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many others. The late beloved Gov. James Stephen Hogg, in 1906, realizing that his death was imminent said in conversation to friends, "I want no monument of stone or marble, but plant at my head a pecan tree and * * * let the pecans be given out to the plain people of Texas so that they may plant them and make Texas a land of trees." The fulfillment of the wish of the late Governor Hogg by pioneer horticulturists—E. W. Kirkpatrick of McKinney, F. M. Ramsey, of Austin, J. S. Kerr, of Sherman, and C. Falkner, of Waco—gave impetus to pecan growing that has continued with increasing interest until the present time. The Hogg pecan trees are historic trees in Texas. Since 1919 the pecan tree has been the State Tree of Texas, as a result of an act of the State Legislature.

The late Edwin Jackson Kyle, long-time dean of agriculture at the Texas A. & M. College (now university), and later U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, was a friend to the pecan. Under his guidance, literally thousands of young men of Texas were instructed in pecan growing, and these men now in their various stations over the State are making contributions to the general welfare, by producing good delectable pecans. One of these students is Louie D. Romberg, horticulturist at the U.S. Pecan Field Station at Brownwood, Tex. His specialty is a development of new varieties, and he has been eminently successful. His various crosses representing years of intricately minute detailed maneuvers of cross pollination, selection, observation and testing, has resulted in new varieties which promise to be the basis of an expanding pecan industry for the future. Prominent among these are the Barton, Comanche, Sioux, Choctaw, Wichita, and Apache.

Gene Penicaut, one of the few Frenchmen to escape the Natchez massacre in 1729, wrote "The natives have three kinds of nuts * * * the best one * * * are scarcely bigger than the thumb and are called 'pecane'." It is appropriate that these Indian names which Romberg is choosing for his varieties be used since the modern term pecan was derived from this Indian word, "pecane." It was a term used by the American Indian to designate all nuts that were so hard as to require a stone to crack them. This name was appropriated by the French settlers of the Mississippi basin for one nut in particular, the pecan. The word "hickory," from which an early botanical name of the pecan, Hicoria Pecan, was derived, is likewise from the Indian word "powcohicora." The American Indians pounded pecan kernels with a stone, then boiled them in water to make a broth, called powcohicora. This powcohicora was used to thicken venison broth and to season hominy or corn cakes and in some instances was allowed to ferment for an intoxicating drink.

In these days of agricultural surpluses, acreage control, and uncertain markets, it is refreshing to encounter a crop of which we have no surplus and of which none is likely in the foreseeable future, and one which offers such promise.

Pecan growing is a way of life for those who love trees. The trees herald the spring with bursting buds, with beautiful rosettes of developing pecan clusters—25,000 on one tree—comparable in beauty to a giant Christmas tree with as many bright and lighted spires. In midsummer the branches arch gracefully under the load of developing fruits and there is the pleasant contemplation of a golden harvest in the fall. Pecan nuts are good food, and pecan growing represents a permanent agriculture and a good way of life. The trees grow larger, taller, and more productive each passing year for 100 years or more, and where they are beauty dwells.

THE TEXAS KIOWA INDIAN PECAN LEGEND

Long long ago the great White Father of the Kiowa Indians, whose home was on the plains of Texas, lived in their midst, directing them in their war councils, leading them in battles against the enemy and accompanying them on their hunts. He was their personal leader. But the time soon came when he must leave. He must go to the spirit land, he said. However, he promised to continue to guide his people through the medicine men, and to return to them when his mission in the spirit world was accomplished. He went away.

But he had no sooner entered the spirit world than the Evil One, who had been watching and hating him for many years, attacked him. In the combat that followed, the cohorts of the evil spirit and the cohorts of the good spirit fought until the whole upper world became an inferno of lightning and thunder. In the end the White Father was killed. His lifeless body fell to the earth that the Kiowas hunted upon. They saw and recognized his form. They buried it in the bed of a stream, and carefully covered the grave with rocks and gravel.

The place of the burial became a shrine for periodical visits. One time when some of the red men came to do homage at the grave, they saw that a green stem had pushed its way up out of the rock. They took this green thing as a good sign. As it grew year after year, they saw that it was a new kind of tree in their world. At last, after so many years had gone by that only the old men could remember the burial of their White Father, the Indians found some nuts fallen from the great tree that had sprouted out of the grave. They found the meat in these nuts delicious and the nuts excellent for carrying on long hunting expeditions. Other trees came from nuts scattered on the ground and after many, many years the nut-bearing trees were growing all along the streams of Texas. They called the tree "Pecan," which means "nut."[1]

## CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1963

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 7152) to enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

**Mr. KENNEDY.** Mr. President, it is with some hesitation that I rise to speak on the pending legislation before the Senate. A freshman Senator should be seen, not heard; should learn, and not teach. This is especially true when the Senate is engaged in a truly momentous debate, in which we have seen displayed the most profound skills of the ablest Senators, in both parties, on both sides of the issue.

