“With All Deliberate Speed”: Desegregation in Arkansas

Social Studies – 9-12 (U.S. History, Arkansas History, World History, Civics, etc.); English Language Arts; Geography

This lesson explores desegregation in Arkansas through the use of primary and secondary sources. Students will read newspaper articles, manuscripts, and pamphlet excerpts to understand the story of desegregation in Arkansas. A list of various activities related to original primary and secondary resources allows teachers the flexibility to choose parts of this lesson plan to use and adapt as needed.

Essential Question:

What were Arkansas’s segregated schools like before the Brown v. Board of Education ruling? How did the ruling affect Arkansas’s schools? Over fifty years after the Brown decision, what is the status of Arkansas’s desegregation process?

Common Core State Standards:

CCRA.R.1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10; CCRA.W.2, 7, 8, 9, 10; CCRA.SL.1, 2, 4; CCRA.R.1, 3, 7; CCRA.W.7, 9; CCRA.SL.1, 2, 4; CCRA.R.1, 3, 7; CCRA.W.7, 8, 9; CCRA.SL.1, 2, 3, 4; CCRA.R.1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9; CCRA.W.2, 7, 8, 9; CCRA.SL.1, 3, 4; CCRA.R.1, 3, 7; CCRA.W.4, 8; CCRA.SL.3; CCRA.R.1, 3, 6; CCRA.W.3, 9; CCRA.SL.3; CCRA.R.1, 3, 9, 10; CCRA.W.4, 5; CCRA.SL.1, 3, 5; CCRA.R1, 3, 6, 9, 10; CCRA.W.4, 5; CCRA.SL.1, 3, 5; CCRA.R.1, 2, 4, 10; CCRA.W.1, 2, 9; CCRA.SL.1, 4

Arkansas Department of Education Curriculum Frameworks:

Era4.1.8.4; CG.5.AH.7-8.4; CG.6.AH.7-8.1; H.7.AH.7-8.1; H.7.AH.7-8.8; Era5.5.AH.9-12.3; Era5.5.AH.9-12.4; HJC.4.AAH.1; HJC.4.AAH.2; IE.6.AAH.1; IE.6.AAH.2; IE.6.AAH.3; IE.6.AAH.4; JU.7.AAH.3; CPI.1.C.4; CPI.2.C.3; PD.3.C.1; PD.4.C.5; PRL.6.C.3; PRL.7.C.1; PRL.7.C.2; Era9.6.USH.1

C3 Alignment:

D2.Civ.1, 5, 10, 11, 13.6-8; D2.His. 1, 4.6-8; D2.Civ.1, 2, 10, 12.6-8; D2.Civ.1, 6, 10, 13, 14.6-8; D2.His.5.6-8; D2.Geo.1, 5, 6.6-8; D2.His.1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 14, 16.6-8; D2.Civ.9, 10, 11, 12, 14.6-8; D2.Eco.12.6-8; D2.His.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 16.6-8; D2.Civ.9.9-12; D2.Eco.1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 13.9-12; D2.Geo.2, 5, 8, 10.9-12; D2.His.2.9-12; D2.Civ.2, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.9-12; D2.Eco.1.9-12; D2.Geo.2, 7.9-12; D2.His.1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16.9-12; D1.4.9-12; D2.His.2, 3, 4.9-12; D2.His.1, 2, 3.9-12; D3.1.9-12; D4.1.9-12; D2.Civ.2, 5, 10.9-12; D2.His.1, 2, 14.9-12; D2.His.1.9-12; D1.5.9-12; D2.Civ.5, 12, 14.9-12; D2.His.1, 11.9-12;

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D2.Civ.2, 4, 5.9-12; D2.His.1, 2.9-12; D2.Civ.5, 12, 9-12; D4.3., 6, 7.9-12; D1.1.9-12; D2.Cigv.1, 4.9-12; D1.1.9-12; D2.Civ.1, 4.9-12; D2.Civ.2, 7, 10.9-12; D1.5.9-12; D2.Civ.10, 14.9-12; D3.1.9-12; D2.Civ.12.9-12; D3.4.9-12; D4.2.9-12; D2.Civ.11.9-12; D1.4.9-12; D2.Civ.13.9-12; D2.Civ.5, 12, 14.9-12; D2.His.1, 2, 3, 14.9-12

