

JOURNALISM INTERCEPTED: HOW WORLDVIEW IMPACTED NEWS COVERAGE
OF MASSIVE RESISTANCE IN BLACK-OWNED AND WHITE-OWNED NEWSPAPERS
FROM 1956-1960 IN CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

By

Michele Dawn Reaves Joseph

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Information & Media — Doctor of Philosophy

2022

ABSTRACT

JOURNALISM INTERCEPTED: HOW WORLDVIEW IMPACTED NEWS COVERAGE OF MASSIVE RESISTANCE IN BLACK-OWNED AND WHITE-OWNED NEWSPAPERS FROM 1956-1960 IN CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

By

Michele Dawn Reaves Joseph

This dissertation explores the impact of society on news publications and the value of the Black Press' perspective on the Massive Resistance movement in the 1950s and 1960s. It compares two Charlottesville, Virginia, newspapers during the height of this multifaceted campaign spawned by White politicians in response to the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling that racially desegregating schools were unconstitutional. The *Daily Progress*, a White-owned daily newspaper, offered a different picture of the issue than the Black-owned weekly, the *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*. This research examined 306 front-page news stories and editorials from 1956 to 1960.

Using qualitative content analysis, Reese and Shoemaker's (2016) Hierarchy of Influences Model helps unravel the way news was represented to audiences. The Hierarchy of Influences Model allows examination of the newspaper in the context of the social system it was created and published within. The social system frames the worldview of a time and allows for study of its impact on what is published within a newspaper's pages. The White newspaper focused on the state and federal political maneuvering, and the court battles waged not only in Charlottesville and municipalities across the state. Its editorials called for preservation of the status quo. The Black newspaper covered the intricacies of the local court battle, the plans of the local school board, the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other community organizations seeking to desegregate schools. Its editorials called on Black

people to vote, pushed for full citizenship benefits, pointed out political maneuvering and requested people from both sides work together to resolve their issues.

This research sheds light on how society, the top level in Reese and Shoemaker's Hierarchy of Influences, penetrates through content shared in the news media in a historical context. It also offers a glimpse into the world of small Black newspapers, few of which survived more than 10 years. While studies have been created on large African American newspapers, little is known about the newspapers created in small urban and rural communities. The dissertation probes their historical significance through an analysis of what was published within their pages.

Copyright by
MICHELE DAWN REAVES JOSEPH
2022

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my husband, Kosly Joseph, who supported me throughout this long journey: You are an amazing partner. To my mom, Brenda Reaves, who read chapters and along with my dad, Fred, shared their experiences as African Americans coming of age in the 1950s and 1960s. And to all my friends and family, especially Dionne and Romana, who encouraged me, prayed over and for me and would not let me quit. Thank you. I am blessed by God to have such a wonderful village!

To Dr. Manuel Chavez, who patiently walked me through this process, helping me “not to get stuck in traffic.” To Dr. Lucinda Davenport for her continued faith in my abilities. And to Professor Eric Freedman and Dr. Michael Stamm, who shared their knowledge and support. Thank you.

It’s been a life-changing experience and I am so pleased with the woman I have become.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2	6
INFLUENCES ON JOURNALISM & HISTORICAL INEQUALITIES	6
Hierarchy of Influences	6
Deconstructing the Ideological Subsystem and Worldview	9
Worldviews in News Media	10
Adopting Objectivity and Redefining Advocacy Journalism	13
Citizen Journalism	16
CHAPTER 3	23
THE ROOTS OF INEQUALITY AND DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICA	23
Creation of Racial Distinctions	24
Defining race and degrading people of color	27
Documenting and weaponizing race after slavery	29
Racial Distinctions in Laws	34
Legislation after the Civil War	38
Societal Separation in News Media	45
CHAPTER 4	53
SOCIETAL INFLUENCES ON AFRICAN AMERICANS IN VIRGINIA	53
The Early Years	54
The Economic Situation for African Americans in Virginia	57
Employment Options for African Americans in Virginia	58
The Impact of Employment Seeking on the African American Population	65
CHAPTER 5	72
MASSIVE RESISTANCE: ONE FIGHT FOR STATUS QUOTE, ONE GIANT LEAP FOR CHANGE	72
A Separated Landscape	73
Inciting Massive Resistance	79
Enacting Massive Resistance	82
Executing Massive Resistance	89
CHAPTER 6	98
RESEARCHING THE BLACK AND WHITE NEWSPAPERS IN CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.: METHODOLOGY	98
Choosing a Method	98

Searching for Articles	101
Categorizing Articles & Finding Themes	103
An Approach to Discovery	105
CHAPTER 7	107
WHAT A PICTURE: COMPARING COVERAGE OF MASSIVE RESISTANCE	107
Courts & Crime	108
Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune	108
The Daily Progress	114
Politics & Government	119
Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune	119
The Daily Progress	122
Education	127
Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune	127
The Daily Progress	130
Community	133
Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune	133
The Daily Progress	137
A Comparative View	140
CHAPTER 8	142
THE POWER OF OPINION: FINDINGS ON THE EDITORIAL PAGE	142
Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune Editorials	142
A Battle for Change	144
Political Misappropriation	148
When They See Me	152
A League of Races	155
The Long Road	156
If Not Now, Then When?	158
The Daily Progress Editorials	160
It's Tradition	161
It's Your Move	165
A Comparative View	167
CHAPTER 9	169
FINDINGS & ANALYSIS: A CONUNDRUM OF WORLDVIEW	169
An Analysis on Worldview	174
Advocacy Journalism During the Massive Resistance Movement	175
Citizen Journalism by the Black Press	176
Objectivity Is Not Enough	177
Understanding the Limits	178
The Research Ahead	180
APPENDIX	181
BIBLIOGRAPHY	198

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Newspapers by Year.....	102
Table 2: News Articles Gathered by Year.....	103
Table 3: News Categories.....	104
Table 4: Editorial Concepts Operationalized	105

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The front page of the Friday, Aug. 10, 1956, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune.	181
Figure 2: The front page of the Friday, March 15, 1957, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune....	182
Figure 3: Page 2 of the Friday, May 16, 1958, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune, which includes the paper's editorial column.	183
Figure 4: The front page of the Friday, January 30, 1959, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune..	184
Figure 5: Page 2 of the Friday, January 30, 1959, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune, which includes the paper's editorial column and article jumps from page 1.	185
Figure 6: Page 4 of the Friday, January 30, 1959, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune, which includes article jumps from page 1.	186
Figure 7: The front page of the Thursday, September 15, 1960, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune.	187
Figure 8: The front page of the Friday, July 19, 1957, The Daily Progress.	188
Figure 9: Page 12 of the Friday, July 19, 1957, The Daily Progress, which includes article jumps.	189
Figure 10: The front page of the Friday, Sept. 13, 1957, The Daily Progress.	190
Figure 11: Page 10 of the Friday, Sept. 13, 1957, The Daily Progress, which includes article jumps.	191
Figure 12: The front page of the Friday, Aug. 29, 1958, The Daily Progress.....	192
Figure 13: Page 10 of the Friday, Aug. 29, 1958, The Daily Progress, which includes article jumps.	193
Figure 14: The editorial page of the Friday, Aug. 29, 1958, The Daily Progress.	194
Figure 15: The front page of the Friday, March 6, 1959, The Daily Progress.	195
Figure 16: Page 14 of the Friday, March 6, 1959, The Daily Progress, which includes article jumps.	196
Figure 17: The editorial page of the Friday, March 6, 1959, The Daily Progress.....	197

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in an amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, — an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (Du Bois, 2014, p. 3).

On Sept. 4, 1954, Randolph Louis White published the first edition of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune (“Grateful for Support,” 1959). He understood the “twoness.” Born in Virginia, he left the state to receive a high school diploma. No local high school for Black children would exist in Albemarle County until 1924. He worked menial jobs, served in a segregated unit in the Army and came home to work as a janitor because it was one of few options available to Black people in Charlottesville. He lived in and published his newspaper from a segregated section of the city. White helped create a union for Black employees to improve work conditions, was a member of the NAACP and would challenge the Charlottesville school district to desegregate schools.

Before setting out to publish his own newspaper, White worked as a Charlottesville field representative, reporting and writing editorials for The (Roanoke, Va.) Tribune, a Black-owned newspaper (“Randolph L. White Making Good in Charlottesville,” 1953; White, 1952). At 57, the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune was his passion project while he worked as the supervisor of the oxygen therapy department at University of Virginia Hospital (“R. L. White Elected to Membership in AAIT,” 1960).

“... every Negro community should include in its basic institutions a Negro newspaper which will mirror, as will no other news media, that community’s activities as they involve Negroes, and will investigate and editorialize on problems pertinent to them.

“There is a void in any community inhabited by Negroes where the Negro newspaper is not circulated to any appreciable extent, for no other news organ that we know of will devote sufficient space or give careful coverage to local, civic, social, political, economic and other community activities participated in by Negroes. Nor do we find any other news media encouraging the Negro populace to exercise fully their citizenship rights, or to fully discharge their civic responsibilities” (“The Tribune—Dedicated to Progress,” 1958, p. 2).

The Black Press, since its inception in the late 1820s, amplified the voice of Black people, sharing ideas and information not found in its White-owned counterparts. The Black Press depicted a robust community, where African Americans could see themselves as citizens within a society full of ideas, social activities and plans for the future. These newspapers fought back against slavery and Jim Crow laws and encouraged Black people to fully participate in the democratic process. As part of this rich tradition the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune offered a different perspective than the White-owned local newspaper, The Daily Progress.

The Daily Progress began publishing in 1892 (Maurer, 2012a). It was created by serial newspaper founder James Humbert Lindsay and his brother, Frank, originally from Warrenton, Va. (Maurer, 2012a). The paper’s stated mission was to offer “local daily happenings of Charlottesville, the University, the County of Albemarle and the Seventh Congressional District” (Maurer, 2012, n.p.). The paper was in the hands of James Lindsay’s son Clark by the time the Brown v. Board Education ruling was handed down (“Charlottesville Publisher Dies,” 1968). Clark E. Lindsay, age 60 in 1954, served as publisher from 1944 to 1960, when the role of publisher was eliminated and he became chairman of the board of directors (“Charlottesville Publisher Dies,” 1968; “Paper Abolishes Publisher Post,” 1960). Before entering the family business, Clark Lindsay served in World War I and worked as a chemist and a life insurance agent (“Charlottesville Publisher Dies,” 1968). He was elected president of the Virginia Press Association for 1954-1955.

By 1955, The Daily Progress was in the midst of a \$300,000 to \$400,000 publishing plant expansion that included creating new offices for its editorial, advertising and business staff and a new printing press worth more than \$100,000 (“The Daily Progress Planning \$400,000 Expansion Program,” 1955). The new newsroom would include “eight typewriter desks with individual telephones” and room for more desks if desired (“The Daily Progress Planning \$400,000 Expansion Program,” 1955, p. 13).

Chester R. Babcock, a journeyman newspaperman, who worked in Wisconsin and had owned a paper in Arkansas, joined The Daily Progress in 1943 and became its editor in September 1956 (“Charlottesville Editor Retires after 43 Years,” 1965).

This dissertation explores the impact of society on news publications and the value of the Black Press in sharing perspective on important historical events. It also offers a glimpse into the world of small Black newspapers, few of which survived more than 10 years. While studies have been done on large African American newspapers in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and wire services like the Scott newspaper syndicate, which associated 241 newspapers across Southern states, little is known about the newspapers created in small urban and rural communities. This dissertation offers an opportunity to probe their content historical significance.

Charlottesville, Va., in particular offers a unique opportunity for research. It is the home of one of the country’s founding fathers: Thomas Jefferson. He played an integral role in the city’s development and the creation of University of Virginia, a major employer. After the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, Black Charlottesville parents sued the school district, asking that their children to be placed in White schools. The case would matriculate through the court system and end up before the U.S. Supreme Court. When integration was ordered, laws created as part of the Massive Resistance Movement were

enforced, closing the city's high school and one of its elementary schools. The local newspapers would covered the impact on the lawsuit, the political maneuvering to keep schools segregated, the community's response and shared their own opinions on integration.

This dissertation applies Reese and Shoemaker's (2016) Hierarchy of Influences Model to help unravel the way in which news was represented to audiences. The Hierarchy of Influences Model allows examination of the newspaper in the context of the social system it was created and published within. The social system frames the worldview of a time period and allows for study of its impact on what is published within a newspaper's pages.

The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune first published months after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled separate was not equal, mandating integration of White and Black schools in 1954. That year sits at the intersection of some memorable points in history:

- Baby Boom — More than 75 million children were born between 1946 and 1964, overcrowding schools and creating a crush in already overcrowded schools (Wallenfeldt, n.d.)
- Jim Crow laws — In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court's Plessy v. Ferguson ruling legally allowed separate facilities for Blacks and Whites. This segregation laid the legal foundation for segregation and outright exclusion of Blacks in all aspects of life, including transportation, real estate, banking, and more. It reinforced the separation already found in Virginia schools, as allowed by an 1870 state law forbidding Black and White children to mix. These laws would not be overturned until the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- Voter suppression — In 1902, Virginia lawmakers rewrote their constitution to disenfranchise Black people who had received the right to vote under

Reconstruction Era laws. They created polling tests and taxes to restrict the voting habits of Blacks and poor Whites systematically and arbitrarily. The tests would be declared illegal in 1931, but poll taxes would continue until the ratification of the 24th Amendment in 1964.

All these elements impacted people and their responses to the Supreme Court's ruling. This study focuses on the response of state and local government officials and school officials who crafted the Massive Resistance movement to circumvent the Brown v. Board court ruling.

Massive Resistance included the creation of laws, court battles, community organizations, government provision of funds, private fundraising and more. This study compares how the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and The Daily Progress covered this movement. While each covered the court cases, government actions, school board maneuvers and community responses, their ideology on the topic would prove vastly different. This shows in how they covered events, what information they shared, and in the viewpoints they espoused in their editorials.

CHAPTER 2

INFLUENCES ON JOURNALISM & HISTORICAL INEQUALITIES

To compare the content of White and Black newspapers, one must delve into the intricate environment within which each was created. What did people believe in their circulation area and within the state of Virginia? How did those beliefs manifest themselves in the social structure? How was a newspaper's content impacted by this context?

The framework for this study envelopes social influences and ideas of advocacy and citizen journalism as many African American newspaper editors were men and women working to show a different perspective on issues, policies, laws, and their impact on African American people. They also provided a record of the social life, achievements, and interests of the population. This study uses historical references to shed light on the work of African American newspapers in small-town Southern cities and compare it to the work of White-owned newspapers in the same geographic area.

Hierarchy of Influences

Reese & Shoemaker's Hierarchy of Influences Model is used to explore "the complex factors shaping media — particularly news — content" (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p. 389). They propose that content is impacted by individuals, routine practices, media organizations, and social institutions, which all impact each other and rest on the overarching social system (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). "Particularly for journalism such a model untangles many criticisms of press performance, identifies their implicit normative and theoretical assumptions and suggests appropriate kinds of evidence" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 9).

The individual level focuses on what shapes a person's beliefs and values. Researchers consider ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, and education (Reese &

Shoemaker, 2016). In an uncertain world, “people tend to regroup around primary identities: religious, ethnic, territorial, national” (Castells, 2010, p. 3). That identity “collective or individual, ascribed or constructed, becomes the fundamental source of social meaning. This is not a new trend, since identity and particularly religious and ethnic identity, has been at the roots of meaning since the dawn of society” (Castells, 2010, p. 3). Therefore, personal values and beliefs, religion, political leanings impact “news values they adhere to” (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p. 398).

At this level, the individual’s view of the role of journalism can also be analyzed. Shoemaker and Reese used Weaver’s categories — disseminator, interpretive, adversary and populist mobilizer (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). The disseminator shares “information to the public quickly, avoiding unverified facts, reaching the widest possible audience and providing entertainment and relaxation” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 231). The interpreter is “investigating official claims, analyzing complex problems and discussing national and international policies” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 232). The adversary challenges authority and businesses. The populist mobilizer allows people “to express their views, develop cultural interests, motivate people to get involved, point to possible solutions, and set the political agenda” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 232).

Media routines focus on a “pattern of practices that serve the needs of the organization,” including deadlines, limits to resources, choices of sources, etc. (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p. 399). “Given finite organizational resources and an infinite supply of potential raw material, routines are practical responses to the needs of media organizations and workers” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 168). Part of this routine is news judgment, which is defined by news values. Classic news values include prominence, conflict, timeliness, proximity, and singularity

(Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). How a story is framed and its scope, which “cues readers as to the relevance of an event to them”, also play into routine (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 176). The source of information also fits into the routine in terms of whether it is fed to the news organization by a predetermined path of press releases from an official source like the government, or the journalist’s choice of expert sources.

The organizational level is an ethnographic look at the inner workings of the news company. “Placing the organizational level in the middle of our Hierarchical Model allows us both to investigate influences on content that cannot be attributed to individual workers or the routine practices of their work and to recognize that media organizations are entities whose actions are not completely dependent on the way they work or their relations with other social institutions” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 135).

Social institutions focus on “outside” forces that impact the news. This can include the overall news marketplace, government policies, interest groups, the audience, and advertisers (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014).

The social system is the encompassing fabric in which all the other levels rest. It is a macro level of analysis and asks the question of what all the other levels “add up to” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 64). This level allows the researcher to focus on “in whose interests social institutions, media organizations, media routines and individuals ultimately work” and zooms in on “questions of value, interests, and ultimately power” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 65). The social system incorporates “an aggregation of subsystems, such as political, economic, cultural and mass communication” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 64). It focuses on “traditional theories of society and power as they relate to the media” (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p. 403). The social system can be thought of as being made up of several subsystems: ideological, cultural,

economic, and political (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). The ideological subsystem refers to a societal “world view” or “outlook” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 70). This ideological subsystem “works through existing values” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 69). The authors suggest that in this case ideology should not be viewed as an “individual belief system” but as a “societal-level phenomenon”(Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 69). The economic subsystem focuses on ideas from development communication in analyzing how “a country’s communication infrastructure has been closely tied to its economy” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 71). It takes into consideration that opportunities for media grow as cities develop and increase in population and literacy rises (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). “Broadly, development communication refers to a process of strategic intervention toward social change by institutions and communities” (Wilkins & Mody, 2001, p. 385). The cultural subsystem suggests that “the process of communication is central in the development and evolution of culture, as the media help constitute how people think of themselves and how they construct values and norms” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 73).

Deconstructing the Ideological Subsystem and Worldview

Within the social system is an ideological subsystem with the idea of a societal worldview, which is a complex construct.

“A worldview is a commitment, a fundamental orientation of the heart, that can be expressed as a story or in a set of presuppositions (assumptions which may be true, partially true or entirely false) which we hold (consciously or subconsciously, consistently or inconsistently) about the basic constitution of reality, and that provides the foundation on which we live and move and have our being” (Sire, 2015, p. 141).

It is something that can be acted on consciously or unconsciously and is “actualized in our behavior” (Sire, 2015, p. 153). This means that we may believe and express our worldview to

others as one set of ideas and act entirely different (Sire, 2015). More importantly, it is something “people are motivated to protect” (Brandt & Crawford, 2020, p. 2). They do this by “derogating and denigrating individuals and groups who disagree with their worldview or otherwise represent a threat to the ideas and values that the worldview represents” (Brandt & Crawford, 2020, p. 3). In Brandt and Crawford’s study on how worldview conflict relates to prejudice, they summarized “dislike, dehumanization, social distance and other denigrations” were ways people treated those who held differing opinions (Brandt & Crawford, 2020, p. 3). The prejudice left people willing “to discriminate” and accept and/or apply “political intolerance or economic games” (Brandt & Crawford, 2020, p. 4). In their study on worldview conflict in a political context, it didn’t matter if a person was open to new ideas and experiences (liberal) or closed (conservative), progressive or traditional; opposite groups held prejudices against each other (Brandt & Crawford, 2020).

Worldviews in News Media

For this study, an examination of society’s beliefs about African Americans sets the stage for what would appear in African American-owned and White-owned newspapers.

“The contradictions of American life for people of African descent is what keeps it [African American newspaper] alive. The same problems are what keeps it in constant turmoil with itself and its social environment. The African-American newspaper is the signal symptom of oppression — the epitome of being a part of the system and being apart from the system.” (Owens, 1993, p. 3).

Goldenberg offers four characteristics of oppression:

- Containment: “development of programs and practices that serve to quarantine” (Goldenberg, 1978, p. 8)
- Expendability: “a given group of people individuals can be replaced or substituted by others with no loss to the whole” (Goldenberg, 1978, p. 9)

- Compartmentalization: “the variety of ways in which people are prohibited from developing an integrated style of life” which can leave people “without a sense of community, without relationships between people” (Goldenberg, 1978, p. 10-11)
- Ideology: it is the undergirding foundation for containment, expendability, and compartmentalization because “it serves to shape and control our responses to events which impinge themselves upon our consciousness” (Goldenberg, 1978, p. 11).

Feagin defined the features of oppression by comparing conditions for African Americans during years of legalized slavery with conditions in the African American community from 1640 through 1986. He included issues of citizenship, legal ownership of a person, violence and threat of violence, job segregation, residential segregation, school segregation, political enfranchisement, intermarriage rate, color coding and ideological rationalization for the Black condition (Feagin, 1986).

Societal norms can be found within the pages of newspapers. As newspaper owners found reliable income streams in advertising, newspapers of the 1800s became more than just places to spout political viewpoints. The content of some newspapers like the penny press included sensationalized news (i.e., murders, court cases, unscrupulous politicians, hoaxes) to draw attention and capture audiences.

From small towns to large cities, newspapers offered “notices of marriages and deaths, business announcements of every conceivable description, official publications and notifications required by law an infinite variety of details, of both public and private character, relations to the mails, the trains, the churches, the schools, etc., all these have come to depend upon the periodical press for publicity” (North, 1884, p. 51).

By the 1880s, newspapers had spread widely: Of the 2,605 counties established in the 46 states and territories, newspapers were published in 2,073 of them (North, 1884). North (1884) found that though many were affiliated with political parties, each one had a greater purpose: “Each one is the champion and representative of its particular locality, and is concerned first of all, in whatever relates to the honor and material advancement of that locality. The closer home to the daily routine of the people the newspaper comes, the greater is the power it exerts” (p. 74).

Park (1923), using a categorization by Walter Lippmann, divided newspapers into two different kinds:

“... papers edited on the principle that readers are mainly interested in reading about themselves, and papers edited upon the principle that their readers, seeking some escape from the dull routine of their own lives, are interested in anything which offers them what the psychoanalysts call ‘a flight from reality’” (p. 286).

This gave way to papers including announcements on “weddings, funerals, lodge meetings, oyster suppers and all the small patter of the small town” and “episodes of city life for the romantic and picturesque, its dramatic accounts of vice and crime, and its unflagging interest in the movements of personages of a more or less mythical high society” (Park, 1923, p. 286).

As the news industry looked to become more professional, objectivity became a touted ideal. However, “there was no golden age” of journalism because there wasn’t a time when “journalism of the mass-media age was perfectly socially representative or served democratic needs without fault or without significant cost ...” (Couldry, 2016, p. 608).

The Daily Progress, Charlottesville’s daily newspaper since the 1800s, printed photographs of African Americans only if they were arrested and extensively covered crime in the African American community (McKenzie, 2018).

“There is no doubt that the Daily Progress served the community, but it also reflected community values. That was especially when it came to race relations in

which the paper took a solid segregationist line in its news pages and editorials. The paper's editorials ranged from what would today be considered blatant racism to refusing wedding announcement, obituaries, and birth announcements from the Black community until the 1960s ... 'There was virtually no coverage at all,' Lindsay Mount, a former publisher who worked for the paper from 1948 to 1972 recalled in the 1992 centennial edition of the Daily Progress. 'I don't remember any antagonism about it [at the time]. Everybody seemed to understand. The Progress was no different than any other newspaper in Virginia that was family owned'" (McKenzie, 2018, n.p.).

While African American newspapers may be considered a "signal" that oppression existed, they are also a reminder of resilience and an unwillingness to accept the status quo. African Americans and sympathizers to their plight became advocates, using the media to counteract the malignant forces defining who they were, what they were capable of, and how and where they could exist.

Adopting Objectivity and Redefining Advocacy Journalism

Advocacy journalism is synonymous with the journalism of early American history, borrowing from the colonialists' European roots. "Across European democracies, journalists typically approached news reporting as a way to get politically involved, and to promote viewpoints generally associated with political parties" (Waisbord, 2009, p. 372). Janowitz traced the origins of advocacy journalism in the United States back to American colonialism and the Revolutionary War. He also fast forwarded from there to muckrakers who believed "that the newspaper had the potential — through the power of the press and public opinion — to overcome the weaknesses of political institutions" (Janowitz, 1975, p. 622).

Even in the early 1920s, Lippmann recognized advocacy in the news. He believed:

"... news and truth are not the same thing, and must be clearly distinguished. The function of news is to signalize an event, the function of truth is to bring to light the hidden facts to set them into relation with each other, and make a picture of reality on which men can act. Only at those points, where social conditions take

recognizable and measurable shape, do the body of truth and the body of news coincide” (Lippmann, 1941, p. 358).

Then the role of the journalist was ...

“to bring home to people the uncertain character of truth on which their opinions are founded, and by criticism and agitation to prod social science into making more usable formulations of social facts and to prod statesmen into establishing more visible institutions. The press, in other words, can fight for the extension of reportable truth. But as social truth is organized to-day, the press is not constituted to furnish from one edition to the next the amount of knowledge which the democratic theory of public opinion demands” (Lippmann, 1957, p. 361).

Even in his definition of news, truth and the role of journalists, he never called news advocacy journalism (Janowitz, 1975).

Janowitz (1975) is credited with creating an argument that parsed journalism into groups of “gatekeepers” and “advocates.” The idea of gatekeepers grew from a desire to increase professionalism within journalism after World War I — separating “reporting fact from disseminating opinion” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 618). “Coverage of the real world required that the journalist select the important from the mass of detailed information; therefore, the notion of the journalist as a gatekeeper rested on his ability to detect, emphasize and disseminate that which was important” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 618). Waisbord credited newspaper owners realizing the possibility and actively seeking standalone commercial success from before the turn of the 20th century to the 1920s with the shift to objectivity. “The adoption of objectivity as the normative ideal of professional reporting displaced advocacy journalism to the margins of the press system” (Waisbord, 2009, p. 372). Waisbord (2009) suggests advocacy journalism has been “historically associated with nineteenth-century movements that promoted women’s voting, abolitionism and workers’ rights” (p. 372). He also cited “publications of anti-war, feminist, gay, environmental and ethnic rights movements, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s” (Waisbord, 2009, p. 373).

Supporters of objectivity believed it was “the best alternative to fend off advocacy journalism” (Waisbord, 2009, p. 373). By the 1960s, however, some scholars were criticizing earlier ideas of a scientific method of professionalism for journalism and offered the idea “of the journalists as critic and interpreter” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 619). Scholars began to suggest “that the norm of ‘objectivity’ effectively functioned as a subterfuge for advocacy for *status quo* policies and ideologies” (Waisbord, 2009, p. 373). The job was reimagined by some “to represent the viewpoints and interests of competing groups, especially those of excluded and underprivileged groups” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 619). “Therefore, the role of the journalist is to insure that all perspectives are adequately represented in the media, for the resolution of social conflict depends on effective representation of alternative definitions of reality. The journalist must ‘participate’ in the advocacy process” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 619).

Janowitz (1975) named confidentiality as a key factor “in distinguishing between the gatekeepers and the advocate-journalist” (p. 619). Specifically, he laid out the following:

1. The advocate “believes in the absolute confidentiality of his sources in certain circumstances” because it is in the best interest of his clients — “that is those who supply him with information, especially the submerged groups about whom he writes” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 619)
2. The advocate “if he obtains information bearing on a criminal prosecution, he is not required to assist the legal process” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 620).
3. The advocate believes that “government, in conducting its business, either withholds or manipulates information” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 620). Therefore, “journalists have a widely ranging obligation to expose information which government agencies label as confidential” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 620).

Advocate journalists see themselves as lawyers and audience members as clients, but instead of being in a courtroom they work with a mass media platform (Janowitz, 1975). “The advocate role as a distinct and a secondary role, if it is to persist with effectiveness and responsibility, will require an element of professionalism to insure its independence and to define its limits and potentialities” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 662). Is it this kind of thinking that has made it difficult to categorize some publications, including African American newspapers, as not actually newspapers or to categorize their content as not news because in some publications do not meet mainstream professional standards?

Waisbord expanded on Janowitz’s idea of an advocacy in journalism. He suggested that even in mainstream journalism today, both liberal and conservative media have “visible” signs of advocacy journalism as “news organizations that do not challenge basic premises of the current political-economic system, but unequivocally champion some of its central ideological underpinnings” (Waisbord, 2009, p. 373). It is also “visible” in “progressive publications that continue the tradition of alternative and radical news” (Waisbord, 2009, p. 373). “... civic advocacy journalism signals a different sensibility among organizations engaged in social change. It reflects that realization that media publicity is central to advance political causes in an age of ‘mediated’ politics” (Waisbord, 2009, p. 377). He described it as organizations that work with the news media, acting in a public relations role with press conferences and releases but that are not trying to end relationships with mainstream media or create their own media outlets (Waisbord, 2009).

Citizen Journalism

More than 1,100 African American newspapers existed in nine Southern states between 1865 and 1900 (Alkebulan, 2014). Interestingly, while oppression seems to positively impact the

formation of African American newspapers, it also negatively impacts circulation (Owens, 1993). The number of African American newspapers dropped to 333 by 1911 across the entire United States and to 143 by the beginning of World War II (Alkebulan, 2014; Owens, 1993). African American newspapers increased to 233 by 1948 (Owens, 1993). Then a resurgence occurred, and more than 217 African American newspapers were established in the 1960s as the Civil Rights Movement gained momentum (Simmons, 1998). Unless they were located in large cities like New York and Chicago or had long family ties as in Norfolk, Virginia, a significant person like W.E.B DuBois at the helm or backing it, the newspapers remain unknown. “Most [newspapers] were small, poorly financed, poorly printed and initiated to serve political factions and interest groups within the Black community” (Suggs, 1983a, p. 15). They were run by community residents who wanted a voice.

Professor Jay Rosen (2008) wrote on his PressThink blog: “When the people formerly known as the audience employ the press tools they have in their possession to inform one another, *that’s* citizen journalism” (p. 1). Yet scholars have a hard time defining citizen journalism and Wall (2018) suggests it may not even be a genre. Citizen journalism “is fragmented, not easily defined and highly experimental. Its future as a sustainable practice, and eventually, as a viable business model is unshaped and uncertain” (Merritt, 2009, p. 22). It “lacks both an architecture and a unifying theory” (Merritt, 2009, p. 22).

At its foundation, citizen journalism consists of “people motivated to tell other people about facts and events they believe are important and exchange thoughts about the meaning of the facts and events” (Merritt, 2009, p.28). Rosen and Merritt couched their idea of citizen journalism within the title of public journalism. In early experiments in the 1990s, the two were more concerned with how journalism could “reconnect people to public life” for the sake of

democracy (Merritt, 2009, p. 25). It rests on the idea that a free press is key to a working democracy.

Debate exploded, however, among scholars and professionals as the discussion turned to who could be involved. Some saw citizen journalists as professional “reporters, editors and photographers ... intimately involving themselves in the welfare of the place, in the civic life of their towns, participating as active members of the very community they’re covering” (Lauterer, 2006, p. xix). In Lauterer's (2006) opinion:

“Community journalism is, for better and for worse, personal; readers know the folks at the newspaper by name. They know to expect somebody from the paper — probably the editor, who may also be the publisher and the chief ad sales person — pop up with a pad and a camera whenever vehicles wreck, courts convene, school boards meet and politicians bloviate” (p. xiv).

For Rosen (1999), public journalism is “an argument, an experiment, a movement, a debate, and a kind of adventure” (p. 270). He suggested journalists should:

“(1) address people as citizens, potential participants in public affairs, rather than victims or spectators, (2) help the political community act upon, rather than just learn about its problems, (3) improve the climate of public discussion, rather than simply watch it deteriorate, and (4) help make public life go well, so that it earns its claim on our attention” (Rosen, 1999, p. 262).

The work of public journalism should also bring people from different professions together to create a “widening field of mind, where ideas and possibilities are in play” (Rosen, 1999, p. 264). In this way a “disturbance” takes place, allowing the information to come from the “margins” and be noticed by media power centers like Washington and New York (Rosen, 1999, p. 265-266).

Other scholars have pushed the boundaries of who can participate in this style of journalism, ranging from “unpaid variants on professional journalists” to “ordinary people who happen to be present when extraordinary events take place and thus are simply ‘accidental

bystanders” (Wall, 2018, p. 3). These citizen journalists may not “have time to fully report the news” and “lack the technical abilities or knowledge to produce a coherent story” (Wall, 2018, p. 3). Then there is the question of whether “it can be citizen journalism only if it is occurring outside the structures of mainstream news media” (Wall, 2018, p. 3). Wall pointed out that citizen journalists range in experience from none to former journalists and then “journalism students and others who work professionally in adjacent fields, such as nonprofits that produce media content” somewhere in between (Wall, 2018, p. 3). “Their participation may do more than merely document. For some citizen journalists, it may help build community, sustain public debates or contribute to their personal development” (Wall, 2018, p. 3).

For her research, Wall (2018) defined citizen journalism “as the production of original media content by amateurs and other inbetweeners that aims to contribute to the building of community and sometimes social change” (p. 4). Building on Eldridge’s (2018) study of digital journalism actors, Wall (2018) focused on citizen journalists as people on the “margins” or “periphery” of the professional journalism industry (p. 5). “In these margins, power is more dispersed and the profession itself less secure” (Wall, 2018, p. 5).

“Thinking in terms of the edges of the profession is important because here practices and values are fluid and unstable and thus seemingly more hospitable to transformations, engendering new connections and possibilities. At the periphery, we find an increasingly permeable space sometimes mingling mainstream, traditional journalism with the content produced by various other actors, including a spectrum of different types of citizen journalists” (Wall, 2018, p. 5).

Wall (2018) wrote that this ideology is researched using “field theory and professional boundary work” (p. 5). The “field” described by Bourdieu (2005), includes “encompassing ideological predispositions, judgments or taste and physical bearing shaped by family, education and profession” (Benson, 2013, p. 27) The field of journalism is expressed “in formulaic writing

practices, such as quoting sources and attribution of information. Journalistic habitus is also evident in the practice of relying on the power elite for information as a way to establish credibility” (Wall, 2018, p. 5).

Wall (2018) describes an engaged citizen journalist as one “who is independent of the mainstream news media in terms of reporting and posting his or her own versions of events and is supportive of actions for social change” (p. 12).

“Most of the engaged citizen journalists are not accidental bystanders or random witnesses who happen to capture a snippet of content. They often choose to be present at scenes of political and social conflict. They make their own judgments concerning what to document, which may or may not resemble mainstream news choices. They are sympathetic to or even participants in the events they cover. These engaged citizen journalists increasingly document movements (and sometimes more ephemeral moments) involving social issues, such as racial inequality and white domination ... (Wall, 2018, pp. 12-13).

Wall (2018) suggests that these days (and it was probably true years ago), engaged citizen journalists “show little desire to be schooled by mainstream news media” (p. 13). They are operating within new information networks that rely on dispersed ties, often formed with strangers, and pulled together in part by the affordances of social media platforms. Such networks can diminish the importance of professional journalists, who become a ‘peripheral rather than a central note’ for news or are even ‘rendered surprisingly irrelevant’” (Bossio & Bebawi, 2012; DeLuca & Lawson, 2014, p. 369; Robinson & Schwartz, 2014, p. 386; Wall, 2018, p. 13).

Wall describes her “key characteristics” for engaged citizen journalists, based on what African Americans were doing in light of police brutality.

“They create many of their own practices and values. Among the ones identified here are (a) challenging the mainstream news media by offering alternative narratives and by confronting professional journalists; (b) outpacing the mainstream news media by operating faster, with more mobility and a willingness

to stay with the story for long stretches of time; and (c) modeling new practices, both technologically and socially driven.” (Wall, 2018, p. 14).

These journalists “often seek to offer a different narrative, one based on their own experiences, whether as members of a minority group going about their day-to-day lives before being interrupted by some form of aggression or as witnesses or protesters demanding justice” (Wall, 2018, p. 14). Or the journalist may also refute official claims with gathered evidence or highlight misunderstandings (Wall, 2018).

Those experiences, encompassed in the individual level of Reese & Shoemaker’s Hierarchy of Influences Model, would be highly influenced by the social system. To this end, this study dives into history, seeing it as a “process.”

This process is “dynamic, linking or dissolving static elements in a narrative pattern. We can still treat this process as an object, but it is difficult to divorce it from our existence as thinking subjects. If we locate ourselves in history’s stream, we can begin to look at ourselves and our mental life, whether personal or collective, as conditioned by the historical present as it defines itself out of — or against — the past” (Schorske, 1998, p. 3).

History is important because it gives us a foundation to understand “the process of development and change which led from the different world of ‘then’ to the familiar world of ‘now’” (Anderson, 2006, p. 7).

The Hierarchy of Influences Model allows researchers to focus on the intersection of politics, economics, culture, and communication. Randolph Louis White, owner and editor of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune, and Clark E. Lindsay and Chester R. Babcock, owner and editor respectively, of The Daily Progress, lived and were influenced by this intersection. This study focuses on how that intersection influenced the content printed in their newspapers. Would they be advocates? Would they be objective? How would that play out in their news articles and editorials.

To understand more about the intersection of politics, economics, culture and communication, the next chapter focuses on the concept of race. This complicated construct has played a major part in shaping the worldviews of generations of residents within the U.S. Virginia, as one of the early colonies, played a particularly important role in defining who belonged to which racial groups and what limitations or privileges were given to each. Chapter 3 also offers a view on the impact race has in news media.

CHAPTER 3

THE ROOTS OF INEQUALITY AND DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICA

The idea of race is a manufactured concept. Exactly when it began is hard to pinpoint. “It rather looks as if consciousness of racial difference has grown gradually and that the nature of the phenomenon to which we attach the label ‘prejudice’ has changed significantly” (Banton, 2019, p. 13).

In America, the concept of race historically categorizes people on the surface by their skin color and dives deep into the ancestral bloodlines of one’s heritage. The categories define one’s place in society, carrying privilege and superiority for some and inferiority, derision, and a statement of little to no worth for others. The carefully constructed concept of race, developed over centuries, is deeply ingrained in America’s societal structure.

In the United States, society created rules to preserve elite status, assuage fears of insurrection and maintain “pure” bloodlines, among other manifestations. In Virginia, the elite wanted to hold their power but understood that as a minority at times they would need the help of lower-income Whites and even Blacks to make up their numbers. Under the U.S. Constitution, three-fifths of enslaved populations could be counted for representation purposes in the U.S. House of Representatives and Electoral College. Those in power fought hard, however, to keep African Americans from voting for centuries. They dictated what types of careers African Americans could have, where they could live and whom they could marry. The law defined them by a single drop of blood.

Virginia, as the home of one of the oldest permanent colonies in the United States, played a pivotal role in shaping the ideas and concepts that are wrapped in racial distinctions. The first enslaved Africans arrived in Virginia in 1619. By the 1850s, the idea of “permanent human

types” became popular, and it was common knowledge that there were “a finite number of races or types (Blacks and Whites being the most distant)” and “the differences have a decisive influence upon the kinds of social relationships possible between members of different races” (Banton, 2019, p. 5). Those in power cared whether the separation was kept by legislation or violence. As Grace Copeland, wife of a White Virginia newspaper editor wrote to Gov. Harry F. Byrd (who would later be the architect behind Massive Resistance as a U.S. senator), “it was impossible to reason with a negro—that the only way to keep him in his place was to keep him under fear” (Smith, 2008, p. 188).

This chapter shows how race was defined and redefined, and used to determine how people would be treated, what rights and privileges they would have and the punishments for stepping outside those boundaries. It sets the stage for the societal structure the newspaper industry would develop within. The laws in Virginia demonstrate the sentiments of the society and cemented them into the fabric of the country’s existence. Many of Virginia’s laws were copied by other states and Virginians led the Confederacy into a civil war as states fought for their right to own people. Virginia politicians led the creation of Jim Crow laws to combat Reconstruction Era laws. The ramifications of Black codes and later Jim Crow laws still reverberate today, influencing every aspect of how people within this country see themselves, people of other ethnicities and their place in U.S. society. Those views were expressed in the pages of newspapers across the country for centuries.

Creation of Racial Distinctions

The idea of who is Black and who is White has been a journey in ever-deepening definitions as the races began to mix. Forty years after the first enslaved people arrived in Virginia, colonial leaders wanted a clear distinction. Children of mixed race, especially those of

White men and African American women, were being born. Lawmakers wanted clear guidelines to ascertain whether these children should be enslaved or free. In 1662, the Virginia Assembly pronounced:

“WHEREAS some doubts have arisen whether children got by any Englishman upon a negro woman should be slave or free, *Be it therefore enacted and declared by this present grand assembly*, that all children borne in this country shalbe held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother, *And* that if any christian shall commit fornication with a negro man or woman, hee or shee soe offending shall pay double the fines imposed by the former act” (Hening, 1823, p. 170).

This law penalized mixing of the races and created a windfall for slave owners: They could now increase their slave holdings without spending any money. A slave owner could have sexual relations with an enslaved woman and all children from these interactions would be enslaved. This became standard practice. For example, Thomas Jefferson is infamously known for having children with enslaved woman Sally Hemings, at his home, which today is just outside the city limits of Charlottesville in Albemarle County, Virginia. The children were enslaved throughout their childhood and teenage years. Hemings herself was Jefferson’s deceased wife’s half-sister, as she was born to an enslaved woman and Martha Jefferson’s father. While the relationship did cause some political scandal for Jefferson, he never faced legal ramifications.

The ban on interracial marriage was further developed in the General Assembly’s April 1691 act. This legislation:

- Forbid “negroes, mulattoes and Indians intermarrying with English or other white women” (Hening, 1823a, p. 86)
- Banished men and women who intermarried from the state forever (Hening, 1823a).
- Required an English woman to pay 15 pounds sterling within a month of her child’s birth to the church and marked her child as a bastard (Hening, 1823a).

- Allowed an English woman and her child by a negro or mulatto to be sold as servants if the fines were not paid. The mother would serve for five years, the child would be bound until the age of 30 (Hening, 1823a).
- Paid church wardens, government officials and informants from the fine money and from the sale of the woman and child into servitude (Hening, 1823a).
- Forbid the freeing of anyone enslaved unless transportation costs to deport the freed person out of Virginia were paid.

This law, again, did not prohibit or punish White men who had fathered children by women of color. Other colonies and territories would follow Virginia's lead with anti-miscegenation laws in the 1700s, including Massachusetts, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Louisiana (Pascoe, 2009).

The prohibition of marriage between “a white person and a negro” was reiterated by the General Assembly in 1849, saying all marriages between “a white person and a negro ... shall be absolutely void, without any decree of divorce or other legal process” (*The Code of Virginia: With the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States; and the Declaration of Rights and Constitution of Virginia*, 1849, p. 471). The General Assembly also specified that if Virginia residents went to another state, intermarried, and then lived together in Virginia their marriage would not be recognized. The belief that the races should not mix would be reinforced by laws in the 1900s. Those laws would continue to be enforced until the U.S. Supreme Court overturned them in *Loving v. Virginia* on June 12, 1967 (Talbot, 2014).

Defining race and degrading people of color

Not long after prohibiting intermarriage, the Virginia Assembly continued to strengthen the racial divide. It worked over centuries to make the categories of who was and was not White mutually exclusive. People who fell into the categories would then be vilified and deemed less than human. In 1705, the General Assembly made sure that no “negro, mulatto or Indian” along with murderers, forgers and felons, could hold “any office, ecclesiasticall, civill or military or be in any place of public trust or power, with this her majestys colony and dominion of Virginia” (Hening, 1823a, p. 251). This equated a person of color to someone who committed a premeditated act of violence— based solely on bloodline and not on whether his or her behavior warranted it. Codified definitions of mulattos followed. A mulatto in October 1785 legislation was anyone whose grandmother or grandfather was negro, even if all the person’s other relatives were White. Anyone with one-quarter negro blood or more was mulatto (Hening, 1823b).

This division of races and the treatment of people of color was well known. In 1788, Thomas Jefferson suggested if enslaved people were ever freed, they could not live in the then-settled territories.

“... Why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state, and thus save the expence of supplying, by importation of white settlers, the vacancies they will leave? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race” (Jefferson, 1788, p. 147).

His own view of African Americans was low. Jefferson would rely heavily on enslaved labor to build and maintain his own home, Monticello, and later University of Virginia, which he would champion into existence. He would hire master craftsmen and have his slaves work alongside them until they learned the trade, then used unpaid slave labor to do the trades in the future. It

was a matter of economy rather than a thought to the intellect of the individuals he trained. He would write: “They secrete less by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the skin, which gives them a very strong and disagreeable odour ... They seem to require less sleep” (Jefferson, 1788, p. 148). Of course, any person working in the Virginia heat without being afforded the time or tools for hygiene would also incur an odor. Their sleep patterns also depended on the master or overseer’s whim as to when the work was done. Thomas Jefferson’s “natural history” study approach to enslaved African Americans led him to this conclusion:

“Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me, that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous. ... But never yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never see even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture ... The improvement of the blacks in body and mind, in the first instance of their mixture with the whites, has been observed by every one, and proves that their inferiority is not the effect merely of their condition of life. ... To our reproach it must be said, that though for a century and a half we have had under our eyes the races of black and of red men, they have never yet been viewed by us as subjects of natural history. I advance it therefore as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind. ... This unfortunate difference of colour, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people” (Jefferson, 1788, p. 149-154)

This view that African Americans were biologically and mentally inferior would carry on for centuries, which is in part why definitions were so important. By 1853, Virginia required a person’s race be recorded when registering births and marriages (Wolfe, 2015). The General Assembly created definitions for African Americans in 1866, defining a “colored” person as anyone with a quarter or more African American blood and Native Americans as anyone with a quarter or more “Indian blood” (Wolfe, 2015). The practice of recording races stopped in 1896, but when the General Assembly created the Bureau of Vital Statistics in 1912, the practice

resumed. By then race lines were even more stringent. In 1910, the General Assembly lowered the criteria for “colored” people to one-sixteenth “negro blood” (Wolfe, 2015, n.p.). Native Americans also had new stipulations requiring no African American bloodlines to qualify, as well as a quarter “Indian blood” (Wolfe, 2015, n.p.).

Documenting and weaponizing race after slavery

Defining, separating, and degrading people of color became even more important after slavery ended. Whites wanted to be sure their place as the elite race remained intact. This goal is exemplified in the work of Walter A. Plecker, a medical doctor and the son of a Virginia slave owner, who became Virginia’s first Registrar of Vital Statistics in 1912 (Sherman, 1988; Talbot, 2014; Wolfe, 2015). He “was a white supremacist and a believer in eugenics who recognized that his new position could be used to prevent the mixing of races” (Wolfe, 2015, n.p.).

Eugenicists believed “that humans can be selectively bred in similar ways to plants and animals” and that “African Americans, Indians, poor people, criminals, prostitutes, and alcoholics all suffered from inferior genes” (Wolfe, 2015, n.p.). Their overall mission centered on keeping people of different races from mixing. The University of Virginia hospital in Charlottesville, which opened in 1901, was already “an important intellectual hub of the eugenics movement” (Harold, 2018, n.p.). The university’s influence on the topic would continue to grow stronger in the years after 1915, when Ivey Foreman Lewis, “an out-spoken eugenicist” became the biology department chair and included eugenics in the school’s curriculum (Harold, 2018, n.p.).

The concern came in part from Census data that showed people claiming to be mulattoes in Virginia increased by 82 percent, from 122,441 in 1890 to 222,910 in 1910 (Sherman, 1988). This number then dropped by 26 percent on the 1920 Census to 164,171 and the number of

people identifying as Negroes declined in Virginia (Sherman, 1988). Whites believed people of color were “passing” as Whites in increasing numbers (Sherman, 1988). This line of thinking did not account for other reasons why the Black population in Virginia dropped considerably, including the Great Migration which lured millions of African Americans in Southern states to factories in Northern states.

To preserve the purity of the White race, Plecker, along with prominent pianist and composer John Powell; Dr. Lawrence T. Price, a physician; and Ernest Sevier Cox, a real estate agent and “lifelong devotee to the idea of removing black men from America” created the Anglo Saxon Clubs of America in 1922 (Sherman, 1988; Wynes, 1967, p. 419). The first club was formed in Richmond, and a year later 25 clubs existed across Virginia, including at University of Virginia, plus 11 clubs appeared in other states by 1923 (Sherman, 1988; Wynes, 1967). Leadership of the interconnected clubs throughout Virginia included physician Dr. Lawrence T. Price, who would become the clubs’ National Executive Committee chairman, and Walter Scott Copeland, editor of the Newport News Daily Press and four-term president of the Virginia Press Association (Sherman, 1988; Wynes, 1967). “It’s ‘fundamental purpose’ was the ‘preservation and maintenance of Anglo Saxon ideals in America’” (Sherman, 1988; J. D. Smith, 2008; Wynes, 1967). How the club planned to achieve its purpose was published in the June 5, 1923, edition of Richmond’s News Leader:

“first, by the strengthening of Anglo-Saxon instincts, traditions and principles among representatives of our original American stock; second, intelligent selection and exclusion of immigrants; and, third, the fundamental and final solutions of our racial problems in general, most specifically of the negro problem” (Lombardo, 1987, p. 429).

To this end, the club members presented measures for and lobbied to have a racial integrity bill (Sherman, 1988). The bill was sponsored by 18 members of the House and six

members of the Senate (Sherman, 1988). The Richmond Times-Dispatch endorsed the bill as a “first step toward guaranteeing to future generations a white America” on February 18, 1924 (Sherman, 1988, p. 78). Debate on the bill centered around the compulsory registration of everyone in the state because it might insult White people (Sherman, 1988). Some lawmakers believed White people might be insulted by mandatory registration (Sherman, 1988).

While debate on the bill ensued in 1924, the General Assembly created a bill that restated the definition of a “colored” person and made the stipulations for being a Native American more stringent. Native Americans could only qualify for the classification if they had one-sixteenth or more Native American blood and no African American heritage (*The Code of Virginia, as Amended to Adjournment of General Assembly 1924*, n.p.).

Then on March 20, the Racial Integrity Act of 1924 was signed into law. This act:

- Created a registration certificate to catalog the “racial composition of any individual as Caucasian, negro, Mongolian, American Indian, Asiatic Indian, Malay or any mixture thereof or any other non-Caucasic strains and if there be any mixture then the racial composition of the parents and other ancestors, in so far as ascertainable, so as to show in what generation such mixture occurred” (*An Act to Preserve Racial Integrity*, 1924, n.p.)
- Made it a felony to falsify a registration certificate or birth certificate
- Allowed clerks and deputy clerks to deny or delay marriage licenses if he wasn’t certain both applicants were “of pure white race” or “colored”
- Gave Virginia’s first definition of a White person: a “person who has no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian; but persons who have one-sixteenth or

less of the blood of the American Indian and have no other non-Caucasic blood” (*An Act to Preserve Racial Integrity*, 1924, n.p.)

It is said that the only reason the one-sixteenth rule remained in place for Native Americans is because there were “elite Virginians who counted themselves as descendants of Pocahontas [daughter of the chief of the Powhatan Native American confederacy] and John Rolfe [an official in the British colonial government]” (Wolfe, 2015, n.p.). A fight continued in the Virginia legislative branches for years trying to remove the “Pocahontas Exception” (Wolfe, 2015, n.p.). While it was never removed, a new definition was created in 1930 to make more distinctions and divisions. It said that “every person in whom there is ascertainable any negro blood shall be deemed and taken to be a colored person” (*The Code of Virginia as Amended to Adjournment of General Assembly 1930*, 1930, p. 26). A Native American could not be “a colored person” and had to have “one-fourth or more of American Indian blood” (*The Code of Virginia as Amended to Adjournment of General Assembly 1930*, 1930, p. 26). A new category called “tribal Indians” encompassed “members of Indian tribes living on reservations allotted them by the Commonwealth of Virginia having one-fourth or more Indian blood and less than one-sixteenth of negro blood ... so long as they are domiciled on said reservations” (*The Code of Virginia as Amended to Adjournment of General Assembly 1930*, 1930, p. 26).

The Racial Integrity Act put in writing the ability of clerks and deputy clerks to arbitrarily decide if a couple could have a marriage license or not. Any suspicions whether founded or not could be used to withhold a marriage license. Plecker used these rules to allow the Virginia government to do “an intensive study of the population of its citizens by race” and prevent further mixing of the races (*1942 Correspondence between Walter Plecker and Tennessee State Archivist*, 2016, n.p.). To ensure the purity of the White race, Plecker

reclassified Native Americans' birth certificates in Virginia, asserting "there are no descendants of Virginia Indians claiming or reputed to be Indians who are unmixed with Negro blood" and accusing them of having ancestors on the 1830 Census that registered as "free Negroes" ("Statutes Cited on Classifying of Va. Indians," 1945, p. 8). He used his power to alter birth certificates, even though the law he championed made falsifying birth certificates a felony. He used everything in his power to trace a person's heritage during his 36-year tenure (Talbot, 2014). "We have searched old tax records, voting records, marriage records, death records and early birth records" ("Statutes Cited on Classifying of Va. Indians," 1945, p. 8). Plecker created a list of last names attached to "mixed families" to thwart anyone who might try to marry White people, enter White schools, or register for the war draft. The list was sent in a January 1943 letter to a wide range of people, stating, "local registrars, clerks, health workers and school authorities" had to be diligent to keep people from trying to "escape from the negro race" (Plecker, 1943, n.p.). He reminded clerks that not being diligent in this matter made them "liable to a penalty of one year in this penitentiary" if fraud were found (Plecker, 1943, n.p.).

