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MEMORANDUM

7/14/61

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Manassas, Va.

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July 13, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Visit to North Alabama, Birmingham and Tuscaloosa

June 13-23, 1961

The purpose of this trip was, in conversation with a few knowledgeable and influential people, to hear views, to preach law enforcement and the inevitability of desegregation and to wrestle generally with the Alabama problem.

I talked with the following:

Dr. Duncan Hunter, Methodist district superintendent and member of SBC executive committee -- Huntsville, June 13.

Senator John C. Sparkman -- Huntsville, June 19.

Rev. A. C. Munner, Jr., pastor, Central Presbyterian Church, and Human Relations Council leader -- 526 Lanier Rd., S. E., Huntsville, (phone: 536-3833), June 19.

Wilton Cummings, president, Brown Engineering Co., 1100 Meridian E. Huntsville, (phone: 536-5536), June 19.

James E. Folsom, former Governor -- Gullman, June 20.

Louis A. Dahl, executive editor, Florence Times and Sheffield Tri-Cities Daily -- Florence, June 21.

E. F. Martin, mayor of Florence, June 21.

Howell T. Heflin, chairman, local board of education and president, Alabama Committee for Better Schools -- 1001 W. 6 St., Tusculum, June 21.

Charles Morgan, Jr., atty., chairman, speakers bureau, Democratic State Committee -- Morgan and Shores, Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, (phone: FA 2-2642), June 22 and 23.

Rev. C. Herbert Cliver, Negro secretary of the Birmingham CRA, June 22.

Charles Rice, Jr., atty., former state representative -- 210 Frank Nelson Bldg., 205 N. 20th. St., Birmingham, (phone: FA 3-3371), June 23 and 26.

Rev. John Rutland, pastor, Woodlawn Methodist Church, (Study) -- 113 N. 55 St., Birmingham, (Res. phone: 595-3212), June 24.

Douglas Arant, atty., White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, -- Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, (phone: BA 3-1551), June 24.

David Mann, atty., formerly in Justice Black's office, chairman Jefferson County Democratic Campaign Committee -- White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, June 24 and 25.

Norman S. Emerson, executive director, Alabama CHR -- 1224 Comer Bldg., Birmingham 3, June 24 and 25.

DuPont Corne, publisher Tuscaloosa News, Pulitzer prizewinner -- Tuscaloosa, June 25.

State Senator Ryan de Graffenreid -- Tuscaloosa (briefly) June 25.

J. Thomas King, unsuccessful candidate for mayor of Birmingham -- Morgan and Thores, Comer Bldg., Birmingham, June 27.

Art. Wilson, mayor-elect of Birmingham (briefly, exchanging pleasantries), June 27.

George S. Hawkins, former state representative and former candidate for governor -- 313 Forrest Ave., Madison, June 28.

Human Relations Workers

On the evening of my arrival in Alabama (Monteville), I had dinner and a long, immensely helpful talk with Dr. Uncas Hunter, of our executive committee, which is not being reported. Except as some of his observations may be reflected in my further report.

My visit with Rev. A. J. Hunter, whom Dr. Hunter urged me to see, is interesting mainly as a human interest story and as one more case of a hard-pressed Southern clergyman who may lose his pastorate because of his zeal for racial justice. Hungry for sympathy and encouragement, he invited my wife and me to lunch at his home. The family was struggling to build up a human relations council in Monteville. (Current attendance was about 20, with 60 on the mailing list; half a dozen more whites had joined since the May riots.)

Rev. J. Herbert Cliver, the Birmingham CHR secretary and a Negro, told me stories of brutality to Negroes like many we have heard before. He, like Dr. Hunter, had noted somewhat increased interest by whites in CHR activity since

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the May riots. His last meeting drew 45 members, compared to the average of about 30. I asked him about the relations of A. G. Gaston, the Negro millionaire, with the Negro community. He indicated that Gaston is careful not to offend the white power structure, and is not popular among the militant Negroes.

Rev. John Rutland was described to me by Dr. Hunter and others, as the most effective crusader among the Birmingham clergy. Mr. Rutland was the most optimistic of all the people with whom I talked. Not in the nine years of his ministry in Birmingham had he sensed such a widespread desire as now to "do something" about interracial relations. Some were interested in joining the Council on Human Relations. Many others had suddenly found that public order was more important than segregation. Business men were concerned at last. There was increased interest in collaboration between the white and colored ministerial groups. He almost felt like thanking God for the Freedom Rider riots!

I talked a great deal with Mr. Norman C. Emerson, newly appointed executive director of the Alabama CIO, who was present with me at a luncheon and a dinner. He impressed me as an earnest, dedicated man, anxious to learn more about the race problem, and eager for information and suggestions.

Moderate Sentiment in Alabama

In attempting to appraise the amount of liberal or moderate sentiment on the race question in Alabama one is handicapped by an almost universal care on the part of white liberals to conceal their liberalism. The instinct for survival has led to the development of almost incredible skill and ingenuity in this.

Two young politicians of whom I saw a great deal, Morgan and Vann, are about as liberal as Ivy Wilkins. Yet one of them holds on as chairman of the speakers bureau of the State Democratic Committee and the other, as chairman of the Jefferson County Democratic Campaign Committee.

In a number of instances I talked to a political or business leader, described to me only as cautiously moderate, and before the conversation was over he revealed himself as all-out liberal on race. They would let this be known to few of their associates and least of all to known liberal crusaders in the community, who might embarrass them. Superficially it would appear that there is almost no leader who is not an uncompromising segregationist, but close observers can go over a list one by one and name a substantial number who are gravely concerned over the present situation and are prepared to accept desegregation.

"Niggering" is a common expression and a handy one in Deep South politics. It is said that elections in Alabama are simply contests to see which candidate can "cut-nigger" the other. This is not strictly accurate, because more character and less "niggering" often wins. Occasionally a very liberal candidate whose true sentiments are buried sufficiently deep inside and has no "nigger-loving" items on his record wins election. But in a hotly contested electoral campaign the faintest public deviation from the segregationist line is seized upon by a "niggering" opponent with generally disastrous results.

The recent contest for mayor of Birmingham was significant in this connection; the results, in all the circumstances, indicated a substantial moderate element in that city. W. L. Jones, Jr., of the law firm of Morgan and Jones, campaigned as a "progressive." There was notably little reference to race in the first primary (May 5) campaign. King led in a field of seven.

However, Art Hanes, runner-up and the favorite of "Full" Council, the Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan, quickly brought out a campaign by precincts which showed that King had received the bulk of the Negro vote. To this it was added the fact that King had lived for some years in Washington, D.C., "conspired of integration," and that his law partner (Morgan) had defended the director of the "notorious" Council on Human Relations. I have a collection of the handbills and newspaper ads playing this time. Some of them were sponsored by a so-called "Committee to Keep Birmingham White." The campaign for the run-off (May 20) was dominated by the race question. Nevertheless, King lost by less than 4,000 votes. The vote was 21,133 to 17,305.

It may be of extra significance that King was supported by the Birmingham Boys and had the apparent support also of the Tennessee Coal & Iron Co.

(The riot occurred in the midst of this campaign, and the connivance of "Full" Council is believed by some King supporters to have been calculated to stimulate racist support of Hanes.)

The attitude of the noisier, and the dominant element, reflected in the press and in public statement, is one of defiant racism — and one of hostility toward the federal government. One gets the disquieting feeling that the Government of the United States is regarded as the enemy!

Is sentiment any better since the May riots? No. The Ku Klux Klan and the political extremists are still

uninhibited. Patterson and Connor are actually trying to make capital out of their shameful performance. The segregationist press is aiding them in trying to ridicule Attorney General Tamm. On June 26, Connor delivered an address to a state convention of law enforcement officers, which was not conducive to law enforcement. He referred to "white women of immature age traveling around...with a bunch of Negro men...expenses paid by the NAACP, CORE, Communists and other people who have never been in the South." Etc. Etc. If the President sends Marshall to Birmingham, he said, "I am informing him and then now that they are going to have to stay behind the police and police dogs..."

The danger of violence remains. Some mentioned the possibility of the likely next scene of disorder -- in view of the possibility of application by a Negro to attend the University of Alabama and the unrestrained activity of the Ku Klux Klan among the student body and the populace of that city.

On the other hand, moderates are asserting themselves in Alabama as never before. In Birmingham friends reported a great number of young business men protesting the older leadership on this question. Some of them declared that, if the men under 40 could get control, the city would accept orderly "segregation." The chamber of commerce is talking about setting up a bi-racial committee.

Whether the faint moderate upsurge in Alabama will continue or peter out depends on many factors, including the tone and outcome of an incipient gubernatorial campaign.

Miscellaneous Contacts

My most frequent companions in Birmingham were three young liberal politicians, who were eagerly available for help of any kind. They were Charles "Chuck" Morgan, Charlie Rice and Jay Vann, attorneys in different law firms.

I spent most time with Morgan, my friend of two earlier visits. In addition to his strictly political activities, Morgan is president of the Alabama Heart Fund and chairman of the legislative committee of the Alabama Association for Mental Health. Having taken a dynamic part in the recent mayoralty contest, I heard a great deal about that from him.

