

Wells' Next Goal: To Be Free!

Freedom

Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!

Vol. IV, No. 2

178

FEBRUARY, 1954

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Don't Be Confused — Just . . .

LEND A HAND

FREEDOM — YOUR PAPER; PAUL ROBESON'S VOICE — is in crisis. The existence of the paper is at stake. It has not, of course, been an easy job to keep going as a fighting, uncompromising champion of peace, democracy and equality; but never in the past three years have we faced so squarely the grim prospect of not being able to come out at all.

That is the prospect we have faced each month for the past six months. The result is that if you look at the masthead you will find that you are reading a combined January-February issue in the middle of April!

The purpose of this editorial letter, dear reader, is to anticipate your bewilderment, and to multiply your activity tenfold in a campaign to SAVE THE PAPER.

The reason for our present plight is twofold: (1) During 1953 we experienced a serious decline of income from new subs and renewals; (2) We were not able in '53 to guarantee a modest but regular monthly income which is needed to supplement our circulation dollars.

SO WE FELL FOUR MONTHS BEHIND in publication schedule. And what four months they have been! How many times have we assigned and written and edited timely stories—on unemployment among Negro and Mexican construction workers in California, on the much-heralded but still-awaited "surrender" of the Mau Mau, on the campaign for clemency for Wesley Robert Wells, on developments in Jamaica and British Honduras, on the historic campaigns of Negro candidates for city and state offices in Louisiana and

Alabama—only to have to "kill" the copy because we didn't have the money for printing and mailing.

The two current issues are a part of a plan to restore FREEDOM to its regular publication schedule by June. On April 27 we will go to press with two other joint issues, March-April. The May issue will return to the regular eight pages and will go to press May 11. And the June issue will reach you by the first week in June.

ALL OF THIS IS PROVIDED, OF COURSE, you take part NOW in a nation-wide campaign of FREEDOM readers to fill the prescription which the diagnosis above calls for. Remember, we need: (1) new subs; (2) renewals; (3) monthly sustainer contributions.

Will you act NOW. Below is a sustainer pledge form. If you can give \$1 a month for FREEDOM, please sign it and send it in right away. On page 4 of this issue is our regular subscription blank. How about that neighbor, club-mate or shopmate you've been intending to sign up for FREEDOM? Or are you one of the literally thousands to whom we are mailing this issue who have let your sub expire? Please send that sub or renewal TODAY!

Yes, it's been tough. But we know that you will agree that this is no time to be giving up, to be silencing voices for freedom. And our experiences tell us that the major key to the building of this paper is our ability to get it to the thousands of plain people who will accept it and build it and use it in their daily struggles if they are given a chance to become a part of our Freedom Family.

This is our Crisis Letter to you. We believe you will be kind enough to answer right away.

By WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

We are celebrating a glorious people's victory in the fight for the life of Wesley Robert Wells.

The issue of life or death, raised by the racist-minded court which sentenced this persecuted black man to the gas chamber for throwing a cuspidor has been decided in favor of the demands of an aroused people's movement. The depth, volume and persistence of that movement initiated by the Civil Rights Congress forced the authorities of the State of California to yield this man's life.

A New Issue

The state, having taken 25 years from Wells now demands that the remainder of his life be spent in prison. Saved from summary death he faces a living hell.

The issue of life imprisonment or parole and freedom raised by the California Supreme Court's cynical decision which condemns Wells to life imprisonment without parole is now a matter of practical politics. The people must speak again. That issue will also only be decided in the struggle between the same forces — the people against the promoters of legal racist terror. But now there can be no doubt as to who can win. Experience teaches that victory follows the banners of an aroused and determined democratic people. The life or death fight around Wells revealed both the fact that vast numbers of the people can be moved to action and the limitless potentialities inherent in a united front of the people. The creative ideas of the people in struggle were exhibited not only in the organizational forms for action but as well in the action programs.

If progressives continue to work correctly the activities of those who won this victory can be sustained. Now this movement will be joined by tens of thousands of honest men and women who have been morally strengthened and inspired by that victorious battle. They want only to be given the opportunity to march in defense of democracy.