The Racial Integrity Act turned doctors, nurses, teachers, government clerks and a host of other people into spies. They had a choice between tracking people's heritage and responding to claims about a person's heritage or facing heavy penalties and the scorn of their communities. The Racial Integrity Act would not be overturned until the Supreme Court ruled in *Loving v. Virginia* on June 12, 1967 (Talbot, 2014). Plecker's reassignment of people's race from Native American to Black has made it impossible for certain tribes to receive recognition by the U.S. and Virginia governments, and denied people the benefits afforded Native Americans. Virginia state officials began recognizing certain Native American tribes in 1983 and did so most recently

in 2010 (Wolfe, 2015). Not until 1997 did it become easier for Native Americans to correct their birth certificates to say they were Native American instead of Black (Talbot, 2014).

Racial Distinctions in Laws

Each time lawmakers refined racial definitions, there was a motive. From increasing slave owners' wealth through births of their own children to making sure people of color were treated more harshly than Whites in legal punishments, the divide between the races expanded. Their goal was to keep the races separate and to elevate and preserve one race above all the others. Racial distinctions became even more important as enslaved people were freed. The sentiments of those in office are reflected in this 1878 Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals ruling, voiding the 1874 marriage between an African American man and a White woman:

“Every well organized society is essentially interested in the existence and harmony and decorum of all its social relations. Marriage, the most elementary and useful of all, must be regulated and controlled by the sovereign power of the state. The purity of public morals, the moral and physical development of both races, and the highest advancement of our cherished southern civilization, under which two distinct races are to work out and accomplish the destiny to which the Almighty has assigned them on this continent—all require that they should be kept distinct and separate, and that connections and alliances so unnatural that God and nature seem to forbid them, should be prohibited by positive law, and be subject to no evasion” (Grattan, 1879, p. 869 or 870).

Marriage between races had already been outlawed in 1691 and again in 1849, but here the judge expressed the idea of intermingling being unnatural and a detriment to society. As an institution where social, economic, and cultural points intersect, marriage was an important place to start dividing the races.

“Marriage proved to be such a fruitful ground for the growth of white supremacy because it reached well beyond the realm of romance. As a social institution, marriage links individual desire to social respectability and financial responsibility; it also links citizens and their dependents to the states. Because it stretches seamlessly from romance to respectability to responsibility, marriage has extraordinary power to naturalize some social relationships and to stigmatize

others as unnatural. When societies decide who can and who can't legally marry, they determine who is and isn't really part of the family" (Pascoe, 2009, p. 2).

Marriage would not be the ending point, however. "Black codes" limiting enslaved and free African Americans existed soon after the country began to form. Neither free nor enslaved African Americans were allowed to carry weapons or "presume to lift up his hand in opposition against any christian" based on a law in 1680 and revised in 1733 and 1752 (Hening, 1823c, p. 481). This meant an African American had no right to defend himself or herself against anyone White, whether provoked or not. The wording of the law also shows that White people were considered "christians" while no one else could hold such a designation. "Negro, mulatto and Indian slaves" were deemed personal property or "chattels personal" in October 1748 (Hening, 1819, p. 433, 439). This meant they were not identified as human or people but as property. The Virginia General Assembly condensed all the "slave, free negro and mulattoes" acts — more than 80 stipulations — into one piece of legislation passed March 2, 1819. The law stated that free and enslaved African Americans:

- Could only testify on behalf of other African Americans and "in no other cases whatever" (*The Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia Being a Collection of All Such Acts of the General Assembly*, 1819, p. 422)
- Could not meet so that enslaved negroes could be taught to read or write
- Could not give someone medicine
- Could not "use abusive or provoking language to' or lift his or her hand in opposition to any person not being a negro or mulatto" – (*The Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia Being a Collection of All Such Acts of the General Assembly*, 1819, p. 426).

A White person could deem anything a Black person said as abusive, and the Black person would have no ability to defend himself or herself. They could not testify in court on their own behalf or in defense of someone else in their community. A Black person could not learn to read or write. Jobs that required a person to be able to read or write were prohibited anyway.

In addition to the strict codes, all free African Americans were required to register in the municipality they lived in. This meant that government officials could track where every Black person in the state was. The registration required their “age, name, colour, stature; by whom, and in what court, the said negro or mulatto was emancipated; or that such negro or mulatto was born free” (*The Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia Being a Collection of All Such Acts of the General Assembly*, 1819 p. 440). A new copy of this registration had to be purchased for 25 cents every year, and every three years the registration process had to be renewed. If a free African American wanted to work in a different county, he or she also had to register with their county of residence, which also cost 25 cents. Anyone who didn’t have this document, whether lost, damaged, or never applied for, faced jail time. If the person moved to a new county, a county or municipality official could investigate him or her and if he or she had no employment, they could be charged as a vagrant (*The Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia Being a Collection of All Such Acts of the General Assembly*, 1819). This law gave any White person authority to apprehend enslaved people to check and see if they had proper paperwork from their masters if the enslaved person was off of their plantations or for any behavior deemed suspicious and in violation of the numerous Black codes. Additional laws were added in 1831, making it illegal for enslaved and free African Americans to be taught to read or write. African Americans caught teaching would be beaten with a whip (*General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, 1831). Whites caught teaching free or enslaved people could be fined up to \$100 and face jail

time (*General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, 1831). The 1819 law was amended on March 15, 1832, adding or updating stipulations and punishments. (*Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, 1832, p. 20). It said no enslaved or free African Americans could:

- Preside over or conduct religious or non-religious meetings
- Attend a religious or non-religious meeting not presided over by a White minister.
Enslaved people were not allowed to attend the meetings unless they had written permission from a “owner, overseer or master or agent” (*Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, 1832, p. 20)
- Sell or share alcoholic beverages within a mile of a public assembly of any race
- Kill a White person
- Create, distribute documents, or advise “persons of colour within this state to make insurrection or rebel” (*Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, 1832, p. 21)
- Steal or accept stolen goods

Free African Americans were also not allowed to riot, hold unlawful assemblies, trespass, or offer a speech that encouraged people to rebel against Virginian authority. More importantly, the law eliminated distinctions between free and enslaved African Americans, specifically stating that free African Americans would receive the same punishments as enslaved African Americans, which ranged from beatings to death (*Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, 1832).

Legislation after the Civil War

The extensive laws specifically for African Americans continued to grow and in January 1866, a new law passed. The “Act providing for the punishment of Vagrants” targeted “a great increase of idle and disorderly persons” who did not have work or a means to take care of their families (*Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia Passed in 1865-1866 in the Eighty-Ninth Year of the Commonwealth*, 1866, p. 91). Anyone arrested as a vagrant could be sent to work three months for free for “any person who will take charge of him” and could be “confined with ball and chain” (*Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia Passed in 1865-1866 in the Eighty-Ninth Year of the Commonwealth*, 1866, p. 92). The vagrancy law never specifically mentions Blacks. However, it was used extensively against freed slaves who were trying to figure out their new reality.

Legal disenfranchisement. Reconstruction Era laws and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments would give African Americans the right to vote and equal protection under the Constitution. However, Virginia political leaders like John Goode called the ratification of those amendments by Southern states the result of being “under the rule of bayonet” (Breitzer, 2015, n.p.). As a new century began, Virginia residents rewrote the state’s constitution, voiding the 1869 Reconstruction-era Underwood Constitution, named for J C. Underwood, a Lincoln Republican who “dominated the convention in the absence of boycotting [Southern] Democrats” (Breitzer, 2015, n.p.). The main goal of the new constitution was to ensure African Americans did not vote. While Whites comprised most of the state’s population, African Americans made up more than 35 percent of the population at this time (Claibourn, 2012).

Raleigh Colston Minor, a Charlottesville delegate and professor at the University of Virginia’s School of Common and Statute Law, proposed this solution during the 1901-1902

convention: “plural voting” which allowed landowners’ votes to count twice (Breitzer, 2015; *Our History: Former Faculty: Minor, Raleigh Colston (1893-1923)*, 2019). He said this solution allowed “the balance of power to the great, intelligent middle class, while not denying to the poor and ignorant a voice in the community commensurate with their intelligence and average ability to pass upon the complex public questions that constantly arise” (Breitzer, 2015, n.p.).

The constitutional convention did not adopt Minor’s idea. Instead, the constitution required a \$1.50 poll tax to be paid six months before an election (*Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia during the Extra Session of 1902-3-4.*, 1902, p. 564). Poll taxes had to be up to date, meaning a person needed the past three years of poll taxes paid to vote. The poll tax, which is now equivalent to \$44.72 according to inflation calculators, was a large sum considering servants made \$144 a year and board in 1900, farm laborers made \$460 a year and board, and soldiers made \$520 a year (Willets, 1903, p. 1047).

Beyond the monetary requirements, a man who wanted to vote had to complete an application form before the registrar without any assistance, giving his name, age, date, place of birth, residence, current occupation and his job in the previous two years, plus if and where he voted in past local, state and federal elections (*Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia during the Extra Session of 1902-3-4.*, 1902). This meant a person had to know how to read and write. He also had to answer “any and all questions affecting his qualifications as an elector” (*Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia during the Extra Session of 1902-3-4.*, 1902, p. 564). This meant a registrar could ask anything. Registrars were also given the power to “exclude from the place of registration all persons whose presence he deems unnecessary” and “appoint special constables” to help under the guise of preserving order (*Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the*

General Assembly of the State of Virginia during the Extra Session of 1902-3-4., 1902, p. 567).

This power given to the registrars meant they could use whatever means they felt necessary to stop people from voting. These methods could include violence.

The delegates were open about their plans to disenfranchise African Americans. Alfred P. Thom, a Norfolk-based attorney who would later become general counsel for the Association of Railway Executives, said: "[I]t would not be frank in me, Mr. Chairman, if I did not say that I do not expect an understanding clause to be administered with any degree of friendship by the white man to the suffrage of the black man. ... I would not expect an impartial administration of the clause" (Breitzer, 2015, n.p.). Others made no qualms about also wanting to disenfranchise poor Whites too. Judge W. Gordon Robertson of Roanoke (Holt, 1968) said:

“Here is a body of one hundred Virginians in Constitution Convention assembled and this is the poor, pitiful result that we present to the world. The best thing that we can do to get around the Fifteenth Amendment is to appoint men in every county who will use favoritism towards the white man as against the black man. There are thousands upon thousands of white men in our mountains who can neither read nor understand this Constitution, whom these gentlemen are willing to have vote, and who would not be eligible to vote under the provisions of this Constitution, if this temporary understanding clause is properly administered” (Breitzer, 2015, n.p.)

Robertson clearly wanted only a certain set of people to vote, which excluded Blacks and poor Whites. To ensure that their plans would not be impeded, the constitutional convention members did not ask Virginia voters to ratify the document because they knew “the electorate would not willingly choose to disenfranchise itself” (Breitzer, 2015, n.p.) When the new constitution was challenged in court, the Virginia Supreme Court ruled in 1903 that the constitution “had become law on July 10, 1902” (Breitzer, 2015, n.p.). That date was shortly after the constitutional convention delegates were dismissed on June 26, 1902 (Breitzer, 2015). Therefore, the constitution stood. It would not be fully overhauled until 1971.

The constitution's impact was immediate, with "88,000 fewer ballots cast in the 1905 gubernatorial election than in the previous election in 1901" (Breitzer, 2015, n.p.). In Charlottesville, African American men continued to register to vote. In May 1907, 135 African American men were registered to vote in the city, up 77 from the year before ("Swelled City's Voting Lists," 1907).

A 1931 lawsuit made it illegal to test voters and allowed information gathering on "age, residence, occupation, and previous voting status" (Hughes, 1986, p.86). However, the poll tax kept African Americans (and many Whites) from voting (Hughes, 1986). "By the 1940 election, only 8 percent of the eligible black electorate had paid its poll tax statewide" (Hughes, 1986, p. 86). The poll tax remained in effect until the tax was expressly forbidden by the ratification of the 24th Amendment in 1964. Still, in 1980 only 56 percent of African American residents eligible to vote in Virginia were registered (Hughes, 1986).

The Rise of Jim Crow Laws. With barriers to voting raised high for African Americans, politicians began creating new laws that would usher in the Jim Crow Era of increased legalized segregation and disenfranchisement. Historians suggest there was no direct outcry, but politicians found it to be a way to galvanize votes as racism became "respectable" and the U.S. Supreme Court had upheld the idea of "separate but equal" with its Plessy v. Ferguson decision in 1896 (Wynes, 1967). Only African Americans spoke out against the laws. Booker T. Washington, who established the Tuskegee Institute into a premiere school for African Americans, would give this view in the opinion magazine *The New Republic*, published posthumously:

"In certain cities politicians have taken the leadership in introducing such segregation ordinances into city councils, and after making an appeal to racial prejudices have succeeded in securing a backing for ordinances which would segregate the Negro people from their white fellow citizens. After such

ordinances have been introduced it is always difficult, in the present state of public opinion in the South to have any considerable body of white people oppose them, because their attitude is likely to be misrepresented as favoring Negroes against white people. They are, in the main, afraid of the stigma, 'Negro-lover'" (Washington, 1915, n.p.).

Jim Crow laws reiterated separations in public schools that had been created since the institution's inception. In July 1870, lawmakers created the structure for government-funded public schools for anyone between the ages of five and 21 (*Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia Passed at the Session of 1869- '70*, 1870). The law specifically forbade "white and colored persons" from going to the same school, but the schools were to be "under the same general regulations as to management, usefulness and efficiency" (*Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia Passed at the Session of 1869- '70*, 1870, p. 413). This ban of mixing children of different races was reiterated in the 1902 constitution, even as lawmakers made it compulsory for children ages 8 to 12 to attend school (Guild, 1936). It would be reiterated again in 1920 and 1928 (Guild, 1936). In 1936, Virginia officials agreed to pay to send residents "regardless of race" who were "denied admission to Virginia state colleges, universities and institutions of higher learning" but who possess "the qualifications of health, character, ability and preparatory education customarily required for admission to any Virginia state college" (Guild, 1936, p. 186). The state would pay the difference between the person staying at a Virginia facility and the "tuition charges, living expenses and costs of transportation" of an equivalent school (Guild, 1936, p. 186).

Expanding Segregation into Transportation. The first universal segregation law approved on February 9, 1900, and updated on February 16, 1901, separated "white and colored passengers in the sitting, sleeping and eating apartments of steamboats plying in the waters within the jurisdiction of the commonwealth" (*Joint Resolutions Passed by the General*

Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Extra Session of 1901, 1901, p. 329). It required “that no discrimination shall be made in the quality and convenience of accommodation afforded passengers” but the amended law made it a misdemeanor and levied fines on both the ships’ officers and passengers who did not comply (*Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Extra Session of 1901*, 1901, p. 329). By the time of the steamboat amendment, Virginia legislators were also testing segregation on land, approving on February 15, 1901, a required separation of “white and colored passengers” on one of the Richmond Passenger and Power Company’s streetcar lines between Richmond and Seven Pines (*Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Extra Session of 1901*, 1901, p. 212) The law gave conductors and managers on the streetcars the ability to arbitrarily “increase or decrease the amount of space set apart for either race” (*Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Extra Session of 1901*, 1901, p. 212). It also threatened both the conductor, manager and any passengers who did not comply with a misdemeanor charge and between \$5 and \$100 in fines (*Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Extra Session of 1901*, 1901). Those enforcing the law and the streetcar company could not be held “liable for damages to any one for any act performed in the due and lawful enforcement of the provisions of this act” (*Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Extra Session of 1901*, 1901, p. 213). These laws deputized boat and streetcar workers and did not hold them or their companies liable for how they treated people in performing their duties to maintain a separation between the races. The segregation grew as people of color were banned from “dining, Pullman, parlor, chair or compartment cars” on railroads in 1904 (Wynes, 1967, p. 418). Then in 1906, all streetcars in the state were included in an expanded version of the 1901

segregation order (Wynes, 1967). Buses would be the last transportation type to be segregated by law. The 1930 law would also deputize bus drivers, making them “special policemen and have all the powers of conservators of the peace in the enforcement of this act” (Guild, 1936, p. 150).

Expanding Segregation into Housing. In 1912, the Virginia General Assembly ordered municipalities to create “segregation districts,” making it “unlawful for any colored person to move into a white district or a white person to move into a colored district” (Guild, 1936, p. 148). Lawmakers said “the preservation of the public morals, public health and public order in the cities and towns of this Commonwealth is endangered by the residence of white and colored people in close proximity to one another” (Guild, 1936, p. 147-148). The lawmakers did make an exception for servants living on their employers’ property (Guild, 1936). New segregation laws began appearing again in the 1920s.

Expanding Segregation into Public Spaces. In February 1925, Grace Copeland, the wife of Newport News Daily Press editor Walter Scott Copeland, attended a dance performance at the Hampton Institute (Sherman, 1988). The Hampton Institute was, and still is, a predominantly Black school founded in 1868. In general, the races did not mix in public, though there was no legislation at the time requiring the separation. In Hampton’s Ogden Hall, African Americans could and did sit wherever they liked, including next to Whites when the facility was full (Sherman, 1988; Wynes, 1967). That night in February, Grace Copeland found herself sitting next to African American students. Hearing her account of the evening, Walter Copeland wrote a scathing editorial in his newspaper, and other newspapers followed his lead (Sherman, 1988; Wynes, 1967). By November 1925, the Anglo Saxon clubs lobbied George Alvin Massenburg, a newly elected member of the Virginia House of Delegates, to introduce the Public Assemblages bill (Sherman, 1988). He, along with 19 others, introduced the bill on Jan. 26, 1926 (Sherman,

1988). It required that public halls, movie theaters and any place where the public gathered be segregated, with heavy fines of \$100 to \$500 for noncompliance, as well as misdemeanor charges (Guild, 1936). Gov. Harry F. Byrd, Sr., did not sign the Public Assemblages Act, which became law on March 22, 1926, about a month after he came into office (*Separation of Races (1926)*, 2015). The lack of his signature does not indicate that he did oppose segregation. Byrd would later become the architect behind a movement called Massive Resistance, created to thwart desegregation of Virginia's public schools in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

It would take decades before these laws would be undone, but the ramifications still reverberate today. The U.S. Supreme Court's two rulings on *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 and 1955 started the legal fight to desegregate a public school system that from its inception had separated White children from children of color. Desegregation of public spaces would be a continuing fight as protestors staged sit-ins and marched to raise awareness of the injustice. The Jim Crow laws would not be legally dismantled until the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Their impact, however, imbues every aspect of American society today.

Societal Separation in News Media

While African Americans were deemed valuable as property, they were not valued as people. Vilification in newspapers helped to reinforce the image of African Americans as dangerous, uneducated predators with stories of crimes real, exaggerated and imagined. The creation of minority media came in response to outrage and in direct protest of the such portrayals of free and enslaved African Americans.

In the early 1800s, the *New York Enquirer* publisher, for example, printed slanderous articles, which "attacked African American men daily in his newspaper for their lack of integrity and courage, questioned the chastity of African American women, supported slavery and railed

against setting slaves free” (Washburn, 2006, p. 17). Letters sent to the editor challenging those portrayals of African Americans were not published, so African American leaders gathered to create a newspaper of their own (Owens, 1993). Freedom’s Journal, created in 1827, not only focused on anti-slavery rhetoric, a major concern in that time, but covered a wide range of topics (Washburn, 2006). A reader could find articles about religion, science, fashion, children, politics and even manners and proper dress code and public decorum, a practice that continued in other African American-focused newspapers, magazines, websites, and social media accounts (Washburn, 2006). African American publications allowed those in their communities to see themselves in viewpoints other than criminals, which is a predominant portion of African Americans in the news both today and in 1827 (Entman, 1992, 1994; Washburn, 2006). African American publications acknowledged births, marriages, deaths, and all areas of life in between, where other publications mostly ignored their presence.

The warring sense of self was described eloquently by scholar W.E.B. DuBois:

“It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in an amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, — an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (Du Bois, 2014, p. 3)

The voice of the Black newspaper would be varied and influential. The Chicago Defender, founded by Robert S. Abbott in 1905, would play a key role in the Great Migration (Wilson, 2006). Abbott, originally from Georgia, encouraged Blacks to leave farms in the South and find better work in Northern cities like Chicago (Wilson, 2006).

About 4,000 African American newspapers were founded between 1827 and 1998 (Simmons, 1998). More than 1,100 African American newspapers existed in nine Southern states between 1865 and 1900 (Alkebulan, 2014). Interestingly, while oppression seemed to positively

impact formation of African American newspapers, it also negatively impacted circulation (Owens, 1993). The number of African American newspapers dropped to 333 by 1911 across the entire United States and to 143 by the beginning of World War II (Alkebulan, 2014; Owens, 1993). African American newspapers increased to 233 by 1948 (Owens, 1993). Then a resurgence occurred, and more than 217 African American newspapers were founded in the 1960s as the Civil Rights Movement gained momentum (Simmons, 1998).

The ideas raised within the pages of African American newspapers were influential and not always accepted by White society. Editors faced backlash for their calls for equality and statements abhorring lynchings and other atrocities against African Americans. The attempt on Ida B. Wells-Barnett's life is just one of the well-known acts of violence against African Americans who chose to stand up to oppression. After writing about a lynching in Memphis that claimed the lives of three African American business owners, White people went to Wells' newspaper office with plans to abduct and lynch her in 1892 (Wilson, 2006). Wells was in New York at the time, so she was safe. She never returned to her Memphis office, but continued to fight against lynching in the South from the North. This type of harassment did not stop newspaper editors and reporters from continuing their crusades for justice and equality.

Black newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s fought back against African American portrayals and Jim Crow laws. They called out White-owned business, especially those in predominantly Black neighborhoods, that were not friendly to African Americans. Slogans like "Don't buy where you can't work" were used in newspapers like the "Los Angeles Sentinel, the New York Amsterdam News and the Chicago Whip" (Wilson, 2006, p. 9). In Virginia, the Norfolk Journal and Guide challenged the racial covenants specifically stating land or housing, especially in housing developments, could not be sold to minorities (Wilson, 2006). The

Pittsburgh Courier created a petition and gathered 600,000 signatures to protest the derogatory portrayals of African Americans on the Amos 'n' Andy radio show in the early 1930s (Wilson, 2006). The newspaper's editor, Robert L. Vann, was credited with influencing African Americans, who were long-time Republicans loyal to the party of Lincoln, to vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal (Wilson, 2006, p. 9).

By the 1940s, African American newspapers were a strong voice as the country entered World War II.

“The Negro press was surprisingly free from censorship restraints. Editors and reporters spoke their minds in no uncertain terms on the conduct of the war as it affected the darker races, not only in this country, but all over the world. They were unsparing in their denunciations of the government for practices and conditions which they considered unjust and discriminatory. They headlined racial conflicts of all sorts, including race riots in and about army and navy posts, and even accused army authorities and the Federal Government of negligence and unfairness in racial conflicts, which had the effect of giving comfort to the country's enemies” (Murray, 1945, p. 211).

Still, they faced opposition. Government officials asked African American newspaper editors during World War I to galvanize African Americans around the cause of democracy. They did this by writing editorials that called for support “while reminding America's leaders that full democracy had not been achieved at home” (Wilson, 2006, p. 8). The expression of these ideas grew bolder with the approach of World War II (Wilson, 2006). By this time, the population had also grown to about 10 percent of the U.S. total (Wilson, 2006).

“These factors made military and federal agencies uneasy about African American loyalty during the war. The possibility that 10 percent of American citizens could be unsupportive at best and disruptive at works while the nation was waging the largest war in mankind's history was troubling to senior government officials, including J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI). In addition to the FBI, the Justice Department, the War Department, the US Post Office and the Office of Censorship were among the eight government agencies that monitored and investigated the black press during World War II” (Wilson, 2006, p. 10).

When about 50 African American leaders were summoned to Washington in 1942 and told government officials they would not change their work illuminating federal government's discriminatory practices and calling for change, rumors spread that Black newspapers might be shut down (Wilson, 2006). John H. Sengstacke, Abbott's nephew and the new publisher of the Chicago Defender, was president of the newly formed Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. He met with Attorney General Francis Biddle about the rumor (Wilson, 2006). "Ultimately, although President Franklin Roosevelt was pressured hard by the FBI's Hoover to bring sedition charges against the Black press, Biddle—a staunch advocate of civil liberties and press freedom—blocked the action" (Wilson, 2006, p. 11).

Even without outside pressure, African American newspapers struggled for existence.

Simmons (1998) points out the troubles for African American media from its inception:

"Editors had to be aware of the problems involved in publishing black newspapers: readership in the black community was limited because the economic base and the literacy rate was low, white readers who had high economic and literacy rates were not particularly interested in much of what blacks had written and the advertising bases was limited because black had little or no money to engage in businesses" (pp. 5-6).

While their advertising and subscription-based business model mirrored that of White newspapers, African American newspapers never received government and political party patronage like the White newspapers did. Revenue for early newspapers included patronage from leaders in the African American community; printing jobs that used their printing presses for publications other than the newspaper, subscriptions, and classifieds were limited (Wilson, 2006).

It was not uncommon for the founders of newspapers and magazines to have other employment. The first African American magazine, *Mirror of Liberty*, was created 1837 by David Ruggles, who owned a bookstore and lending library and also worked selling William

Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* (Wilson, 2006). William Whipper, owner of a wholesale lumber company and one of the wealthiest Black men of that time, created the *National Reformer*, the second African American magazine, in 1830 (Wilson, 2006). It lasted two years. Dr. Louis C. Roudanez, a wealthy physician, teamed up with other business and community leaders to found *L'Union*, the first African American newspaper published below the Mason-Dixon Line in 1862. It lasted two years. When it folded, Roudanez bought the equipment and created the *LaTribuna de La Nouvelle-Orleans*, which ran six days a week, the first African American daily newspaper, and lasted six years (Wilson, 2006). Ida B. Wells-Barnett worked as a teacher and freelancer for an African American newspaper before having enough money to buy half a stake in the *Memphis Free Speech and Headlight* (Wilson, 2006). Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee University in Alabama, owned several newspapers, including the *New York Age* (Wilson, 2006). Frederick Douglass used donations from English patrons to create the *North Star* in 1847 (Wilson, 2006). That paper and its successor, *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, published a combined 16 years, continuing into the Civil War (Wilson, 2006).

Newspapers were also supported by organizations. The Women's Era created the National Federation of Afro-American Women (Wilson, 2006). Louis Martinet, a physician and attorney, created the *Crusader* in New Orleans in 1891, and it became the newspaper of record for the *Comite des Citoyens* (Citizen's Committee) (Wilson, 2006). Martinet was a founding member with other prominent White and Black men in the community (Wilson, 2006). This organization orchestrated the action of Homer A. Plessy, where an African American refused to sit in a segregated train car. The court battle that ensued became the landmark *Plessy vs. Ferguson* case which led to the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing "separate but equal" (Wilson, 2006).

In Virginia, the Confederacy's home during the Civil War, more than 50 African American newspapers were created from the end of the Civil War to the turn of the century (Suggs, 1983b). The first appeared in 1866 (Wilson, 2006). However, little is known about the newspapers, some of which lasted months and others years, in the small rural towns in western and central Virginia (Suggs, 1983b). "Most [newspapers] were small, poorly financed, poorly printed and initiated to serve political factions and interest groups within the black community" (Suggs, 1983a, p. 15). The Charlottesville Messenger, formed in 1909 and published until 1928, is the first recorded African American newspaper in Charlottesville, Virginia. J. G. Shelton was the editor and business owner ("Charlottesville and the Negro," 1911).

Five years later, Thomas Jerome Sellers, a Charlottesville native, owned and edited The Reflector, calling it, "A Journal of Calendar and Comment and Charlottesville's only Negro Weekly, published to reflect the progress of our community and Race" (*Thomas J. Sellers*, n.d.). It ran from 1933 to 1935, espousing his "views on segregation and the failures of the American democracy that he earnestly admired" (Boyle, 2001, p. xiii). He left Charlottesville to attend college in 1936, and this could be why the paper, which he ran out of his home with his brother George N. Sellers, as advertising manager, closed (*The Charlottesville Reflector*, n.d.; *Thomas J. Sellers*, n.d.). After graduating from Virginia Union University in Richmond, T. J. Sellers worked as a school principal, a staff writer for the Norfolk Journal and Guide (a large and influential African American newspaper), and then as an insurance salesman (Boyle, 2001). In 1950, backed by The Tribune, a Roanoke-based African American newspaper, Sellers started the Tribune in Charlottesville (Boyle, 2001). In 1953, Sellers moved from Charlottesville again, this time to serve as managing editor of the Amsterdam News, a well-respected African American newspaper in New York City's Harlem (Boyle, 2001). Randolph Louis White, an Albemarle

County native, who had been working as a field representative, reporting and writing editorials, continued to provide Charlottesville-based content to the Roanoke Tribune (“Randolph L. White Making Good in Charlottesville,” 1953; White, 1952).

On Sept. 4, 1954, Randolph Louis White published the first edition of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune “to comment on the ills of society” (Cross-White, 1998; “Grateful for Support,” 1959). By November 1959, the editorial said the paper had subscribers “located in states from Massachusetts to California; Illinois to Louisiana and as far north as Montreal, Canada” (“Grateful for Support,” 1959, p. 2). In 1961, the weekly newspaper had a circulation of 3,066 (Lancaster, 1966). This was the only independently published circulation data available. White published his own circulation data in October 1969, a time that sits outside the scope of this study, but shows that he was still in business. At that time, an average 2,370 copies were sold over the counter or by street vendors and carriers, while 1,361 were mailed (“Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation,” 1969). He published the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune continuously until weeks before his death in October 1991 at the age of 95 (Cross-White, 1998).

While this chapter detailed the concept race and its influence on society and news media, specifically the creation of Black newspapers, the next chapter focuses on the impact on Black people. Chapter 4 delves into how the rules and regulations would impact Black people, including Randolph White, the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune owner and editor. It impacted every point of life — including where they could attend school, the types of jobs available and how society categorized Black people.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIETAL INFLUENCES ON AFRICAN AMERICANS IN VIRGINIA

The words of Frederick Douglass paint a clear picture of the outlook faced by African Americans in the 1880s.

“Few evils are less accessible to the force of reason, or more tenacious of life and power than a long-standing prejudice. It is a moral disorder, which creates the conditions necessary to its own existence, and fortifies itself by refusing all contradiction. ... Of all the races and varieties of men which have suffered from this feeling, the colored people of this country have endured most. They can resort to no disguises which will enable them to escape its deadly aim. They carry in front the evidence which marks them for persecution. ... They are negroes—and that is enough, in the eye of this unreasoning prejudice, to justify indignity and violence. In nearly every department of American life they are confronted by this insidious influence. It fills the air. It meets them at the workshop and factory, when they apply for work. It meets them at the church, at the hotel at the ballot-box, and worst of all, it meets them in the jury-box. ... He has ceased to be the slave of an individual, but has in some sense become the slave of society.”
(Douglass, 1881, pp. 567-568).

His sentiments would be echoed in 1968 by U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas in his concurring opinion in a case of racial discrimination.

“The true curse of slavery is not what it did to the black man, but what it has done to the white man. For the existence of the institution produced the notion that the white man was of superior character, intelligence, and morality. The blacks were little more than livestock -- to be fed and fattened for the economic benefits they could bestow through their labors, and to be subjected to authority, often with cruelty, to make clear who was master and who slave.

Some badges of slavery remain today. While the institution has been outlawed, it has remained in the minds and hearts of many white men. Cases which have come to this Court depict a spectacle of slavery unwilling to die”
(Douglas, 1968, p. 392).

Feagin described these “badges of slavery” tracking these concepts from 1640 to 1986. Those that still existed in the 1900s included:

- “violence or the threat of violence”

- “job segregation (subordinated labor)”
- “residential segregation”
- “school segregation”
- political disenfranchisement
- low “intermarriage rate”
- color coding
- “ideological rationalization for Black condition” (Feagin, 1986, p. 178).

Violence and political disenfranchisement were weaved into Chapter 3. School segregation serves as the overall framework for this study and is addressed in-depth in Chapter 5. This chapter focuses on economic disparities and societal shunning in the African American community, which is based on ideological rationalization. The chapter illustrates how the vestiges of a defunct system continued to impact generations of Black people in Virginia and particularly in Charlottesville. These “badges of slavery” would influence the social system in which both *The Daily Progress* and the *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune* were published.

The Early Years

The chapter timeframe is based on Randolph Louis White’s life. The newspaper owner would be shaped by the cultural norms, ideology, political policies, and economic framework of his day. White was born five months after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled separate but equal treatment of Black was constitutional in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (Duignan, n.d.). He says he was born in Bridgewater, Rockingham County, on Oct. 2, 1896 (Maurer, 2012b). His birth would be registered in Mount Fair, Albemarle County, and he wrote this on his World War I and World War II draft registration cards and published it in *The Tribune* (“Randolph L. White Making Good in Charlottesville,” 1953). This discrepancy of birthplace was not uncommon. During his

research in Farmville, renowned sociologist and activist W.E.B DuBois decided not to use county records to track births of African American children. “The records of births as kept by the county are far from complete and therefore not to be relied upon” (Du Bois, 1898, p.11).

White’s father, John Flournoy White, was half Cherokee and half African American (Maurer, 2012b). White’s paternal grandmother was a full-blood Cherokee from West Virginia (Maurer, 2012b). His paternal grandfather had been enslaved in the northwest section of Albemarle County called Brown’s Cove (Maurer, 2012b). Brown’s Cove was named for the Welsh immigrant family that created a plantation in the area and became prominent during the Revolutionary War (Richardson & Widdicombe, 1941). White says his paternal grandfather “was freed before the end of the [Civil] war, along with my first cousin” (Maurer, 2012, n.p.).

White spent his childhood on his maternal grandfather’s farm (Maurer, 2012b). Aaron Lewis, his maternal grandfather, owned a roughly 45-acre farm outright (U.S. Census Bureau, 1900; Virginia Circuit Court (Albemarle County), 1901-1919). Randolph Louis White, his father, John Flournoy White, who was a farm hand, his mother, Sarah Ann, and his younger sister, Mertie, lived with his mother’s parents and his grandfather’s widowed niece in the White Hall District of Albemarle County (U.S. Census Bureau, 1900). White Hall is about seven miles from Brown’s Cove. It is named for a family who owned a house in the area (Richardson & Widdicombe, 1941). Sarah Ann Lewis White could read and write (U.S. Census Bureau, 1900). Randolph Louis White’s father, John, could not (U.S. Census Bureau, 1900). Ten years later, John Flournoy White reported being fully literate, able to read and write, and by this point he and his wife owned a farm (U.S. Census Bureau, 1910b). Randolph could read and write too. His younger brother Sherman, 12, could read but not write. Neither Randolph nor any of his school-age siblings six and older had attended school in the previous school year (U.S. Census Bureau,

1910b). It is not possible to determine whether a school existed close enough to White's home for him and his siblings to attend school daily if their parents allowed it. The Albemarle Training School, built in the 1890s, offered an elementary school education, as well as additional vocational training in agriculture, "domestic science and industrial training" classes advocated by Booker T. Washington (*Albemarle Training School*, n.d.-a; *Albemarle Training School*, n.d.-b). However, it was located about 14 miles from White's home. Other schools can be tracked to Charlottesville city proper and Esmont in the southwestern corner of Albemarle County, but both were further away from his home.

Even though only partial education was available to African Americans, White and his family were part of a growing trend. As DuBois studied African Americans in Farmville, he noticed: "If we divide the population into four classes — those reared in slavery, those reared in time of war and reconstruction, those reared since 1867 and present youth — we can trace the advancing steps by the decreasing amount of illiteracy" (Du Bois, 1898, p. 14). DuBois' study is groundbreaking because it is one of the first studies of African Americans by an African American. The difference in how people were portrayed is astounding based on perception and personal background. Also, the information the researcher was able to obtain is vastly different.

White left home in May 1911, at age 14, to attend school in Columbus, Ohio, and live with his mother's cousin (Maurer, 2012b). His grandfather died in 1912 and his father died before the 1920 Census was taken (U.S. Census Bureau, 1910a; Virginia Circuit Court (Albemarle County), 1901). White's departure from Virginia in 1911 would mirror the journey of many others whose parents could afford to send their children away for high school. Twenty years passed before White moved back to Virginia.

White finished high school and pursued training as a machinist (Maurer, 2012b). By 1918, he was working in Perryville, Maryland, for Fred T. Ley & Co., the construction firm that built the Chrysler building in New York City (“Frederick T. Ley, Builder, 86, Dead,” 1958; *World War I Draft Registration Card*, 1918). White joined the Army in 1920, serving with the Ninth Cavalry Regiment and 25th U.S. Infantry, also known as the Buffalo Soldiers, a segregated unit of the U.S. Army originally established in 1866 for African Americans (Hutcheson, 1896; Maurer, 2012b; *The Proud Legacy of the Buffalo Soldiers*, 2014; White, 1958). His orders sent him to Arizona-Mexico border towns and overseas to the Philippines, where he worked as a clerk for a judge advocate (Maurer, 2012b; White, 1958). White was discharged in 1928 (Maurer, 2012b). He married his first wife, Grace Whiting, in September 1928 in Columbus, Ohio, and returned to work as a machinist (Maurer, 2012b). His marriage license says he was working as a porter, but he also worked as a “hotel bellman, shipping clerk, machinist helper” among other things (“Randolph L. White Making Good in Charlottesville,” 1953). His life and the economic opportunities available to him to this point were typical of the work available to Black people.

The Economic Situation for African Americans in Virginia

By the time Randolph Louis White was born in 1896, Virginia’s economy was shifting. It had been built on an agricultural industry supported by slave labor. Wealthy farmers bought more and more land as slaves provided labor for ever-increasing production of staple crops like “wheat, tobacco and hemp” (Richardson & Widdicombe, 1941, p. 18). They also expanded into “rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, millet, peas, grapes, turnips, potatoes, cotton and flax” (Richardson & Widdicombe, 1941, p. 18).

By the late 1890s, agriculture remained a mainstay of the economy. However, tobacco declined as a staple crop after slavery ended, in part due to lack of labor and more importantly

because the soil couldn't support it. The land grab during Thomas Jefferson's day and failure to rotate crops caused soil erosion and the draining of nutrients from the ground (Richardson & Widdicombe, 1941). Some believe this inability to grow tobacco may have been a blessing for African Americans in Virginia.

“Outside of Southside Virginia, the lack of a staple crop, such as tobacco or cotton, meant sharecropping was less practical and that fewer Blacks and Whites were trapped in the intergenerational cycle of poverty often the result of sharecropping. Instead, farmers in the mid-Atlantic usually diversified into truck or dairy farming which also better supported them during economic downturns” (Lombard, 2016, n.p.).

Employment Options for African Americans in Virginia

Few sociological studies were conducted on African Americans in the late 1800s, especially by African Americans. The nation was still reeling from the impact of the Civil War. In the South, work was underway to keep African Americans in positions equivalent to their previously enslaved state. Recorded information about the day-to-day life of African Americans in Virginia is limited. However, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, founder of the NAACP and the first African American to earn a doctoral degree from Harvard, pioneered sociological and anthropological research on the African American community and chose Farmville as one of his research locations. His study of African Americans in Farmville, the same town that would later be a key part of the Brown vs. Board of Education case, shed light on the African American experience just before the turn of the 20th Century.

Du Bois lived with the residents of Farmville, becoming a participant-observer for two months as he interviewed people but also attended church, patronized their businesses, and participated in social activities. Therefore, he had no problem “getting the Negroes to answer these questions, so far as they could” (Du Bois, 1898, p. 7). One of the issues DuBois faced in his work recording the lives of African Americans illustrates the level of disregard held for

African American people. For African American people over 35, one of the hardest questions to answer was how old they were (Du Bois, 1898). For people who had suffered years of oppression “in so many cases the age is unknown” (Du Bois, 1898, p. 7). “They do not know their ages, and have no written record. In such cases the investigator generally endeavored, by careful questioning, to fix some date, like that of Lee’s surrender, and find a coinciding event like marriage or the “half-task” child-labor period of life, to correspond” (Du Bois, 1898, p. 9).

He pitched the project to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Commissioner to see African American life “in some typical village of the South” (Lange, 1983, p. 141). He understood that the African American was colored by the racial tensions of the day. DuBois would write in 1904:

“There is no question before the scientific world in regard to which there is more guess work and wild theorizing than in regard to causes and characteristics of the diverse human species. ... And yet because the subject of amalgamation with black races is a sore point with us, we have hitherto utterly neglected and thrown away every opportunity to study and know this vast mulatto population and have deliberately and doggedly based our statements and conclusions concerning this class upon pure fiction or unvarnished lies” (Lange, 1983, p. 144).

His work in Farmville, Philadelphia, Atlanta, and other places telling the stories of African Americans would be key in understanding what was happening in the Black community without the lens of racial bias. Du Bois spent two months focusing on the Farmville city limits to study “the economic condition of the American Negro” in July and August of 1897 (Du Bois, 1898, p. 1). At this time, Farmville and Prince Edward County were popular stops for African Americans because “seven-eighths of the tobacco crop of Virginia” was produced there (Du Bois, 1898, p. 1). Using his work, along with that of a few others, allows me to paint a picture of the African American community in Virginia.

The tobacco industry, specifically the processing factories, were the largest employers of men and boys in Farmville (Du Bois, 1898). It was the fifth-highest employer of women and

girls. The jobs were grueling. Women, young men, and children worked in the tobacco processing factories. The adults deftly removed stems from each tobacco leaf and then the children tied the leaves together in bundles. For this task, they were paid 50 cents per 100 pounds of stemmed tobacco leaves (Du Bois, 1898). With a child's help, a person could complete 100 to 300 pounds per day. A pound of thick, big leaves could be 15 to 25 leaves. A pound of small, thin leaves could be more than 100 leaves (*Frequently Asked Questions About Tobacco Leaves*, n.d.). This meant people would make \$2.50 to \$9 per week during the five- to seven-month tobacco season (Du Bois, 1898).

It was this kind of factory work that drew people to Farmville. However, those who grew up in Farmville were looking for better opportunities. By 1890, the population of Farmville was falling as young people native to the area left for "Richmond, Norfolk, Baltimore, and New York. In this manner, Farmville acts as a sort of clearinghouse taking the raw country lad from the farm to train in industrial life and sending north and east more or less well-equipped recruits for metropolitan life" (Du Bois, 1898, p. 5).

DuBois understood that dividing the employment of the people of Farmville into the "popular classification of pursuits" — professional, domestic, commercial, agricultural, industrial, unemployed, and not reported — wouldn't give a full picture of the economic conditions in Farmville. Instead, he used the following categories: "working on own account," "laboring class," "house service," "day service," "at home, unoccupied and dependent," "professional and clerical" and not reported (Du Bois, 1898, p. 15). While some of the distinctions were subtle, they showed the nuances in the jobs available to African Americans in Farmville. "The opportunities for employment in Farmville explain much as to the present condition of its Negro citizens, as, for example, the migration from country to town and from

town to city, the postponement of marriage, the ownership of property and the general relations between whites and blacks” (Du Bois, 1898, p. 15).

African Americans held more than factory jobs in Farmville. They were ministers, teachers, business owners, domestics and more, running the gamut of economic classes. One man owned a brickmaking business that allowed him to hire 15 people. He paid them \$12 a month, with more for additional work. He mostly hired boys between the ages of 16 and 20. His company made about 200,000 to 300,000 bricks in the five to six months that it operated in a year. The brick business owner bought his freedom and his family’s freedom. He also bought his former master’s estate, and the master came and worked for him. This man, whom DuBois did not name, owned 1,000 acres in Cumberland County, Virginia, and “considerable Farmville property” (Du Bois, 1898, p. 17). What is more interesting and something that whites would make harder to do is “he has repeatedly driven white competitors out of business” (Du Bois, 1898, p. 17). Still, even he was not the wealthiest African American in Farmville. That distinction was held by a barber, worth almost \$10,000 (Du Bois, 1898).

While not the wealthiest in town, the most respected African Americans were the ministers, followed by the schoolteachers. “The position of preacher is the most influential of all positions among the Negroes, and brings the largest degree of personal respect and social prestige” (Du Bois, 1898, p. 16). One preacher in Farmville made \$480 a year plus the cost of his housing. The other made \$600 a year. Teachers made between \$100 and \$250 during the school year and could earn more with private tutoring or other jobs outside the academic year (Du Bois, 1898).

Quite a few African Americans were also business owners in Farmville. “The individual undertaker of business enterprise is a new figure among Negroes and his rise deserves to be

carefully watched, as it means much for the future of the race” (Du Bois, 1898, p. 17). This will be important to the growth of the Black middle class. They owned grocery stores, restaurants, furniture and clock repairing businesses, blacksmith shops and hotels (Du Bois, 1898). They were also contractors, painters, builders, butchers, carpenters, brick masons, bakers and farmers (Du Bois, 1898). The barbershops in Farmville were all run by African Americans, but of the five, three of them served only a White clientele (Du Bois, 1898).

In Farmville and the surrounding Prince Edward County, many African Americans owned farms. The county was made of small farms, less than 50 acres, run by their owners, growing “corn, wheat, oats and potatoes” and creating “dairy products and poultry” (Du Bois, 1898, p. 3). In 1895, African Americans owned 8 percent of the county’s, 17,555 acres (Du Bois, 1898).

The term laborers, as categorized by the government, didn’t always properly describe the position. “Very often the colored porters in white business establishments do considerable clerical work; they are, however, paid as porters” (Du Bois, 1898, p. 20). They were considered common laborers. They earned \$8 to \$10 a month plus living arrangements. Teamsters were also considered common laborers, making 75 cents to \$1 a day (Du Bois, 1898). Otherwise, this group included people trying to make a dime however they could in a variety of positions, whatever was available — farms, tobacco factories, private homes, driving cows, working in gardens (most people in Farmville had them) and anything else they could find (Du Bois, 1898).

Both men and women worked as domestics making about \$1 to \$5 a month, depending on their duties. They could also have “good board, fair lodging, much cast-off clothing, and not a little training in matters of household economy and taste” (Du Bois, 1898). Single and married women with children also took on domestic jobs, however they were not live-in positions. They

might clean during the day or do laundry for children attending private schools or White families. The work ranged from 30 to 50 cents a day for doing servants' work to \$1.25 a month for washing clothes for girls at the White normal school. The pay wasn't consistent, so it was meant to supplement main incomes or help the family survive when factories closed for the season. "The great demand is for steady employment which is not menial, at fair wages" (Du Bois, 1898, p. 22). People wanted opportunities outside of domestic work or serving in a restaurant.

"The Negroes are coming to regard the work as a relic of slavery and as degrading, and only enter it from sheer necessity and then as a temporary makeshift. Parents hate to expose their sons to the early lessons of servility, which are thus learned and their daughters to the ever-possible fate of concubinage" (Du Bois, 1898, p. 21).

What DuBois observed in Farmville gives a window into the job situation for African Americans in Virginia. While similar sociological research is not available for Albemarle County at the turn of the 20th Century, oral histories provide a view of the circumstances African Americans faced at this time. The nuanced job categories described by Du Bois also existed in Charlottesville in the late 1800s. There was a Black doctor and Black business owners, including grocer George P. Inge, who also taught school (Mangione, 1990). Inge opened the store in 1891 (Mangione, 1990). His son, Thomas Ferguson Inge, Sr., would continue to run the grocery store from 1946 to 1978 (Mangione, 1990).

The notion that things were not equal for Whites and non-Whites in Virginia was an open way of life. The superintendent of Virginia schools proposed focusing on manual training for African Americans and in a Jan. 15, 1900, editorial, the Daily Progress agreed wholeheartedly with the plan saying:

“What is true in Virginia is likewise true of every other Southern State. Even were the negro as capable as the white man of receiving wholly literary and intellectual training, under existing conditions he would find it impossible to make as good use of such an education as the white man does, because an equal number of channels are not opened to him. It, therefore, profits him more to secure manual training along with his intellectual course for the reason that he can turn it to practical account more quickly and with larger remuneration” (“Manual Training,” 1900, p. 2).

The newspaper editorial is stating what African Americans knew and Whites continued to reiterate: There was a tiered system, and opportunities were not equal. Even so, the African Americans in Charlottesville and nationwide continued to seek the best opportunities they could.

Rebecca McGinness, who began teaching in 1915 at the Jefferson School, a school for African American children, said the University of Virginia was a key source of income for many African Americans in the community (Mangione, 1990). “A lot of the black women worked as domestics for the white people near the University who kept boarding houses for the students. ... Black men once rose early and made fires for the students in the mornings” (Mangione, 1990, n.p.). McGinness remembered her grandmother, a former slave, taking in student laundry as well as working as a seamstress (Mangione, 1990). McGinness’ father worked as a butler (Mangione, 1990). Her husband owned a tailor shop after returning from World War I that provided cleaning and pressing services (Mangione, 1990).

Charlottesville and the surrounding county slowly adopted industry as part of its economy. Thomas Jefferson championed agriculture instead of industry in his day. By the mid to late 1920s, with tobacco no longer a major source of revenue, fruit — apples, peaches, strawberries, sweet potatoes and yams and grapes — were the cash crops (Irwin, 1929).

African Americans “have little part in the fruit industry except as workers for the large landowners, and their most frequent type of employment here seems to be as pickers in the fall. They live, typically, on a small patch of land in a ‘hollow’ or on a hillside. They do not depend on their own farms for their livelihood, but

work on their own land after the day's work for their employers is done. Thus they do not share largely in the general prosperity as a direct result of their own efforts" (Irwin, 1929, pp. 9-10).

Industry began to grow after Jefferson's death, and by 1922 more than 1,200 people were employed in factories such as "silk mills, woolen mills, lumber companies, quarries, flour mills and two publishing companies" among others (Irwin, 1929, p. 9). However, well-paying industry jobs were not available to many African Americans. The city of Charlottesville also offered employment opportunities. Raymond Bell remembered African Americans finding jobs collecting trash, repairing streets, excavating, and emptying outhouses before there were indoor toilets (Saunders & Shackelford, 1998). Bell, an undertaker, followed in his father's footsteps. His father created the J.F. Bell Funeral Home in 1917 (Saunders & Shackelford, 1998).

Laura Franklin had hoped she would escape the work her mother and aunt did when she left for the Hampton Institute to attend high school in the 1920s (Saunders & Shackelford, 1998). Eighth grade was the highest education available for African American children in Charlottesville until 1926. However, she couldn't afford to remain in school and began living with her aunt, taking in students' laundry, and doing household work for a woman from time to time (Saunders & Shackelford, 1998). While menial, the jobs in Charlottesville were preferable to what could be found in the surrounding county. Drusilla Hutchinson came to Charlottesville as a young adult from "the country" in the mid 1930s (Saunders & Shackelford, 1998, p. 9). She babysat, did housework, and substituted as a cook before finding a permanent position as a cook (Saunders & Shackelford, 1998).

The Impact of Employment Seeking on the African American Population

The greatest statement about the plight of African Americans in Charlottesville, Albemarle County, and the whole of Virginia may come from their overall decline in population.

The number of African Americans in Charlottesville changed little from 1890 to 1920 (Knight, 1927). However, the percentage of African Americans fell from 45.2 percent in 1890 to 27.6 percent by 1920 (Knight, 1927). This reflected the African American population throughout Virginia. In 1920, the number of African Americans dropped and continued to fall drastically through 1930 (Claibourn, 2012).

A study of African American settlements around Albemarle County found:

“There are many empty houses and lonely chimneys among these villages. These are not the houses left by their original owners. The original owners of the Negro farms and settlements did not migrate from Albemarle County as much as from some others. But the old people have died and the young ones have gone to cities or have gone north. The old homes have been allowed to fall to pieces. It is too far to come back to see about them and they would not sell for much so they are neglected” (Irwin, 1929, p. 17).

The proportion of African Americans in Virginia continued to drop through 1970, reaching below 20 percent (Claibourn, 2012). This phenomenon would happen across the South. Interestingly, Virginia was a place African Americans came to and left.

“From the time immediately after slavery until the 1970s, there were several basic types of black migration. Many blacks in the Deep South ventured northward, not necessarily to faraway places like New York, Detroit or Chicago, but just anywhere more ‘northern’ than their homes in Alabama, Mississippi, or Georgia. In those instances, being able to get to Maryland, Virginia or Tennessee was deemed satisfactory enough” (Saunders & Shackelford, 1998, p. 9).

Even with Blacks coming to Virginia from deeper South, the numbers continued to drop. Du Bois noticed a trend in Farmville. If domestic work was all a person could find, many would seek it in other places like New York, where they could make \$12 a month vs. \$4 in Farmville (Du Bois, 1898). However, moving didn’t always mean better opportunities.

“Because of white prejudice and discrimination the overwhelming majority of free Negroes were unskilled laborers. Black entrepreneurs found it difficult to obtain capital, since lending institutions considered them poor risks. White

businessmen were reluctant to employ Negroes in skilled or white collar work. Where employers were willing to hire a black, white laborers often refused to work with him. The black skilled artisan faced greater obstacles in the North than in the South” (Meier & Rudwick, 1976, p. 114-115).

The authors were talking about the situation for African Americans in the 1820s. However, as is described in the Chapter 5 on Massive Resistance, sentiments about African Americans being allowed skilled labor and management jobs held true more than a century later. It would remain an undercurrent in the battle to keep African Americans in a place of inferiority.

As African Americans migrated around the country, their movements were closely studied. By the late 1920s three migrations had already been identified:

“the first to Texas and the North in 1870-80, the second to Arkansas and the North in 1888-9, and the third chiefly to the North and Middle West in 1916-17. Migration is still in process. These three migrations are so close together and so continuous that they are usually considered one, and are so treated by most writers” (Irwin, 1929, p. 24).

More economic opportunities in the North and the creation of more devastating Jim Crow laws coincide with the mass exodus from Virginia (Claibourn, 2012; J. D. Smith, 2002). In 1916, a year before the U.S. entrance into World War I, “massive labor shortages in northern factories spurred the decision of hundreds of thousands of black southerners to migrate north” (Smith, 2002, p. 42). By this time, immigrants who would normally fill those roles were no longer pouring into the U.S., so African Americans previously overlooked were allowed to fill those positions they had been overlooked for before (Feagin, 1986). Some Black newspaper owners lauded the migration for jobs and while others warned against Virginians leaving for northern cities (J. D. Smith, 2002). “P. B. Young, the editor of the more conservative Norfolk Journal and Guide, urged blacks to remain in the South and warned that they would not be welcomed in the North once the war ended and the flood of European immigration resumed” (Smith, 2002, p. 42).

