

9-1-1964

The Citizen, September 1964

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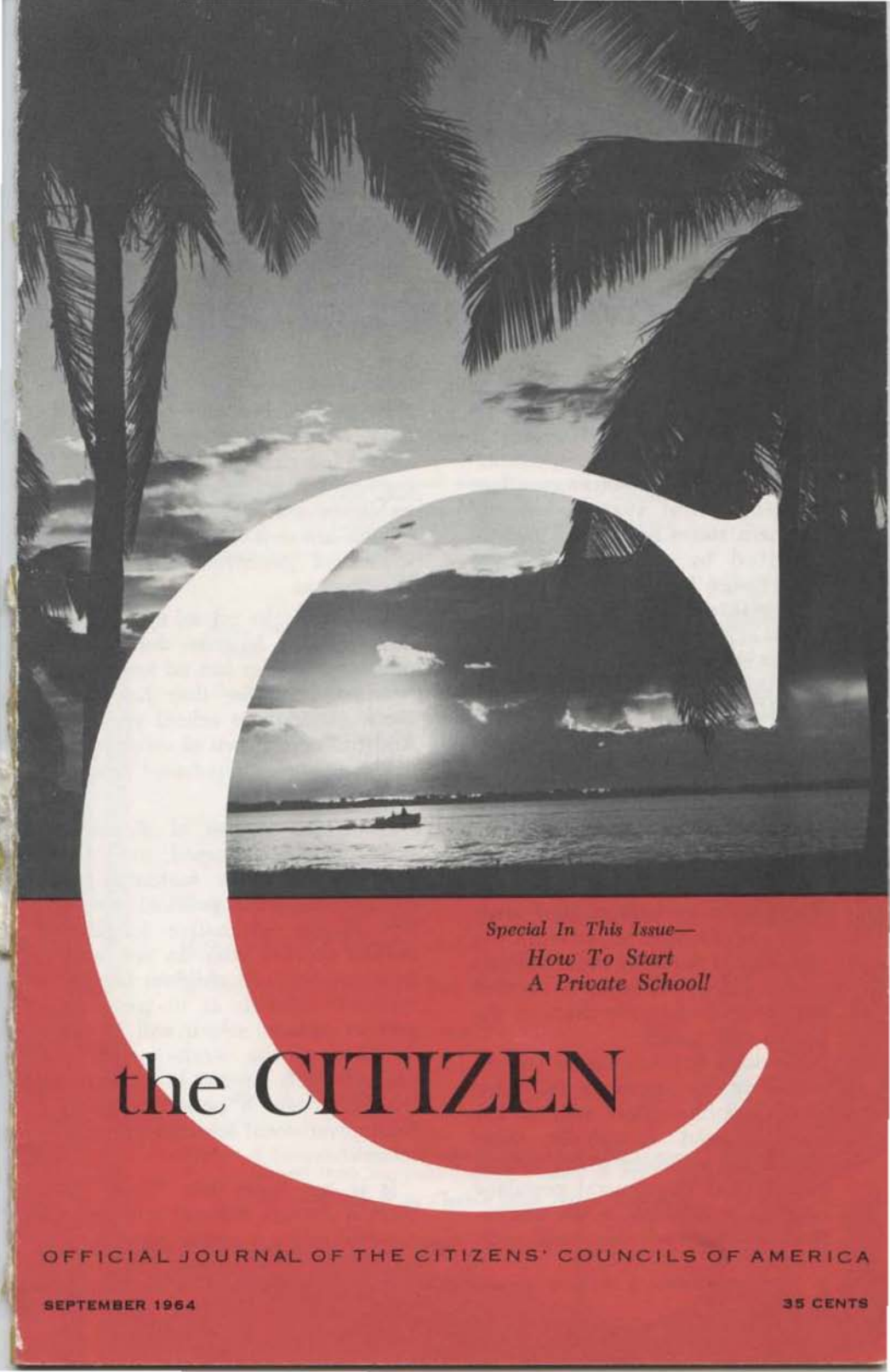


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Citizens' Councils of America, "The Citizen, September 1964" (1964). *Newspapers and Journals*. 52.
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*Special In This Issue—
How To Start
A Private School!*

the **CITIZEN**

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA

SEPTEMBER 1964

35 CENTS



Government Schools

This issue of *THE CITIZEN* is devoted to a manual on "How To Start A Private School." Here is why we thought it so important.

A few of the heretofore excellent public school systems of the Southern states have been slightly infected by a potentially-lethal virus in the form of court-ordered race mixing. But all Southern school systems received their death sentences when the misnamed "Civil Rights Act of 1964" gave the U.S. Attorney General authority to obtain court orders on his own initiative to compel wide-spread integration.

The exercise of this life-and-death power will inevitably force the Southern people to develop private schools on a large scale. Northerners in metropolitan areas have already done so, to fulfill the educational needs of their children as one public school after another has succumbed to the chaos of the blackboard jungle.

Although Southerners do not yet realize it, the complete character of their public school systems has been changed. Essentially, these schools are no longer *theirs*. School patrons and the general populace have come to think of the institutions as *their* schools, built with

their tax money and responsive to *their* wishes. But only the first of these conditions is now true. The second has changed. Instead of being responsive to the wishes of the *public* in a local community, the schools are now forced to obey the wishes of *government* in far-off Washington.

Therefore, the school systems as developed in America during the past few decades can no longer be considered *public*—they have become *government* school systems! And the breakdown of established values in such government schools is all too plain.

Until this misuse of Federal power can be reversed, until the conservative white majority can recapture national political power, the obvious alternative for concerned parents who do not wish to surrender their children to government schools is to provide private schools, which will be responsive to the wishes of the patrons. This means a massive transition over a period of years from government schools to private schools.

It is our hope that "How To Start A Private School" will serve a useful purpose in this transition.

the CITIZEN

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA

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Volume 8, Number 11. Published monthly with a combined July-August issue at Jackson, Mississippi, by The Citizens' Council, Inc. Second-Class mail privileges authorized at Jackson, Mississippi.