Freedom Now

The organization of this freedom-now campaign for Wesley Robert Wells is on the order of business. Mastery of the lessons of the successful struggle for life and their strict application in the freedom-



Wm. L. Patterson

now struggle ahead can guarantee the decisive strategic victory—the freedom of Wesley Robert Wells.

A clearly demarked course for the development of activities has been found in the fight to save Wells' life. The appeal to take action was not a general one. It was carefully addressed to different segments of the population. The specific features of the case which would appeal to certain segments of the people were pointed out to them. Nothing was done abstractly. Thus, labor, the clergy, the doctors, lawyers, various groupings in the community were shown a way to establish defense committees based on their own interests in the case.

Many Groups Affected

The refusal of the court to hear the testimony of a psychiatrist which might well have influenced the jury to recommend less than death for this man aroused the medical fraternity. If the court would do this heinous thing to a Negro, it could do the same to other men. Medical men saw a most vital phase of their social service threatened by the court which refused to hear this vital testimony of the prison psychiatrist, Dr. Howard. Men could be wantonly murdered by the law who deserved the

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WESLEY ROBERT WELLS

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Freedom is Next Step for Wells!

(Continued from page 1)

most sympathetic medical attention.

Criminal lawyers and other members of the bar saw a denial of due process of law in the exclusion of the testimony of doctors. They saw the plea of insanity nullified and made abortive if testimony as to the mental state of insane defendants could be excluded by a court bent on vengeance.

Men and women of good will not afraid to think saw a terrifying deterioration of national morality in the denial to a defendant of the benefit of testimony which might well have saved his life. The role of the courts in a program of racial discrimination became clearer. The throwing of a cuspidor while suffering from hypertension was not such a "crime" as would support a sentence of death, unless someone was out to get a victim.

Clergy Involved

The Negro people readily saw the racist character of a death sentence applied to a Negro who had killed no one and whose major crime was his refusal to accept the insults flowing from a policy of Jim-crow and segregation carried out even behind prison bars.

Members of the clergy—white, Negro and Jewish—saw and understood the meaning of many of the horrifying features of the Wells case. They joined with others in joint action while also moving independently along parallel lines worked out by them in support of the demand for clemency.

The demand for clemency

rather than a demand for a pardon or parole was consistent with the condition of things at the time the fight for commutation of the death sentence was opened up.

Special Features

Not every phase of a struggle of this character appeals to or is fully understood by every segment of the people at the moment the issue arises. There is, however, in every struggle to maintain inviolate civil rights and human dignity at its inception, features that strike fire wherever there are honest men.

Each civil rights case must be thoroughly examined for its own special features. That is the only method. The approach to people to support the fight must be made to each on the basis of concrete and specific interests. What will move trade unionists will not necessarily move the clergy. What will move the clergy will not necessarily move the lawyers. But decent thinking men and women can be moved and the American people are a heroic, peace and justice loving people. These cases represent decisive struggles of the people and for the people.

Stage Now Set

The fight for the life of Wesley Robert Wells produced profound lessons which can and must be used in the struggle for his freedom, the freedom of Rosa Lee Ingram, Benjamin J. Davis and others. This fight is not remotely separated from the harboring cases now being tried in San Francisco.

The stage is now set for the



WELLS AND HIS CAPTORS: Wesley Robert Wells is shown with jailers at the time of the last hearing of his case at Sacramento, Calif. Observers were impressed by the prisoner's dignity, and many who saw him for the first time left the hearing with a determination to crusade until justice is done in the Wells case.

fight to free Wesley Robert Wells. That struggle in the process of development will merge with and become an inseparable part of struggles of greater political depth and scope. The united front of struggle developed in that case can be enlarged, but not alone with slo-

gans. The Wells victory is not to be viewed as solely a struggle for the constitutional liberties of the Negro people. It is one with all of the battles now being waged to preserve the guarantees of the Bill of Rights.

Lastly, for the moment,

thousands of people learned through the fight for the life of Wells that any challenge to the murderous program of American reaction will be labelled Red. The Big Lie can and must receive another vital blow in the struggle for this man's freedom.