Possible literature resources related to the lesson plan: To Kill a Mockingbird by Harper Lee (1960); Brown Girl Dreaming by Jacqueline Woodson (2014); Warriors Don’t Cry: A Searing Memoir of the Battle to Integrate Little Rock’s Central High by Melba Pattillo Beals (1995); The Story of Ruby Bridges by Robert Coles (2010); March by John Lewis and Andrew Aydin (2015); Separate Is Never Equal: Sylvia Mendez and Her Family’s Fight for Desegregation by Duncan Tonatiuh (2014); The Lions of Little Rock by Kristin Levine (2012); Lies We Tell Ourselves by Robin Talley (2014); Remember: The Journey to School Integration by Toni Morrison (2004)

RESOURCES ON DESEGREGATION IN ARKANSAS

Newspaper article discussing a group that was boycotting Hoxie schools after the school district was integrated.

Newspaper article discussing lawsuits challenging segregation in Arkansas.

Interview with Civil Rights lawyer, John W. Walker, regarding desegregation of Arkansas schools in the 1980s. “Are Little Rock Schools Committed to Equality?”

Editorial from the Christian Science Monitor explaining that Washington D.C. schools are re-segregating because of white flight and other reasons.
“Dual School System in Arkansas May be Thing of the Past by ‘70,” *Northwest Arkansas Times*, December 18, 1968.
Article in the *Northwest Arkansas Times* about the State Education Commissioner claiming that there will be no more segregated schools by 1970.

Editorial in the *Camden News* explaining how the issue of segregation has been used in politics and arguing for federal aid in education.

Newspaper article from the *Blytheville Courier News* discussing attempts to make segregated schools equal in the state of Arkansas.

Newspaper article about a federal judge ruling that DeWitt’s African American schools were not equal to white schools and ordering that the DeWitt school district must improve the African American schools.

Newspaper article discussing how the Pulaski Special School District and Little Rock School District must propose a desegregation plan in order to obey the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals’ ruling.

Article in *The Bulletin*, a publication from the Arkansas Teachers Association, explaining how desegregation has not taken place in most of Arkansas schools almost ten years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

Article from the *Blytheville Courier News* describing school Improvement plans for the Blytheville School District. The article also explains that the Harrison Negro School is overcrowded and in bad condition.

Article from the *Blytheville Courier News* predicting that desegregation would take several generations to be accomplished.

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Newspaper article about the voluntary desegregation of some Arkansas schools following the Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*. It also examines the issues regarding desegregation.


Article in the *Arkansas School Journal* written by Joseph A. Booker describing the school system for African Americans.


Pamphlet describing issues involved in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, 1957.


Editorial in the *Arkansas Gazette* predicting that the challenge in desegregating schools will be ensuring all schools are funded equally.


Pamphlet published in 1959 by the Women’s Emergency Committee giving a chronology of Little Rock’s desegregation struggle.


Editorial in the *Arkansas Gazette* urged both the white community and the black community to cooperate in the process of desegregating Arkansas schools.


Newspaper editorial by Bettye M. Caldwell of the University of Arkansas at Little Rock criticizing some of John Walker’s positions regarding desegregation.


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http://ahc.digital-ar.org/compoundobject/collection/p16790coll11/id/645/rec/1  
Editorial from the Arkansas State Press criticizing Orval Faubus’ actions during the Central High Crisis.

“Negroes Busy at Study as Curtains Descend on 8 Weeks,” Arkansas State Press, November 15, 1957.  
Newspaper article from the Arkansas State Press about the challenges that the Little Rock Nine faced as students at Little Rock Central High School.

A collection of editorials from across the United States praising the courage of the Little Rock Nine.

Editorial about a ruling in 1949 requiring DeWitt’s school district to improve African American schools in order to make them “substantially equal” to white schools.  

Desegregation Vocabulary

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Daisy Bates – Editor of the Arkansas State Press and president of the Arkansas chapter of the NAACP. She was a leader and advocate for the Little Rock Nine during the desegregation crisis at Little Rock Central High in 1957.

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas – Ruling by the United States Supreme Court that declared “separate but equal” as unconstitutional.

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De facto segregation – While the United States Supreme Court has outlawed legally mandated segregation (de jure segregation), critics have charged that the schools have become segregated through “white flight” and funding formulas that seem to favor predominantly white schools.

Dwight D. Eisenhower – Thirty-fourth President of the United States (1953-1961). During the Central High Crisis, he nationalized the Arkansas National Guard and ordered them to protect the Little Rock Nine as they integrated Little Rock Central High School.

