the Boston School Committee. First a glimpse of one of these rally's.

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MUSIC E begins "Roxbury wants freedom.....

ANNCR: At one of these rallies, Negro author and journalist, Louis Lomax spoke,

LOMAX: Your cause is just. You do not walk alone. God is on our side. The time is now for all of us to make a committment and decide what we're going to live for and decide, if necessary, what we're ready to die for. It's time now to quit crying, to quit pleading, to quit begging and to stand like men...to stand like women... and say, my cause is just and I shall not be moved. The time has come now...for every man who loves freeddom to stand up and be counted. It's one thing you see,....it's one thing to dream, and God knows all of us have a dream. God knows all of us stand with my friend Martin King and we share his dream. But I want you to know tonight that not only do I have a dream...I have a determination. I have a determination that one day soon...soon....in Boston...black boys will come out of the ghetto and get an education they should have.

ANNCR: There was a new developement in the days prece ding the scheduled Feb. 26th stay-out. Attorney General Edward Brooke was asked by Owen Kieran, the State Education Commissioner, the legality of this protest. Soon after Brooke announced his opinion, many statements and speculations were made onits scope. It is important to remember the limits of the Attorney General's opinion. Canon Breeden stated it succinctly.

BREEDEN: We wish once more to assure all parents that they are in no way subject to any legal action. This has been clearly stated by Atty.

Gen. Brooke, as quoted by a Boston newspaper: "Fines cannot be levied against parents for keeping their children out of school during the Feb. 26th Stay-out. Efforts to intimidate parents by threats of arrest or other action are petty and preposterous." (page 44)

ANNCR: For further legal clarification we spoke with Lee Kozol, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights and Liberties.

KOZOL: If a parent keeps a student...his child out of school for an excess of 7 days during a six month period for an unauthorized reason he has then committed a crime. But if he doesn't keep him out for that period of time, he has not committed a crime although the student is by law obliged to go to school every day.

ANNCR: In other words, if a parent keeps his child out for seven days or less during any six month period he has not committed a crime and no action may be taken against himself or his parents. Attorney General Kozol went on to tell us that it was doubtful if the leaders of the Stay-out could be charged. Another important event...a Freedom Stay-out in New York City. On a newscast, early in February, WGBH News Commentator, Louis Lyons said...

LYONS: An important difference between the climate of the two cities is that the N. Y. School Board, after many discussions with the protesting groups, developed a large, long-term program to meet their protests. Their objection is that it meets them too gradually. The Boston School Committee, on the other hand, has refused even to discuss the claim of "de facto" segregation and Mrs. Hicks of the School Board has demanded arrests of

those responsible for truancy. She even proposed that the State Attorney General prosecute these cases, which would be quite the most important attention ever paid to a days truancy. The Governor's office, however, has found nothing in the State Law to support this. Dean Drinan of Boston College Law School is among those publically stating that keeping a child out of school a day for such a cause is not an offense. But nothing suggests that the Boston School Committee will take a leaf from New York's handling of its much bigger problem.

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ANNCR: Last Wednesday, Feb 19th, it became obvious that the Boston School Committee would not follow the New York City School Board's example. The School Committee granted a hearing to the Education Committee of the NAACP to discuss educational matters and the distribution of assignment of school children within the Boston System. At this hearing the NAACP presented expert testimony that "de facto" segregation or racially imbalanced schooling was educationally harmful and therefore should be considered by the School Committee. A few weeks before this hearing, Mrs. Hicks made a statement that did not offer much hope.

HICKS: With regard to the issue of "de facto" segregation or racially imbalanced being considered an educational issue...I do not think it is so.

ANNCR: At the Feb. 19th hearing, the NAACP entered testimony by Professor Thomas F. Pettigrew of the Harvard University department of Social relations and Professor Gerald S. Lesser, Professor of Education and Developmental psychology at Harvard. Their testimony was not unlike the comments made on a WGBH/FM Massachusetts Viewpoint program, heard earlier in the month, by Robert Segal, Exec. Director, Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Boston.

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SEGAL: I don't believe that all the money expended in segregated schools... a racially imbalanced school.... whatever you want to call it.... a school in which most of the children are Negroes, can do the educational job. I think, that we have to recognize that the Supreme Court was right when it said that you cannot have separate but equal education. It's impossible to have equal education, when children are in a psychological context in which they're reminded day after day, as Mr. Breeden says, you are black, you belong apart, you're inferior... a system, which says to the white child in an unspoken way... you are superior, you are important, you are somebody. I think... when this begins to get through to the Negro child, the very dedicated teachers.... very competent teachers which I think we have in the Boston School system, can't do much about it. The most dedicated teachers cannot correct the impression, which has gotten through to the Negro child, that he's different and must be apart.