He wasn't wrong. In the North, "black workers were regularly displaced by the new white immigrant groups, who forced blacks out of job after job (for example construction) and into marginal, low-paying pursuits" (Feagin, 1986, p. 182). A vicious cycle would emerge throughout the 1900s from World War I to the Vietnam War of African Americans being banned from jobs, recruited for employment, and then ousted from those same jobs based on the availability of White workers.

"Most black mobility out of the semislavery employment categories has taken place during periods, including World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and Vietnam War. During the wars employment conditions of black Americans significantly improved. During World War I white immigration subsided, and black workers were needed to produce war goods. During World War II the demand for workers pulled many blacks into better paying blue-collar jobs for the first time. During the Korean War, and because of domestic prosperity in the early 1950s, black unemployment dropped to low levels; employment in better-paying occupations again expanded. Yet after all three wars the black employment situation declined significantly. Thus white workers from rural areas poured into cities after World War II and in 1945-1946 black unemployment rate went up twice as fast as the white rate. Most jobs opened to them were again in the unskilled and semiskilled categories in line with their traditional semislave position. ... Again, during the Vietnam War there was significant black mobility in to better-paying jobs with an assistance this time not only from war and prosperity but also from a major civil rights movement" (Feagin, 1986, p. 185).

After World War I, the number of African Americans continued to drop in Virginia. This drop coincides with an increase of legislation oppressing African American citizens in the state (Claibourn, 2012). The 1924 Racial Integrity Act allowed authorities to dig through a person's ancestral history to ensure the purity of a person's heritage. It would be used as a weapon to stop marriages, remove children from schools, preclude someone from testifying in court, wipe out Native American tribal distinctions and legitimize spying on residents' lives to keep the races separate. More residential segregation laws began to appear in the 1920s building on the state's

order for “segregation districts.” In 1926, it became illegal for the races to mix in public whether at a movie theater, public hall, or other place where people might gather together.

These new rules continued a degradation of African American people that had an economic impact. This was compounded by the arrival of the Great Depression in 1929 that would ravage the country along with drought and other devastation through 1939. “Unemployed whites pushed for menial ‘Negro jobs,’ such as cleaners and domestic workers” (Feagin, 1986). The New Deal, which was created to help, may not have provided the help it intended.

“However, while the federal government’s emergency work programs significantly reduced the high rate of unemployment within the Negro community, they also appear to have depressed the Negro job structure by engaging many workers in job categories below those which they had filled in the private sector of the economy before the Depression began” (Wye, 1972, p. 634).

In Virginia, the diversified agricultural economy held up better in the Depression. The many smaller farms, lack of large manufacturers and “federal money in the Washington and Norfolk areas” didn’t cause an immediate economic crash as was suffered in other parts of the nation (Heinemann, 2012, n.p.). Still, by 1931, unemployment was rising sharply “farm prices plummeted, [and] the state government cut spending to maintain a balanced budget” (Heinemann, 2012, n.p.). “If any segment of the Virginia population suffered the full effects of the Great Depression, it was black Virginians. Blacks generally were the ‘last hired and first fired,’ their wages were at the bottom of the wage scale, and they faced continued discrimination in finding jobs and relief” (Heinemann, 2012, n.p.).

Studying data on unemployment during the Depression, Sundstrom proposed two reasons why men and women in the African American urban community suffered, whether living in the North or South.

“During the Great Depression, as today, unemployment rates were higher for blacks than for whites. This gap was substantial even in 1931, before government policies might have discouraged low-skilled workers from taking low-paying jobs in the private sector. For men, much of the racial unemployment gap was due to the greater concentration of blacks in occupations with higher unemployment rates. For women, the large unemployment gap was entirely due to within-occupation differences in unemployment rates. The decomposition suggests that labor market discrimination may have played an especially large role in the higher unemployment rates of black women, although the results are not conclusive” (Sundstrom, 1992, p. 427).

Years of defining where an African American could work and the types of work, he or she could do would culminate in making the process of finding and keeping work that much harder. This is the world where Randolph Louis White found himself in 1931, when he and his wife first wife, Grace, moved to Charlottesville. He began working at UVA hospital as a janitor and then was promoted to head orderly, in charge of “orderlies, ward maids and janitors,” all positions reserved for Black employees (Cavanaugh, 2021, n.p.; Maurer, 2012).

His son, Sherman White, shared the reason why he held the position: “When my dad came back to Charlottesville, the only job he could find was as a janitor, even though he had been a sergeant in the Army. My mother was a registered nurse, and the only job she could find was as a waitress” (Maurer, 2012, n.p.).

White became an integral part of the fight for better job opportunities for Black people in Charlottesville. He helped form the Local 550 union of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America for “hospital attendants, orderlies, maids and janitors” and would affiliate with the Congress of Industrial Organization (*AFL-CIO*, n.d.; Cavanaugh, 2021, n.p). By 1945, 80 percent of the University of Virginia Hospital’s Black workers belonged to the union. In 1946, state legislators outlawed “state officers and agencies from recognizing public employee unions” but the members and leaders of the Local 550 union continued to work together to gain better wages and working conditions (Cavanaugh, 2021, n.p.). In 1951, the hospital employed its first Black

nurses and continued to grow its Black nursing staff, which included White's wife Grace (Sellers, 1952). It also created a nurses' training program, partnering with newly finished Jackson P. Burley High School, to allow Black students to learn nursing (Cavanaugh, 2021). The first graduates entered the job market in 1953 (White, 1953).

The changes also impacted White personally. He was chosen in 1949 to train as an inhalation therapist and went to study at hospitals in Washington, D.C. and Boston (Maurer, 2012b; "R. L. White Elected to Membership in AAIT," 1960). When he returned in 1950 to the University hospital, he trained staff to become oxygen therapy technicians.

The hospital, which increased its pay, improved working conditions, and offered upward mobility for African Americans, became one of the community's largest employers (Cavanaugh, 2021). This upward mobility may have been key in growing the Black middle class, which would play a central role in the fight to integrate schools.

The goal of this chapter was to paint a picture of how racial definitions and societal enforcement of those definitions impacted Black people in Virginia. It is too big an issue to encompass in one chapter. The point here is to show how people were impacted economically and some of the choices Black people had to make. The economic standing of Black families would play a large role in their push for better educational opportunities in their communities. Chapter 5 outlines that push for better schools and the inequities faced. To shed light on those inequities the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would first help communities sue for better schools. Then it made a decision that led to the Brown vs. Board of Education lawsuit before the U.S. Supreme Court. The court's subsequent ruling and the multifaceted response of politicians, newspaper owners, and citizens would trigger what became known as Massive Resistance.

CHAPTER 5

MASSIVE RESISTANCE: ONE FIGHT FOR STATUS QUOTE, ONE GIANT LEAP FOR CHANGE

Division of the races was firmly settled by the 1950s. Public education had been segregated by law since its creation in Virginia. However, simple separation of the races was not the only goal. Education was used to teach children their place in society. This lesson was ingrained in the structure of the school system.

The practice of providing as little as possible for African American children was formalized in the 1902 state constitution (Hughes, 1986, p. 63). As long as local government officials (usually county officials) provided four months of primary school for all students, they could decide how the money was allocated (Hughes, 1986). The disparities would be well documented in multiple court cases, going beyond teacher training and salaries to material things like equipment, books, and buildings.

“... the most significant effect of this difference was psychological; blacks were made to feel inferior and to believe that their chances in life were greatly limited. In the eyes of the dominant whites, the main purpose of black education was to prepare young blacks for low level occupations known as ‘Negro work.’ The black high schools were called training schools to emphasize the fact that blacks were being readied in such schools for their ‘place’” (Hershman Jr., 1978, p. 15).

This chapter focuses on the fight that would ultimately challenge societal norms and begin to desegregate schools in the United States. The NAACP would wage war in the courtrooms and Black-owned newspapers would spread an alternate perspective of the worldview deeply embraced across the country. White politicians, business owners (including newspaper owners), educators and housewives fought to keep the status quo. That fight, termed Massive Resistance, would be a multifaceted campaign that exposed the deeply rooted the problems inequality,

racism and classism. It is representative of the intersection of social, economic, and cultural influences in the United States. The journalism created during this time would heavily influence, and be heavily influenced by, the legislation, political maneuvering and other actions taken to protect segregation.

A Separated Landscape

African Americans understood that education was key to the development of their position in the United States. Slavery had kept most of the African American population illiterate. Children whose parents were enslaved or who were children during the Civil War were now no longer threatened by law if caught learning to read and write. Yet, the public school system in Virginia was not conducive to a full education. Many Black children were required to leave the state if they wanted a high school education since most counties did not have high schools for Black children.

In Albemarle County, for example, where Charlottesville is the county seat, if a child wanted to study past elementary school, he or she had one choice — Albemarle Training School. The additional two years of schooling included courses in vocational agriculture, domestic science, and industrial education (*Albemarle Training School*, n.d.-a). The coursework was heavily influenced by Booker T. Washington, head of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. However, it fell short of his intent to help people, especially those in rural settings to have skills as well as intellectual knowledge.

“For two hundred and fifty years, I believe the way for the redemption of the Negro was being prepared through industrial development. Through all those years the Southern white man did business with the Negro in a way that no one else has done business with him. In most cases if a Southern white man wanted a house built, he consulted a Negro mechanic about the plan and about the actual building of the structure. If he wanted a suit of clothes made, he went to a Negro tailor, and for shoes he went to a shoemaker of the same race. In a certain way every slave plantation in the South was an industrial school. On these plantations

young colored men and women were constantly being trained not only as farmers but as carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, brick masons, engineers, cooks, laundresses, sewing women and housekeepers. I do not mean in any way to apologize for the curse of slavery, which was a curse to both races, but in what I say about industrial training in slavery I am simply stating facts. This training was crude, and was given for selfish purposes. It did not answer the highest ends, because there was an absence of mental training in connection with the training of the hand. To a large degree, though, this business contact with the Southern white man, and the industrial training on the plantations, left the Negro at the close of the war in possession of nearly all the common and skilled labor in the South” (Washington, 1903, n.p).

However, these skills began to diminish as the institution of slavery under which these skills were taught was abolished. This will be exemplified later in the chapter when the disparities between White and Black workers at a textile mill in Warren County is explored. Washington realized this and was appalled.

“In what I say here I would not by any means have it understood that I would limit or circumscribe the mental development of the Negro student. No race can be lifted until its mind is awakened and strengthened. By the side of industrial training should always go mental and moral training, but the pushing of mere abstract knowledge into the head means little. We want more than the mere performance of mental gymnastics. Our knowledge must be harnessed to the things of real life. I would encourage the Negro to secure all the mental strength, all the mental culture—whether gleaned from science, mathematics, history, language or literature that his circumstances will allow, but I believe most earnestly that for years to come the education of the people of my race should be so directed that the greatest proportion of the mental strength of the masses will be brought to bear upon the every-day practical things of life, upon something that is needed to be done, and something which they will be permitted to do in the community in which they reside. And just the same with the professional class which the race needs and must have, I would say give the men and women of that class, too, the training which will best fit them to perform in the most successful manner the service which the race demands” (Washington, 1903, n.p).

The Albemarle Training School, built in the 1890s, remained the only higher education available to African Americans in the county until the first high school was built in 1924 in Charlottesville (*Albemarle Training School*, n.d.-a). Sometime after 1931 when Mary Car Greer became principal of the county school, a four-year high school curriculum was created

(*Albemarle Training School*, n.d.-a). Still, schools like Jefferson High School in Charlottesville and the Albemarle Training School were rare. By 1939, only 12 Black high schools existed in all of rural Virginia (*Albemarle Training School*, n.d.-a; Heinemann, 2014; Jackson & Vosmik, 1998).

The lack of quality elementary schools and availability of high schools led African Americans to begin a “fight for better elementary and secondary schools for their children” in the federal court systems in the late 1930s (Wilkerson, 1960, p. 17). By the late 1940s, case after case documented the unequal “physical facilities and curricula ... bus transportation, buildings and equipment, and programs of study” for African American students and pay for African American teachers (Wilkerson, 1960, p. 20). Wilkerson documented 10 cases in Virginia, although he acknowledges that there were many more, where courts ruled in favor of the African American plight (Wilkerson, 1960). In those counties, improvements were evident. That was not true across the state.

Farmville proved to be a classic example of the inequality between the school experience offered to African Americans and that to Whites. In the late 1920s, Black professionals began lobbying Prince Edward County officials, where Farmville is the county seat, to create a high school for African American children (Jackson & Vosmik, 1998). The board agreed instead to add one year of high school instruction at the Black elementary school in 1930 (Jackson & Vosmik, 1998). The funding for the additional year of school initially came from Black professionals (Jackson & Vosmik, 1998). A high school was finally built in 1939, not in response to the Black community, but because of the growing number of federal cases documenting deplorable conditions for African American children (Jackson & Vosmik, 1998).

Robert Russa Moton High School was a U-shaped building with eight classrooms, an office, and an auditorium space without fixed seating (Jackson & Vosmik, 1998). From its inception, it was too small for the Farmville and Prince Edward County African American community. As the only African American high school in the county and surrounding area, the number of students exceeded its 180-person capacity in the first year (*Defendants' Exhibits Filed in Dorothy E. Davis, et al. versus County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, Civil Action No. 1333*, 1952; Jackson & Vosmik, 1998). In 1939, 185 students attended the school taught by 6 teachers (*Defendants' Exhibits Filed in Dorothy E. Davis, et al. versus County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, Civil Action No. 1333*, 1952). In its second year, the number of students enrolled grew to 219 (Jackson & Vosmik, 1998). By 1950, 447 students were enrolled, and the staff had grown to 23 teachers (*Defendants' Exhibits Filed in Dorothy E. Davis, et al. versus County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, Civil Action No. 1333*, 1952). To accommodate the overflow, students met “in an old school bus and three buildings covered in tar paper” (*Davis v. County School Board - Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site*, 2015, n.p.). The school “had no gymnasium, cafeteria, infirmary or teachers restrooms” (*Davis v. County School Board - Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site*, 2015, n.p.).

The students knew the conditions were bad and, after months of discussion, on Monday, April 23, 1951, Barbara Rose Johns, a 16-year-old student, staged a protest with most of the student body in the Moton High School auditorium. They wanted a new school. The next day few of the 463 students enrolled at the school returned; most who did were part of a committee to air the student body's grievances (*Defendants' Exhibits Filed in Dorothy E. Davis, et al. versus County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, Civil Action No. 1333*, 1952). A

Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meeting was held on Thursday in hopes that parents would force their students to return to the classroom. Students faced graduation being rescinded and not being promoted to the next grade if they did not return (*Defendants' Exhibits Filed in Dorothy E. Davis, et al. versus County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, Civil Action No. 1333, 1952*). Parents, however, backed their children during a PTA meeting described as “mass hysteria” (*Defendants' Exhibits Filed in Dorothy E. Davis, et al. versus County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, Civil Action No. 1333, 1952, n.p.*) (*Defendants' Exhibits Filed in Dorothy E. Davis, et al. versus County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, Civil Action No. 1333, 1952, n.p.*). Plans were made at the PTA meeting to contact the NAACP. Lawyers from the NAACP arrived to help the students, but not to meet their original demands for a better school building, equipment, and resources. The NAACP wanted to desegregate schools. “In 1950, the National Legal Committee of the N.A.A.C.P. recommended, and the National Board approved, the policy of undertaking no further equalization suits, but supporting litigation directed toward abolishing segregation in public schools” (Wilkerson, 1960, p. 25). As Whites had been segregated from children of color since the inception of public-school education in the state, this was a radical decision by the NAACP. More than 116 underage students who were represented by their parents and 69 more people of legal age were named in the suit (*Dorothy E. Davis, et al. v. County School Board of Prince Edward County et al., 1951*). The students lost their case in March 1952. U.S. District Court Judge Albert Vickers Bryan Sr. ruled desegregating schools would be a grave error. He wrote in his ruling on behalf of the three judges hearing the case:

“Maintenance of the separated systems in Virginia has not been social despotism, the testimony points out, and suggests that whatever its demerits in theory, in practice it has begotten greater opportunities for the Negro. Virginia alone employs as many Negro teachers in her public schools, according to undenied

testimony, as are employed in all of the thirty-one non-segregating States. Likewise it was shown that in 29 of the even hundred counties in Virginia, the schools and facilities for the colored are equal to the white schools, in 17 more they are now superior, and upon completion of work authorized or in progress, another 5 will be superior. Of the twenty-seven cities, 5 have Negro schools and facilities equal to the white and 8 more have better Negro schools than white.

“So ingrained and wrought in the texture of their life is the principle of separate schools, that the president of the University of Virginia expressed to the Court his judgment that its involuntary elimination would severely lessen the interest of the people of the State in the public schools, lessen the financial support, and so injure both races. His testimony, corroborated by others, was especially impressive because of his candid and knowledgeable discussion of the problem. A scholar and a former Governor and legislator of the State, we believe him delicately sensible of the customs, the mind, and the temper of both races in Virginia. With the whites comprising more than three-quarters of the entire population of the Commonwealth, the point he makes is a weighty practical factor to be considered in determining whether a reasonable basis has been shown to exist for the continuation of the school segregation” (*Davis et al. V. County School Board of Prince Edward County, VA., et al.*, 1952, p. 340).

Bryan’s judgment revealed Virginia school officials’ and lawmakers’ tactics to build a defense against new cases calling for integration. The improved schools Bryan mentioned were in part due to a government arrangement to show Black schools were equal to White ones. The Virginia General Assembly created a “Battle Fund” in 1950 and immediately began pouring money into it. Its purpose was “meeting the emergency need for school construction caused by cessation of building during the war, the increase in the birth rate and other special problems” (Wilkerson, 1960, p. 27). The “Battle Fund,” named by Gov. John Stewart Battle, had \$75 million in three years (more than \$744 million in 2020), \$30 million of which was available immediately following the vote in 1950 (Wilkerson, 1960, p. 27). While the law didn’t say the purpose of the fund was to upgrade African American schools, how the fund was used spoke loud and clear. It was the “best hope to maintain separate schools,” a Virginia school superintendent said (Wilkerson, 1960, p. 28).

“Local officials and lay citizens interviewed in many parts of Virginia affirmed that ‘Battle Fund’ allocations to their communities were used chiefly to build Negro schools, especially high schools and many of them also said that the fear of integration suits gave great impetus to these Negro school building programs” (Wilkerson, 1960, p. 27).

The total property value of African American schools increased 118 percent from almost \$41 million in the 1950-1951 school year to more than \$89 million in the 1953-1954 school year (Wilkerson, 1960, p. 28). A new school in Farmville was included among the projects.

“A new Robert R. Moton High School was completed during the 1953-1954 school term, at a cost of nearly \$900,000. It is a fine structure with separate auditorium, cafeteria and gymnasium; and inter communication system; a comprehensive program of studies, well-equipped laboratories and shops for science, art, commercial subjects, home economics, agriculture and industrial arts; and apparently able faculty of twenty-five teachers all paid according to the same scale that applied in the white high schools” (Wilkerson, 1960, p. 26).

Even with the increased efforts to build better schools and curriculums for African Americans, the NAACP was not willing to change its ultimate goal of integration. The Farmville students’ case would be merged with four others into the landmark Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, case and argued before the U.S. Supreme Court in December 1952 (Heinemann, 2014).

Inciting Massive Resistance

The U.S. Supreme Court justices waited 16 months to rule in the Brown v. Board of Education case, asking questions instead of offering a ruling in 1953. The U.S. Supreme Court’s May 17, 1954, ruling underlined the idea that segregation wasn’t solely about housing children of different skin tones and heritage in different buildings for educational purposes. In an opinion written by Chief Justice Earl Warren, the justices ruled:

“To separate them [children] 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 ever to be

undone. ... The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system” (Warren, 1954, p. 494).

The justices recognized that children learned they were inferior based on how they were treated, and this internalized belief had long-lasting consequences. Separate was not equal. The ruling commanded a sea change as schools in Virginia and many others states in the North and South were segregated. In Virginia, children of color and White children had never attended school together.

Some, like Dowell J. Howard, Virginia’s superintendent of public instruction, anticipated the court’s decision, expecting that segregation would be banned. Newspaper columnist Benjamin Muse, who interviewed him before the US. Supreme Court’s decision, wrote:

“He had already wrestled quietly with the problem for a long time. He was grimly confident that gradual adjustment could be accomplished in two-thirds of Virginia; with regard to the other one-third he could only say that it would take a long time. I sensed in him a certain exhilaration at the prospect of becoming, himself a central figure in great events, and pride in the thought that Dowell Howard might be destined to lead Virginia’s public school system through the greatest crisis in its history” (Muse, 1961, p. 4).

Howard’s willingness to lead the change was a minority viewpoint among powerful and vocal leaders in Virginia. Howard succumbed to the pressure, suffering a nervous breakdown 18 months after his interview with Muse and dying of a heart attack in February 1956 (Muse, 1961).

One of the first to share a view contradictory to Howard’s was Virginia Sen. Harry F. Byrd. The powerful leader of the state’s Democratic party and former governor said the decision

left his state with “a crisis of the first magnitude” (Byrd, 1954, n.p.). In a statement released on May 17, 1954, he said:

“It is the most serious blow that has yet been struck against the rights of the states in a matter vitally affecting their authority and welfare. The Supreme Court reversed its previous decision directing ‘separate but equal’ facilities for education of both races. ... One of the cruel results arising out of this ‘about-face’ of the Supreme Court is that the Southern States, accepting the validity of the previous decision in recent years have expended hundreds of millions of dollars for construction of new Negro school facilities to conform with the policy previously laid down by the Court” (Byrd, 1954, n.p.).

Byrd followers, or the Byrd Machine as they were called, would work on the federal, local, and state levels to fight the court’s ruling. To understand Byrd’s power and ability to control the agenda, one author described him this way: “No one has been elected governor of Virginia in the past thirty years without Byrd’s endorsement, or at least (as in one case) Byrd’s acquiescence” (Muse, 1961, p. 41).

That included Gov. Thomas B. Stanley. He summoned the Virginia-based legal staff for the NAACP and other Black leaders from around the state to his office on May 24, 1954. The meeting also included “two black newspaper editors, the head of the black teachers organization (VTA), a Norfolk civic leader, and a black businessman” (Hershman Jr., 1978, p. 42). The governor asked the Black leaders “to let things ride,” meaning they should not push to have the Brown ruling enforced but instead “accept continued segregation and receive in return a continuation of the equalization efforts” (Hershman Jr., 1978, p. 42). They refused.

J. Lindsay Almond, the state’s attorney general, who represented Virginia in the Brown v. Board of Education case, expressed the state’s position explicitly in early June: “I’m satisfied of this, Negro teachers are not going to be engaged in Virginia to teach white children. ... no child of any race is going to be compelled to attend a mixed school” (Hershman Jr., 1978, p. 44).

By the end of the month, on June 25, 1954, Stanley issued a statement saying: “I shall use every legal means at my command to continue segregated schools in Virginia” (Muse, 1961, p. 7).

Political leaders’ disregard of and contempt for of the desegregation ruling was mirrored in the Virginia population. A grassroots organization called the “Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties was conceived in July 1954, sixty days after the decision of Black Monday” (*Principles for Which We Stand*, n.d.). Farmville newspaper editor J. Barrye Wall, along with state senators Charles Moses and Garland Gray and U.S. congressmen Watkins Abbitt and William Tuck, held the first meeting of the would-be group in a Petersburg firehouse. Wall wanted “a white segregationist organization that would advocate for whites the way the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had advocated for blacks” (Neff, 2013, n.p.). The group received a charter in October 1954 and grew in less than a year to 28 chapters with 12,000 members (Epps-Robertson, 2016; Neff, 2013). They published editorials in Virginia newspapers and printed and distributed pamphlets denouncing desegregation. The Defenders were the most powerful of the White power segregationist organizations, but not the only organization (Muse, 1961). Many others also formed during this time, including: “National Protective Individual Rights, Inc., the Virginia League, the Crusaders for Constitutional Government, the Seaboard White Citizens Council and several plain White Citizens Councils” (Muse, 1961, p. 9). They called for action from the state officials, who were also among their ranks, and drafted bills.

Enacting Massive Resistance

Bolstered by the loud dissent, Governor Stanley ordered the creation of the Commission on Public Education. It was chaired by State Senator Garland Gray and would be better known as

the Gray Commission. Gray, who served in the Virginia Senate from 1948 to 1971, was a leader of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties.

The 32 men appointed to the commission on Aug. 30, 1954, were “instructed to examine the effect of the decision of the Supreme Court ... in the school segregation cases ... and to make such recommendations as may be deemed proper” (*Public Education: Report of the commission to the Governor of Virginia*, 1955, p. 5). Their final report came after the Supreme Court issued its second ruling on the Brown v. Board of Education case. After the first ruling declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional, the court looked into what remedies would be appropriate based on the reargued “question of relief” (Warren, 1955, p. 294). The justices called for African American students to be admitted “to public schools as soon as practicable on a nondiscriminatory basis” (Warren, 1955, p. 300). The ruling made no allowances for “adjusting and reconciling public and private needs” and called for the “elimination of a variety of obstacles in making the transition” to meet the requirements of their 1954 ruling (Warren, 1955, p. 300). District courts were called upon to take cases and make rulings that would “admit to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases” (Warren, 1955, p. 301). Delays would be acceptable only if, in the midst of trying to comply, issues arose “related to administration, arising from the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas in compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a nonracial basis, and revision of local laws and regulations may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems” (Warren, 1955, pp. 300-301).

The Gray Commission responded with recommendations and presented a bill on Nov. 11, 1955, that would:

- Require no one “to attend an integrated school” (*Public Education: Report of the commission to the Governor of Virginia*, 1955, p. 9)
- Allow school boards to assign children to schools and not require them to move any students from their current schools
- Offer taxpayer-funded tuition grants to send children to private schools
- Offer legal support to defend school board members’ actions, including funding from taxpayer dollars and the help of the state attorney general’s office.

In his address to the General Assembly on Nov. 30, 1955, Stanley backed the Gray Plan and called for a “limited Constitutional Convention for the sole purpose of amending” a section of the state’s constitution that did not allow “the appropriation of public funds to the support of private schools and, specifically invalidated payments of tuition, institutional fees and other designated expenses of certain children who attend approved or designated private schools” (Stanley, 1955, p. 4). It was a direct response to a call from the Defenders who “wanted a statewide referendum” (Neff, 2013, n.p.). The vote was held Jan. 9, 1956, where Virginians voted “more than 2 to 1 in favor of calling a convention” (Morris, 1956, p. 1). The unofficial poll results showed a vote of 299,735 to 143,098 (Morris, 1956b). The turnout for the referendum was low considering that the presidential election in 1952 garnered 619,689 votes (Morris, 1956b). At the time, about 80,000 African Americans had paid the necessary poll taxes to vote (Morris, 1956b).

Forty delegates met March 4, 1956, in Richmond’s capitol building for the convention. They were told by Stanley that interposition was his “long-range answer to the Supreme Court’s ban” but the tuition grants were the more immediate fix (“Interposition Gets Backing in Virginia,” 1956, p. 24; “Virginia to Hold Law Convention,” 1956). By interposition, Stanley

meant refusing to implement the Supreme Court's edicts based on the ruling being unconstitutional ("Interposition Gets Backing in Virginia," 1956). The idea was created by Southern politicians before the Civil War who believed "a state had a right to 'interpose its sovereignty' between the federal government and its people" (Muse, 1961, p. 20). It was resurrected by a lawyer, William Olds, who would later become a circuit court judge (Muse, 1961). His pamphlet caught the eye of James Jackson Kilpatrick, Jr., the editor of the Richmond News Leader. For six weeks, he wrote editorials championing the idea, so much so that Byrd mentioned it before the U.S. Senate. Hard core segregationists in Tennessee were urging Virginians to move on the idea (Muse, 1961). Kilpatrick even wrote his own resolution "in proper form" so it could be introduced as is before the Virginia legislature (Muse, 1961, p. 21). While Kilpatrick's resolution was not used, an interposition resolution was adopted in February 1956 (Hershman Jr., 1978; Muse, 1961), which said:

"That by its decision on May 17, 1954, in the school cases, the Supreme Court of the United States placed upon the Constitution an interpretation, having the effect of an amendment thereto, which interpretation Virginia emphatically disapproves; ... [Virginia] anxiously concerned at this massive expansion of central authority ... is duty bound to interpose against these most serious consequences, and earnestly to challenge the usurped authority that would inflict them upon her citizens. ... And be it finally resolved that until the question here asserted by the State of Virginia be settled by clear constitutional amendment, we pledge our firm intention to take all appropriate measures, legally and constitutionally available to us, to resist this illegal encroachment upon our sovereign powers ..." (Muse, 1961, pp. 21-22)

The delegates unanimously voted 40 to 0 on March 6, 1956, to approve a plan that would allow state and local officials to use public funds for private schools ("Virginia Convention Endorses Proposal to Check Integration," 1956). Still by March 13, 1956, the Gray Plan had not been discussed in a legislative session (Dean, 1956).

While the state legislature worked on plans to stop desegregation, Byrd and his Washington cohorts were also working together. In statements to the Associated Press, he coined the phrase “massive resistance” which would give the revolt its name. “If we can organize the Southern States for massive resistance to this order I think that in time the rest of the country will realize that racial integration is not going to be accepted in the South” (“Byrd Calls on South to Challenge Court,” 1956, p. 1). Byrd was among 96 congressmen to sign a Southern Manifesto that was read before the United States Senate and the House of Representatives on March 12, 1956 (Shuster, 1956; “Washington Proceedings,” 1956). The document did not call for action from congressional lawmakers but stated: “We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation” (Shuster, 1956, p. 19). Both of Virginia’s senators and all 10 of its representatives signed the document (Bloch Rubin & Elinson, 2018; Shuster, 1956).

Backed by Southern lawmakers, Stanley announced in August 1956, that he would propose a plan to withhold state money from any local Virginia governments who integrated their schools (“Virginia Governor Backs Segregation,” 1956). He told a delegation from Norfolk, just days before a special session of the General Assembly: “If Virginia is going to fight the Supreme Court’s desegregation order, it must fight all the way. If we accept admission of one Negro child into a white school it’s all over. ... We will have given up” (“Virginia Governor Backs Segregation,” 1956, p. 16). Byrd offered similar comments: “Let Virginia surrender to this illegal demand and you’ll find the ranks of the South broken. ... If Virginia surrenders the rest of the South will go down too” (Muse, 1961, p. 29).

Their words were a battle cry to Southerners who believed that segregation was an inalienable right. On Aug. 27, 1956, the galleries in the House of Delegates were filled with

people waving Confederate flags (Muse, 1961). People came in response to a propaganda sheet called the Virginian that had been strategically distributed in areas with large African American populations (Muse, 1961). The sheet depicted children — both Black and White — mixed on a playground (Muse, 1961). It also showed a White woman in bed with a “repulsive” Black man (Muse, 1961, 29).

The delegation deliberated over 23 different bills focused on keeping the schools segregated or undermining the NAACP during the 27-day session (Muse, 1961). On Sept. 21, 1956, after considerable debate and amendments, what became known as the Stanley Plan was passed 21-16 in the state Senate (Baker, 1956). It had already passed on a 62-37 vote in the state House (Baker, 1956). Stanley signed the bill Sept. 29, 1956, immediately allowing:

“the State to withhold funds from integrated schools, create a State pupil placement board appointed by the Governor to assign pupils in schools, empower the Governor to close schools and assign students, and set up State tuition grants for children who enroll in private schools because of the integration trouble (“School, NAACP Bills Signed by Gov. Stanley,” 1956, p. B1).

He also signed a bill requiring the NAACP and groups like it “attempting to influence racial legislation or litigation to register with the State Corporation Commission and report information on finances and membership. They also prohibit such groups from soliciting litigation” (“School, NAACP Bills Signed by Gov. Stanley,” 1956, p. B1). “Registration was required of groups financing lawsuits to which they were not a party and of groups engaged in activities on behalf of any particular race; sundry presumably embarrassing information was required to be furnished; punishment was prescribed for initiating lawsuits in various specified circumstances; and two investigating committees were set up” (Muse, 1961, p. 32). “Delegate James M. Thomson, a brother of Mrs. Harry Byrd, Jr., and an intransigent racist, was a leader of the most fanatic segregationists through the massive resistance era. Thompson sponsored one of the bills

creating an investigating committee; and later, as chairman of his committee, he was to shock many, including federal courts, by arrogant harassment of the NAACP and some of its liberal friends” (Muse, 1961, p. 33-34).

Within Stanley’s plan, the Virginia Pupil Placement Board, part of the Virginia Pupil Placement Act, was created. The act required all students to attend the schools they were enrolled in before Dec. 29, 1956, when the act became law (Eskridge, 2010). Stanley “appointed three men, all ardent segregationists” to the board (Eskridge, 2010, p. 249). Their role “was to place pupils indiscriminately while also ensuring the safety and welfare of students and the efficient operation of schools” (Eskridge, 2010, p 249.) Yet, the Virginia Constitution still made it illegal to integrate schools (Eskridge, 2010). The only students eligible for transfer, based on the placement act, were those “graduating to another school, entering the school system for the first time or transferring from another school system” (Eskridge, 2010, p. 250). The three men were quickly inundated with requests, “processing several thousand applications every month” because now any child who wanted to transfer schools or was new to a district needed approval from this state board instead of the local school district (Eskridge, 2010, p. 257). They used recommendations from the local school boards, as well as the Defenders and concerned citizens, to make placements (Eskridge, 2010). The men told the school boards in February 1957 that “in making your recommendations, you may do so without legal responsibility, it being the sole responsibility of this Board to place and enroll pupils” (Eskridge, 2010, p. 250). To challenge the board’s decision, parents had to request a public hearing (Eskridge, 2010). This hearing would be advertised in the local newspapers, sharing the names of the students and their parents, their home address, the current school the students attended and the requested transfer school (Eskridge, 2010).

In Charlottesville, a Black girl was denied a transfer by the board from Burley High School, an all-Black school, to Lane High School, an all-White school, because she didn't have transportation to Lane, even though Lane was closer to her home than Burley where she would be bussed (Eskridge, 2010). Another student was denied a transfer because she would have to cross a railroad track to attend the White school, even though it was closer to her home (Eskridge, 2010).

With his plan underway, Stanley left the fight to keep segregated schools to his successor Almond. Virginia governors are not allowed to serve consecutive terms and only one has served a second term since the end of the Civil War (*List of Virginia Governors*, 2014). Almond, a Charlottesville native and University of Virginia law school graduate, had defended Virginia's right to have segregated schools before the U.S. Supreme Court as the state's attorney general (Hershman Jr., 1998). He won the state's gubernatorial election with 63 percent of the vote by promising to continue efforts to keep Virginia's schools segregated (Eskridge, 2010; Hershman Jr., 2011; Muse, 1961). "Almond boasted again and again that under massive resistance 'no schools have been closed and no integration has taken place'" (Muse, 1961, p. 44). It was a rallying cry as people across the state reeled in response to the federal government's efforts to integrate Little Rock by sending in troops on Sept. 23, 1957.

Almond began his term on Jan. 11, 1958 (Muse, 1961).

Executing Massive Resistance

The choice to enroll a child at a White school in a hostile environment was not easy but African American families wanted something better for their children. In Charlottesville, a new school was created as the state poured its battle fund into upgrading schools. The Charlottesville School Board voted in 1949 to combine three schools: Charlottesville's Jefferson High School,

Esmont High School at the southern end of Albemarle County and Albemarle Training School, into one building for eighth through twelfth graders (*Esmont Area Schools*, 2018). The new Jackson P. Burley High School offered the African American community a brand-new building but also posed challenges. One student recalled being unable to receive help with college preparation or to participate in after-school activities because Burley lay about 20 miles from her home in Esmont (Johnson, 2018). Her only mode of transportation was the school bus and, so like many students who lived outside Charlottesville in rural Albemarle County, their access to education was limited (Johnson, 2018).

School board officials believed the fact that she had a high school to attend was all that mattered — unlike generations before where African American teens had to leave the state to seek a higher education or attend a smattering of private schools. However, the school was a point of contention from its opening in 1951.

“Among the most glaring inequities at Jackson P. Burley High School is the lack of a laboratory or classroom for the biology class. Lack of a class or theory room for the masonry and carpentry classes. There is no practice room provided for the students studying business education. Nor are these students provided office equipment other than typewriters. Such items as adding machines, billing machines and dictaphones are still lacking. Yet, it is to be assumed that the students taking a course in business education at Burley will be permitted to graduate without having received the same opportunity to work with office machines necessary to qualify them as business school graduates” (White, 1954, p. 2)

The fight became more contentious as the city planned to divert funds from Burley’s budget to other projects (“Joint Committee Postpones Action on Proposal to Use Funds from Burley High School Bond Issue,” 1954; White, 1954). With the aforementioned issues and overcrowding, the local chapter of the NAACP delivered a letter to school officials stating, “the only way the present inadequacies of the school systems involved

here can be permanently adjusted is to remove race as a factor in determining attendance at any particular school” (“Joint Committee Postpones Action on Proposal to Use Funds from Burley High School Bond Issue,” 1954, p. 5).

Black parents like Randolph Louis White and George Ferguson, a Charlottesville native born in 1911, left the state to attend high school. Ferguson returned and opened his own business as an undertaker because he said it was one of the few professional careers available to African Americans in the early 1940s (Mangione, 1990). By the 1950s, he was a successful business owner and wanted his daughter to have a different experience than the one he had (Mangione, 1990). He and other families in Charlottesville petitioned to have their children transferred to one of the area White schools in 1955, soon after the Brown ruling (Carter, 2009; Mangione, 1990). Their requests were denied, so the families sued (Carter, 2009). The case revealed cracks in the Massive Resistance efforts.

By July 12, 1956, “... Federal District Court Judge John Paul — who, by the way, was a native Virginian and the son of a Confederate soldier—declared: ‘I am not willing that this court be a knowing and willing accessory to a policy which has as its purpose delay and evasion. ...’ — and ordered desegregation of Charlottesville’s schools” (Muse, 1961, p. 54). The school board’s appeal was refused by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1957 (Carter, 2009).

The NAACP kept pressing its case. By 1958, the NAACP was 27,000 members strong, the largest in any Southern state (Muse, 1961). A Charlottesville chapter of the NAACP was created in 1945 and had 867 members by 1954 (Harold, 2018). This was in part due to a middle class made up of business owners like Ferguson, whose main clientele were other Blacks (Hershman, 1978). Black public-school teachers were also a part of this number (Hershman, 1978).

“It is difficult to describe the intensity with which the NAACP was hated by white Virginians. Many who were classed as moderates on the school issue hated the NAACP. Fantastic rumors regarding the organization were given wide credence. It was believed to be overflowing with money from some sinister source. Its lawyers were believed to be working for high financial rewards or, in some unexplained way, for ‘political gain.’ Thousands of ignorant whites regarded the NAACP as a Communist, or Communist-infiltrated, agency. ... the NAACP was regarded by many as something diabolical” (Muse, 1961, pp. 48-49).

The laws put in place to hobble the NAACP exemplify how intensely White public officials felt threatened by the organization. However, the courts did not back the new laws. Circuit Court Judge Morris A. Soper and district court judges Walter E. Hoffman and Sterling Hutcheson struck down three of the laws enacted against the NAACP. On Jan. 21, 1958, Soper and Hoffman, with Hutcheson in dissent, wrote that three of the laws were unconstitutional and the other two they looked at were “vague and ambiguous” (Muse, 1961, p. 48). They said it was unconstitutional to require a person to register if working for legislation or legal action because of a person’s race. They also said it was unconstitutional to require registration if the “activities tend to cause racial conflicts or violence” (Muse, 1961, p. 48). It was unconstitutional to make it illegal for an organization like the NAACP to pay for legal bills when there was “only a philanthropic interest” (Muse, 1961, p. 48).

Dismantling the NAACP was not the only tactic used to slow progress. People also understood the role of teachers in the Black middle class and worked to keep them in line. In truth, all teachers were threatened in this way. Virginia teachers had yearly contracts with no guarantee that they would be rehired from year to year no matter how long they had been employed. In the spring of 1955, teachers’ contracts were shortened from nine months to thirty days, making sure that anyone who advocated or didn’t directly discredit desegregation could be easily dismissed (Hershman, 1978).

By the time Almond became governor, the state's intentions to keep segregation firmly intact were clear. Still, the legal battles in Charlottesville, Arlington, Norfolk, and Prince Edward County, made him reiterate the state's position. On Sept. 4, 1958, Almond warned local school board members in each of the school districts that any attempts toward integration would lead to school closures (Muse, 1961). The first school closure, however, would not occur in any of these school districts; instead the closure happened in Warren County. The implications would reach far beyond integrated schools. It would exemplify the turmoil within society and the division between Blacks and Whites.

Warren County, about 70 miles west of Washington, D.C., had about 1,200 African Americans living among 15,000 Whites in 1958 (Muse, 1961). It was one of 17 counties in Virginia with no high school for African Americans (Muse, 1961). The 106 African American high school students who lived in the county were sent to neighboring counties at the Warren County taxpayers' expense. This practice was "regarded by many as a kind of largesse on behalf of the county's Negro children" (Muse, 1961, p. 68).

After the Brown ruling, 25 African American students requested to attend the White high school and five requested to attend the White elementary school located in Front Royal (Muse, 1961). All the requests were denied. While some African Americans accepted the rejection, the families of 22 high school students decided to sue on Aug. 29, 1958 (Muse, 1961). Their requests were upheld in federal district court and in the Fourth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals (Muse, 1961). Instead of following the courts' orders, on Friday, Sept. 12, 1958, Almond ordered the high school to close effective Monday morning (Muse, 1961). The Warren County High School had begun the school year on Sept. 2 (Muse, 1961). The closure kept 1,000 teens from their education (Muse, 1961).

To the society at large what was playing out in Warren County was less about education and the integration of school children and more about the place of African Americans in society.

“The local textile plant followed the racial pattern of employment prevalent in that industry throughout the South: most production jobs were reserved for whites, while blacks were assigned menial or heavy-labor tasks. In the years preceding the school closing in 1958 there had been disputes within the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) local in Front Royal over the job status of blacks and their membership in the local. Present here was the constant, usually unspoken, fear common to white Southern textile workers of job competition from blacks. Removal of caste restrictions, such as segregated schools, increased the threat of such competition while simultaneously depriving the workers of the social status they derived from white caste membership. Although Warren had a population only eight percent black, the white workers' fears had some roots in reality since the adjacent counties of Rappahannock and Fauquier had substantial black populations (17.7% and 26.3% respectively)” (James Howard Hershman Jr., 1978, p. 310).

The same day Almond placed himself in charge of Warren County schools, the Supreme Court ruled against tactics to stop desegregation in Little Rock in *Cooper v. Aaron*. The court ruled:

“In short, the constitutional rights of children not to be discriminated against in school admission on grounds of race or color declared by this Court in the Brown case can neither be nullified openly and directly by state legislators or state executive or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted ‘ingeniously or ingenuously’” (*Cooper v. Aaron*, 1958, p. 17).

Undeterred, Almond pressed forward with Massive Resistance efforts, saying: “I have repeatedly stated that our position is not one of defiance. No federal court has the authority to compel any state to operate any schools. They may force us to the position where we must abandon public schools. ... That is not defiance of federal authority” (Muse, 1961, p. 72). On Sept. 19, 1958, Almond closed Lane High School and Venable Elementary School in Charlottesville, shutting out another about 1,700 children and teens from their education (Muse, 1961). Norfolk School Board’s case was rejected on Sept. 27, 1958, after the Supreme Court’s ruling, so on Sept. 29, 1958, Almond put in motion the massive resistance laws closing schools in Norfolk (Hershman

Jr., 1978). Six White high schools were closed (Muse, 1961). “This move blocked the seventeen blacks, but locked 10,000 white students out with them” (James Howard Hershman Jr., 1978, p. 304).

For racial purists, locking 12,000 students out of classrooms was a small price to pay.

“To those whose purpose and design is to blend and amalgamate the white and negro race and destroy the integrity of both races. ... To those who don’t care what happens to the children of Virginia. ... To those who defend or close their eyes to the livid stench of Satanism, sex, immorality, and juvenile pregnancy infesting the mixed schools of the District of Columbia and elsewhere. To those who would overthrow the customs, mores and traditions of a way of life which has endured in honor and decency for centuries and embraced a new moral code prepared by nine men in Washington whose moral concepts they know nothing about. ... To all of these and their competitors, comrades, and allies let me make it abundantly clear for the record now and here after as governor of this state; I will not yield to that which I know will be wrong and will destroy every rational semblance of public education for thousands of the children of Virginia” (*J. Lindsay Almond School Integration Speech Transcript*, 1959, n.p.).

R.C. Smith, who would later write about the school closure in Prince Edward County, summarized the sentiments of the opposing sides in the community:

“When I first ventured into the county, I headed for the First Baptist Church, where the Rev. Mr. Griffin had his office. After talking with him I went directly to *The Farmville Herald* to see J. Barrye Wall, editor and publisher. What I had from these two over the years was a diametrically opposed assessment of the cause of the community crisis that had developed. To Wall, it was a case of the African-American community not being patient enough to wait for the new school they were getting, and then compounding the problem by involving themselves with outside agitators like the NAACP. To Griffin, it was a question of long since lapsed trust and a burden of perceived inferiority that time had made no longer tolerable” (Smith, 1997, n.p.).

Continued federal court rulings, federal government action, and disenchantment by White parents whose children were facing large gaps in their education due to closed schools were among the pressures that slowly began to turn sentiments in Virginia (Hershman Jr., 1978).

Schools would reopen in Charlottesville in February 1959, but African American students were

not embraced. Ferguson said his daughter, Olivia, as well the other Black children, studied in the superintendent's office instead of being admitted into Lane High School's classrooms in Charlottesville (Mangione, 1990). Olivia was "denied a true high school diploma and the opportunity to graduate with her peers" (Carter, 2009, n.p.) In September 1959, some African American students were let into the classrooms (Mangione, 1990). Unlike in Charlottesville, Norfolk and other districts that reopened in 1959, Prince Edward County, the district originally involved in the Brown v. Board of Education suit, remained closed until 1964 (*The Closing of Prince Edward County's Schools*, n.d.). All Charlottesville schools were desegregated for the 1965-1966 school year (Carter, 2009), however stories about segregation issues have continued to surface in publications like the New York Times as recently as October 2018.

The fight to keep the races separated and Whites elevated is personified in the Massive Resistance battle. The deeply entrenched ideas of superiority and privilege allowed government officials to use their position to maintain the status quo. Business owners used their clout to push for a world that allowed them to thrive while castigating an entire population based on the color of their skin. This chapter focused on the political, economic, and cultural ideas that formed a social system that pushed for White supremacy and willingly downgraded others to keep that position. White newspaper owners participated in this from those with editorials that pushed for segregation and touted the idea of interposition while African American newspaper owners reported injustices and pushed for integration. Chapters 7 and 8 will show just how the owners of the Charlottesville Albemarle Tribune and The Daily Progress participated in the coverage of Massive Resistance and what ideas they touted. Chapter 6 gives details on how the articles from these two newspapers were gathered, categorized, and analyzed. This analysis offers a rare

opportunity to see how newspapers in smaller communities impacted and were influenced by societal norms.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCHING THE BLACK AND WHITE NEWSPAPERS IN CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.: METHODOLOGY

Choosing a Method

The content of newspapers offers a unique window into history. It is a culmination of “customs, beliefs, ideas and experiences” expressed in a form of communication “that reinforces and maintains common culture” (Brennen, 2017, p. 13). People derive their reality from this culture, corroborating it through the newspaper. “... the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop or residential neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world [he believes exist based on the content in the newspaper] is visibly rooted in everyday life” (Anderson, 2016, p. 35).

Reese and Shoemaker’s Hierarchy of Influences Model allows an exploratory look at what shapes this content. It accounts for the different levels of impact from the society at large to the individual news creator. Based on the assumptions proposed in the theory, I focus on the upper-level social system, which is an intertwining of ideology, culture, economics, and politics (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). This gives a foundation for examining the activities that led up to and culminated in Massive Resistance and how this multifaceted event was covered.

At its core, Massive Resistance was based on the worldview of major stakeholders at that time. Worldview is expressed as part of the ideological subsystem in Shoemaker and Reese’s Hierarchy of Influences Model. It is a belief voiced by behavior and fiercely protected (Brandt & Crawford, 2020; Sire, 2015).

Given the theoretical model suggested by Shoemaker and Reese and the worldview literature, I formulated the main research question for this dissertation as follows:

What were the main perspectives from which White and Black newspapers in Charlottesville covered Massive Resistance?

To explore this question in-depth, I proposed the secondary research questions below:

RQ1: What Hierarchy of Influences, especially worldview, are inferred from the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune newspaper?

RQ2: What are the features of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune's news coverage of Massive Resistance?

RQ3: What are the features of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune's editorial coverage of Massive Resistance?

RQ4: What Hierarchy of Influences, especially worldview, are inferred from The Daily Progress newspaper?

RQ5: What are the features of the Daily Progress' news coverage of Massive Resistance?

RQ6: What are the features of the Daily Progress' editorial coverage of Massive Resistance?

To answer these questions, I used qualitative data analysis. "Qualitative data are by no means a weak form of data; rather, they are a different form that requires different, complex and systematic analysis" (Kuckartz, 2014, p. 2). Qualitative content analysis offers "a detailed description of the material under analysis" and "counts as a method of data analysis" (Schreier, 2014, p. 173). It allows the researcher to "go beyond the specifics of any particular passage. Instead, the meaning of the passage will be taken to a higher level of abstraction, resulting in categories that apply to a number of concrete, slightly different passages" (Schreier, 2014, p. 170). One of the strengths of qualitative content analysis is that "it acknowledges the importance of the specific place and time of data collection, the background as well as relationships of the research subjects ... or objects ... for the interpretation of the results" (Schilling, 2017). This proved especially important as the social constructs of the 1950s and 1960s were considered in this analysis. With the systematic nature of content analysis "the method requires the

examination of every single part of the material that is in any way relevant to the research question. In this way, the method counteracts the danger of looking at the material only through the lens of one's assumptions and expectations” (Schreier, 2014, p. 171). “Qualitative content analysis is therefore flexible in that the coding frame should always be matched to the material” (Schreier, 2014, p. 171).

The purpose of this study goes far beyond counting how many times certain subjects were mentioned. The goal of this study was to offer a deeper hermeneutical understanding of the dynamics of the text. This study includes a historical perspective that “considers the relationship of media to the larger social, economic and/or political history. It seeks to understand how changes in media influence society, as well as how changes in society impact the communication process” (Brennen, 2017, p. 101-102). To read the text but not understand the history of race in the U.S., especially in Virginia and the social climate leading up to and in the days of the articles’ writing, would be a gross injustice to this academic research. It would underestimate the impact of the concept of race in America. Feagin described school segregation and rationalizing the plight of African Americans as two ways the ideology of slavery continued to persist in the United States. Even with these and other issues denigrating the African American community, DuBois showed the world that the Black community was diverse in its levels of education and economic mobility, and strides were being made by the community as a whole to gain more and better opportunities.

A hermeneutical approach allows the examination of the conditions under which the text was written. Within the pages of a newspaper, the text provides “richness” and “relevance” (Silverman, 2006, p. 157). This means as one studies the text “presentational subtleties and skills” emerge (Silverman, 2006, p. 157). We realize that the words on the page have an impact

on readers having the ability to “influence how we see the world and the people in it and how we act” (Silverman, 2006, p. 157). The newspaper text is also “naturally occurring” so “texts document what participants are actually doing in the world — without being dependent on being asked by researchers” (Silverman, 2006, p. 157). It is “naturalistic” data, giving a view of the coverage of events and opinions held at that time without any researcher interaction (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 228).

Searching for Articles

This study focuses on the articles about Massive Resistance published in the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune, a weekly African American-owned newspaper and The Daily Progress, a White-owned newspaper. These two newspapers were the only local publications available to Albemarle County residents in the mid 1950s and 1960s. As Massive Resistance was a multifaceted approach to keep Southern schools segregated, stories include information about court battles, community organization, legislative action, political maneuvering and more. Stories gathered for this study included issues of primary or secondary education, actions by state and federal governments, school board decisions, court proceedings and rulings and related activities by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, White Citizens Council, and the Human Relations Commission.

A convenience sample of available articles was culled from these newspapers as published from 1956 to 1960. These papers were found in the University of Virginia and Library of Virginia archives. The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune newspapers were gathered from microfilm provided by the Library of Virginia, the state’s agency for organizing records and books. The Daily Progress newspaper was accessed through digital archives on the University of

Virginia library website. Other means of accessing the data were researched, including through the Daily Progress, which still publishes, and the Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society.

This period was chosen because it represents the height of the Massive Resistance Movement. The Supreme Court's first *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling came in 1954. The most powerful tool of Massive Resistance, the governor's ability to close schools if they obeyed court orders to integrate, was ruled unconstitutional in 1959. Integration via the enrollment of 11 Black students at two of Charlottesville's schools began in the 1959-1960 school year. A total of 268 newspapers were included in this study, 134 from each publication. Relevant articles were found in 96 Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune newspapers and in 77 The Daily Progress newspapers. Table 1 shows the number of publications from each newspaper that were included in the study, as well as how many from that sample had relevant newspaper articles and editorials.

Table 1: Newspapers by Year			
	Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune	The Daily Progress	Total Newspapers Considered Per Publication
1956	3	2	3
1957	30	24	37
1958	22	22	31
1959	24	23	32
1960	17	6	31
Total	96	77	134

Source: Made by the author

A total of 306 news stories and editorials were pulled — 170 from the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and 136 from The Daily Progress. Table 2 provides a breakdown of the articles gathered from each year. The articles represent coverage at the height of the Massive Resistance movement.

Table 2: News Articles Gathered by Year		
	Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune	The Daily Progress
1956	6	4
1957	56	46
1958	39	39
1959	46	41
1960	23	6
Total	170	136

Source: Made by the author

Since The Daily Progress was published seven days a week and the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune was published only once a week, articles were pulled only on dates where both newspapers had publications available. The Tribune was published on Fridays from 1954 through at least February 1960. The paper then began publishing on Thursdays, sometime in March. Due to a gap in the archives, the first available Thursday publication is March 17, 1960. Therefore, Friday newspapers were pulled for The Daily Progress from 1956, the earliest date available in the Tribune, through February 1960. Then, Thursday newspapers were used for the rest of that year. Also, if one newspaper archive did not have an issue available for a certain date, then no newspapers were pulled for that date.