One much-discussed incident of the campaign: King paid a courtesy visit, by appointment, to "bull" Connor. Shortly after he emerged, he was accosted by a strange Negro man. The latter extended his hand and King shook it. A camera flashed. King men were ingeniously successful in obtaining the negative first and reproduced it in a page ad the next day, exposing the Connor trick. (Many believed, nevertheless, that this handling of the incident had damaged King.)

Morgan, and others, mentioned the following names of persons particularly influential in the Birmingham power structure: Cooper Brown, former mayor, Alabama Power Co. (moderate leaning); James Simpson, Exchange Security Bank (Connor spokesman, ran against Lister Hill for Senate); W. H. Parker, executive director, Alabama Mining Institute; Frank Dickson, Alabama Associated Industries (former governor); Roper Dial, manager, Sears; and Thomas W. Martin, board chairman, Alabama Power Co. William P. Engel, of Engel Realty Co. (1921 1st. Ave. N.), former chairman of commerce president, was indicated as a moderate whom I should see; I was unable to make connection with him.

Incidentally, my liberal friends spoke favorably of Wacon Warner, recently nominated United States attorney.

(Recalling the desire of the WPA-CIO to find a capable man to try to liberalize Southern localities, reiterated to me by Christopher, I broached this matter with "Chuck" - Morgan, and phoned, recommending him.)

I had a long talk also with Con Finn, Morgan's law partner and the defeated candidate for mayor. Finn called himself a segregationist, but added that he realized the necessity for adjustment to the law of the land and he realized also the gravity of the Alabama situation from the standpoint both of the state's economy and of America's world position. He had campaigned above all as a "progressive" which many (correctly) took to include a desire to see the desegregation hurdle cleared.

I met Art Baker, the winning candidate at the club and we talked only briefly, and briefly, about the attractions of Birmingham and of Virginia.)

I traced Charlie Rice from a letter in my file in which he requested permission to reprint a column of mine in the Washington Post in 1957. Rice was then in the state legislature. But now, he is planning to run again next year for one of Jefferson County's seven seats. I was very much attracted to this quiet, conscientious and courageous young man. We talked a great deal about the race problem and plans for his coming campaign; he was very anxious to have practical advice. In a countywide election of seven representatives, Rice would seem to have a chance.

I met Senator Sparkman accidentally in a Huntsville restaurant on a Sunday evening and made an appointment with him for Monday morning. My conversation with the Senator was not very satisfactory, but the incident was fortunate in one respect. Milton Cummings (a backer of Senator Sparkman) was with him when I arrived, and an introduction by the Senator was helpful in my later meeting with this industrialist.

Senator Sparkman gave the appearance of being sympathetic and anxious to help, but revealed no deep convictions on the race issue and no feeling of outrage over the May riots. He remarked that "social change can't be forced." I suspected that he is similarly congenial with his segregationist supporters. The Senator doubted there would be another breakdown of law enforcement.

Mayor E. F. Martin, of Florence, has no office in the fine City Hall but deals with municipal affairs in his shabby office as Southern Railway ticket agent. Apparently a shrewd politician, and no liberal, he views the race problem primarily as a matter of keeping the Negroes quiet. Florence Negroes, he said, were happy with their excellent schools and he knew of no "agitators" among them -- unless possibly, one ex-army sergeant. However, he seemed to agree that public order should be preserved in all circumstances.

Howell T. Heflin, president of the Alabama Committee for Better Schools and board of education chairman at Tusculum, was mentioned by three or four others as a wholesome influence.

Hardly a liberal on the race question, Heflin had a curious theory about school desegregation. It was in part, no doubt, a gimmick to make the idea more acceptable to others. He said: "Integration won't last. The Negroes will want to return to their own schools after the novelty has worn off!" Of course, I challenged this, but pointed out that we would not see the rush of Negro children to white schools which many fear. He seemed nearer to agreement on this point when I left.

In other respects, Heflin, a big, lumbering man, seemed properly concerned over the situation in Alabama, disgusted with Patterson, Connor et al., and alarmed over the breakdown in law enforcement.

Of former Governor Folsom he said: "It may be better to be drunk on bourbon than drunk on defiance."

He showed me two letters from former presidents of the Alabama Committee for Better Schools, urging that the Committee formulate plans for a campaign against school-closing to escape integration should such action be more imminently threatened. The writers (who seemed more liberal than Heflin) were: John V. McConnell, Jr., atty., Mobile, and C. B. Gilmore, atty., Grove Hill.

Editors and the Press

A major impediment in Alabama is the press, which exercises on the whole a more harmful influence, perhaps,

than the press of any other Southern state. This is particularly true of the two papers in Birmingham. After a golden hour of editorial responsibility following the riots, these two papers dropped back into their old attitude of encouragement to racism and defiance.

The forthright endorsement by the News of the moderate candidate for mayor (without reference to the race issue) was a faintly encouraging sign. I am told that this editorial adventure was decided upon by a 3-to-2 vote of its editorial board.

The three consistently moderate voices in the Alabama press appear to be Neil Davis, editor of the Lee County Bulletin at Auburn; Louis Eeki, executive editor of the Florence Times and Sheffield Tri-Cities Daily; and Buford Boone, now publisher of the Tuscaloosa News. (I heard favorable reports also of the Selma Journal.) Boone was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for his editorials during the Autherine Lucy crisis. If the editorials of these three are merely "moderate," the men themselves are actually liberals on the race issue. The Lee County Bulletin is a weekly, but Davis is an able writer and a man of outstanding courage. I visited him last November. On this trip I talked with Eeki and Boone, who edit daily papers of substantial circulation.

Louis Eeki, after a few brief exchanges, became avidly interested and wished me to give him as much time as possible. He talked in his office and then lunched together. He wanted information about Virginia, Georgia and elsewhere and was much interested in the matter of foreign comment on the Alabama riots. He talked about many of his experiences and discussed at length the problem of a safe and effective editorial approach to the race issue.

A Presbyterian convention was in progress in Florence at the time. Presbyterian leaders had inquired as to the advisability of holding integrated meetings -- as had leaders of an earlier Episcopal convention. In both cases Eeki replied: "By all means!" and promised the cooperation of his newspapers. A handful of Negro ministers attended each convention and there was no trouble.

I gathered that the atmosphere in Florence is excellent compared with most of Alabama. The city library is integrated -- and also the buses, although Negroes rarely mingle with whites on them. Eeki mentioned a number of moderate and concerned individuals among community leaders. He said that more Negroes vote in Lauderdale County than whites in proportion to the population.

Discussing the gubernatorial outlook, Eeki said he had never supported Folsom because of "Big Jim's" personal behavior and the smell of corruption about him. The gang

*Also the Baldwin Times, Decatur Daily and Monroe Journal.

around Folson seemed to be "taking whatever they wanted." Nevertheless, Folson might be the best man on race who could get elected. Much interested in Folson's statement to me that he would campaign for law and order.

The question of Folson remained on Ekl's mind. When we said "Goodbye" in the afternoon, he turned back to say: "If Folson talks about law and order he may get some surprising support."

Burford Boone was analytical, well-informed and depressingly pessimistic.

Among the gubernatorial possibilities, he thought Callien and Englehardt the most dangerous, with Wallace and Brutwell only a little better. It would be wonderful if de Graffenreid (his Tuscaloosa fellow-townman) could be elected, but he doubted if the latter would run. Boone was "afraid" it might be Folson. He described Folson as a big man who loves everybody and has a sort of animal attraction. Folson might be the best prospect if he had the right people around him.

As for Patterson's future, Boone said the Governor had bought a fine house in Montgomery and he imagined he planned to run for governor again four years hence.

Boone did not think it would do much good to approach the financial leaders in Birmingham. They couldn't help much if they wanted to. The political demagogues were not that subservient to the financial hierarchy, and they had found "too good a thing" in stirring up race prejudice.

He agreed with others that Tuscaloosa was simmering for another explosion when the next Negro should try to enter the University of Alabama.

He knew that they were having some trouble getting and holding faculty members at the University -- not only because of school and community uncertainty, but because of the stifling intellectual atmosphere.

Did Boone see any hope for the Alabama problem? Not for a long time to come. For his own part, he would just keep running his newspaper and "trying to do the right thing day by day."

Economic Power Structure

I talked with the individuals of prestige in business and financial circles: Hilton Cummings, president of the Brown Engineering Co., of Huntsville, and Douglas Arant, corporation lawyer, in Birmingham.

Cummings, who seemed anxious to express his views, spoke slowly in carefully measured sentences. Some of his terse remarks are given substantially below:

Anyone who discusses the problem is a nigger-lover. That's the crux of the problem.

Preachers talk about gambling, temperance and juvenile delinquency and Sabbath observance -- and by-pass our greatest problem. He had a friend in Birmingham who left his church because his pastor preached segregation and labeled social change sinful! (I have a copy of a sermon by another Birmingham clergyman on this theme, entitled, "Do Not Force the Hand of God.")

