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Recommended Citation

Douglas E. Abrams, The Little League Champions Benched by Jim Crow in 1955: Resistance and Reform after Brown v. Board of Education, 38 *Journal of Supreme Court History* 51 (2013).

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The Little League Champions Benched by Jim Crow in 1955: Resistance and Reform after *Brown v. Board of Education*

DOUGLAS E. ABRAMS

Introduction

Little League Baseball, Inc. calls them “the most significant amateur team in baseball history.”¹ The *Boston Globe* calls their story “one of baseball’s cruelest moments.”² ABC News says that their story is “[n]ot about man’s inhumanity to man but man’s inhumanity to children.”³

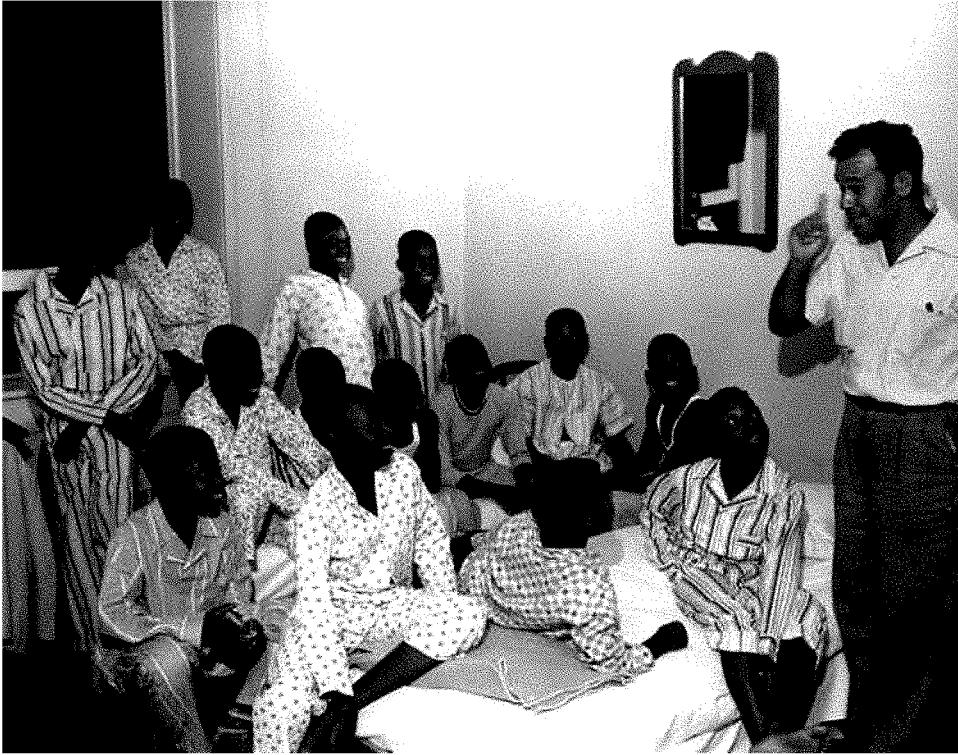
They were the Cannon Street YMCA All Stars, a team of eleven- and twelve-year-olds who went to the Little League World Series in Williamsport, Pa. in 1955 after winning the Charleston, South Carolina city championship; the South Carolina state championship in Greenville; and the southern regional championship in Rome, Georgia. They did not lose a single game.⁴

The Cannon Street All Stars were also the only team that ever went to Williamsport but was forbidden to play there for the World

Series title. They attended as Little League’s guests, but they sat in the stands and watched, barred from competing because they had won the city, state, and regional titles by forfeits.⁵

The All Stars were “the team that no one would play.”⁶ Every other Charleston Little League team refused to take the field against them in the city championships. All sixty-one other South Carolina teams eligible for the state tournament joined the boycott, and so did all seven other state champions that qualified to play for the southeastern regional title, the final step on the road to Williamsport.⁷ In the wake of the mass boycott and forfeits, Little League’s national office recognized the Cannon Street All Stars as the city, state, and southeastern regional champions.⁸

None of the other teams—more than seventy in all—ever suggested that the Cannon Street All Stars played dirty. None ever suggested that the All Stars violated any



The Cannon Street All Stars traveled from Charleston, South Carolina, to Williamsport, Pennsylvania, to play in the Little League World Series in 1955. They were not allowed to play, however, because they had won their place in the World Series through forfeits—the other teams had all refused to play them because of their race.