Orval Faubus – Governor of Arkansas (1955-1967). During the attempts to desegregate Little Rock Central High School, Faubus ordered the Arkansas National Guard to the campus supposedly to keep the peace. The soldiers prevented the students from entering the building. When a federal judge ordered Faubus not to interfere with the desegregation process, Faubus removed the soldiers from the campus.

Fourteenth Amendment – Amendment to the United States Constitution which guarantees equality under the law for all United States citizens. It was on the grounds of this amendment that the United States Supreme Court struck down legally mandated segregation in the Brown v. Board case in 1954.

Ernest Green – A member of the Little Rock Nine, in 1958 he became the first African American to graduate from Little Rock Central High School.

Hoxie, Arkansas – Town in Lawrence County where one of the first desegregation battles occurred in Arkansas. Despite opposition from segregationists, the school integrated peacefully in 1956.

Little Rock Central High School – School in the Little Rock School District. In 1957, nine African American students (the Little Rock Nine) desegregated the school.


Plessy v. Ferguson – Ruling by the United States Supreme Court approving of the concept of “separate but equal” in public accommodations. In the case of schools, the ruling declared that segregated schools had to provide equal facilities for each race.

United States Supreme Court – The highest court in the United States. Since the Marbury v. Madison ruling in 1803, the court has had the ability to judge the constitutionality of laws. In 1954, the Supreme Court declared in its decision on the Brown v. Board of Education ruling that the practice of “separate but equal” violated the Fourteenth Amendment and was therefore unconstitutional.

Background Information:
On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down its landmark ruling, Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, overturning the Plessy v. Ferguson decision declaring that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” This was a momentous event in United States history. The ruling affected almost all areas of American life as it declared that legally mandated segregation was unconstitutional. Perhaps the most impact was felt on education. In light of the Brown decision, the state of Arkansas’s education system would face a challenge as it adapted to conform to the high court’s ruling.

In 1890, the State of Louisiana’s legislature passed a law requiring that passenger railway cars must segregate passengers by race. The law ordered railroads to provide separate accommodations for each race. Angered by the new law, a group of New Orleans residents gathered together with the sole purpose of challenging the law in court. In order to bring a court case against the law, the group asked Homer Plessy, a man of mixed race, to attempt to sit in the whites-only railroad car. Because the law required that the railroad purchase additional costly passenger cars in order to comply with the segregation law, the railroad company also hoped to overturn the law in the courts. Knowing that Plessy would be challenging the segregation law, the railroad hired a detective with arrest powers to arrest Plessy once he attempted to sit in the whites-only car. After being arrested and convicted of breaking the law, Plessy appealed his conviction all the way to the United States Supreme Court. Plessy’s attorneys argued that the segregation law violated Plessy’s Fourteenth Amendment rights which guaranteed all citizens equal protection under the law without regard to race. That the segregation law required separate accommodations based on race implied a different standard for African Americans than it did for whites. The Supreme Court ruled in a seven to one decision on May 18, 1896, that the law was constitutional so long as the law required a standard of separate but equal in regard to accommodations. Upholding the segregation of schools by race, Associated Justice Henry Billings Brown wrote, [W]e cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances is unreasonable, or more obnoxious to the Fourteenth Amendment than the acts of congress requiring separate schools for colored children in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which does not seem to have been questioned, or the corresponding acts of state legislatures.” Associate Justice John Marshall Harlan argued in his dissenting opinion, “Our constitution is colorblind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal... has reached the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race.” With the Court’s decision, segregation was now ruled constitutional, so long as no race was preferred over another.
The *Plessy* case would continue to be the standard for the next sixty years until challenged again in 1951 in Topeka, Kansas. Thirteen parents of African American children in the Topeka, Kansas school district, filed a class action suit against the district school segregation. Many of the students were forced to walk long distances to attend African American schools while white schools were closer. Lower courts ruled against the parents, citing the “separate but equal” standard set by the *Plessy* case. By 1954, the case had reached the United States Supreme Court. The Court intended to put extra emphasis on deciding whether the “separate but equal” standard violated the Fourteenth Amendment. On May 17, 1954, the Court unanimously rejected the previous ruling in the *Plessy* case, ruling, “We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”

