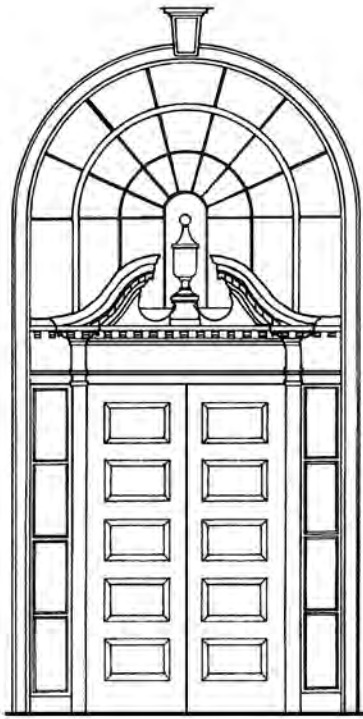


# MAGAZINE OF ALBEMARLE CHARLOTTESVILLE HISTORY



**VOLUME 78**  
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# MAGAZINE OF ALBEMARLE CHARLOTTESVILLE HISTORY

VOLUME 78 2020

COVER      *“We will prove ourselves men—127th Regt. US Colored Troops,” regimental flag, by David Bustill Bowser, between 1860 and 1870. Atlanta History Center.*

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IN MEMORY OF JOHN CONOVER (1945–2020)



**Fig. 1.** *Photograph of Paul M. Gaston, by David M. Skinner, February 4, 1985. Courtesy of Visual History Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

# An Oral History Interview with Paul M. Gaston, University of Virginia Professor of History and Civil Rights Activist

*Interview conducted  
by Charles E. “Chic” Moran Jr.*

*Introduction and annotations  
by Sterling Howell*

## Introduction

The struggles for racial equality and social justice that have persisted in the United States are once again at the forefront of today’s social climate. At both the local and national levels, the people of Charlottesville have witnessed firsthand the lingering effects of historical inequity and discord. But inasmuch as history can inform the present, it is possible to look to the past for inspiring examples of how positive change can actually happen and how individuals and their actions can impact the lives of others for the better. Paul M. Gaston (1928–2019) and Charles E. “Chic” Moran Jr. (1913–2002) were two such individuals who believed in the possibility of change (figures 1 and 2).

Paul Gaston was a renowned historian of the American South who taught for forty years at the University of Virginia (hereafter “UVA” or “the University”), a celebrated civil rights activist, and a southern White man from Alabama. Gaston completed his undergraduate studies at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania and earned both a master’s degree and a doctorate from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In 1957, he moved to Charlottesville to teach history at UVA. According to the former dean of UVA’s College and Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Edward L. Ayers,

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*Sterling Howell is the volunteer and programs coordinator for the Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society. He has a master’s degree in sociology from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and has previously contributed to the publications of James Madison’s Montpelier, the Orange County Historical Society, and the Close Up Foundation*



**Fig. 2.** *Photograph of Charles E. "Chic" Moran Jr., by David M. Skinner, July 3, 1975. Courtesy of Visual History Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

Gaston challenged students to deeply examine the historic wrongs of the South and to imagine its possible future. He “was unafraid to talk about those things during the 1960s when that was controversial.”<sup>1</sup>

Soon after arriving in Charlottesville, Gaston became involved with local groups fighting for desegregation and joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He took part in multiple protests and rallies and served as faculty adviser for the student chapter of the Human Relations Council. Gaston was instrumental in bringing Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to speak at the University in 1963 and succeeded in wooing Julian Bond to teach at UVA in 1992.<sup>2</sup> Gaston also took a leading role in establishing the Carter G. Woodson Institute for African-American and African Studies at UVA.<sup>3</sup> As a historian and writer, Gaston published many influential works, including *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (1970), a winner of the Lillian Smith Book Award, and *Coming of Age in Utopia: The Odyssey of an Idea* (2009), a memoir.

In recognition of his contributions, Gaston received many honors, including the Outstanding Faculty Award (State Council of Higher Education in Virginia, 1994), a Life Fellowship (Southern Regional Council, 1998), the Bridge Builders Award (City of Charlottesville, 2005), and the Legendary Civil Rights Activist Award (NAACP, 2008).<sup>4</sup> As one source said, “Paul never disparaged his southern roots; instead, he turned them into assets in the fight against racism.”<sup>5</sup>

What follows here is an annotated transcript of an interview with Gaston recorded on January 12, 1988, as part of the Albemarle County Historical Society’s Oral History Project.<sup>6</sup> Chic Moran, a longtime friend and colleague of Gaston, conducted the interview. Moran was a native of Charlottesville, a lover of country music and square-dancing, the one-time head of the local chapter of the Council on Human Relations, and a third-generation administrator at UVA.<sup>7</sup> He was “something of a Renaissance person,” and friends and family recall that Moran could speak as many as five languages and play seven musical instruments.<sup>8</sup> Moran earned a bachelor’s degree in international relations in 1936 and a master’s degree in modern European history in 1938, both from UVA. A devout Quaker, Moran cofounded Charlottesville’s first Quaker worship group in 1938 and started the Charlottesville Friends Meeting in the 1960s. His faith led him to apply for conscientious objector status during World War II, but Moran did not shrink from service and instead spent over three years working for conservation and federal housing projects during the war.<sup>9</sup>

After the war, Moran joined the American Friends Service Committee and traveled to France, Italy, and Poland, working to rebuild European villages and

aid refugees. He returned to UVA in 1948 as an assistant in Alderman Library, left to start his own printing business in 1951, and returned again in 1954 as director of the University Printing Office. Moran became University history officer in 1975, and until his retirement in 1979 he spent most of his final years at the University conducting interviews for the “UVA in the 20th Century Oral History Collection.”<sup>10</sup> Even after retirement, Moran’s love of local history and collecting stories never stopped. He was a longtime member, board committee chair, and former president of the Albemarle County Historical Society.

When Moran sat down with Gaston in 1988, their conversation took a meandering journey, recalling the local community’s reactions to school desegregation and the happenings inside the meeting rooms of civil rights groups in the 1950s and 1960s. Gaston and Moran discussed political and institutional leaders, local trailblazers, recalcitrant citizens, a notorious agitator, and underappreciated heroes. Gaston recounted memories of planning and participating in the 1963 sit-in at Buddy’s Restaurant. The two discussed the inner struggles of powerful White men in moments of historical decision-making and considered how these men should be judged by history. Moreover, their conversation returned again and again, if only implicitly, to the complex relationship between the University and the surrounding Charlottesville community, considering the ways in which the two mutually shaped one another throughout the civil rights era.

Much has changed during the half century since the battles for school integration and civil rights, thanks in large part to the efforts of people like Gaston and Moran. Today’s society still struggles with the mistakes of our past and continues to grapple with issues of cultural identities and loyalties that keep us divided from our neighbors. But in the reminiscences of Gaston and Moran, which illustrate moments when people had to make difficult and dangerous choices to stand up for a better future, we can learn important lessons and take inspiration from their courage and dedication to the cause.

## Transcript

*Editor’s Note: This transcript employs a semi-diplomatic style of transcription. All of the spoken words and utterances are written out, with two exceptions: first, listening sounds like “mm-hmm” and “yeah,” or those that add no substantive meaning to the conversation, are represented by bracketed, in-line notes of acknowledgment; and second, any unclear sections of the conversation are likewise indicated by bracketed, in-line notes. Furthermore, annotative information has been added both in brackets and in endnotes to offer historical context for readers. Five brief tangential or sensitive passages have been redacted in the transcript, indicated by numbered, italicized editorial notes.*



*Redaction #1.*

**Charles E. “Chic” Moran Jr.:** OK, we might just as well get started, then.

**Paul M. Gaston:** All right.

**Moran:** Let’s start off by identifying me, [Charles E.] Chic Moran [Jr.].

**Gaston:** All right.

**Moran:** And Paul [M.] Gaston, a friend of mine since he and Mary [Gaston] and his first two children moved to Charlottesville, Paul, to take up a position—important position of just a professor of history?

**Gaston:** Ah, no, there’s your first error, Chic—your only one. Junior instructor.

**Moran:** Junior instructor?

**Gaston:** I was the last person to hold that rank. The rank was abolished after that [*Moran chuckles*], within a year or two.

**Moran:** [*chuckling*] You put an end to it. OK.

**Gaston:** [*Slight chuckle.*] Right.

**Moran:** Yeah, OK. We’re at Paul’s present home, recently moved into. It’s the old Clifford Ritchie—[Thomas C.] Clifford [and Elizabeth B.] Bessie Ritchie home here at—what is it?—810 on Rugby Road.<sup>11</sup> In the meantime, Paul and Mary and family have lived over on Winston Road [*Gaston acknowledges throughout*] after first moving into Piedmont [UVA faculty housing] where we first remember you. At any rate, all right.

Today—today is the 12th of January, 1988. And let’s just start off by saying that this is a highly informal, unplanned, unregulated conversation. But when Paul and I had a—we were together—Paul entertained me the other day—and we referred to the fact that when I was on my job, which ended, what, almost nine years ago as University [of Virginia] history officer, and doing a lot of oral history interviewing, that I never interviewed Paul!

**Gaston:** [*Chuckles.*] Did I say that?

**Moran:** What I was doing was interviewing for the most part people older than myself [*Gaston acknowledges throughout*] at that time. So Paul, sort of by formula, got left out. But now, a number of years later, here’s the opportunity. And what I would like—what I want to encourage Paul to do is to look at his memory and recollection of the events that were taking place in Charlottesville-Albemarle, but primarily Charlottesville, back there in the fall of 1957, when he and his family moved to Charlottesville.

OK, 1957. This was three years and, what, four months or so, five months, after the 1954 [US] Supreme Court decision [*Brown v. Board of Education*] that required the desegregation of public schools. So Paul wasn’t here at the point of initiation, but I’m going to run over a little bit of what I remember—

**Gaston:** OK.

**Moran:** —of what happened from May—

**Gaston:** May 17.

**Moran:** —of 1956—

**Gaston:** OK.

**Moran:** —when the Virginia General Assembly began—Well, no, I've got to back off a little bit, because actually the Gray Commission had been appointed—must have been appointed in '55.<sup>12</sup> [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] The Virginia General Assembly formed it in '55, and it spent I think it was fifteen months in deliberations, and finally, in fall of '56 . . . beg your pardon, '55, they came—followed with a recommendation. And the recommendations were fairly moderate, with the—

**Gaston:** Fairly moderate by the standards of White Virginians.

**Moran:** By the—correct—by the standards that eventuated in that—

**Gaston:** Or what this h—yeah.

**Moran:** —[unclear] Assembly of '56. Yes, well, the introduction of the Gray Commission—the presentation of the Gray Commission, led primarily [by] Sarah Patton Boyle—[*Gaston acknowledges throughout*] Patty Boyle, who was a member of the Southern Regional Council.<sup>13</sup> And we must point out that the Southern Regional Council in 1956 there—in the fall of '55—was still a regional council without local chapters.<sup>14</sup> I think you can corroborate that. OK.

Other people obviously felt that elsewhere in the South and other parts of the Southern Regional Council must have felt that it was time for the coalescing and the establishment of local chapters of the Southern Regional Council. At any rate, somewhere around Christmastime, Patty approached me and asked me if I would help. And I must point out that I was not a dues-paid member of the Southern Regional Council. But certainly my sympathies lay that direction very much. Patty asked me if I would help in getting a chapter organized, and she just asked me if I would be the coordinator—a leader of a session. We did, and I can't date that exactly, but it was in the winter of '56. Could have been January, could have been February.

**Gaston:** We ought to point out for anybody who listens to this that the papers of the local chapter of the Virginia council, which you were talking about was created, are in the library now, so . . .<sup>15</sup>

**Moran:** Right. Right, good. Well, that—so that's—people who need to be really accurate about it can fall back on. [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] And this is another kind of [*both laugh*] essay. Thank goodness. OK.

Patty informed all of the members within reach—all the members of the Southern Regional Council—and said, "At such and such a time, we're going to have a meeting to see whether we should form a chapter." That was done. We met in the, as I recall it, in the . . . not sure whether it was the [Thomas

Jefferson] Unitarian Church or the . . . I'm unsure about exactly where that first meeting was.<sup>16</sup> I very well remember where the second one was. But at any rate, the first meeting did result in the determination by everybody present, members and nonmembers, that an organization was needed. And I asked [Arthur Kyle] A. K. Davis [Jr.], and I cannot remember who the other of us were, to be a Bylaws Committee.<sup>17</sup>

**Gaston:** Hmm. A. K. was a member?

**Moran:** A. K. was a member of it. And—

**Gaston:** Good for him.

**Moran:** —that committee went to work and was all ready for the next announced meeting, which was to be in the Westminster Presbyterian Church.<sup>18</sup> [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] And that meeting, the organizing meeting, was given quite a lot of publicity. And, oh boy, did that result in some supporting fund. Because it happened to have been on a night when the Westminster Presbyterian choir was having its regular practice, and we were downstairs in the room below. And we assembled in the room, and here we were, Blacks and Whites, together in the same place. And I called the meeting to order and made a motion or two, so I tried to get something going. And in the back of the room, somebody raised his hand and asked to be recognized. And so I recognized him, and he got up and said, “What do you mean by having niggers in here?”