Address all correspondence to:
The Citizen
315-25 Plaza Building
Jackson 1, Mississippi

The opinions expressed in signed articles appearing herein do not necessarily represent official views of The Citizens' Councils of America. Official policy statements are plainly designated. The Citizen is not responsible for unsolicited material submitted for possible publication. All such material should be accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope if its return is desired.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year—\$3.00 Two Years—\$5.50
Single copy 35¢
10 copies \$2.50
Back issues, as available 50¢ each
(Except for special issues—\$1.00)

SPECIAL GROUP AND BULK RATES UPON REQUEST

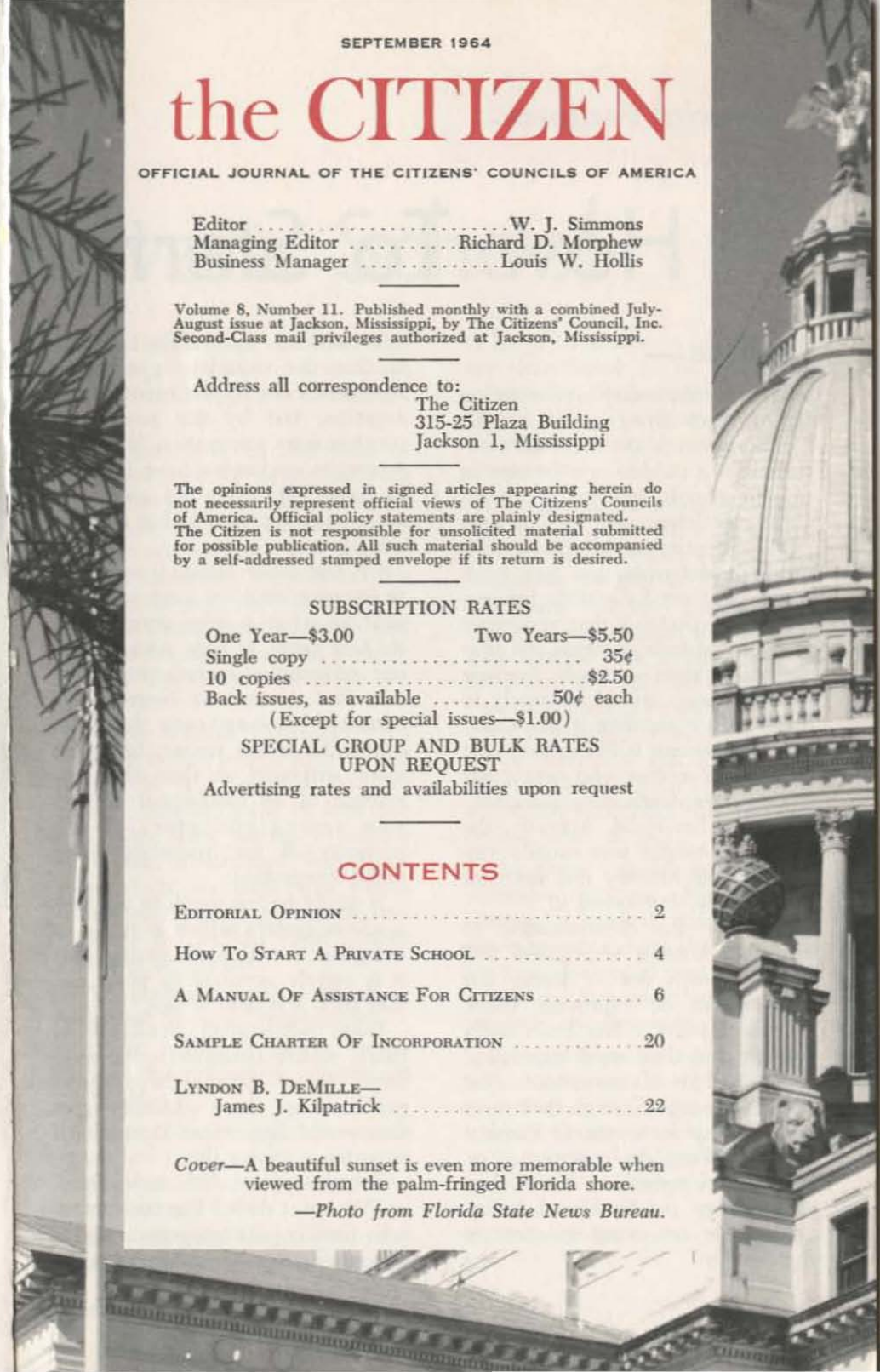
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Cover—A beautiful sunset is even more memorable when viewed from the palm-fringed Florida shore.

—Photo from Florida State News Bureau.



How To Start A Private School

Preface—

The revolutionary attempt to force racial integration on the United States is the immediate occasion for a sudden new interest in private schools. Millions of Americans are determined to maintain racial integrity at all costs. This evident determination has furnished a pretext for certain integrationists to pretend that resistance to their demands damages the educational system—simply because segregationists would be ready to make such a sacrifice if necessary. Such a pretense is like saying that the Roman mother who taught her son, "Better death than dishonor," murdered her child. Actually, the soldier so taught was usually victorious. His bravery did not cost him his life, but saved it!

Probably the determination to keep our schools segregated will be the means not of losing our schools, but of improving them. In recent years it has been sadly evident that they *need* improving! Even leaders of movements "for public education" send their own children to *private* schools. Perhaps they would explain by saying, "Yes, we look for something better than the average public school today, yet we do not want to sacrifice that, either."

What they apparently overlook is that the existing system is threatened not by the existing segregation, but by the proposed revolutionary integration. If we are to preserve what we have (perfect or imperfect), then we must preserve segregation, for that is what we have.

On the other hand, if we wish to improve what we have, we must analyze what is now wrong with it. And what is now wrong with our educational system is *not* the fact that whites and Negroes are educated in separate facilities. Many things are wrong, but none more strikingly so than the prevalence of an ideological acceptance among educators of the necessity—if not desirability—of racial integration.

It might be too much to say that a school system which is ready to integrate is not worth saving, but it is merely accurate to point out that such a system is sick.

What educational problem is there which integration would help? None! What educational problems are there which integration would aggravate? Dozens! All experience shows this.

Yet, many say, "It's inevitable," or "We must do it." For the fanatic who frankly puts integration above education, this is understandable,

but for the educator or citizen who claims to put education first, it is a counsel of despair bordering on madness.

Segregationists, in the face of this threat, are not despairing. *We will preserve areas of segregated education*, and when the storm has passed, our way will still be there! Meanwhile, we will use the occasion to pay more attention to the educational process itself, and perhaps we shall find and remedy some of the things that really *are* wrong.

Private schools flourished in America before public schools, and it may be that we shall have to retrace that old path to find out where we went wrong, to escape from the educational wastelands into which we have too often wandered this past generation, and to come out at last upon clearer and higher ground.