You read about Patterson and Barnett reviewing a division of the National Guard the other day -- flags, etc. -- "patriots." Few people are doing more than these two to jeopardize the security of the United States. (He was interested in foreign comment on the Alabama Riots.)

The greatest trouble in Birmingham now is in the economic power structure. Some of the "corporation boys" like race tension. It helps them fight the unions; anti-integration employees are likely to be anti-Rather and anti-AFL-CIO.

The sub-conscious fear of Negro competition has old roots in Alabama. The first large influx of Negroes into Birmingham came during the labor shortage of World War I.

Did not think the violence "lesson had been learned" in Alabama. The danger was still there. He foresaw trouble in Tuscaloosa.

Patterson is a pathological case. He saw no hope of Patterson's changing.

Wholesale school integration is not necessary -- probably never will be. A handful of Negro children admitted to white schools next year and gradual desegregation over a period of ten years. -- It wouldn't be a very difficult matter, with real law enforcement.

Vigorous law enforcement -- with stiff penalties for violators -- is the thing most urgently needed. The authorities are too often allied with the Ku Klux Klan and other law-breakers.

The riots last month did more damage to Alabama's economy than many realize. They had affected his personnel recruitment. Some top level specialists engaged by his company to report June 1 had decided since the riots that they could not come to Alabama. I asked if there were a substantial number of these. He said, "six."

Douglas Arant, of the important law firm of White, Bradley, Arant, Hill and Rose, is a former president of the Alabama Bar Association and is prominent in the National Bar Association. He is well acquainted with the financial leaders in Birmingham and acquainted also with some of their New York associates. An alumnus of the University of Virginia, we had a number of friends in common. He revealed himself more and more a liberal as we talked.

I asked what he saw ahead for Alabama. Was there any possibility of any change in the attitude of Gov. Patterson?

He had given much thought to that. There was a faint chance that Patterson might try to accommodate in the hope of getting a job in the Kennedy Administration. The only basis for this was the lack of political future for him in Alabama. Under Alabama law Patterson could not run for reelection as Governor and he could not run (within a year) for the Senate. The only political chance he saw for Patterson lay in the possibility of a failure of the present efforts for Congressional redistricting. If it should become necessary to elect eight Congressmen at large, Patterson would have a good chance to win a seat in Congress.

It was likely that Alabama would have to wait (1 1/2 years) for a change of administration before a more constructive policy could be expected. What were the chances of electing a moderate governor?

The situation now was very fluid. Arant mentioned favorably Ryan do Graffenreid (Mascaloosa, State Senator) but the latter was in doubt about running. State Senator Bert Walton, of Florence was a good man; he understood Walton was going to run for lieutenant-governor.

The central figure in the gubernatorial picture was Jim Folsom -- a man of little moral or physical stamina, smelling of corruption and alcohol, and yet a good man on the race issue. There were disturbing stories about Folsom's health and how long he might live. Yet the next governor might well be Folsom.

I found no one more earnestly concerned than Arant, and none more anxious than he that something should be done to arouse the Birmingham economic power structure. He thought the big industrialists and financiers could change the situation if they would, but they were inclined to ignore or evade the issue.

If the national Administration wanted to help, it could talk to half a dozen people outside of Alabama with possibly far-reaching results. I told him that I had had thoughts along the same line, and asked him to give me a few names -- beside Roger Blough (president of U. S. Steel).

"Well," he said, "there is, of course, Roger Blough. Another is Newhouse, in Newark, N.J." (C. I. Newhouse is owner of the Birmingham News and local Television Channel 13). He emphasized the damage being done by the two Birmingham newspapers. "Somebody ought to get at Scripps-Howard too (Birmingham Post-Herald). They used to be crusaders."

Then he said New York bankers had a great deal of influence with Birmingham bankers and industrialists, and they might be the hardest to approach. He named three (whom he appeared to know personally):

Harold Hale, Chemical National New York Trust

George Champion, Chase Manhattan

Henry C. Alexander, Morgan Guaranty Trust

I saw Grant Saturday morning. He called me that evening at 9:30 p.m. to ask when I would be back in Birmingham and to press further the suggestion that the Administration should contact Blough, etc. and the New York bankers. If the bankers would point out emphatically to their Birmingham associates "that the anti-Negro business is threatening the economic stability and progress of Alabama, things would change." They might do this as a patriotic service.

(It occurred to me later that Secretary of the Treasury Dillon might have a convenient opportunity to talk to New York financiers about the gravity of the Deep South situation from a national and an international point of view.)

Candidates for Governor

The possible candidates for Governor to succeed Patterson in January, 1964, (subject to the Democratic primary next May), are discussed below with particular reference to their attitudes toward the race problem.

Attorney General McDonald Gillon, definitely in the race, is considered the most reckless extremist on the list. Cultivating the support of the Citizens Council and probably of the Ku Klux Klan. At odds now with Governor Patterson.

Sam Englehardt, state highway commissioner and author of the bill toERRYMANDER Mason County, apparently seeking similar support, is considered almost as dangerous. Englehardt maintains a pose of not being a candidate, but is expected to run, nevertheless, probably with Patterson's support.

Judge George Wallace, a former circuit court judge, Patterson's opponent in the 1958 run-off, (the vote: Patterson, 106,852; Wallace, 162,435). Wallace once threatened

to jail FBI or Civil Rights Commission investigators who might inquire into voting or the jury system in his judicial circuit, but he later yielded on this point.

Lt. Gov. Albert Bantwell, generally considered a candidate, close to the three above-mentioned in his attitude toward the race problem, is, nevertheless, a soft-spoken, even-tempered man.

The above four appear to be the major candidates among the extremist group. Another, Gen. Walter J. Hanna, commanding the 31st. National Guard division, is conspicuously letting it be known that he is available, but his chances are considered slight. Birmingham's police commissioner, "Bull" Connor, is occasionally mentioned in this connection, but he has little statewide following and is not considered likely to sacrifice his job in Birmingham for this uncertainty.

There are also three possible candidates believed to have moderate, or even liberal, leanings on the race question. They are State Senator Ivan de Graffenreid, former Rep. George Hawkins and former Gov. James E. Polson. I visited these and shall discuss them more fully.

I talked with de Graffenreid only a few minutes. A conference which we had planned for the afternoon was prevented by the prolongation of a case which he was arguing in court and we talked for only a few minutes in the court-house corridor. A handsome, attractive, very serious gentleman, he was cordial and apologetic for the mishap. His brief comment was to the effect that Alabama might have to learn the hard way.

De Graffenreid is of a distinguished family, and his personal integrity and high-minded attitude generally give more comfort to liberals than anything he has actually said on the subject of race. Moderate elements in Birmingham express a high opinion of him. Duford Boone, the liberal editor of the Tuscaloosa News, is an enthusiastic admirer. De Graffenreid has had considerable publicity recently as a leader in the fight for legislative reapportionment.

He encourages talk about his running for Governor, but some of his friends insist that he is planning only to run four years hence.

George Hawkins was Polson's floor leader in the House of Representatives who ran a pathetic race for governor in

1952. The most liberal of the major contenders (although calling himself a segregationist), he ran sixth among 44 candidates in the first primary, with some 25,000 votes. Hawkins was active in efforts to restore sanity in Tuscaloosa at the time of the Katherine Key riots. I found him barely mentioned among gubernatorial possibilities this time, but I learned in conversation with him that he is very definitely planning to run.

My good friend, "Chuck" Morgan, who Hawkins's campaign manager. Morgan having prepared him for my visit, he was quite eager when I called at his office in Gadsden, to discuss his plans and seek information and advice.

Though for various reasons, many people doubt that former Gov. Folsom can be elected again, "Big Jim" appears to be the central figure in most gubernatorial speculation. Hawkins seemed more confident than any with whom I talked that Folsom could not possibly be elected again. He had lost his marie. Hawkins had felt out sentiment in several former Folsom strongholds and was convinced they would not go for him again. In one county where Folsom formerly got about 60 percent of the vote, he said, Folsom would not get more than one third of the vote today.

Hawkins was deeply concerned with the Alabama problem, not only from a local, but from a national and an international point of view. I talked about the reaction to the Alabama riots abroad and the collection of transcripts of foreign comment that I had set from the FBI. Whether or not he could use it in his public campaign, he wanted me to send him the fullest information on this subject. He was interested in the Virginia story and seemed particularly glad to get a copy of my book, which I gave him.

We talked at length about the problem of how the race problem could be handled in his campaign. I made my usual suggestions: law and order, and the inevitability of desegregation. He felt that he would have to steer clear of the latter, but he could fight for law and order, and he intended to do so. He agreed with me that a platform of law and order should be as unimpeachable as southern womanhood; that a bold campaign for this, even if he should lose, (which will probably be the case) would be a service to Alabama and a record upon which he could always look back upon with pride.

Should he fight the Ku Klux Klan? It had always been against him anyway. It was weak in Gadsden, but strong in neighboring Anniston.

I thought he should fight the Klan openly, with all his might and with no holds barred.