While desegregation in Fayetteville, Arkansas, and Charleston, Arkansas, occurred without controversy, this would not be so in Hoxie, a town in Lawrence County. Hoxie operated an elementary school for African American students, but high school aged students were bussed to Jonesboro to attend school, all at the expense of the Hoxie School District. Superintendent Kunkel Vance of the Hoxie School District declared that his school district would comply with the Court’s ruling and desegrate. Weeks before Hoxie’s schools opened for the school year beginning in 1955, the national magazine *Life* covered favorably the town’s efforts in desegregating their school system. This national coverage brought Hoxie into the state and national spotlight. Segregationists across Arkansas converged on the town hoping to make a stand against integration. Days before the school year started, a group of segregationists met at Hoxie’s city hall auditorium and passed a resolution that stated, “We resolved not to patronize or support the Hoxie schools; that other arrangements be made to educate our children; that we mutually pledge to educate our children in either private or public schools where integration is not practiced and to do so until the school integration question is resolved.” Segregationists organizing the boycott declared that nearly half of Hoxie’s students had participated, a statistic disputed by Superintendent Vance. Segregationists also tried to pressure all Hoxie School Board members to resign unless they ended desegregation, a demand the Board refused. Instead, the school board filed suit with the Federal District Court of Arkansas citing harassment from pro-segregation protesters. As a result of the court case, on November 1, 1955, Federal District Judge Thomas C. Trimble issued a temporary restraining order on the pro-segregationist forces. In October of 1956, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis, Missouri, upheld the restraining order and made it permanent, effectively ending the fight over desegregation in Hoxie.

The next battleground over segregation was Little Rock. Virgil Blossom, Superintendent of the Little Rock School District, formulated a plan to desegregate the district gradually. His plan called for desegregation to begin with senior high school students at Central High School, then expand into junior high, and finally
into the elementary grades. The target date for allowing African American high school students to attend Central High School was the fall of 1957. As the school year approached, segregationists warned that violence might erupt. Governor Orval Faubus ordered the Arkansas National Guard to the school grounds of Central High ostensibly in order to prevent violence. On the first day of classes, nine African American students attempted to enter Central High School, but were refused entry by the National Guard soldiers. Federal District Judge Ronald Davies ordered Faubus not to interfere with the desegregation of Central High and as a result, Faubus removed the National Guard troops from campus. This left only the Little Rock police to govern a growing crowd of protesters. Police escorted the nine students, today known as the Little Rock Nine, through a side door in the high school building. By noon, the crowd outside of the school were continuing to grow, leading school officials to worry that they might attack the school. As a result, they removed the students from campus for their safety. Little Rock Mayor Woodrow Mann appealed to President Dwight Eisenhower to send help to control the crowd. The president ordered the 101st Airborne Division to Little Rock and put the Arkansas National Guard under federal control. The presence of the armed forces helped restore order and the soldiers escorted the African American students into the school without incident. Although the Little Rock Nine, as they became known, were able to attend classes in Central High, they still faced challenges and harassment from students and teachers who opposed their presence. Even with these challenges, most of the students were able to continue receiving their educations. In 1958, Ernest Green, a member of the Little Rock Nine, became the first African American to graduate from Little Rock Central High School.

The process of desegregation was painfully slow. Arch Ford, a state educational commissioner for Arkansas, told the Arkansas Gazette in 1969, fifteen years after the Brown v. Board decision, only twenty-eight percent of African American students attended desegregated schools. In the past several years, critics have charged that, while there is no legally mandated segregation in Arkansas, schools have remained segregated in actuality. A study performed by District Judge Henry Woods in the mid-1980s found that Little Rock schools were 70% African American, while North Little Rock School District had only 36% African American enrollment and in the Pulaski Special School District, African Americans made up 22% of the student body. Much of this seems to be the result of “white flight”—white families moving out of the cities and into the suburbs, leaving the cities with large African American proportional populations. As a result, the schools have been de facto re-segregated. Additionally, critics have charged that, as a result of this re-segregation, schools with majority African American student populations have been underfunded. In 1983, the Arkansas Supreme Court ruled that the state’s school funding formula was unconstitutional due to the fact that it seemed to give more advantages to schools with predominant white student bodies. The Arkansas State Department of Education created a new formula in order to obey the Supreme Court ruling. In 2001, in the case of Lake View School District, No. 25 v. Huckabee, the State Supreme Court again declared the funding formula to be unconstitutional on the same grounds as
the 1983 decision. The Arkansas Department of Education continues to the present to seek an equitable funding formula.

