The 12th Annual
Virginia Political History Project

“With All Deliberate Speed?”
Massive Resistance in Virginia

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT

Friday, July 17, 2009
Virginia Capitol Building, Richmond, Virginia

Sponsored by

University of Virginia Center for Politics
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Since 1998, the University of Virginia Center for Politics has brought together friends, elected officials, political professionals, journalists, and the public in an effort to preserve an oral history of modern Virginia politics. These programs provide an ideal environment to study the recent past so that we can apply its lessons to the Commonwealth’s future. Formerly known as the “Virginia Governors Project,” the Virginia Political History Project (VPHP) has emerged as one of the premier political gatherings in the Commonwealth. The purpose of the 2009 project is to recount and better understand a darker part of Virginia history, “Massive Resistance.”

The Virginia Political History Project seeks to build on the successes of the first six Governors Conferences, The Virginia General Assembly Conference, and the first VPHP Conference. The first Governors Conference focused on the two historic administrations of Mills E. Godwin, Jr., the only governor to serve as a Democrat and a Republican. Subsequent conferences focused on the legacy of A. Linwood Holton and John N. Dalton. Following Dalton, we turned our attention to the administration of Charles S. Robb, Gerald L. Baliles, and L. Douglas Wilder, the first African American elected governor in the United States. In 2004, the Center for Politics and the Weldon Cooper Center focused on the evolution of the modern Virginia General Assembly, and in 2005, the Centers commemorated the life and legacy of J. Sargeant Reynolds. The 2006 Conference explored the subject of Virginia Women in Politics, and the Center reviewed the previous decade of politics in the Commonwealth in subsequent conferences.

In addition to submitting the transcripts and videos of the conference proceedings to libraries across the Commonwealth, the Center for Politics has partnered with PBS to produce Locked Out: The Fall of Massive Resistance, a documentary about Massive Resistance in the Commonwealth.
The University of Virginia Center for Politics

MISSION
The Center for Politics, a nonpartisan unit of the University of Virginia, seeks to promote the value of politics and the importance of civic engagement. Government works better when politics works better, and politics works better when citizens are informed and involved participants. Therefore, we strive to:

- Encourage citizens to actively participate in the political process and government
- Evaluate and promote the best practices in civic education for students of all ages
- Educate citizens through the Center’s comprehensive research, programs, and publications

HISTORY
The Center for Politics was founded in 1998 by Larry J. Sabato at the University of Virginia to overcome the notion that politics thwarts the proper function of government. We think politics makes public policy more vibrant and makes bureaucracies more responsive. Since our inception we have established annual conferences, publications, programs, and curricula to advance democracy around the world and to equip people to better understand politics and government. Our mission perpetuates the legacy of Thomas Jefferson who wrote:

“I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves, and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion.”

We are sustained annually through the financial support of individual donors, foundations, corporations, the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the federal government.

The Center’s thought-provoking and timely political analysis and our pragmatic civic education programs have formed the core of our activities throughout the past decade.
Larry Sabato: Good morning. First, let me thank the whole staff of the Center for Politics. They have worked on this conference for one full year, day in and day out. There’s been a tremendous amount of research collected and, of course, all of that will be saved and preserved which is what good universities do and that’s what we’re trying to do for the country. This is a national conference about a national tragedy that occurred in the 1950s and we’re going to talk about that tragedy from many different perspectives.

We’ve been asked why did you pick this week to have this conference and we picked it because this week represented the final collapse of Massive Resistance. It was this week, 50 years ago exactly, that the elections for the Virginia legislature were held in the summer. Remember, the Democratic Primary in the South at that point was tantamount to election. There were not Republicans in very many parts of Virginia and Democrats controlled 85 or 90% of the General Assembly. Delegate Joe Morrissey would like to have that back again, but that’s long gone, and the defenders of state sovereignty trying to reimpose Massive Resistance after it had collapsed failed miserably in General Assembly contests throughout Virginia, so this week is truly the 50th anniversary of the end of Massive Resistance. We prefer to celebrate the end than to commemorate the beginning for reasons that I think will become apparent as we go through the day.

There’s no question that Massive Resistance is one of the most important moments in 20th century American history because of what it represented and also how it did end. It justifies the reflection that we’re giving it and other groups have been giving it around the state and nation. Massive Resistance is one of the best examples, or I should say, really, the worst examples, of misguided leadership producing public policy with disastrous consequences. It could even have been worse, believe it or not, because the leadership in this state, some of the senior leaders who ran Virginia lock, stock and barrel in those days actually were prepared to close every public school in Virginia for as long as was necessary to defeat Brown v. Board and all of the subsequent Supreme Court and other court rulings. That’s incredible, and even worse, the governor at the time, Lindsay Almond, and we’ll be discussing him later today, he’s both a hero and a villain of the Massive Resistance, you know, that gray area where most of us end up being in life. We’re not heroes and we’re not villains and sometimes we do good things and sometimes we do bad things. Well, that’s where Lindsay Almond was.

Do you know that the boss of the political machine in Virginia wanted him to go to jail rather
than to enforce the law from the Supreme Court? Wanted him to go to jail. Said the people of Virginia
would bring him good things to eat. They would go play string music for him if he’d had the courage
to go to jail. Even George Wallace stepped out of the school house door, so thank goodness that didn’t
happen. It would even have been worse for the image of Virginia.

Now, the recovery from Massive Resistance is very incomplete. The wounds are fresh for many
people. They’re still painful for many people as we’re going to discover today and as many of you know
because you endured it. You went through it and I grew up at that time in Norfolk which was the
locality most affected, in terms of population, by Massive Resistance. Even though I was quite young,
I remember it in part because I had cousins who were shut out of schools and let’s remember, this was
a tragedy for everybody. Tens of thousands of white students were thrown out of schools in order to
prevent limited minimal desegregation. Some of those young people never went back and got their
high school diplomas. Their lifetime salary, their earnings potential was affected by the fact that they
never got the education in that lost class of ’59 from the famous documentary by the CBS newsman
Edward R. Murrow. We’ll be showing excerpts of that wonderful documentary throughout the day.
So the recovery is incomplete. There’s no question about it, but we are recovering.

A much more enlightened General Assembly a few years ago passed a scholarship program for
some of those affected by Massive Resistance, at long last. The General Assembly essentially apologized
for slavery a few years back. A very good thing. They called it something else, but it was an apology,
for slavery.

At my own University of Virginia and Professor Paul Gaston’s University of Virginia, the Board
of Visitors just a few years ago owned up to our own history and apologized for the use of slaves in
building the University of Virginia. I’ve had so many reactions to this conference and you’ve seen other
reactions in the newspapers and people say why in the world would people who weren’t living at the
time and had nothing to do with the decision-making, why would they apologize. And it’s certainly true,
there is no personal responsibility. If you weren’t alive at the time and you didn’t make the decisions,
you didn’t participate in the trauma. That’s true, but there is such a thing as institutional responsibility
and because there’s institutional responsibility from the state legislature, from the governor’s office,
from the mayor’s office, from a university like the University of Virginia, it is appropriate to have some
institutional atonement along the way. It’s a good thing. Even if the apology is 50 years late, it’s a good
thing. We saw an apology yesterday from a very unlikely source, 50 years late. Now, I’ll talk about that
in just a moment.

So, I want to stress that we’re not simply reviewing the events of Massive Resistance. This is an
educational enterprise from the University of Virginia. Our job is to encourage dispassionate analysis
of what happened, to try and determine the real facts. Who did what to whom and why? And then to
come up perhaps with some lessons that we have learned from the disaster called Massive Resistance.
There are lessons that can be applied to government today, not in the same circumstance but there are
dissimilar circumstances where the lessons apply. We want to get to that as well.

But I want to stress to you this really is also a story of progress and redemption. I’ve mentioned
some of the ways in which people are trying to redeem the institutions that produced the tragedy in the
1950s and let’s remember that essentially in two generations we have moved from absolute segregation
to legal— legal— equality and some cultural equality. Now, from the perspective of human history,
that’s pretty darn fast. Is it fast enough? No.

Let’s review for just a moment, and I do this mainly for the young people in the room and I’m
delighted to see there are so many young people. This is not just ancient history to them. I’m sorry to
say in many cases it’s not history at all because they don’t know about it and that’s another reason why
we’re having this conference.

Let’s start with April 1951 when a brave young woman, Barbara Johns, who was then a junior in
high school, led a student protest against the unequal facilities in her high school in Farmville, Virginia. The following month a lawsuit was filed on behalf of the students targeting not just the question of unequal facilities, but the larger problem of segregation in Virginia’s public education system and, remember, what was happening in Virginia was mirrored throughout the south and even parts of the rest of the country.

Three years later Barbara Johns and her fellow Virginia students prevailed when their appeal, together with four other lawsuits, reached the U.S. Supreme Court in Brown v. the Board of Education. That landmark 1954 ruling declared that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal and the following year in what has become known as Brown II, the court ordered that the integration of public schools should proceed with all deliberate speed. The title of today’s conference is, of course, lifted directly from that language but I draw your attention to the fact that even though the Court delivered those words as an order to desegregate the schools, Virginia and the rest of the South, chose to receive this order as a question—with options—including the option to ignore the order entirely which is exactly what we did in Virginia. It was a direct challenge to the Rule of Law.

Elections have consequences. People don’t often realize it on Election Day exactly what they’re doing and why, but elections have consequences and a series of elections had produced leadership in Virginia and throughout the South that produced a situation permitting what occurred during Massive Resistance. We saw the Southern Manifesto championed by Virginia’s senior United States Senator Harry F. Byrd. During this period, Virginia wasn’t deliberate at all. It simply didn’t do anything. It was determined to totally block Brown and it must be said, it wasn’t just the elected leadership. It was supporting players in Virginia, including, one must say, the Richmond News-Leader and the Richmond Times-Dispatch. They contributed mightily to the disgraceful effort to block Brown. These newspapers, especially the News-Leader, thundered daily about the evils of integration and arguably violated journalistic ethics, in my view, by coordinating directly—directly—with Senator Byrd, meeting with Senator Byrd, to coordinate the effort to promote Massive Resistance and to stop Brown. Now, by contrast, the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, another major newspaper in the state, won a Pulitzer Prize for its anti-Massive Resistance editorials.

Now, I mentioned a minute ago this editorial noted on the front page yesterday from the Richmond Times-Dispatch. “Times-Dispatch editorial expresses regret for Massive Resistance.” This is the first time the Times-Dispatch has institutionally, as opposed to individual members of the editorial staff, institutionally apologized for Massive Resistance and it was clearly prompted by this conference. If this conference has accomplished nothing else, it has gotten an apology [applause] from the Times-Dispatch and of course, the News Leader no longer exists. It was folded into the Times-Dispatch. Now, I’ve heard some negative comment about it, but I want to salute and congratulate the Times-Dispatch and their current publisher and editorial writers for doing this. I happen to know the editorial writer who wrote this. He wasn’t in Virginia at the time. He’s young. He had nothing to do with it, but you see, they accepted institutional responsibility and they atoned in doing this editorial. Better late than never. As long as people are breathing and living, an apology can be meaningful so I salute them for doing it.

And let’s remember, good guys were really hard to find in that time. Our wonderful researchers at the Center for Politics came up with something that I hope we can post online soon. It was a full page ad in the Virginian-Pilot and it’s entitled “A Public Petition to the Norfolk City Council.” You can tell I come from Norfolk. Here’s what’s shocking. This is a group of businessmen and, of course, they realized that Massive Resistance was a disaster for the state’s economy, just a disaster. If you don’t have an educated workforce, you can’t have an economy that works, so they got together. They paid for the ad to oppose the closing of the schools, but here’s how they started out. I just want to read you the opening. You’re going to be shocked. “While we would strongly prefer to have segregated schools, it is evident from the recent court decisions that our public schools must either be integrated to the extent
Now, 50 years have passed. We’ve had the progress that I’ve mentioned. Virginia has given up the vestiges of legal segregation. African Americans have won local offices and General Assembly berths aplenty. — Larry Sabato

legally required or must be abandoned.” That’s how it started out. Ladies and gentlemen, these were the good guys. [laughter] These were the good guys and were there some people totally opposing Massive Resistance outside the African American community? Yes, but they were few and far between.

Let’s be honest. Let’s not rewrite history. Massive Resistance was broadly supported at first in the white community outside liberal enclaves, Paul, like Charlottesville and university communities. They were not typical of the population of Virginia at the time. The Virginia of 1959 is not the Virginia of 2009 and people need to make that distinction, but let’s remember that. There weren’t too many pure heroes. Not many at all and there were some real villains. The mayor of Norfolk at the time was an arch segregationist. Now, think of it, Norfolk, arguably the most liberal city in the state traditionally and the mayor of Norfolk was an arch segregationist who took the advertisement that we just showed you, put it on the door of his office and any time one of these businessmen who would endorse segregation came by his office to ask for a favor, he refused to speak with them. He went to the list to see if they were on there; if they were on it, he sent them on their way and that was the way it was in Virginia in 1959.

Now, we know what happened; 1959 marked the end, thank goodness, of the road of the state’s efforts to oppose desegregation of the public school system, although as we know and we’ll discuss later today, Prince Edward County would continue to fight the ruling for another five years with the schools remaining closed until 1964, sadly.

Now, 50 years have passed. We’ve had the progress that I’ve mentioned. Virginia has given up the vestiges of legal segregation. African Americans have won local offices and General Assembly berths aplenty. Many will be here with us today and the state led the nation by electing the first African American governor, Douglas Wilder, the grandson of slaves, in 1989, and let’s remember, Doug Wilder was elected 20 years ago this year, so 50 years ago we had Massive Resistance and 20 years ago, Virginia elected the first African American governor of any American state. Does anybody believe that Barack Obama would have happened without pioneers like Doug Wilder winning earlier?

AUDIENCE RESPONSE: No.
**SABATO:** It wouldn’t have happened and we’re grateful for that and, of course, Governor Wilder is going to be with us as the keynote speaker at lunch. So despite this progress, I think it’s also important to say as we get ready to start the first panel that Massive Resistance remains an indelible stain on the state’s soul. I call it second only to slavery as an indelible stain on Virginia’s soul. When today’s young people are told about the schools closing, they’re astonished. In retrospect, it really is almost unbelievable even to those of us who lived through the era to accept that public education ceased in order to prevent the mixing of the races, as the phrase was used then, the mixing of the races, and let’s remember, we weren’t talking about integration. We were talking about token desegregation. It wasn’t until the 1970s that any real significant progress was made toward integration in Virginia. All deliberate speed? It doesn’t sound like it to me, so Massive Resistance may appear to some to be ancient history but it should never be forgotten. A classic case of leadership gone awry and irrational fears shaping public policy.

There’re so many lessons to be learned and applied to today’s politics. We want to make sure that we cover it. We’re glad that thanks to C-SPAN a national audience will be able to see what Virginia learned over these 50 years and we’re also grateful to our partners and friends at the PBS stations, that they will produce a national documentary depicting Massive Resistance through the eyes of the students and teachers and others who experienced it. Many of those wonderful individuals here today and we salute each and every one of them and we appreciate your being with us and making the effort to be with us.

So, now it’s my pleasure to begin the first panel by introducing the great moderator of that panel. She’s a dear friend of mine and the Center for Politics. She’s an award-winning editorial writer, formerly of the *Virginian-Pilot,* now working a bit with *Style Weekly.* She has published multiple books including a book about Doug Wilder, but she’s also the author of *Free At Last, What Really Happened When Civil Rights Came to Southern Politics.* Please join me in giving a very warm welcome to Margaret Edds. [applause]
Good morning. To be a child of history can be an extraordinary privilege and a great burden. The lawyers who fought in the courts for integrated public schools were bold and brilliant. The parents who joined their cause were determined and brave, but the ones who truly had to walk their talk were the children who served on the front lines of history. We are indeed fortunate to have six of them here with us today and I’m going to introduce them to you in the order in which their schools closed.

First, is Ms. Suetta Dean Freeman who was in Warren County in the western part of the state. After the Warren County schools closed on September 15th, 1958, Ms. Freeman did not attend school for several months. She briefly enrolled in Washington, D.C. schools and later returned and graduated from Warren County High. A graduate of George Mason University, Ms. Freeman is a former auditor with the Virginia Department of Taxation and is currently employed by the Virginia Employment Commission. She lives near Front Royal.

Next we have Ms. Alicia Bowler Lugo. In the fall of 1958, Ms. Lugo was a student at the all-black Burley High School in Charlottesville which was the second locality to have its schools closed. When the white schools closed on September 19th, 1958, however, Burley remained open and Ms. Lugo and her family later determined that she should complete her high school there. She went on to become a public school teacher, an entrepreneur and a community activist in Charlottesville. She served 11 years on the Charlottesville School Board, including five as its chairman.

Next, we have three students from Norfolk. The first is Dr. Delores Johnson Brown. Dr. Brown was among the first 17 students to break the color barrier in Norfolk Public Schools on February 2, 1959. She went on to earn her B.A. in elementary education from Norfolk State University and then her masters and honorary doctorate from Old Dominion. Dr. Brown is retired from Norfolk Public Schools and is active in numerous community service organizations.

Next, Mr. Andrew Heidelberg. Mr. Heidelberg was also a member of the Norfolk 17. He became the first African American to play varsity football at Norview High. He went on to attend to Norfolk State and to a career in banking, serving as a vice president at both Barklays Bank of New York and Banco in Puerto Rico. He is the author of the *Norfolk 17: A Personal Narrative on Desegregation in Norfolk*. He lives in Hampton.

Next, we have Ms. Jean Tignor Hachey. African American students were, of course, not the only ones affected by school closings. Jean Hachey was also a member of Norfolk’s so-called “Lost Class of ’59.” Due to the closings, she, in effect, skipped her senior year of high school, winning admission to the Norfolk Division of William & Mary College, now ODU, in January 1959. She earned two degrees from ODU and her masters from William & Mary. She spent her career in education and is president-elect of the Retired Teachers Association of West Point, King William and King & Queen.

And, finally, Mr. Harry Cabarrus who was in the Prince Edward County schools which did not close until the following year, 1959. Mr. Cabarrus attended Prince Edwards schools until that fall
when the schools were closed by the County. After missing a year of school, he was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee to attend school in Ohio. He spent his senior year in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He attended Northeastern University and then settled in San Francisco for 25 years. He has returned to Prince Edward in his retirement years and has just published his autobiography, *Many Broken Promises and Yet I Stand*. We will have signings at the end of this panel.

I’d like to begin by asking all of you just briefly to address a single question. How old were you in the fall of 1958? What grade were you in in school? What was the most important thing on your mind that autumn and what was your immediate reaction to the schools being closed, and we’ll start with you, Ms. Freeman.

**SUETTA FREEMAN:** Well, I had just turned 14 and I was going into the 9th grade and my immediate reaction was like how could my parents do this to me? I wanted to go back to Manassas Regional High School which was a boarding school but I decided they made the decision so we had to go. We were a chosen group, so I accepted the fact that we were going, but I did work. We were associated with Ms. Catherine Butner who was administrator like of a CWA Institute, so I worked during the time that we were out of school. My pay was $2.00 a weekend, plus a jar of tuna fish and during that time, we also went to court and then were culturally educated by different people so that we would really know how to act and to be responsible adults.

**EDDS:** Thank you. Ms. Lugo, tell us where you were in the fall of ’58 and what was on your mind.

**ALICIA LUGO:** I was 17 if it was before the 21st of September and I was 18 if it was after. [laughter] It seems so far away. I was not part of the test cases that led to the desegregation of public schools in Charlottesville. I was happy as a bug in a rug going to Burley, the all-black high school which I had attended up to that point. My father asked me, “what do you want to do?” I said, “what do you want me to do?” He said, “I want you to go back to Burley.” I told him, “and that’s exactly what I want.” Daddy predicted that there would be much trauma associated with this activity. I was top of my class. I was involved in everything and I was on my way to college in the
fall and so we as a family made a decision that we would not interrupt the flow of things. Not that I wasn’t strong enough for trauma, because I’m a tough bird, [laughter] but just basically because my father wanted my last year in high school to be great.

Olivia Ferguson who was a member of my class at Burley was a student who applied for Lane High School. Olivia, in effect, and the other minority kids in town who had applied for admission, closed the schools in Charlottesville, but since nobody was applying to go to Burley, we stayed open [laughter] so our senior year and all those other kids who were there was perfectly normal.

My experience with the desegregated school came later when I finished Hampton, went back to teach at Burley and in my third year in the classroom, we were desegregated across the board and I was sent to Walker Middle School. That was one of the most traumatic experiences I’ve ever had.

EDDS: We want to get to that in just a minute. Let’s run on down the panel here. Tell us about where you were in the fall of ’58 and what you were thinking about when this happened.

DELORES BROWN: I was 16 years old. I was in the 11th grade and in the fall of 1958, I was very excited about being able to walk to school, not having to get on two buses. I’d have to get up so early in the morning and get home so late in the afternoon. I was just elated and then when they closed the schools, oh, my goodness, it just—oh I was so disappointed and I just couldn’t imagine why they had closed the schools because the year before I had lived in West Orange, New Jersey with my sister and there were only two African American girls there and two African American boys at West Orange High School and it didn’t seem to make any difference to anybody. I mean, we were all just going on about our business and going to school, so I just couldn’t— It just threw me. I’ll tell you, I was— I couldn’t imagine what was going on. It just bothered me that they would go so far as to close the schools rather than let 17 African American children go to school. It just— Oh, you just can’t imagine how upset I was and all I could think about was when I go to Norview High School, it’s going to be just like going to West Side High School [laughter] but you just wait. I’ll tell you more about that a little later. [laughter]

EDDS: Mr. Heidelberg—

ANDREW HEIDELBERG: That was a tough summer. I think that going through what the NAACP had put us through with the testing and what we were to anticipate to happen at the school, it completely just destroyed my summer. I was an athlete and I had always thought about this is my freshmen year. I’m going to be playing football. I’m going to have all of these girls screaming about me [laughter] and the next thing I know, the schools were closed and I knew we were set up to be in this basement of a church with 16 other kids and I’m saying to myself, where did I go wrong and [laughter]— But, basically, the only thing [that] was on my mind was why— How did I get myself into this situation when I had plans for exactly what I wanted to do which we’ll talk about later.

EDDS: Ms. Hachey—

JEAN HACHEY: I was 16 years old in the fall of 1958 and I was really looking forward to my senior year of high school because that was going to be the fun time where we were the oldest and we had a wonderful group of friends and we had 488 students that were in our senior class. Unfortunately, the schools didn’t open and I continued working at Hofheimers for sixty cents an hour and my mother decided I wasn’t getting what I needed since I took the two small classes at a tutoring group so she and several other of our mothers that were friends talked to Dr. Bell at ODU
which was in the Norfolk Division of William & Mary and we took tests for a week and we were admitted into the freshman class in January of 1959.

**EDDS:** Mr. Cabarrus, where were you in 1959 when Prince Edward closed?

**HENRY CABARRUS, JR.:** In 1959, let me, if I may, start with ’58 and ’59 as the end. I was 14 years old and I was for the first year being able to attend the brand new school at Moton High and that school was built as a plan to avoid the court case of integrating the schools in the county, so I as a student was very, very happy to be in this new building and new facilities, adequate bathrooms, and etc., for the first time, and throughout the school year, it was a very happy time for me. But there was a 360 degree turn in May of 1959 when I was a plaintiff in the *Allen v. the School Board of Prince Edward County* and that court case was done with Oliver Hill and Spottswood Robinson and great, great people that I knew and met and had conversations with. We went to, first, my aunt and uncle’s home in Farmville and had a conference on what I as a young student would testify in the courts on and then the lawyers and the other members that were present discussed their strategies and I was kind of ushered almost to the side, but nevertheless, we went on to the court and we stayed in Richmond with a family. I, of course, cannot recall who, but as a young black child, I was very frightened and I thought because I’m involved with this court case and here I am in Richmond going to this court, people will see me and they’ll know me and they’re going to kill me and Emmett Till was still very fresh in my mind and especially being a boy, that really resonated with me, and so that night I didn’t sleep. I maybe got one catnap and the following day, May 5th in the court, I fell asleep because I felt safe in the courthouse [laughter] and the judge had the bailiff to come over to me and tap me on the shoulder and wake me up because I was disturbing the court from snoring. [laughter] And he said, basically, “young man, you seem to be really exhausted. Can you proceed with this today or do we have to take other measures?” And I said, “no, no, sir, no, sir, I’m fine, I’m fine.”

And, of course, I did not testify because the lawyers decided that they had won their case by the recess time of the day by the prior testimony and so I did not actually testify. I felt in my mind it was because I’d fallen asleep and snored [laughter] in the court that they didn’t want to have me up on the stand, but that was the beginning of the end for the schools actually closing in Prince Edward County.

So, we’ll talk more about that later.

**EDDS:** From this safe distance, these are good stories. It’s easy to forget how traumatizing it could be for a young person when you really didn’t know the outcome of history. You’ve told us about what was happening in Prince Edward, but I’d like to go back for just a minute and touch on what was the school experience like for you when the schools were segregated. Did you think that your school was inferior? Superior? Did you even think about it? And do we have any volunteers for that question? Yes, Dr. Brown.

**BROWN:** I remember having to use old, dirty used books. Sometimes our pages were missing and the school itself was a very old building and sometimes on Monday mornings we didn’t have any heat so we had to wear our coats all day long and the schools were quite inferior when I compared when I
went up to West Orange with the schools I had attended down here in Virginia and that’s why I was so excited about going to Norview because I felt like it would be a much better situation.

**EDDS:** Was that the experience in Warren County and in Charlottesville as well?

**FREEMAN:** Actually, no. I felt like my school was okay. I went to a boarding school and I would either come home on weekends or every other weekend—

**EDDS:** Tell us why you went to the boarding school.

**FREEMAN:** Well, because there were no schools in Warren County for us. Several counties went to Manassas Regional High School. There I was able to go out for cheerleading. Couldn’t cheer, but I was able to go out as a cheerleader and I tried out for tennis and I felt in place there, so, you know, I don’t remember how the books were, but I don’t remember it being bad. At 13, I was able to get myself up, get to class on time, get my breakfast. If I missed my breakfast, it was on me because I didn’t have Mom and Daddy around, but we actually had a wonderful time and I think every child should have that experience of going to a boarding school or going to college where they could be away from home.

**EDDS:** How long was your commute?

**FREEMAN:** It was about an hour and a half ride at that time and we would leave on Monday and we’d come back home on Friday, with a little luck. We also went to church in Manassas so it was a new life for me, you know, freedom.

**EDDS:** And how about in Charlottesville, Ms. Lugo? What did you think of the school that you were attending?

**LUGO:** … people who looked like me, who thought like me, who had similar backgrounds, people who— You know, when you go in school now, the kids are walking around in booty shorts and five-inch stilettos. We didn’t dress that way [laughter] and you didn’t have to get sent to the office because when a teacher gave you a look, you knew the difference between “a” look and “the” look. [laughter] I think that more than anything at Burley we were taught character and integrity, honesty. We were taught about adults being adults and children being children. We had no freedoms. I couldn’t walk into central office and say to Mr. Scott, “I’m going to wear this t-shirt with ‘baby on board’ to class.” It would not happen. [laughter] You would not be there, so I think, you know, what we may have lacked in AV materials and books and that sort of thing, we more than made up for it with magnificent teachers who spent their lives putting it in your head, you know, you can’t [can open] a child to learn. You’ve got to motivate a child to learn and they did it.

**EDDS:** There were real strengths as well as weaknesses to these schools. [applause] Yes, Mr. Cabarrus, did you want to—

**CABARRUS:** Yes. I attended both the older schools in Prince Edward County as well as the newly-built school and my first two years, 6th and 7th grade, was in the old school where Barbara Johns and the students went on strike and so conditions there contrasted quite markedly to the new school. There were only two bathrooms, one for the boys and one for the girls and having at that time well over 400 students, when it came to recess and bathroom time, it was quite a jam trying to get that
many people into a bathroom and be civil and we were, but what I’m saying is the conditions also included those hand-me-down books that were passed down from the white schools as I understood it and they had a lot of graffiti regarding our race and etc., pages missing, those kind of things, so I did experience that but when I went to the newer school, things were a bit—a tad bit better in terms of physical building, especially, and the book conditions were, as I recall, better. It was not optimum but it was better, but now as to how I felt as a student, in both settings, the teachers were excellent role models. They would make you do whatever it was, whether it was math, history, whatever, you would recite it until they knew that if they just tapped you on the shoulder, you would give it up. [laughter] And so that part was actually—

And we also had a habit in the community of supplemental education in the home and in the community with 4H Club, Home Demonstration kind of projects for the females. The males did the 4H Club-type projects of animal husbandry and truck gardening type stuff, the grain crops, etc., so we had a very strong feeling as a student from both the school and the community.