The stories about "Big Jim" Folsom are numerous and colorful. By all accounts he is the candidate most likely to divert attention from the question of race -- which is

surely what the doctor would order for Alabama. He is an example, rare in the Deep South now, of a politician who can hold the support of masses of ignorant whites without appealing to race prejudice.

But he has other characteristics which fill even liberal Alabamans with anxiety or disgust. He is believed by many to be corrupt, though he is not wealthy and some say rather that he is more careless and inept than others in financial matters. His addiction to alcohol is considered a more serious matter. During his second term, the question, "How drunk is the Governor today?" was acutely related to the public welfare. He is said to have deteriorated since.

Many are disturbed over the caliber of Folson's "drinking pals" and others who are likely to surround him. The fifteen apparently small-bore politicians whom I saw in his ante-room at Gullen were not inspiring to look upon. (Morgan mentioned among Folson cronies Louis Freeman, Frank Long and Joe Booth). Ruford Boone, for one, suggested that it would be a public service for some more respectable politicians to attach themselves to Folson and raise the level of his entourage.

No one with whom I talked is happy at the prospect, but most thought Folson might win, and also that he is the "least bad" candidate who could.

Stories of Folson's alcoholism are clearly stimulated now by supporters of other candidates for governor, and they are, of course, exaggerated. A mayor, supporting Wallace, said Folson might not live through the campaign, that he would "pass out" during rallies and have to be taken home. Some say that Folson rises and begins to drink at 5 a.m. However, when I visited him from noon until 1 p.m. I found him entirely lucid, with no smell of alcohol, and he was punctilious enough to write me a letter a few days later, expressing appreciation for my visit.

My conversation with Folson was interrupted by several telephone calls. One caller evidently asked: "How are you?" The reply was:

"Well, I've got cancer, heart disease, tuberculosis and pneumonia and I'm expecting to bust out day after tomorrow with syphilis!"

Governor Folson knew our organization. He asked about George Mitchell (a former executive director, with whom he had apparently had some contact while governor.)

On the inevitability of desegregation, Folson said: "Of course, it's inevitable. We can't beat the federal government. Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson couldn't."

On the recent riots: "I would have avoided all this. I had a plan to solve the bus problem which would have prevented the boycott and all the rest. I proposed that white

he seated from the front and colored from the back, with the line drawn according to the load. The Negroes agreed to it, but I couldn't sell it to the Montgomery crowd. That would have settled the whole thing -- and Martin Luther King never would have gotten famous!"

Folsom is conscious of the bearing of race discrimination on our world position, though it is not a major concern with him. I said, "The Alabama problem is a national problem," he added -- and an international problem." He seemed interested in foreign comment on the Alabama riots, and I left him with excerpts from transcripts which I had got from the USIA.

Folsom said, without suggestion from me, that he will appoint a bi-racial committee on race relations "when" he gets in.

he said he would campaign for law and order and added: "The property-owners will like that."

Would he fight the Ku Klux Klan?

"Sure I'll fight the Kluckers. They've never voted for me. I unmasked those C.C.B.'s. Six states copied our law."

Folsom said he would put in a lick for law and order when he spoke at a Masonic celebration at Florida the following Saturday.

(Florida is way down on the Florida border. Birmingham papers Sunday in their brief account of Folsom's speech, quoted him as saying: "I stand for law and order.")

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Manassas, Virginia

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January 11, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM -- Dangerous Situation in Birmingham

General Observations

Closing the city parks, playgrounds, golf courses, etc., January 1, following a federal court order for the desegregation of these facilities January 15, brought the interracial struggle in Birmingham close to a dangerous collision.

The grave immediacy of the problem has produced certain encouraging developments. The economic power structure and, in fact, the business community as a whole, spearheaded by the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce itself, and supported by both daily newspapers, has become extraordinarily aroused and is exerting increasing pressure upon the city commission. An overwhelming majority of the most prominent citizens have identified themselves with the movement by signing statements or petitions. Some fourteen civic organizations, ranging from chambers of commerce to the Ministerial Association, have gone on record in favor of open parks.

Community leaders, meeting informally under the auspices of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, drew up a petition last week, urging a reopening of the parks under a proffered 60-day stay of the desegregation order and the appointment of a committee to study "our awesome problems." Twelve hundred citizens signed the petition before it was presented to the city commission Tuesday morning, January 9. It was angrily rejected. The document with the 1200 names was published afterward as a page ad in each of the daily newspapers.

The few community leaders who had long urged a constructive approach to the race problem, like Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham Southern College, and who had been shunned by many on this account, are suddenly finding themselves in congenial company. Dr. Stanford is now looked to for advice and leadership.

The weakness of the present moderate upsurge lies in the fact that most of its leaders live outside of the Birmingham city limits. When a delegation visits the city commission, Mayor Hanes or Bull Connor likes to ask: "How many of you live in Birmingham?" The impressive army of present "moderates" represents, nevertheless, formidable economic power.

The city commission, deriving its political strength from the Connor machine, the Citizens Council, the Ku Klux Klan and the Birmingham electorate (60 per cent of which now would probably support closed parks), has thus far shown not the slightest sign of relenting in its adamant stand. It is widely believed that Bull Connor would welcome a spectacular interracial outbreak to further his gubernatorial ambitions. The city commission's recalcitrance was carried to a gratuitous extreme in its refusal to reopen the parks during a 60-day stay of execution of the desegregation order, which was offered by the federal district judge on that condition.

The danger to public order lies in this intransigence on the part of the city commission in the face of a rising impatience on the part of the Negro community, which it may be impossible to keep within non-violent bounds. Most of the white community leaders, aroused though they now are, still fail to grasp the full gravity of the situation. They are alarmed over the threatened business set-back and the hardship to citizens involved in the closing of parks and other facilities; but few of them speak of the crisis in terms of bloodshed.

Negro leaders and whites in touch with the Negro community do talk about a possible "blood bath."

Negroes are meeting daily in small huddles and frequently in larger meetings. They are said to be "more united than ever before," but there is an undercurrent of dissent from moderate policies. Some oppose any kind of negotiation now with the white community and look upon those who confer with whites with suspicion.

Negro leaders still preach non-violence, but they report privately that some of the young men, especially some of the Negro veterans, are saying that they "will not be pushed around any more." If police should start any of their habitual brutality with some of these, the consequences might be frightening to contemplate. There are rumors that "the Negroes are arming." I found no confirmation of any abnormal arming, but the knives which many Negroes usually carry, and a gun here and there, would be more than enough to start a conflagration.

The most coherent Negro group is the students of Miles College. They are also in close touch with other Negro elements. Miles College students (with some adult help) have drafted a statement of Negro desiderata on a broad civil rights front. The statement is written with dignity and restraint, but declares, nevertheless: "We do not intend to wait complacently for those

rights --" and "we cannot tolerate--". The statement was adopted unanimously in a meeting December 29, attended by about 700 of the college's 900 students. This was published in large part, but inconspicuously, in the Birmingham News of January 3.

Some kind of boycott move is being discussed among Negro leaders. More definitely, a spectacular Negro demonstration is being planned for the near future, possibly before the end of January.

The Moderate Upsurge

Here it not for the extraordinary political situation and the personality dominating the city commission, the sudden awakening of moderate civic leadership in Birmingham would augur well for a surmounting of the present crisis and the beginning of a new era in race relations in that city. In no Southern city have we seen such a general mobilization of community leadership on the moderate side of a segregation issue as has occurred during the past two months in Birmingham.

The few formerly lonely people who were stigmatized as liberals before say "we can move freely now." They find themselves suddenly on the side with the majority of prominent people. Even the Human Relations Council executive director, Norman Emerson, has found such business leaders as Sterne, Monaghan, Head and Bryan glad to talk with him -- each for an hour or two. (Art Wiebel had indicated a willingness to see him, although he had not yet fixed an appointment.)

The following groups have taken an unequivocal stand against park-closing: Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, Committee of 100, Young Men's Business Club, Birmingham Downtown Improvement Association, Birmingham Junior Chamber of Commerce, North Birmingham Junior Chamber of Commerce, East Lake Chamber of Commerce, Birmingham Ministerial Association, Birmingham District Methodist Ministerial Association, League of Women Voters, Birmingham Section of National Council of Jewish Women, Catholic Men's Club, the Jefferson County Mental Health Association and the Peoples Park Committee.

There is almost no articulate dissent among the above organizations. The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce has become a center of operations in the open-park movement; its officers are in the forefront and its premises are used for meetings.

The Birmingham Bar Association failed by three votes to identify itself with the movement, but many of those who voted No were already committed in other organizations. The argument was that the issue was not a suitable one for a bar association pronouncement.

The two daily newspapers appear to be executing a painful change, after seven years of inflammatory racism and defiance, to a constructive approach in the present crisis and by implication to the broader civil rights problem. Their editors and reporters are cooperating loyally with the leaders of the open-parks movement.

At the December meeting of the bi-racial Council on Human Relations a reporter and a camera man from the Birmingham News appeared. The latter was stopped when about to take a picture, and the two were persuaded to step outside. Attorney Charles Morgan was called and he phoned Managing Editor John W. Bloomer who reprimanded his two men and ordered them away from the meeting. When Emerson called upon Bloomer the next morning, the latter said: "We don't want to embarrass you. You may have a helpful role to play in this thing."