**Gaston:** Yeah . . .

**Moran:** The long and the short of that was that we were unable to organize on that occasion.

**Gaston:** Really? Who was that? Did you find out?

**Moran:** Well, it was [Frederick] John Kasper himself.<sup>19</sup>

**Gaston:** Oh, John Kasper was there?

**Moran:** Yeah!

**Gaston:** The out-of-town agitator. [*Moran chuckles and repeats “out-of-town agitator.”*] Yeah . . . God.

**Moran:** So it thwarted us on that occasion. We got together shortly thereafter.

**Gaston:** Did you know who he was when he—

**Moran:** I knew who he was—

**Gaston:** —when he asked to be recognized?

**Moran:** No, no. No, I did not, didn't recognize him at all. [*Gaston acknowledges.*] But apparently the announcement of the meeting had—

**Gaston:** That attracted him.

**Moran:** —had been [*unclear*]. [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] And here he was. And that wasn't all, because a cross was burned in the courtyard during the process of the thing.<sup>20</sup> We found it later on. And I can't help, I've got to

stop and put one little anecdote in here, because [N.] Harvey Deal, at that time, was the reference librarian at Alderman [Library] (figure 3).<sup>21</sup>

**Gaston:** Yes, I remember Harvey.

**Moran:** Harvey was a fine basso, a fine basso at singing in the Westminster Presbyterian choir, and they were practicing. And in the—they had an intermission, and Harvey stepped out on the Rugby Road—stepped out on the porch and went out onto Rugby Road to take a smoke. He was a smoker. [*Gaston acknowledges.*] He no sooner gets out there than a couple of plainclothesmen [*Gaston coughs*] walked up to him, grabbed him, and said [*shouting*], “What are you doing out here?” [*Gaston chuckles.*] Harvey says, “I just stepped out for a smoke!” “What are you doing in the church?” Harvey says, “Well, we’re having choir practice, and we just had a break.” And the plainclothesmen said, “Well, you better get back in there and sing.” So Harvey went [*both chuckle*] back in.

OK. But after that unsuccessful organizing event, we were able to establish what we understood to have been the first local chapter under the Southern Regional Council. I never saw that confirmed, but Patty was—felt pretty sure that we were. If we weren’t the very first, we were certainly amongst the first.

**Gaston:** Well, let’s make sure that my student Julia McDonough, who is currently writing a history of the Southern Regional Council for her dissertation, checks into that and lets you know.

**Moran:** That would be awfully—it would be very interesting.

**Gaston:** And anybody ever listening to this tape wants to know, read Julia’s



**Fig. 3.** Photograph of Harvey Deal, ca. 1963–1964. Courtesy of Visual History Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

dissertation, which by that time will be filed in the [UVA] library.<sup>22</sup>

[*Both chuckle.*]

**Moran:** Splendid. Splendid. We did get organized [*Gaston acknowledges*] and, bless his bones, David Cole Wilson [Sr.] agreed to be the president (figure 4).<sup>23</sup> I think that's what we called—

**Gaston:** Psychiatrist in the [UVA] medical school.

**Moran:** He was a psychiatrist. As a matter of fact, Dave was one of the—well, Dave was the chairman of the Department of Psychiatry. [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] And just a wonderful, wonderful person. And Dave, I must say, amongst all of the people whom I approached about this, Dave was the one who had the concern and the willingness to step forward and take a public position that was far from popular.

**Gaston:** Where was he from, Chic? What's his background?

**Moran:** David Cole Wilson was born in Tennessee. [*Gaston acknowledges.*] Of Quaker parents from Loudon County, from Virginia.

**Gaston:** I'll be darned.

**Moran:** And Dave had—was a University of Virginia graduate. [*Gaston acknowledges.*] I'm certain in the medical school and probably as pre-med also. And had gotten his medical degree not—I'm not sure whether it was during or immediately after World War I.

**Gaston:** And, of course, you're a Virginian from way back.

**Moran:** And I'm a Virginian from way back. You're right.

**Gaston:** Yeah.



**Fig. 4.** Photograph of Dr. David C. Wilson Sr. (detail), ca. 1955–1956. Courtesy of Visual History Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

**Moran:** And my—

**Gaston:** It's just amazing that you began to talk about this. I don't mean to interrupt; this is fascinating.

**Moran:** Oh, well, this is—

**Gaston:** How many—

**Moran:** Yeah.

**Gaston:** —how many White southerners you find sort of coming to the forefront. I mean, we're impressed by massive resistance, by the forces of repression, and by the lack of courage on the part of so many people. But that's because they had the power, and they were more numerous. But it's remarkable how many White southerners you find, from time to time, [*unclear*] like David Wilson and you.

**Moran:** [*Unclear.*] Yeah.

**Gaston:** Yeah.

**Moran:** My response to that would be that we southerners recognize [*Gaston acknowledges throughout*] that things were not what they ought to be by a long sight. And that we wanted to be the people who did something about it. We didn't want to have other people tell us what to do about it. [*Both chuckle.*]

**Gaston:** Well, I don't know. Be interesting to see, you know, how many, like in the Councils on Human Relations, how many as time went on had northern backgrounds, or non-southern backgrounds, and how they got on. Patty, of course, was from one of the first families of Virginia.

**Moran:** Absolutely. Absolutely.

**Gaston:** Had her great conversion and wrote about it at length in her book.

**Moran:** Right. Yes, yes. Yes, OK, so then we've got the local chapter of the . . . one of the early [*Gaston acknowledges*], if not the first, local chapters of the Southern Regional Council going here.

**Gaston:** By that time called the Council on Human Relations.<sup>24</sup>

**Moran:** Called the Council on Human Relations. That was the name it was given.

**Gaston:** Right.

**Moran:** And probably at least urged by the Southern Regional Council.

**Gaston:** It was. It was urged and set up with money from the Ford Foundation actually. Ford Foundation gave it to Southern Regional Council to set up state and then local branches at this time.

**Moran:** That rings a bell. [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] That certainly rings a bell. My recollection was that we met once a month. And it was a, Paul, it was a marvelous exercise. It was an absolutely marvelous exercise. So that—and, of course, we were in place and working when the Massive Resistance Special Session of the Virginia General Assembly met there in December of '56—

**Gaston:** Right.

**Moran:** —to consider the Gray Commission's report.<sup>25</sup> They considered it and tossed it. [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] Lock, stock, and barrel. And ended up with this hard-line business of shutting the schools to any child—any schools to which the federal court ordered the entry and acceptance of a Black child. And so that, then, was the milieu [*chuckling*] in which you and your family came.

**Gaston:** Yeah.

**Moran:** Came to [Charlottesville]—in the next year.

**Gaston:** Right.

**Moran:** Just a year later. Just—

**Gaston:** Yeah, the laws had been passed. They were also in that legislation, because I, of course, remember reading about it when I was in North Carolina when it was passed, and contrasting it with the Pearsall plan of North Carolina, which was a little bit like what the Gray plan had been.<sup>26</sup> [*Moran acknowledges throughout.*] And in the long run, for the forces of resistance, worked well—worked better, because it called for token integration. Handful of Black students carefully chosen, admitted to a few White schools, would get the courts off their backs. They would be seen to be technically in compliance with the law, but, in fact, no real changes had taken place. And that's what North Carolina did.

**Moran:** Yes.

**Gaston:** [*Coughs.*] And they avoided all of these showdowns and all the turmoil that Virginia had, because of its—I'll put it in quotation marks—"principled" stand [*slight chuckle*]—

**Moran:** [*Chuckles.*]

**Gaston:** —against the court decision. So, yeah, that's—when we came in for the first semester of 1957, a year later, the law was there but had not yet been enforced, and wouldn't be for a, what, another . . . year. Is that right? When the schools were closed—

**Moran:** Right. It was enforced in '58.

**Gaston:** Fifty-eight. That was a year later before the schools were closed.

**Moran:** It was enforced a year later. The schools were closed for half a year.

**Gaston:** That's right. And . . . Right, well, where do we want to go from here?

**Moran:** Yeah. Well, the one thing that I am very keen [*Gaston acknowledges throughout*] to get into the record somewhere was the response of your southern history class to that occasion—that row that was there at [Robert W.] Buddy Glover's [restaurant].<sup>27</sup> And it must have been in the f—it must have been that fall.

**Gaston:** No, no. You're off on that. [*Moran acknowledges.*] That would get way ahead of the story. We could stay in chronological order—



**Moran:** That's [*unclear*].

**Gaston:** —but that's 1963.

**Moran:** It was that late?

**Gaston:** Yeah.

**Moran:** It was that late. OK.

**Gaston:** Yeah, we're talking about a sit-in in 1963.

**Moran:** Yeah.

**Gaston:** We can get up to that later on, or we can stay back with '57, whichever you want to do. I'm your—

**Moran:** Yeah. Well, Paul, I'd [*Gaston acknowledges throughout*] . . . I'm . . . I'm very easy with a chronological approach to things, but wherever we want to we can stop and go back and . . .

**Gaston:** Well, your mem—your recollections have just been—you know, I would like to interview *you* at some length now, because thinking back to what it was like when we came, and, of course, I knew none of this history of the last year or two and how the Council on Human Relations had been established here. It was—when I came in the fall of '57, I don't know how long it was before we found out about the council, but it wasn't very long. [*Moran acknowledges.*] And we went to the meetings. I don't think David Wilson was president then, and I think someone else was. I can't remember who was in the fall of '57.

**Moran:** I don't remember the sequence of presidents, either.

**Gaston:** But I know that we went and felt that we'd walked into an organization that was well established, had its solid membership and a mission, and knew what it was doing. And so you obviously had succeeded in this very short time in creating something so when somebody came in just a year later felt like they were coming into a well-established organization. So we came here in August of '57, and the political, racial turmoil that this state was in, because of its determination to defy the *Brown* decision, was on our minds. You know, it wasn't—it didn't occupy all of our time, because here we were coming, a new job, new place, and all of these things. But it was of central importance because, you know, I had decided—maybe I should say this before we talk about what difference, what I found in Charlottesville. When I went—when I made the decision to go to graduate school in 1953, I made that decision because I wanted to find some way of playing a role in what I could see was the great crisis that the South was in and which crisis was going to get a lot worse.

And so what kind of role could you play? Well, people said, "Why don't you go into politics?" Well, I couldn't have done that. Who in Alabama—that's my home state—who in Alabama would have elected me to office? I



mean, anybody who had my views would never have got elected. Could have been a lawyer, I suppose, but somehow that didn't appeal to me. I might have been a journalist, but I just—I don't know why I didn't think about that. A lot of—many journalists played really creative roles in the civil rights movement. [*Moran acknowledges.*] A lot of awfully good ones right out on the front line. Might have been a preacher. Some preachers [*coughs*]*—well, not very many—*but some played very constructive roles. But the trouble was that I was a nonbeliever, so [*chuckles*] I couldn't do that.

So—[*coughs*] excuse me—so I majored in history in college, and it seemed like a good thing to do would be to teach southern history (figure 5). And then try to find a job in a major southern university, and teach southern history to southern men—or women, if there were going to be any, and it turned out the University of Virginia was a long time before there were any women. But teach southern history to the people who were going to be the, quote, “leaders” of the South. And sort of hold up a mirror to them, and say, “Look, this is what



**Fig. 5.** Photograph of Paul M. Gaston, ca. 1960s.  
*Courtesy of the Gaston Family.*

your society has really been about. Wonderful things to it, but it's a deeply flawed society. Look at it. Examine it. Is this what you want to continue? Have it continue to be in the future?"

So I became a historian not out of any deep passion for history—I loved history, but it was not my sort of primary loyalty. My primary loyalty was to the region and to trying to have—find a way of playing some role. So that was—so I came here with that in mind. And the year before I was at [University of North Carolina] Chapel Hill my—what turned out to be my last year in graduate school. And I wasn't in the job market. I had not finished

my dissertation. It was going to be awhile before it was finished. And one day my mentor called me in, Fletcher [M.] Green, and he said, “Paul, there’s a job at the University of Virginia in southern history. Professor [Thomas] Perkins Abernathy there is retiring in a year or two, and they want to hire someone before he retires. Matter of fact, they want to hire two people: one in colonial history, and one in southern history. And I’d like you to think about the job in southern history.” And I said, “Well, I’m really not ready to leave here. I’m not finished with my dissertation. But if I can get a job at Virginia, then I’d like it, because that’s exactly what I want to do. I want to teach southern history at a major southern university.” And so he said, “Well, let’s go for it.”

So I was interviewed for the job, and I got it. It was the only job I was ever interviewed for. I think about all these young people today who get up their curriculum vitae, their dossiers, and they try to—they’re so anxious about getting interviews for jobs. And they’ll interview for fourteen jobs and not get one. And it’s such an agonizing experience. And that was the only job I ever interviewed for until four or five years later when I had an opp—an invitation



**Fig. 6.** *Photograph of a group at church, including Drewary J. Brown (front row, left) and Reverend Benjamin F. Bunn (back row, far right), undated. Courtesy of Carol Bentley.*

to go to another university. And I went up and interviewed there. But I never was seeking a job. So I never sought a job, and in my whole career, I have never sought a job. I feel pretty fortunate in that respect.

So anyway, we came here in the fall of 1957, and I said at the beginning, at the exalted rank of junior instructor. And I had been offered and had accepted a salary of \$4,500 a year. By the time I got here I found the scale had been raised, and I was to get \$4,750 a year. And at the end of that first year, why, I'd done so well, they promoted me from junior instructor to full instructor. [*Moran chuckles.*] And got a \$250 raise to \$5,000 a year.

Well, anyway, we came, and I got introduced to my new courses and then got involved in the community. And my memory is a little vague with respect to chronology in this first year or two. Two or three things, though, will stand out: One was the Council on Human Relations, which we got involved in pretty quickly. And there one had the sense of finding comrades. Wonderful people. You, and just . . . [Thomas T.] Tom Hammond was in at that time.<sup>28</sup> We got to know Black people in the community. Teresa [Jackson] Walker [Price].<sup>29</sup> Mae Jackson.<sup>30</sup> Just a

marvelous group of people. And in—I think probably it was about that time that I also joined the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People]. And got to know Eugene Williams in the NAACP.<sup>31</sup>

And, of course, knew the Bunns [Benjamin F. and Imogene M. Bunn], and particularly Mrs. Bunn, who at that time, either the first year or the second year I was here, chaired an employment committee (figures 6–7).<sup>32</sup> And I began to learn about job discrimination in a very immediate and tangible



**Fig. 7.** *Photograph of Imogene Bunn, 1949. Courtesy of Patricia Edwards.*

way. And I remember that she asked me to work with her on that committee and to try to find out at the University what opportunities there were for Blacks and why there weren't more. And it was such a discouraging business really. I mean, it's—people today have a hard time remembering, don't they? Or believing that *so* many doors were closed. And that just the simplest, most elementary things were huge struggles. So working with Mrs. Bunn—we used to have monthly meetings at her home, as the employment committee would work there—I got to know more about the community.