**EDDS:** I’d like for you to tell us some now about the conversations you had with your parents and friends as to whether you should or shouldn’t go to an integrated school. How was the decision made in your family and let’s start, Mr. Heidelberg and Ms. Hachey, with the two of you.

**HACHEY:** I was not given any decision-making in my family. My parents were older when they had me and I was an only child and they believed that children should be seen and not heard, I think, but at Granby High School we did not get any bad information about other races from our teachers. That wasn’t discussed at my school, period, and we had wonderful teachers that taught us to respect people and taking civics in the 11th grade, we learned about things that had happened, and that were still happening in our country, to African Americans and all I remember is being appalled and everybody that I knew was the same way, so I didn’t have any input in my own family but I did get to go to college and learn to speak up for myself.

**EDDS:** Thank you. Mr. Heidelberg—

**HEIDELBERG:** I didn’t really have too much—Well, I made the decision myself, I’ll put it that way. I walked into a situation which I thought I was being smart as a young man and as I tell people the story that I had come home from the football field one evening and we were a 5:30 family when my dad came home. You had to be home at 5:30 because we ate at 5:30, so I was late this particular day coming home and I had learned very early in my life that God was a part of my life because my dad would give us a beating if you weren’t there on time [laughter], so I was praying all the way home, oh, God, please, please don’t let me get a beating and when I came home, there were these three people from the NAACP at my house. I knew God had answered my prayers temporarily, so when my mother introduced me to them and said—They asked me would I be willing to go to these integrated schools here in Norfolk that we’re trying to integrate and as I told I guess some people day before yesterday, that was a very easy situation. I’m looking at my parents here who are like waiting for me to say something great for them and in my mind, I knew that black kids don’t really go to school with
white kids. I knew that. I had lived that life, so no matter what the NAACP was talking about, there was going to be no blacks going to school with whites, so now I’m in a win-win situation, so I took the I-can-say-yes-and-I-won’t-have-to-go and my parents, which I did, I said, “yes, I’d be glad to go,” and my parents smiled [laughter] and they told me you go could off to your room, but at the same time, I had won because I knew there was going to be no going to school with whites.

But was I encouraged? I think when the time actually came to go to school I had said to my mother a year later, she says, “don’t you remember you said you wanted to go to the schools?” I said, “what schools?” and she said, “you signed up to go to Norview.” I said, “I signed up to go to Norview?” [laughter] and she said, “yes, boy, don’t act stupid.” I said, “well, do I have to go?” She says, “well, you don’t have to go but I wouldn’t want to be in your position,” she says [laughter] so that was basically the type of encouragement that I got as far as going. [laughter]

EDDS: The Lord works in mysterious ways.

HEIDELBERG: Yes.

EDDS: How about the rest of you? What was the decision process like in your family? Do you remember sitting down and talking about it or was it just an automatic thing? Yes, Dr. Brown—

BROWN: Well, in my situation, we had always been taught that whatever your parents told you you were going to do, there was no discussion. [laughter] You just did what they told you to do, so having had that experience in New Jersey, I was excited about going and all, but I remember back during the summer when we had to keep going every day to take all these tests and all and I would just think about how I could be outside playing and having fun with my doll babies and all. I was one of those that just loved to play with doll babies and all, even though I was a teenager. I just wanted to get away from all that testing and have fun and relax and get on the telephone with my friends and all, but I told my mom that Friday I believe it was, the last date that we had to go and I was just really exhausted. I said, “you know what I’m going to do today.” She said, “what you going to do?” I said, “I’m going to mark all the answers wrong so I can hurry up and get out of there. I’m just going to mark anything.” She looked at me. She said, “no, you’re not.” I said, “well, I’m tired of all this testing.” She said, “honey, I want you to remember, you’re paving the way for others and when you go in there, if you mark any of those answers wrong and I find out about it, I’m going to take care of you,” so you can rest assured I did not mark all the answers wrong. [laughter]

EDDS: Let’s talk about what was the experience like when you first attended an integrated school or in Ms. Lugo’s case, elected to finish at a segregated school? Did you face hostility when you entered those classrooms or not? And what helped you personally get through that time? And why don’t we start with you?

FREEMAN: Well, when we first entered, it was just the 20 black kids up to the high school, but when we first integrated, we were left alone. The whites didn’t want to be bothered with us and the blacks didn’t want to be bothered with us, so basically we had one another, so we didn’t— I didn’t have any real experiences. I went to class and I came home.

EDDS: And that first year I think you told me only black students went to the public high school. The white students—
**Freeman:** They went to the private schools and so there were 21 of us— 20 of us and the teachers were very nice. We can’t complain about them. In fact, one of our young white teachers was getting married and she did give us an invitation to her reception so I know she must’ve liked us and they were really good to us so we were kind of lost. We had one another and that was it.

**Edds:** And the next year when the white students came back, what was that like?

**Freeman:** That was still fine. It was like 300 of us at that time and I think those that came really wanted to come and so I didn’t have any problems. If they called us names, we were always told “shut your mouth and keep going,” so if they called us names and maybe they did—I don’t remember—but I know that I had no problems. We just went on to school just like normal.

**Edds:** Ms. Lugo, what did you hear from your friends who went to the integrated schools?

**Lugo:** The one that I was most concerned about was Olivia Ferguson. She was in my class. Her father was NAACP Director and so Olivia was kind of destined to be out front with some of this. I look at those people who went and their parents who supported them as the heroes of this whole account. I was Hamlet Bowler’s daughter. I always had to have the last word so there was never any doubt that I had input, but Olivia—Well, in fact, all that little bunch had the last word and so I’m sure that Olivia was not pulled dragging and screaming into this situation, so we at Burley, our class, we dedicated our yearbook to her. We made sure that she was at the prom and took part in activities at Burley with us but she was the only student who graduated from Charlottesville public schools that year with a certificate because the white schools were closed and the white kids were going to school in basements, church basements, peoples’ homes, and being paid for, the teachers, by the government and the institutions like Rock Hill Academy for all-white students grew up real quickly and the government actually gave tuitions to white students to go to those schools.

**Edds:** Dr. Brown, what was your experience like as one of the Norfolk 17, that first day? Do you remember?

**Brown:** That first day I was very, very nervous and when I got out of the car and I started to proceed up the sidewalk, I saw all these news reporters. It seemed like they had very long microphones and they were just sticking them in my face and saying, “why do you want to go this school? Go on back to your own school. You don’t belong here,” and then there were all these policemen and, oh, they looked, hmm, like they were just ready to—I thought they were there to protect me so at first I was so happy to see them and then all of a sudden when they started throwing things at me and I’m thinking any minute now the police is going to say stop, stop, we don’t do that, and it looked like he—One of them just looked at me as if to say, “you better not hit them back. You better not throw nothing back at ’em,” and that really frightened me. I began to really feel fear and the parents that were there, they were just calling me all kinds of names and throwing articles at me, so I began to just run to get inside the building. That first day was very humiliating for me.

As a matter of fact, they didn’t even have a schedule for me. I sat in the auditorium until everybody got their schedules and I raised my hand. No one called on me and I sat there for a few minutes. Then I
went up and I said, “excuse me, but I don’t have a schedule.” And the teacher I was speaking to, she just kept writing and she said “go to the office.” Never looked up at me or anything. Then when I got in the office, I stood at the counter and I waited and I waited and I said, “excuse me, I don’t have a schedule.” Nobody said a thing and then sooner or later, I said, “I really need a schedule because I want to get to my homeroom and see what my classes are like,” and she handed me a schedule and I looked at it and there was no physical education on it. Well, I knew as an 11th grader I didn’t have to take physical ed. but I wanted to take it, number one, because I really enjoyed it and, number 2, I was thinking when I grow up, I’d like to be a physical education teacher, so I said, “I don’t see physical education here.” The lady said to me, “no, you’re not going to take that.” I said, “but I want to take it because I want to be a physical education teacher.” She said, “no, you’re not going to be dirtying up our showers. Go on. Go on to your class.” So, I tell you, that day was one of the most horrifying days of my life.

When I walked into my homeroom, I took the first seat I saw and I was lucky that it was near the door because I thought if anything happens, at least I can hurry up and run out of this door, but do you know, all of the students around me just started sliding their desks and sliding their desks all— When I looked around, I had a whole circle that was vacant around me and the teacher never said a word.

EDDS: Was there any particular thing that helped you get through that experience? Words of wisdom?

BROWN: I think the fact that we always— I went to Sunday School and church and I believed in the Lord and I said, “Lord, if I ever needed help, I really need help now,” and I believed, I really truly believed He was right there by my side because no one actually hit me until one day when I was changing classes and it was a little short boy, ran up to me and knocked all of my books out of my hand and I didn’t want to seem frightened or anything, so I just hurried and started picking up my books. I thought maybe somebody would come along and help me but no one did and I looked on the back of my hand and there was this little bit of blood. It was just a little bit, so it wasn’t a big thing and I just rubbed it off right quick and kept on, but I tell you, it was quite an experience.

EDDS: Mr. Heidelberg, both of you went to Norview. Was your experience similar to that?

HEIDELBERG: Very much so. I tried to talk to people and I tried to bring it down because I really don’t want anybody here that’s listening to hear these personal experiences to get out of here without me making sure that you understand exactly what we went through, because as Delores say, that was the worst two-and-a-half years, the first two-and-a-half years in my entire life to this particular day, and I think about what Delores says about how we were treated and most people don’t understand how we were really treated inside and a lot of you might not have been— Like you said, it was cool, you [were] 300, that was cool, or you didn’t get a chance or you had a little bit of it, but I think the situation in Norfolk epitomizes what America was like at that particular time because I tell people what I consider the gospel according to Andrew Heidelberg and that was that I was a young black man who grew up in Virginia being a black kid and never had no idea— I knew about “the enemy” which were white people who I never really had any dealings with because I lived in a black neighborhood, went to a black elementary school, black junior high school, so I never really had any interaction with whites, but I knew from what I’d heard how white people were, but it did not come to realization until I actually went to Norview High School to realize what we as black people were dealing with. I guess—

And I was an extroverted person who loved sports, life. I mean, I loved life. I never knew that I was in a situation hated or detested by people because I never was around them to show me that, but in Norview, they showed me where I was. They let me know how limited and what they really thought of
you. Now, the thing about it was, as I explained to people, was I went to Norview for three-and-a-half years and in the first two-and-a-half years, because I always say if they’d treated me nasty and called me— And I say this because I want you all to know— nobody called me the “n” word. I could’ve probably made it if somebody ran up and said, “hey, ‘n’ word, but they called me “nigger.” Now, maybe people don’t like to hear that term now, but it’s not about that. It’s what it did to me as an individual, how I think they were treating me. They called me “nigger,” “coon,” “black boy,” “Charlie Brown,” “Mau-Mau.” They had more names than I knew that I had and they were all derogatory and the point was is that I said to people, if they had only done that for a semester, a week, even a year, I could’ve dealt with that, but when you hear what Larry Sabato says about how Norfolk was with respect to desegregation, when you say, well, we really would like to remain segregated.

See, but it was only shown in the treatment that we received on a daily basis for two-and-a-half years and sometimes white people really don’t understand that, what I say, because you can’t imagine as a child going to school every single day and somebody saying just calling you “nigger, get out of here, go home,” and it was like— These were young kids my age and as a young kid you really want to belong, you know, like as a teenager. It’s enough stuff just growing up being a teenager, but you really want to belong and you can’t belong. We were isolated and I tell people, we were called these names at least a thousand times a day every single day for two-and-a-half years. See, I know you couldn’t imagine. I can’t even imagine how I made it out of there. You know what I’m saying? But all of these things that happened to us and I really believe that it was God that got us through. It’s no way that—

I tell people like I was not the Martin Luther King type of guy. I was not the guy who wanted to be peaceful. If you did something to me, I was Malcolm X. I wanted to take it back {laughter} out on you, but you were thrust into that situation and sometimes I couldn’t realize how I accepted that, you know what I’m saying? And what it did to me as a person, but they treated me really horrible. They treated all of us really horrible and sometimes I disagree with Larry when he says stuff like— I know he’s talking political but Almond was a hero and a villain. No. Hell, no. He was a villain, {laughter} you know what I’m saying? Whatever he did that defied Byrd had nothing to do with it because he liked blacks or he was looking— He thought that blacks should be treated better. It had nothing to do with that, so from a political point of view, from my point of view, he was a villain. He was a villain and then when you say stuff, like, well, how does this generation here think that? Why should we apologize for something that we did not do? Well, I’m going to take you back and say, but, hell, you benefited from everything that those guys who made those decisions did. What do you mean? I would appreciate an apology from you even though you maybe didn’t forcefully have your hands on it. But the point was, 50 years ago, you benefited from every bad decision about us. If we couldn’t get a job, you got a job.

If you look at me 50 years now and you see me now and I’m struggling trying to make it and you’ve had a decent life— I won’t say you’re a millionaire, but you’ve had the ability to earn income for the last 50 years. You’re damn right you should apologize because you’ve benefited from what treatment that we received and my point, like when I wrote this book is not to— I don’t want to take up all the time. {laughter} I’m not trying to exact vengeance on white people. That’s not the point. But my point is that we should tell the children the truth. That’s the key and the truth comes from when Delores and I tell you what happened to us. Unless you know how nasty white people were at that time, you know—

EDDS: Thank you, Mr. Heidelberg—

HEIDELBERG: And our kids need to know that. That’s the real history about us. There’s nothing good about this. That was an ugly face 50 years ago and we all need to recognize that, that we’ve got to change that and we’ve got to think about you gotta like me, I gotta like you and we gotta like each other if we’re going to ever solve this problem. {applause}
EDDS: Thank you, Mr. Heidelberg. Ms. Hachey, of course, did not attend an integrated classroom, but would you care to comment on what you’re hearing here.

HACHEY: I’d like to say that I’m very sorry myself that that happened to you and I also was tormented by people at my school. Bullies are everywhere and the ones that were bullying you bullied other people, too, and I’m not saying that you didn’t suffer more than I did because I’m sure in your way you did, but I went to the School Board in Charlottesville because there were different schools when I was a teacher up in Charlottesville. I had to substitute for eight years because my father was ill and my mother had dropped dead of a heart attack and black children didn’t have the nice school, the poor black children, and I noticed that during my eight years, that if you lived in an affluent neighborhood, your children got a much better school than— And they were also treated better and it wasn’t just the white people that talked bad to the black children. Some of the black people did, also, so I went before the School Board and I pointed out that, about Clark Elementary School and the result of that was that school was getting ready to be renovated and they found a new principal during that renovation time who was an African American woman. She came back and she replaced the white principal and for 14 years, she was there. She later became the superintendent of schools in Staunton, Virginia, but I understood what it felt like to be bullied and taunted myself, not as much as a black person did maybe, but many people— You can’t say that all of us did that because many people have a good heart whether they’re black or white and I would go— I would’ve gone before the principal probably if I’d been at Norview High School and talked in your favor because that’s who I am as a person.

EDDS: Thank you, Ms. Hachey.

HACHEY: That’s all I wanted to say.
EDDS: Thank you. Mr. Cabarrus, what was it like for you? You attended integrated schools out of state so what was the experience that you found there?

CABARRUS: Yes, I wanted to speak to the experience of having the conditioning from the segregated community that I grew up in, including from the media like I mentioned before, the Emmett Till case, when that came out in Jet magazine and so forth, the trauma that I received from seeing what whites would do to a young black or an older black, for that matter, traumatized me to the point that when I did attend an already integrated white—and it was an integrated school, not just a white school—I still had to deal with things in life that were left over from that earlier point in time such that my first week in school at Bryant High in Yellow Springs, Ohio, a very nice community, didn’t have any problem per se from whites throughout my entire two-year experience there, but my conditioning made it tough for me.

My first week in class in the homeroom there was a white student that was sitting opposite me, the opposite aisle one seat behind and every time I would look in her direction, she would be jerking back and trying to look as though she wasn’t paying me attention, but what popped up for me was the Emmett Till case and I was always taught you just don’t talk to the white girls—

HEIDELBERG: That’s right.

CABARRUS: You leave that alone and she kept seeming like she was trying to give me some kind of attention and I became agitated about it and so I went to the homeroom teacher at the end of that period and made a complaint. She said, “well, okay, Henry, I will talk to her and then I’ll get back to you.” And she did pull her to the side when we came back to the homeroom and found out that the white student was from West Virginia and she had never seen or been close up to a black person in her life ever [laughter] and she just, you know, was just out of curiosity examining me. Well, she hadn’t done anything wrong to me but what I’m trying to explain to the audience is that that conditioning made it tough for me, not just in that situation but in a lot of cases where I should’ve been free to make decisions, I was kind of hemmed and cramped, you know, no, maybe I shouldn’t make this although this person, white person, is saying it’s okay. And the teacher resolved it by saying “it appears that you both have the same difficulty in not knowing about each other. Do you think that you can get to know each other and be okay here in this class or do I have to reassign you to another seat?” And we both looked at each other and we just kind of shook our heads simultaneously, “yes, we can do it.”

EDDS: Thank you, Mr. Cabarrus.

HEIDELBERG: Let me please just add one thing here. I just want to add this because Ms. Hachey said this, but the point is, I appreciate what she says, but we’re not talking about bullies. I mean, I think you’re comparing apples and oranges when you say there’re bullies in every— There are bullies. I mean, I understand that, but we’re not talking about bullies. We’re talking about racism, racist people, the whole school. I’m not talking about one person in the school that dislikes you. I’m talking about we had seven students at Norview High and there were 2,400 whites and when I tell people that in the three-and-a-half years that I went there, I never ever, ever saw another black inside Norview High School. That was complete isolation. I still to today don’t know how could you have 2,400 kids and seven kids and we never saw each other except before school and after school. You’re talking about bullies. That’s the only thing I say.

EDDS: These are very powerful experiences that all of you have had. Dr. Brown—
BROWN: I would like to one comment. I had someone ask me once, “do you mean to tell me out of all those children at that school, you didn’t have at least one friend? There must have been at least one person that liked you,” and I said— I wanted to be truthful and I said, “no, I didn’t have any friends.” It was the loneliest school year of my life. I didn’t have nobody, but I do recall— It seems like there was one girl that was sitting right beside me and I would look at her sometimes and it looked just like in her eyes it was like I would like to be your friend, but, honey, I can’t be your friend because then I won’t have no friends. [laughter] I realized what situation she was in and I’m sure there may have been other nice children and all and well trained and they knew how to treat us, but they were in fear of what would happen to them so that’s why it seems like everybody was very, very cruel to us and it seems like it was hardly a day when I returned home that I just didn’t go in my room and cry. That’s how hurt I was. I couldn’t even get my homework done until I could just release some of that hurt and even when I tried reading Andrew’s book, I started crying like a baby. I had to put the book down. I couldn’t finish it in one sitting because it brought back memories that I thought I had forgotten but they came right back.

EDDS: Thank you, Dr. Brown. Sadly, our time is running short here. What I’d like to do is have one more question that we go down the line pretty quickly with, and then we can take some questions from the audience. I’d just like to ask you what the long-term impact on you personally has been of being a child of history and do you think our society is a better place today because of what you experienced? I know we could all talk half an hour on that subject, but if we could just be brief and then we’ll get to some questions. Shall we just go down the line? Would that be okay?

HEIDELBERG: I’m ready

FREEMAN: Actually, as the long term, I tried to close the book on it. We were chosen. We did it and that was it and I moved on. And I think that because of what happened, it has really made me a better person, a stronger person and it has really helped me in the position that I’m in now. I’m a tax rep and I would stand up to any white person and one thing about it, in my job, you have to come around to me [laughter] so I’m okay. I really think that it really made me stronger. It has cheated me out of the best years of my life. My school years, when I should’ve been happy and all of that, I got cheated out of that and I feel that— Well, and I never thought of myself as being history. I’m like, you know, I didn’t make a history. I never thought about it. I didn’t do it because of that. I did it because my daddy and my mom said so, because they wanted us to have a better education and that was about it. I made some moves in my life that maybe I shouldn’t have and I could probably be further along in life, but presently, I’m really happy. I’m happy what I do. I love my job.

I have worked in northern Virginia. I live in Front Royal. I’ve lived in Front Royal all my life. I worked in northern Virginia. I worked with a different class of people in northern Virginia. I came back to Winchester last year to work because my job closed down in Fairfax. I believe they’re still racist. I think now that we have been relaxed for so many years and I think now that we need to step up to the plate again because it’s almost as bad as it was back then, but I think we need to get active again. We need to resolve some more of these issues. In around Front Royal, they get maybe one or two blacks in the job and they think that they’re really equal opportunity but in my book, it’s not equal.

EDDS: Thank you, Ms. Freeman. Ms. Lugo, what was the long-term impact on you personally and do you think we’re better as a society?

LUGO: I think the long-term effect probably was a real question more than anything else. How could
people be so ugly? How could people be so stupid? How could you even look at another human being and assume that you’re superior to that person? You have no knowledge of that person or what they bring with them to the table.

The second thing is with respect—I know this happy time. We’re getting apologies from this and apologies from that, but I’ll tell you, if you smash my front windshield, I’m sorry ain’t enough. [laughter] I’m sorry, it is not enough. I want my windshield put back in place just like it was. You have no privilege that I don’t have and I just don’t like to make things be something they aren’t.

**EDDS:** Thank you, Ms. Lugo. Dr. Brown—

**BROWN:** Having had this experience, it really made me become a much better person. It motivated me that I decided I really wanted to teach all children and I wanted to start while they were young because you can rest assured the things that teachers sort of turn their head or they didn’t hear it, they tuned it out. I would never let another student mistreat another student without saying, “now, let’s wait a minute. Let’s get this straight, because we don’t treat each other like that in this class. We are all one big family and when there’s a problem, we’re going to sit down and we’re going to discuss it. We’re not going to call any names,” so I just thank God that I had that opportunity. It really motivated me to be a much better person but I must share one experience about slavery. When I was in my history class, we were learning about slavery and all and the teacher said, “you know, I don’t know why people think slavery was bad. Slavery wasn’t bad at all.” She said, “even our—the black people liked slavery.” She said, “look at her. Back in those days, she would’ve been happy because she would’ve been a house slave.” What did she say that for? The boys in the room said, “house slave, house slave,” and then when they got out in the hall, they didn’t say “house slave.” They said “nigger slave, nigger slave.” I just couldn’t imagine how a grown person could treat a child like that and I just thank God that I had the opportunity to treat all children well and not allow anything like that to happen in any of my classes. [applause]

**EDDS:** Thank you, Dr. Brown.

**HEIDELBERG:** Long-term impact—I am definitely a much better person by my experience and I appreciate God giving me that opportunity although I don’t necessarily think, as Pat always says, we’d do it again. I don’t know if I’d do it again. [laughter] Ms. Lugo, I love you, Ms. Lugo. I love the way you put it. I don’t think I’ve closed the book on it. I will never forget it and I still believe that if you do forget it, you’re apt to repeat and like I say, I know we are much better. Anybody who lives now, 2009, and not know that this is a better country than it was 50 years ago is obviously blind, but the point is that what I tried to impress upon all the races is that here we are in 2009 and we’re still fighting for that freedom and I often wonder how white people would feel if we were to say to them, “but look how far you’ve come,” you know what I’m saying. But you’re not there yet, so that’s the enigma that I find with me and blacks, black men, young black boys, and I think that we just have so very far to go and if we don’t continue, as you did say, get this thing back on the road, so you can’t forget it, because we have to get back on the road and understand that nobody’s free until we’re all free and we need to seriously—

I applaud Virginia, see, because I’m on the Brown v. Board of Education Scholarships Award Committee and even though the $2 million that we got—We got a million dollars from the General Assembly and a very generous donation from Mr. John Kluge, another million dollars, and those funds are used to send anybody in Virginia to school if that person was in school between 1954 and 1964, so that’s blacks or whites. You can go to school. You can get a doctorate, masters, undergraduate degree, GED, whatever it is you want to do, so I applaud Virginia on that because even though it’s not
like reparations, it’s at least the Commonwealth of Virginia has a little more than apologized. I mean, like this is putting your money where your mouth is. I think that’s a great thing and Virginia should be applauded on that aspect of it.

**EDDS:** Thank you, Mr. Heidelberg. Ms. Hachey—

**HACHEY:** Well, I didn’t even think about this incident until Ms. Lugo mentioned her windshield or something, but I taught in an all-black school my first teaching experience. It was in Norfolk. It was in south Norfolk at Abraham Lincoln Elementary and I taught 3rd grade. There were three white people in the whole school. All the rest were black children and my children forgot that I was white and I learned that year that color is a concept and I’ll tell you how that happened. We had a festival for the girls to bring dolls and one brought an Italian doll and I was sitting in a reading group with some of my students and one of them said, “oh, that doll looks like teacher.” And this little boy named William said, “that doll is white.” [laughter] And that’s not the part that I’d forgotten. There was an older boy in the school that was mad at me just because I was white and he came and urinated in my houseplants that I’d brought for the children and also scratched a big X on my car and so what I’m trying to say is we can’t judge people by their color. We can’t do that and people that got hurt, to try to hurt somebody back, that’s not right, because everyone wasn’t bad and you don’t know who you’re hurting. It’s better to have forgiveness because if you carry around all that resentment, you’re the one that’s going to be hurt the most.

**EDDS:** Thank you, Ms. Hachey.

**CABARRUS:** Well, I will start my answer with the long-term impact with *Many Broken Promises and Yet I Still Stand*, because when we go back to the original question of integration, America has never been fully integrated, especially on the employment point of view. Now, that’s when you’re talking constitutional rights and stuff. You may or may not have a right to a higher education but you definitely should have a right to a good job and when I go through my life, I make sure that I chronicle all of the jobs that I held from teenager until I retired two years ago and the racism is still there. I mean, we want to push it under the rug. We want to say things are good because we have progressed as a nation to a point, but when I came back, as an example of how this still affects me, came back to Virginia after being in California for 25 years and my first job was at the local hospital in Farmville and I had been
in such mixed societies and friendship circles that I had basically forgotten the “n” word, not that I
didn’t understand it. I just kind of, you know, it wasn’t there anymore, but my first job taught me that
it’s still here. [laughter]

When I was hired as a unit coordinator, the first man and also first black man to be hired as a unit
coordinator, the “n” word was “why did they hire that ‘n’ up here?” Then I was promoted on to being
a supervisor in that same hospital and I had 20-something staff and every time I would walk down the
hallway until I finally, out of frustration, gave up, I would hear within my ear shot as I would go down
the hall, “why did they hire that ‘n.’ I know there’re plenty of whites around here that could qualify for
that job.” But we still say things are better, but you still have to be a soldier or something to survive out
here. [laughter] It’s not pretty. It’s not all sweet and candy and so forth, so my title Many Broken Promises
and Yet I Stand tries to symbolize in those words that in order to still make it, you have to dig down
in yourself, be it through servants to the Lord or just some kind of ideology that you’ve developed or
learned through education and dig down and know that you are worthy, that no matter what a person
calls you or what the challenge is, you are the only one that can determine if you can do it.

EDDS: Thank you so much. Those are powerful words to conclude on. [applause] We have a few
minutes for questions and I think the microphones are set up here if anyone has a question, if you
would come.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Is it all right if I ask Andrew a question?

EDDS: Certainly.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: You were sports-minded. When you went to Norview, did you try to
play sports there?

HEIDELBERG: Yes, in my junior year, I went out for the football team. I don’t know whether you
know this, but Norview was one of the premier football schools on the entire East Coast and I went
out for the football team in 1960 and they cut me from the team when I knew was good enough, but
as I did not finish my story because it’s so long. I did go out in my senior year and I played and I was a
star on the team and this is what distinguishes me probably from the other 16 is that I did see a good
side of white people in that last year. As much as the two-and-a-half years were my worst two years of
my life, that senior year was that absolute best year in my life, until today.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: What position did you play?

HEIDELBERG: I was a running back.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: I thought so.

HEIDELBERG: “[laughter]

LUGO: I can’t let that pass. Burley— I’m sorry. The 1956 football season, Burley was unscored-upon,
undefeated [laughter] and that record stands today. Check it. [laughter]

HEIDELBERG: Norview won 37 straight games. [laughter] That’s three-and-a-half years without a
defeat.
EDDS: . . . our teachers. Should this history be taught in a different way? Is it taught now?