Despite Arrests, Guianese Continue Fight Against British Repression

By JANET JAGAN

GEORGETOWN, British Guiana—The people of British Guiana stood firm last week as governmental officials continued their unconstitutional reign of oppression. Dr. Cheddi Jagan, former Leader of the House of Assembly and Peoples Progressive Party spokesman, was given an order April 1 preventing his leaving the city of Georgetown.

Jagan immediately protested, pointing to the violation of civil rights involved. In addition he pointed out that "This restriction on my movement denies me the opportunity of pursuing my professional calling. As you no doubt are already aware, I have for the past three weeks been practising as a dental surgeon at Mahaicony, E. C. D. and Rose Hall Village, Corentyne. [Two rural areas.—Ed.] I hardly need point out to you the inadequacy of proper dental professional services in the rural areas of this country, the high incidence of dental quackery and the resultant harm from this quackery.

Brass Teeth and Torn Mouths

"An editorial in the Daily Argosy of March 7, 1954, stated that 36 registered dentists are reduced to 19 effective practitioners, of whom 15 are graduates and four enjoy exemption . . . the population of the country now shares one registered dentist among 24,000 persons on the average. But that is only one the average, for of the 19 registered dentists, 14 live and practise in Georgetown, four in New Amsterdam and only one gives a country address. Small wonder that quacks

flourish throughout the countryside and that brass teeth, torn and infected mouths are the order of the day."

Jagan went on to say, in his letter to the governor, that he had standing

dental appointments in Mahaicony and Rose Hall Village for the weekend beginning Saturday, April 3, and that commitments to his patients included restorative dental work and root canal therapy, both of which types of work

required consistent attention until completed.

On April 3 he left the city for Mahaicony, where he was arrested and brought back to Georgetown. Twenty minutes after he was released on bail he was picked up by police as crowds followed him home.

Office and Printer Raided

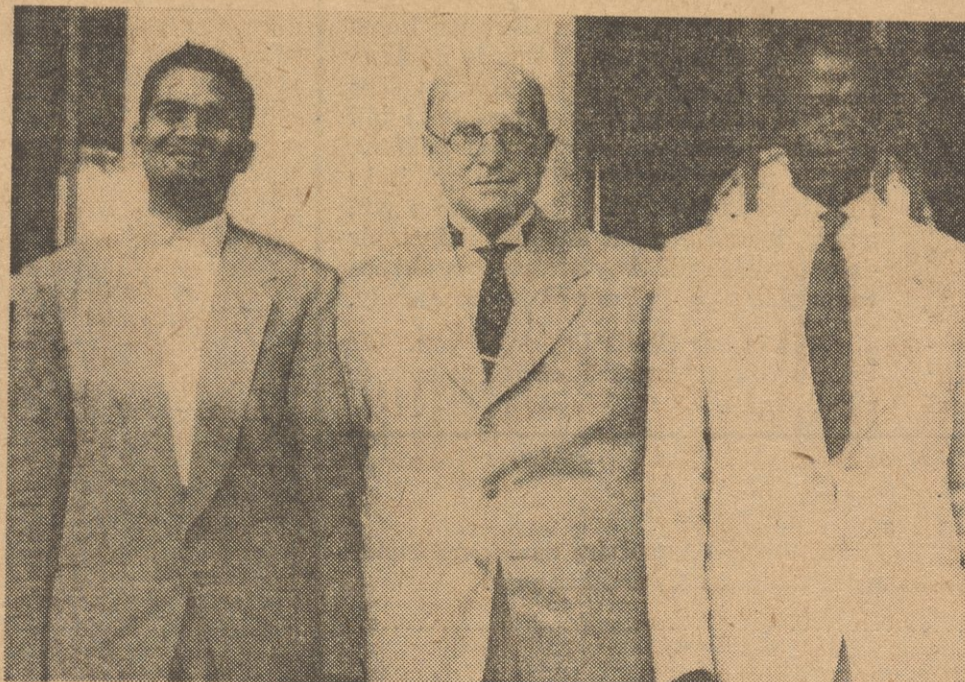
Police raided the PPP office on April 3 and 4, ordering it closed on the 4th. It was opened again on the 5th. Police raided "Thunder," a printing shop, and seized posters and pamphlets being printed for the party.