I have been extremely impressed over the past 4 weeks with the high level of the debate on this issue; with the dignity of the proceedings, the precision with which the legal issues have been defined. The viewpoint of each of the great sections of our Nation is being fully aired and fully developed, as we proceed toward a national consensus on this issue.

I had planned, about this time in the session, to make my maiden speech in the Senate on issues affecting industry and employment in my home State. I still hope to discuss these questions at some later date. But I could not follow this debate for the last 4 weeks—I could not see this issue envelop the emotions and the conscience of the Nation—without changing my mind. To limit myself to local issues in the face of this great national question, would be to demean the seat in which I sit, which has been occupied by some of the most distinguished champions of the cause of freedom.

I feel I can better represent the people of Massachusetts at this time by bringing the experience of their history to bear on this problem.

I believe the basic problem the American people face in the 1960's in the field of civil rights is one of adjustment. It is the task of adjusting to the fact that Negroes are going to be members of the community of American citizens, with the same rights and the same responsibilities as every one of us.

The people of my State of Massachusetts have been making this kind of adjustment for 300 years. We have absorbed every racial nationality group, from the Puritans to the Poles to the Puerto Ricans. Massachusetts today has a higher percentage of foreign nationality groups than any other State in the country. Fully 40 percent of the people of my State, according to the latest census, are either immigrants or children of immigrants.

Every problem this bill treats—be it voting, equal accommodations, employment, or education—has arisen in my State at one time or another and we have solved them—by persuasion where possible; by law where necessary.

We have not suffered from this effort. Indeed, we have been strengthened. Our economy, our social structure, the level of our culture are higher than ever before, in a large part because of the contributions minorities have made.

I believe that if America has been able to make this adjustment for the Irish, the Italians, the Jews, the Poles, the Greeks, the Portuguese—we can make it for Negroes. And the Nation will be strengthened in the process.

In 1780, a Catholic in Massachusetts was not allowed to vote or hold public office. In 1840, an Irishman could not get a job above that of common laborer. In 1910, a Jew could not stay in places of public accommodation in the Berkshire Mountains.

It is true, as has been said on this floor, that prejudice exists in the minds and hearts of men. It cannot be eradicated by law. But I firmly believe a sense of fairness and good will also exists in the minds and hearts of men, side by side with the prejudice; a sense of fairness and good will which shows itself so often in acts of charity and

[1] This tale was taken from a book entitled "Foller De Drinkin' Gou'd," published by the Texas Folklore Society and edited by J. Frank Dobie. The story was written by G. T. Bloodworth as told to him by John L. Smith who heard it from a Kiowa Indian with whom he served in the World War. The story illustrates the position occupied by the pecan in the culture of the Indians.

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kindness toward others. This noble characteristic wants to come out. It wants to, and often does, win out against the prejudice. Law, expressing as it does the moral conscience of the community, can help it come out in every person, so in the end the prejudice will be dissolved.

This bill has deep moral implications for the individual and his society. For this reason we have seen in recent months an unparalleled show of support for the bill by the religious leadership of America. Yesterday, I received a communication from His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, of Boston. He said as follows:

On behalf of nearly 2 million Catholics, I am unhesitantly and wholeheartedly supporting the civil rights bill which is now under consideration in the U.S. Senate. The rights embodied in this bill are sacred rights, important to the dignity of the individual under God. I make this statement through Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY, as cardinal of the Boston archdiocese.

I want to add that no one, in my judgment, has made a greater contribution to racial and religious understanding in my part of the Nation than Cardinal Cushing through his life and his works.

I have also received the following statement from the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church of Massachusetts, Bishop Anson Stokes:

I believe I speak for the overwhelming number of Episcopalians as well as for Protestants in general when I affirm my personal, wholehearted support for the civil rights legislation and particularly for its public accommodations section. Courtesy, respect, and equal opportunity for human beings of all races cannot be left to chance. It must be assured by law as a human right, in all parts of our country in North as well as South.

Bishop Stokes has also made a significant contribution in this area.

In January of last year, there gathered in Chicago a National Conference on Religion and Race. Representatives of 67 national religious bodies, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, representing nearly all of the denominations of America, said at that time:

Our appeal to the American people is this: Seek a reign of justice in which voting rights and equal protection of the law will everywhere be enjoyed; public facilities and private ones serving a public purpose will be accessible to all; equal education and cultural opportunities, hiring and promotion, medical and hospital care, open occupancy in housing will be available to all.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the full statement printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the National Conference on Religion and Race, Jan. 17, 1963, Chicago, Ill.]

AN APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

We have met as members of the great Jewish and Christian faiths held by the majority of the American people, to counsel together concerning the tragic fact of racial prejudice, discrimination, and segregation in our society. Coming as we do out of various religious backgrounds, each of us has more to say than can be said here. But this statement is what we as religious people are moved to say together.

I

Racism is our most serious domestic evil. We must eradicate it with all diligence and speed. For this purpose we appeal to the consciences of the American people.

This evil has deep roots; it will not be easily eradicated. While the Declaration of Independence did declare "that all men are created equal" and "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," slavery was permitted for almost a century. Even after the Emancipation Proclamation, compulsory racial segregation and its degrading badge of racial inequality received judicial sanction until our own time.