Little League rule. The several dozen teams refused to play them for only one reason—all the kids playing for the All Stars were black and every other southern Little League team with eyes on Williamsport was all white.

Jim Crow laws had enshrined state-sanctioned racial segregation in the Deep South for decades,⁹ and race relations remained especially tense in the summer of 1955. Barely a year had passed since May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court's unanimous decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* held that racial segregation in public elementary and secondary schools violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.¹⁰

Judge J. Harvie Wilkinson III calls *Brown* “the story ... of a thousand tales of human suffering and sacrifice subsumed in the winning of a principle.”¹¹ The story of the Cannon Street All Stars belongs in this vast

array, but the story has evidently gone untold in extended studies of the Court's landmark decision.

The All Stars and their young prospective white opponents in the Deep South were



The Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in public elementary and secondary schools violates the Equal Protection Clause on May 17, 1954, barely a year before the All Stars were kept out of the World Series.

caught in a drama that transcended Little League baseball. Black and white South Carolina children often played informal pickup baseball games together on local sandlots, at least until police broke up the contests.¹² The prospect of integrated Little League tournaments, however, struck a raw nerve among white parents enraged by *Brown's* threat to the existing legal and social order.

The Supreme Court confined *Brown's* holding and rationale to public elementary and secondary education, without explicitly dismantling official segregation in all walks of American life. Southern whites who dug in their heels, however, foresaw that the Court had “put into effect a judicial juggernaut to dismantle apartheid.”¹³

Images of black schoolchildren such as the Cannon Street All Stars playing organized baseball against whites evoked reactions similar to images of black schoolchildren sitting side-by-side with whites in the classroom. In *Brown's* shadows, the All Stars' saga permits more than just a view of life in the Deep South in the 1950s. The saga also remains instructive today because recollections of official segregation's cruelties can help shape ongoing debate about *Brown's* profound national impact on race and beyond,¹⁴ about the decision's fulfilled and unfulfilled promise, and about its “contested and uncertain” legacy.¹⁵

***Brown* Then and Now**

Judge Richard A. Posner calls *Brown* “the most esteemed judicial opinion in American history.”¹⁶ Richard Kluger's masterpiece, **Simple Justice**, concludes that the decision holds “a high place in the literature of liberty” because it “marked the turning point in America's willingness to face the consequences of centuries of racial discrimination,” the nation's “most inhumane habit.”¹⁷ Judge Wilkinson says that *Brown* “may be the

most important political, social, and legal event in America's twentieth-century history. Its greatness lay in the enormity of injustice it condemned, in the entrenched sentiment it challenged, in the immensity of law it both created and overthrew.”¹⁸

Tributes such as these recognize *Brown's* “place in the forefront of the pantheon of historic decisions,”¹⁹ but the tributes come with the passage of years. Legal historian Lawrence M. Friedman notes that *Brown* was “extremely controversial from the word go.”²⁰ Leading government officials in the Deep South reacted immediately to the decision with anger, defiance, and vows of Massive Resistance, punctuated by what Anthony Lewis has called “attacks on the Supreme Court unmatched in scope and virulence.”²¹

Governors themselves energized white resistance to *Brown* in South Carolina and Georgia, the two states that were slated to host the Little League championship tournaments that the Cannon Street All Stars sought to enter on the way to the Little League World Series. South Carolina Governor James F. Byrnes (who had served briefly as a Supreme Court Justice in 1941–42) threatened to close the state's public schools entirely rather than integrate,²² and he warned that, unless the state could “find a legal way of preventing the mixing of the races in the schools, [*Brown*] will mark the beginning of the end of civilization in the South as we have known it.”²³

Georgia Governor Herman Talmadge vowed that the state would “resist mixing the races in the schools if it is the sole state in the nation to do so.”²⁴ He likened school desegregation to “national suicide,”²⁵ said that “there will never be mixed schools while I am governor,”²⁶ and charged that *Brown* “has reduced our Constitution to a mere scrap of paper.”²⁷

Defiance at the highest levels of state government set the stage for the Southern Manifesto, which nineteen southern U.S.