The integration crisis demands an expedient to save segregation.

It also reveals a serious weakness in the prevailing educational leadership.

It thus offers a challenge and an opportunity — not only to save segregation, but, in all seriousness, to *save our schools!*

The following Manual, in question-and-answer form, is intended

to be of assistance to citizens who are determined to do for themselves what the law will no longer do for them — educate their children in a racially-segregated situation.

Educationists are fond of speaking of the importance of "peer groups," but it is only realism, not racism, to say that in America for 300 years, the only peerage that has counted has been that of race. This historic fact is not going to be erased by specious court decrees or forced-draft legislation. (A state legislature is said to have once passed a bill making the value of π exactly $22/7$. Which did not in the least alter the transcendental value of π .)

The times call for initiative by individual citizens. Neither your Citizens' Council staff nor any other agency can do the whole job for you, nor would you want them to do so. You must act in great measure on your own.

Yet, we hope we can help. We hope this Manual will help. It is tentative and incomplete. Do not hesitate to correct us, or to call on us for further explanation or supplementary information. We may not always be able to get and give the full answer, but we will always try!

This Manual Will Help You Get Started

Q—Why the sudden interest in private schools?

A—With many people, it is not sudden. They have been interested for some time; however, the forced-integration crisis has brought the matter to sharper attention.

Q—Will private schools solve the integration question?

A—Nothing will finally solve that except realization by integrationists that their cause is wrong and hopeless. But until such realization comes, as eventually it inevitably will come, private schools can help greatly in keeping civilized values alive in a period of threatened revolutionary chaos.

Q—Are private schools, then, makeshifts for an emergency?

A—Remember, private schools in America flourished earlier than public schools, and in the older states still have a better reputation. Many people believe that the crisis which now compels establishment of private schools is an educational blessing in disguise.

Q—How do you mean that?

A—There have been tendencies in American education in recent years toward bureaucracy, a failure to impart basic skills, and the substitution of a kind of political ideology for older patriotic and religious values. These tendencies go perhaps naturally with large state systems. Vigorous private schools may not only correct such tendencies within themselves, but also have a wholesome effect on the public system.

Q—Can you explain that a little bit further?

A—Well, consider an example already established. The public schools are now forbidden to have prayers, Bible-reading, or any tinge of religious instruction. Church schools, of course, can teach their own doctrines, and this—besides satisfying the needs of the respective denominations—keeps a knowledge of religion alive in our society. Similarly, a private school in the South can teach the importance of racial integrity—which can hardly be done any more in the public system—and such teaching will affect not only the pupils of the particular school, but the whole community in which they live.

This step-by-step guide to setting up a private school was written by Dr. Medford Evans of the Citizens' Council staff at the request of the School Committee of the Jackson Citizens' Council. Dr. Evans' qualifications speak for themselves. He received his Ph.D. from Yale University, and was for many years a professor of English and history at leading Southern colleges. Entering government service at the beginning of World War II, Dr. Evans became chief of security training for the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. He joined the Citizens' Council staff in 1962, and is presently serving as consultant on private schools. While Dr. Evans prepared this guide primarily for use in Mississippi, its basic points should apply equally well in other areas.

Q—Why do you say private schools are better at imparting basic skills? I suppose you mean reading, writing and arithmetic.

A—Yes. Of course, any particular private school is not necessarily better in this regard than some particular public school. Nevertheless, experience shows that pupils who do not achieve their full capabilities in public school often get much better results in private schools. Partly this is due, no doubt, to the voluntary and competitive nature of private schools. If patrons do not get results, they do not send their children back. A private school *has* to be good to survive! The same is not true of a state monopoly.

Q—But aren't our public schools in Mississippi quite good?

A—Of course they are! Mississippi schools have escaped some of the worst aberrations that have occurred in many allegedly more "progressive" states. Mississippi public schools are good. And it is a terrible thing that their excellence, if not their very existence, is being threatened by the revolutionary integration movement. It seems strange that certain leaders who say they are "for public education" also say they will not even discuss the merits of segregation or integration. For, of course, it is the fanatical drive to integrate which endangers public education as we have had it.

Integration has damaged the schools in Washington, D.C. (once among the best in the nation), and wherever else it has been forced. Now that force is being used to begin desegregation of our Mississippi schools, we

must expect them to decline in excellence. The U.S. District Court for Southern Georgia found in the *Stell* case in 1963 that "total group integration . . . would seriously injure both white and Negro students . . . and adversely affect the educational standards and accomplishments of the public school system."

This finding, based on expert scientific testimony as to racial differences not attributable to environment, was reinforced a year later in the U.S. District Court for Southern Mississippi, where Judge Sidney Mize, though constrained by high court pressure to order desegregation, nevertheless stated that the facts cried out for reappraisal of the Supreme Court's decision in the *Brown* case. Jackson School Superintendent Dr. Kirby Walker testified in court that a plan to begin desegregation with the first grade was preferable to other desegregation plans, in part because *racial differences increase with every passing year from the first through the twelfth grades, and integration at the higher grades is far more damaging to the educational system than that at the lowest grade.* Dr. Walker was in no position to say how the difficulties at the higher level would be solved later, nor why there should now be any desegregation at all — even the least damaging. He evidently had to assume that some degree of integration was required, and to recommend that which would constitute the least of the possible evils.

The consolation in all this is that the private schools we have to set up to preserve an area of school segregation may turn out to be an improvement in many ways over the public system — good as that has been in Mississippi. The possible superiority of private schools is suggested by the fact that some of the leaders of the "for public education" movement already have sent their own children to private schools.

Q—What is the first thing to do if I want to see a private school in my neighborhood?

A—Talk it over with you neighbors. Do not wait for a statewide centrally-organized team of "experts." The essence of a private school is its *privacy!* If many such groups as yours spring up, they will constitute a statewide movement, and coordination in necessary areas will develop. But if there are only a few schools, they can be individually just as good. The excellence of your school will depend on how it operates, not on how many others there are. You *do* need a charter of incorporation from the state, both for your own protection and as a part of the state's legal provisions for protection of the public against fraud. Five or six of you who mean business can get together and form an educational corporation with a board of directors. For a fee of \$25.00 you can get a charter from the Secretary of State of the State of Mississippi. A sample charter may be found at the back of this Manual.

Q—Isn't it already too late to do anything?