And then the . . . Let's see, when was it? The next year the public schools were closed. In the summer, some federal district judges gave definitive orders for integrating schools in Warren County; that was the first one.<sup>33</sup> Charlottesville, Norfolk, and one other. And two schools were to be integrated

here: Venable Elementary and Lane [High School] (figure 8). And so the massive resistance laws went into effect. And those schools were closed. And do you remember how they had the temporary schools? The basement schools. All this has been pretty well documented, I think. And the Blacks were educated in tutorial situations, the handful of them who were meant to go to Venable and Lane.

And I remember that there then came into existence a group of people called the Committee for Public Education.<sup>34</sup> You remember them?

**Moran:** Yes.

**Gaston:** Now, it always struck me, and I'd be interested in your



**Fig. 8.** *Photograph of John (left) and Donald Martin (right) arriving at Lane High School, September 8, 1959. Courtesy of Daily Progress.*

reaction to this, that up to this time, up to the time that the schools were actually closed, most people in, let's say, Charlottesville—not talk about the whole of Virginia—most people in Charlottesville, and I'm talking most White people, and I'm talking about most sort of respectable, middle-class, not especially political people, didn't really believe that this was going to happen. I mean, they—it wasn't—it didn't enter their consciousness that the schools might actually be closed. That those crazy people in Richmond were going to be as good as their word. That they would say that “we would rather close schools than have them integrated.” They just couldn't believe that.

On the other hand, they weren't going to do anything about it to prevent it. They were just apolitical. They stood on the sidelines. And they looked on people like you and me, who were in the Council on Human Relations—and God save us if we were in the NAACP, which was far worse—as being crazies. You know, as being extremists. As that word “extremist” was often used.

Well, when the schools were closed, these people who had children in the schools, who held important civic positions, they now were moved to some sort of action. And so they created an organization, the Committee for Public Education, with a number of prominent community leaders in it, but not people who'd been involved in the Council on Human Relations or the NAACP. And their slogan soon became—well, not their slogan, but their line of argument became “We're neither for nor against integration; we're for public education. We must have the schools open.” Now, most of them knew that in saying that that they were for integration, because the only way the schools were going to be open was to be integrated, albeit in a token way.

Well, I see this as the rise of the moderates in Charlottesville and people who really never fully sympathized with the drive for integration. I don't think they ever really had their heart in bringing about a social transformation in the same way we did. But in a sense they were more effective because they had more power and more influence. But they never would have used that power and that influence if the schools hadn't been closed and if the crisis hadn't been produced in the first place. I don't know. What do you—how do you feel? How did you feel about that Committee on Public Education?

**Moran:** I think you're—I'm sure that you're right on that. And that the people who were identified with the Council on Human Relations were thought of as extremists. And as far as I know there was not a single crossover from the Council on Human Relations to the Committee [for] Public Education.

**Gaston:** Really? Yeah.

**Moran:** None that I know of. [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] But, personally, since I knew the Mansons, I was very grateful to Nancy [H. Manson] for the leadership that she took in that.<sup>35</sup> And I really don't remember the other names.

But I think that's—I think you're quite correct that this group of people recognized, in fact, one, that they had important personal stakes in this thing. Apart from any ideology.

**Gaston:** Yeah.

**Moran:** And secondly, they were keen enough to recognize that they were not identifying one way or the other.

**Gaston:** Right.

**Moran:** And that they were able to step in and provide a *modus vivendi* that [*Gaston acknowledges*] that we extremists [*chuckles*] were unable to mouth.

**Gaston:** The extremists were the ones who said we should obey the court decision.

**Moran:** Right. [*Both laugh.*] [*Unclear.*]

**Gaston:** Which the way those terms were defined . . . But it was exhilarating to be in that group of people, to feel that, you know, however small one's role was that it was really—you were on the right side of history. And you just sort of knew that.

**Moran:** Yes. Yes.

**Gaston:** And it was exhilarating. And I was learning so much all the time. Learning about the community. Learning about marvelous people. Black—the Black community that I got to know that I just wouldn't have gotten to know, because of this terrible segregation [*Moran acknowledges*] that our society had. And I told you earlier that I had been reared a nonbeliever. I didn't go to church. And to me, the White church was the most hypocritical institution there was. I used to hear the most *outrageous* things when I was a boy, going on—or coming out of the churches. And they seemed to me to be bastions of segregation and bigotry, and they had no programs for change—no social gospel that I could ever see. So I grew up, you know, really quite scornful.

But then when I went to the Black church during the civil rights movement—here at Ben Bunn's First Baptist Church, [and] down in Farmville where I first heard Ralph [D.] Abernathy [Sr.] preach—well, I thought this is what Christianity is supposed to be all about!<sup>36</sup> First, there was this wonderful spirit of closeness, caring. They talked about Jesus in a very personal sense, and you felt it was somebody who made a difference in their lives. And then they said, "And this is what he teaches. Let's go out and do it." [*Moran chuckles softly.*]

Well, I had never heard that. [*Chuckles.*] I realized that I'd had a sheltered or a provincial upbringing in a small town in the South. But nonetheless I think it was representative. [*Moran acknowledges.*] So I had a whole new world opened up to me through that experience. And it was amazing.

**Moran:** I want to go back just a moment—



**Gaston:** Yeah.

**Moran:** —to speak of and to talk about the University [*unclear*] its response.

**Gaston:** Yes. Right. Right.

**Moran:** I'm going to start off with a proposition—

**Gaston:** OK.

**Moran:** —and then [*unclear*] it back.

**Gaston:** All right.

**Moran:** My proposition is that Colgate [W.] Darden [Jr.] is the most important and the most contributing and most helpful Virginian of the twentieth century (figure 9).<sup>37</sup>

**Gaston:** All right, I'm going to disagree with that. Oh, OK, I'll agree with that, but let's make care—let's make clear with whom we're comparing him.



**Fig. 9.** Photograph of UVA president Edgar F. Shannon Jr. (left) and former president Colgate W. Darden Jr. (right), by Ralph R. Thompson, ca. 1960s. Courtesy of Visual History Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

**Moran:** Well—

**Gaston:** OK, go ahead. You develop a proposition, and then I'll tell you—

**Moran:** Well, I wasn't . . . [*Gaston chuckles.*] I think you . . . you've got something interesting. [*Gaston laughs.*] I just want to start off with that—

**Gaston:** All right.

**Moran:** —because I came to eventually to feel—not eventually—I always was a great admirer [*Gaston acknowledges throughout*] and respecter of Colgate Darden. And his role in the opening up of the University I felt was . . . it was . . . Colgate Darden was, in fact, the way politicians ought to be. He was sensitive. He did have vision, but he realized that the politician—no politician is going to be able to make motion unless he's got a majority with him. Or enough people to believe him, who will follow him. And in this particular instance there, after the University was required to desegregate by law—

**Gaston:** Nineteen fifty with Swanson. Gregory Swanson came (figure 10). Yeah.

**Moran:** Gregory Swanson. Colgate went through all the correct motions in the thing. He was an officer of the Commonwealth. [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] So he responded negatively to Gregory Swanson's application, but realized that the NAACP did have its legal recourses, which did proceed. It did get Gregory Swanson in, and that barrier was broken. And that was Colgate's position all the way through, that he was an officer of the Commonwealth. And the place that he did break—the place where he stopped was he went along with the Gray Commission's recommendations. He—

**Gaston:** Yeah, I know.

**Moran:** —didn't raise any objections to that. But when the Gray Commission was thrown out, Colgate said, "This will not do." And he then publicly took the other side, in no very dramatic instance or occasion [*unclear*]. [*Gaston acknowledges.*] But he made it perfectly clear that he was not with the [*unclear*]—

**Gaston:** Massive resistance.

**Moran:** —[*unclear*] massive resistance.

**Gaston:** Yeah. Well, that's a fair interpretation. It's not mine. And mine may be wrong. I look upon . . . And I see your argument, and I'll sort of add to it a little bit. And I think it's a fascinating subject. And I wish all of his personal papers hadn't been destroyed, because it's very difficult to write a biography of him.

**Moran:** I didn't know about that.

**Gaston:** That's right.

**Moran:** What was . . . what . . . ?

**Gaston:** His personal papers were destroyed.

**Moran:** Intentionally, or—

**Gaston:** Yes.



**Moran:** — accident?

**Gaston:** By—on purpose, by him.

**Moran:** [*Unclear.*]

**Gaston:** And so it's going to be enormously difficult to write his biography. One of my students, Mark Hamer, by name [*Moran acknowledges*], who is doing an honors thesis on Darden this year—and it will be in the library by the end of this year, and I expect it's going to be an excellent work—he will be by to see you, because you're one of the persons I've told him to be sure and go interview.<sup>38</sup> [*Slight chuckle.*] And I've been interested in Darden for a long time.



**Fig. 10.** Photograph of Gregory Swanson, the first Black student enrolled at the University of Virginia, 1950. Courtesy of Visual History Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

First of all, let's say what I'm going to say about him is mostly what I've learned reading about him and thinking about him since he left, because he was the president for two years, and he was not much of a presence in my life. I mean, I said, "How do you do?" Both he and his wife [Constance Du Pont Darden] were great supporters of maintaining the beauty of this place.<sup>39</sup> And my wife was grateful because they cared about keeping the trees and the ancient landmarks out at Piedmont where we lived. That was mainly what we thought about Darden. And I knew he was the person who not only opened up . . . who agreed that Gregory Swanson would come, but who also had this vision that you didn't mention but I'm sure you would agree was maybe his most important contribution at the University, which was to turn it into the capstone of education in Virginia and to have it cease being, to whatever extent it was, a sort of playground for Ivy League dropouts. [*Moran acknowledges.*] And he wanted to make it a more serious institution, a more democratic institution. I'd like to see somebody comment on or study his attitude toward fraternities. My guess is that he probably thought they were not an entirely wholesome influence. But that, as you say, he was a political realist, and he knew that they could not be tampered with. And that one could not succeed in that. So he—

**Moran:** You remember his [*Gaston chuckles*] gambit? You remember—

**Gaston:** No. What?

**Moran:** —how he dealt with it? He built Newcomb Hall.

**Gaston:** Oh, yes. Right. [*speaking over Moran*] Yes, right. Exactly. Just as today, in another sense, another gambit has been to build—to start Monroe College. [*Moran acknowledges.*] And if we had a series of colleges, they would be—right, you have to do an end run on fraternities. There's no way, so most astute political people would believe.

Well, that's another issue. But I think it's close to relay what is my feeling about Mr. Darden. [*Pause.*] You start off with the famous comment he made to [A.] Linwood Holton [Jr].<sup>40</sup> When Linwood Holton was governor of Virginia, in the fall of 1970, his children were assigned to—or weren't assigned, but lived in the district—they could've gone to any school they wanted in Richmond since he was governor—but they were in the district of schools that were overwhelmingly Black in population. And he and his wife [Virginia Harrison "Jinks" Holton] escorted their children to those Black schools on the opening day of school as a—to make a profound statement in Virginia and in the South that we support public education even if public education means Whites going to predominantly Black schools.<sup>41</sup> And we take our children by the hand, and we walk there. And it was a powerful symbol. And Colgate Darden said to Linwood Holton that that was the most

important political happening of twentieth-century Virginia. And, well, that would indicate that by 1970 he thought that the courageous thing to do was to support integration.

Now, let's think about the parallel for a minute, Chic. Or I don't know if it's a parallel . . . [*Moran acknowledges throughout.*] Linwood Holton sacrificed his political career by doing that. Now, that's true.

**Moran:** [*Unclear.*]

**Gaston:** He's been *persona non grata* in the Republican Party ever since then. [*Moran acknowledges.*] OK? And yet, then, I don't know whether Mr. Darden knew that would happen at the time, but he said, "This is the most important political happening of my lifetime."

Well, what was Mr. Darden's career like? His career was one, as you say, of figuring what *could* be done and doing as much as he thought *he* could do within the limits of his own vision and his own—well, his own vision of what was right and what he wanted to see happen. My point about him is that his vision was really limited. He did not really feel deep down that the Virginia of the future ought to be an integrated Virginia. I mean, I'm persuaded he didn't deeply feel that. [*Moran acknowledges.*]

I have a letter—I don't have it; it's in the Southern Regional Council archives—an exchange of letters between him and George [S.] Mitchell.<sup>42</sup> George Mitchell was at that time the executive secretary of Southern Regional Council. Nineteen fifty-one, the council had just passed a resolution at the annual meeting saying that they found segregation a cruel penalty on the human spirit, and that it must be ended in the South. And Darden wrote to Mitchell, and he said, "I must resign from the Southern Regional Council. I've been a member, but I take it that you are now in favor of integration, and I cannot be in favor of that." And there is a sort of—you can't *possibly* be—well, you can be, but it's hard for one to be . . . to judge the man harshly [*Moran acknowledges*] because he was a man of such deep feeling and caring and integrity. You know, there's not a false note in the man. That's what I like about him. Somebody there's not a single false note. And he felt very deeply, he just didn't think it was going to work.

**Moran:** Yeah. I didn't know that.

**Gaston:** Yeah.

**Moran:** I was unaware of it. Yeah.

**Gaston:** He did not think it was going to work, and he thought that—he cared deeply about the education of Blacks, and he thought that their education would be harmed. And, you know, he was sort of the genuine separate-but-equal guy. And he also just thought that Virginians, southerners, would react so harshly that Blacks would be abused and humiliated and that

there would be ugliness. He predict—you know . . . he didn't actu[ally]—I didn't see a letter in which he predicted these things. I sense that he foresaw so many of the indignities [*Moran acknowledges throughout*] that came, and he just didn't want to see that. Anyway, this letter says, "I take it that the Southern Regional Council's in favor of integration. I cannot favor that."

A little bit later—well, several years later—Benjamin Muse, who was, as you know, worked with the council, had been a wonderful correspondent for the *Washington Post*, and actually in the '30s had run against Mr. Darden [*Moran attempts to interject*] as a Republican on the Republican ticket for governor.<sup>43</sup> Well, Ben Muse was a splendid person, and in 1960 he was traveling—or '59—he was traveling around for the council doing interviews of leaders in the South, confidential interviews, or interviews that resulted in confidential memoranda sent to the council to describe the state of mind of southern leaders. And there's a description of his discussion with Mr. Darden. And he said, "Mr. Darden is a very remarkable man. He is deeply critic—was deeply critical of massive resistance. He sees the wrong of the [Harry F.] Byrd [Sr.] Organization."<sup>44</sup> But he just doesn't believe that an integrated society can work."