Senators and eighty-one House members signed in March of 1956. The statement's principal drafter, South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond,²⁸ focused directly on the acculturation of white schoolchildren such as the ones who would have faced the Cannon Street All Stars on the field. The 100 signatories charged that, influenced by "agitators and troublemakers invading our States," the Supreme Court exercised "naked judicial power" to deprive parents of "the right to direct the lives and education of their own children."²⁹

The All Stars' Story

In this incendiary Southern atmosphere, the Cannon Street All Stars sought to play baseball—the National Pastime—with white children in the quest for city, state, and national championships. The word "sports" sometimes conjures visions of mere fun and games, but sports in our nation means much more than leisure or diversion. As "a microcosm of American society"³⁰ and "one of the most powerful social forces in our country,"³¹ sports maintains (as the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit observes) "a special significance in our culture."³²

In the South and throughout the nation, Little League held particular symbolic significance amid the fallout from *Brown* in the summer of 1955. Just a year earlier, French philosopher and cultural historian Jacques Barzun had pinpointed the social and cultural force of youth baseball in the United States. "Whoever wants to know the heart and mind of America," he wrote, "had better learn baseball, the rules and realities of the game—and do it by watching first some high school or small-town teams."³³ When Barzun said "baseball flatly expresses the powers of the nation's mind and body,"³⁴ his sources were local community ball fields and not Major League stadiums.

When the Cannon Street All Stars entered Charleston's city tournament, the *Charleston Post and Courier* published "Agitation and Hate," an editorial whose ringing condemnation of the All Stars and their parents took Little League seriously. "Some Negro adults," the paper began, "knowing that the colored children weren't wanted in the all-white state league, nevertheless decided to force the colored team into the league."³⁵ The editorial called the All Stars' quest for Little League's World Series title "a textbook example of why racial relations in the South are becoming increasingly difficult," and threatened that "[t]he Northern do-gooders who have needled the Southern race agitators into action may have to answer for the consequences."³⁶

When the Cannon Street All Stars advanced to the South Carolina state tournament in Greenville following forfeits in Charleston's city tournament, the *Greenville News* published an open letter that linked Little League baseball squarely to *Brown*. "[T]he various powers that be in our State Government who are fighting to maintain segregation in our public schools," said the writer, "very strongly feel that the participation in the tournament by any White team against a Negro team will strongly aid and support those forces within our state who are advocating mixed schools and racial integration. This open competition of Negro versus White can and will be used by the integration forces as evidence in the school cases,"³⁷ which people knew would return to the Supreme Court and the lower federal courts for clarification, enforcement and extension.³⁸

Sports and the future of public education also remained linked in Georgia, where the Cannon Street All Stars would have played for the southeastern regional title. After succeeding Herman Talmadge as the state's governor in 1955, Marvin Griffin likened "compromising the integrity of race on the playing field" to "doing so in the classroom." "One break in the dike," Griffin declared, "and the relentless sea will rush in and destroy us."³⁹

No Barriers of Race, Creed, or Color

With the specter of integrated tournament play looming, the president of Little League's South Carolina affiliate and other white men began scouting the Cannon Street All Stars as they played on their local ball field. These men did not like what they saw—a strong, talented team with an excellent chance to defeat white youngsters on the field.⁴⁰