The goal of this study was to examine what was offered within the pages of each newspaper, not necessarily compare exact events. Therefore, there were no disadvantages to one paper being weekly and one paper being daily. As articles were read and coded from each newspaper, repeating themes were identified and each newspaper's editorials complemented the concepts found in the news articles.

Categorizing Articles & Finding Themes

The 306 articles were divided into news articles and editorials — 240 news articles and 66 editorials. The news articles are analyzed in Chapter 7 and the editorials are examined in

Chapter 8. The news articles and editorials were further divided by newspaper and then categorized.

The news articles — all amassed from the front-pages — were categorized by subject. Using news beats and the multifaceted nature of the Massive Resistance Movement to create categories, the stories were divided into four groups: Courts & Crime, Politics & Government, Education and Community. No articles were categorized in more than one group. Table 3 defines the categories and the number of stories in each.

Table 3: News Categories			
Category	Definition	Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune	The Daily Progress
Courts & Crime	Stories covering court cases and proceedings and reports of crime.	39	34
Politics & Government	Coverage of legislation, political debates, politicians' statements, Virginia General Assembly committee activity and elections.	25	44
Education	Stories covering school board meetings, budget requests, plans for district building projects and efforts to desegregate and keep segregated schools.	35	31
Community	Organizations in Charlottesville, across the state and throughout the nation participated on either side of the school issue. The section comprises coverage of their activities.	25	7
Total		124	116

Source: Made by the author

The editorials were divided into data-driven categories, based on themes derived from the text. The categories are different for each newspaper, reflecting their unique points of view.

Table 4 defines the categories and the number of articles in each.

Table 4: Editorial Concepts Operationalized		
Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune		
Concept	Definition	Number of Editorials
Standing and fighting	Calls for action whether it was voting or joining the NAACP, chastising protest tactics, or encouraging other forms of fighting for justice	11
Equality	Expressing the lack of full citizenship for African Americans in the U.S., what that means and differences in how people are treated	10
Coming Together	A call for people on both sides of the integration issue to work through facilitating the U.S. Supreme Court rulings objectives	6
Political Manipulation	Politicians using and manipulating the “school problem” to their purposes	10
Tolerance/Patience	Editorials applauding even those who stand on the other side of the aisle from his viewpoint. He focuses on the good and not just on their segregationist leanings	7
Frustration	Editorials that show disgust with the process with those on either side of the segregation issue	2
		46
The Daily Progress		
Concept	Definition	Number of Editorials
Politics	Focused on politicians’ maneuvers and actions to keep or dismantle segregated schools.	7
Preservation	Focused on finding a way to keep the status quo – segregation in schools, even if that means some changes and shifts in how it is accomplished	13
		20

Source: Made by the author

An Approach to Discovery

The goal of this study was to see how the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and The Daily Progress each covered Massive Resistance and compare their overall coverage. The goal

was to determine: “What is prime-reality—the really real?” (Sire, 2015, p. 154). This sparked questions of what is most important? Each category was analyzed using the number of stories on a topic as a proxy for importance. I considered the number of minority sources used and what they say, as well as the overall content provided in each category.

The editorials offer a deeper look at the worldviews shaping the mindsets of the editors and publishers of the newspapers. It is an opportunity to examine what they thought about Massive Resistance and the ideas they advocated and opposed from their platforms.

Authors Note: To read selected samples of the news and editorial articles from The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and The Daily Progress, see Appendix.

CHAPTER 7

WHAT A PICTURE: COMPARING COVERAGE OF MASSIVE RESISTANCE

A news story can be seen from many angles. It can be the expression of a viewpoint based on the environment it is created in, a community structure approach outlook (Funk & McCombs, 2017). It can also be a frame to show the community how to view an issue (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2019). “Through their day-by-day selection and display of news stories, the news media influence a community’s picture of itself. The elements of this picture include our sense of identity as a community, the agenda of issues that we regard as priorities, and the perspectives that guide our thinking about these issues” (McCombs, 1997, p. 442).

The editors of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and The Daily Progress chose what information was published in their newspapers about the response to the U.S. Supreme Court’s *Brown v. Board of Education* case. The articles published on the front page of their newspapers showed readers what they believed was the most important news.

In this chapter, I examine the 242 news articles published in both newspapers from 1956 to 1960. The stories are divided into four categories — Courts & Crime, Politics & Government, Education and Community. The chapter is structured to compare the coverage of each category by paper — the Black-owned Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and the White-owned The Daily Progress. While this chapter focuses on news stories, the following chapter examines both papers’ editorials. Layered together, the news articles and editorials will define the worldviews of these papers and how they presented the Massive Resistance movement to their audiences.

Courts & Crime

Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune

The Black-owned Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune published 124 front-page articles that encompassed a variety of facets of the Massive Resistance movement. The weekly paper offered its readers a deeply local perspective on the desegregation efforts, publishing 80 local articles, 25 state-focused stories and 19 national stories. Overwhelmingly, they focused on the legal battle in Charlottesville to desegregate schools, the NAACP's fight as an organization with the government, the process Black children and parents were going through to integrate schools and the work of the NAACP and other organizations to achieve integration. Within the sample, 31 percent of the stories included Black voices and 6 percent included other minorities (i.e., women).

A Voice for the People. As school districts fought Black parents to keep White schools segregated, the Tribune followed the cases from local to state and federal courts. Accounting for 39 articles, the Courts & Crime section is the largest of the four categories. The paper specifically focused on the Charlottesville desegregation case, providing 22 stories on the topic. The Tribune kept its readers informed of each upcoming court date, updated them on aspects of the proceedings and heralded rulings. The *Brown v. Board of Education* case shone a light on the disparities in educational opportunities for Black children in primary and secondary schools. The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling offered a glimmer of hope for a better education. When Black parents decided to sue the Charlottesville School District to allow their children to attend White schools, District Court Judge John Paul's entire decree in their favor was published on the front page of the Tribune.

"It is accordingly adjudged, ordered and decreed.

1. That the defendants, and each of them, their successors in office and their agents and employees, he, and they hereby are, restrained and enjoined from any and all action that regulates or affects, on the basis of race or colour [sic], the admission, enrollment or education of the infant plaintiffs or any other Negro child similarly situated, to any public school operated by the defendants.
2. That this injunction become effective at the commencement of the school term commencing in September, 1956.
3. That the plaintiffs recover from defendants their costs in this action” (“Judge John Paul’s Order Ending Segregation Received,” 1956, p. 1).

As the case moved through the court system, the Tribune gave readers a front-row seat to what the battle looked like.

“With his courtroom filled to capacity by mostly Negro spectators and plaintiffs, Retired District Federal Judge John Paul last Monday heard arguments by opposing counsel in the Charlottesville School Desegregation Case, which originated in his court in July 1956” (“Dist. Federal Judge John Paul Tries Local School Desegregation Case,” 1960, p. 1).

It allowed readers to see the questions the NAACP asked and how Charlottesville School Superintendent Fendall R. Ellis responded.

“Atty. Oliver W. Hill, Va. NAACP Staff Counsel representing the nine children seeking enrollment in Lane, Johnson and Venable schools told the court that the plan was not fairly administered. He said that Negro children only were required to submit to the tests which had never been given white children under similar circumstances. Hill drew from Ellis the admission that white children have not been subjected to the tests, with the explanation that none had sought transfers to segregate schools. Mr. Hill then told the court that it was reasonable to believe that the tests would never be given to white pupils because it is a fact as long ago stated by the Supreme Court that ‘segregated schools are inherently inferior’ and it would be foolish to assume that a white pupil would ever voluntarily seek transfer from a better to an inferior school. ‘The very fact that these Negro pupils’ academic achievement is lower than white pupils amply points up the fact that the Negro schools are inferior to those provided white children,’ Hill said. ‘We may as well face it,’ Hill continued, ‘The present school assignment plan is nothing more than a device to limit the transfer of Negroes to schools now attended by white children only.’ He urged the court to order the school board to proceed more rapidly with integrating Charlottesville’s public schools, explaining that if the present pace was maintained many years will have passed before total integration becomes a reality in Charlottesville” (“Dist. Federal Judge John Paul Tries Local School Desegregation Case,” 1960, p. 1).

It also printed what it called the NAACP's "stirring plea" to Paul.

"Atty. S. W. Tucker, NAACP lawyer and co-counsel with Hill, summed up for the plaintiffs. In a stirring plea, he reminded Judge Paul that the Supreme Court has held that no device or devices can be permitted to delay the attainment of an individual's right. 'This plan,' Tucker said, 'is nothing more than a vehicle to delay integration of Negro pupils in white schools' He said it would never be applied to a white child since none would ever have a desire to transfer to from a better to a worse situation. Mr. Tucker asked the court to re-examine the plan with a view to revising it and to order the Charlottesville School Board to proceed with integration in a more realistic manner" ("Dist. Federal Judge John Paul Tries Local School Desegregation Case," 1960, p. 1).

Whether the rulings were in favor of segregation or integration, the Tribune followed the ups and downs of the Charlottesville desegregation case. None of the Charlottesville Desegregation case parents were interviewed for the stories. Nine included minority sources, all NAACP lawyers.

The Tribune publisher not only focused on the work the NAACP was doing in the courtroom on behalf of Black children and families, but also documented the organization's fight to continue operating in Virginia. Many of its readers were members or knew people who were members, especially since local NAACP leaders and people involved in the Charlottesville desegregation case were subpoenaed to appear before Virginia legislative committees. The Boatwright Committee wanted the NAACP to turn over its membership rolls. The Tribune documented the NAACP's fight to keep the lists secret. The organization worried people would face "economic reprisals", and that fear would prevent more people from joining ("Mrs. Boyle Testifies on Behalf of the NAACP," 1957, p. 5). Coverage of the NAACP's lawsuits against the state offered readers a peak at what the organization's leadership was facing beyond the school battles it was fighting in communities. The Tribune stories also showed how state leaders responded to the NAACP's actions.

"Leslie Hall [an Alexandria-based attorney representing the Thompson Committee] ... said the Federal Court should keep their hands off state legislative

committees that are studying problems in order to make recommendations for state laws.

Hall told the court that ‘if it (interference with the committees is within the province of the Federal Court,’ he declared ‘A [sic] state might as well turn over the reins to the Federal Government and forget it has any right at all’” (“Federal Court to Test Anti-NAACP Legislation,” 1957, p. 1).

And the judge’s responses.

“Judge Sopher, while questioning Hall about some of the activities of the Thomson Committee, observed, “while I can understand why you would want to know the amount of money the NAACP receives, I cannot understand why you would want the names of the organization’s members; why not just try the number of members.’ Hall replied the names were necessary for the determination of members taxable status. Judge Sopher, twitted, ‘their membership costs only two dollars’ (“Federal Court to Test Anti-NAACP Legislation,” 1957, p. 1-2).

They had front-row access to Thurgood Marshall, then NAACP State Counsel and later the first Black U.S. Supreme Court Justice, in action. It gave people a view of Black people fighting back against a system which repeatedly worked to deny Blacks full citizenship.

“In attacking the State’s legislation seeking to curb the activities of the NAACP, Marshall said, ‘I don’t think the court can close its eyes to the fact that the express purpose of these laws is to make it as difficult as possible to get compliance with the Supreme Court’s desegregation decisions. ... Up until now, nothing has been wrong with poor people pooling their resources to finance efforts to secure their rights” (“Federal Court to Test Anti-NAACP Legislation,” 1957, p. 2).

The paper showed local residents they were not the only community having its Black leaders called in to testify. NAACP chapters in Roanoke, Prince Edward County and Norfolk had also been summoned, as well as state chapter officials (“Judge Sadler Dismisses Subpoena against President of Local NAACP Chapter,” 1957). It also published stories about the NAACP’s court fight to operate in other states including in Louisiana and Alabama (“Three-Judge Court to Hear Plea to Remove Va. Ban,” 1959; “U.S. Supreme Court To Review NAACP Contempt Case,” 1957). The Alabama case reached the U.S. Supreme Court.

These cases gave readers a glimpse of what some of the people advocating for integration were facing within the Charlottesville community and across the state. In the seven stories specifically on the NAACP's fight, five included Black voices from lawyers to witnesses. The stories also included women, both White and Black. Sarah Patton Boyle, a White Charlottesville native and staunch civil right activist who published a book and articles on the topic testified in Richmond's U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals on behalf of the NAACP.

“[Boyle told a three-judge panel that] she had received more than 200 letters ranging from fairly reasonable arguments to ‘extreme threats and obscenities’ because of her anti-segregation activities. She also testified that in addition to the letters she had received ... distasteful telephone calls and a cross was burned under her bedroom window on Aug. 29, 1956.

“Mrs. Barbara Marx, also white, of Arlington, Va., an original litigant in the Arlington school segregation case, told the court that he had received many anonymous telephone calls, many of them obscene and ... [unintelligible text].

“Another Charlottesville witness for the NAACP was Mrs. Sarah Brooks. She testified that she had signed a paper at a general meeting of Negro parents in Charlottesville because ‘I wanted my children to have a better school.’

“However, under questioning by an attorney for the State, Mrs. Brooks said she was surprised to later learn that she was a party to a lawsuit.

“Mrs. Mildred Brown, a vice president of the Charlottesville-Albemarle chapter of the Virginia Council of Human Relations was the third white witness to testify in behalf of the NAACP in its test of Virginia's so-called ‘Anti-NAACP Laws.’ She too, told the jurists that she had been subjected to threats, anonymous telephone calls and obscene remarks after becoming publicly identified with racial segregation matters.

“A cross was burned in front of Mrs. Brown's home in September, 1956” (“Mrs. Boyle Testifies on Behalf of the NAACP,” 1957, p. 1).

While the story on the NAACP focused on the witness testimony, the article on the state's case against the NAACP focused on the judge's questions and the witnesses' answers.

“Col. C.W. Woodson, superintendent of Virginia State Police and Sheriff Herbert Adams of Buckingham County, Sheriff C.T. Coates of Halifax County and Sheriff Harold Taylor of Isle of Wight County, all testified that if they could obtain the lists of the NAACP, or any other organization engaged in racial activities such lists would be quite helpful to them if there were racial disturbances.

“Judge Walter E. Hoffman, one of the three federal judges hearing the case asked Woodson, if he did not already know leaders in Virginia, both white

and Negro, who are members of organizations engaged in racial activities and, if so, would it not be adequate to contact these leaders in case of racial strife rather than try to check a list of hundreds of members. Woodson replied that he believed it would be more helpful to have the names of all members in such organizations” (“State Police Head, Three County Sheriffs Say NAACP Membership Lists Would Be Helpful,” 1957, p. 1, 5).

It also reported on the mindset of those pushing to keep anti-NAACP laws.

“Delegate Mann, who represented the Arlington community, and a sponsor of several of the "Anti-NAACP Laws," testified at length as to the reason for his offering such bills. One of these reasons he said was based on the activities of John Kasper [a New Jersey-based member of the White Citizens Council, a white supremacy group who had been promoting violent protests and riots across the South] and another on what he had been reading of NAACP's activities in Texas.

“The Virginia lawmaker was subjected to a lengthy cross-examination by Spotswood Robinson III, NAACP Counsel, as to the application of these laws.

“Judge Maurice A. Sopher, chief judge of the court, asked Del. Mann, ‘For instance, a group of Colored People call a meeting and decide that they want to do something toward getting better public educational facilities for their children; then, they bring the problem before the NAACP and ask for help; the NAACP decides that there is merit to the complaint and agrees to handle the matter, plus a portion of the expense if the group is unable to finance the litigation in full...would such action on the part of the NAACP be in violation of such laws?’

“‘It would,’ Mann replied.” (“State Police Head, Three County Sheriffs Say NAACP Membership Lists Would Be Helpful,” 1957, p. 5).

The section above on the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune’s coverage of Courts & Crime, answered RQ2, which asks for the features of the Massive Resistance coverage. The paper focused on the Charlottesville desegregation case, following each ruling and appeal. As the court battles raged, the Tribune let readers hear for themselves why the NAACP was fighting and what they were fighting for. It showed Black people fighting and standing up for themselves, whether in the school desegregation case or about the NAACP anti-segregation laws. They heard from people who believed desegregation could and should happen, as well as the voices of those who were adamant it should not. This section also offers insight into RQ1, which sought to elicit the Hierarchy of Influences, especially the social system, from the content in the Massive

Resistance news coverage. When it comes to massive resistance, this paper would advocate against the societal system which kept the races separate. It showed people who could speak for themselves and had allies, albeit women who would also be considered members of a lower-ranking class in this society.

The Daily Progress

While the Black-owned Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune focused on local stories, The Daily Progress, the White-owned paper in Charlottesville, covered news from a wider geographic territory. The paper included 67 state stories, 34 national stories and 15 local stories. Most of its stories, almost 84 percent, were taken from the Associated Press. The stories overwhelmingly focused on the political maneuvers by the government to keep segregation, the legal battles, and the work of school officials to thwart or minimize integration. Within the 116 stories, 16 percent included Black sources and 5 percent included other minority sources (i.e., women, Latino, etc.).

A Legal Fight. The Daily Progress focused on different aspects of the desegregation battle in court than the Tribune. There were fewer stories in the sample about the Charlottesville desegregation case. The 34 courts and crime stories focused more on the battle against integration efforts in other school districts, the testing of the Pupil Placement Act and the disruption and violence brought on by integration efforts in other states. Nine out of the 34 stories included Black voices and two included women's voices, representing the section with the most minority sources.

The paper covered the trial of 16 men and women accused of violating a court order that prohibited anyone interfering with integration at Clinton High School, the first White public school in Tennessee to integrate after the Brown v. Board ruling ("Clinton Riot Photos Draw Fire

in Court,” 1957). The ensuing riots led to the arrival of National Guardsmen with tanks and the beating of a Black minister who escorted Black children to the school (“Clinton Riot Photos Draw Fire in Court,” 1957; “Clinton Trial Testimony Ends As Defense Rests Its Case,” 1957). The case left the members of the state chapter of the White Citizen’s Council, a White supremacist group, explaining their long-held belief in segregation of the races and their plans to focus on “legal methods, not by violence, to preserve the all-white school” (“Clinton Trial Testimony Ends as Defense Rests Its Case,” 1957, p. 12).

The Daily Progress shared a grim picture of the response to the Supreme Court’s order to integrate. It reported on “10 sticks of dynamite,” enough to level several houses, found in a Maryland Black man’s yard after he enrolled his children in a White school (“Bomb Found in Yard of Maryland Negro,” 1957). A Nashville school, worth \$500,000 at the time, was decimated by a bomb because a Black student was enrolled there in first grade (“Dept. of Justice Has Information on School Blast,” 1957). Six Black teens in California were charged with assault for attacking White students at a Black junior high school (“Six Negroes Attack White School Students,” 1957). Nashville police were instructed to read federal orders “prohibiting any interference with school segregation” and enjoining “boycotts of the newly integrated grammar schools” (“Nashville Police Armed with Copy of Federal Court Order,” 1957, p. 1). In Little Rock, Ark., National Guardsmen searched for but did not find anything after reports of a threat were called into the police and a woman called a newspaper, shouting: “They’re from out of town; they’re going to blow up the school” (“Bomb Scare Touches Off Search Of Little Rock High School By Platoon of Arkansas National Guardsmen,” 1958, p. 1).

Readers were updated on the court fight to keep schools segregated in Little Rock, Ark., as well. They learned Gov. Orval Faubus’ lawyers had walked out in a court case which was “the

first test of authority by the U.S. government with a state government over the emotion-torn issue of integrating the public schools” (“His Lawyers Walk Out When Judge Won’t Disqualify Self,” 1957, p. 1, 12). Faubus ordered National Guardsmen to surround the Little Rock Central High School to keep Black children from entering, “a move the governor said was taken to prevent violence” (“His Lawyers Walk Out When Judge Won’t Disqualify Self,” 1957, p. 1). It explained the legal maneuvers as a U.S. District Court judge refused to authorize a two-and-a-half-year delay before integrating Little Rock schools but allowed segregation to continue until a U.S. Supreme Court ruling was reached (“NAACP Asks Supreme Court To Integrate L. Rock School,” 1958). Using Thurgood Marshall as a source, the paper reported that the NAACP planned to ask the Supreme Court to again allow integration, but it was currently out of session for summer recess and, therefore, Faubus and the Little Rock school board planned to open the Central High School as White-only at the start of the 1958-1959 school year (“NAACP Asks Supreme Court To Integrate L. Rock School,” 1958). When the court convened a week later, the paper let readers know: “The highly charged Little Rock school integration issue hung suspended today after a Supreme Court decision to delay a showdown for at least two weeks” (“High Court Delays L. Rock Showdown,” 1958, p. 1).

The paper followed the challenges to the Pupil Placement Act, the state’s measure to dictate school assignments for children. The “law was attacked as an instrument to freeze school segregation and was defended as a valid act” (“Decision Expected in a Few Days in Arlington County School Case,” 1957, p. 1). Stories told of a White woman’s refusal to fill out the forms and her sons’ subsequent removal from Fairfax County schools as well as a Black father’s refusal to sign the forms so his 6-year-old daughter could begin school at a Black school (“Petersburg Lawsuit Attacks Placement Act,” 1958; “State Court Upholds Placement Act Bar,”

1957). It shared Placement Board member Hugh B. White testimony, stating “his decision [on where a child could go to school] was based on the ‘best interest of the child’” and that meant segregated schools (“Judge Reminds Placement Board Member of His Oath,” 1959, p. 1). “I would assign white to the white and the colored to the colored” (“Judge Reminds Placement Board Member of His Oath,” 1959, p. 1). Judge Walter E. Hoffman’s comments to White would elucidate the tension in the school desegregation conflict.

“‘You and I may not agree with the law,’ said Hoffman, ‘but I have taken an oath to do a duty like you have taken an oath, and I have had to eat it. How can you reconcile your position in the face of the law?’

“White said that he was not a lawyer and did not understand the finer points of the law. ‘I know that people haven’t voted on it (the Supreme Court ruling) and Congress hasn’t passed on it,’ he said” (“Judge Reminds Placement Board Member of His Oath,” 1959, p. 1).

The court proceedings offered a variety of rationales for why integration was not advisable:

- The presence of Black children at White schools “would cause racial tensions and isolation of Negroes among their classmates” (“Norfolk Will Integrate 17 Negroes; School Opening Here Is Postponed,” 1958, p. 1)
- A Black child would “be a very lonely boy” because “clubs and other activity groups already are formed among the pupils” (“Explains Opposition to Admitting Negro,” 1958, p. 1)
- Previously laws passed by Congress — the Morrill Act of 1890, which gave land grant colleges money and stated “if separate schools were maintained then the money must be divided equitably” and the Acts of Admission of New States, which gave “states exclusive control over schools” (“Fall Integration Asked By NAACP,” 1958, p. 10).

- The school board needed more time to meet, the residents of Norfolk needed to be informed about changes and it “would ‘unduly interfere with the proper administration of the schools affected upon the quality of instruction, not only of the white children already enrolled there in’ but also the Negro pupils” (“Norfolk Will Integrate 17 Negroes; School Opening Here Is Postponed,” 1958, p. 12).

There were no reasons given for why Black children should integrate. Comments from minority sources, don’t necessarily paint a picture for Black children. However, the paper did report on the NAACP’s statements as it continued to work through the court system:

- “I wonder if they still are thinking of an efficient school system as a segregated school system,” said Frank D. Reeves, an attorney for Black children in the Alexandria school district after a judge ruled the school board could not delay integration any longer (“Alexandria Denied Integration Delay,” 1959, p. 1).
- Spotswood Robinson, an NAACP attorney, reminded lawyers looking to use U.S. laws to fight desegregation that the “Supreme Court threw out segregated schools as unconstitutional” (“Fall Integration Asked By NAACP,” 1958, p. 10).
- “We still take the position the [sic] one child applying to a school should be admitted like any other child. ... The fact that he is a Negro should make no difference.” Oliver Hill, a Richmond-based NAACP lawyer, said this after deciding not to appeal his clients’ case against the Norfolk School Board’s pupil assignment plan (“Negroes Drop Appeal in Norfolk Case,” 1959, p. 1).

The paper offered an emotional rollercoaster ride as schools were “mandated” to integrate and then allowed to remain segregated as appeals worked their way through the court system (“Judge Stays Prince Edward School Order,” 1957; “Mandate in City School Case Issued,” 1957). By

1960, six years after the Brown v. Board ruling, the paper still reported how school officials were asking courts to “halt or slow” integration and the schools admitting or refusing Black children (“School Cases Before Court,” 1960, p. 1).

The section above demonstrates the feature of The Daily Progress news coverage of Massive Resistance, as asked in RQ5. It confirmed ideology that the races needed to remain separate, which offers insight into RQ4. The Daily Progress offered a more contentious coverage of the news from bombs and riots to people not following the rules and government officials working to circumvent the Supreme Court’s Brown v. Board of Education ruling. The battle between the federal and state governments in Little Rock saw particular coverage. It showcased how administrators and leaders around the state were fighting to keep schools segregated as court cases developed in Prince Edward County, Norfolk, Alexandria, and other places in Virginia. While Black lawyers were quoted, it showed more that they were present in the room than including their actual opinions and ideas.

Politics & Government

Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune

Educating the Electorate. The Tribune did not focus as heavily on politics and legislation as it did on the court battles to desegregate schools. The editor published 25 stories, most focused on local elections and politicians espousing their views on how to keep segregation. Only four stories in this section included Black sources. None of the stories included women or other minorities as sources.

In the elections, the candidates relied heavily on their views of the “school problem” to win voters. All the candidates backed segregation of schools. Those running to represent

Charlottesville in the Virginia House of Delegates, James F. Dulaney and William R. Hill, gave voters little diversity of opinion.

“On the matter of closing schools as an alternative to desegregating them, Hill states:

““I will do everything within my power to keep the schools segregated, short of closing them permanently.’

“Dulaney states:

““I am absolutely opposed to the integration of the races in our public schools. I am equally opposed to closing these schools. I believe that the laws now in force will permit us to keep them open and improve our present system of separate public schools” (“Dulaney - Hill Campaign for House Seat Quiet On Surface,” 1957, p. 1).

The Tribune reported that because Black voters had no one supporting desegregation, a plan had been created to submit write-in votes. However, the legality of doing that in a party primary election was in question (“Dulaney - Hill Campaign for House Seat Quiet On Surface,” 1957, p. 1).

Though campaign issues remained the same two years later, “freedom of choice” and ways “to maintain ‘massive resistance,’” the Tribune reported that Black voter participation had increased to “705, or more than half of their approximate total eligible vote of 1200” (“Burrows Unseats Del. William R. Hill By 81 Votes in Hard Fought Contest,” 1959, p. 1). “The Negro vote was the heaviest ever recorded here, and the largest in any local election percentage -wise” (“Burrows Unseats Del. William R. Hill By 81 Votes in Hard Fought Contest,” 1959, p. 1).

The paper covered the variety of opinions from politicians on how to deal with the Brown v. Board ruling. Colgate W. Darden, Jr., the president of the University of Virginia (based in Charlottesville) and a former governor of Virginia, repeatedly urged politicians to focus on a plan to allow local governments to decide the best options for their residents (“U. Va. President

Says Virginia Must Abandon ‘Massive Resistance’; Adopt Original Gray Com. Plan,” 1957; “U. Va. President Speaks Out on Integration Issue,” 1958).

“I think it would be costly if starting private schools meant abandoning public education. It is vital that the Negroes be educated. We cannot withdraw from them an education without paying a catastrophic price for it” (“U. Va. President Speaks Out on Integration Issue,” 1958, p. 1).

E. J. Oglesby, an Albemarle County school board member and president of the local Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties chapter, championed the plan to preserve segregation at all costs, promising “Charlottesville’s schools ‘will never be integrated” (“Local Defenders’ Group Head See No Integration Here, Ever,” 1957, p. 1).

In contrast, U.S. Sen. Jacob K. Javits, a Republican from New York, urged those in the audience at the University of Virginia to end “racial discrimination in our public school system” (“Sen. Javits Urges Ending Discrimination in Education,” 1957, p. 1). He said:

“Discrimination within education has directly contributed to our failure to develop fully the capabilities of young American [sic], including those in the minority groups. Indeed, that was the very basis of the Supreme Court’s decision in the school integration cases.” (“Sen. Javits Urges Ending Discrimination in Education,” 1957, p. 1).

The Tribune also paid close attention to the activity of the Virginia Committee on Offenses [sic] Against the Administration of Justice, better known as the Boatwright Committee. It reported when two men canvassed the community contacting Black parents who signed “the 1955 NAACP petition asking [sic – seems like a word is missing] elimination of segregation in the city’s public schools (“Representatives of Boatwright Com. Question NAACP Litigants,” 1957, p. 1). The Tribune interviewed parents subpoenaed to testify before the committee after their appearance, listing their names. Reginald Moss said “a recording of his conversation with two of the committee’s investigators was played back while he was testifying” and that he had signed the petition but had hoped a lawsuit would not be needed (“Boatwright Committee Quizzes

Litigants in Char'ville School Suit," 1957). "I'm interested in my children getting the best education my tax dollar can afford. They're not getting it" ("Boatwright Committee Quizzes Litigants in Char'ville School Suit," 1957). It continued to report as presidents of chapters around the state including "Norfolk, Newport News, Richmond, Farmville and Charlottesville" were told to deliver financial records and other documents to the committee ("Boatwright Committee Seeks NAACP Financial Record; Organization to Seek Relief Through Appeals Court," 1957, p. 1; "Local NAACP President Served 2nd Subpoena by Boatwright Com.," 1957).

RQ2, which asked about the features of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune's news coverage of Massive Resistance, was answered as evidenced in the above section on Politics and Government. The paper offered information about candidates running for office, all of whom said segregation should remain. It kept readers informed about those participating in the political process, whether via elections or committee summons. It once again showed Black people continuing to go on the record with their involvement in the court cases, as well as a few that were not. It also showed the political climate and how Black people were responding to it.

The Daily Progress

A Segregated Perspective. Government and political news articles dominated The Daily Progress' coverage of the Massive Resistance movement. Forty-four stories focused on political debates, the introduction of bills, the passage of laws and committee activity. Most of the stories (37) were pulled from the Associated Press wire. Twenty-nine stories focused on state news, 11 on national news and 4 on local news. Only six stories included a Black voice and three included a woman or other minority.

More than half of the news articles focused on the Virginia government's plans to circumvent integration. Among the ideas politicians considered and posed were:

- Gov. Thomas Stanley's plan that offered no avenue to integration ("Stanley Told His School Plan Won't Find Ready Welcome," 1956).
- Interposition, pursuing a way to create greater "division of federal and state authority" ("Legislative Committee Backs 1956 Interposition Resolution," 1957; "Stanley Asks Consideration of States Rights Question," 1957).
- Continuing to build segregated Black schools in hopes of offering equal but separate educational facilities ("Almond Upholds Funds Use to Build Separate Schools," 1957)
- Petitioning for more say from state officials when presidents nominate candidates for U.S. Supreme Court justice positions ("Almond Assails U.S. High Court," 1958)
- Reducing the budgets for teacher's salaries, student transportation and other state educational appropriations to a dollar and funneling the money usually allocated to tuition grants ("Southside Group Propose to Cut Off State School Aid," 1959).

The paper dedicated a third of its front page to share the views of residents attending the governor's Perrow Commission on Public Education hearings, where people could offer suggestions about the state's public school integration situation. Ideas covered leaned heavily on continuing segregation using tuition grants, sales taxes for education and state constitutional amendments ("Dure Urges Right to Discriminate as Key to State School Program," 1959; "'Free Choice' Wins Backing at Perrow School Hearing," 1959).

"States no longer may discriminate ... but the right of an individual to discriminate is beyond all challenge," Leon Dure, told the Perrow Commission in Richmond today.

“... Dure, a Georgia-born ex-newspaper man who has lived in Keswick since 1949 appeared before the commission in support of the ‘freedom of choice’ program for education in Virginia for which he has been campaigning for more than a year” (“Dure Urges Right to Discriminate as Key to State School Program,” 1959, p. 1).

He found support from University of Virginia mathematics professor E. J. Oglesby, a White supremacist.

“Oglesby, who heads the Charlottesville-Albemarle chapter of the strongly anti-integrationist Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, supported Dure’s plan. He said he favored freedom of choice in education both as a stop-gap defense against enforced integration and as a road to better education. He emphasized, however, that in his view the fight against the Supreme Court’s desegregation decision must go on in the interests of the state’s rights and constitutional government” (“Dure Urges Right to Discriminate as Key to State School Program,” 1959, p. 1).

In all the stories about finding ways to keep segregation, only one includes a minority voice. Oliver Hill, a Richmond-based NAACP attorney, spoke at the Perrow hearings:

“‘We are saturated with the American concept of liberty and there will be no let up in the activities of Negroes until we are granted the full and unremitted rights of an American citizen,’ he said.

“Turning to the tuition grant proposals, Hill added:

“‘No one in a democratic society has a right to have his private prejudices financed at public expense’ (‘Free Choice’ Wins Backing at Perrow School Hearing,” 1959, p. 1).

Rarely did the paper print stories favorable to integration. Only three stories offered any political viewpoints in favor of desegregation. They all came from politicians outside of Virginia: New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Maryland Gov. Theodore McKeldin and U.S. Sen. Henry Jackson from Washington state (“McKeldin Asks More Chance for The Negro,” 1957; “Rockefeller Criticizes Lag in Desegregation,” 1959; “Sen. Jackson Proposes Gradual Integration,” 1958).

The Daily Progress also paid close attention to the investigation into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the organization providing lawyers for the school desegregation campaign. Most of the stories focus on the members being summoned before the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, better known as the Boatwright Committee because of its chairman. The stories followed how NAACP members were “grilled” for hours, and questioned whether the NAACP had duped or coerced people to join court cases (“Boatwright Committee Grills Two State NAACP Officials,” 1957; “NAACP Leaders Are Summoned,” 1957; “NAACP Lawyer Hill Reports He’s Trying To Correct Boatwright Committee’s Ideas,” 1957; “NAACP Lawyer Insists School Plaintiffs Made Own Decision,” 1958).

“... Asked by a committee member whether he had given the Prince Edward complainants ‘an ultimatum’ [NAACP lawyer Spotswood] Robinson replied:

“‘If you call my statement, I would not undertake to represent them unless they sought non-segregated facilities, then I gave them that kind of ultimatum.’

“But, the NAACP lawyer added: ‘I want to say ... that it was entirely up to the people.’

“Later in his testimony Robinson, asked whether he and the NAACP lawyer Oliver Hill had not ‘put the thought into the minds of those children and their parents to attack the segregation laws’ of Virginia, told the committee:

“ ‘We may have put the thought there, but it was up to the people. These are not the only people I have given that advice to. I have given that sort of advice to people who decided they didn’t want any lawsuit ...’ (“NAACP Lawyer Insists School Plaintiffs Made Own Decision,” 1958, p. 1).

While this usually paints the NAACP as an antagonist, two stories showed a different side to the Boatwright Committee. The paper covered the fallout between lawmakers when the closed nature of the meetings was challenged. Del. John B. Boatwright contended the meetings should be closed because NAACP members were using “their appearances before the committee to deliver long propaganda speeches and the committee felt it better, they not be made in public.” When Del. Kathryn Stone suggested opening the meetings to the public, Del. Frank Moncure

accused her of being an “integrationist” and “hostile to the work” the committee was trying to achieve (“Open Doors Rule for Probe Loses,” 1958).

In the only in-house story created by the paper, a reporter probed into news that the Boatwright Committee was surreptitiously recording the Black parents involved in the Charlottesville desegregation case when investigators visited their homes. It is the only time Black parents’ voices, especially those not part of the NAACP chapter leadership, were heard in this section and one of the few times in the entire sample. Here is an excerpt:

“[Reginald R.] Moss said a recording of his conversation with two investigating agents early last week was played back at the Wednesday hearing. He told a Daily Progress reporter he was unaware the recording had been made and said the only thing he saw the two agents carrying was a brief case” (“Brief Case Believed Secret Hiding Place of Tape Recorder,” 1957, p. 1)

...
“Mrs. Julia Martin of 222 Lankford Ave., who had been subpoenaed but excused said she had suspected the possibility that a recording had been made when the agents came to her home.

“I wondered why they moved things off the top of my television to set their brief case down. Generally, people set a brief case on the floor” (“Brief Case Believed Secret Hiding Place of Tape Recorder,” 1957, p. 12).

The section above answered RQ5, which addresses the features of The Daily Progress news coverage on Massive Resistance. The Politics and Government news articles were published most often on the front page of the newspaper. They focused on the news of the day, specifically how lawmakers were working to circumvent the Supreme Court’s desegregation order. A prime example of the paper’s worldview was shown when it dedicated a third of its front page (as well as jump page space) to coverage of the Perrow Committee hearings, and specifically one man’s idea on how to circumvent the desegregation order. It would be accompanied by a large portion of the editorial, which is examined in the next chapter. It was further demonstrated in answering to RQ4, inquiring about the Hierarchy of Influences,

especially the social system and worldview. The paper painted the NAACP as antagonists against the government as it testified but did not cooperate completely with the Boatwright Committee. The paper reported that the Boatwright Committee had accused “Robinson and 10 other attorneys affiliated with the NAACP of unprofessional conduct” in late 1957 (“NAACP Lawyer Insists School Plaintiffs Made Own Decision,” 1958, p. 1). When a lawmaker offered a dissenting opinion on how the Boatwright Committee was working, the woman was lambasted before the other delegates. The paper did offer a story that showed a Black perspective when it learned the Boatwright Committee was secretly taping investigators’ interviews. It is the only time in this sample when parents from the Charlottesville desegregation case were interviewed.

Education

Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune

A Change Can Come. The Tribune spent almost as much time covering the integration process in Charlottesville and around the nation as it did the court battles to desegregate schools. The paper published 35 articles in the education category that detailed the desegregation orders and stays for Charlottesville schools, the process Black parents were going through to apply for their children to attend White schools, the continued efforts to build Black schools and what integration looked like in other communities. Eight stories (23 percent) included Black sources and two included women as sources.

The picture painted by the news stories is a slow, laborious process. The U.S. Supreme Court was holding firm to its second ruling in 1955, pushing school integration cases back to federal courts, but few districts were integrating (“Progress in Integration Reported In Southern Schools,” 1957). Opponents to integration could be found from New York to Chicago and through the Deep South (“Litigation In New York; Mobs In ‘Windy City’; Status Quo in Deep

South,” 1957). Oklahoma City refused to integrate Black and White teachers at its schools (“Oklahoma City School Board Refuse to Integrate Negro Teachers,” 1957). Black students trying to enroll at all-White schools in Arlington were denied entry (“Negro Pupils Turned Away in Arlington,” 1957).

However, the paper also shared stories where integration was working. The parents of the nine Black children attending Little Rock Central High School joined the Parent Teacher Association (“Negro Parents Join Little Rock’s Central High School P-TA,” 1957). Teachers in other Oklahoma towns were integrating (“Oklahoma City School Board Refuse to Integrate Negro Teachers,” 1957). George P. Inge Jr., a Charlottesville native and the principal of a high school in San Antonio, Texas, shared how his district implemented integration without violence (“G.P. Inge, Jr., Tells How Integration Was Accomplished in San Antonio,” 1957). The paper announced the promotion of a former Charlottesville resident who would be supervising an integrated high school as well as several others in Bronx, N.Y. (“Former Resident Appoint Supervisor In New York Schools,” 1959). Students from Jefferson School and Burley High School, both Black schools, attended an integrated summer band program (“Several Local School Students Prepared For Integration,” 1957).

The entire community seesawed between integration and segregation as one court ruling opened schools for desegregation, and another delayed the process. The paper followed the debate over whether pupil placement forms were needed, as the state board said yes and the court said no. More than 50 parents had not signed one for their children at the beginning of the 1957-1958 school year (“56 Pupil Placement Records Missing,” 1957; “City School Board Will Comply With Court Order Barring Use Of Pupil Placement Forms,” 1957; “Virginia Pupil Placement Board Issues Statement,” 1957). It also shared the struggle between Black families

and the school district as a testing process was put in place to determine the competence of students interested in integrating. At first the students boycotted the tests, believing they were “discriminatory” (“Eleven Negro Applicants for Lane Fail To Report For Test,” 1958; “Fifteen Elementary Pupils Boycott Tests For Transfers,” 1958, p. 1). When the court ruled the tests had to be taken before they could be defined as discriminatory, the tests were rescheduled (“School Board Re-Schedules Achievement Tests, Interviews,” 1958). The paper detailed the process which included a series of tests taken by the children from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. and a second day of interviews, where the parents were questioned as well (“Nine High School Pupils Take Achievement Tests,” 1958). In the midst of all this, school boards were still making plans to renovate and build all-Black schools (“Albemarle County Hastens to Build Negro Schools,” 1959; “Voters Approve \$1,200,000 School Bond Issue; 1200 ‘For’, 472 ‘Against,’” 1957).

Whether due to missing papers in the sample or the fact that Black schools were not closed, the paper did not focus on the closing of Venable Elementary and Lane High schools. It did follow the school board’s actions to reopen the schools, even if required desegregation (“City School Board Says It Will Reopen Schools At ‘Early Date,’” 1959). The paper focused more on the intricacies of how the Black children would be integrated. For the first 12 Black children assigned to integrate, it didn’t look like what parents originally imagined. The two high schoolers and 10 elementary students were tutored in the superintendent’s office at Venable Elementary School (“Charlottesville School Board Presents Desegregation Plan to Judge Paul,” 1959).

When the school buildings were actually integrated, the paper described the first day this way:

“Lane High School and Veneable [sic] Elementary were integrated smoothly here Tuesday morning when three and nine Negro pupils marched quietly to classes in each school respectively.

With their heads held high and looking straight ahead, the children approached the two schools at a brisk pace and were received by school officials as they entered. The whole operation took place in a few minutes without any

unpleasantness in evidence” (“School Desegregation Becomes A Reality Here,” 1959, p. 1).

The Tribune would continue to follow the attempts of more parents to integrate the schools. With the first children integrated, more Black parents sought to integrate elementary schools across Charlottesville, as well as the high school (“29 Negro Children Seek to Attend Johnson, Lane, McGuffey, Venable Schools,” 1959). However, the Tribune would report that by the following year, only four additional Black students were enrolled in White schools and only at those already integrated (“Four Negro Children Assigned to Lane and Venable Schools,” 1960).

The previous section on Education answered RQ2, which asked about the features of the news coverage about Massive Resistance in the Tribune. The Tribune showed readers the process of integration from the Black perspective, which was slow and laborious, and filled with hurdles for Black children. It showed that integration, without violence or detriment to White and Black children, could occur. It also answered RQ1, which inquired about inferences on the Hierarchy of Influences’ social system and particularly worldview. The worldview here is seen in what is and is not covered in this sample. It pushed against the idea that Black people were inferior and could not integrate peacefully.

The Daily Progress

A Disruptive Venture. The Daily Progress printed 31 stories in the education category, focusing both on efforts to integrate and keep schools segregated in Virginia. The paper printed 17 state stories, eight national stories and six local stories. The theme overall seems to be the fight to keep segregation and the violence and disruption of integration. It created a picture of integration as a continuing problem. The paper published a story about the principal of a high school in Tennessee, where integration efforts had turned violent, deciding to leave to pursue a

doctorate in New York (“Brittain to Leave Clinton High School,” 1957). It followed the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, which occurred under presidential and military intervention.

“Army paratroopers brought the nine Negro students into Central High School for the third consecutive day today and white students waiting at the front entrance laughed and joked as they came up the steps.

“Nobody booed. Something like a cheer rose amid the laughter.

“Over 200 white students, more than on previous days, clustered on the steps in front of the doors.

“A lieutenant walked in front of the six Negro girls and three boys. One soldier followed them. The officer was carrying a pistol in his holster, but the soldier appeared unarmed” (“Little Rock Serene But Still Guarded,” 1957, p. 1).

A week later, the paper was still carrying news of the Black students and their military guards.

“An escort of soldiers encountered no trouble today in taking nine Negro students into Central High School for a 10th day of integrated classes.

About 100 white students were amassed before the front entrance. Three or four of them displayed small Confederate flags but there was none of the hooting or jeering that marked the last two days.

... Sixteen rifle-carrying National Guardsmen escorted the Negroes halfway across the campus. There four regular Army paratroopers met the Negroes and took them the rest of the way into the school” (“Soldiers Escort Nine to School,” 1957).

A rare story with a relatively positive headline focused more on the budgetary and personnel problems associated with integrating schools in New York City (“Progress Reported in NY Integration,” 1957). Only one story offered notes of an upbeat perspective on integration, but it also pointed out the “federal integration regulations sometimes clash sharply with traditional patterns and state laws” and its headline hinted toward disaster (“South Is Facing Another Crisis,” 1959, p. 1).

“There is no indication what will happen in the next few days. But the reopening of the public high school in Little Rock, Ark., and the end of Virginia’s massive resistance have had an appreciable effect.

“The voice of the moderate has been heard more often in recent months. Some citizens have formed organizations designed to keep public schools open even if it means token integration. Groups of ministers and professional persons have issued statements along similar line [sic].

“...The number of Negroes in desegregated situations has gone up from 256,020 from March 1955 to 447,022 in May 1959” (“South Is Facing Another Crisis,” 1959, p. 1).

The paper focused mostly on the school boards’ actions in response to the integration orders. Districts decided to continue with plans to build Black schools (“Albemarle Board Agrees on School Building Program,” 1958; “Snead Defends School Board’s Action; Attorney Is Retained,” 1957). They also chose people to carry out the application process created by the state Pupil Placement Board (“City School Costs Threaten Tax Hike,” 1957). When integration was required, schools shut down as required by state law and districts sought state funds to cover the costs (“Norfolk School Bill \$693,000,” 1958; “Norfolk Seeks \$459,173 for Closed Schools,” 1958). Patrons could read about Prince Edward County, where the board closed all public schools, not just the ones being integrated (“Prince Edward to Make Plan Work,” 1959). Private schools for White children were organized (“97 New Applicants at Warren Private School,” 1959; “Prince Edward to Make Plan Work,” 1959; “School Accredited in Norfolk, Warren,” 1958).

The Daily Progress kept readers informed as Warren County High School emptied of all its White students in the 1958-1959 school year, as Black students began attending the school (“Two Students Withdraw at Front Royal,” 1959). Private schools were created, and state tuition grants were requested as alternatives for White students (“97 New Applicants at Warren Private School,” 1959; “Front Royal Plans Private School Classes,” 1959; “Two Students Withdraw at Front Royal,” 1959; “Warren County To Know Fate Monday,” 1959). As White parents continued plans to stay away from the integrated school for another school year, The Daily

Progress reported that American Viscose Corp., “Front Royal’s largest employer,” tried to negotiate with the NAACP to have the Black students leave the White school (“Overtures Made for Withdrawal of 18 Negroes from Warren High,” 1959). The workers’ union was a strong supporter of the Warren County Educational Foundation, which was organizing the private schools for White children (“Overtures Made for Withdrawal of 18 Negroes from Warren High,” 1959). The company got involved because it no longer planned to allow the union to use payroll deductions to support the private schools and said it was facing “a shortage of supervisory personnel because of the school problem” (“Overtures Made for Withdrawal of 18 Negroes from Warren High,” 1959).

The section on Education answered RQ5 about the features of The Daily Progress news coverage of Massive Resistance. It also answered RQ4 about the Hierarchy of Influences, especially the social system and worldview. The Daily Progress printed from a worldview that desegregation was a disruptive idea, confirming already established societal norms. Confirmation of that is seen in the features, answering question 5. The paper focused on the problems caused by desegregation orders were followed in places around the country like Tennessee and Arkansas. It also focused on the school closures and work being done to provide private schools across the state of Virginia, where desegregation had been court ordered.

Community

Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune

Those On the Other Side. The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune offered its readers a different view of the Massive Resistance struggle, one that showed people working toward integration. Seventeen of the 25 front-page stories covering community involvement in the Massive Resistance era dealt with people working toward integration. The paper focused a great

deal on the NAACP, offering a broader view of the organizations work. The NAACP was not only in the courtroom and legislative committee meetings. The organization helped Black newspapers, honored students working to integrate schools, and set a broader agenda for the fight for civil rights (“Local Elks and 11 Plaintiffs in School Case Attend Elks Sixtieth Annual Convention In Atlantic City, N. J.,” 1959; “NAACP Says It Aided Arkansas State Press,” 1960; “Thurgood Marshall’s 1959 Report On Desegregation,” 1960). The newspaper wrote about 3,000 members gathering for a state conference in Richmond to hear retired baseball star Jackie Robinson speak (“Jackie Robinson Addresses Virginia NAACP,” 1957).

“‘It is not the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP) which is using force’ in the segregation controversy, the former Dodgers’ third baseman told his listeners. ‘It is rather the enemies of progress who are resorting to force’

“Branding the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens and some of their supporters as being the real advocates of violence, Robinson declared them to be real enemies, not only of integration but also of democracy” (“Jackie Robinson Addresses Virginia NAACP,” 1957, p. 1).

Eugene Williams, the state’s membership chairman and a Charlottesville resident said the NAACP hoped to have 28,000 members across the state in 1957 “because we’ve got the best advertising co-managers we could have— Gov. Stanley and Sen. Byrd” (“Jackie Robinson Addresses Virginia NAACP,” 1957, p. 1).

The paper showed members articulating the struggle across the South and challenging Blacks not to be cowed by fear but to push forward for equality.

“‘Everything Virginia does toward denying the Negro his full civil rights the Deep South does better,’ Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast Regional Secretary of the NAACP told members of the Charlottesville Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at its annual membership meeting held at Burley High School last Friday night.

“‘Albemarle County’s Negro schools are as bad as any I’ve ever seen anywhere in the Deep South,’ the NAACP executive declared. Referring to the Albemarle County Training School which she had seen during the afternoon

before her address. Mrs. Hurley observed: ‘I think if I had children that had to go to that school I saw this afternoon, I’d be fighting to the last breath.’”

“... In a blistering attack upon Negroes for what she described as the fear so many of them have of the consequences in their fight for equality, the NAACP leader, pointed out, ‘If we only knew how scared some white people are that we will achieve our goal, we’d go ahead full speed and get our rights without further delay.’”(“NAACP Leader Speaks Here,” 1958, p. 1, 4).

The NAACP wasn’t the only organization working towards integration. The newspaper covered a collaboration of White and Black citizens with the Charlottesville-Albemarle chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations (“Human Relations Group Holds First Workshop,” 1957) The organization hosted speakers offering a different perspective on race relations than the feelings that precipitated the creation of Massive Resistance laws.

Col. Benjamin Muse, a columnist for the Washington-Post Times Herald, told the group:

“Clear thinking race relations has been so outlawed in the South that you have to go to a bootlegger to get it ... an alarming kind of intellectual debasement has taken place—the wide dissemination of errors — to serve the purpose of people who thrive on race prejudice” (“Human Relations Group Holds First Workshop,” 1957, p. 1).

To combat the prejudice, the chapter members were encouraged to become “politically active as individuals” (“Human Relations Group Holds First Workshop,” 1957, p. 1).

“‘Don’t wait for the platform which fully expresses your sentiments. Support those who are most likely to break the logjam of ‘massive resistance.’ Make politicians feel that moderates are a force to be reckoned with. There are plenty of them if only they would assert themselves,’ the veteran liberal asserted” (“Human Relations Group Holds First Workshop,” 1957, p. 1).

The paper also covered a meeting when the organization brought in an expert to debunk common prejudicial stereotypes. Dr. Otto Klineberg, a psychology professor at Columbia University, had been a co-author in a statement to the U.S. Supreme Court about the impact of racial segregation:

“... sociological evidence contained in the psychologists’ statement followed two major lines:

“(1) That there is no known basis at this time to consider any racial group intellectually inferior to another; and

“(2) That segregation, when imposed on one group by another, has a harmful effect on children.” (“Dr. Klineberg, Noted Psychologist, Addresses Human Relations Council,” 1958, p. 1).

While the paper focused on the work of the NAACP and the Human Relations Council, it also reported on segregationists’ community events and shared their viewpoints. When U.S. Rep. John Bell Williams, a Democrat from Mississippi, gave the keynote address to a packed auditorium at Lane High School, the Tribune reported on it. The meeting was sponsored by the Albemarle chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, a White supremacist group, and broadcast on the radio (“Hear Mississippian Praise on Resistance To Integration,” 1957). The paper reported that the Charlottesville school board’s attorney, “former Governor John S. Battle, State Sen. E.O. McCue, Jr., Del. Henry B. Gordon (city) and Albemarle and Greene Counties Representative, E.C. Compton” were seated on stage as “guests of honor” (“Hear Mississippian Praise on Resistance To Integration,” 1957, p. 1). Other people in the audience included: “City Democratic Chairman Allan N. Spitzer and City Republican Chairman J. Tevis Michie, Count Democratic Chairman, H. Ashby Harris, County Republican Chairman Robert R. Harmon and Albemarle Supervisors Edward L. Smith, Robert Thraves and M. Y. Sutherland, Jr., appeared on stage as guest of honor. Out of the area honor guests were Frank Moncure of Stafford County and State Sen. Charles Moses of Appomattox” (“Hear Mississippian Praise on Resistance To Integration,” 1957, p. 1).

It also reported that not all Blacks were in favor of desegregation. In Alabama, a group called the Southern Negro Improvement Association said it did not want integration of any “public tax-supported institutions such as parks, recreation halls, schools and colleges”

(“Birmingham Negro Group Opposed to Integration,” 1959, p. 1). The group preferred separate but equal facilities (“Birmingham Negro Group Opposed to Integration,” 1959).

The above section answered RQ2 about the features of the Tribune news coverage of Massive Resistance. It also answered RQ1 about the inferred Hierarchy of Influences, especially the social system and worldview. The paper’s published content showed people working together, both Black and White, toward integration. It showed the broader scope of the NAACP’s work, including honoring students and helping newspaper organizations. It showed that NAACP was not the only organization working in the community toward integration. Black and White people were part of local organizations, seeking new ways to educate their communities about integration. However, the paper also showed that everyone did not agree, even within the Black community.