Now, I see him as a man with the potential for greatness. [*Moran acknowledges, repeating "yes" several times.*] But some tragic flaw that just didn't quite let him get there. Because in many ways what you say is he was the best we had. I mean, he was a man of such integrity and strength, and he had, I guess, a wonderful sense of what would work and what wouldn't work. And he would stand up when he felt one had to stand up. And I felt that—I don't know, I just—looking back on it, I just feel—I compare him, for example, with Frank [P.] Graham of the University of North Carolina.<sup>45</sup>

Now, Frank Graham is a little older, but there he was president of the University of North Carolina in the 1930s, taking liberal stands on all sorts of things, then coming out in favor of integration when the sit-ins started in 1960. Frank Graham said that "in sitting down, these Negro students are standing up for America." Well, I never heard Colgate Darden say anything like that.

**Moran:** Yes.

**Gaston:** Frank Graham was defeated for the Senate—do you remember, in 1950? He was red-baited by Willis Smith.<sup>46</sup> And so there were other southern university presidents who stood out much farther.

Well, going back to where I started with Colgate Darden and Linwood Holton, [*Moran acknowledges*] Darden praised Holton for taking a stand that was of symbolic significance—

**Moran:** Yes.

**Gaston:** —only.

**Moran:** Yes.

**Gaston:** Now, what would have happened if Darden [*Moran acknowledges and attempts to interject*] had taken a stand of similarly symbolic significance? Suppose he'd said, "The University of Virginia must resist all efforts to block integration. We must actively recruit students to come to the University of Virginia. We must find ways of facilitating this." He took no leadership. He let events control him.

**Moran:** Very [*unclear*] opinion.<sup>47</sup> [*Chuckles.*]

**Gaston:** Yeah. Well, I don't know, that's a view of him that I have: a man that I deeply admire but am very disappointed in. [*Moran acknowledges.*] And, therefore, can't find him as my hero.

**Moran:** Yeah. Well, he's not my hero, either. But—

**Gaston:** Right. Yeah.

**Moran:** —in terms of comparison [*Gaston acknowledges*] I can't think of an individual in the broad spectrum of the life of the Commonwealth of Virginia in the twentieth century who had more generally beneficent influence.

**Gaston:** Right, but that's a comment on Virginia.

**Moran:** Well, it is. [*Both chuckle.*]

**Gaston:** I mean . . . I mean, even Alabama!

**Moran:** Yeah. [*Chuckles.*]

**Gaston:** I mean, the raucous, bumptious, racist, low-class people of my state had Hugo [L.] Black, and [J.] Lister Hill in his good days was pretty good.<sup>48</sup>

**Moran:** Yeah.

**Gaston:** Had a whole lot of outstanding, distinguished, outspoken people.

Well, I tell you, another thing that Mr. Darden did that, and I'll get back to me—a little bit of career at the University that—and why it appealed to me—this place appealed to me so much and still does. I think Mr. Darden must have had a good bit to do with insuring the continuation—I don't think he created it—insuring the continuation of the tradition of free expression and free speech—academic freedom. [*Moran acknowledges.*] Academic freedom here.

Now, mind you, I don't think very many people on the faculty or in the student body—or in the faculty, I'll hold it to that for the moment—very many people in the faculty ever spoke out very vigorously here. I know some did. [F.] Palmer Weber and his cohorts in—back in the '30s did a number of outrageous things that I've heard about and never suffered a wit for it.<sup>49</sup> People often ask me, people particularly from the North, "Didn't you want to leave Virginia? I mean, didn't you find it a repressive place to be? I mean, you felt—could you speak out safely?" And so I found that . . . and then others—I'm jump—I'm trying to say too many things at once—but other people would say to me in the first years I was here, "Don't speak out too much now. Get tenure first and then speak out."

Well, of course, that was totally opposed to my nature, and I didn't pay any attention to that. And so I was one of very few faculty members in the Council on Human Relations and the NAACP and later in sit-in. And I remember—and I never had any sense that this was going to cost me anything, or that I was going to be—I was going to suffer in any way, except for community approval. I mean, all the people who disagreed with me. But

that's, you know, one would expect that. But there was the freedom to say what one wanted to say (figure 11). And in—

**Moran:** Well, that's very definitely true. As a matter of fact—

**Gaston:** Yeah. Yeah.

**Moran:** —I can interject a comment here.

**Gaston:** Sure.

**Moran:** Because . . . in the spring there of '56, before the Massive Resistance Sessions, a *New York Times* reporter came to the University and did interview Colgate Darden.<sup>50</sup> [*Gaston acknowledges.*] And I guess I was probably one of the more visible people who . . . I think Darden, of course, was supporting the Gray Commission—

**Gaston:** Yeah. Right, right.

**Moran:** —and was still buying it at that point. And so I was—the reporter interviewed me, and after he finished his statement about Mr. Darden, he says, “But right on Mr. Darden's doorstep is a different point of view.” Well, it was . . . to present my observations. [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] Colgate Darden never . . . we never had a lot of interaction, but I would see him occasionally and every now and then on business. And as a matter of fact, that was the period when John [*unclear*] and I were trying to get him to establish a University press. And Colgate Darden never—there was never the slightest intimation from Colgate that I was being anything of a nuisance or—



**Fig. 11.** *Photograph of Paul M. Gaston, undated. Courtesy of Visual History Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

**Gaston:** Right.

**Moran:** —wrecking the University's reputation.

*Redaction #2.*

**Moran:** But I never had the slightest feeling that Darden would have lifted a finger to prevent my taking positions.

**Gaston:** Yeah.

**Moran:** I never did it as a [*Gaston acknowledges*] University administrator, of course, but I never—

**Gaston:** Right.

**Moran:** —never got that feeling, 'cause he was always cordial to me, and . . .

**Gaston:** Yeah, it's a very subtle thing, but I think you're right.

*Redaction #3.*

**Gaston:** [I]n 1962, January of 1962, I had been up to Princeton [University] for an interview. Princeton was looking for someone in my field. And I didn't particularly want to leave here, and I'll tell you in just a minute why. But I thought that I owed it to myself at least to see what it was like up in the Ivy League. So when I was invited to come up for an interview, I went. And maybe because I wasn't particularly anxious to get the job, they offered it to me. So I had a decision to make: Was I going to leave Virginia and go to Princeton?

Well, you know, in those days Virginia was not thought of in sort of conventional academic circles as being quite the same league as Princeton. That didn't matter to me a whole lot. My main interest was in being at a major southern university where I could teach southern history to southern people who were going to be leaders of the South. That was what I hoped to do. And by that time, I was deeply involved in community activities here and deeply involved in civil rights activities in the University. We had, by then, created the first student chapter of the Council on Human Relations in the South.

**Moran:** I forgot about that.

**Gaston:** Yeah. Mm-hmm. We created that in 1960, the Jefferson Chapter [*slight chuckle*] of the Council on Human Relations. So there were just all sorts of exciting things, and I was just starting to teach my southern history courses, so there was just no reason for me to leave. I didn't want . . . and I wanted to stay here.

But I guess I was enough of a pragmatist to try to inquire into the consequences: What might my career be like if I was here? So I went to the chairman of the department, [Oron J.] Pat Hale, wonderful man, and I said,



“Pat, as you know, I have this offer at Princeton, and I’m trying to think it through.”<sup>51</sup> I said, “You can help me with one thing, and I know you’ll give me an honest answer: Will my civil rights activities in any way slow up my professional career? Will they in any way affect it negatively?” And he said, “Absolutely not.” He said, “You can just rest assured there.” He said, “People may disapprove, disagree, but that’s not going to . . .” And, well, you know, he may have exaggerated slightly. [*Moran acknowledges.*] But he persuaded me.

**Moran:** Grand.

**Gaston:** That that was the case. And I felt it. And so it was a wonderful place to be because it was just obtuse and reactionary and *outrageous* enough so you really had something to fight against. [*Both chuckle.*] And you had perfect exampl[e] . . . And yet, you weren’t, you know, it wasn’t like some places in the Deep South where you were going to be driven out of town.

**Moran:** Yes. Right.

**Gaston:** Now, when I was in the sit-in, and we talked about this a little earlier, in the spring of—in May of ’63, I was in a sit-in, the first sit-in we’d had here. Ended up being beaten up. A student who disapproved of my activities came out and slashed all the tires on my car. He was subsequently expelled from the University.<sup>52</sup> And I became sort of the focal point of community attention for a brief while at the end of May of 1963. When that happened, I found that, you know, it didn’t affect me within the University negatively at all.

As a matter of fact, I felt that one of the things I learned from that was that people just shouldn’t be so cautious, shouldn’t worry so much about *potential* negative reactions of their friends. My mother used to say, “Don’t tell people about your activities, because they don’t agree with us, and it’ll be embarrassing.” My feeling always was that if they knew about it, maybe they would stop and think again. [*Moran acknowledges.*] Because they would say, “Oh, well, I know him. He’s a nice fellow. If he’s doing this, it can’t be so bad.” And I thought I learned this in the sit-in at Buddy’s Restaurant that you talked about.

**Moran:** Yeah, couldn’t you . . . I wish that you would reminisce on that.

**Gaston:** All right. I’ll reminisce on that a little bit. But I have—I do have a tape, a speech I gave about it one time. Maybe I should put it in this collection. I’ll reminisce about it a little bit, but let me sort of get out of chronological order to carry on with this thought.

After I had been beaten up—well, beaten up—I’d been hit a few times—I had a big bandage on my mouth, and I was in the library. And one of my students, a young man, an undergraduate from Birmingham [Alabama], who was very traditional, very conservative, walked up. And he had read in the newspaper about the sit-ins at Buddy’s, but he hadn’t paid much attention to it, and he didn’t know I’d been in it. He just knew they’d been there. And he



looked at me, and he saw this big bandage, and he said, “Well, Mr. Gaston, you been down at the sit-in in Buddy’s?” And I said, “Yeah, Don, that’s right.” His jaw dropped. He couldn’t believe it [*Moran acknowledges throughout*], that a teacher of his, somebody that he liked, had actually been beaten up.

Now, intellectually he knew that that happened. I mean, he read about it, but he always thought those must be crazy people who deserved it in one way, you know, one perverted—his mind perverted—believed that somehow they deserved this. Well, he knew I didn’t. At least he didn’t think so. His jaw dropped, he couldn’t believe it. Well, he eventually underwent a major conversion and became an outspoken southern liberal and a very progressive member, first of the [US] State Department, and then of the Washington Bar [Association]. And he traces his transformation to that event in the library. He was in my class, and he knew me. But it was sort of that occasion when he saw that that he began—

*Break in the tape.*

*Redaction #4.*

**Moran:** I would like for you to describe—

**Gaston:** About Buddy’s? Yeah.

**Moran:** —to describe your class’s reaction to the . . . maybe the next day?

**Gaston:** Right, right. Well, I—by this time the sit-in had taken place, and I’d been hit and had the bandage on, and I—it was final examination time, and I walked into my classroom with a final exam to distribute for them to write—walked in with a bandage on. And by this time, unlike Don, they all knew that I had been in the sit-in. [*Moran acknowledges throughout.*] Well, here were the students that, you know, I had wanted to teach, to hold up this mirror, and say, “This is what the South is like—is this what you want it to be like?” And most of those students had been with me for the whole year, some of them just for a semester. But most of them I’d known for the whole year. It was a small class, probably not more than twenty-five students. And so I walked in the final examination in the classroom with the final exams, and they just broke out in applause. Well, I was just stunned. I—it was all I could do, really, to hold back the tears. I mean, I distributed the papers, and I got out of the room, and I really wept. I mean, I was so tense about all these days, and I just couldn’t believe that the students would react that way.

Well, I know that they had not become sort of converted to my view of southern history, all of them in one year, but it was the combination of their thinking about what they were studying, this event, and then our friendship.

And just an act of—it was a gesture of friendship and support of a person, as well as a statement about what they felt. But I'll never forget that.

**Moran:** [*Unclear.*]

**Gaston:** That's one of the really rewarding moments.

**Moran:** I'll bet.

**Gaston:** That things like that happened all the time. And likewise, during the sit-in, well, we got a lot of flak from a lot of people. And I must say, I was very disappointed that the president [Edgar F. Shannon Jr.] never said a word about it (see figure 8).<sup>53</sup>

**Moran:** Did he not?

**Gaston:** No. I think, as a matter of fact [*Moran acknowledges throughout*]—you know, and I've never asked Edgar about it since. We've become good friends. We've never discussed it. In all these years.

We had one very interesting occasion. I was, that year, the chairman of the College Committee on Special Programs, which administered the Honors Program. And the Honors Program involved bringing visiting examiners from other colleges and universities to give the examinations to our honors students at the end of the term. And traditionally we had a luncheon in Newcomb Hall for the honors examiners to which the president came. And I, as chairman of the committee, would host the luncheon, and the chairman of the committee traditionally went over to Pavilion VIII, the president's office, and got him there and brought him over to the luncheon.<sup>54</sup> Well, this particular year, I had had a lot of conversations with Edgar's assistant, Paul Saunier, about an



**Fig. 12.** Photograph of Paul Saunier, August 14, 1972. Courtesy of Visual History Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

attorney, about all the legal implications of this sit-in (figure 12).<sup>55</sup> See, I was charged with assault and battery by the people who'd beaten me up. [*Moran chuckles.*] Maybe in a little while I ought to go through this story and straighten it out, but anyway . . . Anybody listening to it now would be a little confused. But . . . So I was charged, had to go to court, and the president's assistant, Paul Saunier, and I had had a lot of conversations about this, but never Edgar. I mean, he never said a word.

Well, time for the luncheon for the honors examiners that I was the host of. And I'd somehow sent a communication to the president's office to ask if he wanted to come. And then received the word that he would. And then I thought, "Well, you know, maybe he just doesn't want to be—if he doesn't want to say anything about it, I'm not going to put him in an awkward situation." So I had the secretary call and ask if he would like to be picked up or if he would like to go to Newcomb Hall on his own. And I got the message back he'd like to go on his own. So I didn't walk over there with him.