Rather than risk defeat, the South Carolina affiliate requested all-white championship tournaments despite Little League's written non-discrimination policy, which had been in place ever since the national organization's creation in 1939.⁴¹ Little League's national office rejected the request, forthrightly instructing the affiliate that bigotry held no place in youth baseball: "For the boys of these teams there are no barriers of race, creed or color. . . . For the boys, baseball is a game to be played with bat, ball and glove."⁴²

South Carolina's Little League affiliate countered that the national organization's non-discrimination policy threatened the Southern way of life⁴³ by using "a Negro Little League Team. . . as an opening wedge to abolish segregation in recreational facilities in South Carolina."⁴⁴ Unwilling to leave the door to interracial play even slightly ajar, the affiliate hastily left the national organization and set up an all-white state tournament for



South Carolina's Little League affiliate claimed that the national organization's non-discrimination policy threatened the Southern way of life and in 1955 they founded an all-white organization called Dixie Youth Baseball. The league integrated in 1967.

the same days that the integrated tournament would have been conducted.⁴⁵ The *Post and Courier* ignored the Cannon Street All Stars, but obliged the segregated tournament by publishing its team pairings and photographs of the winning team's players.⁴⁶

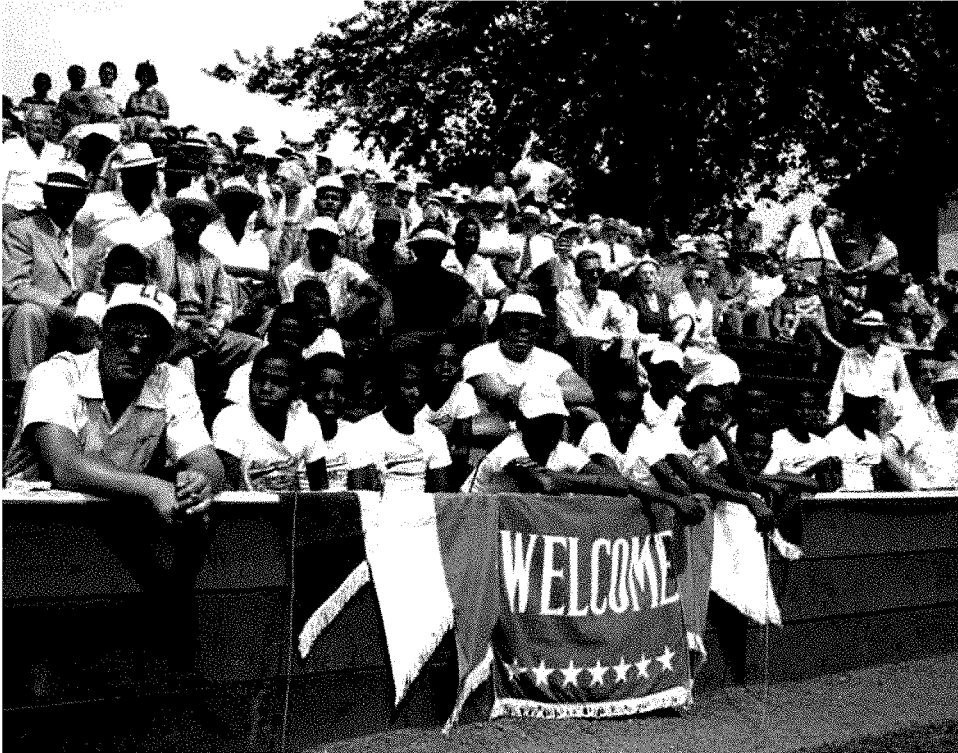
Within a few months, other southern Little League state affiliates joined South Carolina to create a new all-white organization that began play the following season and became known as Dixie Youth Baseball.⁴⁷ Like the Charleston and Greenville newspapers, the Dixie group's official rules directly linked integrated youth baseball and official segregation. "[I]t is for the best interest of all concerned that this program be on a racially segregated basis," recited the official rules, "[M]ixed teams and competition between the races would create regrettable conditions and destroy the harmony and tranquility which now exists."⁴⁸

"We Were So Young"