On April 4, as a large group demonstrated before police headquarters to protest the arrest of Dr. Jagan, nine persons were arrested, including Janet Jagan, Rory Westmass and Martin Carter. They spent the night in jail, and were released next day after being charged with taking part in an unlawful procession. The eight men were also charged with disorderly conduct for singing in their cell.

As huge crowds waited their arrival at court, 16 were arrested and charged with disorderly behavior.

And so the plan of the British usurpers seems clear. Beginning with Dr. Jagan and the party leaders, they seek to intimidate all who protest against the violation of civil rights, steadily gathering more and more people into their net.

But the people of Guiana are steadfast. They intend to have their full constitutional rights and are not to be easily intimidated.



D. N. PRITT, outstanding British lawyer who recently defended Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, is shown in Bridgetown, British Guiana, with two members of the Peoples Progressive Party, whom he is defending against trumped-up British charges of "sedition." The defendants are Fred Bowman, left, Negro worker and member of the deposed House of Assembly, and Nasrudeen, right, 23-year-old Muslim sugar worker and union organizer.

Are Jim Crow Schools Confined to the South? No! N. Y.'s System is Restoring Segregation

By Dr. Kenneth B. Clark

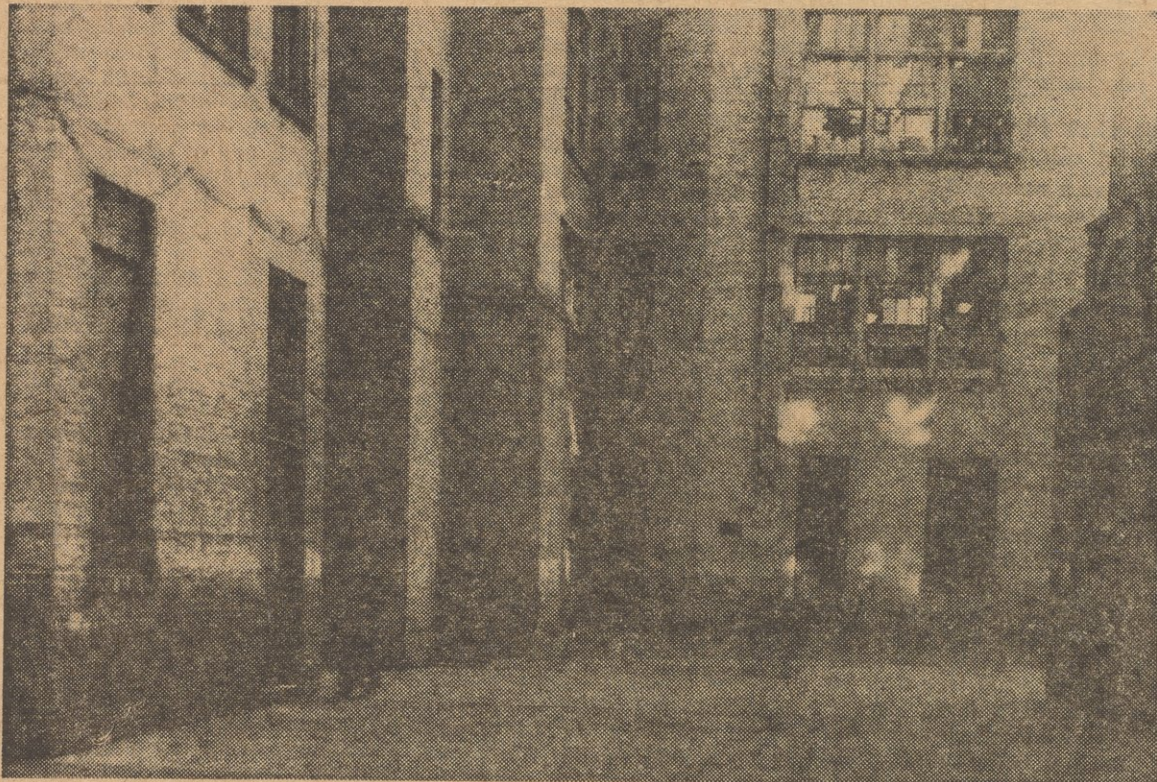
The first school for the education of the Negroes in New York State was founded in 1704 by the English Missionary Society. This school assumed the responsibility for the religious training of the slaves.