Then I met him there. And I had my bandage on. Well, all the honors examiners, all they wanted to talk about was the sit-in. "What happened?" [*Moran chuckles.*] Couple of times, it seems to me, at that luncheon, I got called out of the room by someone who had a message from my lawyer [*slight chuckle*] about what was going on. So, you see, all of this was very much in the air. We were going to have a big trial in a short time, and there was this buzz of excitement in the room as people wanted to know what the sit-in had been. They hadn't met anybody before who'd been in a sit-in! [*Moran chuckles.*] They knew about them. They'd been the big news for three years now in the South. And here actually was a live one in Virginia. [*Moran attempts to interject.*] But it was clear that Edgar didn't want to talk about it. I mean, that was a subject—**Moran:** Yes, that's interesting.

**Gaston:** —he did not wish to discuss. [*Moran acknowledges throughout.*] And so I didn't force it. [*Moran attempts to interject.*] And I was very disappointed with him in that, and I was disappointed with him in many other respects. You know, I just never felt that he was an ally in racial progress at the University until about 1970. Then I thought he was a great hero when . . . in the Cambodian invasion in the Vietnam War thing, and he came out with a powerful statement.<sup>56</sup> And I thought he came into his own, then. And really said, "I am going to act courageously in the way that I think is right, and I don't care what the Univer—the state might think about it." And the state didn't think very highly of it. I mean, he got a lot of flak. But he took a courageous stand.

And yet, I suppose, in the earlier years when I was so disappointed that we just didn't seem to have a—I never had a feeling that one had a friend and an

ally in Pavilion VIII. I felt there was someone there who would always protect your academic freedom, who would never punish you or see that you suffered any ill consequences, who would be fair, but I didn't feel like I had a leader [*Moran acknowledges, repeating "yes"*] in that. And Edgar and I have never discussed it, and I would say this to him, you know, if we were ever . . . And then after he made that wonderful speech in May of 1970 on the Lawn, Mary and I sent him one rose.

**Moran:** [*Chuckles.*] Right.

**Gaston:** And that seemed to be something, that he remembered that. And then we've been, you know, very close ever since. And yet, when you think about his background, from a very proper, traditional Virginian [*Moran acknowledges*], he grew enormously in that job.

Well, Buddy's. You want me to talk about that just a little bit?

**Moran:** Yeah. That'd be very worthwhile because it was a—I think it was more than a symbolic incident.

**Gaston:** Yeah. Yeah. Well, my recollection of it starts at a picnic at the home of a law professor, Charles [O.] Gregory, at the end of the school year in 1963, when the Council on Human Relations had had a picnic.<sup>57</sup> And then a young Black minister in town, new in town, [Henry] Floyd Johnson, called a number of us over and said, "We were going to have a sit-in."<sup>58</sup> And sit-ins were coming to Charlottesville, and anybody who wanted to join him, be at his church in a few . . . I can't remember whenever it was, what day it was he said. And so Mary and I looked at each other, and we said, "Well, guess we'll be there."

So we went down and . . . at the church he began reading from a manual about how you behave when you're in a sit-in, what you do when you're beaten, and how women protect themselves and men protect themselves. And I thought how absurd this was, nobody's ever going to get beaten in *Charlottesville*. I mean, you know, maybe some other city, but not Charlottesville.

Well, we divided into two groups that night. One group went to a restaurant, the name of which I have forgotten, and they were actually served, broke down the barriers. Another group I was with went to Buddy's Restaurant, and we filled up the place, sat down, and were not served. There was an icy, tense feeling in the restaurant. And we stayed that night until it closed. There were Christian epigraphs around the place; I remember reading those. And on the placemats there were signs that said, "Don't let our waitresses rush you." Well, they didn't. [*Slight chuckle.*] They didn't serve us at all. [*Moran chuckles softly.*]

And the next day, once the news that the sit-in movement had started got through town, telephone calls came from all kinds of groups—theater groups, restaurants, motels—saying, "We're integrated. Don't—we don't want a sit-in.

Don't have it." And I found this absolutely remarkable in that it illustrates a point that I think the civil rights movement proved over and over again, and that was that talking was never going to bring about—or would seldom bring about—change. We used to negotiate with those restaurant owners and theater owners every year in the Council on Human Relations and argue with them, "Don't you want to be integrated?" And they'd say, "Well, yeah, but if we do it alone, we'll lose business." And then we'd say, "Well, why don't all of you do it?" "Well, we can't get agreement."

But somehow the sit-in movement that started in '63 was enough to persuade them to change their minds. So I trace the beginning of the



**Fig. 13.** Photograph of Buddy Glover closing the door to his restaurant, July 2, 1964. Courtesy of Daily Progress. The sign reads: "Closed to the Public This 2[nd] Day of July, 1964, at 6:57 p.m. Passage of the Civil Rights Bill forced us to take this unfortunate action. Buddy."

crumbling of segregation in Charlottesville to that sit-in in '63, 'cause all sorts of phone calls came. The theaters were integrated right away. Motels. But not Buddy's Restaurant. He was a man of principle. He didn't believe in forced integration. And he wasn't going to change (figure 13).

And so we went down there the next day, and he had a bouncer at the door who was not going to let anyone in. Well, that started a—well, it wasn't a sit-in but, I guess, a *stand-in*. There was a sidewalk in front of the restaurant, and each day for the next few days a group of us, Black and White, would be standing on the sidewalk that led to the entrance to the restaurant, as though we wanted to go in the restaurant, but we were not allowed in. And the customers that Buddy would allow in were screened and welcomed by his bouncer.

Crowds gathered in front of the restaurant every day. I can't remember how many days we were there. Students wearing Nazi armbands were there. A lot of ugly things were said. And the community attention seemed to focus on this place. We received all sorts of ugly phone calls through the night. One night, we had a dinner party out at Piedmont with—we had Henry [B.] and Gertrude [P.] Mitchell, a Black minister and his wife.<sup>59</sup> And you remember those plate glass windows we had in front? Well, the curtains were open, and in the midst of dinner, telephone rang and I went, and a voice said, "You integrating the niggers tonight, Mr. Gaston?" And then hung up. So you knew that somebody was driving around watching you. So I began to fear whether Charlottesville could have some of the things that other places might have.

Then, on Memorial Day, I went down to the line, as we called it. And Floyd Johnson was there in charge, and he said, "Call up somebody to come relieve me. I need to go get something to eat." And up to that time only a Black person had been at the head of the line. And I jokingly said, "Well, Floyd, why don't you go in this restaurant here? I understand they've got good food." He said, "I've been standing here for  $x$  number of days." [*Both chuckle.*]

So I went to look for somebody, and I couldn't find anybody. So I came back and reported to him that I couldn't locate any of the other—any of the Black leaders. And he said, "Well, you do it." And he said, "I've got to go. You take charge." So for the first time there was a White at the head of the line, and that was me.

Well, I hadn't been there ten minutes before a car drove up, and out of it got four men who had been drinking.

*End of Tape 1. Tape 2 begins.*

**Gaston:** . . . And had stayed here. [*Moran acknowledges.*] I felt maligned by the fellow who charged me with cursing and abusing [*Moran chuckles*] when I

was—he was called to testify to that, they said, “Now, Mr. So-and-So, you say Mr. Gaston cursed you and abused you.” “Yes, sir.” [*Tape cuts out briefly.*] “What did he say when he cursed and abused you?” “He said, ‘Get away from me, you drunken fool.’” And everybody in the courthouse laughed, and I thought to myself, “Well, my gracious, if I had wanted to curse and abuse, I could have done a whole lot better than . . . [*both chuckle*] a whole lot better than that.”

**Moran:** Yeah, yeah. Paul, you’ve [*unclear*] as a participant and an observer, have really seen the integration of the University of Virginia, [*Gaston acknowledges throughout*] not just racially, but also sexually, with the women being admitted on the same basis, as incredible as that appeared to be, only as little as twenty years ago.<sup>60</sup>

**Gaston:** Less than that, I guess, isn’t it?

**Moran:** Yes, yes.

**Gaston:** Yeah.

**Moran:** [*Pause.*] Quite apart from your participation in them [*Gaston acknowledges throughout*]—but [*unclear*] your capacity as an observer, do you have a feeling that the University and this community, and it stretched throughout the whole Commonwealth, that there is an importantly different spirit—level of spirit than existed at that time—now this much later?

**Gaston:** Yeah. It’s complicated, though. I mean, we’re . . . I don’t know that I was really—got my—a grip on it, of just what it is, because there is a sense of unease, of deep concern on the part of many progressive students, not knowing just how they can get ahold of the problem, or knowing just what the problem *is*. Let’s put it this way—let’s see if I—I don’t know if I can really describe this very well: I guess the hope that many of us had was that when the University became more diverse by the admission of Blacks and women, that it then would become more progressive, more sensitive to social injustice, more aware of the problems of oppression in our society at large, more—its eyes would be open to the realities, which it seemed to us the University in so many ways hadn’t addressed itself to (figures 14–15). And that somehow the University would keep the best of its traditions but shed the worst.

Well, it seems to me that that’s happened only partially, and that, if I were to put what’s happened in its worst light, I would say that the Blacks have come, and they started fraternities, and they wanted—so many of them have wanted to become good, middle-class citizens who succeed in the capitalistic marketplace. The women have come, and they started sororities, and [*slight chuckle*] if they’re career-oriented, why, they want to make money just like the men. And they’ve just taken on the same conservative traditions and made them interracial or open to both sexes. Now, that’s a cynical and an exaggerated picture, but I see a lot of that happening.



Then, on the other hand, I see a lot of . . . a lot of anguish on the part of Blacks, arguing that racism is rampant at the University, and they don't know how to get a handle on it. They don't know exactly what to *do* about it, or what is the *source* of it. And I see a lot of my students in my southern history class, women and men, wonderfully open, inquiring students, years beyond, I



**Fig. 14.** *Photograph of students gathered on the steps of the Rotunda for a civil rights rally in support of integration at the University of Virginia, 1968. Courtesy of Visual History Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*



guess, the students that I taught twenty years ago, [*Moran acknowledges throughout*] anguished about the state of the world. And the kind of students I hoped I would teach. You know, really open to growth and new ideas and wanting to see what the world is like, but not really knowing *what* it's like or how to get a handle on it. So that, in one sense, the issues today are so much



**Fig. 15.** *Photograph of students gathered on the steps of the Rotunda for a civil rights rally in support of integration at the University of Virginia, 1968. Courtesy of Visual History Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

more unclear. Because so many success—because we've had so many successes in tearing—in opening up doors and tearing down barriers, and resolving the issues that the students of twenty years ago, or twenty, thirty years ago, saw so clearly as being the issues, either the things to be defended or the things to be attacked, back when the issues were very simple, those things—those problems have been largely solved. But—so all the scaffolding around this world where power and privilege is unequally distributed and where racial discrimination exists, all the scaffolding is gone.

But now the corpus that's still there has its legacy or has its remnants; the effects are still there. The students and the rest of us today don't quite know what to do about that. And it's a much more complex problem, and it won't do to deny its existence. On the other hand, it won't do to explain it in old-fashioned terms.

**Moran:** Right.

**Gaston:** And go marching at it or throw slogans at it. So I find it absolutely fascinating. And in a sense, I'm glad to be a historian and help students work up toward it by seeing where we've come from. And I find that just—they have virtually no knowledge of the civil rights movement.

**Moran:** Yeah.

**Gaston:** Absolutely amazing. Just incredible how receptive they are to learning about that.

**Moran:** My simplistic feeling is that, since 1980 and the [Ronald W.] Reagan regime, that genuine moral issues have been marvelously obfuscated.<sup>61</sup>

**Gaston:** Yes. Right.

**Moran:** The real core of things that we need to look at. [*Gaston acknowledges throughout.*] And that we had someone who came along and spoke to a condition of perplexity in simplistic terms. And, boy, have we [*slight chuckle*] fallen over ourselves to support that.

*Redaction #5.*

*Interview ends.*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## NOTES

1. Carrie Madren, "In Memoriam: Paul Gaston; UVA History Professor Fought for Civil Rights," *University of Virginia Magazine* (Fall 2019), [https://uvamagazine.org/in\\_memoriam/listing/paul\\_gaston](https://uvamagazine.org/in_memoriam/listing/paul_gaston).
2. Anne E. Bromley, "In Memoriam: Historian Paul Gaston, Early Civil Rights Activist," *UVA Today*, June 18, 2019, <https://news.virginia.edu/content/memoriam-historian-paul-gaston-early-civil-rights-activist>.
3. Madren, "In Memoriam."
4. "Paul M. Gaston," *Cvillepedia*, [https://www.cvillepedia.org/Paul\\_M.\\_Gaston](https://www.cvillepedia.org/Paul_M._Gaston).
5. Katherine Slaughter, "Paul M. Gaston," in *Bridge Builders, Charlottesville, VA: 2001–2016* (Charlottesville, VA: Preservation Piedmont, 2019), 26.
6. The Society's name changed in 2002 from "Albemarle County Historical Society" to "Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society."
7. Woody Greenberg, "UVA Historian Can Call Square Dances in Three Languages," *Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, VA), October, 22, 1978.
8. Reed Williams, "UVA Administrator and Co-Founder of Quaker Meeting Moran Dies at 89," *Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, VA), November 19, 2002.
9. "University History Officer Named," *Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, VA), July 5, 1975.
10. Tom O'Connor, "Community Events: Chic Moran Proclaimed First Tandem Friends School Elder," (electronic mail, May 19, 2000), <http://george.loper.org/trends/2000/May/50.html>; "Oral Histories: UVA in the 20th Century," Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library (website),

University of Virginia, <https://small.library.virginia.edu/collections/featured/oral-histories-u-va-in-the-20th-century/>.

11. The house at 810 Rugby Road was built in 1923. According to city directories, Thomas C. “Clifford” Ritchie Sr. was president of the Ritchie Electric Company. He and his wife Elizabeth B. “Bessie” Ritchie lived at 810 Rugby Road from about 1934 to 1959. The 1934 city directory listed the couple’s address as “Rugby rd cor Rosser av,” pinpointing the location of the house. 1934 US City Directory, Charlottesville, Virginia, p. 234; 1959 US City Directory, Charlottesville, Virginia, p. 244.