The Daily Progress

A Hard No. The Daily Progress published few front-page stories based on community activism. Only seven stories were included in this category. However, those that it did publish focused on community members fighting against integration. The paper published a protest by the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties in Arlington, sparked by the NAACP’s co-sponsorship of a county political meeting. The meeting included two candidates for the school board (“12 Arlington Defenders Picket Political Meeting,” 1956). The paper reported that the Kiwanis Club in Marshall, Tex., omitted saying the pledge of allegiance in their meeting because of the Little Rock incident. The use of federal troops to escort the nine children into the Central High School was called “the darkest day in Southern history since Reconstruction days” (“Texas Kiwanians Drop Pledge to Flag as Protest,” 1957, p. 1).

The paper localized an AP story about the Defenders, which they called a “pro-segregation group,” interviewing E. J. Oglesby, president of Charlottesville’s chapter. He, along with members from Norfolk, Farmville, Arlington, and Newport News planned to meet about creating private schools if their public schools were desegregated (“Defenders’ Head Calls Meeting to Discuss Private School Plans,” 1958).

Oglesby said: “We don’t think there will be any difficulty in finding places in Charlottesville to teach white children. Of course, it will be up to the Negroes, who started this whole thing to find places for their children” (“Defenders’ Head Calls Meeting to Discuss Private School Plans,” 1958, p. 1).

His sentiments were echoed by the state president of the Defenders, Robert B. Crawford, a Farmville resident: “We want to save the public schools as long as possible, but the people will close them rather than have integration forced on us” (“Defenders’ Head Calls Meeting to Discuss Private School Plans,” 1958, p. 1).

The paper followed different organizations as they began working to create private schools for children. A group of 10 White mothers whose children attended Venable School in Charlottesville began work to create a private school in case integration closed Venable (“Venable Patrons Ready to Provide Temporary Schooling for Pupils,” 1958). “We’re neither an integrationist nor a segregationist group. We represent various points of view, but the one point at which we all agree is in balking at the idea of doing away with the public school system” (“Venable Patrons Ready to Provide Temporary Schooling for Pupils,” 1958, p. 1).

The paper did also print stories about those who wanted public schools to remain open. The Committee to Preserve Public Schools, an Arlington-based group of 600 members, considered seeking a court order to defy the governor and keep schools open (“Arlington Group Expects To Bar School Closing,” 1958). They were not championing integration, they just

wanted to challenge the governor's ability to close local schools against the community members' wishes. "It is not the purpose of this group to settle the segregation issue ... it is the purpose of this group to make sure that public schools are not closed as this issue is being solved" ("Arlington Group Expects to Bar School Closing," 1958, p. 10).

It printed a plea by a minister, president of the Norfolk-based Committee for Public Schools, who said "extremists are still out to destroy public schools in Virginia and the South ..." ("Norfolk Minister Says Fight for Schools Isn't Won," 1959, p. 1). The Rev. James C. Brewer believed integration should occur instead of "destruction of public schools. ... The problems we face in trying to keep our public schools ... are part of the problems of justice and human rights which face all the people in our nation" ("Norfolk Minister Says Fight for Schools Isn't Won," 1959, p. 1).

Only one story showed an African American viewpoint. The Daily Progress printed a story about the Virginia Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers ("Negro P-TA Ends Session," 1958, p. 1).

There, Dr. John W. Davis, the NAACP's "head of teacher education and security" said:

"We 'must never grow weary or become disappointed in our efforts to fight for the educational, cultural and spiritual improvement of our children.

"... 'American democracy belongs no more to a white man or white woman than to you and me.

"Finally, we must continue to fight for law and order in this country, applied with equal vigor to rich and poor, black and white'" ("Negro P-TA Ends Session," 1958, p. 1).

The Daily Progress content in the Community section answered RQ5 about the features of Massive Resistance news coverage. It predominantly focused on groups trying to save segregation. It more dangerously gave an organization with vast power to change laws, because it was made up of state and local lawmakers as well as prominent businessmen, front-page space

to air its ideas. RQ4, about inferred Hierarchy of Influences, especially the social system and worldview, was also answered. The newspaper's content reinforced the predominant view of the era: keeping segregation. It printed stories from local groups providing private schools. On occasion, it also printed stories about groups who wanted public schools to stay open. This would mean integration, although the organizations expressly said they were not trying to desegregate schools. They simply didn't want to destroy public schools by closing or defunding them.

A Comparative View

The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and The Daily Progress had different focuses. This can be seen by what they chose to focus on. The Tribune shared more local stories; The Daily Progress focused on statewide stories. The Tribune printed more stories in the Courts & Crimes category and The Daily Progress printed more Government & Politics stories. The Tribune included Black sources in 31 percent of its stories, where The Daily Progress only included 16 percent.

However, the strongest differences show in the content itself. At a time when segregation was a way of life, the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune showed Black people fighting for a different way of life. It showed integration working in schools and shared the voices of those who believed the races could work together. It was not blind to the segregationist view, publishing the societal norms of the day as politicians ran for office and school board members planned to stop or slow integration. The Daily Progress confirmed societal norms of the day, rarely showing a different viewpoint. It focused on government maneuvering to circumvent the *brown v. Board of education* and maintain the status quo. It gave groups who pushed

segregationist ideology front-page billing and offered readers example after example of the violence and disruption integration efforts caused.

Shoemaker and Reese's social system level in the Hierarchy of Influences Model allows for research that focuses on in "whose interests" all the other levels work. This is done in part by the ideology shared in its content. The worldview of The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune is vastly different from the Daily Progress. The Tribune showed a world where people could work together as partners, both Black and White, where Black students could meet all the demands placed on them by educational administrators, where Black people were more than competent enough to defend themselves in court. All of this stood outside of societal norms of the day. The Daily Progress showed a world disrupted and at some points violent by a call to mix Black and White children together in school. It reinforced the ideology that said Black people were inferior and therefore not worth similar treatment as Whites.

In the next chapter, I continue to see how worldview is exposed in the editorial content from both newspapers.

CHAPTER 8

THE POWER OF OPINION: FINDINGS ON THE EDITORIAL PAGE

An editorial is a glimpse into what the news organization as an entity decides is important and the organization's "own position" on a particular topic (Le, 2010, p. 1). Le believes editorials should be "studied by themselves" (Le, 2010, p. 3). This chapter does that, focusing on the rich content of the editorials published in the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and The Daily Progress at the height of the Massive Resistance movement. Here the men behind the editorial columns expressed their worldviews. Clearly the role of the Hierarchy of Influences, especially the worldview, were significantly relevant to understand the content the newspapers produced at this historical moment.

Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune Editorials

The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune published 46 editorials about the integration of schools issue from 1956 to 1960. The Tribune used its editorial column to express how important they thought the Massive Resistance fight was both in the Charlottesville community and across the state.

"As this is being written, it would appear that the next move in this historic school case will either be to admit Negro children, or close the schools affected by cutting off state funds. Whichever action is taking is going to make history in the Old Dominion" ("Judge Bryan's Decision," 1957, p. 2).

Two years later, the lack of progress would weigh heavily on the Tribune leadership. The Tribune's assessment of integration issue was bleak across the country:

"In few places, North, South, East and West is school integration anything more than token. Dividing lines in the school districts are not easily removed. Housing facilities remain about the same unless a federal program is followed and often the federal developments are just as segregated" ("Let's Re-Evaluate the Situation," 1959, p. 2).

The Tribune did not use wire stories or a large number of reporters to cover news events. The editorials became a place to talk about news gleaned from other organizations. For example, the Tribune did not run news articles about Sputnik, the world's first satellite launched from Russia. However, it was mentioned several times as an analogy in editorials. The Tribune used the event to explain the importance of the advancement of education on an integrated basis so all Americans could work together to protect the U.S. from attack ("Politicians Fiddle While Rome Burns," 1957). When Vice President Richard Nixon called for more George Washington Carvers, the Tribune again used it as a moment to push for equal education ("Soviet's Scientific Feats Underscore U.S. Need for Integrated Education," 1957).

Editorials applauded and criticized people and events on both sides of the integration issue. They showed hope and frustration, patience, and disquietude. Five themes were identified from these writings:

- Standing and fighting
- Coming together
- Political manipulation
- Equality
- Tolerance/Patience
- Frustration

The following sections discuss each theme.

A Battle for Change

The Tribune championed Blacks challenging the status quo to seek better circumstances for the race. The paper published 11 editorials categorized as articles about standing and fighting.

Voting, especially, was a key tool to advocate for change.

“It is high time that we learn the art of putting first things first. With the Negro fighting for first class citizenship and all that it implies, he defeats himself and his cause by failing to vote. The sooner he learns that power to get things done lies mainly in the ballot and not petitions and delegations, the better it will be for him. To accumulate such power will require intelligent, long and tedious work on the part of those of political vision. But after all, it will pay big dividends and leave fewer wounds to heal” (“Political Participation Is Democratic Way of Life,” 1957, p. 2).

It was understood that this would not be a quick remedy.

“Serious and sensible political participation is necessary if we hope to enhance our democratic way of life. It is the main defense which all people need and which the Negro needs most. This defense cannot be built up in a day, month or year. It may require years to achieve such an objective. But we do not live for ourselves nor our day only. Good citizenry demands that we build for our children and unborn posterity that the world may be better for them because of our having lived it” (“Political Participation Is Democratic Way of Life,” 1957, p. 2).

The Tribune’s writer, presumably editor Randolph Louis White, chastised Black voters for

“apathy, indifference or lack of awareness” when it came to voting (“The Community and

Politics,” 1957, p. 2). He understood part of the reason why: “The Negro has been

‘disenfranchised’ because of an apparent willingness to be led by interests which don’t want any

Negro political action” (“The Community And Politics,” 1957, p. 2) He encouraged church, civic

and social organization leaders to galvanize their membership to vote. “Let our motto be: ‘Let’s

run to vote before we run to court!’” (“The Community and Politics,” 1957, p. 2).

The Tribune recognized that no candidate would be ideal for the Black voters.

“In present day politics in the South, with the question of racial integration in the public schools being paramount in the minds of most people — white and Negro alike — no clear-thinking person can seriously expect any candidate for political office to openly declare himself as being in favor of integrating the schools. That would be political suicide. The crying shame of the whole mess is the fact that we Negroes who just won't qualify to vote, howl the loudest for someone to stick his neck out politically for us when we haven't enough votes to elect a dog-catcher...and won't seriously try to muster them” (“Nothing to Be Gained by Write-in Vote,” 1957, p. 2).

Even so, the Tribune dangled examples from Richmond and Atlanta, Ga., to encourage its audience. The constituency of Richmond voted a Black man on the school board and in both Atlanta and Richmond there were Black police officers (“Nothing to Be Gained by Write-in Vote,” 1957).

“The only reason for these conditions in Richmond and Atlanta is that Negroes are coming of age and are working intelligently to solve their problems, which always wins support from responsible white leaders” (“Nothing to Be Gained by Write-in Vote,” 1957, p. 2).

Those words express an optimism about what could be, but were tempered by a reminder that this achievement would require “a sane and carefully planned long-range program” (“Nothing to Be Gained by Write-in Vote,” 1957, p. 2).

The Tribune applauded the NAACP for shifting gears in 1959 and saying it would look to push voting as its next major goal. “For, after all, the ballot is the only media by which the PEOPLE make their desires known in a community-wide problem that involves taxpayers’ money” (“NAACP Re-Evaluates Its Thinking,” 1959, p. 2).

White, a NAACP member and original plaintiff in the Charlottesville school desegregation case, understood fighting for change could mean personal sacrifice. Still, the Tribune disagreed with the organization’s position of withholding its membership list.

“It is true in some instances that reprisals have been taken against some members of the NAACP. However, as we view it, those who join the NAACP

know that it is a militant organization dedicated to fight for full citizenship rights for Negroes in a legal manner, should consider the consequences before becoming members: not become fearful afterwards.

“As far as we are concerned, any individual who seeks the enjoyment of benefits should be willing to pay the price. The weakness on the part of some of our people to have others pull their chestnuts out of the fire must be overcome before Negroes, or any other racial group for that matter, can hope to be regarded as fit to receive the consideration they seek.

“Why not publish membership lists and lists of contributors: separate the sheep from the goats. Once that is done the NAACP will stand a much better chance of regaining some of its lost prestige. For whenever honesty and integrity is the practice of any organization or individual he or it has nothing to fear” (“Why All the Secrecy about NAACP Membership Lists,” 1959, p. 2).

The sentiments were repeated several times over the years as the NAACP organization was scrutinized by the Boatright and Thomson committees (“‘N.A.A.C.P. Laws’ Scuttled,” 1958; “NAACP Re-Evaluates Its Thinking,” 1959).

“Personally we have no quarrel with any law that would require any organization to make public its membership lists and its financial accounting. Nor should any organization that is democratic hesitate to do just this when called upon by proper authority. Our only quarrel is with the application of such laws. Unless they are applied to all organizations which they purport to cover alike, they are arbitrary because they seek to penalize an organization whose cause is not a popular one insofar as the majority of the populace is concerned. It is, we believe, for this very reason that the 3-judge Federal Court scuttled these so-called ‘NAACP Laws’” (“‘N.A.A.C.P. Laws’ Scuttled,” 1958, p. 2).

The Tribune did not endorse all methods of fighting for civil rights. When Richmond organizers created a prayer event, the Tribune scoffed at the idea. “Let’s not emulate the Pharisee” (“Is a ‘Pilgrimage of Prayer’ Necessary for Public Schools?” 1958). The editorial pointed to voting as the best option tool for forward advancement.

“Legally, Negroes have won the battle, morally, we are making progress; politically, we’ve barely scratched the surface. So, let’s re-evaluate our position. Let’s bring this whole matter into proper perspective. We must weld the weakest links in the chain — our non-voting members of the race. It can’t be done by headline hunting or trying to attract the attention of state officials by pilgrimages

of any kind save PILGRIMAGES to the polls” (“Is a ‘Pilgrimage of Prayer’ Necessary for Public Schools?,” 1958, p. 2).

The Tribune also expressed an economic component to the further advancement of the race. The editor said change needed to happen on multiple fronts, especially since five years after the Brown v. Board of Education judgment only a miniscule number of Black children were attending previously all-White schools.

“So, as we view the situation, if American Negroes, and especially those below the Mason-Dixon Line would place half as much emphasis on developing their talents and strength in the field of business, commerce and politics as they place on the integration struggle, their real emancipation would come much sooner, and on a more solid foundation.

“... Negroes should provide for their own security; give employment to their own people, and wage a year-around campaign of educating its people to become politically, financially and morally stronger, they would assure for themselves more prestige, respect and increased cooperation from the opposite race” (“Economic Equality, the Main Goal to Be Reached,” 1959, p. 2).

However, the Tribune did not endorse boycotts and sit-ins.

“... the boycott is a two-edged sword; it cuts both ways as Negroes down in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee are now learning the hard way. And the NAACP isn’t rushing to their aid with dollars or goods. Coming closer to home, our own Prince Edward County, Va., is an example in point. Of the several hundred school-less Negro children in the county, the NAACP isn’t sponsoring the education of one of them in the county, or elsewhere as far as we have been able to learn” (“Let’s Be Realistic about Our Purchasing Power,” 1960, p. 2).

The Tribune called the idea of using Black purchasing power as a weapon “silly,” “ridiculous” and “hair-brained” (“Let’s Be Realistic about Our Purchasing Power,” 1960, p. 2).

“It is inconceivable to us that any Negro of average intelligence is unable to look around and see that every source of job opportunity for Negroes of this country, the real sources from which he derives the much talked about Eighteen Billion Dollar Annual Purchasing power is controlled by the opposite race” (“Let’s Be Realistic about Our Purchasing Power,” 1960, p. 2).

The previous section answered RQ3, showing the features of Charlottesville-Albemarle-Tribune's editorials used to cover Massive Resistance. This section also offered a worldview quite different from the one at the center of societal norms in this time period. This answered RQ1 about inferring the Hierarchy of Influences, especially the social system and worldview from the content. The editorials encouraged Black people to push forward and use their voice to demand change, especially at the polls. They didn't place blame only on the injustices toward Black people. The words in these columns chastised Black people for not participating more in every possible way, including voting, and standing firmly with organizations like the NAACP, answering RQ3.

Political Misappropriation

While usually hopeful in tone and an ardent supporter of voting and voter rights, the Tribune's editorial column asserted that politicians were the catalyst for problems and not leaders offering up solutions. The paper published 10 editorials about the political manipulation and maneuvering used to keep segregation in place. The Tribune declared some politicians stood in the way of progress. "... they continue to beat the brush with the cry, 'close the schools if just one Negro child is admitted to a white school'" ("Politicians Fiddle While Rome Burns," 1957, p. 2). The Tribune railed against political candidates using race as a platform to gather votes, deeming it an "unsportsmanlike method to advance their political fortunes" ("Let All Candidates Run on Their Merits," 1957, p. 2).

"It is a pity that with all the constructive things needed to be done in Virginia, some of our leading political office seekers have nothing to offer but gloom, and resort to whipping up the emotions of the people by playing race against race in order to win election to office" ("Politicians Fiddle While Rome Burns," 1957, p. 2).

The Tribune put forth the belief that some politicians might have been more open to integration if they didn't fear political backlash.

“Moderates are being constantly muzzled because they do not relish the thought of being dubbed ‘integrationists,’ or commie-inspired, pinks, etc. merely because they would like to see a great problem resolved sensibly,” (“Politicians Fiddle While Rome Burns,” 1957, p. 2).

The stance of politicians and the disappointment in their actions were strongest in editorials about the segregation fight in Little Rock.

“Some people are groaning about ‘horrors’ of Little Rock. ‘What a shame,’ they say, ‘it is to see Americans being forced with a bayonet point to obey a federal court ruling.’ Yes, it is a shame, but the shame of it is that the very same people who profess to believe in democracy they themselves enjoy as matter of course to be enjoyed by other Americans whos[sic] skin is of a darker hue. It is Americans like these who doubtless never reflect that their acts are actually destroying American from within and making her a prime target for a ruthless enemy” (“Politicians Fiddle While Rome Burns,” 1957, p. 2).

He applauded the action taken by President Dwight Eisenhower in a rare front-page editorial.

“The matter of maintaining law and order far overshadows the question of integration or segregation. The ugliest thing about the whole affair is the fact that certain short sighted political leaders have been long going out of their way to whip spirit of defiance to law rather than compliance with the laws of the land. It is due mainly to this un-Democratic spirit on the part of some Americans—a up [sic on the a up but I think it might be a typo] among their constituents a very minute portion of the whole population— that this nation finds herself in such a sad plight.

“If good racial relations in America are to be dependent upon a large segment of the people having to continually forego their rights as guaranteed them by the Constitution then a showdown is in order. Yet, it is a pity so many people must suffer for the actions of so few.

“... No we do not blame Ike for the action he has taken, rather we blame those apostles of racial superiority, race hate, and those who seek to perpetuate themselves in political office by taking advantage of the gullibility of some of their people. Had such leaders used their time and the people's tax money in an attempt to educate their people to practice true democracy, tolerance, respect for the rights of the individual, there would have been no Little Rock story today” (“The Little Rock Affair,” 1957, p. 2).

But even after such praise, Eisenhower did not escape criticism for his actions prior to the military arriving in Little Rock. White believed this was a key reason for the need for military force in the first place. It would be one of the reasons why the Tribune endorsed Sen. John F. Kennedy over Vice President Richard Nixon in the 1960 presidential election.

“In reviewing the civil rights issue, we recall the Little Rock debacle and other similar upheavals of a lesser degree, all occurring under the present administration. True enough, President Eisenhower sent in members of the Armed Forces to put down trouble in Little Rock, with the explanation that he was merely upholding the Constitution. However, we are of the opinion that such trouble would never have arisen had the President exerted that moral leadership so necessary in time of crisis. But, not once has he spoken out and asserted any semblance of moral leadership during these crucial times on matters affecting race relations in this country” (“Our Choice for American Leadership,” 1960, p. 2).

The Tribune spoke out against efforts by South Virginians in the General Assembly “who seemingly would abolish the public school system of the State to salve their wounded pride” (“Those Intolerant Southsiders,” 1959, p. 2). It opposed the use of taxpayer dollars to fund private schools that would only serve some of the Virginian schoolchildren.

“As to the private school plan of those who cannot stomach an integrated system, let them proceed—with their own dollars—not with any funds from the state or local treasuries. If that is their choice, certainly they won’t hesitate to pay for it. Nor should anyone else object. If there are to be private schools to thwart integration, let them be 100% private, supported wholly by private ‘alfalfa’” (“Those Intolerant Southsiders,” 1959, p. 2).

The Tribune did praise work done by politicians that led to integration. It remarked on the actions of Mayor Ben West, of Nashville, who collaborated with the federal district court to stop “howling mobs, armed with clubs, knives and guns, surrounding schools designated to integrate the races, chasing Negroes; and actually, dynamiting on of the city’s brand new schools” – actions that had been going on for the week prior (“Resolute Action Restores Order in Nashville,” 1957, p. 2). The police read the order from the court requiring all the “agitators” to

stop and John Kasper was arrested among the group. “Thus, again we see how the resolute action of Tennessee officialdom, from its Governor Clement on down to the mayor of a city, brings order out of chaos, the rabble-rousers notwithstanding” (“Resolute Action Restores Order in Nashville,” 1957, p. 2).

“Working together, Mayor Ben West and the city school board [in Nashville] acted quickly and resolutely to stem the mounting upheaval. Not only did the Mayor and the school seek and get an order from the Federal District Court banning all interferences with integration but the Mayor required that copies of the Court’s order be handed to all members of the police force with orders to read it aloud, as they would a riot act to the mobs at school gates then arrest and jail any violators” (“Resolute Action Restores Order in Nashville,” 1957, p. 2).

The Tribune lauded Del. William R. Hill, who represented Charlottesville as part of his district in the General Assembly. The praise simply came because Hill wanted to stay within the parameters of the *Brown v. Board* ruling. This was despite Hill being “the staunch segregationist that he is” (“Del. Hill Speaks out on School Issue,” 1958, p. 2). The Tribune believed Hill “has chosen to follow the high road of statesmanship, rather than the low and easy road of the politician.” (“Del. Hill Speaks out on School Issue,” 1958, p. 2). Hill would be endorsed by the Tribune for re-election.

“Although a supporter of racial segregation in the public schools of Virginia, Hill has consistently followed a policy of supporting only those moderate proposals introduced in the House of Delegates and refused to vote for the so-called ‘massive resistance’ bills aimed at closing Virginia’s public schools rather than accept even a token amount of integration” (“The Community’s Welfare Hinges on Its Intelligent Use of the Ballot,” 1959, p. 2).

This section answered RQ3, which asks about the features of the editorials in the Tribune covering Massive Resistance. The editorials feature a variety of content that exposes how politicians, in the paper’s view, used their position to make race relations more difficult. These editorials questioned the powers that be, accusing them of being more of the problem than part of the solution. The paper suggested moderates were being bullied, democracy was not being

practiced and that even events done in favor of integration could have been handled differently.

This section answered RQ1, which asks what Hierarchy of Influences, especially worldview, are inferred from the Tribune content. The editor pushes back on a societal system to keep the status quo.

When They See Me

The Tribune used its voice to decry unfair treatment and vituperation, especially against those involved in the pursuit of civil rights. The paper published 10 editorials about equality and fair treatment. It even, in rare cases, shared the views of other Black newspapers offering the same sentiments. An example is found in this editorial republished from The Black Dispatch, that offered a view on the integration situation in Little Rock:

“President Benjamin Mayes of Morehouse College, and co-chairman of the NAACP Life Membership committee says: ‘There is a growing conviction among Negroes that if one racial group makes all the laws and administers them, holds all the power and administers it, and has all the public money and distributes it, it is too much to expect that group to deal as fairly with the weak minority, non-participating group as it deals with its own.’

“A glaring example of this condition is the potential as well as the actual use or misuse of police powers by Southern states. Within recent weeks Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas saw fit to call out the Jim Crow Arkansas National Guard ‘to prevent racial violence,’ so he said. But on whose side, so far as law and race, was the guard as well as the governor? Who knew what his instructions were to the guard before little 15-year-old Elizabeth Eckford tried to assert her constitutional right to enter Central high school in Little Rock and found armed guards, paid by the federal government, there to refuse her admission?

“Was she orderly? Did she spit on the guards or hurl sticks and stones at the mobsters surrounding the school in defiance of federal law? Was she there as an intruder or had she been granted the privilege of enrolling by the duly constituted authority of both local and federal government? Just what violence did this 15-year-old girl commit?” (“Representation for All,” 1957, p. 2).

The Tribune repeatedly refuted the idea that the tensions and strife facing Southern states was caused by the efforts of Black people.

“The NAACP is being credited by these prophets [segregationists] of disaster for being mainly responsible for the breakdown in race relations in the South. Nothing could be further from the truth. Although the NAACP has seemingly won many battles in its struggle to achieve the status of first-class citizenship for Negroes and has ruffled many tempers in the process, all of this is more or less incidental to the fact that world conditions and pressures exerted against America in the Council of Nations is directly responsible for having forced America’s intelligent leadership on the National scene to make a new and more realistic evaluation of the proposition that the Constitution means just what it says; that it was in truth designed to afford equal protection to all Americans regardless to the color of their skins” (“Politicians Fiddle While Rome Burns,” 1957, p. 2).

The sentiment was repeated the following year:

“Future historians of this unhappy period will find little in the records of the white spokesman for segregation to suggest the decency and statesmanship historically associated with Virginia gentlemen. Unfortunately, they will find that every ancient trick of the irresponsible demagogue has been used to fan the passions and prejudices of white citizens here.

The final **Big Lie** is to make it appear that the Negro petitioners who insist that their constitutional rights be recognized and respected, shall be responsible for disrupting the public school system in Virginia, if the Commonwealth of Virginia decides to close the public schools rather than obey the Supreme Court of the United States!” (“As We Approach the Showdown,” 1958, p. 2).

From the Tribune’s perspective, the court battles were last-ditch efforts because diplomacy had not worked.

“As we approach the showdown, thoughtful residents of this city should remember that local Negro leaders and NAACP officials have figuratively ‘bent backwards’ to encourage a climate of reasonableness and fair play during the hectic months of this school controversy.

But they should also realize that Negroes in Virginia, and Charlottesville, have been fighting and struggling for the right to enjoy the status of first class citizens since this nation was created, and that there will be no turning back now, or ever!” (“As We Approach the Showdown,” 1958, p. 2).

While the fight for equal rights was the goal, an integrated lifestyle was not necessarily the prize.

The Tribune repeatedly offered the opinion that Blacks might like to remain separate.

"Contrary to popular belief among some people who view integrating the public schools with alarm, the average Negro with a gram of sense doesn't give a whoop about rubbing shoulders with the opposite race, socially. What he wants is the

same educational facilities and the same laws to apply to him — nothing special — just the same conditions facing all other Americans.

As an American who has never failed his country in time of trouble, the Negro can't understand why he is continually shunted aside while any foreigner can come to these shores and be accorded the best the country has to offer" ("Local School Board Caught in Crossfire," 1957, p. 2).

This sentiment was repeated in 1958 as what the Tribune and The Daily Progress both dubbed "the school problem," but for different reasons, continued to persist.

"...it may turn out that many Negroes are no more desirous of attending predominantly white schools than whites are desirous of attending Negro schools. What we believe the average thinking Negro desires most is to have the knowledge that he is FREE to attend any school or participate in anything else supported by taxpayers on an equal basis with all other citizens. Moreover, the truth of the matter is, had the state provided its Negro citizens with equal school facilities the years through while maintaining racial segregation, the plight of Dixie would not be what it is today" ("The Tests for 31 Negro Pupils," 1958, p. 2).

The Tribune responded again in 1959.

"... we wish to reiterate again what we have frequently said ... that Negroes are not nearly as interested in crowding into hitherto all-white schools as they are having the freedom of choice to attend any school and participate on an equal basis with all other citizens in every other program operated with the taxpayer's money. Once such a right is accorded them, the problem will be resolved to the satisfaction of the vast majority of all concerned" ("School Board's Attorney Faces Reality," 1959, p. 2).

RQ3 was answered in this section as it explored the features of the Tribune editorials on Massive Resistance. It also answered RQ1, which asks what Hierarchy of Influences, especially worldview, are inferred in the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune newspaper content. These editorials continue to show a worldview that advocates for people to see Black people in a different perspective. In its efforts to promote change, blame was placed on the community for causing disruption, some of which had led to violence. The newspaper offered a different perspective, pointing out the legal and peaceful operations of the NAACP and children entering integrated schools.

A League of Races

As race relations deteriorated on either side of the segregation issue, the Tribune repeatedly called for cooperation among leaders. It published six editorials on this theme of coming together and working as a team.

“Let us all strive to make a satisfactory adjustment to this new situation within our community and thus set an example for other communities to follow with pride” (“The School Plan Approved,” 1959, p. 2).

It pointed to the integration efforts in Maryland, led by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, and held it as a “shining example” in the work toward integration (“Reason versus Passion,” 1957, p. 2). “... that State owes what success it has achieved to the type of leadership it enjoys and the cooperation of both races” (“Reason versus Passion,” 1957, p. 2).

The paper warned that a continued refusal to unite would only make matters worse. “Passion has never been known to achieve anything but hatred. Men have lost their souls over it. Some have lost fortunes and even nations have crumbled over the lust of hate and bigotry” (“Reason versus Passion,” 1957, p. 2).

The Tribune used current events from the launch of Sputnik, from Russia, to a field trip by two Lane High School students, the all-White high school in Charlottesville, to an integrated school in Atlantic City, N.J., to tout the need for collaboration (“A Step in the Right Direction,” 1959; “Soviet Communism ... a Challenge to White and Negro Leadership,” 1957).

“The Russian sputniks circling the globe every day are a serious challenge to the long-standing practice among some of our leaders of both races of name-calling and vindictive report when referring to the issue of integration of the races in schools. Time has painfully proven that such an approach to the problem is no substitute for statesmanship and diplomacy, the employment of which is so badly needed by leaders of both races in these crucial days” (“Soviet Communism ... a Challenge to White and Negro Leadership,” 1957 p. 2).

When massive resistance laws were struck down in court, the Tribune once again called for the community to work together.

“... it is time for all Virginians—Negro and white—of goodwill, to bury the hatchet and sit down around the council tables in every village, town and city in the state and seek a peaceful solution to their problems in a true spirit of fair play that a mutually acceptable solution may be found to this problem” (“Time to Cooperate,” 1959, p. 2).

It warned that “neither all-out segregationist or integrationists” were going to get exactly what they wanted (“Time to Cooperate,” 1959, p. 2).

“But as we have often pointed out, there is no better way to solve a problem than for the affected parties to come together in a spirit of good will, sit down together in a spirit of good will and thrash out the matter. Once such an approach is made to this issue which has caused much ill-will among hitherto friends, we believe a return to normalcy will have begun. Certainly such a move is worth a try” (“The School Plan Approved,” 1959, p. 2).

This section answered RQ3, which asks about the features of the Tribune’s news coverage of Massive Resistance. It also answered RQ1, about Shoemaker and Reese’s Hierarchy of Influences, particularly the social system, and the paper’s worldview. It is particularly visible here. The Tribune called for cooperation among leaders and highlighted why it believed this collaboration was so important. It would be in opposition to the societal system that had created separation in all aspects of life for the different races.

The Long Road

The Tribune discussed the statesmanship it sought for both political and civic leaders and community residents. The editor wrote seven editorials about tolerance and moderation. Whether a person fought for or against segregation, the Tribune focused on how the battle was fought.

Praise was written in its pages when former Virginia Gov. John S. Battle was appointed to Eisenhower’s Civil Rights Commission. Battle to that point had been the lead attorney for the Charlottesville School Board, defending the district against desegregation in court.

“Although our former governor fought Charlottesville school desegregation case through the federal courts, he did so with dignity, never exhibiting that spirit of bitterness as has been the case with some other attorneys acting in similar capacities” (“Dixie Dignified by Appointment of Battle to Civil Rights Commission,” 1957, p. 2).

The Tribune wrote Battle comported himself as “the acme of modesty” and would be an able representative for the Southern viewpoint, while staying within the bounds of the law (“Dixie Dignified by Appointment of Battle to Civil Rights Commission,” 1957, p. 2).

“He has never gone about the state preaching ‘massive resistance’ philosophy as has been the practice of some leaders in his party. Mr. Battle has never publicly gone beyond advocating to employ ‘all legal and honorable means’ to prevent integrating Virginia’s public schools. ... Certainly the laws of the land permit everyone or group to exploit them to the legal limit. But, when that limit is reached, we as good Americans, are expected to abide by the final ruling of our constituted federal courts — and not try to incite our people to commit lawless acts because some of us might disagree with what our courts ruled” (“Dixie Dignified by Appointment of Battle to Civil Rights Commission,” 1957, p. 2).

The Tribune also conceded that the pace of change might not be what some would like.

“The struggle and the controversy now is not so much over whether desegregation will or will not come ‘ever’ but over the speed and the method of the process. How fast and how far is it realistic and just to expect this process to proceed? What is the least and the most America should expect of herself and her several regions? What goals are reasonable and defensible for the white?”

If this newly created Civil Rights Commission can aid in finding the right solution to the great problem that confronts the nation it will have performed an invaluable service for this age” (“The Civil Rights Commission Faces Real Task,” 1957, p. 2).

The Tribune showed an air of calm and promoted fairness, even in court losses for those in favor of desegregation.

“When one takes into account the fact that, under the law, every defendant is entitled to receive the benefit of any ‘reasonable doubt,’ he will agree that regardless of his personal feelings in the matter, Chief Judge Simon E. Sobeloff of the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals made a fair and just decision in the local school case” (“No Occasion for Alarm,” 1959, p. 2).

It is then followed again by a call for cooperation and calm.

“Thus, as we view the situation, those who are genuinely interested in the progress of these 12 Negro pupils — and indeed all children— can best aid the cause by exerting renewed efforts to build up a spirit of harmony and goodwill among the people of both races by exhibiting a high degree of calm, intelligence and tolerance” (“No Occasion for Alarm,” 1959, p. 2).

And a measure of hopefulness for a beloved community.

“So, insofar as conditions that affect the Negro are concerned, with whatever shortcomings it may have, Dixie isn’t the worst place in the United States. And with intelligent leadership on the part of the race, solid — not mythical — gains will continue to be made until the New South will be the most progressive area in this country for all people on the basis of complete equality” (“Let’s Re-Evaluate the Situation,” 1959, p. 2).

The Tribune applauded Charlottesville residents for not rioting and peacefully letting Black students into the desegregated public schools (“A Step Closer to True Democracy,” 1959). The Tribune saw it as the beginning of the fulfillment of the ideals of Thomas Jefferson, Charlottesville’s and one of the nation’s founding fathers. “... we suspect the Sage of Monticello would smile broadly, and muse: ‘At least my dream is coming true down home’” (“A Step Closer to True Democracy,” 1959, p. 2).

If Not Now, Then When?

While the Tribune called for tolerance, calm and patience, by 1960, six years after the first *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling from the Supreme Court, it was clear the editor was also frustrated with the outcome of integration efforts both in Charlottesville and across the nation. That year, only two editorials in the sample were about Massive Resistance and they both expressed frustration.

“If those Negroes who failed to win transfers for their children to city integrated schools were pinning their hopes on the currently used court-approved assignment plan were [sic – clearly there is a word missing or something] under the impression that the plan was designed to accommodate wholesale integration, they undoubtedly now realize that such was not the case” (“Editorial,” 1960, p. 2).

The Tribune scoffed at “one Negro leader” who had applauded the plan but did not print the person’s name (“Editorial,” 1960, p. 2). The Tribune believed the Charlottesville desegregation plan would remain a “weak plan” unless it was based on proximity from where people lived to the actual school (“Editorial,” 1960, p. 2). The Tribune also decried the idea of using taxpayer dollars to send children to segregated private schools.

“A realistic appraisal of the school assignment plan currently in effect in Charlottesville should cause any Negro parent to realize that at best, it wasn’t designed to facilitate school integration but rather to limit it. Any other belief is wishful thinking. Did local Negro leadership think otherwise when they approved it?” (“Editorial,” 1960, p. 2).

The Tribune stated there was no “surprise” in U.S. District Judge John Paul’s ruling that denied the request of 10 Black children to enter previously all-White schools in Charlottesville.

(“Charlottesville School Plaintiffs Lose Bid for Integrated Assignments,” 1960; “The Charlottesville School Suit,” 1960, p. 2).

“The ironic aspect of the whole situation is the fact that some persons who embraced the plan when it was presented for their approval are now shocked over its application.

“However, regardless of the naivete in some quarters to the contrary, the Charlottesville School Assignment Plan was designed to permit integration on a limited basis only, a fact we daresay some of those affected by it are now belatedly realizing to their astonishment” (“The Charlottesville School Suit,” 1960, p. 2).

Altogether, the sections demonstrate how the Tribune used its editorials to cover massive resistance, in answer to RQ3. The paper wrote editorials using current events to show the importance of education for all students. It voiced frustration over political ploys to avoid desegregation of schools and reinforce societal norms to win elections. It expressed opinions about the treatment of Black people in America and encouraged Blacks to continue pushing for full citizenship, including voting rights, and giving full open participation in civic groups like the NAACP. The editorials clearly expressed the paper’s worldview, RQ1. The content

overwhelmingly pushed for integration of schools as part of a pathway to full and equal treatment in American society.

The Daily Progress Editorials

The Daily Progress editorials railed against the Supreme Court's Brown vs. Board of Education decision. In the 20 editorials about Massive Resistance printed between 1956 and 1960, not one championed the idea of integration. The paper accused the court of destroying the education system. "It is the unhappy truth that education in Virginia has suffered injury as a result of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and is in grave danger of suffering considerably more" ("The Governor Is Right," 1958, p. 4).

It did not look favorably on anyone who thought otherwise. "Maryland's Governor McKeldin thinks the South should look for the silver lining in the Supreme Court's school desegregation thundercloud" ("Southern Progress and the Court," 1957, p. 4). The governor, speaking to the Delta Theta Phi legal fraternity said the productivity of Black people in the South was low and if that productivity could be increased, education being one way to do it, then all the South would benefit. The Daily Progress wrote:

"It has put in jeopardy the educational progress which is one of the essentials of economic progress. It has dealt a blow to interracial cooperation and good will. Instead of opening new opportunities to Negroes, it has produced a tightening of racial lines" ("Southern Progress and the Court," 1957, p. 4)

The articles were categorized into two themes: political manipulation and preservation of segregation. The next sections delve deeper into the content in each category.

It's Tradition

The Daily Progress repeatedly focused its editorials on how to maintain racially segregated schools. The paper printed 13 editorials on keeping the status quo. It expressed its view on the “school problem” this way:

“The Supreme Court’s school desegregation decision is resented in Virginia and throughout the South not so much because it grants a new freedom to Negroes but because, in the context of our school laws, it has the effect of denying an old freedom to the white people” (“Toward Freedom,” 1959, p. 4).

The Daily Progress and the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune called the local desegregation case a court “showdown.” The Daily Progress believed the end would not be integration.

“... the result will not be the admission of Negro children to white schools. The laws of Virginia — laws which, whatever their validity, have not yet been challenged — bar that.

“The success they may achieve is in bringing about the disruption, at least in part, of the local school system. For the law requires the immediate closing of any school in which mixing of the races occurs” (“Toward a Showdown,” 1958, p. 4).

When the Judge Simon E. Sobeloff, of the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, allowed Charlottesville to finish the 1958-1959 school year on a segregated basis, the Daily Progress touted it as “good news” and a “happy turn of events” (“Good School News,” 1959, p. 2).

“... Charlottesville, for the time being, is in the most fortunate position of any of the Virginia localities against which school desegregation orders have been obtained.

“This is highly gratifying. But while it is much more than most of us dared hope for only a few days ago, it does not mean that our school troubles are over. The School Board is now morally and legally obligated to operate the schools in conformity with the desegregation decree beginning next September. It believes that it has a plan by which it can do so in a manner acceptable to the court and without the disruption which any significant degree of racial integration would inevitably cause” (“Good School News,” 1959, p. 2).

The paper recognized that complete racial segregation might not be an available option, however, and a choice of publicly funded segregated schools was repeatedly requested.

“The problem created by the Supreme Court’s decision cannot be solved by closing schools to avoid integration, but only by providing schools which can be segregated.

“... For a long-term and satisfactory solution, the need is for an arrangement under which parents who prefer private schooling for their children can be assured of their fair share of the funds raised by the state and the localities for the support of education, and under which existing school buildings and equipment can be made available for their use” (“For a Better Choice,” 1958, p. 4).

The paper printed the call for segregated schools month after month.

“The good and sensible way to avoid the evil of enforced integration of the schools is to make segregated schools available to the people of this state on a basis of free choice. It can be done” (“The Need for Action,” 1958, p. 4).

It continued a year later.

“The need, then, for Charlottesville, and in an even more imperative way for Virginia as a whole is assurance that integration will not be forced upon anyone. The way to do this is not through abandonment of public schools, as some have been proposing, but by making available an alternative to public schools for those who want it” (“Good School News,” 1959, p. 2).

It began a campaign to champion a proposal presented to the General Assembly by Leon Dure, a former newspaper editor in Richmond, Va., Macon, Ga., and Winston-Salem, N.C., who had moved to Keswick to farm.

“For the past six months this newspaper has been advocating a program by which segregation in education can be maintained in Virginia for all who want it, not by force of law but by providing full freedom of individual choice in the matter” (“A Plan for Education,” 1958, p. 4).

The paper’s administration believed Dure’s proposal was the best option.

“Without it, the Supreme Court’s prohibition of enforced segregation means enforced integration. Nothing could be clearer than that the people of Virginia — most of them — are unwilling to support the schools that would result from that.

“It is, moreover, a good way. It is the way of freedom of individual choice in respect not only to race relationships but to much else. It deserves a welcome not only because it affords an escape from the school integration problem but for the positive reason that it expands each man’s freedom” (“Toward Freedom,” 1959, p. 4).

It dedicated a great deal of space both in its news pages and in its editorial column to advocating for his plan.

“... we must understand that our chances of preserving the individual freedom we have thus proclaimed depends upon our willingness to grant it to all, including some who may use it in ways we do not approve.

“It is unlikely that this freedom can survive if room is left for the courts to regard it as a one-sided thing—a mere device for evading the desegregation they have decreed. They have in fact plainly warned that evasive devices will not be tolerated.

“What we need to do, therefore, is to make it clear that our official policy, as reflected in our state constitution and our laws, is not for segregation, which is forbidden, but for the right of every individual to make his own choice, which is something that courts haven’t denied and aren’t likely to deny.

“As Mr. Dure points out, this calls for the repeal of what is left of our segregation laws, distasteful as that may be. For they are a denial of the individual liberty we are now claiming. If freedom of choice is challenged in the courts, we must be prepared to defend it on the high ground of individual rights. Our good faith in doing so will certainly be suspect as long as we ourselves restrict those rights. We must eliminate all cause for doubt about our good faith (“To Strengthen Our Position,” 1959, p. 4).

However, when the state took a different route, The Daily Progress continued its call for freedom of choice, advocating the merits and airing its concerns on the Perrow Program.

"Is there a way out of the dilemma in which we thus find ourselves? We think there is, and that it lies in the further fact — perhaps it is more accurate to call it a good hope — that the people of Virginia, as individuals, can do what the state cannot do for them.

“The Fourteenth Amendment has been interpreted by the courts only as forbidding state action to preserve segregation, not individual action to that same end. The problem then is to make it possible for every individual to make his own choice in the matter” (“The Perrow Program,” 1959, p. 4).

They applauded the Perrow Plan for including a scholarship program that allowed taxpayer money to be used for private school education. But they worried that it wouldn’t be able to stand up against scrutiny in court “because its well-intended provisions to encourage the establishment of private schools open the way for the challenging of such schools as being in fact public, not private, institutions” (“The Perrow Program,” 1959, p. 4).

“The Perrow Commission’s report is both gratifying and disappointing.

“It is gratifying because it recognizes that freedom of individual choice in education rather than denial of educational opportunity is the solution to the problem raised by the Supreme Court’s desegregation decision.

“It is disappointing because it proposes neither to grant all the freedom that is needed nor to safeguard educational opportunity for all to the extent that is necessary” (“The Perrow Report,” 1959, p. 4).

The editors were also disappointed that the commission didn’t propose amending the constitution so private funds could be used in religious schools. They believed that was needed to provide freedom of choice. “The case for freedom of choice is compromised when that freedom is qualified,” (“The Perrow Report,” 1959, p. 4). They believed in freedom of choice strongly and showed support, even when the city of Charlottesville announced the scholarship grants program would cost taxpayers \$100,000 (more than \$2.8 million in 2022).

“The city has been forced to bow to court decrees abolishing segregation by law in our public schools. But thanks to this freedom-of-choice law, good schooling is assured for every Charlottesville child without any one of them being compelled to attend an integrated school if he or his parents object. We have a good educational situation and we have very nearly complete freedom from the tension and the disturbing incidents that have been the product of enforced integration in many localities. We are getting a generous return for our \$100,000, which after all is a small drop in our municipal and education budget bucket” (“No Cause for Alarm,” 1959, p. 4).

They even promoted the benefits of the scholarship program.

“While Virginia’s program of freedom of individual choice in education is often referred to as a program for combating or restricting racial integration, it is actually something quite different.

“It is true that in Charlottesville most of the private school scholarship grants that have been made under this program have gone to parents who transferred their children from public schools to which Negroes had been admitted. But a large and increasing number are now going to help defray the tuition charges of pupils whose parents may be assumed to have chosen private schooling for their children for reasons unrelated to the segregation question.

“And now we have the news that scholarship grants are defraying tuition costs of five Albemarle County children whose parents are sending them to partially integrated public schools in Charlottesville in preference to Albemarle’s totally segregated public schools” (“What We Have Is Freedom,” 1960).

The section above answered RQ6, which inquired about the features of The Daily Progress editorials covering Massive Resistance. This section also answered RQ4, which asked about the Hierarchy of Influences, especially worldview, inferred by the editorial content. The Daily Progress editorials focused on finding ways to keep the status quo — segregated schools. Its ideology echoed the dominant perspective of the day.

It's Your Move

The Daily Progress focused heavily on government and political measures to stop integration. It wrote seven editorials, commenting on national, state, and local actions by politicians. The editor knew the segregation issue was fracturing relationships within political parties and wrote about it.

“Obviously Northern Democrats in competing for these Northern and Western votes will likely feel compelled to press for strong civil rights programs. ... To urge strong civil rights projects, however, will be to put these Democrats at distinct odds with their conservative Southern colleagues” (“Political Aftermath of Little Rock,” 1957, p. 4).

The paper chastised state Republicans whom it said were “crowing” over “the impending collapse of the ‘massive resistance’ policy” (“Above Politics,” 1958, p. 4).

"What is at stake here is education for the boys and girls of Virginia and along with it, the economic and social well-being of the Commonwealth. This is a matter far transcending in importance the fate of any political organization or faction" (“Above Politics,” 1958, p. 4).

The paper applauded former Virginia Gov. John S. Battle’s appointment to President Dwight Eisenhower’s Civil Rights Commission, as had the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune. However, it hoped this would put a stop to mandatory desegregation.

“The main reason why the decision is unacceptable and unworkable in the South is not that it puts an end to compulsory segregation. The objection is to compulsory integration. The practical necessity is to remove the threat of the latter. If that could be done the decision would still be resented by many in the

South as an unwarranted infringement upon the rights and powers of the states, but as a practical proposition it would be something we could live with.

It is of course problematical whether the commission can reach agreement on the necessity for such a compromise and whether, if it reaches it, can devise a satisfactory formula and prevail upon the Congress to write it into law. But we do not think President Eisenhower would have appointed to the commission such a man as John Battle if he did not recognize the nation's need for achieving a workable compromise of the conflicting viewpoints" ("The Civil Rights Commission," 1957, p. 4).

While it agreed the overall goal was to stay segregated, the newspaper didn't always agree with the methods proposed. For example, the Daily Progress applauded Gov. Lindsay Almond for slowing down Del. James M. Thomson and his committee which was formed to investigate "racial activities and litigation" ("Del. Thompson's [sic] School Probe Proposal," 1958, p. 4). They called Thomson's idea "highly questionable" ("Del. Thompson's [sic] School Probe Proposal," 1958, p. 4).

"The Alexandria delegate's objective is to search the schools and colleges of Virginia for evidence of non-conformity to state policy, mainly on the question of racial segregation. He would examine text and reference books and interrogate teachers, presumably with a view to eliminating any that were found not to conform. How far he would go we do not know, but this kind of insistence upon conformity in thought and viewpoint could carry us far in the direction of the totalitarianism which we are sure Mr. Thomson himself abhors.

"It is also true, of course, that a proper toleration for differing and dissenting viewpoints on segregation or any other question does not require toleration of the use of our schools for propaganda purposes. It is the business of our schools and colleges to spread knowledge and to help our young people to learn to think for themselves. It is not their business to inculcate attitudes — certainly not, at least, in fields of political controversy. So, if there are in Virginia schools as Mr. Thomson seems to believe, books that present a one-sided anti-segregation viewpoint, or teachers who abuse their position to make anti-segregation propaganda, they should be eliminated" ("Del. Thompson's [sic] School Probe Proposal," 1958, p. 4).

The paper also stood firmly against political plans to close schools.

"We welcome and heartily endorse Gov. Almond's rejection of Richmond Senator E. E. Wiley's suggestion (previously made by Fourth District

Representative Watkins Abbitt) that schools for Negroes be closed wherever the conflict over desegregation results in the closing of white schools.

“The Governor made reference to the likelihood that such retaliatory action would put Virginia in a bad light in the eyes of the rest of the country. No doubt it would” (“The Governor Is Right,” 1958, p. 4).

They repeatedly called for ways to save the public school system.

... “Our concern must be to preserve as much as possible of our public school system and to provide a wholly adequate alternative to it where it cannot be preserved” (“The Governor Is Right,” 1958, p. 4).

The paper railed against politicians it felt were more interested in being re-elected than telling constituents the truth about what would need to happen to offer options for segregation. They were disappointed by people who were opposing the Perrow Program, which they thought was the best option given the circumstances.

“... the reason the people demand completely segregated schools is not only because that is what they want but because some of their representatives have misled them into believing that they can have them. And because they are trapped by their own words, these representatives do not find it easy to admit the truth of the situation to themselves, much less to tell it to their constituents. ... They want to be re-elected. And when the truth is unpleasant, a man who wants to be re-elected is strongly tempted to tell the voters what they want to hear rather than what they need to hear. Although he may realize that the General Assembly has no power to raise an absolute barrier to integration, he wants to be in a position to claim that he tried to raise one” (“The Perrow Program,” 1959, p. 4).

This section showed the features the editorials in *The Daily Progress* focused on Massive Resistance, answering RQ6. It also answered RQ4, showing a worldview that pushed for the status quo. In this section, this was done by calling on politicians at all levels to act in ways that would keep segregation as an option in some form.

A Comparative View

The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and *The Daily Progress* stood on opposite sides of the desegregation issue. Using Shoemaker and Reese’s Hierarchy of Influences to explore the impact of the social system on content, especially the ideological subsystem, it becomes clear in

their editorials that the two were advocating for different things. The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune's worldview wanted change. The Daily Progress wanted to keep the status quo. Each built their arguments and championed their worldviews repeatedly within their pages.

The Daily Progress advocated public schools, not wanting any of the children to go without education. However, the editors believed a segregated option needed to be available for those who did not want to integrate schools. It is interesting that the same "freedom of choice" was not offered to all citizens. The Daily Progress believed forced integration was wreaking havoc on settled race relations. The paper believed it needed to be maintained in some way. The Daily Progress touted the idea that its world was being attacked.

The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune wanted to see integration; schools open to all students. The editor saw it as a right of full citizenship. The Tribune rebuked those who would blame Black people for the racial tensions. The Tribune however was not pushing for intermixing of races, so much as for having access to all the privileges of U.S. citizenship, including all the accoutrements of education. The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune presented hope that the inequities currently faced would not remain forever.

CHAPTER 9

FINDINGS & ANALYSIS: A CONUNDRUM OF WORLDVIEW

This study focused on the content created by two small-city newspapers covering a key moment in Civil Rights Era history. The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and the Daily Progress took different approaches. The Daily Progress was 62 years old by the time the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on Brown vs. Board Education. It was owned by a man who had inherited the paper from his father and was edited by a career journalist. It used its resources to purchase Associated Press news stories and published them extensively to offer coverage on everything from local court cases to laws passed in the Virginia General Assembly and violence incited during desegregation attempts in other Southern states. The paper published editorials that extensively focused on ways to keep the status quo, which meant funneling resources to fund education for White students without regard to the educational opportunities for Black children. It championed keeping the races separate and did not address the structural racism perpetuated in the proposed and adopted laws, nor actions of those involved in the Massive Resistance Movement.

The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune offered a different view. Its founder had a lived experience that he hoped his own children would not. Born just before the turn of the 20th Century, Randolph Louis White had experienced the limited educational opportunities available to him in Albemarle County. He left home to attend high school in Ohio because there were no such options available at home. After about 20 years away, he returned able to only find work as a janitor and subpar school options for his son. His fight for better schools, better working conditions and equal rights for Blacks would begin long before he published his first Charlottesville-based newspaper in 1954. White served as a member of the NAACP, helped

organize a union at the University of Virginia Hospital and began publishing articles and editorials about Charlottesville affairs in The (Roanoke) Tribune. He believed Blacks needed their voice amplified. While his resources were limited, he traveled to courthouses, sent his son to cover stories, summarized press releases and news from other news agencies, and had a network of people who offered “special” stories from outside the state.

While the study’s focus is on the content, it looks beyond just the words on the page. The preceding chapters drew a portrait of the newspaper industry, race dynamics and Black life in Virginia and the multifaceted approach of Massive Resistance to keep schools segregated.

Chapter 2 focused on what influences journalism and how objectivity was normalized in American journalism. However, scholars have said that idea was actually “a subterfuge for advocacy for the status quo policies and ideologies” (Waisbord, 2009, p. 373). That means while “mainstream” journalism in the United States had its origins as advocacy papers, it cloaked itself in “objectivity” and advocacy and became the milieu for minority voices. It wasn’t that these smaller groups did not have a voice. They were drowned out by larger, more powerful people who set the agenda and skewed the view of the smaller groups, making them seem militant, troublemakers, lazy, etc.