In 1787, the Manumission Society founded the New York African Free Schools. This Society counted as some of its members such men as Alexander Hamilton, Lawrence Embree and John Jay. In setting up the New York African Free Schools, the Manumission Society established the first free public school system in the state of New York. These schools were established nineteen years before the public schools system for white students was organized. By 1834, there were seven African Free Schools and several colored teachers. Also in this year, all these schools and the related property of the Manumission Society were transferred to the public school system. By 1858, one of the schools for Negro children in the city of New York was completely staffed by Negro teachers and a Negro principal. This year also, all of these schools were placed under the control of the newly established Board of Education of the City of New York.

New York Eliminates Jim Crow Schools

In the light of the present legal battle against state imposed segregated schools in seventeen southern and border states, it is of interest to note that in 1857 the Negroes in New York City and the state of New York began a successful fight against segregation and discrimination in the public schools of the state. As a result of this fight, Grover Cleveland, Governor of the state of New York in 1834, signed a bill abolishing the remaining colored schools and providing that all schools be "open for the education of pupils for whom admission is sought without regard to race or color."

In 1900, Governor Theodore Roosevelt reinforced the action of former Governor Cleveland by signing a bill which repealed the law which permitted communities in the state to establish separate schools for Negroes and insisted that no person shall be refused admission to or be excluded from any public school in the state on



HARLEM SCHOOL: In the Negro communities the schools are older, more crowded, have fewer up-to-date facilities.

account of race or color. This disposed of state sanctioned segregated schools in the State of New York.

The second stage in the history of the education of the Negro in New York can be dated from the beginning of the 20th century up through the 1930's. During the early part of this period, Negroes were freely accepted in schools located in whatever area they happened to live. This, however, was a period in which there was accelerated development of residential segregation leading to the increase in racial ghettos. Schools which previously had rather mixed racial and national population began to become increasingly more segregated. As Harlem became an exclusively Negro community, the schools became more and more segregated. There was, therefore, a *de facto* return to segregated schools.

During the 1920's the detrimental consequences of segregated schools in New York City were not fully understood or felt for the following reasons: (1) because the process had not yet completed itself and, (2) because of the positive impact of the Negro renaissance which reflected itself in the presence of a small number of Negro and white teachers who assumed their responsibility for teaching Negro youth with a sense of dedication and a strong faith and belief in the educability of their students. One cannot overemphasize the significance of the Negro renaissance in the 1920's. It served as a positive influence in stimulating aca-

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Psychologist and child guidance expert, Dr. Kenneth Clark teaches psychology at the College of the City of New York and, with his wife, Dr. Mamie Clark, is co-director of the Northside Community Center, an outstanding child guidance institution in the Harlem Community. In the cases now before the Supreme Court challenging segregated education in the South, Dr. Clark appeared as a professional witness, attesting to the harmful effects of segregation on both Negro and white children.

demical interest in large numbers of Negro youngsters attending Harlem public schools at that time. Unfortunately, this period died with the coming of the depression and the increased population density in Harlem.

Schools Deteriorate

The third stage in the education of the Negro in the public schools in New York City may be dated from the 1930's up to the present. This may be viewed as a stage of educational decline. Documented evidence concerning the deterioration in physical facilities and instruction in the Harlem public schools may be found in Mayor LaGuardia's report on conditions in Harlem. As you remember, this was a report which the then mayor of the city of New York had prepared in his attempt to understand the causes of the March 1935

riot. This report pinpoints the problems of deterioration, of over-crowding, and inadequate general educational facilities which were common in the Harlem schools at that time.