We rejoice in such recent evidences of greater wisdom and courage in our national life as the Supreme Court decisions against segregation and the heroic, nonviolent protests of thousands of Americans. However, we mourn the fact that patterns of segregation remain entrenched everywhere—north and south, east and west. The spirit and the letter of our laws are mocked and violated.

Our primary concern is for the laws of God. We Americans of all religious faiths have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation are an insult to God, the giver of human dignity and human rights. Even worse, we all have participated in perpetuating racial discrimination and segregation in civil, political, industrial, social, and private life. And worse still, in our houses of worship, our religious schools, hospital, welfare institutions, and fraternal organization we have often failed our own religious commitments. With few exceptions we have evaded the mandates and rejected the promises of the faiths we represent.

We repent our failures and ask the forgiveness of God. We ask also the forgiveness of our brothers, whose rights we have ignored and whose dignity we have offended. We call for a renewed religious conscience on his basically moral evil.

II

Our appeal to the American people is this: Seek a reign of justice in which voting rights and equal protection of the law will everywhere be enjoyed; public facilities and private ones serving a public purpose will be accessible to all; equal education and cultural opportunities, hiring and promotion, medical and hospital care, open occupancy in housing will be available to all.

Seek a reign of love in which the wounds of past injustices will not be used as excuses for new ones; racial barriers will be eliminated; the stranger will be sought and welcomed; any man will be received as brother—his rights, your rigths; his pain, your pain; his prison, your prison.

Seek a reign of courage in which the people of God will make their faith their binding commitment; in which men willingly suffer for justice and love; in which churches and synagogues lead, not follow.

Seek a reign of prayer in which God is praised and worshipped as the Lord of the universe, before whom all racial idols fall, who makes us one family and to whom we are all responsible.

In making this appeal we affirm our common religious commitment to the essential dignity and equality of all men under God. We dedicate ourselves to work together to make this commitment a vital factor in our total life.

We call upon all the American people to work, to pray, and to act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively, to seize the historic opportunity the Lord has given us for healing an ancient rupture in the human family, to do this for the glory of God.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I have also received many letters from other religious leaders, as well as interested groups and citizens, and I ask unanimous consent that a sampling of those letters may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS,
*Boston, Mass., October 8, 1963.*

Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*Old Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: The social concerns committee of New England Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers), composed of members from many quarters of this region, is distressed that the un-Christian practices of racial segregation and discrimination continue to blight the lives of so many of our fellow Americans, both white and colored. We have resolved at a meeting held on September 8, 1963, to recommend urgently your most vigorous support of the various pieces of civil rights legislation introduced thus far in the Congress in behalf of President Kennedy, including the provisions that would govern public accommodations.

This entire legislative program has come to have important symbolic as well as practical significance for many colored Americans. However, while supporting the legislation thus far proposed, we recognize that it falls far short of the legitimate demands and aspirations of colored Americans, and we therefore urge a search for further, useful legislation not yet included in the President's program.

We are fortunate to live in a part of the Nation that is continuing to document extensively its ancient tradition of concern for individual rights and for the defense of the oppressed. It would seem to us appropriate, therefore, for each New Englander in the Congress, whether in the Senate or in the House, to take every opportunity for effective leadership in exploring the possibilities for further civil rights legislation.

It is apparent to many that an effective Federal Fair Employment Practices Act is needed. Surely some sort of youth training bill is required. Perhaps legislation is needed to require the opening of apprenticeships in craft unions equally to members of minority groups. Programs of scholarships for college and graduate students may have to be devised to help overcome the inequalities of educational opportunity still handicapping many of the most capable members of various minority groups.

In offering these random suggestions we do not presume to be outlining the full extent of such a legislative program. We hope you will feel led to use your personal and official influence and leadership to insure that such a program is developed and offered in the Congress. Such efforts, we are convinced, would be truly in the service of the Lord.

Cordially,

JOHN R. KELLAM,
*Chairman.*
ANNE FOSTER,
*Recording Clerk.*

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TEMPLE SINAI,
*Sharon, Mass., February 8, 1964.*

Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: As a matter of moral regard, I feel that it is most important that our Congress enact strong civil rights legislation. Far too long citizens of the United States have been denied equal rights because of race, color, or religion.

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I feel particularly that the pending legislation concerning fair employment practices must receive special attention. Inability to better themselves economically forces the Negro citizen into ghettolike slum housing. Unable to live where they like, their children are forced into inferior schools and thus do not have the education they need to compete efficiently in today's world. Congress has an opportunity to break this cycle this year.

Very truly yours,

HENRY BAMBERGER,
*Rabbi.*

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THE CAPE COD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.,
*Hyannis, Mass., February 25, 1964.*

Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: Enclosed is a copy of a resolution passed at the recent annual meeting of the Cape Cod Council of Churches.

The council is made up of 53 churches with a combined membership of approximately 10,000 Cape Cod people. The resolution was passed unanimously.