As mainstream journalism became a commercial business and acted as a gatekeeper, advocacy journalism gave a platform to those with a different perspective. This study focuses on race, but advocacy journalism was used by a variety of groups who wanted to share their opinions, observations, and news of the realities in their own worlds. Those people usually didn’t fit the mold of career journalists. They were “citizen journalists,” people who worked in other industries, were retired or unemployed, but pursued journalism in their spare time.

Chapter 3 outlined the parameters within which White and Black journalists, as well as society as a whole, would live and work. Enslaved people first reached Virginia's shores in 1619. Their continued presence, and fear resistance and intermingling, motivated lawmakers to define the roles of people in society. The law allowed for permanent enslavement and life roles based on bloodlines. Whether enslaved or free, laws curtailed where a Black person could go, what a Black person could do and when he or she could do it, whom a Black person could socialize with or marry and more. The laws would also punish Whites severely for treating Blacks outside the bounds of societally approved and law enforced roles. Even after the Civil War and Reconstruction, the strength of societal norms would motivate the creation of Jim Crow laws and educational and economic practices that advantaged some and restricted others. Anyone thought to be helping someone of color was deemed a "negro lover," a term that would get someone ostracized.

It is in the midst of this that Black people began to create their own platform to not only air opinions on politics and economics, but to show a different perspective on the community. Here active church and social organizations were covered. Graduations, weddings, births and more were documented. Black newspapers showed the many opinions as those within the Black community agreed and disagreed on politics, courses of action for equality in America, views on education and a host of other topics. Some newspapers opened and closed in short periods of time. Others have lasted generations. Their overall contribution reminds the world that Black people, across the nation, had a voice and expressed it.

Chapter 4 offered a glimpse of how the laws and societal norms outlined in the previous chapter impacted the lives of Black people. Randolph Louis White was born in 1896, just months after the Plessy vs. Ferguson ruling. There would be no schools for Black children close to his

home and no high school in the entire county. White went to Ohio to earn his diploma. The practice of leaving home and even the state to continue one's education was common in the Black community, if it could be afforded. Even with a high school diploma and service in the military, White worked several menial jobs. His experience mirrored that of many others and White became an advocate, organizing a union at his job to fight for better pay, working conditions and opportunities. As a father, White fought for better educational opportunities for his son, Sherman. While his son would never attend an integrated school, they were part of the original Charlottesville school desegregation case. His generation would fight for years to see their children receive equal educational opportunities as the White children in the community.

The fight to create better schools and integrate schools, and resistance to that plan, are described in detail in Chapter 5. Massive Resistance was the name for the political, economic and community response to the U.S. Supreme Court's edict to desegregate schools. Virginia lawmakers created laws and policies and even changed the Constitution to try and stop integration. The state's attorney general who argued the case in the U.S. Supreme Court and in lower courts across the state of Virginia, J. Lindsay Almond, continued his fight of the ruling as the state's governor. U.S. senators, state representatives, local city council members, newspaper owners and more would joined forces. Some created White supremacist organizations exerting pressure on politicians to create laws favorable to their viewpoints. New schools for Black children were built in hopes of mollifying parents. The NAACP was targeted, challenging its status, and accusing its leadership of creating lawsuits illegally. The delay tactics would keep any integration from happening for years and close schools in cities across the state. Even six years after the Supreme Court's ruling only a small number of Black students across the South attended White schools and only a trickle entered for years to come.

The coverage of Massive Resistance in the local Charlottesville newspapers offers a glimpse into the world at that moment. Chapter 6 outlined the methods used to gather, categorize, and analyze the 170 Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune articles and the 136 The Daily Progress articles. The news stories represent the work of the editors from 1956 to 1960, the height of the Massive Resistance Movement. To compare coverage, news articles were chosen only on the days when the weekly Tribune was published. The Tribune was published each Thursday until 1960 when it moved to Fridays. Therefore, Thursday editions of The Daily Progress were pulled until 1960 and then Friday editions were used. Only front-page articles and editorials were used in this study. If a newspaper was unavailable (several editions from both papers were missing in the archives), then no news articles were pulled from the other paper either. The front-page articles for both papers were split into four categories — courts and crime, politics and government, education, and community. The editorials were divided by themes arising during analysis.

The news articles of each paper offered an interesting picture of what the editors believed was the most important news of the day. Chapter 7 explored the news articles finding key differences and some similarities in the coverage. The Tribune showed the NAACP challenging the establishment in court and during General Assembly legislative meetings. It offered a view of how integration was happening peacefully in different places around the country. It closely followed the ups and downs of court proceedings. The Daily Progress used the Associated Press wire extensively to cover Massive Resistance. It spent a lot of time covering the upheaval in Little Rock, when the Central High School was integrated. It shared stories of violence and riots when other locals tried to integrate. It kept a close eye on integration cases in Norfolk, Arlington,

Prince Edward County, and other districts. It also followed the work of lawmakers as they decided how to stop the integration of schools.

In the end, the differences stemmed mostly from perspective. Both papers used a low number of Black and other minority voices. The Daily Progress relied heavily on sources like elected officials and Black attorneys. It rarely interviewed the people involved in the desegregation cases. However, the Tribune didn't either. It did quote local and national NAACP leaders, as well as the lawyers. It is unclear the source of the Tribune's content. Randolph Louis White did attend some events and his son, Sherman, also worked for the paper. On occasion a story mentions seeing something in other news reports, but it is unclear if that was a local radio station or newspaper or other source.

The opinion pieces diverged more than the news articles. Chapter 8 analyzed the 20 editorials in The Daily Progress and the 46 editorials in the Tribune. Randolph Louis White used his platform to advocate that people vote as a way of fighting for equality. He wrote about the lack of full citizenship for African Americans. He called for people who wanted to integrate and those who did not, to come together to find a way to honor the Supreme Court's edict. He railed at politicians who used race and segregation to garner votes. He waffled between patience and tolerance and pure frustration at the slow pace of integration. The Daily Progress expressed fewer themes. There were only two — opinions about politicians' maneuvers to keep schools segregated and repeated calls to keep schools segregated.

An Analysis on Worldview

The two papers cover the news of Massive Resistance differently. The editorials show the vast gulf in worldview. The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune was pushing for integration and engagement from African Americans in the process. The paper, though willing to accept change

at a moderate pace, believed the fight for desegregation was right. It believed Black and White children should receive the same level of education and that it would help society move forward.

The Daily Progress asserted that the races should be separated. While it did not always agree with the General Assembly's plans, it pushed for a solution that would not integrate schools.

The Tribune offered pictures of integration working around the country. The Daily Progress offered example after example of violence erupting to push back integration plans.

Without the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune, there is no voice advocating against treating Black people like second-class citizens. There is no voice saying let's work together. There is no voice sharing why the status quo was uncomfortable for a certain part of the population.

While it is believed that representation, in terms of minority voices, can solve this issue, that didn't prove the case in this study. Neither paper offered a large percentage of African American voices, and especially not the voices of the parents and children impacted. Most of the minority voices in both papers were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People lawyers. While the Tribune couched the organization as one pushing for change to help people, The Daily Progress offered a picture of an antagonistic group causing trouble and stirring up racial tensions.

Advocacy Journalism During the Massive Resistance Movement

Both newspapers functioned as advocates, sitting on opposite sides of the integration issue. The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune shared a particular viewpoint that integration was part of an effort to bring equity and the benefits of full citizenship to the African American community. The paper served as an advocate, as newspapers in early American history had once

done. It was “a way to get politically involved, and to promote viewpoints” (Waisbord, 2009, p. 372). The Daily Progress, in its news coverage, became an advocate for the status quo. Waisbord (2009) counted this as a sign of advocacy journalism, expanding on the traditional idea of advocacy being reserved for those challenging societal norms. He suggested that even “news organizations that do not challenge basic premises of the current political-economic system, but unequivocally champion some of its central ideological underpinnings” are working as advocates (Waisbord, 2009, p. 373).

Commercial print communication has transformed how society thinks. It connects people, creating “unified fields of exchange and communication” (Anderson, 2016, p. 46). At the inception of mass printing, it gave people an awareness and belonging within a community of people who spoke the same or similar dialects of a language, but who may not be in the same geographic location (Anderson, 2016). In more modern society, it linked people of similar ideology. “These fellow-readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community” (Anderson, 2016, p. 46). Anderson was talking about language but building a case toward the origins of nationalism.

Residents who believed integration was the right next step would have found an ally in the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune and an adversary in The Daily Progress. Those who believed segregation needed to be stopped or curtailed found an ally in The Daily Progress and an opponent in the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune.

Citizen Journalism by the Black Press

It seems Randolph Louis White understood the power and necessity of the Black Press. Before owning his own newspaper, he worked to expand the coverage of a black newspaper in

Roanoke to provide news for the African American community in Charlottesville and Albemarle County. White was already an advocate, serving as an active member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and lobbying and winning new rights for workers at the University of Virginia hospital where he worked. Opening the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune allowed him to continue his advocacy work — as a citizen journalist.

“When the people formerly known as the audience employ the press tools they have in their possession to inform one another, *that’s* citizen journalism” (Rosen, 2008, p. 1). It is a practice African Americans have been using since 1827, when the first African American newspaper, Freedom’s Journal, was published. It is the instrument Black people have used again and again to share their ideas and disseminate information. They would push for the abolition of slavery, called to end lynchings and challenged racial covenants blocking the sale of property to minorities. The Black press was credited with playing a key role in the Great Migration, advocating for Black people to leave the South and find better work in Northern cities like Chicago and New York. It also presented Black people as achievers — showing people graduating from college, participating in societal clubs, owning businesses and more.

In this study, readers could see black lawyers from the NAACP, knowledgeable of the legal system and wielding it to change the integration laws in America. They saw community leaders in the NAACP, withstanding pressure from powerful state politicians to share membership roles and financial information. They saw how integration both of community organizations and in schools could go smoothly when Blacks and Whites worked together.

Objectivity Is Not Enough

This study contributes to journalism and racial literature because it sheds light on how worldview impacts content. The impact happens in what and who is covered and what and whom

is omitted. The lack of a certain type of coverage can speak as loudly as an outright expression on an issue. This is important because, while this study focused on race, worldview can impact any subject. It allowed journalists from Al Jazeera and CBS news to make statements about the war in Ukraine that said this should not be happening to someone who is “European,” “prosperous middle class,” “civilized” versus a war happening in Iraq, Afghanistan, or North Africa (“War in Ukraine: Vlad Gone Mad,” 2022).

This study lays in our faces as journalists that we are biased. We are not objective. While it may not be overt, we must recognize the worldviews ingrained in our minds. We must stop teaching future journalism students that they, with no checks or balances, can be objective. Who we are spills all over the news we cover from what we choose to cover to how we choose to cover it. While this can be a great thing because it allows us to see different aspects of the world, we must also be mindful that we are not objective. There will always be a blind spot, a limited rationality.

Understanding the Limits

The historical nature of this study brought challenges and limited the scope of the work in several ways. The Brown v. Board of Education ruling occurred almost 70 years ago. The people whose work is the focus of the study are deceased and not available to discuss their newspapers. Therefore, we have no information on their routines, norms, practices and only limited and circumstantial evidence of their financial resources. For example, no information was available as to the number of reporters on staff at The Daily Progress from 1956 to 1960. There was an expansion of The Daily Progress building in 1955. Plans talked of a new newsroom with “eight typewriter desks with individual telephones” and room for more desks if desired (“The Daily Progress Planning \$400,000 Expansion Program,” 1955, p. 13). However, there is no information

on whether all those desks were for reporters. The Daily Progress' front pages were heavily filled with Associated Press stories and most of the news stories focused on in this study were from the AP. There may be many reasons for this, however, it is impossible to ask owner Clark E. Lindsay or editor Chester Babcock about that choice. Neither Randolph Louis White, nor his son, Sherman, who worked with him at the newspaper are able to talk about the resources and content production choices of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune. White published several stories in the study designated as "Special" in the byline, though it is unclear what this means. For example, a story about a U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals case that took place in Asheville, N.C. was given this distinction. It is possible that someone provided the story to the Tribune if White could not make it to Asheville to cover it himself. However, what that agreement was or if this is even the case cannot be answered. Also, the headquarters for the Tribune was in White's home. There is no information about where the paper was laid out, printed or how much the printing cost.

The data available was also limited. The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune was a weekly newspaper so only one issue per week was pulled for The Daily Progress. This means only the stories available on that specific day were analyzed. Newspapers were lost over the years, so every week or day of each newspaper was not available. For example, only three papers were available for the Charlottesville Albemarle Tribune in 1956 and January through mid-March were missing in 1957. No papers were available for September and October 1958 from The Daily Progress.

The circulation data available for The Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune was also limited. Only one instance of an outside source publishing circulation data could be found and it sat outside the study parameters in 1961. The rest of the circulation data available was published

by White in his newspaper and cannot be verified by an independent source. White said in a 1959 editorial that the paper was sent to subscribers “located in states from Massachusetts to California; Illinois to Louisiana and as far north as Montreal, Canada” (“Grateful for Support,” 1959, p. 2). That gives some idea of the reach of the newspaper in that moment, but again there is no independent source to verify this information. There is also no information on the racial makeup of his subscribers. He did publish an article by Sarah Patton Boyle, a White Charlottesville native, who advocated for the rights of Black people. He also published the work of the Charlottesville-Albemarle chapter of the Virginia Council of Human Relations, which was an integrated organization. This means White people knew of his newspaper and since Boyle wrote for the paper, it can be assumed she read it at least when her article was published in it. However, it is unclear if he had a White clientele or not and if he did how many White people he reached.

The Research Ahead

This project can move forward in a variety of ways to explore worldview and bias in a wide range of settings from dealing with other racial minority groups to ideological minorities. Another historical study could also be done to compare how Black newspapers represented their own communities. Also, exploration of modern-day news stories and editorial would offer a treasure trove. Studies might examine how these worldviews are reinforced by using authoritative sources, such as the politicians who were a focus in this study, to power coming from wealth and other assets.

APPENDIX

Charlottesville-Albemarle TRIBUNE

SERVING THE PEOPLE
OF CHARLOTTEVILLE-ALBEMARLE
COUNTY COMMUNITIES

BE SURE TO READ THE
ADVERTISEMENTS AND
THEN PATRONIZE THE
FRIENDLY MERCHANTS

VOLUME 2—NUMBER 46

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA, FRIDAY, AUGUST 10, 1956

SINGLE COPY—10 CENTS

Mountain States Little Leaguers Defeat Jackie Robinson's All Stars

The Midwestern Giants, crack little league baseball aggregation of Charlottesville, W. Va., met Jackie Robinson Little League All-Stars on Sunday, August 6th and defeated the homebatters in a decidedly one-sided 14-6.

Starting with a bang, the visitors collected two runs from three hits off Rudolph Cery, ace mounder of the Braves, before Cery succeeded in retiring the side.

The Charlottesville side started with J. Allen on the mound. He quickly retired the first man at bat, then walked the next three which resulted in his early replacement. Minor then took over, struck out his first opponent but his offering smacked for a line drive by the next batter which was taken care of by the Giants second baseman thus ending the inning 2-0.

Empire Is Pitching Hero

For the new two-runners the game summed down to a pitching duel between Cery of the locals and Minor of the visitors. There was no more scoring until the top of the fourth inning when the West Virginia team came through with a hit, an error, and a double which netted them another run. At this point, Center Jackson, manager of the All-Stars, replaced Cery with Reginald Moss to pitch for the Cubs. Moss retired the first batter, then Tommy Lawson of the Mountain States came to bat and found the home hole with two of his main aces for a three-run homer. That feat topped the score 7-0 in favor of West Virginia.

A single and a double provided another run. This was followed by another homer hit by Harrison, thus bringing up a new score of 10-2.

Moss finally disposed of the Giants in a six-inning and a groundout to third that was counted for.

In the top of the fifth inning

gave up a walk, a single and two doubles which resulted in two more runs for the visitors and Moss being replaced by A. J. Compton, crack Yankee pitcher. Compton retired the side on two strikeouts and a fly to right field which was caught thus ending the side.

In the bottom of the fifth inning Compton was first at bat and led off with a red hot liner through the box, but was fared at second by Arthur Wain.

Flint Kev, new homebatter at bat dropped a single over the first baseman's head and Wain went home on a wild throw by the first baseman, thus chalking up Charlottesville's first score. Following this, a series of errors on the part of the visitors netted the locals two more runs. Charlottesville's Minor then got control of himself and struck out the next run batters. The score then stood at 12-1.

In the last frame of the contest the Giants drove in two more runs on two hits and two errors, before the game was retired.

Locals Stage Last Minute Rally

The Jackie Robinson aggregation staged a slight rally in the final frame of the tilt and led with a hit, two walks, and an error, all of which enabled the team to add three more runs to its total and changed the score to 14-6 in favor of West Virginia.

Come out to make and watch our little leaguers. Your presence in large numbers will encourage them as nothing else will to play better ball. They are counting on you; don't let them down. Also, don't punch your person when the ball is needed. They deserve all the financial and moral support we can give them—they are our own!

The advantage in being a parent is that you don't have to take the same medicine for your child as you give to the children.

N. D. A. Elects Dr. E. N. Jackson Secretary-Treasurer

The National Dental Association met at its meeting at Hampton, Va., on Sunday, August 6, elected Dr. E. N. Jackson of Charlottesville as its Secretary-Treasurer.

Dr. Jackson succeeds his father, Dr. J. A. Jackson, who held the office for a score of years.

Dr. Charles Williams of Chicago, whose election to that office was recommended by the executive board earlier was not approved by the association at the time of the election of the minutes last Sunday. Instead the body held an open election which resulted in Dr. Jackson's election by an overwhelming majority.

Esmond Man Certified To Grand Jury In Knife Assault

John Archie Jackson, 28, of Esmond, was certified to the Albemarle County grand jury following the knife assault on August 4.

Jackson was arrested July 9th by Deputy Sheriff C. R. Marshall for the knife assault on Charles Anderson, of Howardville.

The arrest took place June 30 in a store at Esmond. Anderson received cuts on the neck and arm. Jackson will be presented for indictment to the grand jury during the next term of Circuit Court in October.

Every group is usually for the best interest of the community and its own interests.

Judge John Paul's Order Ending Segregation Received

Denver City Council Elects Negro As President

Tallahassee Hires Negro Bus Drivers

Tallahassee, Fla.—The board of directors of the City of Tallahassee has elected a Negro to the office of president of the city council.

Dr. J. A. Jackson, who held the office for a score of years, was elected to the office of secretary-treasurer.

Dr. Jackson succeeds his father, Dr. J. A. Jackson, who held the office for a score of years.

Dr. Charles Williams of Chicago, whose election to that office was recommended by the executive board earlier was not approved by the association at the time of the election of the minutes last Sunday. Instead the body held an open election which resulted in Dr. Jackson's election by an overwhelming majority.

Denver City Council Elects Negro As President

Denver, Colo.—(Special)—Dr. J. A. Jackson, a specialist in business economics, has been elected president of the Denver City Council by his fellow members. He will serve for one year.

Caldwell, a Negro, is one of two councilmen elected to their first terms in the 1955 city councilman elections, which elevated Will R. Nicholson to the mayoralty.

Mr. Caldwell is married and his wife, who has herself a college graduate, teaches the fifth and sixth grades at the Mitchell elementary school on East Denver.

The new president expressed himself as deeply moved at the honor, which he said was "one of the very few of my people in this country."

During World War II Mr. Caldwell was chief statistician at the Denver plant of the Remington Arms Company, a special assistant to the general superintendent of Kaiser Industries, Denver, and later was a divisional accountant of Ideal Cement Company.

Bars Delay; School Board Will Appeal Decree of Federal Judge John Paul

National Dental Ass'n Convenes At Hampton

Dr. J. Edward Bowman, President of the National Dental Association, Inc., announces that the 33rd annual session is being held at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, August 6-12, 1956. The Executive Board held its first meeting Sunday, August 6th at 10 a.m. at Clark Hall.

Of great importance to the members of the NDA was the election of a Secretary-Treasurer to succeed Dr. J. A. Jackson, Charlottesville, Virginia, who died last April, 1954.

The hosts to the convention was the National Dental Society and its Auxiliary Dr. W. F. Robinson, Franklin, Va., is President of the Society, and Mrs. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond, Va., is President of the local state Auxiliary.

The program for this convention is under the direction of Dr. Harry P. Penick, Roanoke, Va., who has succeeded in obtaining many of the finest speakers and speakers in the country, including among the clinicians are Doctors Herman Gaskins, Sterling Mead, Emmett Scott, W. A. Connelley, George Wade, Garrett Rudgeley, Thomas Upham, John Nealey, Crawford Niam.

Of great interest to the general public and the entire convention was an address on Tuesday night at Clark Hall, Hampton Institute, by the President of Howard University, Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson. The public program began at 8:00 p.m., with Dr. L. A. Pawlins, Convention Co-Chairman, presiding.

Officers of the National Dental Association include Dr. J. E. Bowman, Washington, D. C., President; Dr. L. W. R. Gates, Derby, Conn., Vice President.

The historic decree of Federal Judge John Paul, ordering the Charlottesville School Board to end segregation in schools under his jurisdiction, commencing when schools open next month was received here Tuesday morning, August 7, and entered in the law book in U. S. District Court.

The decree granting a petition filed on May 7, 1956 by NAACP attorneys Spottswood Robinson III and Oliver W. Hill, on behalf of 13 Negro school pupils and their parents and guardians.

Test Of Deeds

Following is the text of the decree which completely rules out delay.

"This action having come up to be heard on July 12, 1956, upon the complaint, the answer, and the evidence offered by the plaintiffs and the defendants, and the arguments of counsel.

"Upon consideration whereof, the court being of the opinion that the plaintiffs are entitled to the relief sought in their complaint, and having set forth the reasons for its conclusions in a written opinion, this day filed and made a part of the record.

ORDERED AND ADJUDGED:

ORDERED AND DECREED:

1. That the defendants, and each of them, their successors in office, and their agents and employees, be, and they hereby are, restrained and enjoined from any and all action that regulate or affect, on the basis of race or color, the admission, enrollment or education of the infant plaintiffs, or any other Negro child similarly situated, to any public school operated by the defendants.

2. That this injunction become effective at the commencement of the school term commencing in September, 1956.

3. That the plaintiffs recover from defendants their costs in this action.

"And the plaintiffs having moved the court that the defendants be required to pay the attorneys' fees of counsel for the plaintiffs in this action.

"Now, therefore, upon consideration of said motion, the same is denied, to which action of the court counsel for the plaintiffs except.

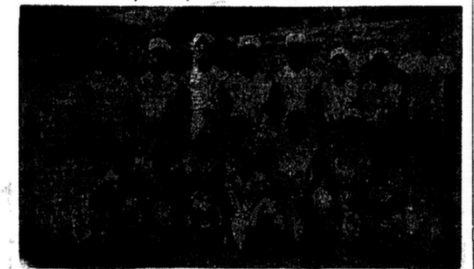
"It is further ORDERED that this action remain upon the docket of the court and that the court retain jurisdiction of the same for such further action, if (Continued on page four)

Jackie Robinson All Stars Bow To Mid-Town Giants



JACKIE ROBINSON ALL-STARS—At bottom, left to right: Bridgewater, Dooms, Walker, Carter, Brown, Ferguson, Barber and Jones. Standing, left to right: Ken. Wain, Wick, Carr, Moss, Compton, Carey, J. Martin and C. Martin. Also, Carter, Jackson and Albino Wilson, commentators.

Charleston, W. Va., Midtown Giants Victors Over Locals



MIDTOWN GIANTS—At bottom, front, E. Brooks. Front row, kneeling, left to right—Ward, Palmer, Wilson, Lamm, Dunn, Farley, Standley, left to right: Scott, Manager, Carroll, Martin, Brown, Gary, Bash, Harmon, Allen, and D. Franklin, assistant manager.

AFL-CIO President Sums Up Record Of 84th Congress

AFL-CIO President George Meany recently issued the following appraisal of the 84th Congress.

The record of the 84th Congress is a mixture of the good and the bad. Although the Congress did not live up to its name, it did secure a number of solid accomplishments. Unfortunately, however, it was not as successful as it could have been.

The American people have been well served by the moderation of the Social Security Act and by the increase in the federal minimum wage to the \$1.00 level. Through these acts, the Congress has done much to improve the lives of the people.

The American people have been well served by the moderation of the Social Security Act and by the increase in the federal minimum wage to the \$1.00 level. Through these acts, the Congress has done much to improve the lives of the people.

City Mayor And Police Chief Had Refused Permission For Solicitors To Work Here

Four men claiming to be representatives of the "Seaboard White Citizens' Council" were arrested here last Saturday by Charlottesville police for passing out membership applications for the Citizens' Council without written permission of the city.

The quartet, identified themselves as Floyd Fleming, 60, John Caesar, 26, and Edward Franklin Johnson, 35, all of Washington, D. C., and Alex James Hays, 32, of Alexandria, Va.

The men are scheduled to be tried in Police Court Friday, August 11. Meanwhile, they are at liberty on bond of \$100 each.

Permission Denied By Mayor And Chief of Police

Permission to solicit membership in the council had been denied the men by both Police Chief J. E. Adams and Mayor Sol B. Weinberg. The chief said the men had come to Charlottesville twice previously and asked permission to pass out anti-segregation literature. He said their request was denied by both himself and Mayor Weinberg. A city ordinance requires that written permission be obtained from both the chief of police and mayor before such solicitation can be made. Violation of the ordinance makes the offender liable to a fine of \$100 and a sentence of six months in jail.

Police Aboard Of Activities

Police were advised around 3:30

Citizens' Council Nets Arrest For Four Soliciting Of Memberships On

Negro Woman Gives \$350,000 To Dallas Community Chest

(Dallas, Tex. Special)—Mrs. Pearl C. Anderson, a Catholic lay leader and philanthropist, here last Saturday by Charlottesville police for passing out membership applications for the Citizens' Council without written permission of the city.

The quartet, identified themselves as Floyd Fleming, 60, John Caesar, 26, and Edward Franklin Johnson, 35, all of Washington, D. C., and Alex James Hays, 32, of Alexandria, Va.

The men are scheduled to be tried in Police Court Friday, August 11. Meanwhile, they are at liberty on bond of \$100 each.

Permission Denied By Mayor And Chief of Police

Permission to solicit membership in the council had been denied the men by both Police Chief J. E. Adams and Mayor Sol B. Weinberg. The chief said the men had come to Charlottesville twice previously and asked permission to pass out anti-segregation literature. He said their request was denied by both himself and Mayor Weinberg. A city ordinance requires that written permission be obtained from both the chief of police and mayor before such solicitation can be made. Violation of the ordinance makes the offender liable to a fine of \$100 and a sentence of six months in jail.

Police Aboard Of Activities

Police were advised around 3:30

City Mayor And Police Chief Had Refused Permission For Solicitors To Work Here

Four men claiming to be representatives of the "Seaboard White Citizens' Council" were arrested here last Saturday by Charlottesville police for passing out membership applications for the Citizens' Council without written permission of the city.

The quartet, identified themselves as Floyd Fleming, 60, John Caesar, 26, and Edward Franklin Johnson, 35, all of Washington, D. C., and Alex James Hays, 32, of Alexandria, Va.

The men are scheduled to be tried in Police Court Friday, August 11. Meanwhile, they are at liberty on bond of \$100 each.

Permission Denied By Mayor And Chief of Police

Permission to solicit membership in the council had been denied the men by both Police Chief J. E. Adams and Mayor Sol B. Weinberg. The chief said the men had come to Charlottesville twice previously and asked permission to pass out anti-segregation literature. He said their request was denied by both himself and Mayor Weinberg. A city ordinance requires that written permission be obtained from both the chief of police and mayor before such solicitation can be made. Violation of the ordinance makes the offender liable to a fine of \$100 and a sentence of six months in jail.

Police Aboard Of Activities

Police were advised around 3:30

Ladies' Auxiliary Of N. D. A. Holds Meet

The Auxiliary to the National Dental Association is meeting at Hampton Institute and at the Seaboard Hotel, Roanoke, Va.

Officers of the Auxiliary are Mrs. Hazel Lovell, Philadelphia, Pa., President; Mrs. C. R. McMillen, Washington, D. C., President-Elect; Mrs. J. A. Jackson, Charlottesville, Va., Vice President; Mrs. E. G. Vernon, Memphis, Tenn., Financial Secretary; Mrs. R. F. Benbow, St. Joseph, Mo., Treasurer, and Mrs. Warrington, Recording Secretary, Columbia, S. C.

Mrs. Vivian Allgren, Program Chairman, Baltimore, Md., has announced that the ladies and their guests will be entertained throughout the week with beach parties, fashion show and sherry clinic, beauty and dance, and finally a tour through Colonial Virginia as the last crowning feature.

Most of the visitors will be housed in the various dormitories at Hampton Institute and at the Seaboard Hotel, Roanoke, Va.

Figure 1: The front page of the Friday, Aug. 10, 1956, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune.

CHARLOTTESVILLE-ALBEMARLE TRIBUNE
FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1958
 Published Every Friday By
CHARLOTTESVILLE-ALBEMARLE TRIBUNE
 RANDOLPH L. WHITE
 1025 Graft Avenue
 CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA
 Mrs. DONNA REAVES
 755 Ridge Street-Dial 3-5037
 GEORGE W. KING, JR.
 508 18th Street, N. W.—Dial 5-8351
 INTERSTATE UNITED NEWSPAPERS, INC.,
 National Advertising Representatives
 545 Fifth Avenue, New York City 17, N. Y.
 Subscription—\$3.50 year; \$2.00 6 months; \$1.25 3 months
 Entered as second-class mail, October 23, 1954 at the Postoffice at
 Charlottesville, Virginia, under the Act of March 3, 1879.
 Effective April 26, 1957 this newspaper will charge \$1 each insertion
 for publishing CARES OF TRAVELERS, payable in advance.
 PICTURES, MANUSCRIPTS—The Tribune assumes no responsibility
 for the return of unsolicited pictures or manuscripts, etc., unless return
 is requested.

A Time For Intelligent Action
 As of now, consternation seems to reign in the
 minds of members of the Virginia press and other news
 media, locally, and throughout the state, in the wake of
 Judge Paul's re-affirmation last Monday noon of his August,
 1956 order calling for desegregation of Charlottesville
 public schools which he revised to become effective
 this September.

It is a healthy thing to note, however, that several
 religious denominations and civic groups have gone on
 record as supporting the laws of the land including the
 High Court's edict banning segregation in public educa-
 tional facilities. Also encouraging is Gov. Almond's an-
 nouncement this week that he does not intend to make
 any statements that would further inflame the feelings of
 the people.

However, some of the speculation being expressed in
 news media smacks more or less at being wishful
 thinking. For, while admitting that Negroes are now in
 the position to take advantage of the rights guaranteed
 them by the Constitution, some of the speculators would
 still have them forego these "rights" and continue to ac-
 cept second class citizenship. Such reasoning is indeed
 ironic at this time when, as we perchance these lines, the vice-
 president of the United States is being blessed, booted and
 spat upon by some of the people of the very countries for
 whom America is taxing her citizens to the hilt to support.
 And, down through the years, America has been rolling out
 the welcome mat for their foreigners and according them
 the same treatment she accords her white citizens
 regardless to the skin color of these immigrants, many of
 whom risk to this country for the purpose of raising their
 standard of living and helping other relatives reach this
 land of plenty.

Race relations in America is the root of the trouble
 she is facing around the world today if the reports of our
 own people who travel abroad and international news
 reports are accurate. But despite the insults hurled at
 Americans as they travel in foreign lands where they are
 being constantly reminded of how America treats her
 Negro citizens, there still remains in our midst thousands
 of native-born Americans who would continue to deny
 the Negro the same rights they themselves enjoy and thus
 through such shortsightedness, hasten the day of this
 nation's doom at the hands of the growing number of
 nations turning against us as time goes on.

We think it is somewhat late to believe that present
 day Negroes are going to forego taking advantage of the
 rights guaranteed them by the laws of this land, but are
 now resolved to gamble their chances for every benefit
 available to all other Americans, come what may.

Thus, in the light of the existing situation, our gov-
 erning bodies should lose no time in appointing interracial
 committees composed of white and Negro leaders and a
 cross-section of the populace—moderates, liberals, and
 extremists on both sides of the question, and have them
 meet together at regular intervals and seek out a solution
 that will be mutually acceptable to the majority of those
 on both sides.

Things You Should Know

Wendell PHILLIPS
 ABOULIST LEADER OF THE 1830's
 A REMARKABLE SCHOLAR AND ORATOR, HE
 TRAVELLED AND LECTURED FOR THE AMERICAN
 AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES / HE IS
 THE MAN WHO REFUSED TO SUPPORT A CHURCH
 THAT WOULD COMPROMISE ON THE SLAVERY
 ISSUE / HE, THE MAN WHO RENOUNCED A LAW
 CAREER BECAUSE HE WOULD NOT SWEAR TO
 UPHOLD A CONSTITUTION WHICH LEGALIZED
 SLAVERY!

**Mrs. Jackson Attends Memorial For
 Sallie W. Stewart In Washington**

Mrs. Peachie C. Jackson of
 125 4th Street, N.W., attended
 the Sallie W. Stewart Memorial
 Dedication on Sunday, May 11,
 at 5 p.m. at the Association
 House, 1401 R. Street, N.W.,
 Washington, D.C.

The service was sponsored
 by the National Association of
 Colored Women's Club in grate-
 ful acknowledgment of the
 loyal and dedicated services of
 Sallie W. Stewart of Evans-
 ville, Ind., Ninth President of
 the Association, 1928-1930, for
 the promotion and development
 of the National Association of
 Colored Girls and for the gen-
 erous gift of her estate to carry
 on and uphold her noble tradi-
 tions.

Mrs. Irene McCreary Gaines,
 President of the National As-
 sociation of Colored Women's
 Clubs, Inc., presided during the
 program and Mrs. Peachie C.
 Jackson, Past President of the
 Virginia State Federation of
 Colored Women's Clubs, served
 on the Sallie W. Stewart Mem-
 orial Committee.

**Miss Keys Entertains
 The "Toppers"**

Mrs. Gertrude Keys enter-
 tained the Toppers Social Club
 on Wednesday evening, May 7,
 at Carver Inn. Routine business
 was discussed during the busi-
 ness session, and during the
 social period a most delightful
 time was had with the hostess
 who served a most tasty buffet
 supper.

Members present included
 the president, Mrs. Rose Bar-
 nett, the secretary, Mrs. Gene-
 va Deering and Mesdames
 Bernette Wilson, Emma Lower,

on his last year self. He is to
 be pitied, like a victim of am-
 nesia who has lost memory of
 who he is and where he came
 from. The upstart in express-
 ing his lack of interest in
 Africa by saying, "I haven't
 lost anything in Africa," has
 been dreamed of the depth of
 ignorance he expresses.

All he had lost in Africa. He
 lost so much, mainly his re-
 spect, which is the reason he
 has nothing now. If he is to
 ever find it, or regain it, it
 must be done through Africa.
 All of the people in the world,
 the American Negro should be
 the student well-versed in
 Africa. Yet, everybody except
 him is concerned and explor-
 ing, and exploiting it. The
 American Negro is ashamed of
 Africa and to slow to recognize
 it as the place of his origin. He
 knows nothing of its glories
 and wonders and the greatness
 of its people. Our grave need

**Florida Governor Blames Ike, Faubus
 For Little Rock School Violence**

New York, May 12—Gov. Col-
 ins of Florida declared today
 that both President Eisen-
 hower and Gov. Faubus of
 Arkansas must share the blame
 for the school integration violence
 at Little Rock last year.

In a signed article in the new
 issue of Look Magazine, Collins
 said the president was at fault
 "for not anticipating the ex-
 ploiveness of the situation and
 moving early to head it off."
 He believed that the President
 could have done this at New-
 port, or that his attorney gen-
 eral, or others acting for him,
 could have done it in face-to-
 face discussions at Little
 Rock," Collins said.

He blamed Faubus "for us-
 ing his police powers affirma-
 tively to prevent enforcement
 of a judicial order."

A Little Rock crisis some-
 where, however, was almost
 inevitable, the Governor con-
 tinued, "because the courts are
 now placed in the unnatural,
 and I believe untenable, posi-
 tion of acting in executive and
 legislative, as well as judicial
 capacities."

Collins charged that the
 Supreme Court "improperly"
 has set itself up as the govern-

is to know Africa, her past,
 present and future.
 Nobody has been to mile in
 Africa than the American Negro,
 not even the native them-
 selves. Any group of people
 who cannot point to a mother
 land, ruled by their own people,
 is lost at sea without a
 compass, and without hope.
 They are at the mercy of chang-
 ing and unpredictable waves.
 They are disrespected and
 looked upon as objects of con-
 tempt. That has been the plight
 of the American Negro since he
 first set foot on American soil.
 And he wonders why. The an-
 swer is the lack of a mother land
 ruled by his people.

But thank God, the long and
 dark night has passed and the
 sun has gloriously arisen on a
 new day; yet it is still the early
 morning hours. Free and inde-
 pendent countries and govern-
 ments are being born.
 This gives the American Negro
 a new emancipation which
 means as much, if not more,
 than his freedom from Ameri-
 can body slavery. This new
 emancipation sets mind, soul
 and spirit at liberty. As stated
 in another article, Nigeria is
 engaged in taking the final
 steps to independence by April
 2, 1960.

This country has been reborn
 and a new spirit and a new
 life floods the country. I cannot
 help but thinking of the great
 contrast I found here in 1945
 when I made my first trip for
 the Baptist Foreign Mission
 Board. There is no compara-
 son. Everything is contrast.
 The people are not trying to
 change their minds. They are
 proud and satisfied to be Afri-
 can. "St. Louis Blues," by
 Louis Armstrong, but intelli-
 gent, free and progressive
 Africans. Here in Africa the
 sought and the desired respect
 the American Negro has been
 seeking is found. Respect is
 something you cannot buy or
 force. Let us rene ourselves in
 it, appreciate it, and make
 it well and in dignity and
 thanks to God.

**Nathaniel Morton
 Celebrates 9th
 Birthday**

Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Pal-
 mer of 215 9th Street, N.W., en-
 tertained for Master Nathaniel
 Morton on his 9th birthday on
 April 29. The children had a
 most delightful time eating
 and dancing. Among those present
 were Teresa Davidson, Shir-
 ley Bost, Gayle Gray, Patricia
 Smith, Joan and Joyce Kelly,
 Marvin and Willie Townsend,
 Charles Gray, Bryant Hender-
 son, Jr., Jasper Jones, Jr., Leon
 Henderson, Jr., William Hol-
 lins, Rodell Anderson, Harold Dud-
 ley, Jr., Alphonso and Robert
 Lee Dudley, Misses Carola,
 Lynn Smith and Sylvia Morton
 helped with the games. Adults
 present were Mrs. Ruth Jones,
 Mrs. Emma Hollins and Mrs.
 Bernice Dudley.

**Coke Boone Missionary Circle
 Mrs. Baker Hostess To The Eve**

The regular meeting of the
 Mrs. C. Boone Missionary Cir-
 cle of the First Baptist Church
 was held on Monday evening,
 May 5 at the Church with Mrs.
 Laura Baker serving as hos-
 tess. Mrs. R. F. McInnes,
 devotional chairman, presented
 a most interesting and inspir-
 ing service with the theme of
 Mother's Day. During the busi-
 ness session Family Week was
 discussed which was May 4-11.
 Monday night represented
 Mother's night, Wednesday
 night, prayer together, and
 Sunday, May 11, Worshiping
 together. Miss Lydia Murray is
 president and Mrs. M. R. Tay-
 lor is secretary.

**If you wish to rent, sell or buy
 a house, or business
 SEE
 T. ARTHUR BROOKS
 REAL ESTATE BROKER
 700 Rose Hill Drive Tel. 2-9737
 CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA**

**Your Banking Problems Are Welcome
 at The
 Citizens Bank & Trust Company
 200 East Main Street — Charlottesville, Va.
 COLONIAL BRANCH — 1822 West Main Street**

**FINE FURNITURE
 FROM THIS OLD ESTABLISHED FIRM
 WILL MAKE YOUR HOME MORE PLEASANT.
 It will be a pleasure to have you visit our store!
 GILMORE, HAMM & SNYDER, INC.
 CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA**

**You needn't hide
 from BIGGER
 MID-WINTER
 FUEL BILLS
 anymore!**
 Deal right off the
 100% duty commitment
 and daily automatic delivery of
 the World's Finest Fuel Oil
CHARLOTTESVILLE OIL COMPANY
 CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

**"I'm told Parks Finance Service is the place
 to borrow money in Charlottesville."**
 112 SECOND STREET, N. E. PHONE 5-4116

Why We Should Attend Church
 Because — The enduring
 things of life, faith, hope and
 love are stressed there.
 Because — The routine of
 life is opened to the entrance
 of finer and higher things.
 Because — Public worship
 sincerely engaged in helps us
 to draw nearer to God.
 Because — The sins, sor-
 rows, cares and responsibil-
 ities of our daily lives can be
 more finely dealt with.
 Because — We are God-
 loved.
 Because — The Church is
 the neighborhood nursery on earth
 for the realization of human
 progress — the ally of all true
 reforms.
 Because — It is the supreme
 character making institution
 in the world.
 Because — It relates man-
 kind to God and to one an-
 other in happy and useful
 fellowship.
 Because — Jesus Christ
 the Master of all who believe,
 went himself and urges all to
 do likewise. "I was glad when

**QUALITY
 did it!**
 OVER
 100 MILLION
 BARRIS

**Thrifty
 Book
 Bays**
 WE SAVE YOU
 MONEY
 ON ALL KINDS OF
 HARDWARE

Figure 3: Page 2 of the Friday, May 16, 1958, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune, which includes the paper's editorial column.

SERVING THE PEOPLE
OF CHARLOTTESVILLE
AND ALBEMARLE
COUNTY CO-OPERATED
PUBLICATIONS

CHARLOTTESVILLE · ALBEMARLE TRIBUNE

BE SURE TO READ THE
ADVERTISEMENTS AND
THEIR PATRONIZE THE
FRIENDLY MERCHANTS

VOLUME V—NUMBER 13

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA, FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 1959

SINGLE COPY—TEN CENTS

City School Board Says It Will Reopen Schools At 'Early Date'

School Board Wins
Desegregation Stay

City Attorney John S. Battle, Jr. Thursday was granted a stay for the School Board of Judge John Paul's desegregation order, until September by Judge Simon Robert of Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. Battle said Judge Sobeloff seemed to have been favorably impressed with the Board and Council's recent action which he noted seemed to have been taken in good faith in compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation edict.

The School Board was given 20 days to submit a revised pupil assignment plan to Judge Paul. Meanwhile, Lane High and Venable Elementary Schools are scheduled to reopen next week on a segregated basis. The 12 Negro plaintiffs were represented by Oliver W. Hill and Spotswood W. Robinson III, NAACP attorneys of Richmond.

Emma Jefferson Morris' Recital Postponed To Feb. 2
It is with much regret that we announce that the recital by Mrs. Emma Jefferson Morris, which was scheduled for last Monday night, Jan. 26, at the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Church here, had to be cancelled on the advice of her physician because of her indisposition due to a cold. Mrs. JEFFERSON is recovering nicely and the recital has been re-scheduled for the same time and place, Monday, February 2nd. Ticket sales already indicate that an overflow audience will be present, so please do not be

Counsel to Seek Stay That Board Might
Perfect A Pupil Assignment Plan

The Charlottesville School Board announced Monday night following its meeting with City Attorney John S. Battle, Jr. that it would reopen Lane High School and Venable Elementary School at "an early date," if necessary on a segregated basis. Currently under orders of Federal Judge John Paul of the Western District of Virginia, the Board is to admit some 12 Negro students, both Lane and Venable have been closed by orders of Gov. Almond since last September.

On Jan. 19, both the State Supreme Court of Appeals and a three-judge Federal Court held that Virginia's so-called "massive resistance" laws were unconstitutional and thereby withdrew authority from the Governor and returned it to the school boards to control their schools. Battle To Seek Stay City Attorney John S. Battle, Jr. said the program commences at 8:15 p.m. REMEMBER THE DATE—MONDAY, Feb. 2nd. This golden-voiced soprano is being sponsored for her appearance here by her instructor, Mrs. Winifred Roper, long famed for her vocal accomplishments and as a pianist. Mrs. Morris will sing in the Roanoke Hall, New York City on April 10 under the auspices of the "Milkmaid-Pleasant" Chorus whose talent would be featured recently. Proceeds from her appearance here will go toward helping this deserving young artist in her struggle for full recognition as such in the music-making world.

HIGHLIGHTS IN HISTORIC CHARLOTTESVILLE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CASE— Show in top photo (1 to 4) are City Atty. John S. Battle, Jr., counsel for the Charlottesville Board in his fight to continue segregated schools in the suit brought by certain Negro plaintiffs; Atty-General A. S. Harrison (face partially hidden), and Atty. Henry T. Wickham, assistant to the Attorney General, as the group discuss certain aspects of the case during recess in Judge John Paul's Court, Harrisonburg. PHOTO at bottom shows NAACP attorneys at counsel table a few feet away from defendant's counsel. There (1 to 4) are Hugo Madison of Newport News, Virginia; S. W. Tucker, Esq., of Sta. Spotswood Robinson III, Staff Counsel for Southeastern Region (NAACP), and Oliver W. Hill, Chief Counsel, Virginia State Conference. NAACP-Hill is shown reaching for the map showing the then newly drawn school district lines.



ATS, P-TA Hears Two Speakers

After a short business session Thursday, January 29th, the Albemarle PTA with Mr. Hawkins, vice president, presiding, considered "Typical Parent Problems." The consultants were Mr. James Fleming, broker with the Ideal Realty Company and Mr. Randolph White, editor of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune. Mr. Fleming discussed and clarified many problems involved in buying real estate and borrowing money. Mr. White simplified the probable difficulties involved in computing Income Tax. He also discussed the ease and necessity of making wills.

Following both of these discussions there was a question and answer period. Our next PTA meeting will be held on February 5th at the Albemarle Training School at 8:30 p.m. Following the business session, the program committee will present Mr. James Fleming, head of the Department of History, at the Jackson P. Hurley High School. Mr. Fleming will speak from the subject, "Negro History As an Aid to the Growth of Our Children."

Gov. Almond's Address Answered By NAACP Voices
Three Virginia NAACP spokesmen last weekend replied over radio and TV to Governor J. Lindsay Almond's address which he made over similar news media Tuesday evening, January 20, calling upon the citizens of Virginia to stand firm with him in his struggle to maintain racially segregated public schools. Treasurer, VA State Conf., NAACP, First Speaker, David E. Longley, Treasurer, Virginia State Conference of Teachers, NAACP, led off with an address over Richmond's Radio WLEE, at 7:30 p.m. Saturday, January 24. Longley prefaced his remarks with the Biblical quotation, "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." He then continued with a quotation from Max Muller who said, "He who keeps back the truth, or withholds it from men, from motives of expediency, is either a coward or a criminal, or both."

"It is a case, right just, and will be aided by the speakers at the conference include: Dr. Horace Mann Bond, dean of Atlanta University School of Education; Dr. Samuel Proctor, president of Virginia Union University; and Dr. Margaret Cartwright, Hunter College professor. Among the topics that will be discussed are: "The NAACP treasurer continued, "there is no need to hold back the truth or withhold the truth from men." He charged that the leaders of the so-called "massive resistance" efforts in Virginia are holding back the truth from the people either through ignorance of the actual issues at stake or else, deliberately from motives of expediency and selfishness."

Longley then proceeded to advise his listeners "who are interested in honesty, decency, integrity and proper respect for fully constituted authority to examine closely and critically the public utterances and writings of the 50 chapters in Albemarle County."

City Council Supports School Board In Its Decision To Reopen Schools



CHARLOTTESVILLE SCHOOL BOARD AND CITY COUNCIL MEET—Charlottesville's School Board and City Council are pictured above as they began deliberations which resulted in adoption of a pupil assignment plan and a commitment to support on an integrated basis if necessary. The two schools affected are Lane High School and Venable Elementary School. Pictured clockwise around the table (left to right) are Councilmen Louis L. Schreiber, Councilman Carl R. Weinberg, Mayor Thomas J. Michie, School Supt. Wendell R. Ellis, School Board Chairman R. Stanley Goodman, Jr., (head of table), City Atty. John S. Battle, Jr., board member James Harry Michael, Councilman R. M. Davis, and board member Horace Adams, Sr. (back of head). Not shown are City Manager James E. Bowen, Council Clerk J. Sidney Rush, Councilman Clayton Coleman, and board member Richard Meade, P. A. Wallenburg, and Earl Thacker, who were also present. Board member Henry Wright was not at the meeting.

Dr. Ridley To Deliver Key-Note Address Before 21st Annual Convention Of Alpha Kappa Mu
Dr. George W. Ridley, Jr., president of the Executive Council, Alpha Kappa Mu, will deliver the key-note address at the 21st annual convention of Alpha Kappa Mu National Honor Society when it convenes here at South Carolina State A&M College, March 19-21.

In addition to Dr. Ridley the following persons are members of the Executive Council: Maryland Lewis, Vice-President; Tennessee A&M, George W. Gore, Jr., Secretary-Treasurer; Florida A&M, Ruby Metcalf, Assistant Secretary; Grambling College, Clifton Taylor, Executive Council; Florida A&M, Mary Clay Pinkston, Executive Council; Tennessee State A&M, Larry Rose Adams, Convention Secretary; Florida A&M, George F. David, Historian; Central State College and John W. Riley, Director of Publicity. Regional directors are T. E. McKinney, Region I, Johnson C. Smith University; Jeannette I. Cole, Region II, St. Paul's College; Herbert E. Olivera, Region III, Kentucky State College; Booker T. Felder, Region IV, Tuskegee Institute; E. K. Williams, Region V, Savannah State College; Robert L. Owens, Region VI, Southern University; and Thomas F. Freeman, Region VII, Texas Southern University.

Other features of the three-day meeting will include a meeting of the executive council, general sessions, reports of national officers, discussion sessions, committee meetings, and a banquet. There are 50 chapters in Alpha Kappa Mu.

Public Housing Survey Expanded To Include Both Races
The Charlottesville Housing Authority which has just concluded a survey of sub-standard Negro housing, has been expanded to include dwellings of white residents. George W. Price, Jr., Housing Authority executive director announced this week.

Price said the survey was expanded to include white dwellings at the request of the public Housing Authority (PHA), the federal agency that finances public housing projects. The director said city authority members and city officials agreed the expanded survey will give a more comprehensive view of housing needs here. It should provide enough information to guide planning for relocation of families displaced from their homes by future urban renewal (slum clearance) projects as well as the currently planned Vinger Hill project. Price said the survey is believed to be all or almost of the sub-standard Negro dwellings in Charlottesville. The ratio of sub-standard Negro and white dwellings in the City is about four to one, respectively. Mr. Price said the main purpose of the survey is to determine the number of families now living in sub-standard dwellings who would be eligible for relocation in low-cost public housing if they were turned out of their present dwellings.

Les Amies To Present 19 Girls At Fifth Debutante Ball This Spring
The Les Amies Social Club has named 19 young ladies to be presented at the 5th Anniversary Debutante Ball this Spring. The young ladies to be presented this year are: Misses Jacqueline Barrett, Veronica Burnett, Alice Douglas, Edna Harris, Emma Walker, Judith Harris, Patricia Hanson, Alice Henderson, Ruth Cowan, Barbara Starks, Barbara Scott, Doris Banks, Regina Whiting, Mary E. Wigginton, Janet Carter, Lucille Golden, Joyce Smith, Beverly Mitchell and Ann Wick.

Club members are: Mesdames Martha Brown, Florence Berry, Evelyn Carter, Hattie Deberry, Pauline Garrett, Julie Holway, Evelyn Johnson, Helen Pairs, Donna Beaman, Laura Robinson, Edna Robinson, Charles Smith, Regan Taylor, Josephine Whitsett, and Misses Louise Parker and Florida Price.

Says It's "Unthinkable" to Abandon Public Schools; Asks for Peaceful Acceptance of The "Inevitable"

Judge Paul's order calling for the admission of the 12 Negro students to allow the board time to perfect a new pupil assignment plan which it hopes will be more acceptable to the Federal Courts. If the court refuses to grant the board a stay of its desegregation order, the School Board will face a new decision on when it will carry out its promise to reopen the schools "at the earliest practicable date."

Council Says Some Integration "Inevitable"
City Council said in its resolution Tuesday, "... If the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit does not grant the stay... some integration must result when those schools are reopened and even if the stay is granted that result will almost certainly follow in September."

Model Sunday School Workshop Held Jan. 25 At Mt. Calvary Church

A Model Sunday School Workshop of the Piedmont District Sunday School Convention held its first meeting with the Mt. Calvary Church, Ivy, Va., on Sunday, January 25. The Workshop was organized by Miss Ruth Walker, and is so named because it is designed to give officers, teachers and members new data on how to build better Sunday schools. The organization has the following officers and teachers: Superintendent, Mr. Albert Walker, Sr.; Pianist, Mrs. Frances Hill; Teachers - Begunians and Primaries, Mrs. Douglas Edwards; Juniors, Mrs. Daisy Banks; Intermediates Mrs. Nellie Perry; Young People, Mrs. Sarah Hughes; Adults, Rev. E. L. Johnson; Superintendent and Officers class, Mr. Douglas Edwards; and Home Department and Cradle Roll, Mrs. Mattie Carter.

The following Sunday Schools were represented, Oak Grove, Mt. Calvary, Mt. Zion of Charlottesville, Union Mission, Free Union and Zion Hill. All seemed to have gained new ideas to take in their respective churches and schools. The second session was held with the same churches, Sunday, Feb. 1, 8:00 p.m.

Figure 4: The front page of the Friday, January 30, 1959, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune.



Figure 5: Page 2 of the Friday, January 30, 1959, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune, which includes the paper's editorial column and article jumps from page 1.