With the increase in the number of Negro youngsters in the public schools and those going on to high schools, it was discovered that various techniques for gerrymandering high schools' zones were developed in order to exclude large numbers of Negro students from attending the best of the academic high schools. Somehow, during this period, many of the individual teachers (Negro and white) in the Harlem schools seemed to have lost their zeal and dedication.

The time has now come for us to evaluate objectively the contemporary problems which the public schools in the Harlem community face. These problems, as they affect the children of this community are not primarily problems which can now be stated in the simple terms of physical deterioration of school buildings. While there might be a problem of increasing the number of schools and modernizing old schools, I would like to direct your attention to the more important and subtle human problems which are inherent in the existence of segregated schools.

Study Proposed

There is an important need for an objective study of the actual conditions in our public schools.

Within the past three years, the general public has become

acutely aware of the social and educational problems involved in racially segregated elementary and high schools. The Legal Division of the NAACP has brought five cases in the Federal Courts which challenge directly the constitutional validity of state laws requiring racial segregation in elementary and high schools. The United States Supreme Court has reviewed these cases and its decision on the constitutionality of segregated schools is now pending.

These events and others have made it necessary to examine the nature and consequences of racially segregated schools in those other areas of the country where they exist in fact, but not by law. It is a question whether the detrimental educational, psychological and social consequences of segregated schools are the same whether the schools are segregated by custom or by law. Furthermore, the presence of segregation in the public schools in northern cities has been used by those who seek to maintain legal segregation in support of the contention that the pattern of racial segregation is a natural and normal thing in a community made up of people of different races.

In the light of these facts and in view of the general observation of increasing racial segregation in the public schools of New York City, it would be important to study the condition of the schools in a northern Negro community to compare predominantly Negro schools with predominantly white schools in the North in terms of the same variables in which Negro and white schools in the South have been compared.

Here are some basic questions which must be answered:

(1) How do schools in the Negro community, with predominantly or exclusively Negro children, compare with schools in other communities in New York City in the following areas:

(a) physical facilities and equipment; (b) general educational standards; (c) auxiliary educational services such as health services, correctional classes, the number of classes for intellectually gifted children and the number of classes for mentally retarded children; (d) pupil-teacher ratio, multiple sessions and other variables?

2) What, if any, is the type of vocational or educational guidance services offered to Negro children in the predominantly Negro schools?

(3) Are there changes in academic standards of a school as the proportion of non-white students increase? If so, in what direction and what are the factors responsible?

(4) Is there a relationship between the level of academic achievement of Negro students and the proportion of Negro students in a given school? Is there a greater discrepancy between intellectual potentiality and intellectual achievement of the Negro child in schools

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Test Your Town

Are there exclusively or predominantly Negro schools in your city?
How do they measure up on the yardsticks put forth in this provocative article by an outstanding psychologist and teacher?

Conversation From Life

By ALICE CHILDRESS

MMARGE, I WISH I WAS A POET. . . . Now that's no cause for you to stop stringing the beans and lookin' at me like you was struck by lightning' . . . No, I don't wish it on account of I want to be famous, but I do wish it because sometimes there are poetry things that I see and I'd like to tell people about them in a poetry way; only I don't know how and when I tell it, it's just a plain flat story.

Well, for an instance, you know my cousin Thelma stopped in town for a few days and she stayed at a downtown hotel. . . . Yes, I dropped by to see her last night. . . . Now, Marge, when I walked up to the desk to get her room number all of a sudden the folks in the lobby cleared a path on both sides of me and I was about to get real salty about their attitude when I chanced to look behind me and saw two old people walkin' up to the desk. . . .

No, they were white, and you've never seen such a couple in your life—a man and his wife, and they must have been in their seventies. They were raggedy and kinda dirty. The old lady wore men's shoes and trousers an old battered raincoat and on her head a man's hat. From under the hat her white hair hung in curly wisps—and she was pretty.