BROWN: I would agree that it should be taught the way you are suggesting. You’d be surprised at how it would make all children realize we are all human beings and you just can’t imagine what the African American children have been through so I strongly support. I just feel terrible when somebody comes up to me and says, “well, I saw you on television, but I can’t remember, what did you do?” and I said, “well, I’m one of the Norfolk 17.” “Well, what is that? Tell me about that.” That shouldn’t be. They should know about the Norfolk 17, so I would definitely advocate let’s get history right and let’s put all the history in the history books. [applause]

HEIDELBERG: Let me just add one thing to that, because I agree with you and I often say that’s one of the reasons why I think the Jewish population keeps the Holocaust fresh in your mind, because they don’t want you to forget what happened, but I can also speak for Norfolk, the City of Norfolk, because this year they made this book required reading in Norfolk Public Schools which is what I’m trying to do in this whole state of Virginia. At least there’s one voice of what really went down that the children can read and see for themselves.

EDDS: Yes, Governor Holton, did you have a question?

GOVERNOR A. LINWOOD HOLTON, JR.:
Margaret, I just want to say how much we appreciate what you all did because as Dr. Brown phrased it, according to somebody else, you paved the way. You did indeed pave the way and it was difficult and we [begin] to recognize some of what you went through, but, believe me, we do appreciate it. [applause]

HEIDELBERG: Thank you so much.

EDDS: Thank you.

GOVERNOR LINWOOD HOLTON: I want to embarrass my daughter a little bit. A few years after what you did, she made a contribution to the same progress and she’s got to leave and not going to be here much longer, but I want to recognize my little girl, the present First Lady of Virginia. [applause]

EDDS: Thank you so much. I think our time has concluded. . . . Thank you so much, Ms. Turner. I want to thank all of our panelists for their example and for educating us about it today. Thank you.
Politics and Media During Massive Resistance

DR. LARRY SABATO: This panel is about politics and media during Massive Resistance, not necessarily the interrelationship—Not purely the interrelationship between politics and media. Some will be pure politics; some will be pure media; some will be the interrelationship, but before I start, where is the First Lady of Virginia, Anne Holton? Anne reminded me to mention that you ought to go upstairs during the break to see the civil rights memorial on the grounds.

You talk about a change and, again, in the 1950s, for that matter, in the 1960s, could you have imagined a memorial to the civil rights movement and the figures in Virginia who made such a difference in civil rights being on the Capital grounds? I certainly couldn’t, having first stepped in here in 1966. Anne and her predecessor, Lisa Collis, and so many other people were involved in putting that memorial there and we salute them for that effort.

Politics and media during Massive Resistance—I’m going to move right down the line and give them a very short introduction. Governor Holton has already received entirely too much attention this morning. [laughter]

GOVERNOR A. LINWOOD HOLTON, JR.: To cover up his jokes. [laughter]

SABATO: The first Republican governor of the 20th century in Virginia, Governor Holton played a key role in shaping the Commonwealth’s modern history. He’s known for many things, but I think especially for his contributions to race relations right from his inaugural address forward, in which he said he wanted to make Virginia a model of race relations in the country and back in 1970, that was shocking to hear. Governor Holton reinvigorated the two-party system in Virginia. He also fought the Byrd Machine politics and policies during the Massive Resistance era and during school busing in the early-1970s, Governor Holton voluntarily placed his children in Richmond Public Schools, fully integrated Richmond Public Schools. [applause]

Next to Governor Holton we have Mr. Luther Carter. Mr. Carter was a reporter for the Virginia Pilot in the late 1950s and he covered the school integration crisis. He later served four years as a Virginia Pilot Washington and Pentagon correspondent and he’s won fellowships or grants from loads of places—American Political Science Association, Rockefeller Foundation, the McArthur Foundation, and so on. He’s a native of Charlotte, North Carolina, and has a bachelor’s degree from Duke.

Next to Mr. Carter we have the Chief Justice of Virginia, Leroy Hassell, and we’re very proud of Chief Justice Hassell. He was born in Norfolk in 1955. He was one of the first 14 African American students to attend Lake Taylor Junior High School in 1967. He graduated from Norview High School where he was an award-winning debater, which surprises none of us. He is qualified to be on the panel having earned his B.A. from the University of Virginia. Unfortunately, he could not get into the University’s Law School and had to settle for Harvard. When he was only 34 years old, Chief Justice Hassell was chosen for the State Supreme Court and in 2002, he was elected Chief Justice on the Court by his peers.
The villains were lots of people who simply could not accept the fact that black people were the same as white people. They were property and that was the background that predominated for a while.

–Governor A. Linwood Holton, Jr.

becoming the first African American Chief Justice in Virginia.

Next to the Chief Justice is Brenda Andrews. Andrews is a veteran journalist and publisher of The New Journal and Guide, Virginia’s oldest African American weekly newspaper since 1900, headquartered in Norfolk. She was born in Lynchburg where she was a child soldier in civil rights movement. She wanted to point out that the rest of us are older and I don’t blame her one bit. At age 14, she was one of the four African American children to successfully challenge her city’s Massive Resistance policies and desegregate, under court order, the formerly all-white E.C. Glass High School in Lynchburg, Virginia.

Next to Ms. Andrews, Senator Marsh, and all of us know Senator Marsh. He’s been a senior figure in Virginia politics for decades. He is currently serving his fifth term as a Virginia State Senator from 1966 to 1977 and then again from 1982 to 1992. Henry Marsh served on the Richmond City Council. In the four years in between those terms, he served as the first African American mayor of Richmond. As a student leader at Virginia Union, Henry Marsh spoke out against Massive Resistance in the 1950s. Beginning in 1966 as an attorney with Hill, Tucker & Marsh, he handled more than 50 cases concerning desegregation. He earned his bachelor’s degree from Virginia Union.

Next to Senator Marsh is Dr. James Hershman. Professor Hershman joined the Georgetown Government Affair Institute in 1983. Prior to that, he had taught history at the University of Virginia, at Wake Forest University, and at Georgetown University. He’s a highly regarded analyst of the American political scene and has lectured on Congress and politics before hundreds of groups. He has written extensively on Virginia’s desegregation of public schools and Massive Resistance itself. He holds a B.A. from Lynchburg College, an M.A. from Wake Forest and a Ph.D., appropriately, from the University of Virginia.

And finally last, but definitely not least, Jeff Schapiro. Jeff is the chief political reporter and a very able reporter, at the Richmond Times-Dispatch. He was not at the Richmond Times-Dispatch during Massive Resistance or decades thereafter. He is responsible not for the Massive Resistance coverage of the Times-Dispatch, but for daily news coverage, features and a weekend column in Virginia’s largest newspaper. Remember, the Post is located in Washington. Jeff has written as correspondent for The Economist and other national news outlets and he’s appeared as an analyst on many commentary shows — the “Jim Lehrer News Hour” and “Virginia Currents” and so on. He’s a graduate of Georgetown University.

What a distinguished panel. I’m thrilled to have them all here and I’m going to start out with one central question and, of course, you all can take it wherever and Governor Holton will ignore it [laughter] and that’s okay. The question that I have for most of the panel — is, in your perspective, from your perspective and in your opinion, who were the true heroes of Massive Resistance? Who were truly the villains of Massive Resistance? And I think it’s appropriate for you to comment on the vast majority who were in that great gray middle, maybe sometimes doing good things and sometimes doing bad things; the heroes, the villains, and the people in between.

HOLTON: Will you hold my hand?

SABATO: No. That’s asking too much. [laughter]

HOLTON: What we were lacking between 1954 when Brown v. Board of Education was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States and the end of Massive Resistance in 1959, the very thing we were lacking was heroes. Everybody was scared to death. The villains were lots of people who simply could not accept the fact that black people were the same as white people. They were property and that was the background that predominated for a while. It was most unfortunate. Larry and his article that he had in
the *Times-Dispatch* this past Sunday describes Massive Resistance as, except for the original sin of slavery, Massive Resistance is the most indelible stain on the state’s soul. I agree with that concept. I would amend his statement very slightly and include secession as one of the stains on our soul of Virginia.

Virginia had a great opportunity in 1861 to keep this nation together and it decided to try to destroy the United States. Again, in 1902, we rewrote the Constitution of Virginia and we created another serious stain on Virginia’s soul because we put into that Constitution a provision that black people were not going to be permitted to vote regardless of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, so Larry, except those two little amendments to your statement, but let me agree with you otherwise.

**Sabato:** I appreciate it.

**Holton:** The unfortunate part in that ’54 to ’59, particularly, was that people were simply scared to death. I was a big enough fool that I made a speech to the Kiwanis Club of the City of Roanoke when I was a young lawyer. I had just been practicing law in Roanoke for four years after graduating from that inferior school in Cambridge, Massachusetts. [laughter] And so I wasn’t really accepted very well, but the Kiwanis Club did ask me to make a talk about the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* and on March 23, 1955. Less than a year after the decision was handed down, I wrote a speech. I seldom wrote speeches, but I did write this one because it was so sensitive, in which I tried to explain the background for that decision and to have people begin to understand that the Supreme Court really was right and that we were going to have to comply with its provisions.

I said in that speech to the Kiwanis Club, some of you think, no doubt, that I am something of a fool to talk about a matter which could so easily be classified as “too hot to handle.” As a matter of fact, in a political speech after this decision was announced, I made a reference to the need for leadership in the course of the adjustment to this new idea of public school integration. The speech was rather fully reported in the newspapers and upon reading it, a good friend of mine commented, facetiously perhaps, but maybe not, “if Lin keeps on talking about segregation, he’ll end up talking to himself.” And that was true. There was a group of civic-minded citizens of the city outside of the plantation atmosphere of Virginia that was more prevalent in the southside and eastern Virginia.

It probably was in connection with the 1956 elections. We had elected as part of our party-building effort and my objective in life was to create a two-party competitive system in Virginia by creating a Republican Party that had permanence. I made a speech in connection with the re-nomination of Richard Poff who had been elected, to everybody’s surprise, in 1952 and again in 1954 just after the *Brown* decision and nobody really was paying much attention to it as of the election in 1954. But by 1956, when we were looking to the re-election of Eisenhower and thinking that we were really beginning to move to create a permanent Republican Party in Virginia, I said in a speech, “we, the Republicans, having built a little bit so far now have an opportunity to take the leadership to help the citizens of Virginia make an adjustment to a requirement of the Supreme Court of the United States that nobody else is helping to lead.”

The firebrands were saying “never.” The candidate for governor of Virginia the very following
year I heard say in the reports that now Jefferson Auditorium— the Fitzpatrick of the Jefferson High School in Roanoke, “I would rather lose my right arm than to have one Negro child attend the white schools of Virginia.” That was campaign talk, ’57, for governor of Virginia.

SABATO: Lindsay Almond.

HOLTON: I didn’t use his name.

SABATO: Oh— [laughter] Well, I just wanted to clarify it for the group.

HOLTON: Thank you, sir. But that was the attitude on the other side and I was trying to get the Republican Party to take what I considered to be an opportunity for the future of leadership that would help Virginia made an adjustment that it never had been required to make before. How could you have a better opportunity than to say to Virginia in that situation, look, we’re part of this United States and we’re going to comply with its laws and carry out the directives of its top court, and do you know what? The editors of the Richmond newspapers raised so much hell about my having said that that Richard Poff, who was running for re-election, scurried back into a rat hole and never came out again. He had signed— He’s a dear friend of mine and he’s still alive. He’s unfortunately in ill health, but he had signed the Southern Manifesto which said we shake our fists at the Supreme Court of the United States and we’re not going to comply with that. Every southern political elected office in the federal establishment signed the Southern Manifesto except a man named Sam Rayburn. He was the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. He got by without signing that durn thing. Lyndon Johnson didn’t sign it. He made out all right. He went to the top. An Oklahoman— now, you can help me again— Speaker of the House of Representatives didn’t sign it, Carl Albert. Beat you at that.

SABATO: You did beat me.

HOLTON: And he got to be— And Lin Holton opposed the Southern Manifesto and he reached a fairly significant plateau in the political life of Virginia. So you didn’t have to run in a hole but everybody was scared to death. The whole atmosphere was if you dare indicate anything other than impeach the Warren Court, support John Birch, if you vocalized any moderate position, you were apt to be buried politically. It worked out pretty well for me because in 1957, I was running for the House of Delegates for the second time. I didn’t make it because the president of the United States had to send the 101st Division of the United States Air Force to Little Rock to protect the basic constitutional rights of a group of black kids to attend school and that created such an anti-feeling against Republicans that whereas I had gotten 49% of the vote in 1955 running for that office and was surely going to be elected in 1957 on the coattails of Ted Dalton who was very popular in Roanoke. But when Eisenhower sent troops to Little Rock, that ended any future for Republicans for a minimum of five years.

It worked out pretty well for me, though, because in 1965, when I was running and trying to build up a campaign that I thought could elect me in 1969, I had a conversation with that president and I said, “General, I would’ve been elected. We’re trying to build a Republican Party in the South. I would’ve been elected except for the fact that you had to send troops to Little Rock, but what you were doing was right and I supported you. I put an ad in the newspaper in Roanoke on Sunday before the election, a full-page ad, with two-inch letters across the middle of it in red ink saying ‘Against Massive Resistance— Keep Our Schools Open’” and I said, “General, I supported you,” and when he finished our conversation that day, I having asked him to come down and campaign for me in that election 1965, we didn’t have anything else going for us that year, but he said to me, “I’m going to seriously consider
your invitation to come and campaign for you. I ‘spect I owe you one.” And he came and appeared on the Capital steps here in this very location and campaigned for us as we began to build that party and we did put it together and we now have that competitive situation in Virginia, but as a result of Massive Resistance, the politics were very difficult and yet challenging and from our standpoint, fun. We are grateful to have had the opportunities that we’ve had and proud of what we’ve done in spite of the victims that were on the other side. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

SABATO: I enjoyed that enormously, as we all did, and that was a great historical sketch of the period, and, of course, the individual that Governor Holton didn’t want to mention, the other governor who I dare not mention again because I may be rebuked, was, of course, a member of the Byrd organization. He was the Byrd organization candidate for governor, the one who said he’d rather lose his arm than to have integration of the schools, and Luther Carter was covering Massive Resistance in Norfolk and we’d be interested in your perspectives, both on the politics and on the media coverage. Of course, your paper was very different than the ones in Richmond.

MR. LUTHER CARTER: In the abstract, I always thought of the black children who entered those schools, the 17 in Norfolk and those in Charlottesville and Warren County, but after hearing what was said this morning, I feel that quite deeply. They were truly heroes and there’re precious few other heroes. I think my colleague here on the panel, Linwood Holton, was certainly one of the heroes. No one paying him enough mind and that’s also true of Lenore Chambers, the editor of my paper, in Norfolk, who was quite persistent in his advocacy of compliance with the Brown decision. Very measured tones and quite forceful, but outside Norfolk, no one was paying him any mind. All the attention was going to one James Jackson Kilpatrick who may very well count— have to count as a villain, but on this matter of villains, I would like to speak to not so much an individual but an overriding condition and that is the pervasive provincialism that was true of Virginia and most of the South during this period.

Senator Byrd— He voted against the Marshall Plan to restore prosperity to Europe and I think neither he nor any of his colleagues, his southern colleagues, had any real sense of what was emerging in the world.

– Luther Carter
center of the organization’s strength. I think you can see it in the defenders of state sovereignty and individual liberties, the Virginia equivalent of the deep South Citizen Councils, the role that they had to play and even in Kilpatrick’s editorial campaign, the idea of interposition is complete nonsense and could not have received any respectful attention among a citizenry— among a population— [laughter] I don’t have the glib talents of my friend here, but he wouldn’t have been heard in a society that was not characterized by this sort of deep provincialism I’m talking about and so with that—

SABATO: Excellent, and just to clarify again, for young people who don’t follow and weren’t alive then and haven’t followed some of the personalities, James Jackson Kilpatrick was the principal editorial writer for the Richmond News-Leader. He was the one who thundered support for interposition, Massive Resistance. I think we could all agree on that. Mr. Chief Justice, what’s your perspective on all this?

CHIEF JUSTICE LEROY HASSELL: But I’m going to respond to the question about the heroes, who were the heroes. There were heroes and then there were what I described as reluctant heroes. I was four-and-a-half going on five when these events were unfolding and I was one of six children in Norfolk and the closing of the schools in Norfolk and Massive Resistance affected every citizen, but affected every black citizen in Norfolk greatly, and the heroes, the true heroes, were the children and their parents. There was fear. There was intimidation. There was uncertainty and even the children, the black children who attended Booker T. Washington High School in Norfolk, they too were subjected to fear and intimidation but in spite of the fear, in spite of the economic pressures, they did not fold and go home. And they could have and had they gone home, the battle would’ve been over and we would not have realized our share in the American dream.

And so I say with great zeal and great emotions that the black children and their families who suffered greatly were indeed the true heroes, but there were reluctant heroes and the reluctant heroes, in my judgment, were the courts. I do not believe that Judge Hoffman woke up one morning and said let’s go make change, but he did so because that’s where the Constitution placed him and there was a case at the Supreme Court of Virginia called Harrison v. Day and Albertus Harrison who was the Attorney General and he would later become governor of Virginia, but he filed a lawsuit at the Supreme Court. In the lawsuit, he argued that even though the Constitution of Virginia required that the state provide a system of free public education to all of its citizens, that constitutional promise was predicated upon a system of schools that were separate but equal and that constitutional promise was not predicated upon a system of public schools where racial integration existed and because racial integration was being imposed upon the state by the bad federal government and by the bad federal courts, this promise, this constitutional promise, is no longer required to be enforced by the state courts. And the Supreme Court of Virginia, in this instance, was a reluctant hero because the Supreme Court of Virginia disagreed with him.

And last but not least, the Norfolk case, as you may know, has a very, very, very long history, a very long history, and ultimately the Norfolk case resulted in cross-town busing and full integration in the Norfolk Public Schools. There is a man who is on this panel who in my judgment is overlooked very, very much, but I don’t know of a lawyer who is now living who has made greater contributions to civil rights and to the fulfillment of constitutional rights for black citizens and all citizens— I mean, no one has done as much as Henry Marsh. [applause] And so I would call Senator Marsh a hero, but he was not a reluctant hero. He was a hero who sacrificed greatly.
SABATO: Fantastic. Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice, for an excellent perspective. Brenda Andrews and, again, just answer it any way you please.

MS. BRENDA ANDREWS: Let me repeat that. I said I want to make sure that I’m in good fellowship here with the rest of my colleagues with the University of Virginia by saying that I was one of the Commonwealth’s first Fellows to study at the University of Virginia in the field of humanities and public policy. [applause]

Also, I speak today from actually three perspectives. I want to answer the question about the heroes and the villains and I’d like to pick up where the Chief Justice left off with the heroes. I think the heroes of that time period are the heroes that we see in any era and those are the people who do the right thing even if it goes against their ingrained senses, even if it means having to give up some of their friends, even if it means not being the popular kid, so the hero could’ve been a white student at one of the schools that we’ve talked about being desegregated who was not afraid to say hi to a black student. The hero could be the parents. Certainly, heroes were the students and I consider myself one of those students because as the individuals on the previous panel spoke this morning, I was taken back to being one of the first four students to desegregate the schools in Lynchburg, Virginia, but what we have to remember about this whole Massive Resistance discussion is that we were living in an era where an accepted way of life was being challenged and so the people that we think of as the villains, and certainly the people that were reported on in the black press and certainly Governor Almond, was considered a villain in the black press.

Those people were doing all they knew to do to hold onto a way of a life that had worked very well for them. The heroes were the people who opposed that way of life continuing at the expense of African American people and so I think that we can’t single into any individuals because if we do, then we tend to forget how will the panel 50 years from now be recording what we’re doing in our country now.

Education over the past 50 years as a result of rebellious actions related to Massive Resistance have brought us to a time and a period where we have high dropout rates among black children, we have schools that are populated by mainly women, white women teachers, as opposed to some of the strong African American women teachers that we had in the past. We have not enough—a scarcity of African American males in the classroom. What has happened as a result of Massive Resistance is that we now have passive resistance and that is the issue that they’ll be talking about 50 years from now and defining
who were the villains in 2009 and who were the heroes, and the answer will be the same answer that I’m giving today. It will be the heroes will be those who see the problem, address the problem, change the problem, even if it means that what they’re dealing with makes them a little uncomfortable. The villains will be those who accept the problem, excuse the problem, and hold onto the problem if the problem is meeting and addressing their needs. [applause]

SABATO: Thank you. You had a lot of popular support for what you said and Senator Marsh has already been endorsed by the Chief Justice. I don’t know how you respond.

SENATOR HENRY MARSH: I’m going to take a slightly different tact because the heroes, first, were the organizations that brought the case to the court and then followed up to implement the case. No one has mentioned the NAACP and the organization and were it not for that organization, even the parents, the black parents who stood out and the white supporters, probably wouldn’t have had enough cover to do it. The NAACP, the Legal Defense Fund, after they won the case, they took on the tough job of implementing it and L. Francis Griffin, the head of the NAACP at the critical time, W. Lester Banks, the Executive Secretary—both of them are deceased—but they dedicated their lives to making sure that Brown was implemented, and they’re the heroes because without that framework of the NAACP pushing, nothing probably would’ve happened.

ANDREWS: That’s right.

MARSH: And I was so glad to see the statue on the capital because it recognized L. Francis Griffin and Oliver Hill and Spot Robinson, the lawyers who made the case possible, also who made the implementation possible. They’re the heroes and after that, the parents who encouraged their children, supported their children, to attend these integrated schools. They’re the heroes and the family members of the children. They made the revolution possible.

But there were others who would be considered heroes. The federal judges who ordered desegregation. Someone mentioned Judge Hoffman. He ordered the first 17 in but after that, apparently there was some retaliation against him or social pressure or something. After that, he fought bitterly to keep the schools from being integrated from 1963 until 1982 and I was the young lawyer who walked into the office and Mr. Tucker said, “Henry, will you take the Norfolk case?” and I said, “sure.” And I went on down to Norfolk in ’63 and as the Chief Justice mentioned, we didn’t finish the case until 1982. Every year, Judge Hoffman would rule against us and we’d go to the Court of Appeals and they’d rule against him and it went back and forth until one year I caught him out of town. [laughter] He was a famous jurist and they sent him to Las Vegas to handle a Mafia case and when he came back, Judge McKenzie had ordered each school integrated, 58% white, 42% black. The faculty was integrated. Free transportation for the kids. He called me and said, “Henry, you tricked me. You tricked me.” [laughter] I said, “what happened, Judge?” He said, “you called that case.” I said, “Judge, I thought you were going to be in town. I didn’t know you were leaving town.” [laughter]

The media—We talked about the media in a blanket. There’s two medias. There’s the white media which included the establishment media, daily papers and then there’s the black media. They were on different sides in this struggle. The Afro, the Daily Free Press, the Journal & Guide, these parts of the media and a few black radio stations, were the good guys. Most of the white papers, although some were worse than others, were the bad guys.

ANDREWS: That’s right.
**MARSH:** And the good guy media folks gave courage and leadership to the civil rights leaders and the parents and they told the story. One of the groups someone else has mentioned is the white supporters of the NAACP. The state tried to get the membership list, the contribution list, and as a young lawyer, I was part of the group that defended those organizations in not turning over those lists. I said those people would be retaliated against and the General Assembly of which I’m now a member, set up a special committee to harass white supporters and black supporters of desegregation and they would call people before the Committee, white and black. Sarah Patton Boyle of Charlottesville, Francis [Teeter] of Lynchburg, and David Gunner of Petersburg, and they would ask them questions— are you communist, do you believe in the Constitution of the United States, and actually we were defending people who stood up for justice and the question, and this amazed me, the question is why are you doing this. These inquiries were made by the General Assembly of Virginia and a special committee was misnamed the Committee on the Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, and they assumed that these sympathizers, were people against the administration of justice. They weren’t satisfied with the committee. They hired special law firms to prosecute these citizens. None of them were ever prosecuted, but the idea of singling them out would intimidate many others from taking a position.

So this was an exciting time for Virginia and there’re two aspects of Massive Resistance. One, it brought out the worst in Virginia, but, two, it brought out the best in Virginia at the same time. A lot of those of us involved in the movement would not have developed a function had it not been for the challenge that Massive Resistance presented, and my theory is that because Virginia resisted, there was created in the state a counter-resistance in almost every community and that counter-resistance lasted to elect African American mayors in almost every city, every community in the state. We had more than any other state. At one point, we had African American mayors in Fredericksburg, Charlottesville, Lynchburg, Danville, even in Richmond [laughter] and it was because of the nucleus of persons who were forced together to fight for justice in Virginia, so Massive Resistance wasn’t all bad. It was bad because of the suffering you heard about this morning, but it was good because it brought out the true qualities in Virginia which Virginia will never be the same because of that. [applause]

**SABATO:** There was one silver lining to it, Senator Marsh. That’s interesting. One silver lining to Massive Resistance. All right, Jim Hershman.

**DR. JAMES HERSHMAN:** Larry, in thinking about who the heroes and I think everybody has covered a lot of that ground, but I’d have to agree completely with what the Senator said. It’s the parents and the children who went to those schools. Massive Resistance had three parts. It was adopted in 1956 and ’58. The first part was closing the schools. If a federal judge ordered desegregation with the idea that you would replace those schools with a system of private schools, that wouldn’t really be private. They’d be subsidized by state tuition grants. That was the big stick that they had.

The other thing that they had was the NAACP and I can remember visiting the Hill, Tucker & Marsh law firm and the great pleasure I had in getting to know Oliver Hill and actually a man I consider the greatest Virginian of the 20th century, and Tucker, also, is an amazing man, but they tried to disbar them. They put all sorts of pressure on them. The committees that the Senator described went out to the various localities of Charlottesville and Arlington and Norfolk— all the places where people were filing petitions to go to school— to try to intimidate people out of it.

Then, third, in 1958, they created the Commission on Constitutional Government which was their propaganda arm. This was to sell their idea. Their publications director, of course, was the aforementioned James J. Kilpatrick, so that was the structure of Massive Resistance and the full force of the state of Virginia and all that it meant and what that meant was unlike almost any state in the nation, we were under the control of the Byrd Organization. The Byrd organization was really a tie between the
We’d had a 300-year poison in Virginia by that time that had existed since the late 17th century and it was racism and the racial caste system and this was a poison.

— Dr. James Hershman

political and the social and economic leadership so to defy them, if you were in business or anything else, you were not going to have any business. They were going to come down hard on you. They had a kind of a control that was almost unique in America when I look at it and that was remarkable. They created an atmosphere.

Of course, we’d had a 300-year poison in Virginia by that time that had existed since the late 17th century and it was racism and the racial caste system and this was a poison that this system— It didn’t just— It didn’t really benefit the whites and it destroyed the state. It destroyed much of the potential because it meant, when I was growing up in the 1950s, one, and you and I, 20% of the population was oppressed and not allowed to bring out their potential, their wealth-creating, their talent. Only God knows how wealthy, what kind of state Virginia could’ve been without the racism that we experienced, and so that was what they were fighting.

And they created this atmosphere in 1956. You were either white or black in Virginia. There was nobody in the middle. There were Indian people and they had declared them one way or the other and you were either for integration or you were for segregation, just the same way, and there was no middle ground, and so the people like Governor Holton that called themselves moderates, by 1958 found themselves in a very difficult position. So I remember two of the white people I met and I’d nominate them for heroes in this and it was in Arlington, Ed and Elizabeth Campbell, and I remember, they were some of the first people I talked to and Mrs. Campbell had been the head of the School Board in Arlington and in 1956, early 1956, late ’55, ’56. She had come up with a plan that the School Board had adopted to desegregate the schools in Arlington on a year-by-year basis and, of course, once that got down here to the General Assembly— oh, no, you know.

Arlington at that time had the only elected School Board in the Commonwealth of Virginia, a special right that was given to them. That right was pulled back immediately. When they adopted Massive Resistance, former Governor Tuck who was a congressman from the 5th District, from the southside, which was completely under the control of the Byrd organization— it was sort of its heart, its base— was the most conservative region of the state. And Governor Tuck said, “if Arlington won’t go along, I say make ‘em.” And that was the attitude that they had. They removed that and then, of course, Ed Campbell was the lawyer in the federal case, James v. Almond that they brought. And he knew. He told his wife, he said, “if I take this case, I’ll probably never practice law in Virginia again because I’m defying Harry Byrd,” and of course, I couldn’t— I went into their house and nobody could’ve been more Virginian than Ed Campbell. He had letters on his wall from Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson to his ancestors and nobody could’ve been more Virginian, but they attacked him— so they are two of my heroes.