Little League's national office admonished its South Carolina affiliate that the All Stars were "innocent victims of alien influences that have deprived them of beneficial associations and opportunity to meet other boys in Little League Baseball."⁴⁹ To help neutralize these influences, the national office invited the All Stars to the World Series as guests from August 23–26 and housed them in the same Lycoming College dormitories as the other eight regional champions.⁵⁰

Most of the All Stars had never traveled outside South Carolina, so attending the World Series enabled them to interact socially with white youngsters for the first time. Accustomed to state-enforced segregation, the All Stars were surprised to see the other teams' black and white children living in the same quarters and playing against one another in front of cheering adults.⁵¹

When the All Stars began the 740-mile trip from Charleston in an old borrowed school bus that lacked air conditioning, broke down a few times, and caught fire a few miles



After tears and entreaties, Little League officials permitted the All Stars to don their uniforms and warm up on the field, but refused to let them play even a brief exhibition game. They watched the World Series from the stands.

from its destination, the boys still expected to play for the World Series title.⁵² Their parents and coaches had not yet broken the news that Little League officials had decided to enforce its rule excluding teams that had advanced by forfeits.⁵³

After tears and entreaties, Little League officials permitted the All Stars to don their uniforms and warm up on the field, but refused to let them play even a brief exhibition game. The All Stars had never set foot on a field as beautiful as the one in Williamsport. In Charleston, they played at Harmon Field, an inner city clay patch located on a landfill overrun by crabgrass and littered with rocks. Black children were barred from the lush green fields reserved for Charleston's all-white Little League teams.⁵⁴ At a tender age, the All Stars experienced the "grotesquely unequal"⁵⁵ realities of the "separate but equal" doctrine that the Supreme Court had announced in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896.⁵⁶

"We were so young," remembers All Star Maurice Singleton. "We didn't know what was going on. All we knew was that we were good and could have beaten any one of those teams in Williamsport."⁵⁷

"Let Them Play!"

When the public address announcer introduced the All Stars for their brief warm-up, Williamsport's 5,000 cheering fans had ideas of their own. Even though the Charleston team might have defeated their own children if given a fair chance, the fans began spontaneously chanting, "*Let them play!*"⁵⁸ Beginning in one corner of the stadium, the crescendo grew so loud that Maurice Singleton recalls feeling the stands shake.⁵⁹

After Little League officials turned a deaf ear, the crowd treated the All Stars "like kings"⁶⁰ and the youngsters signed autographs as they sat in the stands and watched



When the Cannon Street All Stars advanced to the South Carolina state tournament, the *Greenville News* published an anti-integration letter that linked Little League baseball squarely to the *Brown* decision. "This open competition of Negro versus White can and will be used by the integration forces as evidence in the school cases," it conjectured. Pictured above are anti-integration protesters in Little Rock.

other teams vie for the World Series title.⁶¹ According to writer Margot Theis Raven, the players returned home to Charleston as "the team that had won a crowd's heart."⁶²

On ABC's "Nightline" news program in 2005, journalist Dave Marash speculated that expediency led Little League's national office ultimately to turn its back on the All Stars. Marash theorized that after enforcing its written non-discrimination policy at the local, state, and regional levels, the organization feared that permitting the All Stars to play on the national stage for the World Series title would prompt other southern state affiliates to follow South Carolina into the segregated Dixie Youth Baseball program,⁶³ an exodus that happened anyway.

"We Weren't Making a Political Statement"

At a reunion in 2003 with several members of the white teams that boycotted and forfeited decades earlier, the All Stars learned that most of the white youngsters wanted to play for the chance to go to Williamsport, but that their elders forbade them.⁶⁴ "We were just kids out there playing. So, we just did what the parents and the coaches told us to do," recalled one of the white players.⁶⁵

"We weren't making a political statement," All Stars third baseman Carl Johnson reminisced. "We didn't know what a political statement was. We just wanted to play ball."⁶⁶ From his position as a prominent Atlanta architect in 2002, the All Stars shortstop John Rivers reasoned that "the white kids were cheated too" when adults denied them a chance to win a berth to play at Williamsport.⁶⁷

"Classy, Forgiving Men"

The magnitude of the social change reflected and accelerated by *Brown* and its progeny⁶⁸ emerges vividly from the pages of the *Post and Courier* and the *Greenville News* themselves. After roundly condemning the All Stars and their families in 1955, both newspapers embraced the team at the dawn of the 21st century.