. . . Yes, mam, she was pretty and still she was seventy and bent and dragged her feet along instead of liftin' them. The man was dressed just as sorry as her and in his hand he carried a paper bag. . . . Marge, he was lookin' at her like every woman on earth dreams of bein' looked at, and her eyes were doin' the same thing back at him.

Honey, everyone was standin' just starin'. There was a giggle from some kid and one well dressed woman looked like she was goin' to faint . . . but the old man walked up to the clerk with the old lady follerin' behind him and he said in a quavery voice, "We'd like a room for the night. . . ."

WELL, YOU COULD CUT THE SILENCE with a knife. The clerk hemmed and hawed while they stood there lookin' back at him real innocent and peaceful, and finally he said, "You'll have to pay in

advance." "How much is the cheapest room?" the old man asked. The clerk breathed a little easier and said: "Thirty-fifty." The old man went in his coat pocket and brought out four crumpled up dollar bills and put them on the desk.

The clerk turned red in the face and said real loud, "You can't have a room without carryin' baggage—where's your baggage?" You could hear a pin drop when the old man placed the paper bag on the desk, opened it and pulled out two rough dry shirts. . . . Well, with that the clerk took the money, gave him a key and fifty cents change and said, "Top floor rear!"

The couple smiled in such a dignified way and it seemed like they hadn't noticed a thing. They started over toward the elevator and then the old lady turned away from the man and made her way over to the receptionist's desk. Everyone kept their eyes dead on her, and the receptionist, who was awfully young and pretty, was almost scared out of her wits. The old lady kept makin' straight for her, and I could see that the young lady was gonna scream any second. . . .

When the old woman reached the desk she leaned over a bowl of red roses that was there and, ever so gently, breathed in the sweet smell and then she turned away and quickly joined her husband at the elevator and nobody moved until the doors closed and they were gone from sight.

. . . That's all, Marge. Of course there was buzzin' and hummin' after that, but I got to wonderin' about who they were and where they came from . . . and did they have children . . . and how much work they both done in their lifetime . . . and what it must feel like to be old and draggin' around in the cold?

That's all there is to the story and it sure don't sound like much the way I tell it but if I was a poet, I would sing a song of praise for the love in their eyes and I would make you see the sight of a lifetime when that ragged lady bent over those roses, and I would tell how awful it is to be old and broke in the midst of plenty. . . . And that's what I mean when I say—sometimes I wish I was a poet.

Guest Editorial

'There Was Once a Courageous Baptist Preacher Living in St. Louis — in 1854!'

In these out-of-focussed times in our great land of freedoms, it is well to have strong men of the past to draw upon for strength and hope. Hysteria and demagoguery and wire-tapping and paid informers by the wholesale have come to take an upper part of our American life. Now a free American citizen is not certain whether his neighbor, his social club member, his fraternity brother, or even his church deacon or pastor is in the secret employment of some ferreting Government agency. And all in the name of fighting communism—a disease that the very freedoms and plenty of our country is the best specific against—**IF ONLY USED TO THE FULLEST.**

The local press made much of a local Negro minister who was an FBI (paid \$11,000) informer last week. He was tendered "heroic" lines. . . .

All of which brought vividly to mind the partly forgotten Negro minister in St. Louis 90 years ago during the tense years of the fight to eliminate human slavery from our American life. St. Louis then had its slave mart and many slaves (and it also had its free Negroes and a large group of white citizens who opposed slavery). But the Government had no FBI then—although the slavery side had a secret order known as "The Knights of the Golden Circle." . . . And there were the Black Codes (like the jim crow laws of today!) which forbade the teachings of Negroes to read and write, and the assembling of Negroes without permission! (Because, it was supposed, if Negro slaves learned to read and write they might possibly get in their heads the idea of overthrowing the slave regime!)

But there was a Negro preacher here in St. Louis who towered with courage and stood firm for what he thought was right under Christian teaching—he taught his people to read and write and he preached not only to his own people, but preached openly to the white people! . . .

That strong man was the Rev. Richard Anderson, pastor of what is now Central Baptist Church. And what a man! . . .