They created a thing called the Virginia Committee for Public Schools and it became a large organization and they’re reluctant heroes, I admit, because they didn’t start forming until the threat to the schools became real. Then they were out in all the communities and the cities of Virginia. They formed 15 branches of it and they ultimately had 25,000 people in it. They were a political force because at that time, only about 250,000 people voted in Virginia, and so it was enough of a political force. But they were attacked.

In Front Royal, I can remember the people that were the head of the School Committee and these were white people, they were hounded mercilessly. They got all kinds of threatening phone calls. Some of them lost their businesses, lost their jobs. It wasn’t easy for any of those people. If you took a stand in favor of the public schools and I think one of the legacies, and I agree with Ms. Andrews about that, one of the legacies that we’ll deal with in the future is this withdrawal from the public schools that we’ve continued to see after. That was one of the legacies of Massive Resistance.

And lastly, as Oliver Hill explained to me, it was a two-step process. First was desegregation, so I always refer to the events of 1956 and ’57 and ’59 as desegregation. But integration would come. It
was a cultural process where people would get to know each other because they had lived separately, separate lives, and what Massive Resistance did was that it poisoned that process and it slowed it down and it made it decades longer and it really didn’t end until—

There were some court cases in the late ’60s, one in New Kent County and there was one on the school vouchers that were overturned, and then I think— Of course, I rate the ending of Massive Resistance as when Linwood Holton declared in his inaugural address, “Massive Resistance is over in Virginia,” and that’s when you’ve got to put it there, so those are my heroes and villains. [applause]

SABATO: Great list, Jim. One interjection here. As this conference became well known and we started to get news reports on it, this past week we got several emails and they didn’t put them on the record. I hope they eventually will, but I was so impressed with them. They were three different people, the descendants of individuals from various parts of Virginia, generally Tidewater. One was the grandfather, a preacher, a white preacher. Another one was in the school system who spoke out against Massive Resistance and in favor of full integration, and the third was a businessman. These are descendants of these three people. In all three cases, they literally were sent into exile outside Virginia. The businessman, the grandson of the businessman, said he had no business because no one would come to him anymore, and the other two were considered embarrassments to their church or school system. They were sent out of Virginia. That’s what happened back then.

A great political scientist, V.O. Key, wrote a book called Southern Politics and started out the chapter on Virginia by saying “by comparison to Virginia, Mississippi is a hot bed of democracy.” And any time that you are compared unfavorably to Mississippi you have a problem and actually— there was truth to the statement. The statement was based in reality. The voter turnout in Mississippi was a much larger percentage of the potential electorate than in Virginia. I mean, they had this place under lock and key. It’s a remarkable story in American history, and there really isn’t any parallel. It just tells you a lot about Virginia and there’re few people who know more about Virginia than my friend Jeff Schapiro. Jeff, we turn it over to you.

MR. JEFF SCHAPIRO: This is quite a tough act to follow. Of course, Key also referred to the political oligarchy and he referred to the organization, the Byrd organization, as an oligarchy, as a bourbon-cooled machine [laughter] and I think that that also speaks to kind of the compactness of Virginia life which allowed the struggle over desegregation to continue as long as it did. Douglas Southall Freeman who was the editor of the News Leader, James J. Kilpatrick’s predecessor, used to talk about how in Virginia, relations are more intimate here and, clearly, that was the case with the establishment.

I guess to borrow a phrase from Hillary Clinton, one could look on what was going on in Virginia, the relationship between the press and the political oligarchy as a vast rightwing conspiracy, and it’s perhaps an oversimplification because, for example, the organization with which I’m affiliated— Richmond Newspapers — this was a house divided somewhat and I think it was also maybe a reflection of divisions not readily visible within Virginia. James J. Kilpatrick, an Oklahoman, was the editor of the News Leader. He was introduced to this idea of interposition, this Calhounian notion, by a circuit judge in Chesterfield County by the name of Bill Olds. At the time, Chesterfield County was countryside, not the land of many dump trucks it is today. But he seized on this, Kilpatrick that is, and it was the source of one
of those early promotional things that newspapers do a lot of these days. This is a collection of the interposition editorials that were published by the News Leader. It was made available to readers of the Times-Dispatch. It was just a matter of writing to the editorial offices of the Richmond News Leader, Richmond 13, Virginia, so this is clearly before the era of zip codes.

On the other side of the house, Virginius Dabney who had won a Pulitzer Prize for arguing for the integration of public transportation in the City of Richmond, a liberal by prevailing standards, had some doubts about interposition and Massive Resistance, but Mr. Dabney clearly appreciated what Joe Liebling once said and that is “freedom of the press is reserved for those who own the presses.” [laughter] And Tennant Bryan who was the third generation of Bryans to publish the Richmond papers felt strongly about interposition and Massive Resistance and this was the policy of the two newspapers, though it was argued with very different degrees of enthusiasm.

This intimate relationship of politician and press certainly on the editorial and publishing side probably was most evident in 1958 as Massive Resistance which if you think about it, it’s one of those catchphrases. It’s a great slogan around which to rally. Fifty years on, given what has occurred to our politics, can you imagine the affect of two syllables? Look what Jim Gilmore did with No Car Tax, but when Mr. Bryan decided that, in large part because associates in the business community were concerned about this struggle and what it would mean for Virginia, decided that it was time to sound retreat, V. Dabney; Kilpo; Alan Donahue, who was an executive of the company, later responsible for taking it public; and Mr. Bryan, drove up to Berryville to meet with Senator Byrd and his son and namesake, Harry, Jr. This is remarkable by certainly contemporary standards, to let the Senator know that things were about to change. In his memoirs, Dabney says that the Senator was not too happy about it and that the Senator’s son sat quietly. Was clearly perturbed by the report that had been made.

I don’t think that we can overlook— There were other newspapers. I mean, keeping in mind that it was the ’50s and newspapers were still the big megaphones for news. There were smaller papers. The Byrd family, for example, continues to publish newspapers, the Winchester Star but there was a newspaper in Farmville published by the Wall family, the Herald, and its proprietor Barry Wall, was among the most committed advocates of segregation. Even Colgate Darden who was a moderate in the Byrd organization was always struck by the eloquence with which Barry Wall argued for the status quo and it was also on the editorial pages of the Farmville Herald that this idea that Brown was part of an NAACP-led conspiracy was initially advanced and it was Mr. Wall’s son, a lawyer, Barry, Jr., who is credited with coming up with the idea of this committee, the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties which later operated with state sanction.

While all this, of course, is going on within our borders, remember, Virginia was a state of fewer than four million people. We’d just come through Second World War which was a seminal event in terms of Virginia’s transformation from agricultural state to industrial state. The external pressures— there was a reference to this earlier— were far greater than I think the politicians and the ruling class imagined and I think that this really is crystallized by the attention the national press paid to what was going on in Virginia, and I know there’ll be examples of that discussed later, but I would close with how, if you will, we provincials responded to such things. I believe it was a report on NBC that featured an interview with Mr. Wall, of course, the editor of the Farmville Herald and Mr. Wall was terribly troubled by the manner in which he was characterized. I’ve only seen photographs of the man. I seem to recall a roundish fellow given to cigars. One suspects that he came across as kind of a caricature of himself to a national audience. I think all of this was clearly eroding the strength of the organization and popular support for Massive Resistance.

An important footnote— many of the individuals who were involved on the press side with Massive Resistance, certainly on the editorial side to varying degrees, have renounced their positions. In his memoirs, Dabney, who was not happy about this idea, nonetheless believes that Massive Resistance,
that four-year period, bought the state time to quietly and more peacefully move to integration.

Kilpatrick has renounced it in his own way. Ross McKenzie, his successor, did as well. The *Times-Dispatch* carried an editorial yesterday, and Tennant Bryan in an interview with a colleague of mine, oh gosh, 19 years ago, also was dismissive of Massive Resistance. He said, “looking back, it was silly, but it seemed like a good idea at the time.” [laughter] It made a lot of people think and that was good.

Well, thought was something that was evident in somewhat distant Farmville as well because 50 years on, it was the *Farmville Herald* under a young journalist named Ken Woodley who argued for the Brown Scholarship Program which is now viewed as one of the more significant symbolic steps towards racial reconciliation in Virginia. [applause]

**SABATO**: Jeff, that was marvelous and I appreciate your broadening out the discussion to include the other media and some might have— We’re going to take questions in just a moment. That had been mandated by the Supreme Court— you may have missed the decision— but you must— We can’t take questions from the field because we want your questions recorded. They’re important and historic and we want to hear what you have to say, so as you line up, I want to note— I must say, I heard that quote about how it bought Virginia time. I don’t know how many senior politicians in Virginia I heard that from for years and years. Mainly, it was an excuse that they used to explain away their support for Massive Resistance and unfortunately, a lot of people bought it.

As far as this panel is concerned, you know, the marvelous thing about having a panel of this caliber is that you can prepare 50 questions and you only have to ask one [laughter] and they’re all answered at some point or another, so I have a second question, but I’m going to go first to— No, I’m going to go to the questioner. Yours is probably a better question than I have.

**AUDIENCE QUESTION**: Mine’s really just a follow-up question. You asked for the heroes and villains and I didn’t hear many villains mentioned and, in fact, one quote was delivered without identifying the person who had made it. I’m an outsider from Virginia but I’ve spent quite a bit of time here. What is it about people in Virginia, why they won’t talk about the people who actually did the deed [applause] and what they were thinking at the time? When I come to a panel like this, I was always feel like it’s a discussion of World War II without mentioning Hitler. [laughter] Can you give some insight into the thinking of the people who were responsible and also why it’s so hard for people to talk about who was responsible?

**SABATO**: Ma’am, let me say something. Your question was far better than the one I had prepared. [laughter] It really was. Can I just tell you two things as a native Virginian? We tend to be overly polite. That’s one thing that we are. It’s wonderful to be polite but sometimes we’re overly polite and just keep in mind that Virginians, some Virginians, particularly in certain areas of the Richmond metropolitan vicinity, still refer to the Civil War as that recent unpleasantness [laughter] so we tend to launder many of these terms and many of the difficult situations, but I would love to hear from the panel. You really didn’t name many of the villains. Now, Governor Holton was trying to be polite to one of his predecessors. He was governor of Virginia. He’s in a different status than others, so I understand why he didn’t mention, but he fought against them. I rather suspect the whole panel, including Governor Holton, will name a villain or two. Go ahead.

**HOLTON**: There’s no question about who the principle villain was. I feel very sorry for the senior Senator Harry Byrd. He had such a wonderful opportunity to strike a blow for the permanence of the republic and the preservation of our very democracy and he not only ignored that opportunity but he actively fought against it. He was the leader, political leader, who had an aura about him that was
unbelievable. The history of Virginia since particularly the early days of Senator Carter Glass who goes back to about the turn of the century, this history of Virginia was that the political leadership lulled the rest of us into a feeling of somnolence. Is that a good word, Larry?

SABATO: Yes, that’s acceptable.

HOLTON: We were asleep and we didn’t realize the opportunities we had because the political leadership said just be quiet now and we’ll take care of you. Don’t you worry about a thing and as was said by one of the panelists, there were only 250,000 people who went to the polls out of four million in Virginia. We just let them take charge of it and so when this serious decision opportunity came, everybody was afraid to buck this aura around senior Senator Byrd and if he had said the way it ultimately was said in North Carolina, we’ve got to comply with this decision but we want to do it gradually and on a deliberate basis, he could’ve been a real hero and the rest of the South would’ve followed to comply and say, yes, we’re part of this republic, we’re going to stay in it, but we had been lulled to sleep as a community and when this serious decision came up and Senator Byrd said we’re going to massively resist this bad court, there just wasn’t any way to have people come out and speak against it. We were that far asleep, but as Henry Marsh said, there was the good part of it because it did bring forth ultimately a determined effort on the part of a lot of people who said we’re going to change it and we did.

I can’t resist saying also that Oliver Hill who was really one of the great heroes— I always throw in some childish remark, but I’ve got a grandson named Oliver Hill and I had the great pleasure just when Mr. Hill was approaching his hundredth birthday to go over and tell him, okay, they’ve named a building for you and they’ve named a street for you, but this is the first time they ever named a white grandchild for you. [laughter] I’m sorry, but I’ve got to add this, too, but I had to tell Senator Marsh a few minutes ago that now I’ve a grandchild also named Henry, so I’m in good shape all the way around. [laughter]

SABATO: That’s wonderful. Anybody else want to— Yes, Senator Marsh—

MARSH: Somebody mentioned that Harry Byrd, Sr., but you can’t leave out Harry Byrd, Jr., because the Byrd Machine covered everything in Virginia and made it more difficult but there were others. Every governor before Linwood Holton participated. They’re villains. Linwood Holton, not only did he fight Massive Resistance, but he made Virginia respectable around the country by what he did with his children. I take a little credit. I suggested to him— He said, “Henry, what can we do about this mess?” I said, “well, we’re not getting any leadership from Virginia. You’re going to have to do it.” We had breakfast at the Mansion and I was surprised. He did it. [laughter] You told me to. [laughter]

MARSH: But the Richmond newspaper, especially James J. Kilpatrick, he profited on this thing long after Massive Resistance was over. I belong to national organizations and Kilpatrick would be a highly paid speaker talking about interposition and all that stuff around the country, but we had many villains and Watkins Abbitt, Councilman. I’m not afraid to name names. [laughter] But people like Armistead Boothe and Governor Holton sort of balances off some of those villains, but there were thousands of villains. Almost every elected official— You can imagine, and every white elected official, and a few blacks, so, I mean, it tore Virginia apart and tragically, the harm would never be fully understood because it wasn’t just the children who were in those schools. Every child in Virginia lost because of that and we’ll be years recovering and while you mentioned this editorial in the Times-Dispatch, it was a token
gesture but they didn’t say anything about the people who’ve kept Virginia from falling off the cliff. It didn’t mention it in that editorial yesterday. It didn’t mention the NAACP. It didn’t mention what can we do now as Virginians to correct that stuff. If you’re going to do an editorial, don’t just say I’m sorry and move on. Say what we need to do now. [applause]

**SABATO**: Write a letter.

**SCHAPIRO**: Separate and apart from the enduring issue of how a generation was crippled because they were chased from public schools, I mean, this is a political story and one will hear often in politics that politics is the art of the possible. It’s a tiresome expression to which politicians are given, but it is a truism and there are lots of political figures who in the shorthand of history are viewed as great heroes but, you know, at best, we’re gradualists on the question of integration. Ted Dalton who was a seminal figure in the Republican Party—twice ran for governor from southwestern Virginia. His son, his adopted son, John Dalton would actually achieve the governorship in 1977, he was by no means, if you will, an integrationist and he tried desperately, Governor Holton, to finesse that issue because he recognized he was standing for office in a southern state in the years immediately following the Second World War where redistricting counted for nothing, where disenfranchisement was the rule. Remember, the 1902 Constitution not only wiped African Americans from the rolls. It wiped poor whites from the rolls as well. Armistead Boothe, a Princeton-educated northern Virginian, with distinguished lineage, a gradualist on integration, but having come out of the Second World War having seen the world beyond Virginia, believed that it was important the state move albeit incrementally in the direction of integration, so I think it’s important to make it very clear that among the people who were making the decisions, the elective leaders, none of them were especially pure.

**SABATO**: That’s excellent. Now, we’re running out of time, but I really want to get to these remaining questions, so I’m going to ask the questioners to be relatively brief and I’m only going to take a couple of panelists to answer each one. We want to make sure we’re on time for Governor Wilder’s keynote address at 1:05. Please, ma’am.

**AUDIENCE QUESTION**: Good morning/afternoon. I’m not sure what time it is. Speaking to diversity and division, in today’s climate and considering where we were and where we’re going, with the thrust of vouchers to private schools and charter schools being established, how would one interpret that as disbursement of public funds, again creating the atmosphere of separation. Given, for example, in the Governor’s School, my alma mater, 1% of the student population is African American with few African American teachers. How would you address that?

**SABATO**: Good question. Who wants to tackle that? Let’s take two quick responses to that question and Henry Marsh, you’re in the General Assembly. That’s the Governor’s School.
**Marsh:** Well, I’m not against the Governor’s School or charter schools, but where they’re used to promote segregation, they’re wrong, and where they threaten the existence of public schools, they’re wrong. Most of us would have to be educated in public schools, so to the extent that a charter school uses public resources to make the public schools less effective, then I’m against it. But the idea of experimentation is good. I don’t see why the charter schools can’t be operated by the public school systems. Some of them do, but I think it’s a mistake to lump all charter schools as segregated academies, but you shouldn’t use public funds to promote segregation.

**Sabato:** Yes, Brenda—

**Hershman:** Larry, we had vouchers here. I mean, that’s what we had. That’s what they adopted. That was part of— They had a special referendum. It was in January 1956, of course, and then they implemented them when the schools were closed in ’58 and implemented them most pointedly in Prince Edward County, so we had this experiment with school vouchers and sometimes in Washington, I say that and the advocates of vouchers don’t like that, but that’s true. We had our experiment with it and I don’t find at all surprising that there’s not been a lot of enthusiasm in Virginia for charter schools given our history, that we had to fight for the public schools and that was— As Senator Marsh points out, the heritage from the school committees was the provisions in the Constitution of 1971 and the Standards of Quality which is some of the strongest in America, so the state of Virginia committed to public schools. We just need to put the funds and equalize that across the state because there’re enormous disparities within our state.

**Sabato:** Brenda, you had a comment.

**Andrews:** I think the failure, and I do say failure, of public schools today is part of the legacy we’ve been talking about today as a result of Massive Resistance and until there’s a commitment to make public schools work, we’re going to continue to have these problems that we have. This is all— The failure is not something that just happened. It is something that was planned because when the schools were desegregated, there was never the belief that black children could actually be in classrooms with white children and be as smart as they were. That attitude 50 years ago is still here and it has actually gotten worse to the point that in public school classrooms, teachers, administrations, school districts, have given up on a large segment of the school population. It’s all part of the same situation we had 50 years ago. [applause]

**Sabato:** Ben Denby—

**Mr. Ben Denby:** This is a question for Governor Holton and Mr. Carter. I wondered if you might comment on the role of former Governor, then former Governor Colgate Darden, particularly in Prince Edward County.

**Sabato:** Thank you, Ben.

**Holton:** There’re two anecdotes about Governor Darden that I think will answer that. When Prince Edward County Schools were closed and Governor Albertus Harrison had taken office, he was very concerned about getting those schools back into business and he called Colgate Darden who was the elder statesman of Virginia, fully recognized all over the state as being the elder statesman, into his office, and said, “I’ve got an assignment for you I want you to undertake on behalf of the...
Commonwealth again and Governor Darden, “okay, what was that?” He said, “well, I want you to open the public schools in Prince Edward County.” Darden leaned back, took a few seconds to reflect on that, and said, “yes, Governor, and this afternoon, when I get through with that, what else would you like me to do?” [laughter]

Governor Darden also was my governor. Everybody had to have a governor and he was mine when I was governor and I knew his telephone number by heart and I’d call him up whenever I had a problem that I couldn’t figure out how to handle and he’d give me consolation and when this busing business was going on and a lot of eyes were directed towards the governor’s office which I was in, about that busing business, I called him one day and we talked a long time about the busing, this, that and the other. Finally, we got that solved and then he said, “well, that’s fine, everything else seem to be going on all right? Is there anything else I can do for you?” I said, “well, I think everything else is in pretty good shape, but there’s one thing, if there was any way that I could do any little thing that would be somewhat pleasing to the Richmond News Leader editorial page, I would be glad to do it.” Darden had the perfect answer. He said, “I can help you with that” (this in that southside accent of his). “Just advocate a return to slavery [laughter] but explain it to them in very simple terms.”

It’s true that Darden went along with the Byrd organization, particularly with the Gray Commission Proposals which really were proposals to accept the decision of the Supreme Court and comply with it on a gradual basis. And I think Darden clearly was fooled by Senator Byrd’s reversal of that. The Gray Commission which was a commission appointed by Governor Stanley and did in fact recognize that we had to comply, and recommended ways to do it on a gradual basis, and Darden thought that that was the proper approach and Darden supported the adoption of the Gray Commission proposals, but Senator Byrd, Sr., reversed the Gray Commission Proposal. He understood the overwhelming vote in favor of the Gray Commission Proposals as a statement of the public in Virginia that we are absolutely opposed to integration and that’s when he began to push what he called, first, passive resistance which came to be Massive Resistance and I think disappointed Darden. Darden was southside and had the background of plantation atmosphere but he had a better approach than most and I think he was disappointed in the Byrd organization reversal of what had been advocated as a moderate compliance with the Supreme Court.

**SABATO:** Mr. Carter, do you have a quick comment on this?

**CARTER:** I can’t add a thing to what Governor Holton just said, but I would like to wedge in a quick comment in response to the very first questioner who found our list of villains to be incomplete. Well, I think J. Lindsay Almond belongs on that list, principally because he understood perfectly what the legal requirements were. He understood the law, yet he let his overriding ambition to become governor— It allowed him to embrace the Massive Resistance program, that one part, and he should never have done that.

**SABATO:** He was a good lawyer. Yes, Governor—

**HOLTON:** I’m sorry to interject again, but I agree with what Mr. Carter said about Lindsay Almond and yet I think Lindsay Almond made the most difficult decision that was made in the governor’s office in my time, because after he had so completely committed himself to preservation of segregation in the public schools, he reversed himself and had he not taken the leadership that he ultimately took, we would really have been in a mess. Even after he said “I made that damned speech,” he really was disgusted with himself I think because he did understand the legalities that were involved and he did take leadership to try to keep the schools open and, you know, the schools vote in the Senate of
Virginia to keep the schools open was a vote of 20 to 19 and had Governor Almond not been in favor of the 20, it wouldn’t have existed, so he gets some credit for reversing himself and I think also that Governor Harrison who was the Attorney General through the development of Massive Resistance probably was one of those who counseled Governor Almond that he was going to have to reverse his course, so there were some heroes that are not really well known.

SABATO: That’s a good moderating evaluation of history and our final question from Delegate Joe Morrissey who represents part of Richmond in the General Assembly. Joe—

DELEGATE JOE MORRISSEY: First of all, Professor, I want to thank you and the Center for Politics and the panelists for their heartfelt comments. First, with respect to a hero, there was one gentleman that hasn’t been mentioned. They picketed in front of his home. They burned him in effigy. They threw rotten tomatoes and apples, eggs, at his house, but with fidelity to the Constitution and principle, he remained strong with his convictions and, of course, I’m talking about Federal District Judge Bob Merhige. A quick question— you spoke earlier of Governor Holton’s Virginia as being a pinnacle or maybe a heightened model of civil rights progress, but as I look right now, I see Senator Marsh who chairs the Courts of Justice Committee, Justice Hassell who’s the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Marsh’s colleague Donald McEachin who authored the apology, we have voted for an African American as the first governor in the United States, 13 electoral college votes went to the president. Have we reached that model or that pinnacle of civil rights progress in Virginia or is there any further way to go?

AUDIENCE RESPONSE: Numerous “no”s.

SABATO: All right. Thank you, Joe. Let’s get a couple of quick comments. Can we get Chief Justice Hassell in and then we’ll go further. Chief Justice—
HASSELL: As the members of the panel were speaking, I constantly thought about something that Governor Harrison told me some time ago when I served with him on the Supreme Court of Virginia and he raised the issue of Massive Resistance with me which was surprising to me and he talked over and over and over again about the need “to go slow.” I told the governor that if I was out in the ocean drowning, please do not go slow because I would not make it. And when I look at the litigation in Norfolk, it was a model of perfection in terms of going slow because the very first time I went to court, I was a 9th grader at the Lake Taylor Junior High School in Norfolk and I went to the federal district court in Norfolk to watch Henry Marsh during the summer of 1969 argue the school busing plan that the court rapidly implemented that summer and the litigation— The Supreme Court’s opinion was handed down in the ’50s but Norfolk did not achieve meaningful integration until September of 1969 and that’s going slow, real, real slow, but my point is this: yes, we have made tremendous progress in Virginia in terms of race relations, but we remain deficient in many respects. Virginians are afraid to talk about race. There are still Virginians who question the need for diversity and in terms of where we ought to be with respect to the quality of our schools, in terms of where we ought to be— Our communities still remain highly segregated. Our schools throughout the Commonwealth still remain highly segregated and within school districts, you will still see a disparity of resources in terms of schools attended by poor pupils and schools attended by pupils who have parents of means, and so in Virginia, we have made progress, but a lot remains to be done. [applause]

SABATO: Henry Marsh to wrap it up with final comment.

MARSH: No. That’s the answer to the question [laughter] Joe Morrissey raised, but I’ll say this about apologies. I think it’s important to have that, but if the idea is to apologize and stop, it doesn’t mean anything. The young lady earlier said that if you break my windshield, it’s not enough to say I’m sorry I broke your windshield, but I want my windshield restored like it was and we have a challenge ahead of us if we really want to correct the evils, some of the evils of Massive Resistance. We have a challenge, all of us, have to work to overcome the affects of that. We’ll never know all the harm that was done but we know enough to know how to correct some of it.

SABATO: Ladies and gentlemen, when you have a panel this terrific, and wasn’t it one of the best you’ve ever heard? Wasn’t it terrific? We could go on forever and as it is, you’ve got 10 minutes and then we’re going to come back and hear our keynote speaker, former Governor Doug Wilder.
LARRY SABATO: Ladies and gentlemen, let’s settle down I know you had to swallow that lunch whole and we apologize for that, but a great day it’s been and it’s going to be an even better day because— [applause] I don’t even have to introduce Governor. I mean, it’s great, but we have a real treat coming and we are absolutely delighted and pleased and honored to have as our keynote speaker for this conference about the historical implications and the modern implications of Massive Resistance, former Governor Lawrence Douglas Wilder. Governor Wilder was born in January 1931 in Richmond. He’s the grandson of slaves. He was named after abolitionist orator Frederick Douglass and poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar. Governor Wilder attended Richmond racially segregated public schools, George Mason Elementary and Armstrong High School. In 1951, he graduated from Virginia Union University with a degree in chemistry and that comes in handy in politics, doesn’t it, Governor [laughter]

He served in the Army. This has always impressed me enormously. He served in the Army during the Korean War, that time of terrible segregation in the armed forces, and yet he won a Bronze Star for heroism. He fought hard for the country that wasn’t delivering equal rights to him at home. Using the benefits provided under the G.I. Bill of Rights, he studied law at Howard University in Washington. He received his degree in 1959 and after passing the Bar, he established his own law firm, Wilder, Gregory & Associates. In 1969, and I remember the campaign, Governor Wilder entered politics running in a special election created by the election of Sarge Reynolds to the lieutenant governorship for the Virginia State Senate out of Richmond. He won that election and that was a bolt out of the blue because he became the first African American State Senator in Virginia since Reconstruction. He spent 10 very productive years in the General Assembly. He was chairman of a major committee. He was recognized repeatedly as one of the most effective legislators in the General Assembly. In 1985, Governor Wilder was elected Lieutenant Governor and four years later, he became Virginia’s governor in January of 1990 and a day that I don’t think any of us who were alive then will ever forget. Most amazing inauguration Virginia has ever seen.

Let’s remember. Governor Wilder was the first elected African American governor in American history. As I mentioned this morning, Barack Obama would not be president of the United States were there not pioneers like Doug Wilder who managed the near impossible in a Virginia very different in 1989 from the Virginia we know in 2009. He’s gone on to do so many other things. He surprised me by coming back and running for mayor of Richmond. [laughter] Honestly, it was temporary insanity [laughter] and I wanted to pay for a doctor’s visit for him but he assured me that it wasn’t necessary, but seriously, Richmond needed him and he’s the one who got the city-wide election for mayor, direct election, passed which has definitely been a needed and useful reform in Richmond. He finished up that four-year term. He is temporarily in retirement. I wouldn’t be surprised if that ended again at some point in the next year or two. I won’t say anything beyond that, but truly, he’s a dear friend. We’ve had many wonderful experiences together over the years on the political trail and off. There’re very few people I admire as much as Doug Wilder and it is always my privilege to introduce him. Governor— [applause]
Governor Douglas Wilder: Thanks, Larry. Thank you very much, Dr. Sabato, first, for the invitation to speak here and, secondly, for the very kind words. This is a most auspicious occasion and you and I had a rather questionable rocky start.

Sabato: We did.