ANNCR: At the hearing the Boston NAACP proposed the establishment of a Commission that would be made up of 3 persons, appointed by its organization and an equal number by the School Board. The Commission would report by the last week in March... the committee would act on it by the first week April and the plan would become operative next September under the terms

of the NAACP's timetable. The move to accept this proposal was made at the end of the hearing by Committeeman Arthur Gartland. But it was ruled out of order by Chairman William O'Connor, who maintained that the session was a hearing and not a meeting at which such action could be taken. Gartland appealed the ruling by Chairman O'Connor and he was sustained by Committeeman Joseph Lee and Thoman Eisenstadt. Mrs. Louis Day Hicks voted with Chairman O'Connor that the motion was out of order. However, as soon as the majority won this test Eisenstadt moved that the motion be tabled until the next meeting. This won easily 4 to 1 with only Gartland dissenting. The four committee members, Hicks, O'Connor, Lee and Eisenstadt commented after the close of the meeting.

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HICKS: I thought it was a very interesting presentation in generalities. The purpose of the meeting, as I understand, was to give NAACP the opportunity of presenting a definite program. They have failed to offer any concrete program. NAACP has failed again to prove its case against the Boston Public School System. The evidence as presented by Professor Pettigrew and Dr. Lesser merely dealt in generalities. I know not all the factors on which their conclusions are based. They admit their studies are not based on the Boston School System. Dr. Lesser admitted in answer to my question that he had never been in any Boston Public School. The learned dictation of Father Keneally, clearly indicates, that each case presented to the different courts stand on their particular set of facts. I have always believed and still believe, that on the facts that exist in the Boston Public School System, NAACP has no basis for their case. If they still feel otherwise, then I urge them now to bring their case to court and to call a moritorium in the meantime, call off the boycott and let this case be held and heard in a

court of justice.

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O'CONNOR: I think they have contributed something worthy of study. It needs a lot of thought and I must say that we in addition to considering the 10% of the colored population we must also consider the effect on the other 90% of the white population in whatever activity we may embark on. So therefore, that's why this needs a lot of study on the part of the committee.

LEE: There really hadn't seen...seen just what the nature of the commission would be nor what its duties would be and you can spoil a thing by either putting the wrong people on it who have nobodys confidence or who create mutual distrust, or you can ruin it by not properly founding the scope to be investigated or the power of duties.

EISENSTADT: Well this was a hearing and usually, almost invariably, at hearings a process of digestion occurs amongst the members of the deliberative body granting the hearing before any action is taken and it was rather premature and abrupt to call for action on the basis of having heard from a handful of experts on a subject which has been studied, through the most part in the South where segregation is government -enforced. Whereas here in the North, and especially in the city of Boston, we have a preponderance of Negroes in schools as a reflection of natural neighborhood residential patterns so that we should have a study conducted first, here in Boston, as to the effects of this kind of preponderance on the child psychologically, before we appoint any commission to determine whether or not redistricting should be accomplished.

ANNCR: We asked Arthur Gartland why he pressed the committee to act tonight on the NAACP proposal.

GARTLAND: I think that the impasse has lasted so long without constructive action on the part of the School Committee that I think it timely to take some action toward the use of objective and informed authoritative advisors...by whose counsel the Committee may resolve, as a policy matter, whether or not to bring about a greater integration in the public schools. See on that score, it would be argued, and it has been all along, that the system is integrated...well I won't dispute that, because I think it's idle...I think this is a matter of pride. I think, however, that the obvious question for consideration is whether or not it would be beneficial educationally for more integration to be brought about in the public schools.

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ANNCR: Reaction from the Negro leaders was sharp. Kenneth Guscott and Canon James Breeden stated. . . .

BREEDEN: The indecision of the Boston School Committee has not altered the situation that called originally for the Freedom Stayout on Feb. 26th. While the school committee decides whether to take off the table a motion to decide whether or not a problem exists, we will continue to work toward the children of our parents in the Boston School System, keeping their children out of school on Feb. 26th and attending Freedom Schools instead. All those who are concerned to express their participation in the problem and their desire to have the situation altered, will surely be there on that day.

GUSCOTT: Speaking for the Boston Branch NAACP I can only say that we're deeply disappointed in the action taken by the Boston School Committee at its meeting. We've been led to believe that a majority of the Boston School Committee was at long last prepared to deal earnestly with a problem of grave concern to the parents of a large segment of the Boston Public School

population. Members of the School Committee ask to be shown that the present system is harmful. Evidence from witnesses of the highest qualifications made available to them. The School Committee was urged to draw upon the vast educational resources of the Boston area to bring to bear upon the problem of professional assistance which the urgency of the problem requires. And yet, the majority of the School Committee has again turned its back on its duty. In the face of this urgency, we feel it's unwarranted, that this matter, which was first brought to their attention 8 long months ago, should now, in the opinion of the School Committee, need to commence more studies at some indetermined time in the future. Boston remains the most backward city in the North in this respect. It's a single city with a school committee so blind and so narrow-minded as not to recognize that a problem exists. We are disappointed but not disheartened. We will not fail in our responsibility because others have failed in theirs. Every person of good will in Boston, Negro and white, should know that we intend to persist in our efforts to get Boston started on the path toward providing an education that will fit, to prepare all our children to live in a society that is rapidly casting off old prejudices in other areas.