12. In response to the US Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) mandating public school integration, Virginia governor Thomas B. Stanley appointed the Commission on Public Education to examine the effects of the decision and to make recommendations for the state. Nicknamed the “Gray Commission” after its chair, Virginia senator Garland Gray, the group issued its report on November 11, 1955. The all-White, all-male, all-legislator commission asserted that *Brown* was “judicial legislation” that “abandoned all legal precedent,” violated “the fundamental . . . rights of the states,” and “gave no consideration to the adverse effect of integration upon white children.” The commission concluded that “compulsory integration should be resisted by all proper means.” Lawmakers sought to control implementation of the *Brown* decision at the local level by creating provisions that would distribute state funds for private education to parents who refused to send their children to integrated schools and by allowing schools to close when enough students went elsewhere. “Report of the Virginia Commission on Public Education (Gray Commission),” GovInfo, <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/GPO-CHRG-REHNQUIST-POWELL/GPO-CHRG-REHNQUIST-POWELL-7-4-14/summary>.

13. Albemarle County native Sarah Patton Boyle (1906–1994), born Sarah-Lindsay Patton, was an author and civil rights activist best known for her 1962 autobiography, *The Desegregated Heart: A Virginian’s Stand in Time of Transition*. (Her name is punctuated differently in various publications, as both “Sarah Patton” and “Sarah-Patton.”) Boyle began her activism in 1950 with a welcome letter to the first Black student admitted to the University of Virginia School of Law. Thereafter, she continued writing letters, articles, and speeches advocating for integration. In 1954 she spoke before the Gray Commission to denounce its efforts to block desegregation, and she worked closely with the Virginia Council on Human Relations, the NAACP, and the US Commission on Civil Rights. She also participated in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963. Boyle retired in 1967. Jennifer Ritterhouse, “Sarah-Patton

Boyle (1906–1994),” *Encyclopedia Virginia*, [http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Boyle\\_Sarah\\_Patton\\_1906-1994](http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Boyle_Sarah_Patton_1906-1994).

14. The Southern Regional Council, based in Atlanta, Georgia, formed in 1944 to address poverty and racial injustice in the South through regional planning and economic growth. By the 1950s, the group’s primary mission had crystallized around desegregation. Randall L. Patton, “Southern Regional Council,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/government-politics/southern-regional-council>; “About the Southern Regional Council,” *Southern Changes* (blog), June 2, 2011, <http://southernchanges.blogspot.com/2011/06/about-southern-regional-council.html>.

15. The papers of the Southern Regional Council, 1944–1968, can be found on microfilm at the Library of Congress, College of William & Mary Libraries, and Old Dominion University Libraries.

16. Located at 717 Rugby Road in Charlottesville, the local Unitarian Universalist Church began in 1943 through the efforts of New Jersey transplant Carrie Baker. Missing a Unitarian congregation, Baker placed a classified ad in the *Daily Progress* that simply read: “WOULD LIKE TO MEET Any Unitarian or those interested in this faith from here.” This resulted in a fifteen-member Unitarian Alliance and the Jefferson Unitarian Society in 1943. The Thomas Jefferson Unitarian Church was established in 1946, and the church building on Rugby Road was completed in 1954. It became known as the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Church–Unitarian Universalist between 1980 and 1982. The congregation voted in late 2020 to eliminate “Thomas Jefferson Memorial” from the church’s name, adopting the interim name of Unitarian Universalists of Charlottesville. Unitarian Universalism is a creedless, liberal religion that promotes respect for the dignity of all people and every person’s right to find individual meaning and truth. “Where Did We Come From, And Where Might We Be Going?,” *Thomas Jefferson Memorial Church–Unitarian Universalist* (website), April 29, 2018, <http://www.uucharlottesville.org/sermons/april-29-2018-where-did-we-come-from-and-where-might-we-be-going>; “Congregational Meeting Voting Results: A Message from the Board of Trustees,” *Unitarian Universalists of Charlottesville* (website), September 29, 2020, <https://www.uucharlottesville.org/congregational-meeting-voting-results-a-message-from-the-board-of-trustees/>.

17. Born in Petersburg, Virginia, Arthur Kyle “A. K.” Davis Jr. (1897–1972) graduated from the University of Virginia in 1917. After serving in World War I, Davis returned to UVA, earning a master’s degree in English and winning a Rhodes Scholarship to study at Balliol College, Oxford University.

He returned to UVA a third time, completing his doctorate in 1924. An award-winning scholar, folklorist, and poet, Davis taught at UVA for the remainder of his career. Matthew S. Gottlieb, "Arthur Kyle Davis (1897–1972)," Dictionary of Virginia Biography, Library of Virginia, [http://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/dvb/bio.php?b=Davis\\_Arthur\\_Kyle\\_1897-1972](http://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/dvb/bio.php?b=Davis_Arthur_Kyle_1897-1972).

18. Westminster Presbyterian Church grew out of a desire to establish a ministry close to the University of Virginia. Located at what is now 400 Rugby Road, the church organized in 1939 with eighty-one charter members. "About Us," Westminster Presbyterian Church (website), <http://www.westminsterva.org/about-us/#more-475>; Robert E. Simpson, *The History of the First Presbyterian Church Charlottesville, Virginia* (November 1, 2011), 47, [https://faithconnector.s3.amazonaws.com/firstprescharlottesville/files/resources/fpc\\_history\\_2nd\\_edition.pdf](https://faithconnector.s3.amazonaws.com/firstprescharlottesville/files/resources/fpc_history_2nd_edition.pdf).

19. Frederick John Kasper (1929–1998) was a bookseller and militant segregationist born in Camden, New Jersey, and educated at Columbia University in New York. While in college, Kasper became a devotee of Ezra Pound, an expat American poet and antisemitic, fascist collaborator in Italy. Between 1955 and 1956, Kasper moved to Washington, DC, where he opened a bookstore and began organizing the Seaboard White Citizens' Council—a network of White supremacists opposed to racial integration. While protesting and seeking to obstruct integration efforts throughout the South, Kasper had numerous brushes with law enforcement. Multiple police offices and the FBI investigated Kasper on suspicion of what today would be called domestic terrorism. In 1957, he served eight months in prison for criminal contempt.

Speaking to the *Washington Post* in 1956, Kasper described efforts to prevent him from distributing anti-integration literature in Charlottesville as "a deplorable degeneration in the white man's character, when fellow white citizens are denied the right to save their own race from mongrelization." "John Kasper and Ezra Pound: Interview with Author Alec Marsh," interview by Kim Petit, Bloomsbury Literary Studies (website), May 21, 2015, <https://bloomsburyliterarystudies.typepad.com/continuum-literary-studies/2015/05/john-kasper-and-ezra-pound-interview-with-alec-marsh.html>; John Kelly, "In the 1960s, He Broke Up a Maryland White Citizens' Council from the Inside," *Washington Post*, August 27, 2018.

20. The Charlottesville Council on Human Relations (CCHR) held a meeting at Westminster Presbyterian Church on August 23, 1956. During the meeting, John Kasper and other Seaboard White Citizens' Council members entered the church, seized the podium, and threatened to run the liberal



activists out of town. After the meeting, the CCHR members found a burning cross on the church lawn. This was the first in a series of cross burnings allegedly committed by Kasper to terrorize local civil rights activists. Two days later, CCHR vice president Sarah Patton Boyle discovered a cross burning in front of her home, and a third cross burned a couple weeks later in front of the home of Mrs. Morris Brown, another CCHR vice president. “Third Cross-Burning Described by Mrs. Morris Brown as ‘Dud,’” *Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, VA), September 7, 1956; James Perla, “The Illusion of Progress: Charlottesville’s Roots in White Supremacy,” Citizens Justice Initiative, University of Virginia, 2017, <http://illusion.woodson.as.virginia.edu/index.html>; Kathleen Murphy Dierenfield, “One ‘Desegregated Heart’: Sarah Patton Boyle and the Crusade for Civil Rights in Virginia,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 104, no. 2 (1996): 251–84.

21. N. Harvey Deal was a reference librarian at UVA’s Alderman Library in the late 1950s and 1960s. He was also a member of the Virginia Library Association, serving as editor of the *Virginia Librarian* from 1957 to 1960, vice president in 1963, and president in 1964. Between 1965 and 1968, Deal served as an assistant university librarian at the University of Cincinnati. In 1968, he was appointed director of libraries for the new Virginia Commonwealth University. Deal passed away in March 1970 before a university-wide library system could be established. Alyssa Altshuler, “Officers of the Virginia Library Association,” *Virginia Libraries* 51, no. 3 (July–September 2005): 13; Alyssa Altshuler, “Publications of the Virginia Library Association,” *Virginia Libraries* 51, no. 3 (July–September 2005): 46; “History of VCU Libraries,” Virginia Commonwealth University (website), <https://www.library.vcu.edu/about/history/>; “Obituaries: N. Harvey Deal,” *Cincinnati (OH) Enquirer*, March 19, 1970.

22. Julia Anne McDonough, “Men and Women of Good Will: A History of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Southern Regional Council, 1919–1954,” (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1993), doi .org/10.18130/V3D05X.

23. David Cole Wilson Sr. (1892–1980) earned his bachelor’s degree in 1912 and his medical degree in 1919 from the University of Virginia. During World War I, he served in the US Army Medical Corps. As a professor of neurology, he joined the faculty of the UVA School of Medicine in 1929 and taught there until he retired in 1957 to practice medicine in California and Alabama. He returned to Charlottesville in 1976. Wilson was the founder of the University of Virginia’s Department of Neurology and Psychiatry, founder and past president of the Virginia Neuropsychiatric Society, and past president



of the Southern Psychiatric Association. “Dr. David C. Wilson, 88, UVA Neurology Professor,” *Washington Post*, November 1, 1980.

24. Throughout the South, the Southern Regional Council sought to establish state and local affiliates called Human Relations Councils. Active from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, the Virginia Council on Human Relations (VCHR) affiliate had an integrated membership and worked toward improved race relations, supporting school desegregation and equal employment opportunities. “Virginia Council on Human Relations,” College of William & Mary Libraries (website), <https://libraries.wm.edu/exhibits/virginia-council-human-relations>.

25. “Massive resistance” was a policy promoted by Senator Harry F. Byrd Sr. of Virginia in response to the 1954 US Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Comprised of a group of laws and subsequent tactics aimed at preventing school desegregation, the policy ultimately led to the closure of several public schools in Virginia. Charlottesville’s Venable Elementary School and Lane High School were among the nine Virginia schools closed by Governor J. Lindsay Almond Jr. from late 1958 to early 1959. James H. Hershman Jr., “Massive Resistance,” Encyclopedia Virginia, June 29, 2011, [https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/massive\\_resistance](https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/massive_resistance); “The State Responds: Massive Resistance,” Library of Virginia (website), <https://www.lva.virginia.gov/exhibits/brown/resistance.htm>; “Virginia’s ‘Massive Resistance’ to School Desegregation,” Virginia Center for Digital History (website), University of Virginia, <http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu>.

26. In response to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, North Carolina governor William B. Umstead introduced the Governor’s Special Advisory Committee on Education in August 1954. The committee and resulting plan were named for the former speaker of the North Carolina state house of representatives, Thomas J. Pearsall. As Samuel Momodu states, the Pearsall Committee, comprised of “twelve whites and three blacks, concluded that public school integration could not be accomplished and should not be attempted.” Hence, the Pearsall plan, like the Gray plan in Virginia, embodied a list of proposals aimed at delaying and obstructing integration efforts. The plan was put to a statewide referendum in September 1956 and passed by a wide majority, partly due to the restrictions imposed on Black voters. According to Adrienne Dunn, “Although the 1964 Federal Civil Rights Act . . . declared the Pearsall Plan unconstitutional in 1966, token integration and residential segregation allowed the Pearsall Plan to continue.” Samuel Momodu, “The Pearsall Plan (1956–1966),” BlackPast, August 31, 2016, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/pearsall-plan-1956>

-1966/; Adrienne Dunn, "Pearsall Plan," North Carolina History Project (website), <https://northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/pearsall-plan/>.

27. Robert W. "Buddy" Glover was a Charlottesville resident who worked the soda fountain at Timberlake's Drug Store on Main Street until 1930, when he opened his own burger stand called Buddy's. After serving in the Korean War, Glover returned home and expanded his restaurant but maintained the small-town atmosphere that made it a local favorite. Accounts differ as to the extent to which Buddy's was a Whites-only establishment. According to some, including Paul Gaston, Buddy would occasionally serve Blacks, but others disagree.

On May 27, 1963, Gaston and Black community leaders Floyd and William Johnson led a sit-in at Buddy's. The demonstrators entered the restaurant and took seats. They were ignored by waitstaff until closing time, then ushered out. The following day they returned and repeated the protest without incident. On the third day, Glover posted a man at the door to refuse entry to the demonstrators. The sit-in became a picket with protesters lined up on the sidewalk, facing counterprotesters. When the picket line continued into a second day, things turned violent. "A group of inebriated segregationists" started pushing demonstrators off the sidewalk. Gaston made for a pay phone to call the police, but was intercepted, punched in the face, and kicked. Floyd and William Johnson were both beaten later that same day.

After the violence, the demonstrators met and decided to end the sit-in to avoid further injury. The resulting media coverage convinced many local businesses to voluntarily desegregate, but Glover refused to change his policies. When the Civil Rights Act passed in 1964, Glover chose to close his business rather than be forced by the federal government to integrate. In 2011, the University of Virginia–owned building once inhabited by Buddy's was demolished and replaced by a greenspace. Thomas M. Hanna, "Shut It Down, Open It Up: A History of the New Left at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville," (master's thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2007), 47–50, <https://doi.org/10.25772/TZTP-WN23>; Bryan McKenzie, "Civil Rights Leaders Reflect on Charlottesville Segregation 50 Years After King Speech," *Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, VA), August 24, 2013; Bryan Wheeler, "UVA Plans Pocket Park at Site of Old Restaurant, Gas Station; Buddy's Played Role in Civil Rights Movement," *Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, VA), August 6, 2011; "Robert Witt 'Buddy' Glover," obituary, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 18, 2005.