When the city of Charleston honored the Cannon Street All Stars in 2000 by unveiling a large plaque at the entrance of a public park near where they played decades earlier,⁶⁹ the *Post and Courier* praised them as a team of "classy, forgiving men" whose sterling example taught a "lesson of courage and inspiration."⁷⁰ Soon afterwards, the paper ran an editorial with the headline, "Hail Our Cannon Street Champs,"⁷¹ and also wrote about "the appalling unfairness of what happened to the Cannon Street All-Stars in 1955."⁷²

When the All Stars returned to Greenville in 2005 for ceremonies recognizing the fiftieth anniversary of the South Carolina state tournament that produced forfeits solely for the color of their skin, the *Greenville News* led the tribute: "[A]ll we can do now is thank them for being kids who loved baseball when it was a different game. And welcome back to Greenville."⁷³

Righting the Wrong

In 2002, Little League invited the All Stars back to Williamsport with their families as honored guests to throw out the first pitch at that year's World Series. In the opening

ceremonies, the team finally received the South Carolina State Championship banner that it had earned nearly fifty years earlier.⁷⁴

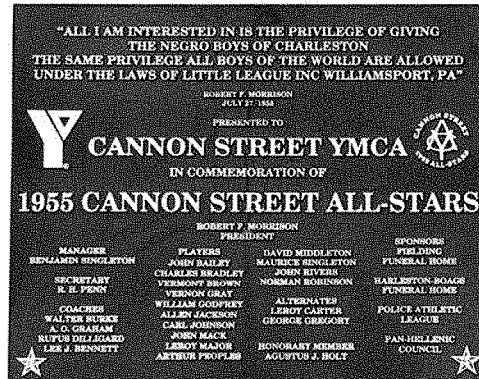
“There is no way to right the wrong perpetrated on the boys of the Cannon Street YMCA Little League team, just as there is no way to right the wrongs perpetrated throughout history on people because of their skin color,” Little League executive director Stephen Keener told the crowd.⁷⁵ Fans representing teams from around the world, including a team from Harlem, responded with a standing ovation.⁷⁶

In 2005, the Cannon Street All Stars returned again to Williamsport to throw out the first pitch of the Little League World Series on the fiftieth anniversary of their team’s exclusion from competitive play.⁷⁷ Two years later, the All Stars were inducted into the Charleston Baseball Hall of Fame, which is located only a few miles from the old landfill where they learned the game.⁷⁸ In 2012, the city of Charleston unveiled an historical marker honoring the All Stars for their accomplishments on and off the field.⁷⁹

Dixie Youth Baseball (DYB) remains the South’s dominant youth baseball organization today, fielding hundreds of leagues with about 400,000 players in eleven southern states. Founded in segregation, DYB has enrolled white and black youngsters alike since 1967.⁸⁰ Its African American alumni include basketball star Michael Jordan and several major league baseball players, notably Bo Jackson, Otis Nixon, and Reggie Sanders.⁸¹

“Staying Positive Is What Kept Us So Strong”

Praising their dignity on and off the field, columnist George F. Will says the Cannon Street All Stars “were never beaten.”⁸² The All Stars are now gray and hitting seventy, and they have lived successful lives pursuing a variety of careers and professions while raising families and doting over their grandchildren.⁸³



In 2000, the city of Charleston unveiled a large plaque at the entrance of a public park near where the All Stars played decades earlier honoring them for their accomplishments on and off the field.