A—"It's earlier than you think!" This crisis will not pass away, for good or bad, in September 1964. It will be here in January 1965, in Septem-

ber 1965, and beyond. Move as fast as you can, consistently with moving as soundly as you can. Whether your school is ready next month or not, when it is ready it will be needed.

Q—Where will I get the expert advice I need to set up a school?

A—You probably have more of the required knowledge yourself than you realize. (You remember the character in Moliere's play who discovered that he had been speaking prose all his life without knowing it!) In addition, one of the first steps you will take is to employ a school principal, who will be a man of educational experience. Also, this Manual offers answers to many questions that naturally arise.

One basic suggestion is that you begin with only the elementary grades—that is, grades one through six. This is all that will be immediately required to preserve segregation under the proposed desegregation plan, which begins with the lower grades. At this level, you will not be confronted with problems which arise at the junior high and high school levels. Particularly, you will avoid difficult financial problems connected with laboratory equipment and certain extracurricular activities associated with the upper grades. In some neighborhoods, it would be perhaps best right now to set up a school with only the "primary," or first three grades.

Q—What are the minimum essentials of a good elementary school?

A—First, a concerned and determined school board. Second, a place to hold classes—a schoolhouse—a plant. This need not be elaborate. It may be Sunday School rooms rented from a church. It might be a union, or veterans', or a fraternal hall. It may well be a house constructed originally for residential purposes. Some of the finest old private schools in the East are conducted in modest-looking residential structures. It is not recommended that you go literally by the famous definition of a good school as, "Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a boy on the other," but that old saying can remind us that elaborate buildings are not essential to, and do not guarantee, sound instruction. It is essential, of course, that you comply with all official regulations concerning zoning, health, and fire safety.

Q—What about the selection of a principal?

A—It is, naturally, harder to find a Mark Hopkins than it is to find a log. But we are fortunate in that there are many competent men and women available, and if you let it be known you are in the market for a principal, you will be surprised at how many applicants you will have. Indeed, you might have so many that you may prefer to look around quietly before announcing your plans. The selection of the principal could well come before the acquisition of any real estate—in which case, the principal could help greatly with the problem of a building.

In general, there are two sources for good principals: (1) Men or women who have been principals and have retired while still in vigorous

health. Often, such persons have actually been reluctant to retire, and are glad for an opportunity to get back in harness. (2) Men or women with experience as classroom teachers who are perfectly capable of being principals, but have not previously had an opportunity. Remember that you will not be operating a vast bureaucracy such as some urban high schools have become, and will therefore not require a business tycoon or politician, such as some school administrators have become. You will need a man or woman who knows how classes should be taught, order maintained, property taken care of, and patrons satisfied. This state is blessed with many teachers of all ages and both genders who can do those things.

Q—What about the rest of our teachers? How many will we need and where will we get them?

A—Before answering that question, your board will have to make an estimate as to how many pupils there will be in your school. In one type of school, there will be a teacher for each grade. In other words, you would have six teachers besides your principal in a six-grade elementary school. Of course, in large schools there may be too many children in one grade for all to meet in one room under one teacher. The maximum number for a class cannot be set arbitrarily, but if finances permit, it would be well not to have more than 25 pupils under one teacher at one time. Thus, 50 first-graders would call for two first-grade teachers, and so on.

At the other extreme, there could be a very small school with only five or six children in each grade. In that case, a competent teacher could handle more than one grade at a time. Perhaps the limit in this direction would be a three-teacher school, where one had the first two grades, one grades three and four, and one grades five and six. And it is possible that one of these three could also act as principal. Difficulties presented by this arrangement would be offset by advantages to pupils and teachers of the opportunity for individual attention and for close teacher cooperation.

Going back to what may be the medium case, there would be perhaps 20 pupils in each grade, for a total of 120 in the school, and a faculty of six teachers and a principal.

Q—Where do we get these teachers?

A—Teachers are easier to find than principals—for one reason, because successful experience in teaching a given grade is easier to establish both in the mind of the employer (you) and the mind of the teacher herself, or himself.

Again, the most obvious place to look is to the ranks of the recently retired—or to those who may have left other teaching employment voluntarily and now wish to return but cannot get their old jobs back. A third source is persons who are well educated and who may even have had previous teaching experience, but who lack certain paper “qualifications” now required by the public schools. Sometimes these “qualifications” are

not at all essential to good teaching, except in a large public system (where they are essential to get the job), as is shown by the fact that teachers in some of the most famous private schools of the East do not have them. Neither do most college teachers.

The true qualifications of a good elementary school teacher are: (1) a loving understanding of children, and (2) an interest in and command of the basic skills to be imparted. Of course, the best way of proving possession of these qualifications is through successful experience. Yet, every teacher must begin sometime, and then the best guess as to the new teacher’s probable success will usually come from an experienced principal who has had to “size up” many prospective teachers in the past.

Q—What is the potential supply of teachers—with or without complete paper qualifications?

A—No one knows for sure, but there is evidence that it will be adequate. For one thing, numbers of teachers have applied at existing private schools in excess of present job openings. For another thing, it is known that many retired teachers and even teachers still active in the public system would respond to the challenge of helping out in a private school being set up to save segregation and the Southern way of life, as well as to improve certain educational practices. Man does not live by bread alone, and not all teachers are willing to go along with integration—even for what may look like the greater financial security of the public system.

Q—But isn’t financial security very important?

A—Of course it is—both to the teacher and to our society. But if the “revolution” of which school integration is merely a part continues, there might be greater security on the private school side. A state like Mississippi, whose people and political leaders are so deeply committed to segregation, is not likely to permit integration to go far beyond the “token” stage.

One of the dangers of the integration movement is that it may destroy the public school system. In that case, those who had gotten into the private school movement early could have an appreciable advantage. You may find that teachers are willing to leave the integrated schools at as fast a rate as pupils—though in view of the other sources of supply indicated above, it is not necessary that they do so.

Q—What can we do to protect experienced teachers who do come to us before retirement, when if they had stayed in the public school system, they could have qualified for retirement income?

A—The legislature can provide for participation by private school teachers in the state teacher retirement system.

Q—Do you really think a supply of competent teachers will be available?

A—No question about it! There are many experienced teachers not now employed or not fully employed. Substitute lists maintained by the

schools show this in part. Another fact not often realized is that teachers who have for one reason or another not been employed recently—perhaps because they have moved to a new community (a fast-growing city like Jackson offers many examples)—may be far short of retirement age—may be, say 40 years old—and yet be considered by public school administrators as “too old” for new employment.