28. Thomas Taylor "Tom" Hammond (1920–1993) was born in Atlanta, Georgia. He earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Mississippi in 1941 and a master's degree in economics at the University of North Carolina in

1943. After World War II, Hammond studied at Columbia University's Russian Institute, receiving a second master's degree in Russian history in 1948 and a doctorate in 1954. Hammond joined the history faculty at the University of Virginia in 1949, where he taught courses on Soviet history and Soviet foreign policy for forty-two years. He was the University's first Russian specialist and founded the Center for Russian and Slavic Studies in 1964–1965.

“Hammond was a force for helping smooth the process of racial integration. With Paul Gaston, he helped found the Martin Luther King Chapter of the Council on Human Relations to recruit Black students and faculty and to eliminate discrimination.” He also “served as president of the Charlottesville Chapter of the Council on Human Relations and as a member of the Executive Committee of the local branch of the NAACP.” See “A Guide to the Papers of Thomas Taylor Hammond, 1929–1992,” Accession #12776, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

29. As a native of Charlottesville, Teresa Jackson Walker Price (b. 1925) has been a natural community organizer and a tireless advocate and volunteer. She has spent her life building relationships and working for the benefit of the community, contributing her support to the transformation of the Jefferson School into a cultural history center. She worked in several local schools as a teacher and became the city's first Black public school librarian. Her continuous efforts have been recognized with numerous accolades, including the Jefferson School's Reflector Award in 2000 and the Martin Luther King Jr. Community Award in 2019. Slaughter, “Teresa Jackson Walker Price,” in *Bridge Builders*, 37.

30. “Mae Jackson” may refer to the mother of French Jackson, one of the “Charlottesville Twelve.” After *Brown v. Board of Education*, the parents of children attending segregated schools petitioned the Charlottesville City School Board for equal access to all-White schools. When the school board took no action, the parents sued. In 1956, US district judge John Paul ruled that Charlottesville must integrate Venable Elementary School and Lane High School. The school board resisted, filing multiple appeals and following the policies of massive resistance to avoid integration. Ultimately, Venable and Lane closed from September 1958 to February 1959.

On September 5, 1959, Judge Paul ordered the immediate transfer of twelve students from the all-Black Jefferson Elementary School and Jackson P. Burley High School to Venable and Lane, respectively. The children became known as the “Charlottesville Twelve.” Graham Moomaw, “Charlottesville 12 Recall Integration Experiences,” *Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, VA), November 19, 2011; Billy Jean Louis, “60 Years Later: Charlottesville Twelve Reflects on City Schools Integration,” *Charlottesville Tomorrow*, September

10, 2019, <https://www.cvilletomorrow.org/articles/60-years-later-charlottesville-twelve-reflects-on-city-schools-integration/>; “Charlottesville Twelve,” Cvillepedia, [https://www.cvillepedia.org/Charlottesville\\_Twelve](https://www.cvillepedia.org/Charlottesville_Twelve).

31. Eugene Williams (b. 1927) is a lifelong resident of Charlottesville. He was educated at Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, before serving in the US Army during World War II. He returned home in 1949 and married his high school sweetheart, Lorraine (b. 1928). Eugene became regional vice president of Universal Life Insurance, and Lorraine was a Charlottesville city school teacher. In 1954, Eugene became president of the Charlottesville branch of the NAACP, and he and Lorraine joined other Black families in 1955 to sue for integration on behalf of their two daughters. Eugene led the Charlottesville NAACP’s legal challenges to massive resistance efforts, and in 1962 his two daughters were among the first three Black students to enter Johnson Elementary School.

Over the years, the Williamses have continued to support affordable housing and neighborhood revitalization. Eugene received the Martin Luther King Jr. Award in 2001. He and Lorraine have also been honored with several other awards, including a resolution of appreciation by the Virginia General Assembly in 2015 and the Charlottesville Regional Chamber of Commerce Award for Diversity in 2017. Bryan McKenzie, “Lorraine and Eugene Williams: A Civil Rights Power Couple,” APNews.com, September 24, 2017; Slaughter, “Eugene Williams,” in *Bridge Builders*, 31.

32. Reverend Benjamin F. Bunn (1906–1989) and his wife Imogene (1912–2002) moved to Charlottesville in 1944 when Ben became the pastor of First Baptist Church on West Main Street. Ben was disturbed at the time to find there was no local chapter of the NAACP, to which Imogene responded, “We can fix that.” Rev. Bunn also chaired the Charlottesville Interracial Commission, which worked to improve schooling, housing, and employment opportunities. The Commission evolved into the Charlottesville Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Imogene was a distinguished nurse with a bachelor’s degree in public health nursing from the University of Michigan–Ann Arbor. In her career she broke many racial barriers including becoming the first Black nurse assigned to make home visits to both Black and White patients in Charlottesville. She also became the first Black public health nurse administrator in Virginia and served as the Thomas Jefferson Health District’s nursing director. Imogene desegregated the University of Virginia Hospital, the Woodrow Wilson Rehabilitation Center, and the Blue Ridge Sanatorium. She also helped Blacks gain admittance to the UVA School of Nursing and employment by the city

and state. In 1996, Imogene was named the Virginia Women's Forum's Woman of the Year, five years after her husband Ben was posthumously honored with the Martin Luther King Jr. Award. Slaughter, "Reverend Benjamin F. Bunn and Mrs. Imogene Bunn," in *Bridge Builders*, 17.

33. When confronted with court orders to integrate nine White public schools in the fall of 1958, Governor J. Lindsay Almond Jr. instead closed those schools. Warren County High School in Front Royal was the first to close. Hershman, "Massive Resistance," Encyclopedia Virginia.

34. Formed on September 12, 1958, with 200 people at its first meeting, the Committee for Public Education was a group of White Charlottesville residents who initially supported a hard line on segregation but moderated their views as it became apparent that integration efforts were winning in courts and that the massive resistance strategy was having harmful effects on the community. The goal of this and similar organizations was not to openly support integration or segregation but to pressure leaders to open public schools by any legal means. The Parents' Committee for Emergency Schooling, meanwhile, organized to have teachers privately educate groups of White children whose schools had been closed during massive resistance. Hanna, "Shut It Down, Open It Up," 24–25.

35. Nancy H. Manson was an organizing member of the Parents' Committee for Emergency Schooling, a group that set up temporary schools for students during the 1958–1959 closure of Venable Elementary School and Lane High School in Charlottesville. See "Nancy Manson," interview by George Gilliam, Modern Virginia Interviews (website), Virginia Center for Digital History, University of Virginia, [www2.vcdh.virginia.edu](http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu); "Nancy Sneed Hughes Manson," FindAGrave.com, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/111815659/nancy-sneed-manson>.

36. Reverend Ralph David Abernathy Sr. (1926–1990) was a Baptist minister and civil rights activist who cofounded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and was a close adviser to Martin Luther King Jr. An Alabama native, Abernathy enlisted in the US Army during WWII and later attended Alabama State College where he was elected student council president as a sophomore. He graduated with a bachelor's degree in mathematics in 1950 and earned a master's degree with high honors in sociology from Atlanta University in 1951. He became the senior pastor at First Baptist Church, the largest Black church in Montgomery, in 1952.

Abernathy met King in 1954, and the two collaborated to organize the Montgomery bus boycott from 1955 to 1956. Abernathy was at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968, when King was assassinated.

Afterward, Abernathy succeeded King as president of the SCLC. In 1977, Abernathy made an unsuccessful run for Georgia's Fifth Congressional District seat. He continued his ministry and fight for civil rights throughout his life. "Abernathy, Ralph David," Martin Luther King Jr. Encyclopedia, Martin Luther King Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/abernathy-ralph-david>.

37. Colgate W. Darden Jr. (1897–1981), for whom the University of Virginia School of Business is named, served as a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, a member of the US House of Representatives, governor of Virginia, chancellor of the College of William & Mary, and third president of the University of Virginia. Darden was born in Southampton County, Virginia. He volunteered for the French army before the United States entered World War I, and he later enlisted in the US Marine Corps as a fighter pilot. After discharge, he graduated from the University of Virginia in 1922, then entered Columbia Law School and Oxford University.

While practicing law in Norfolk, Darden became active in the Democratic Party and aligned with the Byrd Organization. In 1940, he opposed federal anti-lynching legislation, but supported similar legislation in Virginia. He took a moderate position on racial issues, supporting increased funding for Black colleges and requesting legislation to increase Black representation on juries. At the same time, he enforced poll taxes and refused to sponsor a bill to end segregation on street cars. During his UVA presidency from 1947 to 1959, the University's graduate programs were integrated, but only after a court order. Darden ultimately broke with the Byrd Organization over its massive resistance policies. Ronald L. Heineman, "Colgate W. Darden (1897–1981)," Dictionary of Virginia Biography, Encyclopedia Virginia, [https://www.encyclopediaofvirginia.org/Darden\\_Colgate\\_W\\_1897-1981](https://www.encyclopediaofvirginia.org/Darden_Colgate_W_1897-1981); "UVA Presidents: Colgate W. Darden Jr. (1947–1959)," University of Virginia (website), <https://www.virginia.edu/aboutuva/presidents/darden>.

38. Mark Hamer, "A Modest Step Forward: Colgate W. Darden and the School Desegregation Crisis" (senior honors thesis, University of Virginia, 1988).

39. Constance Simons Du Pont Darden (1904–2002) was one of nine children of Irénée and Sophie Irene Du Pont. Irénée was president of the DuPont chemical company in Wilmington, Delaware, and head of the DuPont Trust. "Connie," as her friends called her, was educated at the Baldwin School in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, and studied violin and viola in Philadelphia. She married Colgate W. Darden Jr. on December 3, 1927, and they raised three children. Connie was passionate about music, photography, philanthropy, and ornithology. She supported the Virginia Symphony and the



Virginia Opera. Edward S. Brinkley, "In Memoriam: Constance Simons Du Pont Darden," *The Raven: Journal of the Virginia Society of Ornithology* 73, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 57; "UVA Presidents: Colgate W. Darden Jr. (1947–1959)," University of Virginia (website).

40. Abner Linwood Holton Jr. (b. 1923) grew up in Big Stone Gap, Virginia. He graduated from Washington and Lee University in 1944, served in the US Navy submarine service during World War II, then attended Harvard Law School. Holton was admitted to the Bar in 1949, opened a law practice in Roanoke, and became active in the Virginia Republican Party. Holton made unsuccessful runs for the House of Delegates and the governor's office in the 1950s and 1960s, but finally won the 1969 gubernatorial race to become Virginia's first Republican governor since Reconstruction.

In his inaugural address, Holton declared the era of massive resistance over. He later enrolled his children in the desegregated inner-city schools to which they were assigned under the federal plan. On August 31, 1970, Holton was photographed walking his daughter Tayloe to John F. Kennedy High School, and the next day the picture was published on the front page of the *New York Times* and other newspapers. After seeing this, Colgate Darden wrote to Holton, saying that the photograph "represent[ed] the most significant happening in this Commonwealth in my lifetime." James H. Hershman Jr., "A. Linwood Holton (b. 1923)," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, March 24, 2014, [https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/holton\\_a\\_linwood\\_1923-](https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/holton_a_linwood_1923-); Bill McAllister, "Rose-Colored View of Virginia Governors, Virginia Notebook," *Washington Post*, September 1, 1982; Edward Younger and James Tice Moore, *The Governors of Virginia, 1860–1978* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1982); "Roanoke Honors Linwood Holton," *Roanoke Times*, December 9, 2016.

41. Virginia Harrison "Jinks" Rogers Holton (b. 1926), a native of Roanoke, is the daughter of Frank W. Rogers Sr., who was a World War I fighter pilot, former rector of the University of Virginia, former president of the Virginia Bar Association, cofounder of the Roanoke Bar Association, and partner of the Woods Rogers law firm. Jinks married Linwood Holton on January 10, 1953, and they raised four children. Hershman, "A. Linwood Holton (b. 1923)," *Encyclopedia Virginia*; Richard Foster, "125th Anniversary: Woods Rogers Maintains Core Values While Moving into New Fields," *VirginiaBusiness.com*, March 2, 2018, <https://www.virginiabusiness.com/article/125th-anniversary/>; Tim Kaine, "Holton's Election 50 Years Ago Was Transformative for Virginia," *Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, VA), November 22, 2019.



42. George Sinclair Mitchell (1902–1962) was an instructor of economics at Columbia University and the author of several articles and books on southern economics and labor unions, including *Textile Unionism and the South* (1931), *Black Workers and the New Unions* (1939), *The Industrial Revolution in the South* (1930) with his brother Broadus Mitchell, and *To Win These Rights* (1953). George Mitchell was the second director of the Southern Regional Council from 1947 to 1957. John Egerton, “Homegrown Progressives,” *Southern Changes* 16, no. 3 (1994): 1, 4–17; Stetson Kennedy, “Dr. George S. Mitchell, Southeast Regional Director of CIO-PAC, Atlanta, Georgia,” photograph inscription, Digital Collections, Georgia State University Library; Broadus Mitchell, “Interview with Broadus Mitchell, August 14 and 15, 1977,” interview by Mary Frederickson, Documenting the American South (website), University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill Library, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/sohp/B-0024/B-0024.html>.

43. Benjamin Muse (1898–1986), was a farmer, diplomat, journalist, and founder of the *Manassas Messenger*. He was also an official of the Southern Regional Council, a politician, and one of Virginia’s most prominent White voices denouncing massive resistance. After serving in World War II, Muse ran for governor of Virginia as a Republican, campaigning to repeal the poll tax among other liberal reforms. He lost overwhelmingly to Colgate Darden, but the two became friends. After the war, Muse settled in Manassas and started a newspaper.