Business leaders expressed themselves earlier in a statement by the Committee of 100 and a newspaper advertisement, published November 12, and signed by 189 leading citizens, calling for "some hard thinking now on just how we can meet the necessities of court decisions and agency orders within the framework of law observance." Key individuals are discussed later in this report, but it may be noted here that the list of 189 included Catholic Archbishop T. J. Toolen, Episcopal Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter and Arthur V. Weibel, president of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co.

Several meetings have been held during the past ten days, promoted among others, by the same group of Monaghan, Sterne, Heid, Stanford, etc., with the chamber of commerce's President Sayer and General Manager Bryan taking an increasingly active part. One meeting was attended by 23 Negro leaders.

It was decided to draw up a statement or petition, for presentation to the city commission and for publication as a page ad in each daily newspaper -- after securing 1,000 signatures. The statement was drafted by Sterne, Monaghan and Dr. Ed Kimbrough, a Methodist minister, president-elect of the Birmingham Ministerial Association. It was approved at a meeting of 37 leaders held Wednesday afternoon, January 3. Dr. Bryan, the chamber of commerce manager, described the meeting to me the next morning. He was impressed by the vigorous talks made at the meeting, among others by Catholic Bishop Durick, who had issued a pastoral letter urging Catholics to press for open parks, and by Rev. Lamar Jackson, a prominent Baptist minister. The statement, he noted, had been drafted by a Catholic, a Protestant and a Jew. Elected as "temporary chairman" of the group was Rev. David Wright, rector of St. Mary in the Highlands Episcopal Church.

The petition, a copy of which is enclosed, was entitled, "A Plea for Courage and Common Sense." It urged the city commission to reopen the parks temporarily under an informally

proffered 60-day stay of the desegregation order and to set up a committee "to assist in solving our awesome problems." Though not so stated, it was hopefully contemplated that the committee would be bi-racial in composition.

Twelve hundred signatures to the petition were obtained. (A special effort was made among persons residing within the city limits and these made up more than half of the 1200.) The document was presented to the city commission Tuesday morning, January 9, by Messrs. Monaghan and Head, Dr. Stanford, and Rev. David C. Wright. It was vehemently rejected and a disagreeable and fruitless conversation took place for about one hour. Connor and Hanes were "bombastic and abusive," Dr. Stanford said. "I never had such an experience in my life."

The statement was published as a page ad in each of the papers Wednesday.

The City Commission

The city commission remains almost incredibly intransigent, denouncing those who object to the park-closing as "integrationists" and indulging in frequent comment tending to inflame extreme segregationists and exacerbate the Negro tension.

Golf course holes were filled and parks, playgrounds, etc. were closed and posted over the New Year week-end. In consultations, in which Dr. Henry King Stanford was the chief intermediary, Federal District Judge H. M. Groomes offered a 60-day stay of the park desegregation order (effective January 15) provided the parks would be kept opened. This was refused. (Hanes temporized but Connor was adamant.) They remarked that park employees have already been dismissed.

Members of the commission are: Mayor Art Hanes (newly elected), Eugene ("Bull") Connor and J. T. Waggoner. Waggoner, who was elected by a close vote, goes along silently and is believed to be slightly more moderate than the other two.

In talks with people who know the commissioners and visit them from time to time I got some sidelights on the internal and external politics involved in their attitudes. By all accounts Art Hanes, the new mayor, is proving a very weak individual and he appears to have allied himself abjectly with Bull Connor. Both Connor and Waggoner are "running over" Hanes, who has lost an important part of his domain; parks are under Hanes' jurisdiction as a commission member and he had pointed with pride to Birmingham's parks during his campaign. Now the other two commissioners have grabbed park funds (about \$800,000 net) for their own projects and have plans for using the money. This consideration, together with the fact that all but 43 of the 300 park employees have been dismissed, is a factor in the reluctance of the commission to desist from the rash course upon which it has embarked.

The commission is supported by a strong Citizens Council and by the Ku Klux Klan. Notorious Klansmen are frequently seen at the commission offices.

"Bull" Connor, who dominates the commission (and is Democratic national committeeman from Alabama) is a candidate for governor, and has been making speeches about once a week in the Black Belt. He still is not regarded as a front runner from a statewide point of view, but some spectacular performance in an interracial crisis might change this picture. At least Connor is believed to feel this, and it is said by many that he actually hopes to see sensational interracial turmoil develop. On the other hand, any form of orderly desegregation in Birmingham before the June primary would kill Connor's gubernatorial hopes.

Immediately after the conference with the petition delegation Tuesday, Mayor Hanes spoke to the Kiwanis Club. With waggishly malicious intent the program committee, without consulting the mayor had announced his subject as "Statesmanship or Political Expediency." Hanes made a routinely harmless talk, but concluded with fantastic references to "Washington interference in our daily lives," predicting that the nation would soon be divided into ten districts under Washington-appointed autocrats.

Hanes has broken with his predecessor as mayor, James Morgan, who helped in his election, on the park issue. Morgan, now a member of the park commission, is urging reopening.

Connor and Hanes are showing increasing hostility toward the pro-open parks community leaders, who get an angry and insulting reception on their visits to them.

The Negro Community

Individual Negro leaders outstanding in the present crisis are: A. G. Gaston on the extreme conservative right; Dr. Lucious H. Pitts in the deeply concerned middle; and three representing the more militant wing, Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Rev. J. L. Ware and Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World.

Additionally, the students of Miles College, counseled by Dr. Pitts and others, are an extremely potent factor. A copy of their manifesto, mentioned above, and entitled, "This we believe," is enclosed herewith. The names of eight individual student leaders appear as signatories of this document, together with the student organizations which they represent.

Gaston is the Negro millionaire ("several times over") who is, perhaps, closer to the white power structure than to other Negro leadership. In the present crisis he has concerned himself actively with the Negro movement, attending Negro meetings and conferring frequently with white leaders. A considerable element of the Negro community has forgiven him his former aloofness, but many others still look upon him with resentment and suspicion. Gaston's close ties with whites arouse constant fears that he is "selling his people out."

Dr. Pitts, who came to Birmingham last June to head Miles College is a very wise, able and tactful gentleman -- an opinion which Dr. Stanford, Dr. Bryan and many other white friends share. He was formerly vice-president of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. He is also highly respected by the Negro community as a whole. He urges calm and avoidance of violence, but earnestly and skillfully supports the Negro aims.

Shuttlesworth is well known. He is slightly less rampant in the present situation than might have been feared, is said to have been agreeable earlier to a postponement of desegregation for 60 days if parks had remained open. His position, like that of other Negroes has hardened since. Shuttlesworth is still president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and spends much time in Birmingham in spite of his transfer to Chic. (The original understanding was that he would spend several days of each week in Birmingham, but his supporters are unable to finance this commuting on a permanent basis.)

Rev. J. L. Ware is militant, though less spectacular than Shuttlesworth. He is president of the Inter Citizens Committee, which issued a statement at the same time approving the court's park desegregation ruling and congratulating Shuttlesworth and his organization "for the courageous fight they have been waging against the evils of segregation."

Shuttlesworth and Ware are the heroes of the Birmingham World and Gaston is referred to sneeringly in that paper. Its editor, Emory O. Jackson appears to have doubts about Pitts. Jimerson in a conversation with Jackson last week found him disagreeable and suspicious of any form of negotiation with white leaders.

CORE now has an Alabama worker, an 20-year-old student, Henry Thomas, with headquarters in Birmingham. Thomas is somewhat on the margin of the Negro movement, whose leaders are anxious to avoid the appearance of being "agitated by outsiders." He has been invited to none of the meetings at Miles College, but he has visited among students on the campus.

The attitude of the Negroes is steadily hardening. They become less amenable to compromise, or even negotiation, every day. The park episode is only one of many grievances which they are now airing. The outrages of the May riots are not mentioned publicly but are probably uppermost in their hearts.

Negro feeling may have to find an outlet in action in some form. Dr. Fitts believes that a large scale Negro demonstration is in prospect, probably before the end of January. A march to City Hall would inevitably involve clashes with Klan and police. Another demarche, which he believes less dangerous, would be some form of boycott. Half a dozen Negro preachers might be arrested for preaching "selective buying," bringing the crisis to an effective climax, with excitement, but probably less danger of uncontrollable disorder.

Miscellaneous Notes

Groping Toward a Solution

There is some thinking in terms of concrete plans for surmounting the present crisis, though most leaders feel that it is idle to go far with specific plans until there is some sign of cooperation at City Hall. At the Chamber of Commerce I was told: "Oh yes, we've studied the Dallas plan and the Memphis plan and the Atlanta plan, but there's no use doing anything until we get a break-through in the city commission and the 60-day 'cooling-off' period."

(The Birmingham News is running a helpful series of articles on the experiences of other cities.)