“[T]he bitterness is gone,” says Leroy Major, the All Stars’ pitcher and a former Marine who spent a career mentoring children before he retired as a school teacher a few years ago. “If you hold that bitterness in, it’s going to eat you up. You can’t hate. You have to let it go.... I want to teach love.”⁸⁴

When All Star Maurice Singleton speaks to elementary and secondary school students, he tells the children “to focus on the positive things.”⁸⁵ “Kids today,” he says, “need to... stay positive, like we did. Staying positive is what kept us so strong.”⁸⁶

Looking Back and Looking Ahead

With Southern white resistance to *Brown* simmering, race made national headlines in the summer and late autumn of 1955. Jackie Robinson was inching toward the Hall of Fame after breaking Major League Baseball’s color barrier in 1947. His dignity on and off the field continued to challenge the underpinnings of *de jure* and *de facto* segregation as he led the Brooklyn Dodgers to their only world championship.⁸⁷

On August 28, while the All Stars were on their bus back home to Charleston only two days after the Little League World Series finals, fourteen-year-old Emmett Till (nearly

the same age as they) was brutally murdered in Mississippi, reportedly for insulting a white woman.⁸⁸ According to journalist David Halberstam, Till's murder and his accused killers' trial "at last galvanized the national press corps, and eventually the nation," and "became the first great media event of the civil rights movement."⁸⁹

In a "fearless act of civil disobedience"⁹⁰ on December 1, Rosa Parks helped launch the Civil Rights Movement by refusing to give up her seat to a white man on a public Montgomery, Alabama bus.⁹¹ "The national press corps that had coalesced for the first time at the Emmett Till trial only a few months earlier returned in full strength," reports Halberstam.⁹²

When the Cannon Street All Stars felt the sting of racial prejudice, however, their story never made it onto America's radar screen. Founded in 1939,⁹³ Little League had emerged as a post-war national institution that would receive a federal corporate charter by unanimous act of Congress just a few years later.⁹⁴ The Little League World Series attracted spirited local competition by teams and communities that yearned to participate, but the World Series was still decades away from becoming a "marquee slice of Americana," televised nightly for millions of viewers who pay close attention to happenings on and off the field.⁹⁵

To be sure, the All Stars' brush with discrimination ended much less harshly than many of the other confrontations that have shaped the story of American race relations before and after *Brown*. No one died, shed blood, demonstrated, or suffered arrest and incarceration when Little League short-circuited the team's quest for the World Series title. Nor did the All Stars suffer the lifetime denial of baseball equality that dogged Negro Leagues professional players until Jackie Robinson joined the Dodgers.⁹⁶

The sting of official segregation inflicted on the All Stars, and on other African American children and adolescents, nonethe-

less remains central to assaying *Brown's* legacy. *Brown* itself identified the pernicious effect of racial prejudice on the emotional well-being of the youngest black Americans, even ones who suffered no physical injury or loss of liberty: "To separate [children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race," wrote Chief Justice Earl Warren for the unanimous Court, "generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."⁹⁷

The Capacity for Self-Correction

"The great strength of history in a free society," wrote historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "is its capacity for self-correction."⁹⁸ In its pursuit of racial equality, America enhances this capacity by recalling indignities such as those suffered by the Cannon Street All Stars. Because uncomfortable memories can help shape future correction, the nation's march toward greater racial tolerance is sometimes sustained with stories that acknowledge the harshness of past intolerance.

Writing on *Brown's* fiftieth anniversary on May 17, 2004, Justice Stephen G. Breyer said that the decision's "message sets a goal: we have made progress; we aspire to more."⁹⁹ As the nation pursues aspirations through progress, the story of the Cannon Street All Stars' road from legally sanctioned racial discrimination to reconciliation and forgiveness is remembered in Charleston but largely overlooked almost everywhere else.

The racial barrier that sidelined the All Stars has been called "the civil rights story that got lost in history."¹⁰⁰ The *Post and Courier* calls the All Stars "the most significant team you've never heard of,"¹⁰¹ but their "little-told civil rights saga"¹⁰² enriches chronicles of *Brown's* enduring influence on the fabric of American law and the lives of the nation's children.