Wilder: But we got past it and the mutual respect and friendship has continued to grow and I’m very, very grateful for that. I’m also grateful for the opportunity to see so many people here that I’ve shared many experiences with and it’s good to see and to get a chance to greet them. Talk about door-openers. One of the guys who opened the door for a lot of us, particularly me, is sitting in here, too, Fergie Reid, [applause] my good friend who was the first African American elected to the General Assembly since Reconstruction. I watched that. Two years later, I said look here, I may try for the Senate, but he handled it with such aplomb and dignity and grace that he showed that it wouldn’t be the end of the world if someone else that might look like him got elected and, parenthetically, I’ll say Fergie did a lot of things, but that door-opening was tremendous for us because it let me know what could happen.

Larry, you’re a man of precision, so I’ll get right to it, but I would ask that I might be permitted to place into a context for this purpose by visualizing the role that Virginia has played in shaping and forming our nation as well as their role in what may in the future some may call America’s dark age, no pun intended. [laughter]

Bob Deans, a native Virginian and celebrated author of the recently published book, The River Where America Began, had this to say in the introduction to that book:

“Certainly no single region anywhere can rightly claim to be the nation’s sole place of birth. This country’s beginnings are spread out across Plymouth Rock, Charleston, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., New Orleans and New York as well Bunker Hill, Lexington, Yorktown, and many other places and even that list moreover gives little hint as to the making of America. A democracy is built, after all, one citizen at a time and is ever a work in progress in every community, city and back road where the nation touches and ours is a land of immigrants and our true ancestral headwaters are to be found as much across the broad plateau of central Asia, the bone-bleaching savannah of Western Africa and the rain forest of Latin America. As the James itself finds its true origins not in a single confluence of streams but in an intricate web of distant waters springing from beneath porous limestone beds laid down many hundreds of millions of years ago.

And yet it is from this majestic river along the muddy banks of the James that our country got its start four centuries ago. It was into these waters that we first waded— red, white, and black—and from it emerged as one. It is here, in that sense, that our national story begins.”

I was asked shortly ago to write a foreword for a forthcoming National Geographic children’s book dealing with runaway slaves during the Revolutionary War. In that regard, I was forwarded certain proofs of what is expected to be published and as we know, Lord Dunmore was appointed by the Crown to be the governor of Virginia, but he became increasingly alarmed by Virginians showing commiseration as well as cooperation with the people of Boston who were being punished for having had a little
tea party, but they served the tea in the water to everybody, and he ordered his troops to remove the colony’s store of gunpowder and to load it on a British warship. When the theft was discovered, the crowd was angry and came upon him and he lied to them, and he said he took the gunpowder from the place because he had heard that the slaves were planning an uprising and that they may steal the gunpowder. They didn’t believe him and soon thereafter hundreds of armed men began marching towards Williamsburg, the capital at the time, to deal with the outnumbered governor. That was when he played his trump card. He said, “by the living God, if any insult is offered to me or to those who have obeyed my orders, I will declare freedom to the slaves and lay the town to ashes.”

Well, he didn’t have to carry out his immediate threat. Rather, they worked out a compromise. He paid them for all the gunpowder he’d stolen, but he’d bought enough time to get his family onto a warship, ultimately back to England and then he himself went and lived on that warship, but things worsened and he had to indeed then issue his proclamation and he said that all indentured servants, Negroes or others, appertaining to rebels, they would be free. Those that are able and willing to bear arms and join in His Majesty’s troops serving the Crown. We’re talking about the Revolutionary War.

Now, there were many furious responses during that time and one came from a slave-owner, one of which describes a community feeling as to the acceptance of inferior status that obviously existed in Virginia for many years thereafter and he wrote a letter to the editor warning that if the British were to win, the patriots’ lands would be taken and our Negroes would be sold as part of our estates, probably to the West Indies where they’d be treated far worse than they would be treated here and he issued another warning, that if the slaves were caught trying to run away to Dunmore, they would be hanged and their wives and children left behind. They would be punished, but here is the clincher. Here’s why I refer to it. He said the slaves should be contented with their situation and to expect a better condition in the next world and not run the risk of being unhappy here and miserable hereafter.

Now, why did I say that mentality existed for a period longer than that rebellious effort in Williamsburg during the Revolutionary War? If we just took that letter to the editor and tracked where we were then and where we are today, we should still question whether the removal of all of the legal impediments to fair and equal treatment in our society have shown the results that were fought for and expected. No one could nor can deny that real and substantial progress has been made in our nation and as the old expression goes, from the courthouse to the White House and the recent election of Barack Obama is the clearest example to show that it is, in fact, now in the White House and yet when you look to see Barack Obama’s election and you look to see that he was supported by an overwhelming majority of voters in our Commonwealth as further attestation to the change that I’m speaking about and to the progress that we’ve made.

Though Massive Resistance may have legally ended in 1959, lingering effects of decades of justifying segregation continued. The Virginia State Bar—that’s the organization that controls the licenses of lawyers—they constituted what was called a Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice. Now, if you think the Bush Administration’s attempts at surveillance of suspected terrorists’ activities now coming under attack as being unconstitutional, if you think that this is bad, good God, that … group that existed at that time were ruthless. They would break into your office. They didn’t have a search warrant. If the lawyer refused, he’d be up for disbarment and if you refuse, you’d be up for disbarment. If Lester Banks, then the head of the NAACP refused, they would run him out of business. Why? They were searching for the names of the individuals who belonged to this organization that was behind the desegregation efforts of the schools, the NAACP.

Now, this took place in the ’60s. Talk about the ’50s and we’re leading up to Massive Resistance. This took place in the ’60s and in that regard, they said we’re going to take the license of Sam Tucker who was practicing then in Emporia, a noted civil rights lawyer, as well as in Richmond, and his brother Otto Tucker of Alexandria, likewise an NAACP lawyer, was similarly brought up for the same treat-
ment at another time. We are going to disbar them. Well, if you disbar the lawyers, the rest is almost understood. You’re not going to have anybody—they were working for little or nothing, whatever little monies they could get from the NAACP and so that was the effort. The Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, spending I don’t know how much money, and so when this happened, people started wondering what was going to take place. Fortunately, sanity prevailed and the frivolous and unsubstantiated charges against the Tuckers were dismissed, but not before the battle.

What I’m talking about and Henry Marsh, you know how the moot courts at Howard were set up. Thurgood Marshall arrayed a battery of the sharpest legal minds in the country to prepare for the ultimate defense of Sam Tucker. There was Bob [Maine] from Chicago, Pierre [Trudeau] and Mark [Morrell] from Louisiana, New Orleans; Louis Redding from Delaware and Wally Banton from Arkansas; Bob Carter from New Jersey; George E.C. Hayes of Washington, DC; Herb Reed, Howard Law School professor, as well as Spottswood Robinson and Oliver W. Hill. Robinson asked me—I’m just about six months out of law school, passing the Bar rather, “you want to ride with me up to this thing, Doug?” because he’d asked me to help him a little bit in his office. Would I like it? Let’s go. [laughter]

Boy, when I got there and saw these guys preparing for the defense of Sam Tucker and where they came from and how they were doing it, I was awestruck by the preparation and the brilliance, the opportunity to stand next to Thurgood Marshall. You know, I’m short and he’s way up in the air [laughter] and to see them say this is it, we are going all the way because if they take Sam Tucker’s license, they’ll take our license. They’ll take anyone’s license. Oh, they dismissed those charges, but not before the battle and I knew I was lucky just to be there, just to be infused with the spirit of knowing that what had gone on was wrong.

After all, I’ve said on so many occasions that I would never have been a lawyer but for Brown v. Board of Education. As you pointed out, I was a chemist working for the state. Worked for two years in the State Medical Examiner’s Office, toxicology, and when Brown v. Board of Education decision came down, I said, you mean to say nine white men have recognized that they were wrong. I had been sent to Korea to fight for the freedoms of Koreans and I didn’t have freedoms in my own country. I couldn’t understand it. Couldn’t understand I couldn’t ride on the street car, couldn’t go to the schools, couldn’t enter in a restaurant, but fighting there. The system can’t work. There must be another way and when that decision came down, I said, oh, my goodness, I’ve got to get into law. Brown sent me to law school. [laughter]
Now, what had the Tuckers and others done that was so bad? They were NAACP lawyers and they were representing those in pursuit of rights under our Constitution. That was their biggest sin. The panels that you have instructed for this project and I've heard already how well they've been conducted and will be continuing. They'll have discussions which hopefully will provide answers and reasons for what has resulted through the years. Why do you think we have a moratorium on cities in Virginia being able to annex counties? Have mercy. What has been the affect of these actions on the quality of education in urban areas? It's necessary to look at the total picture or the entirety of the massive effort of denial of rights and to know all of the ramifications.

Their revisionists or apologists failed to fully mention the full affect of the closings of the public schools in Virginia. Not only were thousands of lives of African Americans damaged thereby, some permanently. Some permanently, never able to come back and connect, but also countless numbers of others—whites and others—likewise affected, particularly those unable to afford tuition for private schools and whose children did not attend the religious academies. Though there was the reopening of the schools in Charlottesville and Norfolk and Front Royal in 1959, damage had already been inflicted to the school systems throughout Virginia and the South, affecting the progress that was made by the southern states or that should be made by the southern states economically.

Now, Virginia was looked to for leadership by many during this period. Just had been the case in seceding from the Union prior to the Civil War, Virginia was the leader of the South. If Virginia went the other way, the others weren't going to go—maybe South Carolina, [laughter] but I can tell you, Virginia was a leader. They watched what Virginia did. Look—who they're talking about now? Stonewall Jackson. Robert E. Lee. They are Virginians. When you talk about what role was played and what we did in addition to the closing of the schools, what the lawmakers did was to repeal Virginia’s compulsory school attendance law. I was shocked, brand new, coming in here as a state senator and I said to my colleagues, Fergie Reid and Bill Robinson, “the schools— the kids don’t have to go school.” [laughter] And we said we're not going to put up with this.

One of the first bills that I introduced and had enacted into law was the Compulsory School Attendance Law. That was in the early ’70s. Lin Holton, you know, because you were participating in escorting that child to the school to show I’m going to be different from the others and when you take it off the books, children had been made to feel they didn’t have to go to school. Parents were powerless to compel them and so what and how do you measure the affects of that.

Paramount in any analysis of the past 50 years should be whether the quality of education has been what was intended and sought. Like many of you of my generation, and I see many of you here, I did not attend any of the integrated public schools, but as I've said on any numbers of occasions, we had the most dedicated and committed teachers and instructors that one could have. [applause] They were not paid at the same rate as the white teachers. Our facilities were woefully inadequate. Outdoor toilets in some schools. No cafeterias in some schools. No auditoriums. No gymnasiums in most schools. We had hand-me-down books from the white schools and as well, other shortcomings, but all of our teachers and our communities supported them in this, challenged us to be equal to the best in society and they accepted no excuses. No, you’re going to have to cut it, not—No, don’t want to hear it. No.[laughter] Homework and do it.

Compare the graduation rates now and then. The dropout rates, truancy rates, and after doing that, find out what the results are and then what are the reasons and give the reasons for whatever they are and what should be done.

Now, I didn’t come here with a jeremiad or screed to preach. I, too, would like answers and this forum is such an excellent venue for that to occur. Needless to say, I have some thoughts on it, but I can tell you, it’s a very serious challenge we have in America today with our youngsters, all across the country, not just Virginia, and in the absence of us doing something about it, we’ll pay a tremendous price.
Yesterday I was asked by a news source to read and to respond to the Richmond Times-Dispatch editorial expressing regret for Massive Resistance. I read the piece and in a nutshell, found it to be quite evasive. Some would say better late than never. Some would say if it’s not sincere and heartfelt, why say anything at all. Let us be unmistakably clear. Virginia was the leader of the southern states as to what course they should follow after the Brown decision just as it had been the state that provided the grist for the mill of secession from the Union and the Civil War. Virginia’s newspapers, especially its editorials, were looked to for guidance. No, in appealing to its gentility, as the editorial said, “Virginia did not have a firebrand like Talmadge, Fauvus, Wallace, Bilbo, etc.” Virginia had Harry F. Byrd whose name doesn’t even appear in the editorial. He was Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and in many respects, senior, as it related to committee assignments. He was the most powerful member of the United States Senate as the Chairman of the Finance Committee. If you control money, you control everything. And he ruled Virginia’s political machinery with an iron hand from the courthouse to the White House. He practiced what was called and referred to as golden silence, in other words, I don’t have to speak. I do it. And woe betides never crossed him.

Then-Governor J. Lindsay Almond. He was the governor at the time, refused to be Byrd’s firebrand, proclaiming that he was not going to go to jail in defiance of any court order to desegregate the schools. Byrd felt that Almond had retreated on his word to, and this was Almond’s campaign speeches and talks, “to not allow the livid stench of immorality to stain or despoil those young white children in Virginia schools because of any integration efforts.” Almond was severely punished by Byrd and was banished to the political dustbin and he was denied a much cherished and sought-after seat on the federal bench. No mention of this sort of episode appeared in the editorial either.

I had occasion later on at a social event to chat with then-Governor Almond and he told me that his biggest regret in his life was leaving the Congress and coming back to Virginia to be Attorney General and then governor.

James Jackson Kilpatrick—you young people would know nothing at all about him. [laughter] You mention that name to some of these others in here, they know who I’m talking about. He was the official voice of those who ushered in the—They referred to it, as you know, Fergie, the doctrines of nullification and interposition, arguing for state’s rights. The 10th Amendment took precedence over the 14th and just spending millions and millions of taxpayers’ dollars in a failed attempt and he never swerved from that cause. That was the guy writing the editorials in the newspapers who never ever changed. That was the poison put in the air that so many people never had purified, that spread from Virginia to Carolina to Georgia to Florida to Mississippi to Georgia to Alabama and other parts of the country.

Let us be further clear: here we are not talking about an apology and I’m not calling for one, but a lament, regret. As I said to Larry outside, I’ve reminded of the song, “Miss Otis Regrets She’s Unable to Lunch Today, Madame.” She not sad about it. She’s not sorry about it. [laughter] She just can’t make it. [laughter] Well, after 50 years, I don’t think anybody was expecting Miss Otis anyway. So, the regret does not take into account all of the affects on human lives, families, communities and the nation itself. Persistence and the right by those aligned in the cause of liberty and justice for all prevailed and it always will.

I’m a part of this older generation charged with the responsibility of successfully instilling in our young people an understanding and an appreciation of the travails that have been overcome. They don’t know. They don’t know about Jackie Robinson and what he had to go through. They don’t know about Marian Anderson and what she had endured. Our job is to say it didn’t come full blown like Popsy from the cabbage patch. We had to do some things for you to have what you have. Even though you might not believe you have enough, you didn’t start with what we had. We had far less, but we’re here because there were those who believed we could persevere and as I look out across the American
cultural landscape today, I’m reminded of Winston Churchill’s description of the Soviet movement across the European continent. He described it as an iron curtain descending across Europe and I’m left to wonder how we’ve gone from a generation that during the depths of segregation we were taught that we could achieve the American dream to today where so much emphasis is on self-interest, violence, and mediocrity. I say to our young people, there’re those who say that they can’t succeed because some entity is holding them back or because government is still in the way or the judicial system and state legislatures are still blocking the path and to some extent, this may be true.

Certainly, there can be no doubt that a historic damage has been done to a great number of people in this country, but what has been neglect and in some instances, racism and slavery, there will never be a shortage of people to tell our young that they have no chance in society. They will tell them it’s a white world controlled by the rich.

When I think back to my childhood and I see my sister here, I consider myself lucky to have grown up when I did. People say on so many occasions, wouldn’t you like to be starting out? No, I’m lucky to have been born and raised when I did and that surprises some people because looking back, I don’t see the ravages of poverty and racism. Instead, I see the wealth of a community who lifted me up and pushed me to achieve my best. Our families, our teachers, and our communities taught us to believe in our ability to succeed and the heroes we looked to like Frederick Douglass and Carter G. Woodson, George Washington Carver, Marian Anderson and Sojourner Truth joined the cause by achieving great success despite overwhelming odds.

Conversely, they’re been raised today in a culture where in the media, which seems to be omnipresent in our lives, produce segments which do not really challenge you or motivate you to succeed, but where are the role models that challenge them to be their best. Turn on the network news or open the front page of the paper. You’ll find the turmoil of the Middle East, the fetishes of a possible child killer, and Tom Cruise’s lack of a movie deal, all treated with the same gravitas. Lack of steroid use and political marital infidelity are in that same ranking. Paris Hilton’s employment status. Who’s going to adopt another baby? All of that gets more scrutiny than the national economy. Now right there, you know something is wrong in terms of where our young people need to go and who’s going to be there to tell them.

I am not here to lay blame at the feet of the media because the media is but one arc in a vicious cycle of voyeurism and whose voyeurism came first is really a chicken and an egg question, so it’s really of no importance. What is important and, in fact, imperative, is that our youngsters become aware of what goes on in our communities and, indeed, the world and that they’re not satisfied with the snippets and sound bites that occur in headlines in newspapers. They must be reminded that they can achieve the high possibility of the individual. They must not be permitted to walk in a crippled state when they’re not crippled, stumble about as though they’re blind when they’re not blind or appear to be deaf when they really can hear and it’s fitting and appropriate, Larry, that we’re meeting in this place because this is where the laws were made, the forces arrayed, and the schemes and plans set forth to assure that it would be that next world before liberty would be for all.

But it was also this place where I was sworn in to the highest office of the Commonwealth and all of its people and I concluded my remarks after the swearing in by saying that I am a son of Virginia and I said that because I was a product of what Virginia brought to fruition—the good, the bad, and the ugly. Whatever and whoever I was sprang from here. Now, America has gone through its dark age. Let us unite to let the age of enlightenment continue. Thank you very, very much. [applause]

**SABATO:** Governor Wilder, that was just tremendously impressive and the Center, I hope you will permit us to publish that. It was a wide-ranging commentary about Virginia’s past and the country’s present and future and we enjoyed it and appreciate it. Governor Wilder has agreed to take a few ques-
tions and you weren’t here earlier, Governor, when we had some questions raised by the audience about when we were going to get specific and name the villains and the heroes [laughter] and particularly the villains, and as so often has been the case in the time I’ve known you, you’ve stepped up to the plate [laughter] so I’m going to ask— This is your chance to ask Governor Wilder a question. Please come on up to the mics and get in line and I’m going to let Governor Wilder take it back over.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Thank you, Governor Wilder and for you all who don’t know, Governor Wilder and I both attended Armstrong High School. Thank you, Dr. Sabato and for all for this great program. It means a lot and listening to those who have wintered the storm during those dark days, God bless them. I take issue, though, with those who speak negatively about the Times-Dispatch recording. I think it was very narrow minded as spoken, but I’m just one person of opinion. I would like to ask Governor Wilder and to all present, with all of the good that’s been accomplished through the suffering of so many, of all the gains that have been made, now we’ve lost two generations, losing a third. The voice of the prophet Jeremiah cries out loud and clear speaking of those that mourn for the lost generations. My question to you, Governor, is what can really be done beside talking that can bring our young people back to the fold? That they will learn to appreciate suffering and then prosper and profit from sufferings endured? Thank you.

WILDER: Thank you. I don’t think there’ll be a box step group mentality. It has to be individually. Everybody’s not the same. All of the people in this room are different. You have different attitudes, different feelings. People in the same family are different and so what we need to do, in my judgment, is to allow individuals to believe that they can rise to the highest possibility they can, if they want to. Now, you’re right. We’ve lost four generations of people. The question is do you wait until everybody gets on board or do you encourage those that are prepared to go, that you go ahead on and continue.

I was in New York for the NAACP 100th anniversary the day before yesterday and a young lady was introduced. They brought her up to the rostrum. It was amazing if you looked at her background and to where she’d come from and what kind of schooling she had. She’d won every award you can win. She’s now in Princeton for the summer preparing to go to Harvard in the fall and she came from nothing and when they started ticking off what she had done and how she’d done it and when she finally got up and said that she was just inspired to do it, it tells you that it’s there. But we’ve got to let them know they can do it. There’s not going to be a magic wand coming down to turn anything around, but guess what? All of y’all going to be rich tomorrow. [laughter] It’s not going to happen. Hard work has always been the answer, Miss Ruby, you know that. You’ve got to cut it. You’ve got to live it and you’ve got to make certain that you pay the price.

Now, what’s the success rate at the end? Let’s assume you don’t get there at the same time someone else does. How do you feel about yourself? So, we’ve got to re-instill a confidence in the young people, in the individuals themselves and to let them know they can do it.

The biggest thing I see we can do, I tried to reference it here. We’ve got to stop blaming everybody else. They’ve got to look to themselves. Why can’t you read? Why can’t you write? Why can’t you apply for a job? Why do you dress the way you do? Why can’t you say the proper respect to your parents? You’ve got parents that are afraid to talk to their children. You’re right, not in my house [laughter] when I was coming up, if I was going to eat at my father’s table, [laughter] and so a lot of those things. There’s nothing new under the sun. All we need to do is recapitulate where we’ve been and try to re-gird it and move on for it.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Mr. Governor, it’s wonderful to hear your assessment. You know the admiration that I have of you, though we sometimes have some differences, but particularly, you’re
my friend and I trust that I’ve been, as you know, your friend, but you paid homage I think to two of the factors to go forward out of all the rest and I think ought to take up the third one. You put the finger on how the paper messed things up. Would you consider or encourage, kind of like they do at Harvard, you know, they have what they call case papers? You need to write the case paper so folks who are talking will know how it messed things up because that’s the problem. …the paper, but the damage was done by the power of that paper. An apology cannot erase that, but they’re doing something about the power equation but they need to understand how it was done.

WILDER: Well, let me answer you.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: I want to give you the other one.

WILDER: We made it. [We can’t do it.]

AUDIENCE QUESTION: And you know I’m going to shout about that. See, that’s where— Even if they don’t do it, we must realize that we have the inspiration, the wherewithal, the talent, and the mind, so we don’t need them to tell us that.

WILDER: If you committed to doing what you want—for instance, as I said, people think differently about any numbers of things. Politicians feel differently. Political parties feel differently. That’s not the issue. The issue is what is your goal. Is it something that is for the good of humanity? Is it for the good of the people? Is it selfish? I have any number of young people who say I want to get in politics. I want to run. Wait a minute. You want to run? The very first thing you said you wanted to do was to get in politics so the first thing you’re going to do is run? [laughter] Do you know the issues?

AUDIENCE QUESTION: That is what I’m getting at.

WILDER: You go to a meeting of your school board. Have you gone to a board of supervisors meeting? Have you sat through a city council meeting? Do you know what’s going on in the General Assembly? Do you know what’s happening in what? Do you know even who your elected representatives are?

AUDIENCE QUESTION: You’re doing what I’ve asked. And would you just do a live situation so they can record it? Then we can take it to Hillsville and if they don’t hear you, then they’ll understand, you don’t need to run. You need, first of all, to know what the system is so that’s what I mean. It’s plenty of folks that don’t know.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Okay. Oh, I didn’t know. [laughter] Well, I didn’t know that, but the second one which I think is so important is the tribute you paid to education when we didn’t have the bells and whistles and yet we were prepared to achieve.

WILDER: The consistent theme through the civil rights movement began even before the civil rights modern era because when we found that freed slaves in the Census taken, they had so many more people who knew how to read and write right after slavery than you had in periods of time in the past. Why? They were hungry for it. In the absence of education, all else is lost.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: And the last thing I was going to say, those teachers need to be convened like this and just talk a little bit, so the other—
**WILDER:** No one will listen to them. They’re ready to do it.

**AUDIENCE QUESTION:** Right, but I think they ought to do it, so when my son wants to hear it, he can find it somewhere.

**WILDER:** I see some of them sitting in the room here. I see one of my classmates.

**AUDIENCE QUESTION:** You and your stature have paid homage to that. It needs to be picked up. See, folks talk about education like we don’t know how to have education. If we were educated in the system that you just described and was able to excel and be equal, then it is no secret about how it is that our children can be achieving today. [applause]

**SABATO:** Thank you. Governor Wilder knows I’ve listened to an awful lot of his speeches over the years. I think most of them, at least the ones that were broadcast, and I’m also not hesitant to be critical. You know that, don’t you? Absolutely. And I will tell him for the record, that other than his inaugural address in January 1990, that was the finest speech he’s ever delivered and I salute him for it. [applause] And we are going to publish it.

And, by the way, sir, where are you? You were just up asking the question. We’re going to have all of this online, both the video and the printed text and we’ll be putting pieces of it, especially Governor Wilder’s address and the panelists that we’ve had, the panel presentations. We will have them in the classroom through our Youth Leadership Initiative program which isn’t just in Virginia. We have three million young people enrolled in the Youth Leadership Initiative and over 50,000 elementary and secondary teachers in all 50 states, every territory of the United States and all the Defense Department schools around the world, so what has happened here today and will happen this afternoon, will be viewed and will be known by students of all races, colors and creeds around the world, so we’re going to do some of that education that you’re talking about and I want you to know that.

Thank you all much. Thank you, Governor Wilder, and I’d like to ask the next panel to come forward.

**AUDIENCE QUESTION:** Dr. Sabato, I did not mention and I never believe in speaking without giving proper reference. That scripture I was referring to from the prophet Jeremiah, chapter 9 and 1, it reads, “oh, that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears that I might weep for the slain of the daughter of my people.” Thank you.
Good afternoon. My name is Cassandra Newby-Alexander. I’m an Associate Professor of History at Norfolk State University and a former student of Larry Sabato’s three decades ago, and it is my honor to moderate this session, which again looks at student experiences. After a number of court battles, a select group of young men and women were chosen or found themselves chosen to brave the front lines and to confront what Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr. described as a state that fought school integration “with our backs to the wall.” Yet these young people were part of a general culture of silence that followed those initial steps into history. Black students and white students who endured the challenges of integration including school closings, harassment, hate crimes and assaults, both physical and psychological, buried their pain for nearly 50 years. As Virginia commemorates the 50th anniversary of this regrettable period in its history, it is important that we never forget the memories of those who forged a different path and those who were caught in this maelstrom of change.

This panel focuses on those whose lives were dramatically altered by the circumstances and by their choices to pave this different path. And as often is the case, those who pioneer sometimes do not reap the benefits. I, though, am one of those who did reap the benefit of their sacrifice and their courage, those who fought to ensure that a different Virginia would emerge from this checkered and unequal past, some of whom are here today. It is a pleasure to introduce to you some of those brave pioneers from six important areas of Virginia. The first panelist, the Rev. Everett Berryman, Jr., is a native of Prince Edward County who graduated from Moton High School in 1967 and during Massive Resistance, he had to attend a school in Appomattox County and then later return to Prince Edward in 1963 to enroll in the Free School. Of course, like all of these panelists, his successes followed afterwards. He continued to co-found the Community Resources, Inc. and Christian Fellowship Association, holding an A.A./B.A. and a masters of education degree.

Next to Mr. Berryman is Michael Jones who was raised in Arlington County where he faced the struggles of Massive Resistance as well, but he went on to Fordham University where he earned a bachelors in history, near and dear to my heart, and later served in the U.S. Army in Vietnam like many who experienced this period of Massive Resistance. He later had a long career in the CIA and his family continues to live in Virginia.

Next to him, the Rev. James Kilby. As a 16-year-old student, Kilby was one of 21 black students to enter Warren County High School in Front Royal, Virginia. He went, like Mr. Jones, to work for the CIA and of course, during the Johnson and Nixon administrations, he was there in the CIA. He authored a book entitled The Forever Fight, Turn Everyone Against Racism. He is an Associate Minister at Mt. Vernon Baptist Church in Front Royal.

And next to him is Mr. Donald Martin. In 1959, Martin was one of the first black students to enter the previously all-white Lane High School in Charlottesville and after his earning his degree from Virginia State University, he served in the U.S. Marine Corps and had a long employment life in the
Virginia Employment Commission as a Senior Field Operations Manager. He is currently a member of the Brown v. Board of Education Scholarships Committee.

Next to him is Ms. Rita Moseley who attended Prince Edward schools until 1959 when the schools were closed for five years. She attended school, as many had to, elsewhere and she attended Blacksburg, a school in Blacksburg as a teenager and later received her B.S. degree from St. Paul’s College and after graduation, she returned to Prince Edward County and worked there as a public school teacher for 30 years. She currently serves on the Civil Rights Memorial Commission and the Light of Reconciliation Committee in Farmville.