The “cut-off” age for hiring new teachers is often unrealistically low. Here is a most valuable source of teachers for your private school. This situation also suggests another way in which the private schools may have an advantage, for such teachers typically are more competent than those fresh out of college whom the public system seems to prefer—perhaps largely for actuarial reasons related to the retirement system.

Q—Even a small school is a fairly large financial operation. How is all this to be paid for?

A—As you know, a basic element of financial support has been provided by the legislature. The State of Mississippi, through the Educational Finance Commission, will pay up to \$185 a year to each child in a non-sectarian school for tuition purposes. The law further provides that local governments, county or city, may pay an additional amount up to a point where state and local tuition grants combined equal the area’s public school cost-per-pupil (“cost per pupil in average daily attendance”) as determined by the appropriate superintendent. Of course, the total tuition grants cannot exceed the actual tuition charged by the private school.

Q—Can you run a school on \$185 per pupil tuition?

A—Actually, it would be possible to run a school on \$185 cash income per pupil—provided classes were large enough, and provided enough material (though non-cash) support were given by the school’s board and patrons. Frankly, however, it would be a ticklish operation in most communities. Of course, the cost would vary from one community to another. It would usually be higher in an urban than in a rural area. And for fully effective work, the budget anywhere should assume a higher cost-per-pupil than \$185.

Q—Where is the extra money coming from?

A—Far-sighted local authorities will doubtless use their power under the law to grant additional aid, as has been done in all of the communities of Virginia. Let us say, however, that parents who are patrons of the school should certainly contribute. The equivalent of cigarette money from the average young couple would insure effective operation of their children’s school. (If the young couple do *not* smoke—bless ’em!—they’ve got the money!)

Q—Won’t parents be reluctant to pay any tuition at all when they are so accustomed to free schools?

A—Some will be. And you are not going to get everybody into your school. It is interesting to note, however, that already during the past several years an increasing number of parents—including many who can hardly afford it—have been voluntarily sending their children to private schools without any state aid at all, and the cost has necessarily been considerably higher than it will be in the kind of school we are talking about now.

Some parents drive long distances and do much extra work to give their children what they consider the advantages of a private school. One real advantage for the school in such a situation is that a parent who does this sort of thing is a most active participant in his child’s education, and gives the school a kind of cooperation and support that cannot be expected in the average public school.

Q—Do you think that this trend is really significant?

A—It is, and it will certainly become more significant. Two forces are at work in this direction. First, Mississippi is an economically growing state, changing in many areas from a static or cyclical agricultural economy to a rising commercial and industrial economy. This state has many ambitious people, natives and newcomers, and this fact is most conspicuous in the very age group of parents of elementary school pupils. These modern young Mississippians are anxious for their children to have the best, and many of them have already decided that “the best” includes a private school. The new tuition grant program will greatly increase the number of parents who can and will decide to do something about the matter. This is over and above the impetus that will inevitably be given the private school movement by the actual beginning of forced racial integration in the public schools.

People will pay to give their children a better education than they believe the public school can give now. They will more surely pay to avoid the deterioration which the public system is certain to undergo when racial integration begins.

Q—If they do have to pay, won’t they get tired of it when they see others continue in the free schools?

A—In a manner of speaking, private schools seem to be “habit-forming.” Parents who have put one child into a private school on a semi-experimental basis often end by putting all their children into such a school. Transfers from public to private schools have been increasingly frequent in recent years; transfers from private to public schools are now very rare. This applies to families of the most varied economic status; so it must mean that the financial burden, such as it is, is one that is willingly borne when the parents actually see what they are getting for their money.

Q—Assuming that operating costs can be met from the state grant, a possible local grant, and/or a modest tuition fee from parents, what about capital investment? Isn't that a formidable problem?

A—In the case of an elementary school, no. When you come to high school—junior, or especially senior—you do have to face the cost of an investment in scientific laboratory equipment, a larger library, and other capital items. However, when an elementary school has been fully established in a five-year period, the property can be mortgaged to build secondary schools.

For an elementary day school, equipment costs are relatively very modest—particularly since a community spirit is undoubtedly on tap to help out in the effort. Everyone knows that these schools are not self-seeking ventures, but are a means of defending the Southern way of life against alien encroachment. Many people without school-age children of their own are eager to help. In fact, offers of assistance are often ahead of an administrative arrangement to take advantage of them. While this Manual was in preparation, a good citizen telephoned, in some exasperation, to complain that he was ready to give land and a thousand dollars to a private school, and could not find anybody to take it. Truly, the harvest is plenteous but the laborers are few.

Q—Well, when we get a plant and a faculty, what do they teach? What is the proper course of study?

A—In any elementary school, the main job is teaching the “three R's”—reading, writing, and arithmetic. These are the basic skills with which practically all further education is obtained. The only thing more fundamental is ability to use the spoken language, which the child acquires before he goes to school. No educational fashion, no “modern” theory can get around the necessity of teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic (and in that order, if a distinction is made) to every child who is ever going to be a participating member of civilized society.

While teaching reading, for example, is more easily said than done, it is nevertheless more easily done than the comparative failure in this field of some public schools would indicate. When “Johnny can't read,” it is not so much that reading is hard to teach, and certainly not often that Johnny is just too “dumb,” but as a rule, simply because Johnny has a personal difficulty of some kind that has been overlooked in a mass-production school system, or else because Johnny's instruction has been misguided by some search for novelty of method.

Inconsistent as our English language is, we do employ a basically phonetic alphabet—as do other European languages—and it is recognized that this is one of the main advantages Western civilization has had throughout modern history. The Chinese have long had a high civilization, but active participation in it was limited to a very few because of the immense number of symbols which their system of picture-writing required a literate person to know. In the Western world, by contrast, whole populations learn

to read—because of the comparative simplicity of our system. The system gets into serious trouble only when it is virtually abandoned in favor of “instant-recognition” or other devices, which actually may be helpful when used in *addition to* the basic phonetic approach, but are hopelessly inadequate and even become destructive when an attempt is made to substitute them for the phonetic approach.

It is implicit in the foregoing that any intelligent adult who knows how to read himself, and has a patient, loving understanding of children, can teach a child to read. It has been done millions of times at home by parents (and grandparents!) who never thought of themselves in the least as professional pedagogues. This is not to minimize the importance of the teacher's skill—which is very important indeed. That skill, however, is not rare and esoteric, like the ability to work calculus problems in your head; it is widespread, like the ability to drive an automobile, and readily developed to a most useful degree.