David Vann, a young attorney in the firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, handed me a copy of his proposed plan for gradual park desegregation, which is enclosed herewith. The federal district court approved a gradual plan for Memphis last summer in I. A. Watson, Jr. vs. City of Memphis. It is believed that Judge Crookes would approve such a plan for Birmingham. Dr. Stanford says that Judge Crookes is anxious to help in any way possible.

It is unlikely, however, that the adoption of any gradual plan for park desegregation now would materially allay Negro militancy on the broad civil rights front.

The city commission has toyed with the idea of selling the park properties. Connor and Hanes have asked several business leaders: "Why don't you buy the parks?" Attorney Charles Morgan suggests court action to prevent such a move, but most business leaders see little danger on this score.

Some white liberals have suggested that Negroes begin a test of segregation at the city library, having some Negro lawyer quietly apply there for some federal publication.

Bus Terminal Restaurant Desegregation

Overshadowed by the larger controversy are the litigation, arrests etc. in the matter of bus terminal restaurant desegregation. Some Negroes have been served along with whites. Federal District Judge Seybourn H. Lynn on December 23 gave the city commission 10 days in which to repeal its segregation ordinance rather than have him invalidate it.

Ku Klux Klan

It is said that the Klan has no Birmingham klavern. Klansmen are very active in the city, nevertheless, and have well-known klaverns in the suburbs of Tarrant City, Lipscomb and Gardendale.

McGill to Speak

Liberal columnist Ralph McGill is scheduled to speak at the annual man-of-the-year of the Young Business Men's Club in February.

Attitude of Labor

The rank and file of organized labor seems to support the segregationist attitude of the city commission but the unions have taken no formal stand, with the exception of a resolutions committee of the carpenter's union supporting the city commission. Labor leaders Mitch and Bruce Thrasher are associated with business leaders in the open-parks movement.

Gubernatorial Race

Returns from a poll conducted by the conservative and segregationist magazine South, out January 8, showed former Governor James E. Folsom in a handsome lead in the gubernatorial race subject to the June Democratic primary. Folsom received 2,658 straw votes or 34 per cent of the total in a numerous field. The runner-up was George C. Wallace with 1,267, followed by Albert Boutwell with 1,164. Connor received 204. It was significant that Folsom also was named by many as second-choice.

It appears that Folsom can be beaten only by making the contest exclusively a test of extremism on the segregation issue, which his foes would like to do. I met Wallace in the Tutwiler Hotel lobby and spent a few minutes in a group surrounding him. The candidate knew nothing about me. He was saying, apparently with reference to park-closing: "We have to make sacrifices and do without things if we want to stand up for what we believe in." Then he launched upon a dissertation on the mistake of "appeasing niggers" -- both at home and abroad. Asked for his opinion of "Bobby Kennedy," his reply was too revoltingly obscene to be repeated.

Some Moderate White Leaders

Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham Southern College, long known as a liberal on the race question, is a tireless leader in the moderate movement and a key man in the present situation. Probably the most knowledgeable individual with respect to both white and Negro activities. In excellent contact, who would be glad to cooperate with the Department of Justice and the SRC. Phone: office, AL 1-8294; residence, AL 2-0094.

Dr. John E. Bryan, the retiring general manager (age 66) of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and a former superintendent of Birmingham schools, is a liberal in a broad sense, who is making the present moderate movement his principle business. He will remain as a "consultant" to the chamber. Accommodating and cooperative and glad to have some use for his increasing spare time. One of the best sources of information on the business community.

Barney A. Monaghan, president, Vulcan Materials Co. (a \$60 million corporation), a Rhodes scholar and a tactful liberal, was the leader in securing the 129 signatures to "Some Facts to Face" and has been conspicuous in all the activities of community leaders since. Although a Catholic, he was recently appointed to the board of trustees of the (Methodist) Birmingham Southern College (to Dr. Stanford's delight).

Kervyn Sterne, wealthy and respected investment banker is an outstanding leader of the moderate movement.

James A. Head, of James A. Head & Co., chairman of the Committee of 100, is in the forefront of the moderate movement.

Sidney W. Sawyer, president, Birmingham Realty Co., and president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, a segregationist who recognizes the inevitable, is working ardently for the moderate movement.

Charles ("Chuck") Morgan, lawyer and politician, "protector" of liberals and Negroes, is an irrepressible mixer in all circles, who in spite of his "radicalism" is on jovially conversational terms with Hanes, Connor, Wallace and most other politicians. Well-informed; few rumors escape him. Eagerly cooperative, he is a warm personal friend of the writer.

J. Thomas King, formerly a law partner of "Chuck" Morgan, was Hanes' moderate opponent in the race for mayor last year, leading in the first primary. King has remained aloof from the present controversy.

Douglas Arant, of the firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose, is a distinguished liberal lawyer, deeply concerned, and helpful behind the scenes.

Charles A. Lukacki, executive vice-president of the First National Bank, a long-time liberal, formerly associated with Dr. Stanford in efforts to establish interracial communication, is not aggressive in the present situation.

The elderly Catholic and Episcopal prelates, Archbishop Toolen and Bishop Carpenter respectively, who signed the "189" statement, have been unwilling otherwise to come to grips with the race problem. The second in command of each hierarchy, Catholic Bishop Joseph A. Durkin and Episcopal coadjutor Bishop George A. Murray, have been aggressively liberal.

Rev. John Rutland, pastor, Woodlawn Methodist Church, long one of the most outspoken members of the clergy, issued an appeal in his church bulletin for "brotherhood" in connection with the present controversy, which was reported in the press.

Arthur C. Weibel, president of the FBI, and Thomas W. Martin, president of the Alabama Power Co., signed the "189" statement and are counted on the side of the angels, but not in the front line. Weibel says: "I can't afford to get tangled up with the city commission."

Paul L. Hoffman, silent in the present situation, is president of the Ray Aircraft Co., formerly employed Art Hanes and backed him strongly in his campaign for mayor. The company's contractual relations with the Defense Department suggest a possible channel of communication with Mayor Hanes.

Norman C. Jimerson is the dedicated executive director of Alabama Council on Human Relations with office in Birmingham. (Telephone AL 2-2722)

I visited Birmingham January 1-4 and brought my information up to date in phone conversation January 10. I had visited Birmingham several times before. On this trip I conferred mainly with Sanford, Pitts, Bryan, Morgan, Vann and Jimerson, all mentioned above.

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Enclosures:

1. "A Plea for Courage and Common Sense"
2. "This We Believe"
3. David Vann proposal

(No. 1 is not enclosed with all copies.)

October 18, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Alabama

September 15-17 and October 2-3

I visited Gadsden and Cullman, Alabama, en route to Mississippi and Selma, Montgomery, Tuskegee and Auburn, Alabama, on my return.

George Hawkins, Gadsden, though unannounced, is now among the recognized candidates for governor and is the most consistently and respectably liberal one of them. A former Folsom lieutenant, he is now a critic of Big Jim. He received me very cordially.

Hawkins is considering giving up the governor race for two reasons (1) he is discouraged at the possibility of anybody winning without adopting a fiercely anti-integration line and (2) his fellow-townsmen, James Allen, is thinking of running for lieutenant-governor. If Hawkins does not run for governor, he will run for the state senate. He will announce his decision by November 1.

He still doubted Folsom would win, thought Lt. Gov. Albert Boutwell was now the front runner. He said that, though Folsom had been talking like a segregationist, he would still get the Negro vote. He said Boutwell, though a strong segregationist, is a generally sincere, able fellow—with a strong organization. There was some fear that Wallace men at the showdown would go over to Folsom.

Howell Talley and the Gadsden Times won some acclaim and a Freedom Award for his editorials on the Anniston-Birmingham riots. Talley, though "associate editor," writes all of that paper's editorials. He had been voted by the local chamber of commerce "Gadsden's Most Outstanding Man." Talley disapproved of the Supreme Court decision and rejected the Freedom Riders, but was otherwise liberal on the race question and glad to talk about the problem in Alabama and the South from a frankly liberal point of view. He is realistic, however, in his editorial approach and in his political calculations.

In the gubernatorial race, surprisingly, Talley was a Gallion man. (Attorney General McDonald Gallion is considered by many liberals to be the most dangerous of the major candidates.)

Scutwell, he said, is like Hawkins and de Graffenreid: "They're too good to win." Talley wanted my impressions of Folsom, wanted me to phone him if I should see Folsom in Cullman. (Folsom was out of town when I visited Cullman.)

E. H. Finney, Cullman: (Tuesday, September 19) Finney was administrative assistant to Folsom while governor and is now running the office while Big Jim campaigns. (He said "the Governor is generally on hand on Mondays.")

Finney, more serious and respectable than most Folsom hangers-on, volunteered the remark: "I'm liberal on the race question, but I can't say so. You know how it is." He agreed that integration of schools, etc., would probably come during the term of the next governor.

He reported a "wonderful" response by letter, phone call, etc. to Folsom's candidate-like activities. Would Folsom get the labor vote? He wasn't sure—"Labor is so infiltrated by the Ku Klux Klan."

On a reference to Hawkins, Finney said that George was once one of the governor's best friends, but that he had parted with Folsom when the latter failed to support his candidacy for Speaker of the House.