This shows that we are solidly behind every move to achieve complete freedom and equality for all Americans, including those of Negro ancestry.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

KENNETH R. WARREN,
*Chairman, Social Relations Department.*

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PETITION BY CAPE COD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

We, the representatives of the churches associated in the Cape Cod Council of Churches, respectfully petition the Congress to insist that the committees of both Houses shall permit the Congress to take action on civil rights legislation promised in the platforms of both parties in 1960.

When thus permitted to act we petition the Congress to provide for all citizens protection when they exercise their constitutional right to petition for the redress of grievances, equality in practice when they register to vote, and equality under the law in using all places of public accommodations.

Having petitioned the Congress of the United States to pass appropriate civil rights legislation, we, the representatives of the churches associated in the Cape Cod Council of Churches, respectfully petition these associated churches to come to a better understanding of the complex ramifications of sin and prejudice among all of us.

We are shocked to recall that, contrary to our national tradition of equality before the law, some States prescribe that places of public accommodation shall treat citizens in two classes. But the prejudice which occasions such discriminatory laws influences the everyday uses of our churches and our communities.

We therefore respectfully suggest that our churches should study how well each of them and many of their members can learn to treat all men as God treats all men, according to all the respect and dignity which each wishes to receive for himself.

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THE FIRST RELIGIOUS SOCIETY (UNITARIAN),
*Newburyport, Mass., February 24, 1964.*

Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: The committee for social concern of the First Religious Society (Unitarian) of Newburyport, Mass., voted unanimously at its last meeting to give our complete support to the civil rights bill now before Congress. We urge you to do everything possible to expedite the prompt passage of this important piece of legislation in its entirety.

Very truly yours,

MRS. BERTRAND H. STEEVES,
*Secretary, Committee for Social Concern.*

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GRACE EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
*Everett, Mass., February 25, 1964.*

Senator EDWARD KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR: As one of your constituents, as a Christian, as a person vitally concerned with the future well-being and peace of this great land and for the rights of all her citizens, may I urgently and respectfully plead that you give your entire energies and support to the civil rights bill soon to come before the Senate.

Your own legislative record indicates your enthusiasm for this cause. I would urge you as the time draws near and during actual debate to give of your unstinting capacities and zeal for the passage of this essential legislation.

Most respectfully,

FT. ROBERT HANSON.

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FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST,
*Auburn, Mass., February 3, 1964.*

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: Enclosed is a copy of a resolution recently adopted unanimously at our annual church meeting.

Please consider the second portion of this resolution as an expression of the feelings of our entire church membership of 746 members in making your decisions on the forthcoming civil rights bill.

Respectfully,

GUY L. KNIGHT,
*Chairman, Social Action Committee.*

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RESOLUTION ON CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP BY FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, AUBURN, MASS.

Whereas the Massachusetts Congregational Christian Conference has passed resolutions on several occasions dealing with the social, civic, economic, and religious issues in racial discrimination in this Commonwealth and Nation, and has asked its member churches to participate in this concern; and

Whereas Dr. Ben. M. Herbster, president of United Church of Christ, has asked each member church of the United Church of Christ to declare itself as an open member church in which the fellowship of all God's people is without restrictions as to race, class, or ethnic background: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That this church reaffirms its practice of long standing of being an open member church in which the fellowship of all God's people is without restrictions as to race, class, or ethnic background and publicly declare this practice as its policy; and be it further

*Resolved*, That such legislation as can be proposed that will protect the civil liberties of all U.S. citizens without violating other constitutional guarantees be supported and encouraged by this church. Copies of this resolution are to be provided to the members of the Massachusetts delegation to the U.S. Congress.

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SINAI TEMPLE,
*Springfield, Mass., March 3, 1964.*

U.S. Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*U.S. Senate,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: It is my sincere hope that you will vote in favor of H.R. 7152, the Civil Rights Act of 1963, without any amendment.

I would also hope that you might vote in favor of cloture so that this bill may be acted upon without filibuster.

In addition to my personal sentiments, our congregation has officially taken the same position. Our congregation represents something like 600 families.

That was a magnificent address you gave at our temple this past Sunday morning. It was also my privilege to have presented your late brother when he was U.S. Senator and I was the president of the Connecticut Valley Foreign Policy Association.

Thanks again.

Cordially yours,

Rabbi HERMAN E. SNYDER.

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TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
*Randolph, Mass., August 29, 1963.*

Hon. EDWARD KENNEDY,
*U.S. Senate,*
*Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: I feel very strongly that legislation on civil rights must be enacted which will be in keeping with the Constitution of the United States and which will neither favor nor work to the disadvantage of any group or individual, but will guarantee equal opportunity and justice for all American citizens.

I am convinced that now is the time when human rights or the lack of them must be faced squarely and acted upon with conviction by the American people and by you as an official representative of this State and the people therein.

I look to you for prompt, fair and firm action.

Very truly yours,

WALTER K. LYON,
*Rector.*

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UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION OF CHURCHES AND FELLOWSHIPS IN NORTH AMERICA,
*Boston, Mass., October 23, 1963.*

Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: It is my duty and privilege to report to you at once action taken by the board of trustees of the Unitarian Universalist Association (of North America) in regard to the President's civil rights legislation.