And, finally, next to her is Dr. Patricia Turner. Now, she’s unusual because she experienced her confrontation with segregation at the age of 13. She was one of the Norfolk 17 who unlike the others, of course, she attended Norview High School because, of course, many of you probably already know that the Norfolk 17 attended numerous schools throughout Norfolk. After graduation, she earned a B.S. from Norfolk State University and a masters in education and an honorary doctorate from Old Dominion University. She worked as a pediatric nurse prior to her teaching career and she’s currently the Director of Oakwood Chapel Academy in Norfolk.

Now, the first question I have is this is for all of you, for anybody who wants to speak up first— what was the school experience like for you when the schools were segregated and I’m going to start with that and then the follow-up is— once some of your schools were closed, what was the situation like for you? Don’t everyone answer at once.

**DR. PATRICIA TURNER:** Since I’m down at the end, I’ll begin. First thing, I integrated Norview Middle School as an 8th grader alone. I had attended Rosemont Middle School 7th grade. Had to catch two buses to get there and two buses to get home. The experience at the school was fantastic. Even though things were second-hand, third-hand before we ever got them, the teachers were— I can’t even find a word for it, because they were your parents away from home. You learned to understand that if they said it, it was okay to do it. All you needed to know was how many times should you get it done. There was no question— if they gave homework, you knew to bring it in the next day. It was just understood. They had very little to work with but they did a job that you would’ve thought everything they had was brand new.

During the time when school closed, at first the Norfolk 17 had nowhere to go because the schools that were popping up across the city were set up for the white students. The money was going to them
and even though they could not take all of their subjects, they still had schools. Mrs. Vivian Mason is the one that put out of her pocket first to supply us with not only a school which was in the basement of 1st Baptist Church, but the books and the teachers and then my being very young, I did not know so there’re some things that because of my youngness and immaturity at the time I didn’t realize. The NAACP later supplied the money and everything that we needed.

We were a family and in that basement, we became closer. There were 17 of us and we integrated six schools. We had an experience that I’ll talk about later but that kind of answers her question now, where I was and when.

**NEWBY-ALEXANDER:** Anyone else like to share?

**MR. DONALD MARTIN:** In Charlottesville at our school, Jefferson School, we were more fortunate than most localities. The City of Charlottesville had been appeasing the African American community for years and we didn’t have a bad edifice. Our facility was a good facility. It wasn’t air conditioned, of course, but it wasn’t old and it was comfortable. In terms of books, to be quite honest with you, of course, they were hand-me-downs. All of us had hand-me-down books. The books that I used had so many names in them you could chronicle students years, and years, and years ahead of you had used this book, but the teachers were just absolutely wonderful. They were inspiring and you’ve heard this over and over and over. There is nothing that I can say about Charlottesville that’s different than Norfolk or any other school system.

Yes, indeed, we had teachers fortunately who understood the mission, because, you see, that’s what it was about when we were young. All of us knew what the mission was. I didn’t grow up in a vacuum. None of us did. We all knew what segregation was and all of its evils and so our school teachers recognized that and made up for whatever deficiencies there were.

Earlier on, Dr. Sabato said that he was going to try to arrange for a dispassionate analysis of that era. There’s no way you can be dispassionate. [laughter] We were real people. It’s real things that were going on, so as you’ve heard all day today, there’s a lot of passion simply because we’re human beings, but again, to answer your question, for me, a segregated school system was not a bad thing and that was Charlottesville, again, different than most other localities.

**MS. RITA MOSELEY:** The Prince Edward County School System is where I was before school closed. I was a very happy child, very contented. We had some of the best teachers that anyone could ever want. They taught us and they made sure that we learned what we were taught before we moved on. I was a good student. I loved spelling. I would go home and write it down, that one word down five or six times until I got it perfect, so I was very happy to be in school. I was 12 years old when school closed. I was very sad about it. I stayed out of school for two years without any education at all. I had a brother that was one year younger than I. After being out of school for two years, my mother decided to do something about it. Before then, she put me in Girl Scouts/Brownie Scouts to keep me busy.

Following that, the Girl Scout leader came to my house one day and asked my mother would she allow me to go away to school. I didn’t want to leave my family. I didn’t want to leave my brother and I had to because no one offered to send him anywhere. I ended up going to Blacksburg, Virginia in the
mountains, the coldest place I’ve ever been to in my life. [laughter] And I lived with two elderly ladies, one as my friend Doris Williams and I always said, one was almost a hundred years old. She was the mother and the daughter we figure had to be around 80. Believe it or not, the daughter was the assistant principal at Pulaski School System so she went to work on Mondays and came back on Fridays and we stayed at home. It was Miss Laura Anderson, the older lady. They were complete strangers. My mother didn’t know them. I didn’t know them. My mother and whoever was in the car, a young lady, Doris Williams, and I and our parents, they dropped us off at that house on Sunday and they left on Sunday. My mother turned her back and walked away and never looked back again. And my heart broke. I wanted to scream and say, “Momma, don’t leave me,” but I felt just—I was compelled to go to school. I really wanted to go to school, so I stayed there for two years until Free School reopened.

But in the meantime, the very first day, that Sunday that we arrived, I was taken in a car to the school that I would go to which was Blacksburg— I guess it was like a middle school and they drove me to the school. They drove me to several friends’ house so I would know kids when I went to school. The following day was the first day of school and I had to walk. Now, there was a big difference in riding and walking [laughter] so I walked and I walked and I realized— I said I believe I missed the turn, but I kept walking and I realized at the very end when I finally saw the school I was on top of a little mountain hill and the school was at the very bottom. I was terrified. I wanted to cry but I knew I couldn’t because when I got— Like the school kids was going to laugh at me, I just knew it, so I just held it in and I just walked around in a circle until I arrived at the bottom of the hill to the school. Walked in and they were waiting for me. They knew I was coming. Okay.

I went to that school for one entire year. At the end of the year, I was named salutatorian of that class and I account that for the wonderful teachers such as Miss Ethel Fisher, Miss Ernestine Harrington and they go on, that I had before I went to Blacksburg, Virginia because without them, I would never had been able to accomplish that after being out of the school for two years. Thank you.

REV. EVERETT BERRYMAN: It’s always interesting to try and consolidate all of these years into about three minutes. Being a part of western Prince Edward County up around Pamplin and that area, the rural area, we were fortified with school teachers that knew what they were doing, had contact with our parents. Not only that, but we were in contact with everyone that was in the churches around, so we got it both ways, but a little two-room school there in western Prince Edward County called Five Forks School for the first four years of my schooling there, we really did enjoy the atmosphere because it was really in the community. So, the church and the school worked together because they had our interests at heart and to grow up there, we learned well how to do all of the work that we needed to do, the homework assignments and things of that nature and we also learned respect and we learned how to get along with one another along with the adult population, so when we went to church on Sunday, we had to rehearse everything we did in school during the week, so we learned well.

So, from the 4th grade to the 5th grade, we moved from Five Forks to First Rock School in Prospect and I was in the 5th grade and the very same thing happened as well. Also, the 6th grade, I went to Farmville and that was at Mary Branch No. 1 and at 11 years old going on 12, the year 1959— Yeah, I
was 12 years old, that’s the year the schools closed, so up to that point, everything was well. Everything was fine. I’m going to let it stay right there for the moment.

**REV. JAMES KILBY:** I graduated from Front Royal Colored School in June 1955. That same year I had to go to Manassas Regional Boarding School and that same summer was the summer that I read in the Jet magazine about Emmett Till’s murder and I was 13 years old and, of course, that was pressing on my mind. To leave home for the first time to stay in a boarding school, being away from my parental guidance, from my parents, into a dormitory with other kids from the average age of 13 to 19 or 20 years old. That year was difficult for me because it was just like a 13-year-old leaving home going to college, not being mature enough to be away from your family lifestyle, and, of course, the teachers. Some were good and some were bad and to be honest with you, I believe that the teachers had good intentions, but I roomed with three other guys. It was four of us in a room and, of course, being teenagers, you’re not going to study like you’re supposed to [laughter] because there’re no parents there to encourage you to study and so we played cards a lot, so in the wintertime, the water would freeze up and we didn’t have anything to drink so there was a soda machine right at the corner of the dormitory and I saw the older students filing down pennies to fit the size of a dime, to be the weight of a dime [laughter] in order to get a Coke for a one penny, and so, of course, we abused it and we drank more Cokes than we would have water and that winter, I guess I caught a real bad cold and, of course, there was no doctor’s office to treat the students and I lost a lot of weight. I had nosebleeds, so I suffered through the cold and got better but also the Warren County School Board hadn’t provided no transportation for us to get home, so my father went to the School Board and he begged the School Board because the previous students who went there before me, they had to hitchhike 50 miles to get home the best way they could.

And so the Warren County School Board decided that they would put a bus on the road where we could go home every two weeks or every other week, so after that school year, I went home. My father felt sorry for me. I didn’t have to milk the cows for a couple of weeks until I got my strength back, and so my father decided. I had a brother that’s one year younger, one grade behind me, so he graduated in 1956, and so my father went back to the School Board and he said, “I send my oldest child to this boarding school.” He said, “I don’t want to send my second son to this school. Would you make arrangements so they could be home every night, to send them to Johnson-Williams, Berryville, Virginia?”

So, of course, the superintendent, he knew that my father was upset. He knew that my father didn’t want to send his second son to this boarding school, so in order to appease him, he decided to put the bus on the road to go to Johnson-Williams in Berryville which was about 40 miles round trip and, of course, they would have basketball games after school, but we had to come home, but, again, in the wintertime was the hardest time in traveling, so I remember one evening about 2:30, it started snowing. The snow was coming down hard and we had to travel on these back roads and so the bus slipped over in a ditch and we couldn’t get out and I want you to remember that back in those days, in the ’50s, there was no cell phones and if you had an accident or whatever on the road, you had to wait until some good person come along and offered to get help for you and he would have to go, he or she, would have to go to a service station or go to a home and call for help, but that particular evening we didn’t get home until about 8:30 and, of course, my mother and father was worrying about us being out there on the road, didn’t know what had happened, and so when we got home, of course, my parents was glad to see us and, of course, that kind of hurt my father, but we finished out that year.

So, then my father kept begging the superintendent to do something for the next year, to integrate schools. He wanted him to integrate the schools, so what happened was I had to go back to Johnson-Williams another year and so the third child, my sister, being 13 years old, and my father had already tried sending me—one of his kids to the boarding school, two of his kids to this community school,
but after we had so many problems, my father decided that he didn’t want his 13-year-old daughter stuck out on the road until 8:30 P.M. in the evening and to go through all of that.

He decided that he wasn’t going to take it anymore and that he was tired and that he was paying taxes on this only school in the community which was built for white kids only, but it should have been built for all children in the community, and my father was paying taxes on a school where his own children couldn’t go and so my father decided that he would call the NAACP lawyers and he got in touch with Oliver W. Hill and my father and the NAACP filed this suit on behalf of my sister. The suit read *Betty Kilby et al. v. the Warren County School Board* and, of course, when he filed the suit, the School Board thought that he was crazy and that he was insane and suicidal, but anyhow, they filed the suit and, of course, they closed the school on September 15th, 1958, so after they closed Warren County High School, we had an Education Committee to meet and on December 1st, 1958 the Education Committee decided that the 21 students would go to Washington, D.C. to register in school and so from September 15th through December 1st, 1958, we didn’t go to any school. We were supposed to study at home, but December 1st I personally went to Eastern High School in Washington, D.C. and we stayed at homes of individuals that we knew and they took care of us.

We stayed there until the court system— We went to court in Harrisonburg and they struck down the Massive Resistance law unconstitutional. Then the judge ordered Warren County High School to open, so on February 18th, 1959, the 21 black students came back home to integrate Warren County High School, so on that day, first day, February 18th, 1959, we were instructed to go to the school in our automobiles and our parents to drop us off at the bottom of the hill, so when the car arrived on the street at the bottom of the hill of Warren County High School, of course, across the streets, there was numerous protestors and they were hollering, “niggers, go home,” and they was just acting like fools, just hollering and jeering and as I got out the car, I was wondering why was these protestors screaming and hollering, acting like fools, when the only thing we wanted was to get a high school education and so as we approached the hill to go up to the high school, there was a counselor there half way up the hill and, of course, he made sure our names was on the list of petition and then he told us where to go up the hill to the school and once we got inside the school, to go to the auditorium because we had never
been in that school before and, of course, there were police officers stationed all around the school.

Of course, the police officers was there to protect us, but we still couldn’t understand why those protesters were so hostile and were so full of hatred that they were trying to keep us from not going to that school and I will tell you, too, that the white kids boycotted the school so it was us 21 black students in this school that was built for one thousand students, and I will stop right there for now, but I want to let you know that that movement, that was the beginning of the movement and I will continue later. Thank you.

**MR. MICHAEL JONES:** I went to school in Arlington County which is northern Virginia, and our schools didn’t close. I went to school throughout the process. In fact, I was one of the first four black kids to attend a previously segregated school. I think northern Virginia is just a little bit different from the rest of the South. I think if it was …other parts of the state like everybody else, we would’ve probably closed, but we wanted to be different and the parents didn’t want to go through what the other parents in other parts of the state had gone through as far as closing schools and having to send their kids to Christian schools or things like that, so they worked to keep the schools open and they worked until the decision came down to integrate the schools and then I went to Stratford Junior High in Arlington and we went through the— I went to school throughout the process. While other schools were closed, we went to schools, so I was blessed in that consideration and I didn’t have to go through what these other ladies and gentlemen went through. Thank you.

**NEWBY-ALEXANDER:** Thank you all. While some of you actually addressed this as you were giving your remarks, this question then goes out to those who really haven’t yet touched on this. As a child, I’d like you to answer whether you were aware of the struggles for school integration, the efforts of the NAACP, whether it was local, state-wide, or national, and whether that impacted what you would later do in life?

**TURNER:** During the beginning, the NAACP did go to some of the students’ homes and discuss integration with them, but they did not come to my home because my father was military and he was a submariner and if my mother had said, yes, my children are going to do this, they were a little afraid that maybe my father would’ve gotten transferred; before things started, we would’ve been gone, but they didn’t realize that my mom was the backbone of the family [laughter] and there were five of us and she said, Daddy could go to the state of Washington but we were staying right there and waiting for him to come back.

The most important thing was that my mom could not drive so if I was catching two buses to go across town and we were stair steps. We weren’t twins or anything because when I was 6, I had two brothers and two sisters and nobody was a twin, so we followed right behind each other and with her not being able to drive, if something had happened at the school, she would’ve been stuck. The buses had a certain schedule. She had to get to school, so she asked my brother and I— it was a loaded question, okay— she addressed it as “would you rather walk to school which would take about 20, 30 minutes or catch two buses, and Pat, you know it took you about an hour and a half to two hours, now which would you rather do?” [laughter] And she was looking at you the whole time, so you already knew your answer. “I want to walk, Momma. I’m walking right now.” [laughter] Well, we did not know that it would take six months to walk that 1.3 miles.

My brother and I, of course, responded “yes,” and then we began the walk. It was tests after tests after tests. I had to pass a 10th grade test when I hadn’t gone into the 8th grade yet. We had to go to court every day for about a week. We had to be interviewed by nine and when you’re 13 years old, adults already look big, but you put nine big white men in suits and sit them behind a horseshoe and
then you put little me in the middle and you shoot me questions, the first thing I’m going to show you is nervousness, so the 17 were rejected in the beginning for different reasons. Mine was nervousness and then we moved on to the next step which I’ll wait for the next question.

**MARTIN:** I’d like to address it. My parents moved to a street in 1947, Lankford Avenue, that was pretty well not very well populated, but mostly black of the few houses that was on it, but that street was located right in the middle of white neighborhoods, so I had to walk through white neighborhoods to go wherever I wanted to go, whether it was to go to elementary school, whether it was go to downtown, go to church or wherever, and, of course, there were some neighborhoods that you simply didn’t walk through so I was fully aware of this whole notion of racism and the separation of the races. It was nothing new to me. In Charlottesville, as you will hear maybe from Mr. Williams who will be on the next panel, the NAACP was very, very active and for that reason, lots of activity related to schools’ integration and other things were happening all through the ’50s and I was aware of those.

I was 12 years old when I finished Jefferson School in 1959 and was selected to go to Lane High School in the 8th grade. At that time, we didn’t have middle schools. Prior to that, there’d been lots of court cases, some involving my family, so yes, I was aware of what the NAACP was doing and I can say that for about 30 years I was a student of this. I think one of the earlier panelist said that when they graduated from high school, they said, okay, I’ve done all I’m going to do. That’s it. I’m through with it all. I did not study. I was not a student of this. Only about five years ago or more did I actually begin to study.

One of the things that I’ve done is to go in and do some research. I found all of the letters that was written from the School Board to me and to others related to these tests and all these kind of things. I’ve also seen evidence of all the many and various court cases that came about as a result of this effort. Many, many, many court cases. Every time the state, the federal, the local, whomever, would send out a rejection, the local NAACP was right on the case. I mean, it didn’t take them long to respond, so, yes, I was fully aware as a 12-year-old and because my parents kept us informed of what was going on, I was fully—

**MOSELEY:** I was not aware of the NAACP and what was going on as a child. I was young. My parents and family never talked about it around us if they talked about it among themselves. The only thing I knew was the fact from a child’s perspective, I knew that our schools were closed, I knew that our schools were the only schools that had been closed for five years. I knew there were many of us who went to school for several years, some a few for the entire time, and so many of us that didn’t go to school at all, so I knew that. I knew that when I was in school, I was in the school where Barbara Johns and her students walked out of. That was the school I was in when school closed and so I didn’t know about the NAACP, but I knew the facts as a child. I knew what was happening. I knew that we didn’t have a school to go to. I knew the white kids had built—— The white community had built a school for their kids to go to, so I was very aware of the fact as far as a child could see.

And I knew about being able to walk down the street and particularly, one little girl used to always run to the gate. She had a fence around her house. She’d run to the edge when I’d go down the street and she’d call me the “n” word. That was the only racial encounter that I can remember that happened to me when I was young and I’ll never forget how something like that make you feel.

I want to make one correction, though, because if I don’t, Dr. Pride, the principal of Prince Edward County High School would say, you know, “why didn’t you tell them that you’re not a teacher?” I am the secretary of the principal of Prince Edward County High School, the very school that was closed when I was young, and I wanted to also say that I was aware as a child of what was going on because I lived right behind one of the schools, the elementary school, and I saw every single day because that
was the only way I could go if I wanted to go downtown, there was chains on the doors of our schools.
I had to see that every day.

Not only that, I lived— In the back of me, it was an academy school that was built only for whites.
I was aware of that because I lived close enough to that to hear anything that was going on loudly so
I was right in the middle of it and being in that situation, I mean, it doesn’t leave a good feeling with
you, not even today.

KILBY: Yes, I want to say also, of course, you already know that I was totally aware of it. My father was
a leader in the community and my father was the president of the PTA and, of course, this was before
he filed the petition to go to integrate the schools, he was a president of the Front Royal Elementary
School PTA and also he was the president of the local branch of the NAACP and my father was passion-
ate about education and after he filed the suit, we started getting telephone calls saying “we’re going
to get you, nigger,” and hang up and then the next thing, the night riders would come by and they would
stop in front of the house and he would listen. He’d hear the car doors slamming. He’d wait until
he thought they were half way in the yard. He would turn on the light and they would run and then
we found a cow. We raised milk cows. We had 11 cows; my brother and I milked the cows, and one
morning we went out to milk the cows, we gathered the cows. We’d usually get up about 4:00 o’clock
in the morning and so my father began to go with us because of these threatening telephone calls and
everything and he saw the cow laying out on the hill, stomach swole up, but one thing I admired about
my father was he didn’t take us, my brother and I, to see the cow. He would keep us at a distance and
we’d go and gather the rest of the cows and he never said a bad word or never said anything negative
about the person or persons who snuck on his land at night and poisoned his cow and the cow was
one of the best cows we had because he said, “this cow gave six gallons a milk a day, three gallons at
each milking.” And he sold milk to supplement his income.

Then, of course, they shot around the house. That scared my mom, everybody in the house. We
couldn’t walk— God blessed us with a brick house. He would tell us not to walk in front of the windows.
When you go around in your own house, you got to crawl under the windows so you won’t get shot
and put a bloody sheet over the mailbox. He would call the sheriff and the sheriff come and you can’t
take fingerprints from a bloody sheet.

Actually, he bought his first gun, he bought a shotgun to protect his home and we had a bungalow
and my mother and father slept downstairs and the two bedrooms for the kids upstairs and the window
that was next to the field every night, he would keep that window about two inches open and so one
night about 9:00 o’clock he heard this shooting, firing, coming from outside, so he got his shotgun and
by being night, he could see where the fire was coming from and he shot back out in the dark and he
heard somebody falling over the fence and I believe he found out later who it was because that person
went to the hospital with a broken leg [laughter] but two nights later, he had purchased this dog and
this was a mean dog. This dog would bite us. He had him chained up and about a week later, he went
outside where he had heard the dogs barking at night. The next morning, he got up, the dog was gone,
the chain and everything, and so it was one thing after another and, of course, they tried to fire him
three times from his job and when he went to work, one day he went in this room and a noose was
hanging from the ceiling and I learned years later one of his co-workers told me that was the only time
he saw my dad cry because they were treating him so bad.

But one thing I want to tell you, that he was a Christian. He was a deacon of his church and to
reflect back, I joined that church at 14 years old and looking back, thank God I did because when I
reached 16, to go through this movement, to start this movement, God had anointed me and made me
brave and made me a person where I could take kids spitting at me, calling me names, and trying to
entice me into a fight, and what I want to say, I might forget something, but anyhow, of course, from
February 18th through June wasn’t bad because it was just us black students, but that fall, September of 1959, about 400 white kids came back and, of course when they came back, we had to learn our do’s and don’ts. The first time I went into the restroom, four white boys in there, calling me names and everything. Of course, I couldn’t do my business. I had to leave out and go get two of the other black guys to go in there with me.

It was intimidation and you had to be strong because if you weren’t, you would’ve done something that you couldn’t— You’d regret, but like this morning, I heard one of the students say for two years, two-and-a-half years, two years, every day had to put up with this, but I will let you know that it was not one day that I didn’t want to go to school because of those unpleasant things because I knew how important education was and I knew how important it was to my father, that he would take, although we took abuse at school, we took abuse at home, because I can tell you, my father lost a lot of hours of sleep. He probably lost some years off his life because he couldn’t rest knowing that your house going to be burned down or shot around and eventually they wound up poisoning three of his cows, mutilated a calf, burned a cross in his yard way later— 1972— but anyhow, my father, not only was he a leader in the movement of integration, he also was a leader in the community of looking out for the whole community. He built 23 homes for poor families and he didn’t make any profit. He worked with them from the start of the application to the end and through the Farmers Home Administration, so he was dedicated in helping his people in every way he could.

I believe he felt the same way that I’m feeling now. I hate to see people mistreated or taken advantage of or being abused because of the love that I have in my heart and I will tell you this— about a month ago, I went to a ministerial association meeting and it was about 10 of us, eight whites and two blacks, and they were talking about unity and they were talking about how to bring the community together and I let them talk and when they got finished, I told them, I said, “I went to a meeting like this about 20 years ago and it was at a Methodist church and they were talking about the white people was on one side and the black people was on the other and the white people, when black people got up and told the white people that they were so frustrated how they’d been mistreated and taken advantage of and the white people came back and said we didn’t do it, our ancestors did it and we don’t owe you nothing and it wasn’t nothing solved,” but anyhow, so I told these ministers, I said, “one thing I haven’t heard and the word is love,” I said, because, “God is love and the only way you’re going to have unity is have love in your heart because we know that the Bible say ‘God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that who so ever believeth shall not perish but have everlasting life’,” and I tell you, that’s what it’s all about, that we need to start loving each other if you’re going to make a better world. Thank you.

**Berryman:** At 12 years old, we were very much aware of what the NAACP was doing. I, along with Henry Cabarrus, we were very much aware of what the NAACP was doing. I, along with Henry Cabarrus, were intervening plaintiffs in the *Eva Allen v. Prince Edward County School Board* and speeding up the desegregation there in the year ’59 or ’60, so we had to go to church on Sunday morning and we also had to hear all about what the NAACP was doing prior to our Sunday morning worship service, so we were very much aware of what was going on. We had strong NAACP leadership in our community and most of the church membership, if not all, had participated or were members of the NAACP, so we were very fortified and ready for whatever it was that we had to do to get what we needed to get done working.

**Jones:** Yeah, I was aware. I was only about 11 at the time, because I was just 12 when schools integrated, but the community leaders in Arlington were very good at keeping everybody aware of what was going on. Most of the focus was on the high school students, trying to get them into the segregated
high schools at the time and we who did get in were some of the younger ones. We were only 12 when we were admitted, but the leaders— They were just in our neighborhood, most of the black leaders and the white leaders lived close to us and they kept us focused on what was going on and we did go down to the courthouse sometimes when they were having hearings regarding the various suits so we were aware of what was going on. They kept us very involved and we went to a lot of meetings just in anticipation of what happened later, so they were very good about that. Thank you.

NEWBY-ALEXANDER: Thank you, all panelists.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Thank you. I have a question. What you endured you should never forget it, but my question is have you forgiven those who persecuted you during those times?

BERRYMAN: I would like to address that. The unique thing about my story is that it is unique when it comes down to my experience. When the schools closed in Prince Edward County, I went through everything all of the other students went through and we were out of school— At least, I was out of school two years before we moved to Appomattox County. The unique thing about my experience is, to get directly to your question, is I never held anything against anyone. When the schools closed, I was aware of what was going on. Nevertheless, at the same time, I turned to myself. I had to find out who I was. It was a time that I was 12 years old and I like to term it a parenthetical point in my life where I had to take a look at myself to see what I was going to do, who I was, how I was going to determine how I was going to handle this, so what it did for me was to cause me to wake up to the reality of becoming responsible for who I was and to find out what the next step I had to do to get to where I needed to go, so as far as forgiving and non-forgiving, I never looked at it as what they did directly to me. It gave me an opportunity to find out who I was and what I had to do. Now, later on, we went through the processes of going through this and going through that, but right today, I feel as though the strength of who I am was primarily determined at the stages of development that I went through at that time.

When I turn to the focus of the strength and the background and the faith that everyone had when I came through, it caused me to ask myself the question— who told me that life was fair, who told me that the playing field was going to be level, who told me that the challenges in my youth was not going to help me get to the level that I am today and we were always taught that God had a purpose for everything that you went through, never to hate, never to retaliate, never to hold vengeance, so growing through that process led me into the person that I am today and it’s still unfolding.

KILBY: Let me answer that real quick. I was giving a speech at this elementary school to the 5th graders and this girl got up. I pointed to her. She asked me, she said, “Now, Mr. Kilby, do you hate the person who tried to spit on you and one that tried to trap you in the bathroom? Do you harbor any bitterness in your heart?” And I said, “no, not at all, because I was a Christian and everything.” And she said, “are you sure if you see that person out here in the street you wouldn’t try to get ‘em back?” I said, “no,” and then way back in the room, this little boy raised his hand and I pointed to him. He said, “Mr. Kilby, have you ever dated a white girl?” I told him, “no” real quick because I would do no explaining, but this was only about 10 years ago, but what he didn’t know, like I said earlier, back then going to school, if you ever looked at one too hard, you’d be in trouble and so he just couldn’t—

MOSELEY: Could I just address your question also? The idea of forgiveness comes from God. It doesn’t come from us and I had a teacher who had to use gloves to touch my papers and he would close the door and bang my desk against the wall. He never touched me. He never acknowledged me, but 50 years later, when I had practically forgotten about him, didn’t even recognize him, he apologized to
me. You know what I said to him? “Thank you.” You know why? Because when I became an educator and there were children of all colors, all descriptions, everything that you think of in my classroom, he taught me how to be a dynamite teacher. I taught children who had nothing and I had to buy their lunch so forgiveness, thank you was greater than that and I could look him in his face and say “I love you, because I loved God first.”

**MS. PHOEBE KILBY:** My name is Phoebe Kilby and I want to thank you for all your testimonies today. One thing that has been bothering me since this morning about identifying villains and the heroes is that I think naming villains, the worst of villains, lets the rest of us white folks off the hook and I think if we look inside ourselves and think back to our own experiences that we know that there’s a little bit of the villainous in each of us and we know that we’ve grown up in a world of white privilege, of expressions of white superiority everywhere, and I think we all owe you an apology and I apologize, but I’d also recognize that apology is not enough. As someone said, I think we need to do something. If we can’t as a nation do something, then we as individuals should be doing something to make amends and to try to make things right or better, so I wonder if you have any suggestions for us as to what we can do to make amends and to reach out to each other as equal human beings to be treated with dignity?