Typically, you will employ teachers with successful experience in teaching the elementary grades, and they will know the “tricks of the trade.” Nine times out of ten, they will be grateful for a situation where they will be free from supervision by theory-ridden “experts” who in some public systems are a severe handicap to the good classroom teacher.

Q—Well, you have talked a good deal about reading, and I suppose the same principles apply to writing and arithmetic, but are the “three R's” really all that should be taught in an elementary school?

A—Of course not! They are primary, and nothing else should get in the way of teaching them. But in six grades, there is a great deal more indeed to be taught.

Naturally, in the teaching of reading itself you teach much more, for when you read you have to read about something, and in order to develop a high degree of reading skill you have to read some rather serious subject matter. Thus, reading leads automatically to the study of literary, historical, and general scientific works. It also leads properly to the study of grammar and rhetoric, for in order to learn to read what serious authors have written, you have to learn to analyze their language—their sentences, their paragraphs, the whole of the work you are reading.

Besides this inevitable incidental introduction to literature, history, and science, there is plenty of appropriate time in six grades for a more systematic beginning of certain subjects—notably geography, which may begin as early as the third grade, and which elementary school children often “take to” with alacrity. It is also quite practical, if a qualified teacher is available, to introduce the elementary school child to a foreign language. Of course, if your faculty is not prepared to do that, you need not feel too much chagrin, for little if anything is done about foreign languages at the elementary level in public schools these days. (More's the pity, some would say.) Besides these bookish subjects, you will want to make some provision for music and art, and physical education.

But, to summarize, you will undoubtedly find that with a good principal and competent faculty you can plan a course of study that will necessarily be about the same as, but may well be somewhat better than, that of the nearest public school.

Q—What do we do about textbooks?

A—The state will furnish a quota of textbooks, as it does now to existing public and private schools. You will probably wish to take advantage of the opportunity. There has been, to be sure, a good deal of criticism of officially-adopted textbooks, and this criticism cannot be lightly dismissed. Nevertheless, you have to work with what you can get, and for the most part, whatever is wrong with one publisher's textbook these days is also wrong with his competitor's.

We have in the textbook field a condition approximating what the economists call "oligopoly"—that is, there are comparatively few suppliers, and they leave the customer little real choice. Still, at the elementary level, an imperfect text is usually better than none. Also, it should be added that some "modern" textbooks are very good indeed. There is no more point in blind condemnation than in blind acceptance.

You will want to examine for yourself available texts, and it may be you will find something not on the state-supplied list which is better than anything on it. In that case, you will want to adopt your find, and you should ask the parents to pay for their child's copy. Many people believe anyhow that free textbooks as a state "handout" are an instrument of cultural retardation and socialistic regimentation, and if your school is to be genuinely "advanced" you may want to have all pupils personally own their own texts. However, we do not advise ideological puritanism in this regard. As a practical matter, it will generally be better—for the time being, at least—to take free textbooks from the state.

Q—What about transportation?

A—Emerson said if you build a better mousetrap, the world will beat a path to your door. If you have a good school (not a mousetrap!) parents will find a way to get their children to you. Cases are known in existing private schools where children are driven 40 miles a day, each way. With new schools springing up in many places, that sort of endurance test will seldom be necessary. What will be common—pending the possible eventual establishment of bus transportation—will be the use of voluntary car pools. These, too, are already in use in existing private schools.

Remember, your patrons—the parents of the children whom you will teach—will be motivated by the most powerful of human drives, the love of their own children, and these will commonly be parents who identify that love with a care for the racial integrity of posterity. These are not idle forces. Remember also that already, many parents are in car pools taking children to schools, little league games, and other activities.

Q—Now we come to the \$64 question: What about "accreditation"?

A—Perhaps you are right—perhaps it is worth just about \$64! But don't pay any more for it than that—you will need the money for more important things!

More seriously speaking, "accreditation" is hardly a problem at the elementary level. In the first place, it is not too difficult to get. The requirements of the Mississippi Accrediting Commission are not severe, and they seem to be reasonably applied. Great importance is evidently attached, as it should be, to the direction in which a school is going, and you will be going forward. In the second place, in the interval before you get "accreditation," it is no great matter.

"Accreditation" is a selling point, like the *Good Housekeeping* seal of approval. It need not be despised, but it should not be revered. One of the best private schools in Mississippi, because of technicalities, is not "accredited." The emphasis is on teaching and learning, not "accreditation." Most of the first-class colleges in the country, private or state, require passage of entrance examinations before anyone is admitted, no matter from what highly-"accredited" school.

Q—Well, as far as technical "accreditation" goes, you have satisfied me, at least for the time being. But what system of inspection and control can enable us to assure the public in a credible way that we operate a school that meets certain standards?

A—Possibly there is no perfect answer to this question. There is no such answer now—even in the case of the most fully "accredited" institutions. If you don't believe that, just ask an alumnus of an Ivy League college what he thinks of the standards of a Midwestern state university—the latter being as fully "accredited" as you can get. The point here is not whose judgment is correct, but merely that no process of official certification can satisfy everyone.

Now with that disclaimer, the broad answer to your question as to how you are to establish your reputation with the public is twofold: *First, you must have the state charter to which we have referred; and second—the real payoff—you must send out pupils from your school who are able to perform in the grade to which they are promoted, or able to demonstrate in some other way that they have really acquired the skills which you set out to impart!*

This is the only ultimate criterion. It is the only basis on which the enduring reputation of any educational institution has ever been built! Clearly, you will have to wait a while before your reputation—your academic "credit"—is secure. Meanwhile, however, parents will sense whether their children are learning anything. You will have, let us say, a provisional reputation from the start, and time will tell the degree of your permanent prestige. Pending that ultimate judgment, you will benefit by the curiosity parents will have concerning this very matter, for they will in virtually all cases want to help you educate their child, and a parent who wants to do that usually can.

Q—But isn't there some quicker way to establish our academic credit then to wait for some of our pupils to grow up and be President? Or even graduate from college with a Phi Beta Kappa key?

A—You will have some kind of reputation more quickly than that, never fear. But you may, naturally, desire to run a check on your performance very much more quickly. And there is, of course, one quite useful expedient—the administration of standardized achievement tests. There are available today, through channels with which your faculty will be familiar, or which we can help you find, standardized tests that are as valid and as reliable as one has any right to hope for. Possibly the area of tests and measurements is the area in which the professional educators have the least reason to apologize. (Oddly enough, it is the area of which some complain most bitterly—perhaps because they do not like the results! Integrationists are often opposed to such tests.)