Our board of trustees acting upon the precedent and in the context of many denominational resolutions and expressions of conviction in the past, voted unanimously at its meeting on October 15 to urge adequate legislation at once. I do not need to say that this action is without any political bias on the part of our board and association, or that it seems to us to be entirely in accord with our belief in the principle of human brotherhood. We feel strongly that this legislation is a necessary tangible expression of our faith in human brotherhood.

We urge your support, for the sake of the people involved, for the sake of the integrity of our Nation, and for the sake of the image of America in the eyes of the world.

With cordial good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

DANA MCLEAN GREELEY.

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COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN, ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON,
*Boston, Mass., November 15, 1963.*

To: Massachusetts congressional delegation.
From Board of directors, ACCM, Francis M. McLaughlin, president.

We are enclosing a statement on Federal civil rights legislation that was adopted by the board of directors of the Council of Catholic Men, at its meeting November 11, 1963. The board represents 300,000 laymen of the archdiocese through its affiliated

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organizations that are federated in the Council of Catholic Men.

We are sending this statement to you for your consideration and want to emphasize the board of directors' concern for strengthening, wherever possible, the program sent to the Congress by the President.

We realize that no matter in recent years has received more thoughtful analysis by our distinguished representatives in Congress. We want you to know that we are aware of this and to assure you of our desire to assist in achieving meaningful civil rights legislation this year.

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STATEMENT BY COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN, ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON

Election returns are being carefully scrutinized in all parts of the Nation with a view to determining whether a just civil rights bill is expedient at this time. Many columnists and commentators are attempting to assess political loss which may result from granting fundamental human rights to American citizens.

As official representative of the Boston Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Men, we call to your attention that the only guide in this matter for one professing Christian principles is justice. No one may in good conscience call upon public opinion polls or election results to ascertain whether or not to grant all citizens equal rights in voting, in admission to schools at all levels, in employment, in housing, public facilities, and public recreation.

We urge you, not merely as a matter of private conscience, but that the public conscience be not outraged, to vote favorably for meaningful civil rights legislation at this session of Congress.

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WOOLMAN HILL,
A QUAKER CENTER,
*Deerfield, Mass., January 22, 1964.*

Senator EDWARD KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR FRIEND: I believe you will be interested in the enclosed resolutions adopted last weekend by a conference on civil rights, held at this Quaker center.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM K. HEFNER,
*Chairman, Board of Directors.*

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EDUCATION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, SPONSORED BY WOOLMAN HILL, AT QUAKER CENTER, DEERFIELD, MASS., JANUARY 18, 1964

*Resolved,* That the attenders at this conference heartily support the civil rights bill currently before the Congress of the United States and strongly endorse its early passage without crippling amendments, which would compromise its goal of providing equal rights for all Americans whatever their race or color.

*Resolved,* That the attenders at this conference strongly urge the institution of a comprehensive and imaginative program by the Federal Government based on the idea of a domestic peace corps which would provide a work program and special educational opportunities for young Americans between the ages of 15 and 21 who are currently underprivileged and undereducated, this program to be administered through the cooperation of State and local governments and to be oriented toward the improvement of our local communities, the elimination of urban blight, and the general welfare of the Nation.

WILLIAM HEFNER,
*Chairman, Woolman Hill Board of Directors.*

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS,
NEW ENGLAND REGION,
*Boston, Mass., February 14, 1964.*

Hon. EDWARD MOORE KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: For many years, the New England region, American Jewish Congress, has been one of the leaders in pressing for civil rights legislation on both the national and local scene. The time has now arrived when the problem of civil rights must be settled on the Federal level.

We, therefore, urge that you support the civil rights bill now before your august body to provide equal rights for all citizens of our country regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin. Such legislation has long been overdue.

Our democracy can no longer afford to discriminate against certain of its citizens. We hope that you will put yourself on record in favor of this basic principle and will vote for the civil rights measure.

We shall be pleased to have your views.

Sincerely,

MARVIN N. GELLER,
*President.*

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DIOCESAN COUNCIL OF
CATHOLIC WOMEN,
WORCESTER DISTRICT,
*October 5, 1963.*

Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*Senate House Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: On behalf of the Worcester District, Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, and myself, I am writing to ask you to support a full civil rights bill including the public accommodations section and an amendment covering fair employment practices.

We, as Catholic women, believe God has created all of us to His own image and likeness. We also believe that the Constitution of the United States guarantees everyone life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is about time we lived up to the words in the Constitution and gave the Negro people equal rights.

Please vote for the passage of the House bill 7152 and 1731 without delay.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

WINIFRED M. O'NEIL,
*President.*

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
SOCIAL WORKERS,
EASTERN MASSACHUSETTS CHAPTER,
*Boston, Mass., September 9, 1963.*

Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: The eastern Massachusetts chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, a professional organization representing over 1,300 members, wishes to express its hearty endorsement of the President's civil rights program. We urge you to give this urgent legislation your wholehearted support, particularly title II of the bill (S. 1731), which bans discrimination in places of public accommodation and business establishments.