PAGE FOUR **CHARLOTTESVILLE-ALBEMARLE TRIBUNE**
FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 1959

Funeral Service Held For Mr. George Frank Murray

Funeral service was held for Mr. George Frank Murray on Saturday, January 24 at the

They must borrow for any worthwhile purpose.

BANK BORROWING IS BEST.

For ALL your INSTALLMENT LOANS

PEOPLES BANK

offers you

LOANS

to fit your needs

QUICK, CONFIDENTIAL CONVENIENT LOANS AT LOWER BANK RATES EVEN WHEN LIFE INSURANCE ON YOUR LOAN IS INCLUDED.

Member Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

parted this life on January 21 in New York City. Among the floral offerings was an outstanding one sent by the Jefferson School "Class of 1922."

Surviving are, besides his mother, Miss Cora, one daughter, Miss Dorothy Murray; sons, Mr. and Mrs. George Murray; and many other relatives and friends.

Interment was in the Oakwood Cemetery, with C. R. Ferguson, mortician, in charge.

Among those attending the service from out of town were his daughter, Miss Murray; sons, Mr. and Mrs. George Murray; and Mrs. Margaret Roberts, and Mrs. Glennie Murray all of Washington, D. C.; cousins, Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Cootner, N. J.; and Dr. Robert Johnson of Richmond, Va.; and many other relatives and friends from Charlottesville and the surrounding communities.

Allied Supply Corporation

Webrite Blocks - Ready Mix Concrete

Building Supplies - Hardware

1000 HARRIS STREET

Telephone 2-7181

POSNER'S

ebonaire

WATER REPELLENT HAIR CARE

PRESS your hair with ebonaire

then...

CURL your hair with ebonaire

Guaranteed to hold your Hair Style from 7 to 14 days

OR YOUR MONEY BACK!

Why We Should Attend Church

Because — The enduring things of life, faith, hope and love are stressed there.

Because — The routine of life is opened to the entrance of finer and higher things.

Because — Public worship sincerely engaged in helps us to draw nearer to God.

Because — The sins, sorrows, cares and responsibilities of our daily lives can be more finely dealt with.

Because — We are God-hungry by creation and we may find Him in the Sanctuary.

Because — The Church is the mightiest agency on earth for the realization of human progress — the ally of all true reforms.

Because — It is the supreme character-making institution in the world.

Because — It relates mankind to God and to one another in happy and useful fellowship.

Because — Jesus Christ the Saviour of all who believe, went himself and urges all to do likewise. "I was glad when they said unto me let us go into the house of the Lord."

FERGUSON'S FUNERAL HOME

G. R. Ferguson, Mortician

Ambulance Service - Phone 2-5540 Day or Night

704 Rose Hill Drive Charlottesville, Va.

Local Chapter of the NAACP

SPONSORS

"THE PRESIDENT'S BIRTHDAY PARTY"

on

Sunday, February, 15, 1959

4 - 7 P. M.

at

Mr. George R. Ferguson's Residence

702 Ridge Street

Charlottesville, Va.

Request that your gift will be financial

Benefit of the local chapter of the NAACP.

All members and friends of the NAACP are cordially invited.

First Baptist Church at 5 P. M. with the pastor, Rev. E. F. Bunn officiating. Mr. Murray, the son of Mrs. Cora Brown Kinn, deceased.

A&T College Students To Get Flight Training

Greensboro, N. C. — A&T College students, enrolled in the Air Force ROTC program, now will receive flight training along with other courses. The flight training will be offered senior students in the program who have met other qualifications for flying in the Air Force.

The announcement was made yesterday by Dr. Wernmouth T. Gibbs, president of the college and Maj. Fred L. Allen, professor of Air Science, in charge of the Air Force unit at the institution.

The statement said that the program is designed to qualify graduates of the college as pilots.

SCHOOL BOARD—

(continued from page 1)

These private facilities as long as the teachers were receiving their salary from the school board, but since none sought admission, the classes have been continued interrupted.

The board's action set for Saturday (Jan. 31) is eagerly awaited in several quarters, among white and Negro parents.

NAACP SPOKESMEN—

(continued from page 1)

These statements of Virginia public officials and others who occupy exalted positions in the state have been called "scrupulous politicians" to a large extent for the "unwarranted publicity Virginia has acquired from people of other states."

The NAACP official cited conditions in Prince Edward County prior to the bringing of the historic school suit against that county. He pointed out that Prince Edward County provided two high schools for its white pupils in 1952 which, together, accommodated an enrollment of 384 students while maintaining high school for 423 Negro children. That one of the white high schools was constructed at a cost of \$457,000 as compared to \$131,000 invested in its Negro high school. "Moreover," Longley declared, "it was proven to the Court (Federal), in the Prince Edward Case, that for every \$1.00 invested by the State for white children, only 10 cents was being spent for colored pupils." He said that Negro parents had made many complaints over a period of years to county school authorities but the school authorities refused to abolish the discrimination until a year or more after they had been carried into court. The speaker declared that the new high school for Negroes failed to influence the court, but the delayed action merely substantiated the discriminatory practice which had prevailed in Prince Edward County for over eighty years.

Concluding his address, Longley emphasized that at least one-third of the voters in Virginia reject the policy of "massive resistance" and said that the number of Virginians who choose to respect and abide by the law is steadily increasing.

Dr. E. D. McCrory, Jr. speaks Over WETA.

Dr. E. D. McCrory, Jr., Member NAACP, Church of the Redeemer, disapproved keenly with the Governor's address. "The courts have spoken, and the Governor has spoken, and that stern new pressure are upon

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty

FOR ENERGY AND GOOD HEALTH TAKE

VITAMINS

MILLER'S CUT RATE DRUG STORE

Opp. Lafayette Theatre — CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

YOU ARE INVITED TO THE CHURCH OF YOUR CHOICE IN HARRISONBURG, VA.

JOHN WESLEY METHODIST—Liberty Street

Rev. L. L. Williams, pastor

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH—Mason and Wolfe Streets

Rev. Thomas Allen, pastor

RETHEL A. M. E. CHURCH—Kelly Street

Rev. H. A. Abney, pastor

THE HOUSE OF DELIVERANCE—Effinger Street

Rev. Henry C. Darnon, pastor

FINE FURNITURE

FROM THIS OLD ESTABLISHED FIRM WILL MAKE YOUR HOME MORE PLEASANT.

It will be a pleasure to have you visit our store!

GILMORE, HAMM & SNYDER, INC.

CHARLOTTESVILLE VIRGINIA

WE SAVE YOU MONEY

ON ALL KINDS OF HARDWARE

CHARLOTTESVILLE HARDWARE CO., INC.

316 East Main Street

Charlottesville, Virginia

Your Banking Problems Are Welcome at The

Citizens Bank & Trust Company

200 East Main Street — Charlottesville, Va.

COLONIAL BRANCH — 1022 West Main Street

JOHNSON BROS. FUNERAL HOME

"A Beautiful and Sympathetic Service Within Means of All"

MODERN CHAPEL AND DISPLAY ROOM FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

24-HR. AMBULANCE SERVICE

CHARLES C. JOHNSON - H. LINDSEY JOHNSON, Jr. Directors

Charlottesville 2-8090

203 8th Street, N. W. Charlottesville, Va.

SAVE \$41.00 on this SOFA BED group



\$129.00 6-PIECE SOFA BED GROUPING (AS SHOWN)

\$88

\$5 down, \$2 weekly

M. C. THOMAS Exchange Store

253 WEST MAIN ST. — PHONE 2-6188

Save Big Money at M. C. THOMAS Exchange Store. Brand new, beautifully styled Sofa Bed Grouping (Sleeper 2) INCLUDING 2 END TABLES — 2 LAMPS — COFFEE TABLE. Fine coil spring construction. Quilted bedding compartment in base for sheets and blankets—all six pieces only \$88 at M. C. THOMAS Exchange Store.

Figure 6: Page 4 of the Friday, January 30, 1959, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune, which includes article jumps from page 1.

Burley Bears To Meet Downing High Here Friday In Season's Second Game

Top L. P. Jackson
39-0 In Opener

The Burley High School Bears will meet the Lenoir County Downing High School Squad of Lexington here on Burley Field, at 8 p.m. Friday, Sept. 16 in their second game of the season.

Nip L. P. Jackson, 39-0 The Bears, living up to their past record, chalked up their number one in their first tilt of the season which they played here last Thursday against the Luther P. Jackson High School gridders who they nipped, 39-0. It was Burley's first game under a new Coach Clarence Jones.

Quarterback Ernest Jackson threw two touchdowns passes and set another through the air. End Wilson Downs clicked twice on passes and followed through with two extra points, and fullback Robert Crenshaw ran for two more touchdowns.



MISS GLORIA C. MONROE, who will study art at the U. of Puerto Rico, as she appeared here this week at the photo of her mother.

Continued Story of Art During Spare Time Since becoming a resident of the Angel City, Miss Monroe has been steadily employed as a receptionist in a physician's office, but during her spare time

Paramount Studios Sponsors Art Course For Gloria Monroe, A Native, At University Of Puerto Rico

Discovered in L. A. By Talent Scout

Every week or so word comes through this newspaper that some young man or woman who are natives of this area are making notable progress in the out-of-state communities where they have become residents.

In the spotlight this week is Miss Gloria C. Monroe, daughter of Mrs. Josephine Monroe of 800 Run Street, who is currently on a visit to her home here from Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

Paramount Studios Her Studios at U. of Puerto Rico Miss Monroe, who has studied voice and acting since her high school days here (she is a graduate of Jefferson High School, Class of 1951), now favorable consideration recently on the acting ability from Paramount Studios in Hollywood whose talent scouts had observed her performance on various TV and radio programs in Los Angeles.

She has been selected by Paramount to study dramatic art at the University of Puerto Rico under the tutelage of Jose Hernandez, internationally famed Puerto Rican Negro actor-art instructor. All expenses for travel, tuition, board and lodging for the six months Miss Monroe will undergo intensive training in dramatics are being paid by Paramount.

Letting Down to Puerto Rico Sept. 16th Miss Monroe, who was one of a group of five persons accompanying Mr. Hernandez on a motor trip from the West Coast to New York City, left them in Baltimore to pay a brief visit to her home here. She will rejoin them in New York City on Sept. 16 for the flight by jet plane to Puerto Rico.

Mr. Hernandez is on leave from Paramount Studios and will remain at the U. of Puerto Rico as art instructor for the 1960-61 session.

Continued Story of Art During Spare Time Since becoming a resident of the Angel City, Miss Monroe has been steadily employed as a receptionist in a physician's office, but during her spare time

she's been studying to become an actress. She was given her first assignment to do bit parts on "Traffic Court," a Los Angeles TV feature. That was last November. Since that time she has been playing outstanding roles as a performer in shows playing some of L.A.'s top flight night clubs.

During high school days here, Miss Monroe was quite active in student activities, especially singing and acting. She also sang in the Junior Choir of Mt. Zion Baptist Church.

Regarded as beautiful, shapely, and with a vivacious personality, Miss Monroe seems to be in her quest for success in the entertainment world.

Job Opportunities For Students

The U. S. Civil Service Commission has announced that applications are now being accepted for Student Trainee positions from students enrolled in the 1960-61 school year.

Student Trainee positions, paying \$67 to \$77 a week, offer high school seniors and college students an opportunity to combine their college study with training on the job in one of the various work-study programs. Students attend college during the entire scholastic year and work in a Federal agency during the vacation periods.

In cooperative work-study programs, students alternate their college study and work periods during the school year. Written tests for Student Trainee jobs are given each month.

Jobs to be filled in the Washington, D. C. area, are in such fields as engineering, physical science, agriculture, accounting, statistics, and other technical fields. Further information is given in civil service announcement No. 265 Revised.

Information about Student Trainee positions with the National Park Service at various locations throughout the United States is given in Announcement No. 266, Change and acceptance of applications for the Park Service is March 15, 1961.

Civil Service announcements and application forms may be obtained from Mr. E. L. Carroll, located at Charlottesville, Va., Post Office, or from the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D. C.

September Choir Broadcasts Announced by College Fund

New York, Aug. 16—College choirs of Philadelphia, Smith, Hampton, Xavier and Morris Brown are scheduled for the September broadcasts of "Negro College Choirs," heard over the ABC Radio Network.

The weekly series features the choral groups of the member colleges of the United Negro College Fund. The programs are a public service of the ABC Radio Network and are carried by ABC affiliated stations throughout the country. Check local radio listings for broadcast time in your area.

"Negro College Choirs" is heard in the New York City area Sunday evenings over WABC, N.Y. (11:45-12:15 P.M.). The following dates are for WABC-TV broadcasts:

The Philadelphia Smith College Choir (Little Rock, Ark.) will be heard Sept. 11. The choir of Hampton Institute (Hampton, Va.), with Henry N. Switzer directing, will present its program Sept. 11.

Xavier University's Concert Choir (New Orleans, La.) under James Vastasi, will be heard Sept. 18.

The choir of Morris Brown College (Atlanta, Ga.), directed by Dr. J. B. Davis, will be heard Sept. 25.

Woody Strode (Fox-Futaba Player Turned Actor) DISCOVERED SCRIPT WRITER MISS GLORIA C. MONROE - Native and New Monroes are shown. Characterizing the actress comes from the time they will see in a beautiful show in which they appeared in Hollywood, Calif., recently.

Local Plaintiffs File Appeal In School Desegregation Suit

Does Not Expect Results This Term

S. W. Tucker of Emporia, Va., attorney for Charlottesville, Va., 10 Negro children whose petition for admittance to white and predominantly white schools here was denied by Federal District Judge John Paul last month, filed a notice of appeal Tuesday.

Both Parties Seek Minority Groups Vote

Chicago—Despite the denial of both major political parties, politicians here and in Los Angeles, politicians, by their actions, have left no doubt to the most important issue at the two conventions.

Both in Los Angeles and here in Chicago where the Republican held their quadrennial national convention, "pro-segregation" politicians stumbled by looking for a major issue.

But of all the planks that were made up for the platform of the two parties, the one that attracted more attention in the press, the one that radio and TV commentators discussed at length before, during and even after the conventions was the one on civil rights.

Yet, in no address at either convention except when the civil rights plank was under consideration just prior to voting, did any speaker give the issue more than passing notice.

Eight's different subcommittee of the platform committee put together at the Shearson-Hutton hotel before the Republican gavel sounded here at the opening meeting to hammer out the party's 1960 platform.

They drafted planks on foreign policy, national defense, labor and commerce, agriculture and natural resources, education, science, and technology, government finances and administration and human affairs.

But of them all, the subcommittee on civil rights drew the largest attendance, heard more advice, threats, warnings and predictions and put a greater share of publicity than any other two combined.

Mr. Proctor, who was one of a group of five persons accompanying Mr. Hernandez on a motor trip from the West Coast to New York City, left them in Baltimore to pay a brief visit to her home here. She will rejoin them in New York City on Sept. 16 for the flight by jet plane to Puerto Rico.

Mr. Hernandez is on leave from Paramount Studios and will remain at the U. of Puerto Rico as art instructor for the 1960-61 session.

Continued Story of Art During Spare Time Since becoming a resident of the Angel City, Miss Monroe has been steadily employed as a receptionist in a physician's office, but during her spare time

she's been studying to become an actress. She was given her first assignment to do bit parts on "Traffic Court," a Los Angeles TV feature. That was last November. Since that time she has been playing outstanding roles as a performer in shows playing some of L.A.'s top flight night clubs.

During high school days here, Miss Monroe was quite active in student activities, especially singing and acting. She also sang in the Junior Choir of Mt. Zion Baptist Church.

Regarded as beautiful, shapely, and with a vivacious personality, Miss Monroe seems to be in her quest for success in the entertainment world.

Both in Los Angeles and here in Chicago where the Republican held their quadrennial national convention, "pro-segregation" politicians stumbled by looking for a major issue.

But of all the planks that were made up for the platform of the two parties, the one that attracted more attention in the press, the one that radio and TV commentators discussed at length before, during and even after the conventions was the one on civil rights.

Yet, in no address at either convention except when the civil rights plank was under consideration just prior to voting, did any speaker give the issue more than passing notice.

Eight's different subcommittee of the platform committee put together at the Shearson-Hutton hotel before the Republican gavel sounded here at the opening meeting to hammer out the party's 1960 platform.

Staff Counsel, who has headed the Charlottesville School Desegregation—Suits since it was started in 1956.

The current litigation was headed by Judge Paul in Harrisonburg on Aug. 8. He took the matter under advisement until Aug. 15 when he handed down his decision in the form of a memorandum giving his reasons for upholding the school board in its action in denying the petition of plaintiffs.

Judge Paul also refused the request of plaintiff's counsel that he re-examine the Charlottesville school desegregation plan which he approved in March 1959.

In his memorandum setting forth his decision, Judge Paul said:

"It is the opinion of this court that the plan of desegregation has worked well with a minimum of friction in Charlottesville. The evidence does not sustain the charge that the denial of applications of pupils to

schools of their choice was based solely on race and color."

The court also noted that the school board had assigned six of eleven Negro applicants to Lane High School and five of eight to Venable Elementary school, and added: "It hardly seems reasonable to surmise that the other applications were denied because of race and color."

Tucker Calls Plan "Vehicle" To Delay Integration The delay integration of Negro pupils in white schools, the Supreme Court has held that no device or device can be permitted to delay the attainment of an individual's right. Tucker, who the Charlottesville School Plan would never be applied to a white child since it would have a desire to transfer from a better to a worse situation, declaring that Negro students would always inferior to those provided for the white people.

The Children Involved The six children whose applications were denied for transfers on the basis of residence were:

Karl and Cheryl Williams, daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Williams of 800 Rides St., who live closer to Jefferson (Negro) School than to Jefferson School to which they asked transfer; Ronald and Roland Woodfolk; Donald and Mrs. Thomas E. Woodfolk of 1709 Cabell Avenue, who asked to be admitted to Lane High School but live closer to Burley (Negro) High School; and Doris and Yvonne Williams, daughters of Grafton Dillard of 606 12th St. NW, who requested enrollment at Venable Elementary School.

The four children whose applications for transfer to Lane High School were denied because of academic deficiencies were Gloria C. Monroe, daughter of Mrs. Sara B. Brooks of 100 Lankford Ave., and Rebecca Ann Munn, daughter of William Munn of 775 Ridge Street.

Does Not Expect Results This Term This term Judge Paul was gratified by a number of spectators following his stirring summation before Judge Paul Aug. 8, said recently that his clients do not expect to accomplish anything this term. "But we hope that every appeal will bring us closer to the reality of the goal."

Medicine, a part of Shaw University at Raleigh. She explains that he had found recollections about the State.

The Proctors were married in 1944 following a courtship of the city and the genuine friendliness of its people. Its police officers were "pious and helpful in giving directions and as he put it, 'everybody appears to be happy'."

It was not long after that Dr. Proctor accepted the A. T. S. assignment.

When the news broke, the Proctors then learned more about the friendly attitude of the people in this city. Letters of greeting and welcome were pouring in from prominent people in the State, business and academic circles, and just plain people. "These, certainly," said Mrs. Proctor, "made us all very happy."

Greensboro and A. T. S. Mrs. Proctor's first, then second, then third, then fourth, then fifth, then sixth, then seventh, then eighth, then ninth, then tenth, then eleventh, then twelfth, then thirteenth, then fourteenth, then fifteenth, then sixteenth, then seventeenth, then eighteenth, then nineteenth, then twentieth, then twenty-first, then twenty-second, then twenty-third, then twenty-fourth, then twenty-fifth, then twenty-sixth, then twenty-seventh, then twenty-eighth, then twenty-ninth, then thirtieth, then thirty-first, then thirty-second, then thirty-third, then thirty-fourth, then thirty-fifth, then thirty-sixth, then thirty-seventh, then thirty-eighth, then thirty-ninth, then fortieth, then forty-first, then forty-second, then forty-third, then forty-fourth, then forty-fifth, then forty-sixth, then forty-seventh, then forty-eighth, then forty-ninth, then fiftieth, then fifty-first, then fifty-second, then fifty-third, then fifty-fourth, then fifty-fifth, then fifty-sixth, then fifty-seventh, then fifty-eighth, then fifty-ninth, then sixtieth, then sixty-first, then sixty-second, then sixty-third, then sixty-fourth, then sixty-fifth, then sixty-sixth, then sixty-seventh, then sixty-eighth, then sixty-ninth, then seventieth, then seventy-first, then seventy-second, then seventy-third, then seventy-fourth, then seventy-fifth, then seventy-sixth, then seventy-seventh, then seventy-eighth, then seventy-ninth, then eightieth, then eighty-first, then eighty-second, then eighty-third, then eighty-fourth, then eighty-fifth, then eighty-sixth, then eighty-seventh, then eighty-eighth, then eighty-ninth, then ninetieth, then ninety-first, then ninety-second, then ninety-third, then ninety-fourth, then ninety-fifth, then ninety-sixth, then ninety-seventh, then ninety-eighth, then ninety-ninth, then one hundredth.

Figure 7: The front page of the Thursday, September 15, 1960, Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune.

THOUGHT FOR TODAY

The grave is a common treasury, to which we must all be taken.—Edmund Burke.

The Daily Progress

U. S. WEATHER FORECAST

Chesapeake Bay, Page 13
Tide, Page 13
Sun. rise tomorrow 5:07; set 7:38

ESTAB. 1892—NO. 20,944

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA, FRIDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 19, 1957

PRICE FIVE CENTS

Clinton Trial Testimony Ends As Defense Rests Its Case

ROCKVILLE, Tenn., (AP)—The defense today rested its case in the Clinton trial, testimony by the defense witnesses ended today.

Chief Counsel Robert L. Rosen, who had called the defense witnesses, today called the defense witnesses to the stand.

The defense witnesses were called to the stand today by Rosen, who had called the defense witnesses to the stand today.

Surplus For Fiscal Year Is \$1,645,000,000

WASHINGTON (AP)—A surplus of \$1,645,000,000 was reported by the Treasury today for the fiscal year ending June 30.

The Treasury and the Budget Bureau reported the amount, the balance for fiscal 1957 was the second successive blacked-out surplus.

NAACP Will Move For Quick Integration Here

Humphrey Calls On Eisenhower To Make His 'Rights' Views Clear

WASHINGTON (AP)—Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) called today for the clearest statement on the civil rights issue from President Eisenhower.

"One of the first places we need to see agreement is in the White House," Humphrey said.

"We and some other leaders of the NAACP will move for a quick integration here," Humphrey said.

Federal Judge Paul Will Hear Plea Next Week

RICHMOND (AP)—An attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) said today he will file a motion with a federal court July 26 asking full de-segregation of Charlottesville schools this September.



Judge Hears Miller's Plea

By KAREL R. AUMAN
WASHINGTON (AP)—The federal judge today heard the plea of the man accused of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

The judge, Judge Charles W. McLaughlin, heard the plea of the man accused of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

House Vote Restores \$300 Million For Aid

WASHINGTON (AP)—The House today voted to restore \$300 million for aid to the people of the world.

The House voted to restore \$300 million for aid to the people of the world.

Jury Gets Hoffa Bribery Case

By KAREL R. AUMAN
WASHINGTON (AP)—The jury today heard the case of the man accused of the bribery of a federal judge.

The jury heard the case of the man accused of the bribery of a federal judge.

Motor Vehicles Revenues At Peak

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Virginia State Department of Transportation today announced that motor vehicle revenues were at their peak.

The Virginia State Department of Transportation today announced that motor vehicle revenues were at their peak.

Bomb Hoax Turns Plane Back From Flight To Paris

BOSTON (AP)—A bomb hoax caused a New York to Paris Air France jet to turn back to New York today.

The bomb hoax caused a New York to Paris Air France jet to turn back to New York today.

First Rocket To Air Atomic Rocker Tested In Nevada

ATOMIC TEST SITE, Nev.—The first air to air atomic rocket test was made today in Nevada.

The first air to air atomic rocket test was made today in Nevada.

Filters Can Give Protection But Many Don't, Witness Says

WASHINGTON (AP)—A research report today said that many people do not use filters to protect themselves from radiation.

The research report today said that many people do not use filters to protect themselves from radiation.

Flames Damage Poultry Plant At Harrisonburg

HARRISONBURG (AP)—A fire today destroyed a poultry plant in Harrisonburg, Virginia.

The fire today destroyed a poultry plant in Harrisonburg, Virginia.

'Miss' United States Wed, Loses Her Title

LONG BEACH, Calif.—The new Miss United States today lost her title in a wedding ceremony.

The new Miss United States today lost her title in a wedding ceremony.

Treasury Draws Democratic Fire By Hiking Interest Rate

WASHINGTON (AP)—Democratic Congress today fired charges at the Treasury for hiking the interest rate.

The Democratic Congress today fired charges at the Treasury for hiking the interest rate.

Beast Beats Man, Not Woman

The dog today beat the man, not the woman, in a fight.

The dog today beat the man, not the woman, in a fight.

Under 17 USC, Section 107, this single copy was produced for the purposes of private study, scholarship, or research. Copyright and other legal restrictions may apply. Commercial use without permission is prohibited. University of Virginia Library.

Figure 8: The front page of the Friday, July 19, 1957, The Daily Progress.

Press Is Cool To Dulles Plan For Limited China Coverage

By RICHARD S. LACROIX
WASHINGTON—The American press is cool to the plan of the State Department to limit its coverage of China to a "balanced" picture, according to a report from a source in the State Department. The source said that the press is "not too keen" on the plan, which would limit the press to a "balanced" picture of China, and that the press is "not too keen" on the plan, which would limit the press to a "balanced" picture of China.

The State Department, which announced the plan on Monday, said that the plan would limit the press to a "balanced" picture of China, and that the press is "not too keen" on the plan, which would limit the press to a "balanced" picture of China.

Clinton Trial

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The trial of Clinton, who was charged with the murder of a woman, is expected to continue today. The trial is being held in the Federal Court here.

Boys and Girls States May Argue Integration Issue

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The annual convention of the Boy Scouts of America and the Girl Scouts of America is expected to discuss the issue of integration. The convention is being held in the city here.

Interest Rate

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The Federal Reserve Board has announced that it will keep the interest rate on its discount window at 4 percent. The board said that it will keep the rate at 4 percent for the foreseeable future.

Who... Me?

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—A man who was charged with the murder of a woman is expected to be tried in the Federal Court here. The man is being charged with the murder of a woman.

Make Your Home Lovelier More Livable With FINE FURNITURE From Gilmore, Hamm & Snyder

Aga Khan Goes To Grave Today

By ROBERT V. BAKER
AGRA, Egypt, Feb. 10.—The funeral of Aga Khan III, who died last night, is expected to be held today. The funeral is being held in the city here.

Blimp's Crash In Flames In Chicago Loop Recalled

By FRED W. DE WINTER
CHICAGO, Feb. 10.—The crash of a blimp in the Chicago Loop last night is being recalled. The blimp was carrying a large number of people.

Shenandoah, Potomac, Grinnell

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The Shenandoah, Potomac, and Grinnell rivers are expected to be in flood. The flood is caused by heavy rain in the area.

Market Is Mixed In Early Trading

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The market is mixed in early trading. The market is expected to be volatile throughout the day.

League Leaders

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
AMERICAN LEAGUE
BOSTON—The American League is expected to have a strong season. The league is expected to be competitive with the National League.

Morton's Downs Sperry Piedmont By 8-3 Margin

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
BOSTON—Morton's team has won a game against Sperry's team. The game was played in the city here.

Orange Livestock Market

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
ORANGE, Va., Feb. 10.—The livestock market is expected to be active. The market is expected to be competitive.

State Farm, Lions And Kiwanis Post Little League Wins

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
BOSTON—The State Farm, Lions, and Kiwanis teams have won games. The games were played in the city here.

Today's Market

Item	Price
Wheat	1.10
Corn	1.00
Soybeans	1.20
Flour	1.30
Butter	1.40
Eggs	1.50
Chicken	1.60
Pork	1.70
Beef	1.80
Lamb	1.90
Mutton	2.00
Veal	2.10
Poultry	2.20
Game	2.30
Fish	2.40
Shellfish	2.50
Meat	2.60
Vegetables	2.70
Fruit	2.80
Nuts	2.90
Seeds	3.00
Grains	3.10
Legumes	3.20
Spices	3.30
Herbs	3.40
Flowers	3.50
Plants	3.60
Trees	3.70
Shrubs	3.80
Palms	3.90
Exotics	4.00
Ornamentals	4.10
Flowering	4.20
Evergreens	4.30
Conifers	4.40
Deciduous	4.50
Palms	4.60
Exotics	4.70
Ornamentals	4.80
Flowering	4.90
Evergreens	5.00
Conifers	5.10
Deciduous	5.20
Palms	5.30
Exotics	5.40
Ornamentals	5.50
Flowering	5.60
Evergreens	5.70
Conifers	5.80
Deciduous	5.90
Palms	6.00
Exotics	6.10
Ornamentals	6.20
Flowering	6.30
Evergreens	6.40
Conifers	6.50
Deciduous	6.60
Palms	6.70
Exotics	6.80
Ornamentals	6.90
Flowering	7.00
Evergreens	7.10
Conifers	7.20
Deciduous	7.30
Palms	7.40
Exotics	7.50
Ornamentals	7.60
Flowering	7.70
Evergreens	7.80
Conifers	7.90
Deciduous	8.00
Palms	8.10
Exotics	8.20
Ornamentals	8.30
Flowering	8.40
Evergreens	8.50
Conifers	8.60
Deciduous	8.70
Palms	8.80
Exotics	8.90
Ornamentals	9.00
Flowering	9.10
Evergreens	9.20
Conifers	9.30
Deciduous	9.40
Palms	9.50
Exotics	9.60
Ornamentals	9.70
Flowering	9.80
Evergreens	9.90
Conifers	10.00

Filters

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The filters are expected to be in use. The filters are expected to be effective.

Hoifa

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The Hoifa is expected to be in use. The Hoifa is expected to be effective.

Movie Time Table

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The movie time table is expected to be in use. The movie time table is expected to be effective.

GOOD CREDIT

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The good credit is expected to be in use. The good credit is expected to be effective.

YOUR KEY TO BETTER LIVING

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The key to better living is expected to be in use. The key to better living is expected to be effective.

DOMINION SERVICES, INC.

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The Dominion Services, Inc. is expected to be in use. The Dominion Services, Inc. is expected to be effective.

League Leaders

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
AMERICAN LEAGUE
BOSTON—The American League is expected to have a strong season. The league is expected to be competitive with the National League.

Morton's Downs Sperry Piedmont By 8-3 Margin

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
BOSTON—Morton's team has won a game against Sperry's team. The game was played in the city here.

Orange Livestock Market

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
ORANGE, Va., Feb. 10.—The livestock market is expected to be active. The market is expected to be competitive.

State Farm, Lions And Kiwanis Post Little League Wins

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
BOSTON—The State Farm, Lions, and Kiwanis teams have won games. The games were played in the city here.

Yesterday's Stars

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
BOSTON—The stars of yesterday are expected to be in use. The stars of yesterday are expected to be effective.

Movie Time Table

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The movie time table is expected to be in use. The movie time table is expected to be effective.

GOOD CREDIT

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The good credit is expected to be in use. The good credit is expected to be effective.

YOUR KEY TO BETTER LIVING

CHARLOTTE, Feb. 10.—The key to better living is expected to be in use. The key to better living is expected to be effective.

Under 17 USC, Section 107, this single copy was produced for the purposes of private study, scholarship, or research. Copyright and other legal restrictions may apply. Commercial use without permission is prohibited. University of Virginia Library.

Figure 9: Page 12 of the Friday, July 19, 1957, The Daily Progress, which includes article jumps.

President Hopeful
President Eisenhower is profoundly hopeful that out of his meeting here with Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus, he will come away with a solution to the school integration problem.
—AP Wirephoto, Sept. 13, 1957.

The Daily Progress

CHARLOTTEVILLE, VIRGINIA, FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 13, 1957

U. S. WEATHER FORECAST
Bureau
Charlotte, Sept. 13, 1957
Weather: Partly cloudy
Temperature: 60 to 70
Wind: Light to moderate
Sea: Calm to 5 knots

PRICE FIVE CENTS



COLLAPSED!—Yesterday, view the graying folds in the historic Madison Hotel, one of the oldest buildings in the town of Madison. Around 6:30 p.m., yesterday, a wind storm hit the structure, toppling the brickwork from the top floor in the east side into U.S. 29. The building now known as Cape House, was unoccupied when the storm struck. —Photo by Beckman.

Former Madison Hotel Damaged By Wind Storm

MADISON—Lightning and wind storm yesterday afternoon damaged one of the town's oldest buildings, the historic Madison Hotel, which was built in 1880. The building, now known as Cape House, was unoccupied when the storm struck. The wind storm hit the structure, toppling the brickwork from the top floor in the east side into U.S. 29. The building now known as Cape House, was unoccupied when the storm struck. —Photo by Beckman.

His Children Integrated Bomb Found in Yard Of Maryland Negro

BARTON, Md. (AP)—A Negro father of three children, including a 10-year-old boy, was charged yesterday with having placed a bomb in the yard of a white family. The bomb was found in the yard of a white family. The father of three children, including a 10-year-old boy, was charged yesterday with having placed a bomb in the yard of a white family. The bomb was found in the yard of a white family.

Nashville Police Armed With Copy of Federal Court Order

NASHVILLE, Tenn. (AP)—City of Nashville police officers are carrying copies of a federal court order which requires the city to desegregate its public schools. The order was issued by the federal court in Nashville. The city of Nashville is carrying copies of a federal court order which requires the city to desegregate its public schools. The order was issued by the federal court in Nashville.

Syria Declares She'll Make No Military Move

Urgent Conference With Egypt's Top Leaders Concluded
Damascus—Syria's top military leaders have refused to make any military move against Egypt, according to a statement issued by the Syrian government. The statement was issued by the Syrian government.

Governor Leaves for Integration Talk

Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus is expected to leave for Little Rock, Ark., for a conference with President Eisenhower on the Little Rock racial integration problem. The conference is expected to take place in Little Rock, Ark.



GOVERNOR LEAVES FOR INTEGRATION TALK—Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus leaves for Little Rock, Ark., for a conference with President Eisenhower on the Little Rock racial integration problem. —AP Wirephoto.

Hoffa Requests Action on His Investigation

WASHINGTON (AP)—James J. Hoffa, leader of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has requested action on his investigation. Hoffa has requested action on his investigation.

Burma Seeks to Soften Hungarian Resolution

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y. (AP)—Burma has sought to soften the resolution on the Hungarian situation. Burma has sought to soften the resolution on the Hungarian situation.

Dept. of Justice Has Information On School Blast

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Justice Department has information on the school blast in Madison, Md. The Justice Department has information on the school blast in Madison, Md.

Colorado Atomic Plant Damaged by Blast

DENVER (AP)—A blast at the Colorado Atomic Plant has caused damage. The blast at the Colorado Atomic Plant has caused damage.

NAACP Leaders Are Summoned

BIRMINGHAM (AP)—Several NAACP leaders have been summoned to court. The NAACP leaders have been summoned to court.

Decision Expected in Few Days In Arlington County School Case

ALEXANDRIA, Va. (AP)—A decision is expected in a few days in the Arlington County school case. The decision is expected in a few days in the Arlington County school case.

French Headline Ike's Golf Play

PARIS (AP)—The French newspaper headline reads 'Ike's Golf Play'. The French newspaper headline reads 'Ike's Golf Play'.

Typhoon Catches Him Top of Pillars

MANILA (AP)—A typhoon caught a man on top of a pillar. The typhoon caught a man on top of a pillar.

Faubus Leaves For Meeting With President

Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus is expected to leave for Little Rock, Ark., for a conference with President Eisenhower on the Little Rock racial integration problem. The conference is expected to take place in Little Rock, Ark.

More Milk Producers Set To Ask For Price Increase

WASHINGTON (AP)—More milk producers are expected to ask for a price increase. The milk producers are expected to ask for a price increase.

French Headline Ike's Golf Play

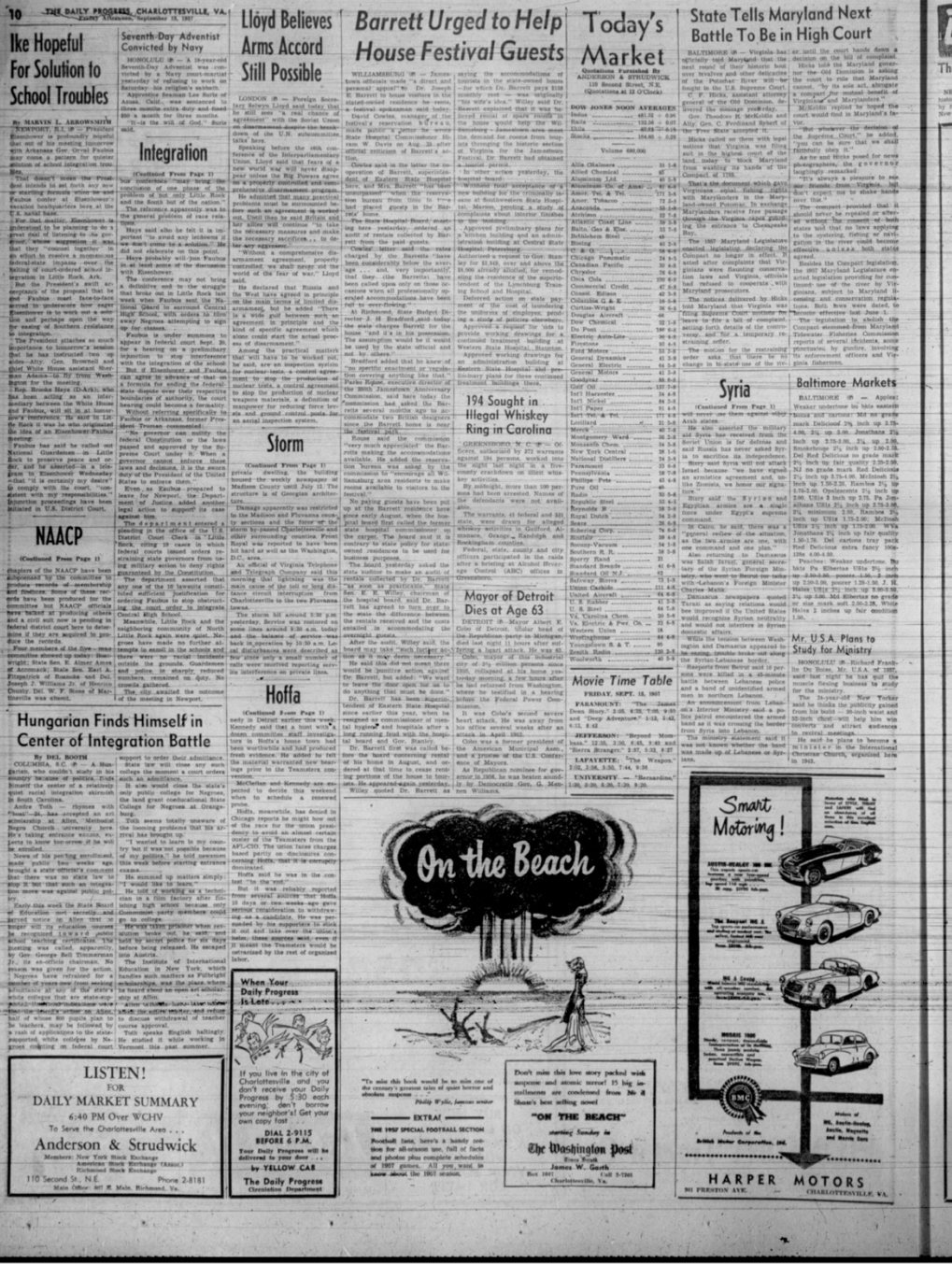
PARIS (AP)—The French newspaper headline reads 'Ike's Golf Play'. The French newspaper headline reads 'Ike's Golf Play'.

Typhoon Catches Him Top of Pillars

MANILA (AP)—A typhoon caught a man on top of a pillar. The typhoon caught a man on top of a pillar.

Under 17 USC, Section 107, this single copy was produced for the purposes of private study, scholarship, or research. Copyright and other legal restrictions may apply. Commercial use without permission is prohibited. University of Virginia Library.

Figure 10: The front page of the Friday, Sept. 13, 1957, The Daily Progress.

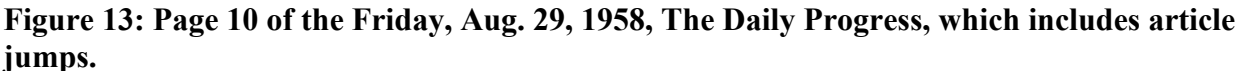


Under 17USC, Section 107, this single copy was produced for the purposes of private study, scholarship, or research. Copyright and other legal restrictions may apply. Commercial use without permission is prohibited. University of Virginia Library.

Figure 11: Page 10 of the Friday, Sept. 13, 1957, The Daily Progress, which includes article jumps.



Figure 12: The front page of the Friday, Aug. 29, 1958, The Daily Progress.



EDITORIAL PAGE

The Daily Progress August 29, 1958

Judge Coles' Injunction

The one thing that can be said with reasonable certainty about the injunction against the local school board here yesterday is that it brings us no nearer to a solution of our school problem. But neither so far as we can see, does it make the situation any worse than it was. In fact there is a possibility of its making the short term outlook a little brighter.

The effect of the injunction is to suspend, at least until October 15, the operation of the pupil assignment plan which the board adopted under pressure of U.S. District Judge John Paul's order that it open the doors of the city's white schools to qualified Negro applicants. The plan provided for the setting up of a new district for Jefferson elementary school and for the screening of Negro applicants to white schools. But the plan has been permitted to stand, no Negro applicants would have qualified for admission to white elementary schools this year. Thus the danger of the closing of any of these schools under Virginia's anti-integration laws would have been removed. Whether it would have been similarly effective in averting the integration, and thus the closing of Lane High School is a question to which no answer is available.

But the plan, or at least the essential detailing part of it, went out the window at Judge Paul's hands on Tuesday. The petitioners in yesterday's injunction proceedings were therefore fighting a horse that was already dead, or nearly so, which probably explains why John S. Battle, Jr., attorney for the school board, made no strong fight against granting of the injunction.

In winning the injunction the petitioners scored a legal point, and no doubt it is one that needed making in the interests of orderly legal procedure. If nothing else, three federal judges in Virginia — Judge Paul in the Charlottesville case, Judge Hoffman in the Norfolk case and Judge Bryant in the Arlington case — have been moving toward the assignment of Negroes to white schools in almost total disregard of the assignment procedures established by state law in this Pupil Placement Act. And while it is true that this fact may be invalid, it is also true that it has not as yet been so declared by a competent court. The judges who have been acting as if it didn't exist have been taking a lot for granted.

But as a practical proposition, what difference does it make? Unless we badly misjudged his intentions, Judge Paul in the new future will order the admission of certain Negro applicants to certain white schools in Charlottesville. And if he does so the schools affected will not open and the schooling of presently unknown numbers of boys and girls will be interrupted or in some measure disrupted.

This is the prospect which has been changed in no way apparent to us by the order which Judge Coles issued yesterday. On its face, the effect of Judge Coles' injunction is to permit the school board to plead that it is powerless to comply with any order by Judge Paul for the enrollment of Negro children. Were the judge to accept such a plea, the implementation of his desegregation order would have to await action on a plea of assented compliance bringing the Pupil Placement Board into court as a defendant. But the judge has indicated that he will not sit still for that. He has said that he will not sit aside any state court injunction which he deems an obstacle to compliance by the board with his order.

Well, Judge Paul's word on the new legal situation which the injunction purports to create will not necessarily be the last word. And if he proceeds to ignore it or break it aside there may nevertheless be laid a basis for appeal and consequent delay.

It was perhaps partly in this mind that the Charlottesville School Board last night postponed the opening of the school to September 15. This action will give time to see what Judge Paul will do and for the lawyers to consider what action, if any, can be taken in answer to his decision. It is also a sensible precaution against the confusion and the attendant danger of disorder that might arise if Negro pupils were ordered into the white schools after they had opened.

If time can be won by further legal maneuvers, we are for them. But the outlook is not good. The unhappy result will be the same in the end whether Judge Paul's decision is directed against the local board, as it now is, or against the Pupil Placement Board. The faint hope for a significant change in federal policy that was raised by President Eisenhower at his press conference Wednesday was quickly destroyed by his solicitor general's appeal to the Supreme Court yesterday to break no delay. If there is a chance of victory, it is years away. In the meantime we have the problem of providing for the education of our children. The emergency plans that are being laid by the Charlottesville Education Foundation and others are good as far as they go. They might suffice for a one-year stopgap. But they do not believe they are or under Virginia's present laws, can be made an adequate solution for the longer term. The providing of an adequate solution in Virginia's number one order of business.

President Reflects Nation's Concern About Integration

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON — President Eisenhower reflected accurately the sentiment of the whole country as he said in his press conference that he may have told himself recently in personal conversation that he wished the courts would proceed more slowly with their enforcement action.

The truth is the whole situation is badly confused. The Supreme Court of the United States itself used an ambiguous phrase when, in 1957 it ordered the desegregation of the schools "with all deliberate speed." What is meant by "deliberate" and what is meant by "speed"? The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis two weeks ago interpreted this as meaning "as soon as possible."

But the real trouble was written into the pages of history by the Supreme Court in its 1954 decision when it finally abandoned all pretense of dividing the question of desegregation on the basis of legal findings of the past and looked at the problem as a whole, as a "single constitutional question," by declaring that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

This is an example of what the Constitution of the United States has done for us. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

One of the most tragic things that have happened in the history of this country has been the delay in the implementation of the Supreme Court's decision. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

There is no doubt that the Supreme Court's decision is a landmark in the history of this country. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

There is no doubt that the Supreme Court's decision is a landmark in the history of this country. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

There is no doubt that the Supreme Court's decision is a landmark in the history of this country. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

There is no doubt that the Supreme Court's decision is a landmark in the history of this country. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

There is no doubt that the Supreme Court's decision is a landmark in the history of this country. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

There is no doubt that the Supreme Court's decision is a landmark in the history of this country. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

But for some communities the principle of law is being tested by the forces of prejudice and hatred, which have been so long a part of our history. The forces of prejudice and hatred, which have been so long a part of our history, are being tested by the forces of law and justice.

Most regrettable of all, it is the general community, which is so many quarters, with the difference between a court decision and a federal law. This, for instance, when Governor Frazier, in addressing the Arkansas legislature this week, pointed out that the voters of that state had not been given the vote by a total amendment, many people were surprised. They didn't realize that the Federal Amendment was never adopted.

The truth is the Federal Amendment was never adopted. It was a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

The Federal Amendment was never adopted. It was a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

The Federal Amendment was never adopted. It was a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

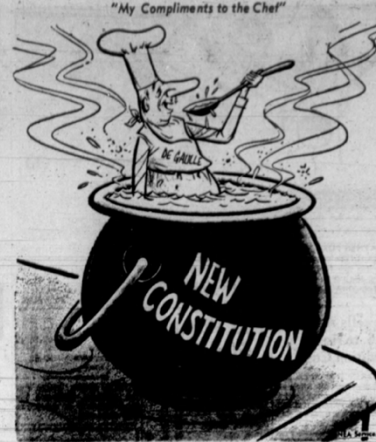
The Federal Amendment was never adopted. It was a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

The Federal Amendment was never adopted. It was a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

The Federal Amendment was never adopted. It was a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

The Federal Amendment was never adopted. It was a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.

The Federal Amendment was never adopted. It was a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided. It has been a source of pride and a source of strength to a nation that has been so often divided.



20 YEARS AGO TODAY

AUGUST 30, 1938

The State Assn. of Trial Judges announced plans to hold its annual convention in Charlottesville in a letter to R. H. Perry, executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce.

Dr. R. D. Ruffell, director of the local health department, predicted a seasonal increase in the number of typhoid and diphtheria cases for the Charlottesville area.

Mrs. Mildred A. Taylor of Miami, N. J., daughter of William A. Taylor, was married to Mr. J. A. Mahoney, of the firm, which operated on Garth Road near Farmington.

A new transatlantic speed record was set when Maj. Alvin T. DeSaverly flew from New York to Los Angeles in 16 hours, 3 minutes, and 7 seconds.

FORTY YEARS AGO TODAY

August 30, 1918

President Woodrow Wilson recommended John A. White as postmaster at the Charlottesville Post Office.

Death of Actress Is Ruled Murder HOLLYWOOD, Sept. 1 — (AP) — Actress Irene Dunne was strangled to death, police say.

The body of the 36-year-old woman was discovered Wednesday in her room in a Hollywood hotel. Police believe a "private" woman was the killer.

Her estranged husband, character actor Eddie J. Dunne, found the body after a room clerk reported her phone off the hook. An autopsy was performed yesterday.

Disunion among Eisenhower advisers on whether to recommend that the President veto this bill because of its faults.

The alternative is to sign it into law as a first step. Its immediate effect would be to put the bill into effect.

The bill would have given the government the right to investigate and to do anything about racketeering.

Voted in its final passage of the Kennedy bill might have ended the public law making Congress had done something to correct errors exposed by the McClellan committee. Its death is just as well the bill was killed.

Kent the South and western food-freight bill, which both houses of Congress finally agreed to, would have been a good deal of little to prevent corruption and graft.

It would not authorize the Department of Labor to keep track of labor relations in the country with power to check the accuracy and validity of the reports. This authority is vital.

There has been considerable

By Ruth Millett

Subsidized Marriage Is A Contract Six Must Sign

With married students no longer a rarity on college campuses, here is a problem that must solve fairly soon.

A mother writes: "My daughter, who finished her freshman year in college, is engaged to a boy the son of a school who will also be a sophomore this fall."

"My daughter tells me that they want to be married and figure they could manage if we increased her allowance and the boy's parents increased his."

"He has already talked it over with his parents and they said it was up to us. If we were willing to pay half the cost, they would pay half."

"My husband and I have talked it over and we aren't sure whether we should agree to the plan or whether we should tell our daughter they will have to wait to marry until they can support themselves."

I can't give an opinion on this matter as I don't know whether the girl, the young man or either of them is really serious. But I will say this — I don't think you have any responsibility for subsidizing a marriage between two young people who have three years of schooling still ahead of them.

Having to wait a while to be married never hurt any young couple who are really in love, and a marriage supported by parents isn't really a complete marriage. It is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

After confederate you decide that in this particular case you think a subsidized marriage is a marriage that doesn't depend much upon parental responsibility. It will be great.

Little Rock Delay Seen As Unlikely

By JAMES MARLOW

Associated Press News Analysis WASHINGTON (AP)—The Little Rock school board wants the Supreme Court to delay integration of Central High 75 years because of the trouble integration has caused. But the board hasn't taken the obvious steps itself to end the trouble.

That's the Eisenhower administration's argument, as expressed through the Justice Department's solicitor general J. Lee Rankin. He told the court Thursday the troublemakers in Little Rock are needed in number but that:

"The board could have but did not seek a federal court injunction to Little Rock to stop any students from integrating with the school's orderly integration. Violation of such an injunction could mean jail."

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

Rankin joined Thursday's majority to delay the Little Rock case for 75 years because of the trouble integration has caused. But the board hasn't taken the obvious steps itself to end the trouble.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

The board could have expected the students causing trouble inside the school — Rankin said only about 10 of them took part in chipping, spitting and throwing stones — but he issued only one order.

They'll Be Back Knocking On Labor Law Door Again

By PETER EDSON

WASHINGTON — SEN. A. J. Aiken's administration will be right back before the Senate next January with practically the same request for the Senate to pass the new labor law.

There may be some new proposals to curb labor racketeering — if anyone can think up anything effective. So far, nobody has produced a good bill for that purpose.

For as Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell points out, most of the abuses claimed by Senator McClellan's Senate investigating committee are violations of state law.

There are two laws against labor racketeering in every state. One is the Smith Act, which makes it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the government.

Another is the National Labor Relations Act, which makes it a crime to interfere with the rights of labor.

But it is hard to get a law against labor racketeering. It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering. It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering.

It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering. It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering. It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering.

It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering. It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering. It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering.

It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering. It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering. It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering.

It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering. It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering. It is hard to get a law against labor racketeering.

Death of Actress Is Ruled Murder

HOLLYWOOD, Sept. 1 — (AP) — Actress Irene Dunne was strangled to death, police say.

The body of the 36-year-old woman was discovered Wednesday in her room in a Hollywood hotel. Police believe a "private" woman was the killer.

Her estranged husband, character actor Eddie J. Dunne, found the body after a room clerk reported her phone off the hook. An autopsy was performed yesterday.

Disunion among Eisenhower advisers on whether to recommend that the President veto this bill because of its faults.

The alternative is to sign it into law as a first step. Its immediate effect would be to put the bill into effect.

The bill would have given the government the right to investigate and to do anything about racketeering.

Voted in its final passage of the Kennedy bill might have ended the public law making Congress had done something to correct errors exposed by the McClellan committee. Its death is just as well the bill was killed.

Kent the South and western food-freight bill, which both houses of Congress finally agreed to, would have been a good deal of little to prevent corruption and graft.

It would not authorize the Department of Labor to keep track of labor relations in the country with power to check the accuracy and validity of the reports. This authority is vital.

There has been considerable

There has been considerable

The Daily Progress

Published every afternoon except Sunday

Entered at the postoffice at Charlottesville, September, 1905, as Second Class Matter.

Postpaid by special arrangement

Subscription Department: 100 N. Main St., Charlottesville, Va. 22901

Circulation Department: 100 N. Main St., Charlottesville, Va. 22901

Subscription Rates: BY CARRIER WITHIN THE CITY LIMITS SEE WEEKLY BY MOTOR ROUTE FOR PER WEEK, BY MAIL, PAYABLE IN ADVANCE

University, Virginia, Other States and Foreign

One Year \$10.00 \$10.00 \$10.00

Six Months \$5.00 \$5.00 \$5.00

Three Months \$2.50 \$2.50 \$2.50

One Month \$1.00 \$1.00 \$1.00

All orders, notices and subscriptions are independent of the publisher and are not responsible for the accuracy of the information published in the paper.

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Member of the Associated Press

Figure 14: The editorial page of the Friday, Aug. 29, 1958, The Daily Progress.