Let the words of a noted white minister of that time, who wrote a chapter on the black Rev. Richard Anderson in his book "Story of a Border City" be quoted. . . . The author was named Anderson himself—the Rev. Dr. Galusha Anderson, who after pastoring a leading church in St. Louis became a professor in the University of Chicago. Here is what he wrote about his Negro contemporary, the Rev. Richard Anderson:

"There was a Negro pastor in St. Louis by the name of Richard Anderson. When a boy he was a slave, and had been brought from Virginia to Missouri. When he was 12 his owner, Mr. Bates, had given him his freedom. He did odd jobs, one of which was working for a newspaper, *The Missouri Republican*. It was while working for the newspaper that he learned to read and to

Recently the Rev. Obediah Jones turned Judas Iscariot and appeared on the witness stand in a Smith Act trial in St. Louis to join a disreputable stable of stool pigeons in accusing five defendants, one of whom is the Negro sharecroppers' leader, Al Murphy, of the discredited "conspiracy" charge. There was such revulsion in the Negro community that Rev. Jones lost his church and was voted out of the Baptist Ministers Alliance.

The attitude of Negro St. Louisians to Jones is indicated in the March 18 editorial of the *St. Louis American*, which *FREEDOM* is proud to present to its readers.

form ideas of freedom for all peoples. Then he was called to preach (about the only open outlet for a Negro leader then.)

"Anderson was a large man of commanding presence. His manner was quiet, suggesting reserve power. He had great power over an audience. When his congregation became noisy with 'amens' and 'hallelujahs' by a gentle wave of his arm he reduced them to silence.

"Anderson was a born leader, but he led by the inherent force of his character. HE NEVER BETRAYED ANY CONFIDENCE REPOSED IN HIM.

Like his Master, he went about doing good. And nothing diverted him from his purpose. . . ."

That is but three paragraphs from the chapter on Rev. Richard Anderson. The members of Central Baptist, and all the other good Church people, ought to rejoice in such a stalwart man who put the courageous teaching of Jesus into practice. . . . When John Brown came through St. Louis on his way from Kansas, he conferred with Rev. Richard Anderson. . . . Frederick Douglass corresponded with him. . . . And he was the pastor of Central Baptist when Dred Scott and his family were members—and for those who today would agree with the biased historians that Dred Scott was an ignorant tool without knowledge of what freedom meant, they should only read up on this unafraid Negro minister who counseled Dred Scott as well as prayed with him for deliverance. . . .

What is that the Bible says about "there were giants in those days"? Yes there were!—Lincoln—Douglass—Wendell Phillips—and a little-known black minister here in St. Louis by the name of Richard Anderson!—who REMAINED in his pulpit and openly defied the forces of slavery that had the law of the period supporting them!

Jim Crow N. Y. Schools

(Continued from Page 3)

which are predominantly or exclusively Negro?

(5) Is there a greater tendency for children from predominantly Negro schools to attend vocational and nonacademic high schools? If so, what accounts for this?

(6) Is there a tendency for Negro teachers to teach in schools with predominantly Negro students? If so, what accounts for this?

(7) What are the attitudes of teachers towards teaching in schools which are predominantly Negro? What is the ratio of temporary and substitute teachers to permanent teachers in these schools?

(8) What are the attitudes of the administrative officials towards schools which are predominantly Negro or schools which have an increasing Negro or Puerto Rican population?

It is clear that this proposed study has to be done with the cooperation of the Board of Education of the City of New York. The problems which it is concerned are of vital interest not only to the people of this community and the entire city, but those who are responsible for determining and administering educational policy.

I should like to propose that the people of this community work cooperatively and insistently with the Board of Education of the City of New York in demanding that this study of the extent and effects of segregation in the public schools of New York City's

Harlems be done. We should insist also that appropriate action be taken to modify the racial composition of our public schools to break the trend toward increasing segregation so that our children and all children will be provided with a more democratic education.

Seen from an historical perspective, the picture of the education of the Negro in New York City is not one of consistent progress. It is, however, a challenging picture. We must meet this challenge successfully for the welfare of our children and all children. Human resources are our most precious assets. No city, state or nation can afford to waste any part of it.

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