Finney said he had word of a "top-Folsom" movement among supporters of Scutwell, Gallion, Lallece and Hawkins. The plan was to induce Ryan de Graffenreid to run and unite behind him. (I heard from others that Englehardt is being considered for the "top-Folsom" candidate. The former is a moderate, the latter an extreme segregationist.)

(Further notes on these gubernatorial possibilities are contained in my memorandum of July 13 last.)

Mobile, Stronghold of Prejudice: Many regard Mobile, the Black Belt metropolis, as the most prejudiced city in Alabama. I happened to have heard its Mayor Hines declare on the TV Citizens Council hour the previous Sunday: "There'll never be any integration in Mobile." [redacted] said there was no liberal voice whatever in Mobile; a few Negroes were "suspected" of belonging to the NAACP. He said that while Klan membership in Mobile itself was under par, the Klan was strong in neighboring localities, particularly Tuscaloosa, Clanton, Prattville and Bitunke. [redacted] very much a man-about-town, is secretly liberal. The walls of [redacted] Buick are plastered with historical pictures and documents, many related to the Civil War. For the benefit of bystanders he made it appear that I was mainly interested in his "museum"; in the privacy of his office we talked frankly.

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Edward G. Field, editor of the Albany Times-Journal, is a real museum piece. I had heard a favorable mention of him, because of a strong editorial denouncing the Montgomery riots. I had misinterpreted his position. "It was just the wrong way to go about it," he said, "I couldn't mind killing half a dozen niggers if it could do any good." A feud between Field and the Ku Klux Klan also appeared to have had something to do with it. He had quarreled with the Klan "scum"—obviously not over any kindly feeling toward Negroes on his part. The Klan had threatened to lynch him once. He said Klan membership in Albany, formerly over 80, had recently fallen to 65, then risen to 70 again. He said the police "gave the Klan 15 minutes in Montgomery."

Speaking apparently without emotion, Field said that white children in Albany were never going to go to school with "niggers." Employment? White people in Albany hired Negroes whenever they could, but they always lost money. The Negroes were "good for nothing" and not worth the money they paid them. Negro progress in the United States? "Those smart Negroes they're giving jobs to are just like the niggers in Albany; crotch 'em, and you'll find they're all hangers underneath." What did the future hold? "There'll be a bloody race war in the North. Then the Northerners will see that the South was right. The Supreme Court and Congress will reverse all this stuff."

Jewish Leaders in Alabama: Following a lead from Rabbi Continuum, I talked with two men who illustrated the dilemma of the Jewish community leader, of liberal convictions, in the Deep South. One was [redacted] above-mentioned, and the other was [redacted] of Montgomery.

They were similar in many respects—handsome, gregarious, sophisticated, more or less wealthy and closely identified with the power structure. [redacted] had "come thought of running for Mayor." He is a second cousin of Mayor Loeb, of Memphis. [redacted] is more of a scholar.

Both men are acutely conscious of anti-semitism and what they feel is a necessity of appearing to go along with segregationist elements. [redacted] is a member of the Citizens Council, which, he points out, is much more respectable than the White Citizens Council. Each showed me an identical leaflet, issued by the White Citizens Council, which combined rank anti-semitism with its anti-Negro message. Both men are in controversy with National Jewish groups and feel that the C.C. in particular is jeopardizing their position in Alabama. [redacted] is one of a group now urging a meeting of the Alabama E'nai D'rich to consider withdrawal from the national organization.

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Of the gubernatorial outlook, ^{OUT} [redacted] said, "Nine out of ten people I speak to say it will be poison."

Grover C. Hall, Jr. In visiting some sixty newspaper editors across the South the first thing in the nature of a rebuff that I have received came from Grover Hall, somewhat famous editor of the Montgomery Advertiser.

"I have a stack of work on my desk and other people to see-- and I don't like the organization you represent. If you come back this afternoon you can see some of the stuff."

A dapper, excessively clever sort of prime donne, he was jovial, nevertheless. I said I would like to have the views of Grover Hall--he gave me a nutshell version:

"We're going to have to take a dozen pickaninnies into our schools, and it won't hurt our little white angels a bit. I know that. But mass integration won't come in our lifetime."

"Are you going to keep public order?"

"Yes, I'm for that." He added some derogatory remarks about Governor Patterson and others.

I took time to present him with a copy of my book, adding that reviewers on both sides--even Jack Kilpatrick--had called it "accurate."


"Then it's OK by the high priest," he said facetiously. We exchanged wishes of "Good Luck."

(We dined with the Clifford Currs in Montgomery and had a pleasant visit with Dr. Luther Foster at Tuskegee. Learned that Aubrey Williams is critically ill with cancer, he was too ill to receive visitors.)

Kell Lewis, editor of the Lee County Bulletin, is probably the most outspoken liberal editor and one of the best informed observers in Alabama. The Bulletin won the award of the Alabama Press Association this year for best editorials. To insure objectivity, the Association went out of the state for a judge, and who was the judge? None other than my friend, Oliver (Marick) of the Jackson (Miss.) State Times. The citation read: "... for courageous and cogent editorials on a controversial subject, etc."

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Davis like many other moderates, was discouraged by a Labor Day speech of Folsom, in which Folsom seemed to go over to the segregationist side. He thought the prospects for university integration were better in Mississippi than in Alabama, but believed those for public school integration were probably somewhat better in Alabama. (Ralph Duggan, president of Auburn University, belonged to the fierce resistance group.) He believed four northern Alabama cities to be more or less prepared to accept school integration: Huntsville, Decatur, Florence, and Sheffield.

 b7c

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The six of us here today are members of a group of religious leaders with responsibilities in Birmingham and in Alabama who have met on several occasions because of our concern in the matter of race relations and maintenance of law and order in Birmingham. At the suggestion of Bishop Harmon, we first came together for a luncheon in December 1962 simply to talk over these matters. A subcommittee was appointed to prepare some proposed statement by the group. On January 16, 1963 a statement was adopted and released to the press called "An Appeal for Law and Order and Common Sense". This came shortly after the inauguration address of Governor Wallace. We received considerable reaction from within Alabama against the statement, some of it very abusive.

In the meantime, some responsible Birmingham citizens had become greatly concerned over the condition of the government in Birmingham, and had determined to effect some change if possible. Over a year of very difficult political process was undertaken in which the form of city government was changed and a mayor and council were elected who had given private assurance that certain desirable changes would be undertaken. The assurances were known to responsible local leaders, both negro and white. Finally, on April 2nd the new mayor and council had actually been elected, and we thought we could breathe a sigh of relief. However, the old government, appealed to the state courts and for a time we had no effective government, while the matter was being considered by the courts. In our minds, under these conditions it was unfortunate that on April 3rd negro demonstrations began in Birmingham under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King. These demonstrations began without warning to the local negro leaders with whom we had been working. They did not have a large following at first, but gradually under vigorous leadership and

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various pressures, the number of demonstrators increased. The police apparently did a rather good job of controlling the demonstrations and keeping them within some bounds. Neither government would issue a permit for the demonstrations under the conditions which prevailed.

On April 12th we issued another statement calling on our negro people to withdraw support from the demonstrations and to unite locally in working for a better Birmingham. This brief appeal later occasioned Dr. King's famous "Letter From a Birmingham Jail", which has had wide circulation all over the world. His letter seriously misconstrued both our statement and our intention.

The demonstrations stirred into action emotional, uneducated and violent elements in both the negro and the white populations of Birmingham. Whereas the Ku Klux Klan had been dormant in our area before the demonstrations, it came sharply to life. The National States Rights Party picked up new strength. Citizens Councils also prospered. At the same time, a Black Muslim Temple was apparently established for the first time in Birmingham. After the demonstrations, when a bombing occurred, there was an immediate and very dangerous riot in the negro community, aimed at the police and fire department and at any white people who came into the area.

Under the new city government, certain steps forward have occurred. Segregation laws have been repealed in Birmingham. A number of eating places have been effectively desegregated. Parks and recreation centers have been reopened on a desegregated basis. A bi-racial civic affairs committee has been appointed and has had some meetings. A few new employment opportunities have opened up for negroes.

However, in the field of law enforcement, the city government has been very much on the spot. There have been some four or five bombings, and each time the

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police arrive on the scene they are stoned as they approach, and they find themselves fully engaged in maintaining order instead of trying to solve the bombings and give ample protection to passersby. During the same period, there has been a great rash of rock throwing at cars in negro neighborhoods and various other acts of violence.

Most of the police force was hired and trained under the leadership of Bull Connor, and many of them hold his attitude toward the negroes. It is probably very difficult to make changes in personnel in the police department without specific reason, and under the conditions which have prevailed it has been hard to train these men to change their attitude and their methods of handling negro offenders. We are sure it is true that the city would have a very difficult time incorporating negro police into the police force, because of the feelings of so many of the police. It appears equally necessary that negro police shall be employed and included in the police force.