We are aware of the many arguments against title II in the name of property rights, and we share the concern of those who fear any violation of these. However, we consider the misuse of property rights to humiliate and deny individual rights of citizens because of their race, religion, or ethnic background contrary to the basic ideals of the Nation. We consider it the responsibility of the Federal Government to be as concerned with the protection of individual human rights as it has been concerned, traditionally, with property rights.

If this legislation is kept from a vote by the efforts of the opponents, we trust that you shall vote for cloture, in the interests—not only of your Negro constituents—but of all Americans.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

JAMES M. MCCRACKEN, JR.,
*President.*

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BOSTON, MASS.

Senator EDWARD KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

We strongly urge that you use all the influence and prestige of your position to insure passage without modification of the House-passed civil rights bill at the earliest possible date.

BERNARD BORMAN,
*President, Greater Boston Junior Chamber of Commerce.*

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FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
*Hadley Mass.,*
SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
*North Hadley, Mass.,*
*February 14, 1964.*

Senator EDWARD KENNEDY,
*U.S. Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: I have been pleased with the work of the House of Representatives on the civil rights bill and I believe that the bill as they passed it is just, patriotic and moral and that it will help us to overcome the tragic sin of racial discrimination.

May I urge you to support the civil rights bill as passed by the House including the fair employment practice of the bill and the public accommodations section.

May I also urge you to vote to stop a filibuster by the opponents of the bill which I believe is your privilege according to the rules of the Senate.

Thank you very much for your consideration of this letter.

Cordially yours,

DARRELL W. HOLLAND.

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MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES,
*Boston, Mass., October 1, 1963.*

Hon. EDWARD KENNEDY,
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR: The bombing in Birmingham requires that the U.S. Congress must within this year pass the President's civil rights bill, S. 1731 and H.R. 7152. There can no longer be any quibbling regarding equality of citizens—black, white, or green—in the United States in any aspect of our public and national life.

When the Christian community, or any religious body, is no longer safe in the house of God and at worship, then America is in danger of the loss of the democratic process and the democratic way.

I write to ask you to use every ounce of your influence to see that the President's civil rights legislation is passed with the strongest possible support which you can give and urge others to give because of your extensive influence. The Senators of the North must mobilize the leadership of the South to the moral international implications of this act.

My prayer is that we perform as Americans in a democratic way, not because we are ashamed of our international image, but because it is right that men should be treated as those made in the image of God.

Sincerely,

OLIVIA PEARL STOKES,
*Director, Department of Religious Education.*

United States Senate Historical Office
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EPISCOPAL CHURCHWOMEN OF PROVINCE, I,
*Worcester, Mass., August 24, 1963.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: The executive board of the Episcopal Churchwomen of New England (representing all Episcopal churchwomen in New England) favor a strong civil rights bill.

Very truly yours,
MRS. LOWELL H. MILLIGAN,
*President.*

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THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
OF GREATER SPRINGFIELD,
*Springfield, Mass., February 21, 1964.*

HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*Senate Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: The board of directors of the Council of Churches of Greater Springfield at its meeting of February 14, 1964, considered and discussed the civil rights bill presently pending before the Senate of the United States.

It was the unanimous vote of the board of directors that we urge you, our Senator, to support a strong and effective bill for equal rights for all citizens.

Our council represents 56 Protestant churches of the Greater Springfield area and we are anxious to keep our member churches informed of legislative developments regarding civil rights legislation.

We would appreciate an expression of your position on these matters to share with our people.

Respectfully yours,
EMERSON WESLEY SMITH,
*Executive Director.*
HERSCHEL W. ROGERS,
*Chairman, Division of Christian Social Relations.*

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WESTON COLLEGE,
*Weston, Mass., August 30, 1963.*

SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
*U.S. Senate,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: It is my firm conviction that racism is the most important moral issue of our generation. As a Christian I am deeply sorry that our Nation should move so slowly to redress the wrongs committed against nonwhites in this country. May I ask you to support the President's civil rights legislation with all your efforts.

At the same time, may I ask you to support the President's revision of the immigration law. I would like to see a much more liberal policy toward the admission of Oriental people to our country.

Respectfully yours,
Rev. THOMAS F. MATHEWS, S.J.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, when religious leaders call on us to urge passage of this bill, they are not mixing religion and politics. This is not a political issue. It is a moral issue, to be resolved through political means. Religious leaders can preach, they can advise, they can lead movements of social action. But there comes a point when persuasion must be backed up by law to be effective. In the field of civil rights, that point has been reached.

Mr. President, others have discussed the specific provisions of this bill with more skill than I possess. The constitutionality of the bill has been affirmed by the most eminent lawyers in the land. But there are some points in each of the major sections I would like to stress.

The purpose of title I, the voting section, is to accomplish the aims of the voting rights sections of the civil rights bill of 1957 and 1960. Had Congress known then the weaknesses in those sections, I believe these provisions would have been added at that time. We learn by experience. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, under the outstanding leadership of Burke Marshall, has labored for 3 years to do the job assigned to it by the prior legislation. Its small squadron of attorneys have worked long and hard, but every possible legal barrier has been thrown in its path to win, after protracted litigation, the right to vote in an election held a year ago, is no victory. The right to vote in Federal elections must be enforcible at the time of the election to have any meaning.