Q—Two more items—I guess they are of unequal weight. First, what about lunch?

A—Depends on the facilities you can get, and on what your patrons want. There was a time, of course, when school children took their lunch in a paper bag, or those who lived near the school went home for lunch. Those methods will still work in many cases. If, however, you get a building that has a kitchen, you may want to provide a hot lunch. You will, of course, remember health regulations. With the spirit of cooperation we have discussed several times here, you can almost certainly turn out good meals economically. The parents should pay for it; since you will be on a nonprofit basis it ought not to cost them much. What's the other item?

Q—Granted all the possibilities for educational progress, let's face it—this whole program is stimulated by the desire to avoid racial integration for our children. Now what assurance do we have that the Supreme Court or the Congress may not invade the private school area and demand that we integrate here also?

A—In the public dementia of the times on the race question, it is impossible to promise sane laws and decisions. Who knows what the Court, or the Congress, may do next? There is this consolation—the wilder the decrees and the laws become, the further off is expectation of any genuine compliance.

In any event, everyone seems to agree now that private schools, like private clubs, are safe from political outrage for a reasonable time into the future. And in that reasonable time, who knows? The wielders of political power may themselves grow more reasonable. The same Summer of 1964 that saw passage of the fantastic "Civil Rights" bill also saw certain wells of liberal influence virtually dry up at the source in the hot blasts from Arizona, and saw the extreme "Civil Rights" state of New York shaken root and branch by winds of change that ought to

make the most obstinate liberal look again to see whether the wave of the future has quite the shape he had expected.

In the very flush of its Congressional victory, integration begins to seem already outdated. The body politic is still mightily troubled, but the fever may have broken, and the prospect now is one of convalescence. In less figurative language, your school has an excellent chance to outlive the integration crisis, and then you may want to close it down and go back to the public system.

But more likely you will want to keep it, for its own sake.

Q—What is the Citizens' Council doing in this area?

A—Besides issuing this Manual, your Citizens' Council is working to establish a private, segregated school of its own—perhaps more than one. Your Council also serves as a clearing house of information—one which will grow more useful as time passes. We will keep a register of private schools, of possibly-available principals and teachers, and of possibly-available physical facilities. When questions come to which we do not have ready answers, we will undertake to find the answers. We will do everything which time and our resources permit to help promote

Private Schools . . .

. . . For Parents Who Care!

Signs Of The Times

Numerous restaurants, motels and other establishments throughout the South are displaying this sign in a prominent position, as an effective method of protesting the so-called "Civil Rights Act":

**EVERY PENNY OF NEGRO TRADE FORCED ON THIS
ESTABLISHMENT
WILL BE DONATED TO THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL!**

And a Chicago correspondent reports that throughout the "integrated" North, stickers and signs are popping up in public places, reading:

**IF YOU WANT A NEGRO IN THE NEXT DOOR FLAT,
ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS VOTE DEMOCRAT.**

Here Is A Sample Charter Of Incorporation For Private Schools

An attorney familiar with Mississippi statutes on private schools has prepared the following sample Charter Of Incorporation as a guide for consideration in forming such corporations. Since state laws vary, residents of other states should have their charters drawn up by attorneys familiar with local requirements. And naturally, each Mississippi group should have competent legal advice in preparing its charter, to make certain that the document fits individual circumstances.

1. The title of said company is: _____
2. The names and post office addresses of the incorporators are:

NAME	ADDRESS
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

The above named individual incorporators are adult resident citizens of Mississippi.

3. The domicile of the Corporation in this state is: _____
4. The Corporation is: Non-profit and no shares of stock are to be issued.
5. The period of existence is: Perpetual.
6. The purposes for which the Corporation is created, not contrary to law are and shall be exclusively for charitable and educational purposes; and this Corporation is organized not for profit, and shall be operated exclusively for charitable and educational purposes, with its primary purposes more specifically stated as follows:

- (a) To organize, own and operate (primary schools) (secondary schools) (and/or colleges) (and other educational institutions), for the education of youth that they may be taught complete and adequate proficiency in all of the educational arts.
- (b) To fix the curricula for such (schools) (colleges) (and other institutions) and the standards and qualifica-

tions for admission of pupils and students and for their retention in such schools, colleges, or other institutions of learning and to reject any applicant for admission, or to expel any person so enrolled and attending for any cause whatsoever. It being the intent and purposes of the Corporation that no person, making application or already enrolled, shall have a right to be admitted to such (schools) (colleges) (or other institutions of learning), but that any person so admitted or retained shall be admitted or retained solely in accordance with the will and desires of the members of this Corporation and not otherwise.

(c) To select and employ such principals, teachers, professors, instructors and other employees as the Corporation may deem necessary and advisable and provided that no person shall have a right to be employed or retained as a principal, teacher, professor, instructor, administrator, or other employee, but any such employment or retention is solely at the will, pleasure and desire of the Corporation and may be denied or terminated at the will of the Corporation.

(d) To prescribe, charge and collect such fees as the Corporation may find necessary and proper to be collected from pupils and students and to vary such charges in any or all individual instances as may be determined by the Corporation so that it shall not be necessary for all of the pupils or students in the same grade or classes to pay the same or identical fees or tuition, but such fees or tuition as may be charged in each case and each instance is solely within the discretion of the Corporation and at its own will, pleasure, and desires. This shall not prevent schedules of estimated fees or rates of tuition from being set

and advertised as matters of information only, but the Corporation shall never, in any individual case, be bound by such schedule of estimated charges.

(e) To lease, acquire by purchase, gifts or any other lawful manner, such real and personal property, as is requisite and necessary for the carrying out of the purposes for which the Corporation is formed. But the acceptance of any gift or grant from any public body or governmental unit which would be held to affix a public character upon this Corporation or render its internal management subject to the regulation of any public agency or court shall be ultra vires and void.

(f) To borrow, sell, mortgage or in any other lawful manner dispose of its money, choses in action, real or personal property as seems good to the Corporation, except that no properties or dividends shall be paid to the members of the Corporation or to any person, director, firm or corporation for them.

(g) To have and to use a corporate seal, to sue and be sued, and to exercise generally such powers as are by law conferred upon corporations operating not for profit.