**TURNER:** I think that the first thing we need to do as people— now, this is just me, okay?— nobody else has to agree with me. As an American, I would like to be an American. I’ve never been to Africa. I think Africa’s the greatest nation out here, but I’ve never been there.

**TURNER:** So I don’t want to be an African American. My grandmother was German. I don’t want to be German American. My other grandmother was Native American. I don’t want to be Native American. Could I please just be an American? [applause]

**MOSELEY:** I think one of the things that could be done is to see that our history has put in the history books. [applause]
**MARTIN:** This life that we live, this world we live in, is so multi-dimensional I can’t begin to say where you should start or any other white person should start, but you start on your next encounter with the ability to make a difference. Choose to make the difference. That’s all I can say.

**KILBY:** Phoebe, I would just like for you to tell them your relationship to me.

**MS. PHOEBE KILBY:** I guess that could be embarrassing, maybe. I met James about two years ago. I’d done some research and my family had owned slaves and I’m a descendant of those people and determined that James is a descendant of the slaves that my family owned and so I contacted James and we’ve been in conversation ever since. [applause]

**NEWBY-ALEXANDER:** Another follow-up?

**BERRYMAN:** I would like to add to that. We’re talking about what whites can do now. Let me share with you some of the things not only whites can do now but whites did in the early 1960s as we were at Carver Price High School, not everyone white is a bad guy or bad villain. There are people that are interested in the black cause. Sometimes we act as though we got to pick up the mantle now and find out what white folks got to do. My experience when I was out of school for two years, moving to Carver Price, led me in a capacity where there were opportunities that we did not have in Prince Edward County but when we went to Appomattox County, they embraced me as an individual. I’m reluctant to telling my story because it’s not a horror story and when I tell my side of the story, my experience, everybody thinks I had my head stuck in the sand or something that I was missing or something was going on. When I went to the school, they embraced me. They put me in a position to where I got my school bus license. They put me in a position to where I was a substitute bus driver and had opportunities to do other things that we did not have in the County of Prince Edward. There’re opportunities not only through the course of the school system but working throughout the dynamics of the rest of my career, there’ve been opportunities that everyone—white, black, and all—have been a part of my experience in getting me to where I am today, so there are opportunities and there are things that can be done now but I want to let you know that we wouldn’t be where we are today if we had an all-black cast. There were whites that were working up front and in the background to help us get to where we are, so this is my—I wish I had about two hours to tell you my story.

**NEWBY-ALEXANDER:** Thank you so much. Well, thank you. We have one more and we thank each and every one of you for attending this session. Thank you. [applause]
Ms. Daphne Maxwell Reid: We’ve heard a wonderful, wonderful day of expressions of how it all started, what they went through, the legal ramifications, the personal ramifications and now we’re going to hear a little bit about the press and a little bit about what happens now and I’m going to start by introducing our distinguished panel with Mr. Raymond Boone. Ray Boone is the founder, editor and publisher of the Richmond Free Press. He’s a recipient of the 2006 Oliver W. Hill Freedom Fighter Award and Virginia NAACP’s highest honor. A native of Suffolk, Virginia, Boone holds a bachelors degree in journalism from Boston University, and a masters in political science from Howard University.

Seated next to him is Dr. Paul Gaston. Paul Gaston is the University of Virginia Professor Emeritus on the U.S. South and Civil Rights Movement. He’s got the information. He joined the UVA Department of History in 1957 and remained there until his retirement in 1997. As a member of the NAACP, Gaston was a part of the civil rights struggle in Charlottesville in the 1950s and ’60s.

And next to him is one of my favorite people, Senator Yvonne Miller. Senator Yvonne Miller first made history as the first of African American woman to serve in the Virginia House of Delegates and the first to serve in the Virginia Senate. Prior to holding elected office, she became a 1st grade teacher in 1956 after graduating from Virginia State College. Later, she received her master’s degree at Teachers College, Columbia University.

And next to Senator Miller, we have a Delegate W. Ferguson, as we called him Fergie Reid, M.D. Delegate Fergie Reid received his Bachelor of Science degree from Virginia Union University in 1946 and his medical degree from Howard University. A co-founder of the Richmond Crusade for Voters in 1956, he was the first African American elected to the General Assembly since Reconstruction, something we don’t hear enough about in our history books also, Reconstruction. Dr. Reid’s Crusade for Voters paved the way for the abolishment of the poll tax in Virginia, another roadblock that was crushed. [applause]

Next to Fergie, we have Dr. Mildred Robinson. She is the Henry L. & Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Professor of Law at the University of Virginia. She and Richard Bonnie recently co-authored a book called Law Touched Our Hearts, a Collection of 40 Essays about the Aftermath of Brown v. Board and she received her J.D. from Howard University School of Law in 1958 and her L.L.M. from Harvard University School of Law in 1971.

Next to her is Eugene Williams. In 1954, Eugene Williams became president of the Charlottesville’s NAACP and oversaw tremendous growth from 65 members to 1,500 within two years. Following the Brown v. Board decision, Williams led the fight to desegregate Charlottesville’s schools. In 1980, Williams decided to do something about the stark disparity in housing in Charlottesville so along with his wife, brother and sister-in-law, he founded Dogwood Housing.

And our final panel member is Mr. Michael Paul Williams. He’s a columnist and a reporter for the Richmond Times-Dispatch. He’s a Richmond native and he earned his bachelor’s degree from Virginia Union University and he has a master’s degree in journalism from my alma mater, Northwestern
University. He won the Virginia Press Associates awards for column writing in 1992, 1994 and 2007. And I’m going to start off by asking something that I’ve waited to hear with all the rest of the discussions that we had today, and I’ll throw this out for all the panelists. What indirect effects could we attribute to the Massive Resistance movement? Indirect effects. Not the direct effects but indirect effects that you think came out of the Massive Resistance movement.

**MR. MICHAEL PAUL WILLIAMS:** I don’t know if this would qualify or these would qualify as indirect effects, but, I mean, frankly, I think that the spirit of Massive Resistance permeates Virginia society, political and otherwise, to this day. I hope we’re not here to eulogize Massive Resistance—

**MS. REID:** No.

**M. WILLIAMS:** Because the stake hasn’t been driven in that heart. Where we live, particularly how our jurisdictions are set up, education which is still very much separate. Indirect effects—I don’t know if you’d call them direct or indirect, but—

**MS. REID:** They all seem direct, don’t they?

**M. WILLIAMS:** Yes. I can hardly think of an aspect of Virginia life that’s not touched by it to this day.

**MS. REID:** Throughout the society.

**M. WILLIAMS:** Yes.

**MS. REID:** Not just education.

**M. WILLIAMS:** Yes.

**MS. REID:** Thank you very much. Today, closing schools to prevent the mixing of races seems unfathomable but discrimination still lingers in our society. What civil rights issues do you think future
generations will look back on this and say I can’t believe how people believed in 2009? Where do you think we still stand that needs a big adjustment?

**MR. RAY BOONE:** Well, I also think there’s [some] regret relating to how people look back. One of the biggest mistakes that we made, even in the civil rights movement, is that we put too much emphasis on political democracy rather than economic democracy and if we look at the unemployment rate, you can see wherein the black unemployment rate is twice that of the white unemployment rate. If you go to the SEC, you will find out that the Commission that Carter Glass who was also the architect of the 1902 Constitutional Convention that produced the ban or produced the poll tax, still remain all white after more than 100 years. If we look at the procurement rate in terms of the contracts that are awarded black people, you will find that it is a deplorable 1%. These are some of the negatives that we would look back on.

I would like to comment also on what produced the situation of Massive Resistance. It really goes back to the *Plessey v. Ferguson*. It goes back to the Confederate mindset. Harry Flood Byrd, as we all know, was the one who coined that phrase and what we don’t know is that Harry Flood Byrd intended for this to be not just a Virginia resistance to the 1954 Supreme Court decision, but a southern resistance to the 1954 Supreme Court decision which outlawed segregation in the public schools, but in essence, what this decision did, thanks to the NAACP led by lawyers like Thurgood Marshall and Oliver Hill, it took the nation off of the road of apartheid and I can tell you, had we not gotten off of that road, you would not have had the 1964 Civil Rights Acts and 1965 Civil Right Acts which was spurred by the civil rights movement. You would not had the election of Linwood Holton. You would not have— certainly not have had the election of Doug Wilder. You would not have had the election, historical election, of Barack Obama.

**DR. PAUL GASTON:** May I have one bit about unintended consequences? Something that was not anticipated, a very good thing— when the Byrd Machine decided to have Massive Resistance to rebuild the Machine’s base, the end result of it was it destroyed the Byrd Machine, so that was a very— And Governor Holton is shaking his head like I’m right. [laughter]

**GOVERNOR LINWOOD HOLTON:** And you are.

**DR. W. FERGUSON REID:** On the first question, what were the side effects of Massive Resistance, in Richmond, when we were deciding to fight to try to save the schools, we were able to find that there were a few whites who were moderate and willing to take a stand. These, most of them, were from Union Theological Seminary; some were from the University of Richmond. Even though we lost on the Save Our Schools things, lasting friendships came about and a new political coalition was formed. This is the first time that blacks and whites were on the same side politically and a result of that, I think some of the changes that evolved came about because this gave the first chance for black politicians, white politicians, both progressives, men and women, to get together and start a movement.

**DR. MILDRED ROBINSON:** If I may— I’d like to add— First, comment on the indirect consequence of Massive Resistance. I want to point out that I’m not from Virginia, but I am from the other mountain of conceit, South Carolina, [laughter] and so I grew up in a segregated society and I went to segregated schools. I did not attend desegregated schools until I went to law school, but I think that one of the indirect consequences which is decidedly not good is continued racial estrangement. That whole episode deepened the mistrust between the races and I think the consequences of that lingers to this day. I think in part that’s because of our failure to separate them from us. If we think a little bit
about what was going on the 1950s— My parents were both teachers. My father was a principal; my mother was a teacher. Unfortunately, it was at my high school [laughter] and so my high school years were just lost years, but—

**MS. REID:** Oh, but you did well.

**ROBINSON:** I had no choice.

**MS. REID:** Thank you.

**ROBINSON:** But I think back to what happened then. My father is one of the 90% of black principal administrators who were either demoted or fired in the aftermath of *Brown* and the 10 years between 1964, I guess, nothing much happened, as we all know, after 1954, but between 1964 and I guess the 1960s to the early 1970s, approximately 90% of all black administrators disappeared and about half of all black teachers were fired. It wasn’t that they went away; it’s that they were fired and when we think about how that happened, that was really a part of the struggle in that generation [above] my colleague and I in our book talk about, is the *Brown* generation. We were the students watching all this play out, but it was our parents and our grandparents who were involved in this titanic struggle for control and our parents, black parents were obviously at a disadvantage. We didn’t have economic advantage. We didn’t have political leverage and by and large, we were sacrificed. They were sacrificed.

But when we think about our generation and what we did, it is clear a lot did nothing. When the early panelists talked about their white classmates, they didn’t see anything; indeed, occasionally they saw hostility, real overt instances of hostility. That continues. I don’t know. Some of that is touched on by the persons who contributed to our book, but I’d like to say that now it really is the case that them is us, to borrow a line from Pogo. We look into the mirror and we now see that the enemy is us. What are we doing now to try to seize control, address the problems of the day, and to have some kind of conversation about those problems? We really can’t blame our parents and grandparents for our own failure to converse and I think that’s one of the big responsibilities that we have to assume. The obligation to identify some of the pressing issues of the day. Indeed, it doesn’t take much imagination to identify some of them and to attempt to move forward on them.

**MS. REID:** And don’t you think that identifying those problems mean that you’ve got to explain the history of where those problems came from. I think a lot of our students now, our young people, our Generation Xs, Ys and those thereon, don’t understand what we’re angry about.

**ROBINSON:** Absolutely. And just to tick off a few of those, if I may. Patterns of residential segregation continue. Continued segregation of teaching and administrative corps. Entrenched harmful educational practices like academic tracking which in and of itself may not be harmful, but when you
have only 1% of students in a student body that’s 50% black, you know that something’s gone awry.

**MS. REID:** And we’ve got a lot to do. Yes, sir—

**MR. EUGENE WILLIAMS:** First of all, I would just be so remiss if I did not tell you how humbled and honored I feel to be sitting in the Virginia Capital, an 81-year-old person, and anyone in their 80s would know that there were years we never thought that we would sit here, and so this is extremely special. It’s special so much, though, that to be sharing the panel with so many distinguished people and especially so much so that Paul Gaston—we’re the same age—and he perhaps by a lot of birth reasons much more ahead of me, but we’re still buddies.

**GASTON:** Even though he was the president and I was just a board member of the NAACP. [laughter]

**E. WILLIAMS:** But as was said by the moderator, explain exactly where the problem came on, I think we have chosen … on Massive Resistance a mighty long time today and that’s what it’s designed for, thanks to Larry Sabato, but I think it goes way, way back and maybe I’m not the one to come to remind all of us that educationally black people are more than 178 years behind white people. On May 17th, 1954, the United States Supreme Court actions stated that the separation of race simply denotes that black people were inferior to whites. This attitude still exists today whether by action or by law, but all of my life I have felt the same way that President Obama expressed last week in Ghana. In speaking about drawing hope from progress, he said, and I quote, “if it reminds us that as bad as history can be, it’s possible to overcome.” And that’s the case that we must be more positive I think to know we can overcome.

On July 4th, 1776, when Thomas Jefferson and other Founders met in Philadelphia to sign the Declaration of Independence, there was no Declaration for education for black people. In 1789, when the first 12 amendments of the United States Constitution were written, including the 10 amendments known as the Bill of Rights, educationally, black people were not considered. It was 120 years later in 1896 that the *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court ruling required, in reference to transportation, trains and other public accommodations, that black people were entitled only to separate but equal facilities. That was the beginning of Massive Resistance, in my opinion.

Now, as recent as 1954, there were counties in Virginia which had no high schools for black high school students. Twenty-five miles from Charlottesville, as was told by Mr. Kilby, that there was no high school for black students. Thirty-five miles from Charlottesville, in Madison, there was no high school for black students, so the point that I’d just like to seem to get the Massive Resistance, the whole story out, is another 58 years from the writing of the Bill of Rights, in 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled to desegregate the public schools with all deliberate speed. What does that mean?

**PANELIST:** We all wonder.

**E. WILLIAMS:** I do not know. I do know that I and my wife, Lorraine, pardon the personal reference, allowed our two daughters to be plaintiffs in the case of desegregating the public schools in Charlottesville, but moreover, we were aiming for deliberate speed and we still haven’t been able to see the speed, so I think that now we maybe have—it took … to kind of get me wound up, but we’ll
maybe have the whole picture of where Massive Resistance started and we still may be living with it today.

**MS. REID:** While you’re on a roll, you started the NAACP in Charlottesville. Did you find it difficult to bring white members onto the NAACP at the time where Governor Holton told us they were scared to stand up and speak against it?

**E. WILLIAMS:** No, we didn’t find it difficult. We brought one on.

**MS. REID:** One, oh.

**E. WILLIAMS:** Paul Gaston.

**MS. REID:** They didn’t call that tokenism back then?

**E. WILLIAMS:** No, no. We did not find it difficult. We really did not find it too difficult.

**GASTON:** What about Patty? Wasn’t she a member?

**E. WILLIAMS:** I was really joking about the one. No, I don’t have enough hands, enough fingers nor hands either to count.

**MS. REID:** And they didn’t feel the threat?

**E. WILLIAMS:** To give it a count then, because we tried to— It was almost a house-to-house call to get the whites, but I’m serious, there were those people, whites, that, and it has come out in this discussion, who wanted to do more but just wanted to kind of be persuaded, but the lady that we do want to mention, too. We do want to mention Sarah Patton Boyle because Sarah Patton Boyle, the author of *The Desegregated Heart*, surely had her heart on the right place, but the point goes about her was that she had to be waken up by being ‘cause of being nice to the first black admitted to the University and so she talked to some of us, including the late Tom Sellers, and no one at the University even extended an invitation for a little social hour and so she invited Greg Swanson— wasn’t that his name?

**GASTON:** Gregory Swanson.

**E. WILLIAMS:** Swanson— She invited him to have tea on her back porch.

**E. WILLIAMS:** But, guess what? Her neighbors rebelled against her.

**MS. REID:** I’ll bet.

**E. WILLIAMS:** And so then that caused her to talk to black people and Tom Sellers was away from Charlottesville on a leave of absence from his job and, really, I was in his office, and that’s where we formed a relation of discussion and so she got very active in doing more, but it was an interesting thing that another person from the University during this drive was committed and she brought us a check for $50.00. The membership was—
MS. REID: That’s the important thing.

E. WILLIAMS: Yeah, $2.00 for a membership, and she said, “I want to give this check, my husband and I”— to this day, I’ve never called those people’s names— and you just distribute— The membership was 25 people, so I took their check. That’s the important thing. The next year, she came with another check. $50.00. And I said to her, “thank you, but if you and your husband do not want to join, we don’t want your check,” and she walked out of the office. She didn’t like that too well. My tones don’t flow too well either sometimes, but I know she couldn’t have walked a block and she returned back with the same check and she said “sign my husband and me up and distribute the rest.” And she has been extremely active in the NAACP.

MS. REID: Dr. Gaston, what gave you the bravery to stand forward and to support the cause?

GASTON: Very simply, my grandfather who was in Iowa was very upset by the life of the Gilded Age, the wide separation between rich and poor. He thought there was a way to demonstrate how a society might be where the gap between rich and poor was narrowed or eliminated, where injustice did not exist. He was an idealist, but he was also very practical. He founded a community based on that idea. It did not incorporate blacks in it in 1894 in south Alabama because he was sure that it would be destroyed by the surrounding community. I grew up in that community and when I first began seriously thinking as a teenager about issues of race, that obviously fit into it.

I met a very pretty girl in college. She’s sitting right over there, and we talked about what we wanted to do. This is the early ’50s. I could see great changes coming from the South. She’s from South Carolina. I’m from Alabama. I had this background of this community and I decided that I would like to teach southern history at a southern university as my way of entering into the civil rights movement and I would just say, on this point, if I can have just a minute, I disagree a little bit with Eugene and his friend Barack who’s a great guy. I admire him greatly. I don’t think the past— Yes, the past can be overcome and the past can in a sense be buried, but also the past can be forgotten about and, really, as Faulkner once said, the past is never dead.

MS. REID: It can’t be.

GASTON: Right. And what is so disturbing to me is that so many people know nothing about Massive Resistance. Three quick examples: I sent an email yesterday to a high school friend of mine who is involved in politics, very learned, spends her time going through the web and she wrote back, when I told her what I was going to do, “what was Massive Resistance?” I was taking a group of people down to Prince Edward County about 10 years ago to an art opening and as we approached, I thought I might explain to them a little bit about Prince Edward County. The young woman in the back, college graduate, engaged, probably in her 30s, said, “you mean, they closed schools? How could anybody do that?” She was outraged.

When Benjamin Muse died— Ben was a news reporter, a journalist, a very good friend of mine, and a civil rights worker, and he wrote a book, one of the first books on Massive Resistance, *Virginia’s Massive Resistance*— when Ben died, the *Washington Post* obituary said, “Benjamin Muse wrote a book
about Massive Resistance in Virginia. It was a program designed to close public schools rather than integrate them. It was never put into effect.”

GASTON: That’s why this conference, and I’m going to shut up here for other people, is so important. And the past has to live in the present in order to make the present better.

MS. REID: But the history books must reflect the entire past.

SENATOR YVONNE MILLER: One of the interesting about life is that when you talk about Massive Resistance and you talk about what’s left of Massive Resistance, the residue is so present with us now that many people who may not know about Massive Resistance are behaving as if they lived in that era and so we really need to help to educate people about some of the actions that we are encountering in our interactions with them. It’s important for people to understand that all human beings bring to the table gifts and talents and abilities and are able to contribute to the society. Virginia is much poorer than it should be because in Virginia, there has been the systematic exclusion of people of great talents and abilities in order to promote a few people and so we are living beneath our privilege.

There are things that we could do if we had enough understanding that we are in a global competition, and we are competing with China where there are enough people in China to come to this country, walk around the country, and take it. They don’t have to raise any arms or anything. [laughter] And we are not smart enough to understand how to use the brainpower that we have so we’re busily locking up people, we’re busily miseducating people, [applause] we’re busily keeping people out of business because we don’t understand where we are and what the time is. We are in a different generation. We are in a generation where the competition is world competition. It’s not Virginian against Virginian. It’s world competition and to have in the schools in Virginia people who are systematically miseducated on purpose is criminal and we aren’t raising our voices about that. [applause] It is absolutely criminal to miseducate any child in this state, any adult in this state who wants an education, who has a gift that needs to be developed and so on, the Massive Resistance caused a lot of problems. We have the residue. We actually need to be busy trying to understand how we are going to educate our population so we don’t end up being a slaved nation to the nations that we’re borrowing all this money from.

And somewhere, somebody needs to talk about the relationship between money and opportunity. Some of us have lots of education, but we don’t have opportunities to make lots of money. Some people have lots of money and no education so they are soon parted from their money, so there are a lot of things that we need to be talking about today as we talk about the residue from Massive Resistance, because contrary to what most people believe, it has helped both— It has hurt, seriously wounded, both sides. Whites in Virginia can never achieve what they need to achieve because they’re too busy trying to keep blacks down. Blacks cannot achieve what they need to achieve because some of them are involved in blaming others. We actually need to get together and get this brainpower, money power thing, moving in a different direction. [applause]

BOONE: I would like to speak— Follow up on miseducation and the role that the state is playing. As you may know, the nation is celebrating the 200th birthday of Abraham Lincoln. The state of Virginia rejected that opportunity. Instead, what the state of Virginia did was to finance Virginia’s role, pro-slavery role, in the Civil War 150 years ago. Now, that reinforces the Confederate mindset that continues in Virginia and we’re still doing that with taxpayers’ money. This is miseducation as Carter Woodson would call it and there’s still a lack of balance. All you have to do is go over to Capital Square. Confederates still dominate the Square. We have one civil rights memorial. Comparatively speaking, it doesn’t measure up when you look at who the real heroes are and who the villains are. If you go down
Monument Avenue, you have distorted history. You have twisted history. You have Arthur Ashe, an international figure, in the back of the bus and you have a row of great villains littering Monument Avenue in the City of Richmond. This may sound like we are dealing in hyperbole but I can tell you that these figures represent our values and our actions and it also promotes miseducation. When our children move about this city and they see these major statues of villains, they think they’re heroes.

I think you need to note, if you go in front of practically every courthouse in the state of Virginia, you will see a Confederate figure there. That has an affect on people who go into that courthouse to continue to promote those misguided values, so this is a part of miseducation. The state of Virginia is still promoting that and at this moment, they are promoting it through the celebration of Virginia’s role in the Civil War and there should be an outcry against this because it’s miseducation against not only black people but the whole populous.

Another point in terms of miseducation, I think we would commit the sin of omission if we did not bring in the press. The press played a large role in promoting miseducation and promoting Massive Resistance. As a matter of fact, they violated every rule, basic rule, of journalism, ranging from having segregated colored— what they called colored pages—and then when the newspaper would go into black communities, they would take out the financial page and put a colored page in to perpetuate that view that blacks really could not comprehend finance and, of course, you know, what the situation was and still is in Richmond, in terms of how the Richmond newspapers, the Times-Dispatch and the News Leader promoted Massive Resistance. Just as they’re doing today against their own people, they did it in yesteryears. A friend of mine, Virginius Dabney, he was punished tremendously because of his “liberal role” in terms of promoting education.

Another good friend of mine with the Times-Dispatch was an editorial writer. He could not move up because he was viewed as too liberal and then there was another writer who worked for the Free Press and his wife was the chairman of the school board and she stood up for integration and, of course, Hamilton Crockford and, of course, you know what happened to him, so the point that I’m making is that the press has played a large role in maintaining segregation, in promoting discrimination, and to this day, opposing what is right and it’s becoming even more serious at this point wherein the media are controlled by a handful. That’s why independent newspapers like the Free Press are very important and we need to understand that and how media played a large role in creating discrimination, justifying it, and the answer to all of this is, if though— If we were to make as strong a effort to correct wrongs as we did to make wrongs, we would be on the right track.

MS. REID: Thank you. Governor Holton said earlier today that Massive Resistance and the press were able to control the citizens and the voters with Massive Resistance because the voters were asleep at the wheel. Now, this past year, with the Obama election, a lot of folks woke up and we got them to the polls, but do you think they’ve nodded back off again. Do you think there is a call to arms to do anything besides just get financially straight?

MILLER: I think in terms of Obama, which is— He’s very critical to our country and he’s trying to do a lot of things. I think we can help him by being supportive. I have a brother in Norfolk who is willing to spend his own money to buy air time on the radio station so that he can talk about the need for health care. I think what has to happen in some instances is that people who have a vision of what is right must step forward and make the personal and group sacrifices necessary to move causes forward.

MS. REID: What’s the rally cry? What are we doing?
MILLER: My rallying cry is help the children, because my expertise is in that area, and so I’ve adopted a school. I encourage churches and other people to adopt a school because if the state and the localities don’t step up and educate the children— they’re our children— we must step up and educate our children, provide all the extras. Help them to understand how to compete in a world that’s structured against them. I’m a conglomerate sitting here because so many people invested in me so it’s my turn now to make some other young people conglomerates by understanding that I don’t care how much money I put on my back, I’m still an old woman. [laughter] I don’t care what kind of car I drive. I’m still an old woman in a new car, so I need to invest what resources I have in young people so that when I pass this baton, it’s to people who understand the needs of other people like themselves and all other people. Remember— we are our brothers’ and our sisters’ keepers and if we don’t—

If we are still happy in Virginia making prisons economic developments for certain parts of the state, there’s something wrong with our brain. We do not understand in Virginia and there’re people who come to Richmond saying, give me a prison for my district because we don’t have any jobs. That is a very bankrupt point of view and so until we have [applause] legislators and these are not just African Americans who come and ask that, so you need to understand that until we really understand that if we don’t educate all of Virginia’s children, whether they are poor, whether they’re in Appalachia, whether they’re in the cities, that we are going to be a third-rate state. We have all of these natural resources. We have these wonderful institutions. We are very elitist in the people we admit and we are very clear in why we’re not admitting certain people but we are making for ourselves a world of hurt because if we don’t educate Virginians, Virginians will be servant classes and it won’t just be black people who’re servants. It will be Virginian servants running around to these people that we want to import and establish businesses in Virginia.

I had the good pleasure of going on an economic development trip with Governor Wilder. They treated him like a prince, but I want you to know, if we don’t educate our population, we will be continuing to act like a third world country and what do I mean by that? We will ship raw materials overseas. They will ship us back finished materials that we will buy, so we have some serious problems and it’s not just African Americans in Virginia who have these problems. Certain parts of this state are in horrible economic trouble because we don’t provide enough money to provide a world-class education for all of these children and we can do it but we just don’t have the will to do it.

MS. REID: Okay. We’ll go down to you. You were raising your hand, Mr. Williams.

E. WILLIAMS: On that note, I have some real strong feelings that we just cannot understand what we’re doing to ourselves. In Charlottesville, we have a majority school board, black school board. The majority are black on our school board, four to three. Four blacks, three whites. We have a black superintendent. We have two minorities on our City Council.

E. WILLIAMS: Oh, yeah, of a Council of five. We talk to each other. [laughter] Now, you know why we’re friends. [laughter] We have a 13.2% dropout rate. We have the second highest dropout rate in central Virginia. Now, these are alarming figures, but the more I think about it and have dealt— have tried to address itself to these people, particularly the ones I just mentioned, our numbers, in writing, and conferences mean nothing if we really don’t … on somebody to tell it as it is, is that I start a letter off with the first paragraph asking these parties, please don’t treat me or this letter like my correspondence and conversations back in the ’50s. In ’58 and all, the black school teachers stopped speaking to my wife. The black school teachers wouldn’t speak to me, so I asked them— don’t handle this letter the same way. Guess what? Only one person on the School Board has replied. The superintendent has not replied. Now, you know, that’s what’s going on, whether we want to admit it, whether anybody’s
brave enough to tell it. It’s going on. It’s going on. We’re getting ignored by the people that we would expect to answer to us. It’s going on.