To learn more about Desegregation in Arkansas, read the following Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture articles:

Arkansas National Guard
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=3192

Arkansas State Press
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=592

Daisy Lee Gatson Bates
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=591

Lucious Christopher Bates
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=1587

Civil Rights and Social Change
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=4564

Civil Rights Movement
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=4704

Desegregation of Central High School
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=718

Desegregation of Hoxie Schools
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=731

Elizabeth Ann Eckford
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=721

Orval Eugene Faubus
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=102

Ernest Gideon Green
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=722

Little Rock Nine
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=723
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=4915

Segregation and Desegregation
http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=3079

Activities

Activity 1. In 1949, Federal Judge Harry J. Lemley ruled that DeWitt's School District was required to improve African American schools in order to make them equal to white schools. Analyze the 1949 ruling from a federal judge regarding segregated schools in DeWitt.

1. Have the students read the text of the judge’s ruling that was published in the Arkansas State Press on July 15, 1949.
   a. Based on the text of the ruling, what are the issues that the ruling is addressing?
   b. What does the ruling require for the DeWitt School District to do?
   c. What does the ruling prevent the DeWitt School District from doing?

2. Have the students read the editorial published by the Arkansas State Press regarding the judge’s ruling.
   a. How does the editorial writer think the ruling will effect Arkansas schools?
   b. In the second paragraph, what does the editorial writer believe are the biggest obstacles facing African American schools in Little Rock?
   c. What predictions does the editorial writer make in regards to Little Rock’s schools?
   d. In the long run, does the writer believe that the ruling will help African American schools? How or how not?

Activity 2. Create “Found Poetry” about the Little Rock Nine.

1. Found poetry is a type of poetry created by taking words, phrases, and sometimes whole passages from other sources and reframing them as poetry by making changes in spacing and lines, or by adding or deleting text, thus imparting new meaning. Talk with the students about “Found Poetry” and give an example (see examples and further information through the Found Poetry with Primary Sources: The Great Depression, Lesson Plan from the Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/lessons/poetry/procedure.html).

2. The students will compose a “Found Poetry” piece based on the selected passage.
3. The final poems can be written on paper and handed in or presented orally. The poems can be compiled into a class booklet.

4. Have students select material form the group of editorials in the *Arkansas State Press* from November 4, 1957, about the Little Rock Nine.

**Activity 3. Discuss the experiences of the Little Rock Nine.**

1. Have students read the article, “Negroes Busy at Study as Curtains Descend on 8 Weeks,” from the *Arkansas State Press* published on November 15, 1957.

2. According to the newspaper article, what kinds of experiences were the Little Rock Nine facing as being the first African American students at Little Rock Central High?

3. How might you have reacted if you were one of the Little Rock Nine?

**Activity 4. Discuss integration in Arkansas since 1980.**

1. Since the end of legal segregation in Arkansas, critics have argued that schools have been re-segregating due to white flight and the underfunding of schools in predominantly African American neighborhoods.

2. Have the students read the interview of civil rights attorney John Walker published in the *Arkansas Gazette* from August 29, 1982, titled, “Are Little Rock Schools Committed to Equality?” List Mr. Walker’s arguments that Little Rock’s schools are not committed to equality.

3. Have the students read the editorial in the *Arkansas Gazette* written by Bettye M. Caldwell in response to Walker’s interview.
   a. List Caldwell’s arguments against Walker’s argument.
   b. In what ways, if any, does Caldwell agree with Walker? In what ways, if any, does Caldwell disagree with Walker?

4. Which argument is more convincing? Why?

**Other Resources on Desegregation**

“Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site Curriculum materials”
https://www.nps.gov/bvrb/learn/education/classrooms/curriculummaterials.htm
Online resources about the court case from the National Park Service.
“Brown v. Board of Education and School Desegregation Teaching Resources”
Lesson plans from the National Education Association.

“Beyond Brown: Pursuing the Promise”
http://www.pbs.org/beyondbrown/foreducators/index.html
Teacher resources from the Public Broadcasting System

“Central High School”
http://www.readwritethink.org/classroom-resources/calendar-activities/central-high-school-little-20297.html
Lesson plans about the integration of Central High School from the International Literacy Association.

“From Plessy v. Ferguson to Brown v. Board of Education: The Supreme Court rules on School Desegregation”
http://www.yale.edu/ynhti/pubs/A5/wolff.html
Lesson plans about the Supreme Court’s role in desegregating schools from Yale University.

“Teaching with Documents: Documents Related to Brown v. Board of Education”
http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/brown-v-board/
Teacher resources from the National Archives.

“Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site”
https://www.nps.gov/chsc/learn/education/lessonplansandteacherguides.htm
Lesson plans and teacher guides from the Central High School National Park.

This lesson is funded in part by the Arkansas Humanities Council