During the 1950s, Muse achieved national recognition commenting on racial politics in his “Virginia Affairs” column in the *Washington Post* and in contributions to the *Nation* and the *New Republic*. Muse never considered himself a liberal, but rather a “fighting moderate.” After *Brown v. Board of Education*, Muse wrote extensively, denouncing massive resistance as “impetuous, immoral, and dangerous,” while also criticizing the leaders of the NAACP as “uncompromising and unrealistic.” He published three works about the civil rights movement: *Virginia’s Massive Resistance* (1961), *Ten Years of Prelude* (1964), and *The American Negro Revolution* (1968). Four years before his death he published a memoir, *The Twentieth Century as I Saw It* (1982). J. Y. Smith, “Benjamin Muse Dies at 87,” *Washington Post*, May 6, 1986; Matthew D. Lassiter, “Benjamin Muse (1898–1986),” Encyclopedia Virginia, [https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Muse\\_Benjamin\\_1898-1986](https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Muse_Benjamin_1898-1986); “Biographical and Historical Information,” Benjamin Muse Papers, Accession #10031, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

44. Harry F. Byrd Sr. was the conservative Democratic governor of Virginia from 1926 to 1930 and a US senator from 1933 to 1965. A fierce opponent of desegregation, Byrd wrote the Southern Manifesto and led the massive resistance movement in the 1950s. The Byrd Organization political machine dominated Virginia politics for several decades. Ronald L. Heinemann, "Harry F. Byrd (1887–1966)," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, [https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/byrd\\_harry\\_flood\\_sr\\_1887-1966](https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/byrd_harry_flood_sr_1887-1966).

45. Frank Porter Graham (1886–1972) was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina. He studied law at the University of North Carolina (UNC) and earned a master's degree in history from Columbia University. Graham returned to UNC as an instructor of history. In 1927, he was promoted to professor; in 1930, he was elected president of the university; and in 1932, he became head of the newly consolidated UNC system of colleges. He gained a reputation as an outspoken liberal, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Graham to serve on multiple boards and commissions.

President Harry S. Truman later tapped Graham to serve on the President's Committee on Civil Rights in 1946, which produced an unprecedented report calling on Congress to address police brutality, to abolish voting restrictions, and to combat discrimination. Truman also appointed Graham as a representative to the United Nations. But Graham never forgot about the struggles at home. He met Martin Luther King Jr. at Morehouse College in 1957, and King soon asked him to serve on SCLC's National Advisory Committee for the Crusade for Citizenship. Graham also served on the board of trustees of the Southern Regional Council. "Graham, Frank Porter (1886–1972)," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present*, <https://bioguideretro.congress.gov>; "Graham, Frank Porter," *Martin Luther King Jr. Encyclopedia*, Martin Luther King Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/graham-frank-porter>.

46. It was a surprise to many when, in 1949, Frank Graham was appointed by the new governor of North Carolina, W. Kerr Scott, to fill a vacancy in the US Senate. Graham failed, however, to win the Democratic nomination the following year. Graham faced off with former state representative Willis Smith in one of the most acrimonious primaries the state had seen. Red-baiting, according to Merriam-Webster Dictionary, is "the act of attacking or persecuting as a Communist or as communistic." Willis and his supporters, including a young Jesse Helms, defeated Graham by accusing him of socialism and "race-mingling." A 1950 campaign flier for Smith read: "White people wake up. . . Do you want? Negroes working beside you . . . Negroes eating

beside you . . . Negroes riding beside you . . . Negroes sleeping in the same hotels . . . Negroes teaching and disciplining your children . . . Negroes going to white schools . . . Negroes to occupy the same hospital rooms . . . Negroes as your foremen . . . Negroes using your toilet facilities?” Jonathan Martin, “The 1950 Smith-Graham Senate Race,” North Carolina History Project (website), <https://northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/the-1950-smith-graham-senate-race/>; “Flyer Attacking Frank Porter Graham for Views on Race Relations, 1950,” Carolina Story: Virtual Museum of University History (website), University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill, <https://museum.unc.edu/items/show/1089>.

47. *Editor’s Note: Here, Moran says either “formed” or “informed.”*

48. In a conversation with Gaston’s sons and daughter, they noted that this particular commentary by their father about his native state of Alabama in the mid-twentieth century hints at his sense of humor. Conversation between Gaston Family and Sterling Howell, October 22, 2020.

Hugo L. Black (1886–1971), an Alabama trial lawyer and member of the Ku Klux Klan, served two terms as US senator for Alabama from 1927 to 1937. He was appointed as an associate justice of the US Supreme Court by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in August 1937. As a Supreme Court justice, Black joined the rest of the court in supporting the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which ended racial segregation. But he previously wrote for the majority opinion in *Korematsu v. United States* (1944), which affirmed the power of the US government to hold Japanese Americans in internment camps during World War II.

Alabama native J. Lister Hill served in the US Congress for over forty-five years, as a representative from 1923 to 1938 and as a US senator from 1938 to 1969. Hill sponsored eighty bills over the course of his congressional career. He was an ardent New Dealer who supported important advances in health and education legislation, but who opposed every civil rights bill that came before him. Nicandro Iannacci, “Hugo Black, Unabashed Partisan for the Constitution,” Constitution Daily (blog), <https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/hugo-black-unabashed-partisan-for-the-constitution>; Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton, “Lister Hill,” Encyclopedia of Alabama, March 13, 2007, <http://encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1103>.

49. Frederick Palmer Weber (1914–1986) studied philosophy at the University of Virginia, earning a bachelor’s degree in 1934, a master’s degree in 1938, and a doctorate in 1940. After graduate school, he became a member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal Brain Trust and served on various congressional committee staffs. Weber became the research director of

the Political Action Committee for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1944, was elected to the NAACP's National Board in 1946, and briefly advised the president of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). He also served on the board of the Southern Regional Council.

Weber's political career came to an end when, as the southern regional director of the Progressive Party, he worked on the presidential campaign of Henry A. Wallace. During the campaign, the Progressive Party became associated with Communism, and Weber was effectively exiled from mainstream politics. As a result, he transitioned to a career on Wall Street, eventually retiring to Charlottesville. "F. Palmer Weber, 72, Is Dead," *New York Times*, August 25, 1986; "Interview with F. Palmer Weber," interview by William Elwood, January 21, 1985, online video, University of Virginia Library (website), <https://v3.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/avalon:17335>.

50. "Ex-Governor Urges Caution in Virginia over Integration," *New York Times*, September 5, 1956.

51. Oron J. "Pat" Hale was professor of history at the University of Virginia from 1929 to 1972. "Oron J. Hale," University of Virginia Library (website), <https://explore.lib.virginia.edu/exhibits/show/hoos/fabled-faculty/oron-j--hale>.

52. Paul Gaston's children recall that the student who slashed Gaston's tires was expelled from the University not for the action itself, but for lying about it to UVA administrators and thereby committing an honor offense. Conversation between Gaston Family and Sterling Howell, October 22, 2020.

53. Edgar F. Shannon Jr. (1918–1997) was a graduate of Washington and Lee University, a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, and a veteran of the US Navy. Joining the UVA faculty as professor of English in 1956, he later served as president of the University from 1959 to 1974. During his presidency, he started the Center for Advanced Studies, the Echols Scholar program, and the University of Virginia Press. Shannon also oversaw an extensive building program that included a restoration of the Rotunda. "UVA Presidents: Edgar F. Shannon Jr. (1959–1974)," University of Virginia (website), <https://www.virginia.edu/aboutuva/presidents/shannon>; Guy Friddell, "Edgar Shannon, Ex-President of UVA, Dies; In His 15 Years Heading the School, He Saw It through Social Upheaval," *Virginian-Pilot* (Norfolk, VA), August 25, 1997.

54. The office of the University president was located on the Lawn in Pavilion VIII from 1949 to 1984. Colgate Darden was the first to use that pavilion as the president's office, followed by Edgar Shannon and Frank L. Hereford Jr. In the fall of 1983, President Hereford moved the president's office to Madison Hall and vacated Pavilion VIII in August 1984. Prior to Pavilion VIII, the office of

the president had been located in Pavilion IV, beginning with Edwin Alderman in 1905. Pavilion IV is currently home to Professor Larry Sabato. Pavilion VIII began renovations in 1984 and reopened in 1986 to be used as faculty apartments, classrooms, lounge areas, and offices for the University Guide Service. Jodi Broadwater MacFarlan, "Life Inside the Pavilions throughout History," *University of Virginia Magazine* (online), May 6, 2019, [https://uvamagazine.org/articles/life\\_inside\\_the\\_pavilions\\_throughout\\_history](https://uvamagazine.org/articles/life_inside_the_pavilions_throughout_history); Maura Singleton, "At Home in History: Pavilion Residents Bring Personal Touches to Revered Buildings," *University of Virginia Magazine* (Fall 2011), [https://uvamagazine.org/articles/at\\_home\\_in\\_history](https://uvamagazine.org/articles/at_home_in_history).

55. Paul Saunier, a former newspaper reporter, political campaign manager, and congressional aide, joined UVA as President Edgar F. Shannon's assistant in 1960, specifically to advise on public relations issues. Saunier recognized that the University's biggest PR issue was civil rights, and he played an influential but behind-the-scenes role to help integrate the school. By the 1960s, UVA had nominally opened its doors to Black applicants, but few students applied. Alongside faculty members like Gaston, Saunier worked to actively recruit Black students and make the University more welcoming. Saunier retired in 1972 and died in 2017 at age ninety-seven. Charlie Tyson, "In Memoriam: Paul Saunier, Early Advocate for African-American Students," *UVA Today*, February 9, 2017, <https://news.virginia.edu/content/memoriam-paul-saunier-early-advocate-african-american-students>; Ernie Gates, "Integrating from Behind the Scenes: The Legacy of Paul Saunier, A Deft Hand in Turbulent Times," *University of Virginia Magazine* (Summer 2017), [https://uvamagazine.org/articles/integrating\\_from\\_behind\\_the\\_scenes](https://uvamagazine.org/articles/integrating_from_behind_the_scenes).

56. Ernie Gates, "Antiwar Stories; May Days, 1970: The Week That Would Change UVA Forever," *University of Virginia Magazine* (Spring 2018), [https://uvamagazine.org/articles/antiwar\\_stories](https://uvamagazine.org/articles/antiwar_stories).

57. Shortly after Martin Luther King Jr. visited Charlottesville in the spring of 1963, news came of his arrest and his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail." Blacks and liberals around the country were spurred into action. In Charlottesville on Saturday, May 25, 1963, a group of Black ministers, including Reverend Floyd Johnson, sat in at La Pairee restaurant inside the Holiday Inn hotel. Johnson, a local NAACP leader, also served as pastor of a local church while studying at the University of Virginia. After hours of quiet, peaceful protest, the Holiday Inn agreed to desegregate the restaurant within ten days.

The day after the La Pairee sit-in, Johnson attended a picnic held by the Council on Human Relations at the home of Charles O. Gregory, a pioneer in the field of labor law and a law professor at the University of Virginia from

1949 to 1967. Hanna, “Shut It Down, Open It Up’,” 47–48; “Our History: Gregory, Charles Oscar (1949–1967),” University of Virginia School of Law Library (website), <https://libguides.law.virginia.edu/faculty/gregory>.

58. About a dozen White liberals answered Rev. Johnson’s call and met a group of about sixty demonstrators at his church the following Monday. Johnson told the group that several Charlottesville businesses had been notified of the coming protests and that many had agreed to desegregate rather than endure the publicity of a sit-in. Buddy’s Restaurant had refused. Hanna, “Shut It Down, Open It Up’,” 48–50.

59. Reverend Henry Bryant Mitchell (1918–2002) and his wife Gertrude Phillips Mitchell (1919–2019) moved to Charlottesville in August 1958 amid the heat of massive resistance. Rev. Mitchell ministered to Trinity Episcopal Church and quickly earned respect among the Black community. The Mitchells immediately joined in the fight against segregation, entering their son as a litigant in the segregation lawsuit against the Charlottesville City School Board. Later, Rev. Mitchell served on the school board for eight years and actively supported numerous nonprofits around the city. Through his church, Rev. Mitchell established several projects to benefit the Charlottesville community, including Camp Faith, the Trinity Childcare Center, and Hope House. Slaughter, “Rev. Henry B. Mitchell,” in *Bridge Builders*, 28; “Mitchell, Bryant, Part 1,” interview by Shaun Illingworth, October 16, 2015, Rutgers University Oral History Archives (website), <https://oralhistory.rutgers.edu/64-text-html/1875-mitchell-bryant-part-1>.

60. The University of Virginia began as a school for southern men. Women “had been permitted to attend graduate programs on a limited basis since the 1890s, and the specialized programs of nursing and education since the 1920s and 30s.” In 1969, the Board of Visitors voted to allow full enrollment for women, but required a ten-year transition and a cap on female enrollment at 35 percent. A lawsuit ultimately forced the University to admit women the very next year. In the fall of 2019, female enrollment comprised 56 percent of incoming students. Jane Kelly, “John Lowe ’67: A Hero of Coeducation at UVA,” University of Virginia School of Law (website), September 29, 2017, <https://www.law.virginia.edu/news/201709/john-low-67-hero-coeducation-uva>.

61. Ronald W. Reagan (1911–2004) was an actor, corporate spokesperson, governor of California, and the fortieth president of the United States. Dubbed the “Great Communicator,” Reagan won the 1980 presidential election in a landslide and has remained one of the most popular modern

presidents among conservatives. But Reagan's civil rights legacy is mixed at best. During his early political career, Reagan opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

In 2019, historian Tim Naftali discovered a taped conversation from 1971 between then governor Reagan and President Richard M. Nixon in which Reagan referred to African delegates to the United Nations as "monkeys" who were "uncomfortable wearing shoes." Years later, as president, Reagan vetoed the Civil Rights Restoration Act, weakened the US Commission on Civil Rights and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and promised to end affirmative action. Reagan also vetoed a 1986 bill imposing sanctions on apartheid in South Africa, which Congress overrode. Doug Rossinow, "It's Time We Face the Fact That Ronald Reagan Was Hostile to Civil Rights," History News Network, April 20, 2015, <https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/158887>; Tim Naftali, "Ronald Reagan's Long-Hidden Racist Conversation with Richard Nixon," *Atlantic*, July 30, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/07/ronald-reagans-racist-conversation-richard-nixon/595102/>; Juan Williams, "Reagan, the South and Civil Rights," *Politically Speaking*, National Public Radio, June 10, 2004, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1953700>.