EDITORIAL PAGE

The Daily Progress March 6, 1959

West Has Strong Weapon In Soviet Trade Embargo

By DAVID LAWRENCE

The Best Defense

So far as we know there is no one in a position to speak with authority who would challenge Defense Secretary McNamara's assertion that the Russians at this time lack the capacity to make a really large scale surprise military attack upon the United States.

Mr. McNamara's confidence is based on two assumptions. One is that a massive attack with manned bombers could not be organized in secret. The other is that the Soviet Union's intercontinental ballistic missile program is insufficiently advanced to constitute an immediate threat.

Perhaps the validity of these assumptions should be greeted, Mr. McNamara is in as good a position as anybody to know the facts. No layman is in a position to dispute his statement.

But if it is conceded that he is right, it is the controversy over the military budget thereby deepened? It seems to me that doubts concerning the adequacy of certain aspects of it may well remain.

In the first place, the main question that has been raised concerning the sufficiency of our military preparations is not directed to the situation as it exists today but to the one that may develop a few years hence. It is generally conceded that the Russians are ahead of us in the development of long-range missiles. They presumably are not yet capable of attacking us with such missiles on any important scale. But there is a danger that they will achieve that capacity before we achieve a capacity to retaliate in kind.

The ancient adage that a strong offense is the best defense still makes sense. No matter what capacity for attack, surprise or otherwise, the Russians may develop, they won't be likely to use it against us so long as we have the capacity for massive retaliation and they know we have it.

James R. Shupley, in an article in the current issue of *Life* magazine, says the Air Force ballistic missile staff has advanced a program for sharply increasing our production of intercontinental missiles at an additional cost of a little over a half billion dollars yearly. President Eisenhower has vetoed it, at least so far as getting it underway in the next fiscal year is concerned.

The President may be right. Maybe we don't need those missiles. But it certainly can be argued that the half billion or more a year they cost may be a cheap insurance. As Mr. Shupley points out, they could be provided without upsetting the budget. There is, for example, an allocation of some \$5.7 billion in the military budget for an air-defense program that is directed almost entirely to protecting us against attack by manned bombers. In Shupley's view, this is "exactly the kind of attack the Soviets are unlikely to launch, and surely most military men will agree with him as to that."

The money for an accelerated intercontinental missile program could be obtained by cutting the dubious air-defense program by only about 10 per cent. Of course it could also be obtained by cutting some of the waste of consumption of the civilian budget.

Khrushchev threatens us with one breath, talks of peace with the next. We can't trust his words or know his true intent. But we can be confident that he won't attack, while we have the capacity to hurt him very badly in return. It is our first duty to ourselves and to all of the free world to do everything that is necessary to maintain that capacity.

Toward Freedom

The Supreme Court's school desegregation decision is resented in Virginia and throughout the South not so much because it grants a new freedom to Negroes but because, in the context of our school laws, it has the effect of denying an old freedom to the white people.

It is to remember that old freedom — the right of individual choice and to put it on a broader and firmer base than ever before, that Leon Dure's plan for education in Virginia is directed. That its adoption would solve the problem in education created by the Supreme Court's decision, in a way of the highest practical importance, is in a way incidental. What Mr. Dure is arguing for is human freedom — freedom of the individual in the matter of personal association and freedom of the individual to arrange for his children the kind of schooling he thinks is best for them.

It is a way out of our school dilemma. It is not going too far to say that it is the only way by which education for all can be preserved in Virginia. Without it, the Supreme Court's prohibition of enforced segregation means enforced integration. Nothing could be clearer than that the people of Virginia — most of them — are unwilling to support the schools that would result from that.

It is, moreover, a good way. It is the way of freedom of individual choice in respect not only to race relationships but to many else. It deserves a welcome not only because it affords an escape from the school integration problem but for the positive reason that it expands each man's freedom.

WASHINGTON—Communist aims are more important than the will of diplomacy, and that's why President Eisenhower's remarks regarding massive retaliation are so important. The President had ample opportunity at his press conference to be blustering and belligerent, but he dealt with Khrushchev's possible tactics in the Berlin blockade by using the mild words of restraint.

At Mr. Eisenhower's news it, the United States has certain responsibilities in maintaining, under treaty rights, the present status of Berlin. He welcomes negotiation and discussion by the four big powers.

More and more it is becoming apparent that the Kremlin's attitude toward the Berlin blockade is a matter of principle. It will be seen that the Soviet Union is not willing to accept the status of a satellite in this country. To hold to this sentiment would be a mistake. Mr. Eisenhower thinks, however, that it is not going long such an uncomfortable position would have to be maintained. All likelihood the Kremlin will be glad to find a treaty and prolonged uncertainty of this kind on the American side.

Modern war doesn't require any large-scale mobilization if it's to be successful. Anytime we are in a position to use it against us, it is generally conceded that the Russians are ahead of us in the development of long-range missiles. They presumably are not yet capable of attacking us with such missiles on any important scale. But there is a danger that they will achieve that capacity before we achieve a capacity to retaliate in kind.

The ancient adage that a strong offense is the best defense still makes sense. No matter what capacity for attack, surprise or otherwise, the Russians may develop, they won't be likely to use it against us so long as we have the capacity for massive retaliation and they know we have it.

James R. Shupley, in an article in the current issue of *Life* magazine, says the Air Force ballistic missile staff has advanced a program for sharply increasing our production of intercontinental missiles at an additional cost of a little over a half billion dollars yearly. President Eisenhower has vetoed it, at least so far as getting it underway in the next fiscal year is concerned.

The President may be right. Maybe we don't need those missiles. But it certainly can be argued that the half billion or more a year they cost may be a cheap insurance. As Mr. Shupley points out, they could be provided without upsetting the budget. There is, for example, an allocation of some \$5.7 billion in the military budget for an air-defense program that is directed almost entirely to protecting us against attack by manned bombers. In Shupley's view, this is "exactly the kind of attack the Soviets are unlikely to launch, and surely most military men will agree with him as to that."

The money for an accelerated intercontinental missile program could be obtained by cutting the dubious air-defense program by only about 10 per cent. Of course it could also be obtained by cutting some of the waste of consumption of the civilian budget.

Khrushchev threatens us with one breath, talks of peace with the next. We can't trust his words or know his true intent. But we can be confident that he won't attack, while we have the capacity to hurt him very badly in return. It is our first duty to ourselves and to all of the free world to do everything that is necessary to maintain that capacity.

Dillon's Aid Policy Calls For U.S. Loans, Not Doles

By PETER EDSON

WASHINGTON—NEA—The history of the aid program of Undersecretary Dillon is a story of the shaping of U.S. foreign policy along one line: Dillon's aid policy. It is our first duty to ourselves and to all of the free world to do everything that is necessary to maintain that capacity.

The money for an accelerated intercontinental missile program could be obtained by cutting the dubious air-defense program by only about 10 per cent. Of course it could also be obtained by cutting some of the waste of consumption of the civilian budget.

Khrushchev threatens us with one breath, talks of peace with the next. We can't trust his words or know his true intent. But we can be confident that he won't attack, while we have the capacity to hurt him very badly in return. It is our first duty to ourselves and to all of the free world to do everything that is necessary to maintain that capacity.

It is, moreover, a good way. It is the way of freedom of individual choice in respect not only to race relationships but to many else. It deserves a welcome not only because it affords an escape from the school integration problem but for the positive reason that it expands each man's freedom.

Triumphant Arc

20 YEARS AGO TODAY

MARCH 6, 1939

CHARLOTTEVILLE was placed on the "fast" list by the American Automobile Association as a result of a nationwide survey. Richmond was also rated "fast," while Norfolk was rated "very poor." The Union assured that to city in the country, even those rated "very good" — achieved more than a 50 per cent increase in the number of cars in the city.

Plans were taking shape for a meeting of the Virginia State Legislature in 1939. The meeting was to be held in the city of Richmond. The meeting was to be held in the city of Richmond.

Crime and Mental Illness Ought to Concern Parents

By Edwin P. Jordan, M.D.

I have been greatly impressed by a editorial article, "Mental Illness and Crime," written by Judge Luther Alverson of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia. It is a well-written and well-illustrated article, which would be of great interest to all parents.

Forty Years Ago Today

MARCH 6, 1919

The University of Virginia approved the establishment of a new school of law. The school was to be established in the city of Charlottesville. The school was to be established in the city of Charlottesville.

The money for an accelerated intercontinental missile program could be obtained by cutting the dubious air-defense program by only about 10 per cent. Of course it could also be obtained by cutting some of the waste of consumption of the civilian budget.

Khrushchev threatens us with one breath, talks of peace with the next. We can't trust his words or know his true intent. But we can be confident that he won't attack, while we have the capacity to hurt him very badly in return. It is our first duty to ourselves and to all of the free world to do everything that is necessary to maintain that capacity.

It is, moreover, a good way. It is the way of freedom of individual choice in respect not only to race relationships but to many else. It deserves a welcome not only because it affords an escape from the school integration problem but for the positive reason that it expands each man's freedom.

Tag Cabinet Offices May Fall Vacant

By JAMES MARSHALL

WASHINGTON (AP)—As in President Eisenhower's last year, the offices of the Cabinet may fall vacant. The offices of the Cabinet may fall vacant. The offices of the Cabinet may fall vacant.

The money for an accelerated intercontinental missile program could be obtained by cutting the dubious air-defense program by only about 10 per cent. Of course it could also be obtained by cutting some of the waste of consumption of the civilian budget.

Wanted: More Refreshers Classes for Housewives

By Ruth Millett

Why doesn't somebody offer a refresher course for housewives? The plan comes from a wife and mother who says she is a bit tired of making the same food in the same way, and she would like to do something to make it more interesting. She would like to do something to make it more interesting.

The money for an accelerated intercontinental missile program could be obtained by cutting the dubious air-defense program by only about 10 per cent. Of course it could also be obtained by cutting some of the waste of consumption of the civilian budget.

Khrushchev threatens us with one breath, talks of peace with the next. We can't trust his words or know his true intent. But we can be confident that he won't attack, while we have the capacity to hurt him very badly in return. It is our first duty to ourselves and to all of the free world to do everything that is necessary to maintain that capacity.

Gen. Marshall Still In Serious Condition

By JAMES MARSHALL

WASHINGTON (AP)—Gen. George C. Marshall, 81, is still in serious condition at Walter Reed Hospital here, where he has been since suffering a stroke Jan. 12. He suffered a second stroke Feb. 12.

Gen. Marshall Still In Serious Condition

By JAMES MARSHALL

WASHINGTON (AP)—Gen. George C. Marshall, 81, is still in serious condition at Walter Reed Hospital here, where he has been since suffering a stroke Jan. 12. He suffered a second stroke Feb. 12.

Gen. Marshall Still In Serious Condition

By JAMES MARSHALL

WASHINGTON (AP)—Gen. George C. Marshall, 81, is still in serious condition at Walter Reed Hospital here, where he has been since suffering a stroke Jan. 12. He suffered a second stroke Feb. 12.

Gen. Marshall Still In Serious Condition

By JAMES MARSHALL

Gen. Marshall Still In Serious Condition

By JAMES MARSHALL

Figure 17: The editorial page of the Friday, March 6, 1959, The Daily Progress.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 12 Arlington Defenders Picket Political Meeting. (1956, October 5). *The Daily Progress*.
- 29 Negro Children Seek to Attend Johnson, Lane, McGuffey, Venable Schools. (1959, July 3). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- 56 Pupil Placement Records Missing. (1957, August 9). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- 97 New Applicants at Warren Private School. (1959, September 11). *The Daily Progress*.
- 1942 Correspondence between Walter Plecker and Tennessee State Archivist*. (2016). Melungeon Heritage Association. <http://melungeon.org/2016/10/14/1942-correspondence-between-walter-plecker-and-tennessee-state-archivist/>
- A plan for education. (1958, December 12). *The Daily Progress*.
- A step closer to true democracy. (1959, September 11). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- A step in the right direction. (1959, March 6). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Above politics. (1958, December 19). *The Daily Progress*.
- Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia during the Extra Session of 1902-3-4*. (1902). J. H. O'Bannon. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.a0001749779>
- Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia Passed at the Session of 1869-'70*. (1870). James E. Goode. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.a0001787605>
- Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia Passed in 1865-1866 in the Eighty-ninth Year of the Commonwealth*. (1866). Allegre & Goode, Printers. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uva.x030211333>
- Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia*. (1832). Thomas Ritchie.
- AFL-CIO*. (n.d.). Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved March 3, 2022, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Congress-of-Industrial-Organizations>
- Albemarle Board Agrees on School Building Program. (1958, January 3). *The Daily Progress*.
- Albemarle County Hastens to Build Negro Schools. (1959, November 20). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Albemarle Training School*. (n.d.-a). AfroVirginia Virginia Humanities. <http://places.afrovirginia.org/items/show/12?tour=5&index=0>

- Albemarle Training School*. (n.d.-b). Ivy Creek Foundation. Retrieved January 18, 2021, from <https://ivycreekfoundation.org/albemarle-training-school>
- Alexandria Denied Integration Delay. (1959, February 6). *The Daily Progress*.
- Alkebulan, P. (2014). *The African American Press in World War II: Toward Victory at Home and Abroad*. Lexington Books.
<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=766162&scope=site>
- Almond Assails U.S. High Court. (1958, May 2). *The Daily Progress*.
- Almond Upholds Funds Use to Build Separate Schools. (1957, May 10). *The Daily Progress*.
- An Act to Preserve Racial Integrity*. (1924). Virginia Center for Digital History.
http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/lewisandclark/students/projects/monacans/Contemporary_Monacans/racial.html
- Anderson, B. (2016). *Imagined Communities* (Revised ed). Verso.
- Anderson, C. (2006). *The long tail: Why the future of business is selling less of more* (1st ed). Hyperion.
- Arlington Group Expects to Bar School Closing. (1958, June 13). *The Daily Progress*.
- As we approach the showdown. (1958, May 30). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Baker, R. E. (1956, September 22). Stanley Plan Is Enacted in Virginia: Final Vote Comes After Senate Beats Local Option Clause For State Schools Robert E. Baker Staff Reporter Stanley Plan Passes in Va. *The Washington Post and Times Herald* (1954-1959), 1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post.
- Banton, M. (2019). *The Idea of Race*. Routledge.
- Benson, R. (2013). *Shaping immigration news: A French-American comparison* /. Cambridge University Press.
- Birmingham Negro Group Opposed to Integration. (1959, November 27). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Bloch Rubin, R., & Elinson, G. (2018). Anatomy of Judicial Backlash: Southern Leaders, Massive Resistance, and the Supreme Court, 1954–1958. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 43(3), 944–980. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lsi.12316>
- Boatwright committee grills two state NAACP officials. (1957, March 29). *The Daily Progress*.
- Boatwright Committee Quizzes Litigants in Char’ville School Suit. (1957, May 17). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

- Boatwright Committee Seeks NAACP Financial Record; Organization to Seek Relief Through Appeals Court. (1957, June 21). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Bomb Found in Yard of Maryland Negro. (1957, September 13). *The Daily Progress*.
- Bomb Scare Touches Off Search of Little Rock High School By Platoon of Arkansas National Guardsmen. (1958, January 17). *The Daily Progress*.
- Bourdieu, P. (2005). The political field, the social field and the journalistic field. In R. D. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.), *Bourdieu and the journalistic field*. Polity Books.
- Boyle, S.-P. (2001). *The Desegregated Heart: A Virginian's Stand in Time of Transition*. University of Virginia Press.
- Brandt, M. J., & Crawford, J. T. (2020). Chapter One—Worldview conflict and prejudice. In B. Gawronski (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 61, pp. 1–66). Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.aesp.2019.09.002>
- Breitzer, S. (2015, May 20). *Virginia Constitutional Convention (1901-1902)*. Encyclopedia Virginia. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Constitutional_Convention_Virginia_1901-1902
- Brennen, B. S. (2017). *Qualitative Research Methods for Media Studies: Vol. Second edition*. Routledge; eBook Collection (EBSCOhost). <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1543959&site=ehost-live>
- Brief case believed secret hiding place of tape recorder. (1957, May 17). *The Daily Progress*.
- Brittain To Leave Clinton High School. (1957, April 5). *The Daily Progress*.
- Davis et al. V. County School Board of Prince Edward County, VA., et al., 103 F. Supp. 337 (United States District Court E.D. Virginia, at Richmond March 7, 1952). https://scholar.google.com/scholar_case?case=14684432992363359649&q=Davis+v.+Prince+Edward+county&hl=en&as_sdt=6,47&as_vis=1
- Burrows Unseats Del. William R. Hill By 81 Votes in Hard Fought Contest. (1959, July 17). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Byrd Calls on South to Challenge Court. (1956, February 26). *The New York Times*.
- Byrd, H. F. (1954). *Statement by Senator Harry F. Byrd (D-VA)* (University of Virginia). Albert H. and Shirley Small Special Collections Library. <http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/civilrightstv/documents/images/1954Byrd.jpg>
- Carter, A. W. (2009). Charlottesville City School History: A Timeline. *Charlottesville City Schools*. <http://charlottesvilleschools.org/timeline>

- Castells, M. (2010). *The rise of the network society* (2nd ed., Vol. 1). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444319514.ch>
- Cavanaugh, D. (2021, March 18). *UVA and the History of Race: Confronting Labor Discrimination*. UVA Today. <https://news.virginia.edu/content/uva-and-history-race-confronting-labor-discrimination>
- Charlottesville and the Negro. (1911, February 17). *The Daily Progress*.
- Charlottesville editor retires after 43 years. (1965, January 11). *Petersburg Progress Index*.
- Charlottesville publisher dies. (1968, October 9). *Bluefield Daily Telegraph*.
- Charlottesville School Board Presents Desegregation Plan to Judge Paul. (1959, February 20). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Charlottesville school plaintiffs lose bid for integrated assignments. (1960, August 18). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- City School Board Says It Will Reopen Schools At “Early Date.” (1959, January 30). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- City School Board Will Comply with Court Order Barring Use of Pupil Placement Forms. (1957, August 16). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- City School Costs Threaten Tax Hike. (1957, March 15). *The Daily Progress*.
- Claibourn, M. P. (2012). *Blacks in Virginia: Demographic Trends in Historical Context* (p. 16). Weldon Cooper Center, University of Virginia. https://demographics.coopercenter.org/sites/demographics/files/NC_Blacks-in-Virginia_4_30_12_r_0.pdf
- Clinton Riot Photos Draw Fire in Court. (1957, July 12). *The Daily Progress*.
- Clinton Trial Testimony Ends as Defense Rests Its Case. (1957, July 19). *The Daily Progress*.
- Couldry, N. (2016). Reconstructing journalism’s public rationale. In C. Peters & M. Broersma (Eds.), *Rethinking Journalism Again: Societal role and public relevance in a digital age* (p. 246). Routledge. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781317506416>
- Cross-White, A. (1998). *Charlottesville: The African American Community*. Arcadia Publishing.
- Davis v. County School Board—Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site*. (2015). National Park Service. <https://www.nps.gov/brvb/learn/historyculture/virginia.htm>
- Dean, C. (1956, March 13). “Massive Resistance” States Invoke Interposition and Aid for Their Private Schools. *The New York Times*.

Decision expected in a few days in Arlington County School Case. (1957, September 13). *The Daily Progress*.

Defendants' Exhibits filed in Dorothy E. Davis, et al. Versus County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, Civil Action No. 1333. (1952).
<https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/defendants-exhibits-filed-in-dorothy-e-davis-et-al-versus-county-school-board-of-prince-edward-county-virginia-civil-action-no-1333>

Defenders' Head Calls Meeting to Discuss Private School Plans. (1958, May 2). *The Daily Progress*.

Del. Hill speaks out on school issue. (1958, August 1). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Del. Thompson's School Probe Proposal. (1958, January 24). *The Daily Progress*.

Dept. Of Justice Has Information on School Blast. (1957, September 13). *The Daily Progress*.

Dist. Federal Judge John Paul Tries Local School Desegregation Case. (1960, August 11).
Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune.

Dixie dignified by appointment of Battle to Civil Rights Commission. (1957, November 15).
Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune.

Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co. Concurring Opinion, 392 U.S. 409 (U.S. Supreme Court June 17, 1968). <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/392/409/#tab-opinion-1947521>

Douglass, F. (1881, January 1). The Color Line. *The North American Review*, 132, 567–577.

Dorothy E. Davis, et al. V. County School Board of Prince Edward County et al., (U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia May 23, 1951).
<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/279098>

Dr. Klineberg, Noted Psychologist, Addresses Human Relations Council. (1958, January 24).
Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1898). *The Negroes of Farmville, Virginia: A Social Study* (No. 14; Bulletin of the Department of Labor). U.S. Department of Labor.
<https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/bulletin-united-states-bureau-labor-3943/january-1898-477567/negroes-farmville-virginia-497802>

Du Bois, W. E. B. (2014). *The Souls of Black Folk*. Tribeca Books.

Duignan, B. (n.d.). *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Britannica. Retrieved February 28, 2022, from
<https://www.britannica.com/event/Plessy-v-Ferguson-1896>

Dulaney—Hill Campaign for House Seat Quiet On Surface. (1957, July 5). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

- Dure Urges Right to Discriminate as Key to State School Program. (1959, March 6). *The Daily Progress*.
- Economic equality, the main goal to be reached. (1959, September 18). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Editorial. (1960, June 30). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Eleven Negro Applicants for Lane Fail To Report For Test. (1958, July 25). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Entman, R. M. (1990). Modern racism and the images of blacks in local television news. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 7(4), 332–345.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15295039009360183>
- Entman, R. M. (1992). Blacks in the News: Television, Modern Racism and Cultural Change. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 69(2), 341–361.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/107769909206900209>
- Entman, R. M. (1994). Representation and Reality in the Portrayal of Blacks on Network Television News. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 71(3), 509–520.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/107769909407100303>
- Epps-Robertson, C. (2016). The Race to Erase Brown v. Board of Education: The Virginia Way and the Rhetoric of Massive Resistance. *Rhetoric Review*, 35(2), 108–120.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07350198.2016.1142812>
- Eskridge, S. K. (2010). Virginia's Pupil Placement Board and the Practical Applications of Massive Resistance, 1956-1966. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 118(3), 246–276. JSTOR.
- Eskridge, S. K. (2020, January). *J. Lindsay Almond Jr. (1898-1986)*. Encyclopedia Virginia.
https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Almond_James_Lindsay_Jr_1898-1986
- Esmont Area Schools*. (2018). Scottsville Museum.
<https://scottsvillemuseum.com/esmont/esmontschools/home.html>
- Explains Opposition to Admitting Negro. (1958, August 22). *The Daily Progress*.
- Fall Integration Asked By NAACP. (1958, June 6). *The Daily Progress*.
- Feagin, J. (1986). Slavery Unwilling to Die: The Background of Black Oppression in the 1980s. *Journal of Black Studies*, 17(2), 173–200. JSTOR.
- Federal Court to Test Anti-NAACP Legislation. (1957, April 19). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

- Fifteen Elementary Pupils Boycott Tests for Transfers. (1958, July 25). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- For a better choice. (1958, June 13). *The Daily Progress*.
- Former Resident Appoint Supervisor In New York Schools. (1959, October 16). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Four Negro Children Assigned to Lane And Venable Schools. (1960, June 16). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Frederick T. Ley, builder, 86, dead. (1958, July 14). *The New York Times*.
https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1958/07/14/80783647.pdf?pdf_redirect=true&ip=0
- “Free Choice” Wins Backing At Perrow School Hearing. (1959, March 6). *The Daily Progress*.
- Frequently Asked Questions About Tobacco Leaves*. (n.d.). Leaf Only. Retrieved March 1, 2022, from <https://www.leafonly.com/tobacco-leaf-faq.php>
- Front Royal Plans Private School Classes. (1959, September 4). *The Daily Progress*.
- Funk, M. J., & McCombs, M. (2017). Strangers on a Theoretical Train. *Journalism Studies*, 18(7), 845–865. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2015.1099460>
- General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia*. (1831). Thomas Ritchie.
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.a0001803188>
- Goldenberg, I. (1978). *Oppression and social intervention*. Nelson-Hall Inc.
- Good school news. (1959, January 30). *The Daily Progress*.
- G.P. Inge, Jr., Tells How Integration Was Accomplished in San Antonio. (1957, December 6). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Grateful for support. (1959, November 20). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Grattan, P. R. (Ed.). (1879). *Reports of Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia* (Vol. 30). R. E. Frayser.
https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Kinney_v_The_Commonwealth_October_3_1878
- Guild, J. P. (1936). *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present*. Whittet & Shepperson.
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015058018006>
- Harold, C. N. (2018, August 11). *A timeline of racism in Charlottesville, from 1607 through 2017's Unite the Right rally aftermath*. Salon. <https://www.salon.com/2018/08/11/a-timeline-of-racism-in-charlottesville-from-1607-through-2017s-unite-the-right-rally-aftermath-2/>

- Hear Mississippian Praise on Resistance To Integration. (1957, August 30). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Heinemann, R. L. (2012, September 14). *The Great Depression in Virginia*. Encyclopedia Virginia. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/great_depression_in_virginia#start_entry
- Heinemann, R. L. (2014). *Moton School Strike and Prince Edward County School Closings* [Encyclopedia Virginia]. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/moton_school_strike_and_prince_edward_county_school_closings#start_entry
- Hening, W. W. (1819). *The Statutes at Large Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (Vol. 5). W. W. Gray Print.
- Hening, W. W. (1823a). *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619* (Vol. 3). R. & W. & G. Bartow. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/_An_act_for_suppressing_outlying_slaves_1691
- Hening, W. W. (1823b). *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All Laws of virginal, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619* (Vol. 12). R. & W. & G. Bartow. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/An_act_declaring_what_persons_shall_be_deemed_mulattoes_October_1785
- Hening, W. W. (Ed.). (1823c). *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (Vol. 2). R. & W. & G. Bartow. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/_Negro_womens_children_to_serve_according_to_the_condition_of_the_mother_1662
- Hershman Jr., J. H. (1978). *A rumbling in the museum: The opponents of Virginia's massive resistance* [Dissertation]. University of Virginia.
- Hershman Jr., J. H. (1998). *James Lindsay Almond (1898-1986)*. Dictionary of Virginia Biography, Library of Virginia. https://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/dvb/bio.php?b=Almond_James_Lindsay
- Hershman Jr., J. H. (2011). *Massive Resistance*. Encyclopedia Virginia. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Massive_Resistance
- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2011). *The practice of qualitative research* (Second). SAGE Publications, Inc.
- High Court Delays L. Rock Showdown. (1958, August 29). *The Daily Progress*.
- His Lawyers Walk Out When Judge Won't Disqualify Self. (1957, September 20). *The Daily Progress*.

- Holt, W. W. (1968). The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902: A Reform Movement Which Lacked Substance. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 76(1), 67–102. JSTOR.
- Hughes, S. S. (1986). The Twentieth Century. In P. Morgan (Ed.), *“Don’t Grieve After Me”: The Black Experience in Virginia 1619-1986*. Hampton University.
- Human Relations Group Holds First Workshop. (1957, July 26). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Hutcheson, G. (1896). Ninth Regiment of Cavalry. In T. F. Rodenbough & W. L. Haskin (Eds.), *The Army of the US Historical Sketches of Staff and Line with Portraits of Generals-in-Chief*. Maynard, Merrill & Co. <https://history.army.mil/books/R&H/R&H-9CV.htm>
- Interposition Gets Backing in Virginia. (1956, March 6). *The New York Times*, 24.
- Irwin, M. F. (1929). *The Negro in Charlottesville and Albemarle County: An Exploratory Study* [Master’s Thesis, University of Virginia].
<http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/proffit/documents/irwin/index.html>
- Is a “pilgrimage of prayer” necessary for public schools? (1958, December 12). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- J. Lindsay Almond school integration speech transcript. (1959, January 20). WRVA Radio.
<https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/dbva/files/original/b254a6c256c78dc44b0cbc8cc1685a94.pdf>
- Jackie Robinson Addresses Virginia NAACP. (1957, April 5). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Jackson, J. K., & Vosmik, J. L. (1998). *National Historic Landmark Nomination* (T. D. Morrison & M. Tyler-McGraw, Eds.).
- Janowitz, M. (1975). Professional Models in Journalism: The Gatekeeper and the Advocate. *Journalism Quarterly*, 52(4), 618–626. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769907505200402>
- Jefferson, T. (1788). *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Prichard and Hall.
<https://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/jefferson/jefferson.html#p90>
- Johnson, M. (2018). *Educational Opportunities for Blacks in Esmont and Albemarle County Prior to Desegregation*. Scottsville Museum.
<https://scottsvillemuseum.com/esmont/esmontschools/jacksonpburleyschool.html>
- Joint committee postpones action on proposal to use funds from Burley High School Bond issue. (1954, January 23). *The Tribune*. <https://newspaperarchive.com/roanoke-tribune-dec-06-1952-p-1/>
- Joint Resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Extra Session of 1901. (1901). J. H. O’Bannon. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.a0001738186>

- Judge Bryan's decision. (1957, September 20). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Judge John Paul's order ending segregation received. (1956, August 10). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Judge reminds placement board member of his oath. (1959, August 28). *The Daily Progress*.
- Judge Sadler dismisses subpoena against president of local NAACP chapter. (1957, June 21). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Judge Stays Prince Edward School Order. (1957, December 6). *The Daily Progress*.
- Knight, C. L. (1927). *Negro Housing in Certain Virginia Cities* (Vol. 8). The William Byrd Press Inc. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112108072668&view=1up&seq=359>
- Kuckartz, U. (2014). *Qualitative Text Analysis: A Guide to Methods, Practice & Using Software*. SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446288719>
- Lancaster, E. M. (1966). *A Guide to Negro Marketing Information*. U. S. Department of Commerce, Business and Defense Services Administration.
- Lange, W. J. (1983). W.E.B. DuBois and the First Scientific Study of Afro-America. *Phylon*, 44(2), 135–146. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/275025>
- Lauterer, J. (2006). *Community Journalism: Relentlessly Local* (3rd ed.). The University of North Carolina Press; e000xna. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=358032&scope=site>
- Le, E. (2010). *Editorials and the Power of Media: Interweaving of socio-cultural identities*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/michstate-ebooks/detail.action?docID=623344>
- Legislative Committee Backs 1956 Interposition Resolution. (1957, July 5). *The Daily Progress*.
- Let all candidates run on their merits. (1957, April 12). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Let's be realistic about our purchasing power. (1960, July 7). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Let's re-evaluate the situation. (1959, September 4). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Lippmann, W. (1941). *Public opinion*. The Macmillan Company. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015000587512>
- Lippmann, W. (1957). *Public opinion*. Macmillan. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b5232744>
- List of Virginia governors. (2014, January 12). Richmond Times-Dispatch. https://richmond.com/news/local/government-politics/list-of-virginia-governors/article_67631b76-8a70-578f-8d0d-2bb11e01e515.html

- Litigation In New York; Mobs In “Windy City”; Status Quo in Deep South. (1957, August 16). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Little Rock Serene but Still Guarded. (1957, September 27). *The Daily Progress*.
- Local Defenders’ Group Head see No Integration Here, Ever. (1957, August 16). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Local Elks and 11 Plaintiffs in School Case Attend Elks Sixtieth Annual Convention in Atlantic City, N. J. (1959, August 28). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Local NAACP President Served 2nd Subpoena by Boatwright Com. (1957, June 21). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Local school board caught in crossfire. (1957, March 29). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Lombard, H. (2016, March 28). Why are Black households wealthier in Virginia? *StatChat*. <http://statchatva.org/2016/03/28/why-are-black-households-wealthier-in-virginia/>
- Lombardo, P. A. (1987). *Miscegenation, Eugenics, and Racism: Historical Footnotes to Loving v. Virginia*. https://readingroom.law.gsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1967&context=faculty_pub
- Mandate in city school case issued. (1957, March 29). *The Daily Progress*.
- Mangione, W. T. (Ed.). (1990). *From porch swings to patios: An oral history project of Charlottesville Neighborhoods, 1914-1980*. The City of Charlottesville. <http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/schwartz/texts.html>
- Manual Training. (1900, January 15). *The Daily Progress*, 4.
- Maurer, D. (2012a, January 29). *Yesteryears: James H. Lindsay*. The Daily Progress. https://dailyprogress.com/entertainment/lifestyles/yesteryears-james-h-lindsay/article_0997aab7-7fbb-5d64-add8-ed139cba0554.html
- Maurer, D. (2012b, July 29). *Yesteryears: Randolph White*. The Daily Progress. https://www.dailyprogress.com/lifestyles/yesteryears-randolph-white/article_c814252a-c47b-52d6-9a58-4fb88de7f623.html
- McCombs, M. (1997). Building Consensus: The News Media’s Agenda-Setting Roles. *Political Communication*, 14(4), 433–443. <https://doi.org/10.1080/105846097199236>
- McKeldin Asks More Chance for The Negro. (1957, April 12). *The Daily Progress*.
- McKenzie, B. (2018, January 3). *The Daily Progress’ mission retains community focus*. The Daily Progress. https://www.dailyprogress.com/historyproject/the-daily-progress-mission-retains-community-focus/article_563424f4-f0d2-11e7-8696-83fbdd2f69d6.html
- Meier, A., & Rudwick, E. (1976). *From plantation to ghetto* (Third). Hill and Wang.

- Merritt, D. "Buzz." (2009). What citizen journalism can learn from public journalism. In J. Rosenberry & B. St John (Eds.), *Public Journalism 2. 0: The Promise and Reality of a Citizen Engaged Press*. Routledge. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/michstate-ebooks/detail.action?docID=465364>
- Morris, J. D. (1956a, January 10). Integration Foes Triumph by 2 to 1 in Virginia Voting. *The New York Times*, front page.
- Morris, J. D. (1956b, January 11). Virginians Greet Vote as Mandate. *The New York Times*, 18.
- Mrs. Boyle testifies on behalf of the NAACP. (1957, September 20). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Murray, F. (1945). The Negro and Civil Liberties during World War II. *Social Forces*, 24(2), 211–216. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2572539>
- Muse, B. (1961). *Virginia's massive resistance*. Indiana University Press.
- NAACP Leaders Are Summoned. (1957, September 13). *The Daily Progress*.
- NAACP Asks Supreme Court to Integrate L. Rock School. (1958, August 22). *The Daily Progress*.
- "N.A.A.C.P. Laws" scuttled. (1958, January 24). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- NAACP Lawyer Hill Reports He's Trying to Correct Boatwright Committee's Ideas. (1957, June 21). *The Daily Progress*.
- NAACP Lawyer insists school plaintiffs made own decision. (1958, January 3). *The Daily Progress*.
- NAACP Leader Speaks Here. (1958, May 2). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- NAACP re-evaluates its thinking. (1959, October 16). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- NAACP Says It Aided Arkansas State Press. (1960, January 5). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Nashville Police Armed with Copy Of Federal Court Order. (1957, September 13). *The Daily Progress*.
- Neff, D. P. (2013, October 23). *The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties*. Encyclopedia Virginia. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Defenders_of_State_Sovereignty_and_Individual_Liberties
- Negro Parents Join Little Rock's Central High School P-TA. (1957, December 20). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Negro P-TA Ends Session. (1958, November 21). *The Daily Progress*.

Negro Pupils Turned Away in Arlington. (1957, September 6). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Negroes Drop Appeal in Norfolk Case. (1959, July 3). *The Daily Progress*.

Nine High School Pupils Take Achievement Tests. (1958, August 22). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

No cause for alarm. (1959, September 25). *The Daily Progress*.

No occasion for alarm. (1959, February 6). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Norfolk Minister Says Fight for Schools Isn't Won. (1959, April 17). *The Daily Progress*.

Norfolk School Bill \$693,000. (1958, December 12). *The Daily Progress*.

Norfolk Seeks \$459,173 for Closed Schools. (1958, November 14). *The Daily Progress*.

Norfolk Will Integrate 17 Negroes; School Opening Here Is Postponed. (1958, August 29). *The Daily Progress*.

North, S. N. D. (1884). *History and Present Condition of the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States: With a Catalogue of the Publications of the Census Year*. U.S. Government Printing Office.
https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=HlMOAAAAIAAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR5&dq=history+and+present+condition+of+the+newspaper+&ots=owNKEOt_zY&sig=ipdAXToKvpKGryyMu7Bmuj-6sJM#v=onepage&q=history%20and%20present%20condition%20of%20the%20newspaper&f=false

Nothing to be gained by write-in vote. (1957, June 28). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Oklahoma City School Board Refuse to Integrate Negro Teachers. (1957, September 13). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Open Doors Rule for Probe Loses. (1958, February 21). *The Daily Progress*.

Our choice for American leadership. (1960, November 3). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Our History: Former Faculty: Minor, Raleigh Colston (1893-1923). (2019, June 6). University of Virginia School of Law. <https://libguides.law.virginia.edu/faculty/r-minor>

Overtures Made for Withdrawal of 18 Negroes from Warren High. (1959, August 21). *The Daily Progress*.

- Owens, R. L. (1993). *The African American press as response to oppression: Trends in formation and circulation* [Ph.D., The University of Texas at Austin].
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/304071581/abstract/C8EF7AB81B9A468EPQ/1>
- Paper abolishes publisher post. (1960, February 12). *Petersburg Progress Index*.
- Park, R. E. (1923). The natural history of the newspaper. *American Journal of Sociology*, 29(3), 273–289.
- Pascoe, P. (2009). *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America*. Oxford University Press.
<https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Mrjbk8zc7PgC&oi=fnd&pg=PP8&dq=race+in+America&ots=eX3O6eqUfG&sig=uYeRqRPfUukafNK9Hr9Nk1qNy5E#v=onepage&q=race%20in%20America&f=false>
- Petersburg lawsuit attacks placement act. (1958, January 31). *The Daily Progress*.
- Plecker, W. A. (1943, January). *Letter from Walter Plecker (January 1943)*. Virginia Indian Archive. <http://virginiaindianarchive.org/items/show/197>
- Political aftermath of Little Rock. (1957, October 4). *The Daily Progress*.
- Political participation is democratic way of life. (1957, March 22). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Politicians Fiddle While Rome Burns. (1957, October 18). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Prince Edward to Make Plan Work. (1959, September 11). *The Daily Progress*.
- Principles for Which We Stand*. (n.d.). Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties.
<https://dc.lib.odu.edu/digital/collection/npsdp/id/1872>.
- Progress In Integration Reported in Southern Schools. (1957, July 26). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Progress Reported in NY Integration. (1957, August 23). *The Daily Progress*.
- Public Education: Report of the commission to the Governor of Virginia*. (1955). Commonwealth of Virginia.
http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/civilrightstv/documents/leg_001.html
- R. L. White elected to membership in AAIT. (1960, January 15). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Randolph L. White making good in Charlottesville. (1953, March 14). *The Tribune*.
- Reason versus passion. (1957, April 19). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

- Reese, S. D., & Shoemaker, P. J. (2016). A Media Sociology for the Networked Public Sphere: The Hierarchy of Influences Model. *Mass Communication and Society*, 19(4), 389–410.
- Representation for all. (1957, September 27). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Representatives Of Boatwright Com. Question NAACP Litigants. (1957, May 10). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Resolute action restores order in Nashville. (1957, September 27). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Richardson, E. R., & Widdicombe, J. S. (1941). *Jefferson's Albemarle: A guide to Albemarle County and the city of Charlottesville, Virginia*. Virginia Conservation Commission. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015027057978>
- Rockefeller Criticizes Lag in Desegregation. (1959, December 18). *The Daily Progress*.
- Rosen, J. (1999). *What are journalists for?* Yale University Press.
- Rosen, J. (2008, July 14). A most useful definition of citizen journalism. *Press Think*. http://archive.pressthink.org/2008/07/14/a_most_useful_d.html
- Saunders, J. R., & Shackelford, R. N. (1998). *Urban renewal and the end of black culture in Charlottesville, Virginia: An Oral History of Vinegar Hill*. McFarland & Company, Inc.
- Schilling, J. (2017). Qualitative content analysis in leadership research: Principles, process and application. In B. Schyns, R. J. Hall, & P. Neves (Eds.), *Handbook of Methods in Leadership Research* (p. 480). Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://www-elgaronline-com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/view/edcoll/9781785367274/9781785367274.00023.xml>
- School Accredited in Norfolk, Warren. (1958, December 12). *The Daily Progress*.
- School Board Re-Schedules Achievement Tests, Interviews. (1958, August 15). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- School board's attorney faces reality. (1959, March 27). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- School Cases Before Court. (1960, September 1). *The Daily Progress*.
- School Desegregation Becomes a Reality Here. (1959, September 11). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- School, NAACP Bills Signed by Gov. Stanley. (1956, September 30). *The Washington Post and Times Herald (1954-1959)*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post. <http://ezproxy.msu.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/148754792?accountid=12598>
- Schorske, C. E. (1998). *Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism*. Princeton University Press. <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=->

lQABAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Carl+schorske+thinking+with+history&ots=7e
vMPUA5Ih&sig=1CpYojgpensld2TLqQ2kVMepeAI#v=onepage&q=Carl%20schorske
%20thinking%20with%20history&f=false

- Schreier, M. (2014). Qualitative Content Analysis. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* (pp. 170–183). SAGE Publications, Inc.
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446282243>
- Sellers, T. J. (1952, December 6). Notes on the news. *The Tribune*.
<https://newspaperarchive.com/roanoke-tribune-dec-06-1952-p-1/>
- Sen. Jackson Proposes Gradual Integration. (1958, November 14). *The Daily Progress*.
- Sen. Javits Urges Ending Discrimination in Education. (1957, December 6). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Separation of Races (1926)*. (2015, September 23). Encyclopedia Virginia.
https://www.encyclopediaofvirginia.org/Separation_of_Races_1926
- Several Local School Students Prepared for Integration. (1957, September 6). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Sherman, R. B. (1988). “The Last Stand”: The Fight for Racial Integrity in Virginia in the 1920s. *The Journal of Southern History*, 54(1), 69–92. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2208521>
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (2014). *Mediating the Message in the 21st Century: A Media Sociology Perspective* (Third). Routledge.
- Shuster, A. (1956, March 12). 96 in Congress Open Drive to Upset Integration Ruling. *The New York Times*, Front page.
- Silverman, D. (2006). *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction* (Third). SAGE.
- Simmons, C. A. (1998). *The African American Press: A history of news coverage during national crises, with special reference to four black newspapers, 1827-1965*. McFarland & Co.
- Sire, J. W. (2015). *Naming the Elephant: Worldview as a Concept: Vol. Second edition*. IVP Academic; eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost).
<http://ezproxy.msu.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,uid,cookie&db=e000xna&AN=787488&site=eds-live>
- Six Negroes Attack White School Students. (1957, September 27). *The Daily Progress*.
- Smith, J. D. (2002). *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia*. The University of North Carolina Press.
<https://books.google.com/books?id=yqrqCQAAQBAJ&pg=PP140&lpg=PP140&dq=Gra>

ce+copeland+it+is+impossible+to+reason+with+a+negro&source=bl&ots=uxFOatAltu&sig=ACfU3U1IcHpE-Ddq4Qk2DrJue-KgkDvChQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiX3OHc2s_pAhUwgXIEHQkKC3EQ6AEwAHoECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q=Copeland&f=false

- Smith, J. D. (2008). The Campaign for Racial Purity and Erosion of Paternalism in Virginia, 1922-1930. In P. Holloway (Ed.), *Other Souths: Diversity and Difference in the U.S. South, Reconstruction to Present*. University of Georgia Press.
<https://books.google.com/books?id=0q-PdTJOPy8C&pg=PA205&lpg=PA205&dq=Grace+Copeland+1927&source=bl&ots=mJaa5M1xwX&sig=ACfU3U1A4iHqsMsaE1u1a9Q35J1RWbGb3w&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj15ubG6czpAhVxlHIEHWS6B3IQ6AEwA3oECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=Grace%20Copeland%201927&f=false>
- Smith, R. C. (1997). Prince Edward County: Revisited and Revitalized. *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 73(1). <https://www.vqronline.org/essay/prince-edward-county-revisited-and-revitalized>
- Snead Defends School Board's Action; Attorney Is Retained. (1957, May 31). *The Daily Progress*.
- Soldiers Escort Nine to School. (1957, October 4). *The Daily Progress*.
- South Is Facing Another Crisis. (1959, August 28). *The Daily Progress*.
- Southern progress and the court. (1957, April 12). *The Daily Progress*.
- Southside Group Propose to Cut Off State School Aid. (1959, January 30). *The Daily Progress*.
- Soviet communism ... A challenge to white and negro leadership. (1957, December 6). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Soviet's scientific feats underscore U.S. need for integrated education. (1957, November 8). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Stanley Asks Consideration of States Rights Question. (1957, December 6). *The Daily Progress*.
- Stanley, T. B. (1955). *Address of Thos. B. Stanley Governor to the General Assembly Extra Session*. Commonwealth of Virginia.
<http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/civilrightstv/documents/images/1955StanleyAddress.pdf>
- Stanley told his school plan won't find ready welcome. (1956, August 10). *The Daily Progress*.
- State Court upholds placement act bar. (1957, September 6). *The Daily Progress*.
- State police head, three county sheriffs say NAACP membership lists would be helpful. (1957, September 20). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

- Statement of ownership, management and circulation. (1969, October 1). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Statutes Cited on Classifying of Va. Indians. (1945, January 6). *The Washington Post*.
<https://search-proquest-com.pgcmis.idm.oclc.org/docview/151817500/7E59AC41D50949E7PQ/1?accountid=2818>
- Suggs, H. L. (1983a). Introduction: Origins of the Black press in the South. In H. L. Suggs (Ed.), *The Black press in the south 1865-1979*. Greenwood Press.
- Suggs, H. L. (1983b). Virginia. In H. L. Suggs (Ed.), *The Black press in the south 1865-1979*. Greenwood Press.
- Sundstrom, W. A. (1992). Last Hired, First Fired? Unemployment and Urban Black Workers During the Great Depression. *The Journal of Economic History*, 52(2), 415–429. JSTOR.
- Swelled City's Voting Lists. (1907, May 22). *The Daily Progress*.
https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva_library/items/uva-lib:2130743
- Talbot, T. (2014, May 30). *Walter Ashby Plecker (1861-1947)*. Encyclopedia Virginia.
https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Plecker_Walter_Ashby_1861-1947
- Tewksbury, D., & Scheufele, D. (2019). News Framing Theory and Research. In M. B. Oliver, A. A. Raney, & J. Bryant (Eds.), *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*. Taylor & Francis Group. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/michstate-ebooks/detail.action?docID=5798096>
- Texas Kiwanians Drop Pledge to Flag as Protest. (1957, September 27). *The Daily Progress*.
- The Charlottesville Reflector*. (n.d.). Retrieved May 16, 2019, from
<http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/reflector/sellers.html>
- The Charlottesville school suit. (1960, August 18). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- The Civil Rights Commission. (1957, November 8). *The Daily Progress*.
- The Civil Rights Commission faces real task. (1957, November 29). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- The Closing of Prince Edward County's Schools*. (n.d.). Retrieved October 28, 2020, from
<https://www.virginiahistory.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rights-movement-virginia/closing-prince>
- The Code of Virginia, as Amended to Adjournment of General Assembly 1924*. (n.d.). The Michie Company.
https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Colored_Persons_and_Indians_Defined_1924

The Code of Virginia as Amended to Adjournment of General Assembly 1930. (1930). The Michie Company.
https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Colored_Persons_and_Indians_Defined_1930

The Code of Virginia: With the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States; and the Declaration of Rights and Constitution of Virginia. (1849). William F. Ritchie.

The Community and Politics. (1957, March 15). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

The community's welfare hinges on its intelligent use of the ballot. (1959, July 3). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

The Daily Progress planning \$400,000 expansion program. (1955, June 28). *The Daily Progress*.

The governor is right. (1958, November 21). *The Daily Progress*.

The Little Rock Affair. (1957, September 27). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

The need for action. (1958, August 22). *The Daily Progress*.

The Perrow Program. (1959, April 24). *The Daily Progress*.

The Perrow report. (1959, April 3). *The Daily Progress*.

The Proud Legacy of the Buffalo Soldiers. (2014, August 31). National Museum of African American History and Culture. <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/proud-legacy-buffalo-soldiers>

The Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia Being a Collection of All Such Acts of the General Assembly (Vol. 1). (1819). Thomas Ritchie.

The school plan approved. (1959, April 3). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

The tests for 31 Negro pupils. (1958, July 18). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

The Tribune—Dedicated to progress. (1958, October 3). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Thomas J. Sellers. (n.d.). Retrieved May 16, 2019, from <http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/reflector/newssellers.html>

Those intolerant southsiders. (1959, February 13). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Three-Judge Court to Hear Plea To Remove Va. Ban. (1959, November 20). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Thurgood Marshall's 1959 Report on Desegregation. (1960, January 5). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Time to cooperate. (1959, January 30). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

To strengthen our position. (1959, December 11). *The Daily Progress*.

Toward a Showdown. (1958, May 23). *The Daily Progress*.

Toward freedom. (1959, March 6). *The Daily Progress*.

Two Students Withdraw at Front Royal. (1959, February 20). *The Daily Progress*.

U. Va. President Says Virginia Must Abandon “Massive Resistance”; Adopt Original Gray Com. Plan. (1957, June 14). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

U. Va. President Speaks Out on Integration Issue. (1958, July 18). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

U.S. Census Bureau. (1900). *Twelfth Census of the United States: Schedule No. 1—Population*. https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/71163887:7602?tid=&pid=&queryId=76d5a3bbb5d68a1310319128ca7b5ab6&_phsrc=HPU5&_phstart=successSource

U.S. Census Bureau. (1910a). *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920—Population*. <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/23007136:6061>

U.S. Census Bureau. (1910b). *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910—Population*. https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/29031395:7884?tid=&pid=&queryId=76d5a3bbb5d68a1310319128ca7b5ab6&_phsrc=HPU6&_phstart=successSource

U.S. Supreme Court to Review NAACP Contempt Case. (1957, June 7). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

Venable Patrons Ready to Provide Temporary Schooling for Pupils. (1958, August 22). *The Daily Progress*.

Virginia Circuit Court (Albemarle County). (1901). *Virginia, Albemarle County, Wills, 1748-1919; General Index, 1748-1930* (Vols. 31–32). https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/132658:62347?tid=&pid=&queryId=39323434c6760523944d235f5627cfef&_phsrc=HPU1&_phstart=successSource

Virginia Convention Endorses Proposal to Check Integration. (1956, March 7). *The New York Times*.

Virginia Governor Backs Segregation. (1956, August 25). *The New York Times*. <http://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1956/08/25/84741783.html>

Virginia Pupil Placement Board Issues Statement. (1957, August 9). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.

- Virginia to Hold Law Convention. (1956, March 4). *The New York Times*.
- Voters Approve \$1,200,000 School Bond Issue; 1200 “For”, 472 “Against.” (1957, July 19). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Waisbord, S. (2009). Advocacy journalism in a global context. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. Routledge.
- Wall, M. (2018). *Citizen Journalism: Practices, Propaganda, Pedagogy*. Routledge.
- Wallenfeldt, J. (n.d.). *Baby Boom*. Britannica. Retrieved March 2, 2022, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/baby-boom-US-history>
- War in Ukraine: Vlad gone mad (No. S27, E62). (2022, February 28). In *The Daily Show with Trevor Noah*. Comedy Central.
- Warren County to Know Fate Monday. (1959, February 13). *The Daily Progress*.
- Warren, E. (1954, May 17). *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). Legal Information Institute. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/347/483>
- Warren, E. (1955). *Brown v. Board of Education*, 349 U.S. 294 (1955). [Image]. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA. <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep349294/>
- Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1 (U.S. Supreme Court September 12, 1958). <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep358001/>
- Washburn, P. S. (2006). *The African American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom*. Northwestern University Press.
- Washington, B. T. (1903). *Industrial education for the Negro*. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/industrial-education-for-the-negro/>
- Washington, B. T. (1915, December 4). My View of Segregation Laws. *The New Republic*. <https://newrepublic.com/article/92607/booker-t-washington-segregation-tuskegee-alabama>
- Washington Proceedings. (1956, March 13). *The New York Times*.
- What we have is freedom. (1960, January 15). *The Daily Progress*.
- White, R. L. (1952, December 6). Facts concerning Charlottesville Negro Housing Problem. *The Tribune*.
- White, R. L. (1953, February 21). President Darden to address nurse graduates at U. of Va. *The Tribune*. <https://newspaperarchive.com/roanoke-tribune-dec-06-1952-p-1/>
- White, R. L. (1954, January 16). Conditions facing Burley School. *The Tribune*. <https://newspaperarchive.com/roanoke-tribune-dec-06-1952-p-1/>

- White, R. L. (1958, September 5). In the mail bag. *Phoenix Arizona Tribune*.
- Why all the secrecy about NAACP membership lists. (1959, December 18). *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*.
- Wilkerson, D. A. (1960). The Negro School Movement in Virginia: From "Equalization" to "Integration." *The Journal of Negro Education*, 29(1), 17–29. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2293542>
- Wilkins, K. G., & Mody, B. (2001). Reshaping Development Communication: Developing Communication and Communicating Development. *Communication Theory*, 11(4), 385–396. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2001.tb00249.x>
- Willets, G. (1903). *Workers of the Nation: An encyclopedia of the occupations of the American people and a record of business, professional and industrial achievement at the beginning of the twentieth century* (Vol. 2). P.F. Collier & Son. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015002738212>
- Wilson, C. C. (2006). *The black press*. ProQuest Information and Learning. http://ezproxy.msu.edu:2047/login?url=http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?resdat=xri:bsc&url_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_dat=xri:bsc:ft:essay:15WILS_intro
- Wolfe, B. (2015). *Racial Integrity Laws (1924–1930)*. Encyclopedia Virginia. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Racial_Integrity_Laws_of_the_1920s#start_entry
- World War I Draft Registration Card*. (1918). https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/963400:6482?tid=&pid=&queryId=eb125de7a42a6472357ce3260479350b&_phsrc=HPU27&_phstart=successSource
- Wye, C. G. (1972). The New Deal and the Negro Community: Toward a Broader Conceptualization. *The Journal of American History*, 59(3), 621–639. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1900661>
- Wynes, C. E. (1967). The Evolution of Jim Crow Laws in Twentieth Century Virginia. *Phylon* (1960-), 28(4), 416–425. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/274293>