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- ³⁵ Sapakoff, *supra* note 1.
- ³⁶ *Id.*
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- ⁴⁴ Sapakoff, *supra* note 1.
- ⁴⁵ *Id.*
- ⁴⁶ *Id.*
- ⁴⁷ Youth Baseball League Founded on Racism Now Flourishing as Integrated Program, *Grand Rapids* (Mich.) *Press*, Aug. 7, 2005, at E11.
- ⁴⁸ Sapakoff, *supra* note 6, at C1.
- ⁴⁹ Sapakoff, *supra* note 1.
- ⁵⁰ Grossfeld, *supra* note 2, at E1.
- ⁵¹ Adcox, *supra* note 40, at 1D.
- ⁵² Bartelme, *supra* note 8, at 1B.
- ⁵³ Adcox, *supra* note 40, at 1D.
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- ⁵⁵ Anthony Lewis, "What Has *Brown* Wrought?," in *Brown at 50*, *supra* note 11, at 108.
- ⁵⁶ 163 U.S. 537 (1896).
- ⁵⁷ Gene Sapakoff, *supra* note 6, at C1.
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- ⁵⁹ ABC News, "Nightline," *supra* note 5 (quoting Mr. Singleton).
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- ⁶⁸ Michael J. Klarman, "Better Late Than Never," *N.Y. Times*, May 17, 2004, at A21.
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- ⁸² George F. Will, "All Stars for a Lifetime," *Wash. Post*, Jan. 12, 2012, at A17.
- ⁸³ Sapakoff, *supra* note 1 (describing the All Stars' later careers and professions).
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- ⁹⁰ Douglas Brinkley, **Rosa Parks** 4 (2000).
- ⁹¹ Halberstam, *supra* note 87, at 539-63.
- ⁹² *Id.* at 361-62.
- ⁹³ Little League Online, *supra* note 39.
- ⁹⁴ Pub. L. 88-378, 78 Stat. 325 (July 16, 1964), amended, Pub. L. 93-551, 88 Stat. 1744 (Dec. 26, 1974), now codified at 36 U.S.C. § 130502(2).
- ⁹⁵ Bob Katz, "Lights, Camera, Little League," *Christian Sci. Mon.*, Aug. 19, 2003, at 12 (quoting ESPN spokesman Michael Humes).

⁹⁶ E.g., Roger Bruns, *Negro Leagues Baseball* (2012); Lawrence D. Hogan, *Shades of Glory: The Negro Leagues and the Story of African-American Baseball* (2006); Donn Rogosin, *Invisible Men: Life in Baseball's Negro Leagues* (1983).

⁹⁷ *Brown*, 347 U.S. at 494.

⁹⁸ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Folly's Antidote," *N.Y. Times*, Jan. 1, 2007, at A19.

⁹⁹ Stephen G. Breyer, "50 Years after *Brown*," *N.Y. Times*, May 17, 2004, at A21.

¹⁰⁰ ABC News, *supra* note 3.

¹⁰¹ Sapakoff, *supra* note 41, at B1. The All Stars players are John Bailey, Charles Bradley, Vermont Brown,

William Godfrey, Vernon C. Grey, Allen Jackson, Carl Johnson, John Mack, Leroy Major, David Middleton, Arthur Peoples, John Rivers, Norman Robinson, and Maurice Singleton. The alternates are Leroy Carter and George Gregory. The coaches and founders are Lee J. Bennett, Walter Burke, Rufus Dilligard, A.O. Graham, Robert Morrison, R.H. Penn and Benjamin Singleton. The honorary team member is Augustus Holt. See "1955 Little League Team from Charleston, S.C.," to be featured on ESPN, http://www.littleleague.org/media/newsarchive/04_2005/05_cannonstreet_espn.htm (2005).

¹⁰² "Black Team Banned in '55 Honored," *Providence (R.I.) J.-Bull.*, Aug. 18, 2002, at D5.