7. The Corporation shall not be required to make publication of this Charter. It shall issue no shares of stock and shall divide no dividends or profits among its members. Upon dissolution of this Corporation, any remaining assets shall be distributed for one or more of the exempt purposes specified in Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of the United States. The bylaws of the Corporation shall provide the requirements for membership, admission to school, attendance at school, and the operation generally of the schools. Expulsion shall be the only remedy for non-payment of dues. Each member shall have one vote in the election of all officials. The loss of membership by death or otherwise shall terminate all interests of a member in the Corporation's assets. There shall be no individual liability against the members for the corporate debts, but the entire corporate property

shall be liable for the claims of the creditors.

SIGNED at _____, Mississippi, this the ____ day of _____, A.D., 196__

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
COUNTY OF _____

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority in and for the aforesaid jurisdiction, the within named _____, and _____, who acknowledged that they executed the foregoing instrument on the day and year therein mentioned, and for the purposes and reasons as therein mentioned.

GIVEN under my hand and official seal of office, this the ____ day of _____, 196__.

NOTARY PUBLIC
(SEAL)

My commission expires: _____

MINUTES OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING

Be it remembered that at a meeting of _____ Corporation, begun and held at _____, Mississippi, on the ____ day of _____, A.D., 196__, the following, among others, procedures were had and done, to-wit:

On motion made, seconded and un-animously adopted, _____, and _____ were authorized, empowered, and directed to make application for a charter of incorporation as a non-profit corporation under the laws of Mississippi, in the form attached hereto.

CERTIFIED as a true copy as the same appears on the minutes of said Corporation.

PRESIDING OFFICER
ATTEST:

SECRETARY

Lyndon B. DeMille

By JAMES J. KILPATRICK

Editor, *The Richmond, (Va.) News-Leader*

Editorial Correspondence
ATLANTIC CITY, AUGUST 28

They cut the house lights about midnight last night, in a final blaze of patriotic rockets, and the Democratic National Convention of 1964 became a part of history. The 5,000 delegates and alternates packed up their paper Stetsons today, brushed the confetti out of their hair, and went back to Central Casting. They may now return their spears to the placard racks, turn in their battered badges, and wait on further summonses from Lyndon B. DeMille.

In the whole of this spectacular production, no players were more useless, or more necessary, than the hoarse and obedient fellows who occupied the center floor. Their function was to yell on cue, shut up on cue, and leave the speaking parts to others. As delegates, they were not truly participants; they were background noise, brought on to fill the television screen. Like some great chorus from an out-of-doors Aida, they struggled back and forth across the stage, braying the indispensable amen.

A number of delegates, to judge by comments within the Virginia delegation, resented the autocracy that thus reduced them to so many warm and audible bodies. They had a right to resent it. When Mr. Johnson asserted Wednesday night that it is a "very old American tradition for the presidential nominee to recommend a candidate for Vice President," he was weaving old tradition from contemporary yarn. In the seventeen Democratic conventions since 1896, the

delegates ten times have had an influential say in the naming of a running mate.

William Jennings Bryan laid down a "hands off" policy following his own nomination in 1896, and though Wilson quietly controlled the choice of Marshall in 1916, it wasn't until the convention of 1940, when Roosevelt dictated the nomination of Henry Wallace, that presidential nominees publicly assumed the power to ordain. Four years later, Roosevelt scuttled Wallace in a famous letter: "I personally would vote for his renomination," said the Cheshire Mahatma, "at the same time, I do not wish to dictate to the convention." The resulting floor fight gave us Mr. Truman. Again in 1956, to recall more recent history, Adlai Stevenson adopted the Bryan rule, and precipitated at Chicago the magnificent brawl between Kennedy and Kefauver.

Democratic delegates amounted to something in those days. In this year's boardwalk circus, they amounted to nothing at all. The 1964 script was a rewrite of 1936, when Roosevelt and Garner were named by acclamation without the bother of a roll call. This show was produced by Johnson, directed by Johnson, written by Johnson. He played the leading role. And last night the self-same entrepreneur of these proceedings, beaming upon the frenzied floor, could take satisfaction in the merited curtain calls for star and author. From the handling of the Mississippi hecklers to the

firing of the final rockets on the beach, this production bore a master's touch.

By the time of yesterday's grand finale, the cast had all its timing perfect. Around 11 o'clock on Wednesday night, however, one began to wonder whether we supernumeraries would make it to the curtain. That was the night of Lyndon's acclamation, when the script called for two nominating speeches and seven—count 'em—seven seconding speeches. The sound washed over one's ears like surf. Senses fell numb. Reason fled. Was this an endurance contest? A marathon dance? A seven-day bicycle race? No, these wild Watusi rites marked the nomination of a President. It was a five-ring circus staged for thirty million viewers.

At 8:54, Governor Connally began the act by describing the boss in modest terms. "Never in our history," said he, dropping Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Madison through a trap in the stage, "has any man come to the presidency better prepared or tested for the supreme task of leadership." This was only prologue. During the next two hours, the boss emerged as:

A great President, a great American, a man of action, a man of peace, a model of integrity, the guardian of democracy, a man of wisdom and restraint, a supreme patriot, a man with ears for mankind's hopes and fears, mankind's choice to continue, and the world's best hope for peace.

Mr. Johnson also heard himself described as benign, calm, compassionate,

considerate, courageous, decisive, devoted, direct, distinguished, effective, extraordinary, faithful, firm, formidable, gallant, glorious, homespun, humane, humble, incisive, persuasive, positive, proven, reasonable, remarkable, resolute, responsible, reasoned, rugged, sound, steady, thoughtful, visionary, wise, understanding, unwavering, unbound, untrammelled, unmatched and unmatchable.

That same evening saw two touches of erudition. Governor Breathitt reminded us that "the world's great age begins anew." He attributed the line to Virgil, though we rather thought it came from Shelley. Perhaps Shelley got it from Virgil. It is hard to remember where one borrows these things. And Mayor Wagner concluded with a small touch of Shakespeare: "Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon 'em."

In a way, the quote from *Twelfth Night* had marvelous application. If memory serves, the line comes from the forged letter given to Malvolio by some of Shakespeare's finest practical jokers. Their comic object is to flatter the old turkeycock into thinking himself beloved. He swallows the bait, and spends the next couple of scenes, cross-gartered and grinning, pluming himself for all the world to see.

Lyndon is no Malvolio, of course. He is a consummate politician, a first-class producer and director, and a showman of rare skill and style. If he loses to Barry in November, he can always get a job with MGM.

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