Now, it’s so obvious out here now that our well-to-do people, black and white, are not thinking enough about those who are not well-to-do. I have met three or four blacks here from the University of Virginia that I didn’t even know they were in Charlottesville. [laughter]

E. WILLIAMS: Common talk must get back to our communities, because I hope one or two things that have been said by the panel that we all can relate to whether we want to admit it or not.

MS. REID: All right, Ray, you had something to say.

BOONE: I’d just like to follow up on accountability, particularly in the political arena. In many cases, we fall over each other trying to endorse people, get them elected, but once they’re elected, we don’t hold them accountable. One of the challenges that we have is to have them accountable to the people rather than to corporations. The other day I asked a legislator about an issue and to my disappointment, he said, “let me look at my fundraising book and then I can tell you what I can do.”

Now, one of the problems that we have as a people is that we have bought the definition of resources. We’re not a powerless people. We have accepted the definition that resources amounts to money only. That’s not true.

BOONE: Resources can be cerebral power. No one race is restricted to that. Then you have a resource called numbers. If you don’t believe it, if you’re a candidate, wake up on election day and your number is the lowest. Now, who provides that margin of victory not only to the legislative black caucus members, but to other members? We’ve got a tremendous gubernatorial race coming up. The last time the two candidates met I think the margin of victory was only about 300 votes, so what we need to do is break out of that definition of what resources are. It goes beyond money and I’ve come to the conclusion that when there is a tripod of power, whenever you control two of those legs, you hold power. Let’s say, let’s give the money to them, but if we use our brainpower and if we use our numbers, you can prevail and to a great degree, that’s what Obama did. And so what we have to do is change the brainwashing that has taken place in terms of definitions.

Another— He was rejected because he was black. Is that true or was he rejected because of racism? There’s a lot of trickery in the language. You’re behind the eight ball, so we need to understand what is happening to us in a very sophisticated way and we need to hold these politicians, black and white, accountable. Just because a person is— We’ve been sold on diversity, but we shouldn’t be duped on that. We’ve got diversity on the Supreme Court; by a definition, Clarence Thomas. [laughter] Come on.

MS. REID: It’s education.

BOONE: Let’s think about diversity, a bunch of white guys say let’s go to the top of the tallest building in Richmond— what’s that? Ten stories or 20 stories? — I don’t know— and let’s jump off, so we said, hey, you don’t have any diversity. Do you want diversity? [laughter] So, we have to rethink things and think about how we have been brainwashed and think about definitions.

MS. REID: And you have to think about how you’re continuing to be brainwashed because the media is pervasive in America and it is the voice of five people who control all the media, so we have to, as you say, take responsibility for someone other than ourselves. We have to tell our own stories. We have to make sure that these stories are told to everyone, not just our children, everybody’s children. And we
need to find a way to move forward. My last question and everybody gets to answer this one: what do you want today’s guests to take away from this panel today? What do you want them to be charged with when they walk out this door because to stand here and talk about this all day and not have a purpose that you can act on seems like a waste to me. So, we’ll start down there with you, Michael.

**M. WILLIAMS:** Well, first thing, there’s been a lot of talk about young people and the children and what we should be telling our children, young people, blah . . . Where are the young people today in the audience? I mean, we always seem to have these—

**MS. REID:** They’re back there.

**M. WILLIAMS:** We keep having these discussions and talking around them and about them like they don’t exist. I’ve taught at VCU off and on for probably a decade and a half and every semester the topic of Massive Resistance came up and I could count probably on one hand the kids who knew what Massive Resistance was. They need more than we do. I mean, some of us are talking history we’ve lived and the rest of us are talking history that we’re well acquainted with, but they’re the ones who— I mean, all these things should be future-looking. They’re the ones that have to carry the ball and run with it.

What would I take from this—I mean, we need to think about how we’re still very much separated. Massive Resistance, at its base, was about keeping people apart from each other and we’re still very much apart in so many ways that we don’t think about or we don’t want to talk about. I mean, why don’t the kids know about Massive Resistance? Is it not part of the school curriculum? I mean, can we at least ask that very basic question, why so many kids who are educated in Virginia don’t know about one of the most crucial periods in Virginia history. That’s basic and that’s tangible and something we can get to the bottom of, because they need to know it.

Why do cities like Richmond struggle in isolation? Why is the state structured so that cities like Richmond continue to do so? We’ll never realize our potential as a state, as a city, in so many ways, until we honestly deal with these problems and people have spoken to the spirit behind some of these questions. Have we been honest in assessing this? We try to be so polite in Richmond and politeness was behind Massive Resistance.

**MS. REID:** It’s a part of our culture.

**BOONE:** We have schools named after the architects of Massive Resistance. There’s no schools that I’m aware of named for Oliver Hill. How can we honestly deal with these issues if our institutions and in who we honor and who we deem as heroes perpetuate falsehoods?

The kids have no idea probably why this state is set up as it is, why the criminal justice system, again, represents that sort of separateness in the disproportionate numbers of African Americans incarcerated. They don’t know any of this and unless they’re part of these discussions, how do they create a better future? We’ve got to get this stuff on the table. We’ve got to stop dwelling maybe so much on what happened then and try to change things.

**MS. REID:** So you say that each one should tell one?

**M. WILLIAMS:** Yes.

**MS. REID:** Well, start with one. Get a group together and give them the information that they need to know. Yes, sir—
E. WILLIAMS: Well, the best I can do is tack on. I couldn’t think of anything myself, so I’m going to tack on. I think when it comes to schools, and that was what was just mentioned, that many of our schools’ names got named after Confederates. I think that we need to propose to our school boards to do one or two things: remove the name entirely and give it a name that the whole community can accept or else we need to give all of those schools hyphenated names. Now, where do I come from on that? In Charlottesville, Virginia, all of our schools were named after people much like that. I won’t say all of them were Confederates, but much like that, so it was in the paper that they’re going to name— build a new school and they’re going to name it Via School. Well, that wasn’t too acceptable by some of us because it was that principal— Of course, she had no other choice, but it was that principal that said, Mr. Williams, you know you cannot admit your daughters to this school and, of course, but she had someone over her. But the point is that’s not good feelings.

So, addressing the School Board, we said to the School Board, all the schools in Charlottesville— Charlottesville, not Albemarle County— are named after whites, even the school that I graduated from, Jefferson; we’ve never known yet who the Jefferson is. [laughter] Black Jefferson, white Jefferson. We assume, but we don’t know, so the School Board got the message that we didn’t even have a school in Charlottesville named after a black so it’s hyphenated. It’s Jackson-Via and that’s for the black lady who contributed so much years ago to the education in Charlottesville, so this to me is just kind of simple, that schools with these Confederate people’s names on them, hyphenate them so we can— Put Tucker’s name on it and Hill’s name. We can go on and on down the line, including many, many others that you can name.

ROBINSON: I have to comment. Eugene’s comment about what’s in a name brings back a memory, a comment made by one of my colleagues who was trying to explain what’s in a name to a politician who shall go unnamed and she was explaining why Jackson King Lee Day did not have a particular resonance with black people and she said it’s because it’s not Jesse Jackson, Martin Luther King and Spike Lee. [laughter] It’s very difficult to improve upon what Senator Miller has said. She’s just been so eloquent in talking about something that’s near and dear to my heart and that is the need for education. I think the beauty of Brown even though it wasn’t effective in desegregating education which is what it was intended to do, I think, is that it gave hope. It said to black kids— you can aspire. And it suggested to white kids— you can be free, too, because they’re as much enslaved by the system of segregation as were black kids. They just didn’t recognize that this whole illusion of power based on segregation was just that— an illusion— and so it did suggest that hope was alive.

Massive Resistance eviscerated that. It took it away and we see in the Supreme Court a continued movement in that direction. Seattle Parents, decided a couple of years ago, which barred the use of race as a tie-breaker to award seats in high schools, in the prized high schools in the city, also goes in the opposite direction. Is there hope? I think we have to somehow bring hope back to the young people. I believe so strong in education. I believe that it’s important for everybody, for all the reasons you’ve talked about, and I think that somehow we’ve got to come up with a way of thinking globally about all that’s gained by making education available to children without regard to race or socioeconomic status and at the same time, you have to act locally because it’s very nice to sign on to ideas in the abstract, but if we can’t breathe life into them, it doesn’t mean very much, so I guess what I’d like to have people do is think about ways of bringing hope back to the schools, maybe by adopting a school, by being sure that teachers don’t have to pay out of pocket for supplies for their classrooms. I see that Staples and Office Depot have run these sales at the beginning of the year for teachers— come in and get the supplies you need. Why must they spend from their limited resources to furnish their classrooms? Clubs, churches, can get together and at least be sure the kids have enough notebook paper for the entire year. That doesn’t entail being present every week for Book Buddies or doing some tutoring
after school. At the same time, it’s very important for the kids, so come up with ways to work locally in order to achieve these larger objectives. Everybody doesn’t have to be a tutor. Everybody doesn’t have to put up a bunch of money which is in limited supply these days in order to insure that kids will get through the system, but everybody can do something, and that is what I’d like to think. I’d like to urge everybody to do something positive to keep hope alive for these children.

**MS. REID:** Dr. Reid—

**DR. REID:** Thank you. I’d like for you to take home with you that history does repeat itself. Massive Resistance occurred many, many times before. I think it went back to the Civil War when the South was defeated, they decided that they had to get even. During the time immediately after the Civil War, many blacks were elected to Congress even from Virginia, but in order to prevent that, they had the Convention of 1902 when they enacted the poll tax. Many of you don’t know what the poll tax is or was, but it was a fee to vote and in order to vote, you had to pay it three years prior to the election, six months prior to that election. That was done on purpose and it’s no secret they did it to keep blacks and poor white people from voting and this is how the Byrd Machine got its power, and the power came because nobody wanted to contest him or to go against him.

When Massive Resistance came about, there were no people, white, who wanted to confront the Byrd Machine because they were frightened and they were afraid of repercussions. We cannot let that happen again. If we don’t get involved, we’re going to have another set of massive resistance is going to occur somewhere.

We have to get involved in the voting aspect because the politicians represent us. Too soon do we forget or they make us forget that they represent us. They forget. They don’t pay any attention to us once they get elected. They get a lot of money from the corporations so they have to feel that they represent them more than they do us. If we don’t wake up, we’re going to get caught in a situation where we will no longer be able to control our legislature. We almost had that to happen in Congress. The second Iraq War people were afraid to confront Bush and tell him not go because they were afraid of the repercussions and they let our legislators determine what our fate would be when that is not the way it’s supposed to be in a democracy. In a democracy, the power comes from you. We don’t want you to forget that because there’s a tendency to play down the public. Any time you come out against the power structure, they say that you are not patriotic. If you came out against the war, you were a
traitor, so we cannot let that happen. The newspapers are complicit with this.

And also, in Massive Resistance, I cannot let the newspapers off. I cannot let the people behind the politicians. They tend to blame Byrd but Byrd had controllers, people who controlled him. The people that controlled him were the people from Main Street, the lawyers that made millions of dollars on the Massive Resistance and school desegregation cases. The publishers and editors of the Richmond Times-Dispatch and the Richmond News Leader, they were the ones that controlled Byrd’s, his actions. The Commonwealth Club, Country Club of Virginia, they were the beds of the infidels. [laughter] Again, the reason he had the power is because we let him. We no longer have the poll tax. There’s no excuse for all of us getting involved in all of these issues because we’re the ones who have to make the determination so I want to remind you that power comes from the people and you are the people and you should never let anybody take that away from you.

MS. REID: Thank you.

MILLER: I’d like to say that you have a wonderful opportunity to leave this meeting and make a major impact on the political system. A hundred member of the House of Delegates are up for re-election in November. You have the opportunity to go to the meetings, to ask questions, to suggest things that they might want to work on during the Session, so if you really are energized by this meeting today, this conference, and you have an interest in politics, this is your season. Go and tell them what you expect them to do in order to make Virginia a leading state in things that will promote the well-being of our children and the children after our children. We are stuck in a place where we put in prison more young people, more older people, than anybody in the world. That’s not good. We really need to find a new course of action. The amount of money we’re spending supporting people in prison is very small compared to the amount of money that we are spending to educate a child even in what they call the flagship universities of Virginia so we really need to do something about that. I recommend your district representative to the Virginia House of Delegates for your questioning and for your planting seeds in their heads and help them understand that you are watching and you are monitoring.

MS. REID: Thanks. Dr. Gaston—

GASTON: Yes. I don’t want to leave with any discouraging comments. I’ve been inspired by much of what I’ve heard. My own experience in helping to bring social change involves, for example, persuading the University of Virginia to get rid of all the heritage of white supremacy. The first step in that direction was taken in 1961 with a student and faculty boycott of the theater by the University which would not admit blacks into it because it couldn’t have segregation. It had no balcony.

Then we formed a student branch inevitably named the Jefferson Chapter, of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. Eight years later, those original demands were just about met. It took organization. It took more students each year who had been inspired by the larger civil rights movement who wanted to change their University so that in 1969, the president, the faculty administration, was persuaded: (a) we ought to be active in recruiting black students, (b) we ought to be much more active or active at all in recruiting black faculty, and (c) we ought to have a black studies program, all very simple, but it took eight years of organization. My experience is that everything’s been said about individuals taking responsibility for something is enormously important and all of us can find ways of doing it in our lives, but really, to bring major social change requires power, requires an organization and so I would look for that.

I found it when I came with respect to schools, at least for integration, working with Eugene and the lawyers who brought the lawsuits; the NAACP did it. Without that organization, it would never have
happened. Rational argument. I was very disappointed to find this teaching in a university. Rational argument seldom changes the minds.

**PANELIST:** And that’s true.

**GASTON:** Of those people who are against you. Look at Jeff Sessions from my home state of Alabama in the United States Senate. There isn’t anything you could say to him that would persuade you that: (a) he shouldn’t have been turned down when he wanted to be a judge, and (b) that he shouldn’t make all these comments about Sotomayor.

**MS. REID:** Thank you very much, Dr. Gaston.

**BOONE:** I would like to— Eugene and I have known each other for decades. As a matter of fact, I knew him when I was a kid and founded the Suffolk Nansemond Branch of the NAACP, but I would like to respectfully disagree with him in terms of hyphenation of names. That is precisely the strategy the Confederate sympathizers would’ve want, because it would put Confederates on the same plain as the Union, on the same plain as black soldiers who really made the difference in the outcome of the War. They do not deserve the same kind of recognition as Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, so we need to understand that.

I think we’ve come a long way in terms of being here at the Capital where Massive Resistance policies were executed and where they were born and also the University of Virginia which was the home of the eugenics program.

**DR. REID:** In the 1930s, yes.

**BOONE:** And that was a very dangerous program which was trying to give scholarship to white supremacy and also it was the source of the infamous and cruel Tuskegee Experiment, so we need to understand history in how far we’ve come, but at the same time, not make the same mistake. I’m going to tell you the same thing I told you before and that is we need to wake up and understand the hidden persuaders that are keeping us enslaved. We also need to understand our power and we should not be duped into thinking that after we vote, it’s all over and that’s the only way—

**BOONE:** And that’s the only way that we can use our power. The *Free Press* advocates that we vote with our dollar. Every time you spend a dollar, you should think about the social responsibility and what these corporations do. Most of them are corrupt and that is not an extreme statement if you’ve just been following what has happened to our economy, so my suggestion to you is that we wake up and that we use our power not only on election day, but every day and that we not think that a black person is a friend just because he’s black or a white person is an enemy just because he’s white.

**BOONE:** And that is a dupe job, so we have to wake up and re-evaluate this thrust for diversity because I can tell you, you can have diversity and still not have representation because you’ve got to look behind the curtain and find out and know who is winding this person up. In most instances, big business is winding it up and big business— okay— and big business—

**BOONE:** Yeah, and big business’s interests are being served, not the interest of the people.

**MS. REID:** So wake up.
BOONE: Wake up.

MS. REID: All righty. Thank you very much to all the people on the panel. Our first question— Miss Ruby—

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Thank you and thanks to all. The first thing that appalled me when Dr. Robinson said her daughter asked, “now, what are you going to give me” or “what do I get?”

ROBINSON: What have you done for me lately?

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Thank you, but then they don’t realize that we’ve spent our lives rearing them, trying to educate them, so what are they and when are they ready to start giving back. The second concern is for all that has been said and done, I’ve heard no one mention the name of God, the Father Almighty. If you will recall, when King Solomon and the people of Israel were praying to Almighty God for help, God answered in these words: “If my people who are called by my name will humble themselves and pray, seek my face and turn from their ways, then will I hear from heaven and heal their land,” but who wants to take the time to spend in prayer and, forgive me, but blacks have been known to feel like they possess God and they can have their prayer meetings and they can carry on, but where is subjection to the will of God? Thank you.

MILLER: May I make a comment?

MS. REID: Yes, you may.
MILLER: But I think what she said has great meaning, but there is also a verse in Acts 17, verse 26 that says, “and out of one blood, He made all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth,” so in the light of Virginia’s horrible history, in some instances, we need to learn that lesson. We need to learn that the God who made all humans, that God requires us to respect and to treat each other as brothers and sisters and in spite of our tribulations and our trials and our mistreatments, if you examine the record, African Americans treat whites a whole lot better than whites generally treat African Americans and with this whole thing about the religious right that is unreligious and unholy, we need to talk about that verse because these are some of the most racist human beings on the face of the earth, so while we are talking about God, that God requires that you treat people in an equitable way and people go around raising the issue of God and who are very racist in their behavior no matter what color, are not on God’s side.

MS. REID: Ms. Turner, I’m going to ask to have this conversation a little later. We have some other questions.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: … a question that would clarify for me and resolve the difficulty in telling the story about civil rights in Virginia. I’ve been involved for a long, long time, and I want to know why Larry Sabato and other keepers of the truth refer to the Massive Resistance, the end of Massive Resistance in 1959. In my experience, after 1959, this movement of Massive Resistance was ideological, it was economic, it was cultural and it was social and I didn’t know a lot, except for the victories in the court. I didn’t detect any changes, particularly after 1959. It was a lovely decision and 12 years in Prince Edward, one of the stories I like to tell was a wonderful achievement, but why do we insist on saying that Massive Resistance ended in 1959? All day today we’ve talked about the residues, the continuing outcropping of Massive Resistance still in our blood of Virginia. Can somebody— I especially wanted Paul Gaston and Ray Boone and some of you others that have this whole experience.

GASTON: I think it’s a fairly simple answer, and that is it’s just a literal answer, that the Massive Resistance laws were declared unconstitutional and in that sense, it ended. It’s almost like saying that segregation ended in 1964 when the Civil Rights Act made segregation illegal. Both of those are formal statements, but the other things that you’re saying and what we know about segregation not ending, present another side, so I just—

AUDIENCE QUESTION: When we go to tell the story, people say, oh, it ended in ’59. I just wanted to— I kind of expected you might say that. Thank you.

MS. REID: Next question—

AUDIENCE QUESTION: I’ve spent the last, or I guess three years, studying the schools in Prince Edward County, and I went there with the idea that I was told that they were the one school system out of the Brown v. Board schools that had been a success. Well, I don’t see the success. Very high dropout rate. Very low spending on education. They have a system in which the Board of Supervisors is elected by district and not at large, so the white folks still control the Board of Supervisors and most of those folks have either gone to all-white schools or send their children to private school. Meanwhile, the predominantly black high school or the school system, really, the black people have absolutely no say in this and the members of the Board of Education are appointed by the supervisors and the supervisors make all the decisions about what money will be spent. Now, it occurred to me that that’s why the system is not working. Am I wrong? I mean, it seems to me a state that allows its counties and local
governments to continue to be led by white people who are in a minority, who don’t have children in schools, it’s probably not the way to do it. Why does the legislature allow this to continue?

**MILLER:** Because we don’t have the votes to change it.

**AUDIENCE QUESTION:** But you do see that as one of the problems.

**MILLER:** I understand the problem, but Virginia is a very elitist state and in order to do anything in the Senate, you need 21 votes. In order to do anything in the House, you need 51 votes and in order for it to become law, the governor must sign it and until we reach a point where there are people who understand the magnitude of our miseducation and the effect it’s having on our economic system and unless the voters decide— Now, the voters can bring about change. Remember, I told you a hundred people are running for the House. If people really talked to their delegates and help them understand that this was something they wanted to change, otherwise, you would not get our votes, but there is not a will, from what I’m observing, in this election to do that and someone must do the hard grunt work of educating the public and helping the public apply that pressure in a way that will bring about the change. Otherwise, the change will not come about.

**AUDIENCE QUESTION:** Don’t you have to start talking about at least?

**MS. REID:** Yes, and go right ahead. Continue.

**MILLER:** We are talking about it.

**E. WILLIAMS:** Let’s see if we can get it to one more step. That’s very true, but, you know, when you see a problem, whatever the problem is, you just take it upon yourself to try to do something about it. Please pardon the personal reference. I’m a native of Charlottesville. I was away for 10 years. I came back in ’53 and immediately coming back home, I saw the problem, much of what you’re talking about, and that’s how I got involved or volunteered to become a chairman of the NAACP in Charlottesville and right there, pushed their membership, or led it, took everybody, let from 65 to 1,500. That gave us more members than the Chamber of Commerce and we got to be a powerhouse in Charlottesville. That caused us also to be the first city in the state of Virginia to go back to the federal court to make a case for deliberate speed. Of course, now don’t ask me anymore about that, but at least we were the first city in the state of Virginia to do it, so I always think some time we raise the question with respect to you and anyone else, but it’s not a matter can we get somebody else. We start with self.

**MS. REID:** Thank you. Yes—

**GASTON:** On the other hand, Eugene, I … be able to disagree with you.

**E. WILLIAMS:** That’s all right.

**GASTON:** We have organized for years and years to get Rob Bell out of the House and we always knew that Mitch would be here, so we didn’t have to do much—

**MILLER:** But Mitch is not there.
**DR. REID:** Well, Mitch Van Yahres and, of course, he got here and now Dave Toscano, so we’re sort of divided and there’s a woman running against Rob this time. I don’t think she has much of a chance no matter what we do. There’s just minds can’t be changed. I want to do it, but it ain’t easy. Not as what you did. What you did was fabulous. The situation’s changed.

**MS. REID:** Yes, but we still have to take personal responsibility. Start with one. Next question—

**AUDIENCE QUESTION:** We all have earned or at some point have been given the right to vote. It’s our responsibility to use that. You ask yourself what does it take. It takes a call to action. What is black and white and bronze? Our history. Written in black and white, we’ve lived through it. We’ve accepted statues and apologies and whatever, but at some point, we have to take that vote just like you take money to the bank and we have to use it. Why during this century do we still have to have the Voting Rights Act extended?

**MILLER:** May I tell you one of Virginia’s ugly secrets? We are the only state in the country that denies voting rights to people who served in prison for a felony. The only person who can grant that person voting rights is the governor. We have tried in many ways to change that law. We have not been able to change the law because many of the legislators see it as a black problem because the largest proportion of people locked up in prison as felons are African American people and so if we don’t understand that keeping the electorate small— That was one of the reasons Massive Resistance could exert the kind of power it exerted because it kept the electorate small and they could control all the people who voted. Now, we are making it smaller in a vicious way by trying to certify as many people as possible as felons so they lose their rights to vote, so that’s another part of this problem that we haven’t even discussed today.

**BOONE:** That’s absolutely correct and it undergirds the point that Dr. [Peebles] made about Massive
Resistance continuing. It’s institutionalized. The Byrd Machine maintained power by keeping the electorate small, so much so that V.O. Key, the great historian or political scientist from Johns Hopkins, likened Virginia to the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, because I’m wearing pink, Governor Holton said, “hey, pinko” [laughter] but the truth of the matter is contrary to what is peddled, the Byrd Machine was much like the Communist Party as V.O. Key, the most— who wrote the classic southern politics— likened Virginia to the Communist Party in terms of control and they did that through the poll tax. Carter Glass in the 1902 Constitutional Convention and also Carter Glass, believe him or not, was a newspaper man, and he lives on through the SEC. He was the one who established the SEC which is still— which has been all white for more than a hundred years and which has never had a consumer, a real consumer member on the board, so the same thing with Harry Byrd. Harry Byrd was a newspaper man and he was peddling that racist propaganda, so I’m pointing out the importance of knowledge of history and how we’re reliving the same mistakes.

**DR. REID:** I just want to say that we still need it. You remember reading just recently, I think it was Georgia or one of the southern states, that wanted a picture identification in order to vote. That meant that you had to go out and buy a picture identification. Some people did not live close enough or it was not available to them and this was another effort in trying to make it harder for people to vote. And that’s just recently.

**BOONE:** Just based on what Dr. Reid said and what everyone else has said, plus the presidential elections of 2000, 2004, I don’t have any confidence in the electoral system that we need to be getting rid of the Voting Rights Act. I mean, maybe even less so than I would have had 10 years ago.

**AUDIENCE MEMBER:** Well, can I just end by saying with deliberate speed, let us fast forward, jump on the rapid rail and get off our seats and get off the bus. Thank you.

**MS. REID:** All right Thank you very much. Our last question, and thank you again, panel, for joining us today. It’s been a wonderful day for those of you who have been here all day, like I have. It’s been an amazing day, and I thank all of you for attending and our last question is—

**AUDIENCE MEMBER:** I’d just like to thank everyone for being here and for all of your comments and I’d like to thank the Center for Politics on behalf of the Swanson Family I’m the nephew of, and I’d like to thank Dr. Gaston and Mr. Williams for mentioning Gregory Swanson. I’m the nephew of Gregory Swanson who integrated all higher education in the state by integrating the University of Virginia Law School at great cost to him and to the family, but my question relates to organization. At that time, we had the NAACP which was one of the only organizations and unified a lot of people, black and white, together. Now, it seems that there’s a lack of leadership and a lack of organization to carry forward the agenda for the black community and also for civil rights in general. With the election of Barack Obama, a lot of people came together but after the election, who maintained those lists? Who maintained the email lists? Who maintained the organization? All of that organization remained with the not just the Obama campaign but the Obama administration and those people around him who seem to be influencing him, so how do we get our own organization that we control? How do we network ourselves in this age of greater communications? How do we utilize our own media? How do we put pressure to get the things that need to be done out of an administration that while the brother seems to be holding it down in some respects? In other respects, it seems like the powers that be still be?

**MS. REID:** Anybody want to take a stab at it?
**Dr. Reid:** I’ll take a stab. First of all, you can’t be all things to all people. You have to decide what do you want to do, what type of organization do you want to be. If you want to be a voter registration organization, then quit and do that. If you want to be some other type of organization publicizing various issues, things like that, do that, but don’t try to solve all of the problems with one organization. Then you have to find out people who think like you. And then decide what area you want to be influential in, whether you want to be city-wide or within your city council district, is that where you want to start? So you have to go through those steps and decide that. I’d be glad to talk to you afterwards.

**Boone:** I’d like to reinforce what Dr. Fergie Reid is saying. The script has already been written in that regard. The Crusade for Voters did it. They did it in Richmond on the local level, but there was also the Virginia Crusade for Voters and wherein there was organizational structure to each of the hundred counties in Virginia and what they did was they got the list from the NAACP and made those contacts. As a matter of fact, it was the Crusade in that state-wide election that played a large role in the election of Linwood Holton and it was organization through the Crusade model that allowed for the election of a black majority and even during the at-large system which is really tilted in favor of rich people, the Crusade was able through organization to use their votes in a way that could make a difference, so organization is the key in politics to achieving almost any goal.

**M. Williams:** With all due respect to Mr. Boone and the co-founder of the Crusade, Dr. Reid, we can’t be drawing our models from 50-year-old organizations. I mean, probably a more relevant example nowadays is what happened with Obama and that was about young people, and that was about utilization of technology. I mean, we have more potential at our fingertips for organization now than we ever have and we need to take advantage of it.

**Miller:** I don’t care what kind of organization you have, unless you have someone willing to make the sacrifice of time and effort to organize and invest in it, it will not work. I was elected because there was a group in Norfolk called Concerned Citizens, and they were able, on the day I announced, to shut down any opposition against me, so that the day I announced for the Virginia House of Delegates, I knew I was going to win because nobody else could win against the way they were organized. You can do whatever you want to do, but you have to have somebody willing to do the grunt work.

**Dr. Reid:** Here’s the thing. You don’t want to build an organization around an individual. You have to build it around an idea. You see, the reason Obama was successful, everybody wanted him to win, but now there’re so many issues that everybody has a different issue so you’re not going to get all of that repeated again ever, because if it was built around an individual, he’s in, so a lot of people are no longer interested in that, so you have to have an issue or some goal that you want to get.

**Ms. Reid:** Thank you all for being here. Have a great evening. Thank you, Larry.
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