It is also certain that the law enforcement situation is considerably complicated by the fact that state troopers have been called into Birmingham on two occasions and are presently still there. These men are under the orders of Governor Wallace, and we have reports that they have been quite rough in their handling of negro groups. As far as we can tell, the police have earnestly sought to handle negro rioting with the best of intentions, but rock throwing, etc. seems to have made them nervous in the handling of guns, and two negroes have been shot and killed by police.

In short, the present city government has had very little chance to operate long enough in an atmosphere of peace to be able to accomplish some of its desirable aims. The matter is surely not easy, but the city administration is trying to survive long enough, we believe, to try to further some of the steps which have been undertaken.

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Our group and various members of it, have continued to meet from time to time, and we have met with negro leaders. We have tried to give what leadership we could through our churches and in the community. It is true that while clergy and other leaders who are active in race relations are harassed by midnight telephone calls and anonymous letters and other annoyances. It is also true that they sometimes find their congregations split, and sometimes lose all effective leadership. It is undoubtedly true that a considerable majority of the white citizens of Birmingham and of Alabama are segregationists and have a very hard time accepting desegregation. On the other hand, we believe there is a majority among the white citizenry who are law abiding and intend to obey court decisions. The lawless minority is so vocal and use such methods that it is hard to get the law abiding majority to come into the open and express itself. Strong continuing leadership has not risen up, and no effective umbrella for men of good will has been created.

In summary, we feel that the Governor has by his actions and words given such hope and encouragement to the defiant segregationists and the lawless white element that they are a great danger. On the other side, we believe it is unfortunate that the demonstrations of last spring, coming at the time they did, stirred a new emotional and uneducated negro element into unreasoning retaliation against the police, so that there is no atmosphere in which new trust and confidence between the negro community and the new government of the city can be established. It is our hope that the two distinguished men who are being sent to Birmingham as mediators may be able, by devoting their full time to the job, to bring about some effective new avenues of communication and co-operation. We hope they can stay with the job as long as necessary. Surely

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their presence will be more economical than any situation in which there is a total breakdown of order. It will be our desire to cooperate with them to the fullest.

1. We must learn to handle our own problems
2. Senior Citizens must be encouraged to come back together, enlarge and seek a prime leader.
3. Meanwhile, tremendous importance of establishing new confidence between negro population and law enforcement officials, and removal of barriers to employment of negro police.

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What do you believe is the most basic cause of Birmingham's difficulty in accepting changes in the racial pattern other than the large number of residents who have for many years held to a tradition of rigorous separation of the races?

Youth inevitably possesses a superficiality and the City of Birmingham is no exception. Birmingham's very youth produces a shallowness and uncertainty of social and cultural position. She is afraid to deviate from custom because there has not been a series of customs... her tender years have not been sufficient to produce success as a result of change.

The infancy of Birmingham (not 100 years old) accounts for its failure to recognize the symptoms of progress. Maybe it is too young to admit that its reluctance to embrace the challenge of integration will stunt its growth and relegate it to a piggy status.

In the novel "The Leopard" we witness the genteel relinquishing of the power and esteem of a "class" to a new era. Likewise we in our Southland witness cities like Mobile, Nashville, Atlanta, Charleston, etc. (all older cities with undeniable cultural backgrounds) acquiescing to the sensible demands of our era.

But don't discount those true Southerners who carry in their hearts the proud traditions of Southern culture and who are quite willing to rise above their natural prejudices and display their inherent intelligence by sensibly and charitably coping with the problems at hand.

Birmingham is famous as the Magic City (due to its fantastic growth). This same Magic could be applied to the miracle of a renewal of assisted growth to its Negro citizens. Society rehabilitates the released prisoner, so why not provide the needed opportunity for our Negro neighbor who could become a part of tomorrow's bright future?

What do you think are the answers to this problem and in what areas must we begin to effect the necessary change?

It is said that a civilization is judged or measured by the books its children read. Isn't this just another way of saying that a civilization is judged by the education of its people? Birmingham cannot afford to detract from its expected contribution to civilization by withholding education from any of its citizens.

For the good of Birmingham, if more competent Negro teachers were added to Birmingham school faculties, it might serve as an inducement to attract other well qualified individuals to this area. Moreover, an upgrade of teachers and salaries might encourage graduates of our state colleges to remain in the State of Alabama and teach instead of leaving for cities that offer higher salaries.

When the Negro's status is released it will create a marked change in the mode of life in the South and most certainly in Alabama, since the Negro is one of the last remaining sources of cheap labor. A mode of unrealistic (from the point of view of monetary cost) leisurely life enjoyed by the "group" would be jeopardized by releasing these Negro laborers to participate in equal civil rights.

We suffer from a lack of positive and capable leadership - that is, we have no dearth of individuals equipped to lead, but we are waiting for them to come forward and assume their rightful positions. On a local point of view, this is largely attributed to the desire for suburban exclusiveness versus City of Birmingham identification.

Over and above all, it is felt that this is primarily a MORAL issue, and should be resolved first of all among religious bodies (churches)

This is where discussion should take place regarding the souls of men.
It is the moral vs. temporal.

The Negro by nature and through the grace of God possesses a great love for Jesus. With this anchor to his Creator, the Negro can achieve great heights with the help and love and understanding of his fellow man. The racial issue can only be resolved in the hearts of the citizens of this city (when we talk of local racial problems.)

Consider the untapped resources of the Negro. If educated, what a contribution he could make to society and in this particular instance, Alabama. The informed and educated Negro would NOT be a tool of the Communists. The Soviet Union utilizes every available source of energy. Why are we neglecting or disregarding the Negroes? Their development and recognition as educated and respected and responsible citizens could be a great stimulant to our economy and culture.

Some other steps which I believe are important as we seek answers are these:

1. The appointment of one or more Negro FBI agents in Birmingham. This would help to reassure the Negro about that agency.
2. The hiring of Negro police on the Birmingham police force.

I would also like to compliment Mr. Kennedy on the appointment of the two distinguished gentlemen who are coming to Birmingham. I believe with that/their help many possible areas of solution will come to light.

Would you care to comment on some of the immediate and urgent problems in Birmingham such as the accusations of police brutality to the Negro, the bombings, etc.?

1. In regard to accusations of police brutality:

I recommend the appointment of an inspection team of impartial men to observe police in action during racial demonstrations. This would give the world a first-hand report on where the truth lies. I cannot say what is the exact truth, but I do believe that steps should be taken to learn the truth and this seems to be a logical one.

2. In regard to the bombings:

I urge the FBI continue to do all that is possible to solve the bombings. This is not only for the good of justice but also to help brighten the image of the FBI here in Birmingham. That image is at a new low at this time both among Whites and Negroes.

The solving of the bombings will also help to restore the confidence of the Negro community in our local law enforcement agencies (especially the City of Birmingham police).

There is a fairly widespread belief among the Negroes of Birmingham that the police themselves are doing the bombing. In turn, many white people believe that the Negroes themselves are doing it. Certainly, the solution to these terrible acts is imperative if tension is to be relieved.

Can you suggest any concrete action that might be taken immediately ~~there~~ by the people of Birmingham to solve this problem?

1. I suggest that the President's representatives begin immediately meeting with the leaders of industry, business, religion, education, etc. in Birmingham in order to establish ~~an~~ an identification of men of good will and good sense.
2. I believe that the President's representatives should meet with small groups of Birmingham policemen in order to learn their attitudes and perhaps influence them in this matter.
3. I believe that the women of Birmingham should be enlisted to become a part of a bi-racial committee. They could concern themselves not only with general projects but also delve into the more pressing integration crisis. This could have a continuing effect of understanding and good will between the races.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND
AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY STATION
BATON ROUGE, LA. U.S.A.

June 29, 1961

DIVISION OF LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS
OFFICE OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

Mr. [REDACTED] b7C
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]:

Your application for admission has been given careful consideration. I regret to have to inform you that your admission has not been approved.

I should like to explain that the denial of your admission is not due to your academic record at Dillard University, but rather to the racial issue with which the state has been confronted. Because of the racial problems, the administration of LSU has decided to reject applicants from negro schools. I am sorry that you happened to have attended such a school.

I trust that you will look elsewhere for furthering your education, and I wish you much success in the future.

Sincerely yours,

(s) Theodore B. Kalivoda
Adviser to Foreign Students

TBK/nce

SRC

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
8 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 21, 1961

Mr. Norman Jamerson
Executive Director
The Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Norman:

On September 12 Mr. Roger W. Hanson wrote us requesting consideration of a grant of \$200.00 to the Alabama Council to enable the Reverend Herbert Oliver to attend the eighth annual UNESCO Conference in Boston, October 22-26. The request has been approved and I am happy to enclose our check for \$200.00 for that purpose.

It is our understanding that Mr. Oliver will, either on his way to or from Boston, make arrangements to confer in Washington with Mr. Burke Marshall and others in the Department of Justice. We believe that the combination of these two purposes justifies this expenditure.

At your convenience please acknowledge receipt of this grant and confirm the willingness of the Alabama Council and Mr. Oliver to see that it is spent in keeping with the above indicated purposes.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb

cc: Dr. Roger W. Hanson
Rev. Herbert Oliver
Mr. Burke Marshall

Enc.