The barriers to the right to vote were taken down in my State over 100 years ago. The differences between our social and economic groups have been settled peacefully at the ballot box, the way they should be in a democracy.

Title II, the public accommodation section, seeks to relieve the principal cause of demonstrations that have torn the South in recent years. It confers on Negroes a right the rest of us have enjoyed under the common law for 500 years—the right to enter and be served in establishments holding themselves out to serve the public. Were we to ground this section on the 14th amendment, it is entirely possible, in view of recent decisions of the Supreme Court, that the civil rights cases of 1883 would be overruled on this point. But we need not speculate on this, in view of the obvious sweep of the commerce clause. If this clause can be used, as it has been used, to eliminate sweatshop labor, to end racketeering, to throw Communists out of unions and management; if we can use it to eliminate prostitution and narcotics and adulterated foods which sap the physical fiber of the Nation, certainly it can be used to eliminate the humiliation and discrimination which sap the moral fiber of the Nation.

Titles III and IV seek to execute the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions, in the same way as title I seeks to realize the aims of Congress. The Court, in Brown against Board of Education in 1954, did not say that only 10 Negroes in a State should be admitted to integrated schools by 1964. It did not say that wide areas of the South should have no school integration, years after the principle of integration was established. The Court spoke of "all deliberate speed" and of a "prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance." And in Watson against City of Memphis, last year, the Court said:

> The basic guarantees of our Constitution are warrants for the here and now.

In my judgment, if Congress does not take these steps to aid in the implementation of the integration decree, it will be acquiescing in what has amounted, in many places, to a virtual reversal of the Supreme Court's decisions.

We have seen examples, in a number of States, where local school boards have adopted desegregation plans, only to be thwarted by State authority. Last September, the Governor of Alabama sent State police and National Guardsmen to four major cities in his State, to bar children—both white and Negro—from attending schools that had been integrated under locally approved plans. In these cases and others, integration was blocked by outside authority, arbitrarily and illegally imposed.

I respect the doctrine of States rights because it recognizes the importance of local action to individual freedom. But I respectfully submit that one cannot oppose having the Federal Government telling the States what to do, and at the same time, condone States telling cities what to do.

My State has been criticized in the field of education, and I would like to look at the record. Forty-seven percent of the Negroes in Massachusetts live outside of the city of Boston. All of their children go to school with white children. But most of the Negroes in Boston do not, because they live in all-Negro neighborhoods—racially mixed.

We in Massachusetts have recognized this problem and have begun to seek means to correct it. But there is an enormous difference between school segregation as practiced in some States and the situation in mine. In Massachusetts, no State law forbids integration in schools. No State official stands in the doorway to block it. The only barrier to complete school integration is the sound and historic principle that children of the same neighborhood should attend the same school. With the increase in economic opportunity that will come to Negroes in my State, residential segregation will break down and the school problem will diminish.

Title VI will serve the important purpose of removing Federal financial support from segregated programs. We cannot justify using Negro taxpayers' money to perpetuate discrimination against them.

Federal programs, especially in the fields of health and education, and training for jobs have an enormous influence on the social fabric of our communities. They can set a pattern in keeping with the moral commitment of the Nation, or they can set a pattern opposed to it.

Title VII is directed toward what, in my judgment, American Negroes need most to increase their health and happiness. To be deprived because of race of the right to vote or use public accommodations or to attend integrated schools is a humiliation and an impediment. But to be deprived of the chance to make a decent living and of the income needed to bring up children is a family tragedy. The average Negro with a high school education can expect to earn, in his lifetime, $100,000 less than the average white man with the same education. This is a personal hardship. It is a burden on families. It saps the economic strength of the Nation.

In Massachusetts we have found that job opportunity is the key to assimilation of any minority group. As long as our minorities were shut off from worthwhile jobs, they remained poor, ignorant, resentful of the rest of the community. Once they found a wider range of jobs, they were able to cast off their poverty, break out of their slums, and, most important, measure up to the standards of social behavior set by the community.

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Crime and illegitimacy declined as men found something to live for. This can happen again.

It is argued that title VII can only make jobs for Negroes by taking them away from whites. The same accusation was thrown at the Irish in Massachusetts in the 1820's. The argument is groundless in America, because it assumes a stagnant economy. We have almost always had a dynamic, job-creating economy. The new income spent by new job holders has created more demand and more jobs, in a great upward movement of growth and prosperity.

Mr. President, this is not a force bill. There are no fines or criminal penalties. On the contrary, the bill abounds with reasonableness, with conciliation, with voluntary procedures, with a moderate approach toward its goals.

The public accommodations section covers only those types of establishments where discrimination works the severest hardship. Even these types are exempt if they are small enough so that their integration would disturb the owner in his private life.