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ANNCR: And Otto Snowden, Boston Negro leader commented

SNOWDEN: Tabling of the...the...Mr. Gartland's motion was a disgrace. I'm really ashamed at Boston. There's still the old policy of hiding your head in the sand and not willing to admit that a problem exists and go about attempting some solution for it. This is so simple, that in a city like Boston that intelligent people cannot sit down and iron out a problem that is...there are solutions available and have been proven throughout the country. And all the the NAACP asked, was let's sit down and come up with a Boston plan...and

they decide to table it. With a proposed boycott on the 26th what the School Committee is doing, I believe, is asking for a boycott and we will give them one.

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ANNCR: Support for the Feb. 26th School Stay-out has come from many people.

SULLIVAN: The American Friends Service Committee of New England today endorsed the protest over de facto school segregation specifically in the form of the stayout in February.

ANNCR: The Methodist Bishop of Massachusetts, James K. Matthews

MATTHEWS: Though "de facto segregation" and "racial imbalance" seem to be unacceptable phrases in some quarters, nevertheless, they do describe the real situation in a number of the public schools of Boston.

Negro citizens are justifiably impatient with the lack of any genuine progress toward solution of the problem. Simply the ignoring of the existence of an issue will not make it quietly go away.

I should like to affirm and support the right of Negro leaders to use orderly methods of social protest, such as the forthcoming boycott, as a part of their approach to racial imbalance in public education.

ANNCR: And support from the suburban schools that they would take part in one form or another in the Stay-out. Hubie Jones, Chairman, Suburban Support Committee.....

JONES: Frankly I have been overwhelmed by the support from suburbia. So much so that it has shaken my pessimism about the negative role that most suburbanites play and have played in the whole struggle, the whole crisis that

is before us. As most of you know, suburbanites,...many suburbanites work in town. They go back to their bedroom communities....they could care less about the Boston School Committee election. They take the gold out and leave very little in return. And it's been very overwhelming to me to see the reponse that we have gotten...over 20 suburban communities which have indicated....the parents in these communities that they want to support this on a variety of levels.

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ANNCR: On Sunday, Feb. 23rd, support came from one of the nation's most repected Negro leaders...Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., sent a telegram to the local chairman of the Massachusetts Branch of the Southern C ristian Leadership Council, the Reverend Virgil Wood.

KING'S TELEGRAM: "de Facto segregation binds the Negro in the North in the same way as the open practice segregation creates evils in the South. The tactics may differ, but the intent is the fame. Soon Northern cities may borrow Southern tactics and engage in injunctions and arresting the leaders of non-violent demonstrations. Yet our struggle is worth our suffering. If this generation does not acquire a sufficient education, tomorrow they will dwell in poverty in the midst of an affluent and automated society. First class citizenship demands first class education. We struggle together, not on the basis of our color or geography but as men of good will intent upon ridding the Nation of obvious evils.

ANNCR: We feel that this is the most accurate and complete program on the Boston Negro School Protest Movement as of today, Feb. 24th, 1964. To close we leave you with these thoughts... here is Hubie Jones and Arthur Gartland.

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JONES: If this is just going to be the Negro community against the School Committee we might as well forget it.

GARTLAND: I've sat alone among this same body of five for quite a while and I can still smile and I can still propose and I think its pretty obvious from that that I don't feel the situation is desperate. I'm optimistic that the human mind is not likely to be overwhelmed by invinsible ignorance and that we are not likely to be accused of culpable ignorance. So on both those bases and others that needn't be uttered, I hope that we may make progress toward a settlement of the difficulty and an adjustment into more peaceful relationships of this minority of the community and the white majority.

ANNCR: And we remind you of the words of Attorney General Edward Brooke as he spoke at the memorial service for Medgar Evers, last June.

BROOKE: For the times are changing. The tenor is changing. People are changing. And people are beginning to search their consciences. And they know, within their hearts and their minds, that segregation and discrimination in any form and fashion, is unlawful and immoral and against God's law.

This is a crusade for all humanity. And I pray that God, in his infinite wisdom, will grant you the courage in every endeavor that you are called upon, in these perilous and dangerous times, to make yourselves masters of your fate, so that you may truly become servants of others. May God take your lips and speak through them, may He take your minds and think through them, may he take your hearts and set them on fire.

ANNCR: On Wednesday, February 26th, there will be a School Stay-Out. This program has endeavored to bring you the complete background to the school segregation issue in Boston. What will happen tomorrow....what will happen the day after, cannot be foreseen now. And what Boston's future holds seems to depend on the Members of the School Committee, the Boston Negro Leaders, and you.....the public.

"To Secure These Rights": a documented history of the Boston Negro School Protests. Executive Producer: Ted Mascott; Associate Producer: Lesley Darren; Assistant to the Producers: Shelley Patterson.

At this time, the Producers wish to thank the many public officials, and Negro Leaders in Boston.....and, the Staff of WGBH, without whose cooperation, this program would not have been possible.

This is the transcript of a radio documentary. Tapes dating from June, 1963 were used in compiling the information within this program. These tapes have been edited and excerpts have been put together in order that the listener may compare differing points of view. It should NOT be construed that one participant was speaking directly to another.

The excerpt of Richard Cardinal Cushing was used through the courtesy of WHDH-TV, Boston.