The voting section covers only Federal elections. It uses the procedures of the courts. It creates not special privileges, but only tries to prevent irreparable injury.

The education section creates no new rights. The Department of Justice would be able to sue only to enforce what the Constitution already requires.

The Federal program section is equally moderate. Funds could only be denied to programs where discrimination is practiced. Other funds could not be affected. The procedures under this section must conform to the standard of due process, of notice and hearing, of the administrative procedures act.

And the employment section is equally mild. Companies would have adequate time to comply with its requirements. The Fair Employment Commission has no sanctions of its own, but must look to the courts for enforcement of its orders.

In short, the bill emphasizes not new rights but remedies of existing rights; not coercion but voluntary compliance; not the heavy hand of the Federal Government but the even-handed justice of the courts of law.

With provisions as mild as these, it can truly be said that even in passing this bill, we are still relying primarily on the decency and the tolerance and the conscience of the American people to secure these rights for Negro citizens.

In conclusion, Mr. President, there are some personal reasons why I am so interested in passage of this bill. As a young man I want to see an America where everyone can make his contribution, where a man will be measured not by the color of his skin but by the content of his character.

As one who has a special concern with the emerging nations of Africa and Latin America, I have seen what discrimination at home does to us in those countries. I want to see America respected there.

And, finally, I remember the words of President Johnson last November 27:

> No memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long.

My brother was the first President of the United States to state publicly that segregation was morally wrong. His heart and his soul are in this bill. If his life and death had a meaning, it was that we should not hate but love one another; we should use our powers not to create conditions of oppression that lead to violence, but conditions of freedom that lead to peace.

It is in that spirit that I hope the Senate will pass this bill.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KENNEDY. I yield.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I congratulate the Senator from Massachusetts for the magnificent address which he has just made. I have never heard the principles of the bill or the tenets of civil rights stated more succinctly or more accurately. I have never heard an address of a more truly noble and elevated tone.

We are all deeply grateful for what he has said and for what he is doing. He is a worthy continuer of the great tradition of the seat which he occupies in the Senate, beginning, I believe, with John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, and Charles Sumner and, through George Frisbie Hoar, to his beloved and lamented brother, who served with us for so many years.

Not only should the whole State of Massachusetts be grateful for what he has said, but I believe the whole Nation also is grateful to him. Without striking any note of false sentimentality, I am sure the spirit of his beloved brother rejoices also in what he has said.

Mr. KENNEDY. I appreciate the comments of the Senator from Illinois. I know how dedicated, interested, and committed he has been to the great questions which have come before the Senate and which are now before the Senate. It is a source of considerable inspiration to a junior Member of the Senate to find the wisdom and the experience which he has brought to this question. I appreciate his comments.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KENNEDY. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I join the Senator from Illinois in expressing thanks for the truly great speech just delivered by the Senator from Massachusetts. I know I speak for all Members of the Senate who heard the speech. The Senator has moved us deeply, both emotionally and intellectually. When the news of his speech goes across the Nation, it will move the American people deeply, too.

I am proud to have the privilege of saying that, in my judgment, the junior Senator from Massachusetts has already demonstrated that before he leaves the U.S. Senate he will have made a record in this body that will list him among the great Senators in the history of the Senate.

Mr. KENNEDY. I appreciate the generous comments of the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Massachusetts yield?

Mr. KENNEDY. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I join the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], and I am sure other Senators, as well, in paying a well deserved tribute to the Senator from Massachusetts for a moving, persuasive address on the all-important issue of civil rights for the American people.

I am particularly grateful to the Senator for his emphasis upon the international aspects of what we seek to do in the Senate concerning the domestic problem. I am particularly moved by the Senator's reference to the proposed legislation as being so close and dear to the heart of our late beloved President, the distinguished brother of the junior Senator from Massachusetts.

The Senator from Massachusetts has given new inspiration to us who work in the vineyard of civil rights and human rights. I commend him and, above all, I thank him, not only for his speech but also for his steadfastness of purpose and his willingness to be present during these difficult, trying days in handling the chores of managing certain parts of the bill, which continue day after day.

The Senator from Massachusetts has been performing yeoman service in helping the Senate come to a decision on this great national moral issue. His speech stands on its own. I am sure it will receive considerable attention throughout the country. I trust it will be read carefully by every Member of this body, regardless of his point of view.

Mr. KENNEDY. I appreciate the kind remarks of the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Massachusetts yield?

Mr. KENNEDY. I yield.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am very sorry not to have heard the entire speech of the Senator from Massachusetts, but I was attending a meeting of the Committee on Foreign Relations, at which the Secretary of the Treasury was present.

I intend to read the Senator's address carefully, and congratulate him upon the part to which I had the privilege of listening. Every day that goes by I consider it a greater privilege to serve with him in the Senate.

Mr. KENNEDY. I thank the Senator from Missouri for his kind remarks.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio obtained the floor.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Ohio yield, without in any way prejudicing his right to the floor or having his resumption, after the interruption, being interpreted as a second speech?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I yield with that understanding.

ATTENDANCE OF SENATORS

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, due to official business this morning, three

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