GENERAL OFFICE FILE

SIT-INS
General
1959
1960, Jan-May
MEMORANDUM
March 30, 1959

TO: Messrs Wilkins and Current
RE: Youth "Sit-down Protests

I am pleased to report that four of our NAACP youth councils are currently engaged in "sit-down" protests against discrimination of Negroes in places of public accommodation. The four youth councils are: Baltimore, Maryland, Louisville, Kentucky, Maywood, Illinois and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. In addition, the Durham, North Carolina Youth Council has reported plans to launch a similar campaign against its municipal auditorium which refuses to serve Negro students.

The Oklahoma City youth action has now resulted in 49 drug and department stores opening their facilities to Negro customers. The Louisville council has been successful at Kress and Woolworth department stores and is currently engaged in action against the Howard Johnson restaurant chain in that city. Mrs. Jackson reports that the Baltimore Youth Council has opened one drug store and is currently fighting discrimination in two local restaurants.
A FOLLOW-UP REPORT ON THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT
AFTER TWO MONTHS

The student protest movement which began in the South on February 1, 1960 had by the end of its second month spread to at least 65 Southern cities. (A list is at the conclusion of this report.) There are as yet no conclusive signs that momentum has weakened.

In its original and still most characteristic aspect the movement represents an effort to induce those private businesses that solicit Negro trade to extend all their services and courtesies to Negroes. The demands dramatized by the "sit-ins" are an issue among citizens, a protest of community practices requiring a re-examination of community social patterns. The numerous arrests on trespass charges, when state or city laws were clearly violated, does not alter the essential nature of the "sit-ins" as an appeal of one segment of the citizenry to another.

The movement acquired a second aspect, however, in those localities where the number of arrests and the tactics of the state and local law enforcement authorities showed an obvious intent to place the power of the state against the right of the Negroes to express dissent. There is a very clear distinction between the obligatory action of police in quietly enforcing laws (as, e. g., in Richmond or Atlanta), and the heavy-handed imposition of force to suppress and punish dissent which has been evident in all too many places. Where this has happened, the issue now is no longer between citizens, but has become a struggle between Negro citizens and state power.

The movement took on a third aspect in late March when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People decided to undertake a systematic program of legal defense of the demonstrators. If carried
through, this will mean not only a claim before the courts that civil liberties have been infringed, but will also seek a re-definition of the legal duties and rights of property owners in the conduct of their business.

Thus what began as an issue of community relations may well end as a question of legal rights and privileges. This was probably inevitable, given the inability of local leadership, except in San Antonio,* to resolve decisively the problems thrust onto the South's load of troubles by the first important American instance of student direct action for social reform. In San Antonio, "sit-in" demonstrations were avoided by a businessmen's decision, reached through the mediation of the city's Council of Churches, to abandon segregated lunch counters.

That other cities have not yet succeeded in resolving the dilemma is not surprising when it is recognized that the initial call for leadership was directed at merchants, a group sensitive to so many pressures as to be peculiarly unprepared for the role of leading social change. Unless they—both local proprietors and large chains—can be supported and, in fact, led by persons or groups of acknowledged civic prestige, it is fruitless to expect merchants to decide what shall be the social practices of the community. There is realistic value, therefore, in the work of established or specially created citizens' committees which in several cities are attempting to end the dispute (e.g., Greensboro, Durham, Raleigh, and Salisbury, N. C.; Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee; Miami, Fla.). In several other cities, informal unpublicized committees are in operation. A state-wide committee has been formed in Florida by the governor and several localities have, at his urging, set up their own committees.

* Also in Jefferson City (Mo.), a series of bi-racial meetings of civic, business, and church leaders led to a decision to end segregation in downtown eating places on March 28.
Such groups as these, plus the good offices of the churches, are the only realistic hope for a settlement outside the courtroom. They are capable of breathing into the settlements what is urgently necessary: the spirit and the temper of the many and differing communities which make up the South. On March 17, the Winston-Salem Sentinel said, in an editorial headlined "When Lunch Counters Reopen, They Should Serve All Customers":

Negroes who seek service without discrimination at lunch counters in Winston-Salem variety stores now have the backing of two substantial groups in the community. Last week a majority of members present at a meeting of the Forsyth Ministers Fellowship expressed "sympathy and admiration" for the lunch counter protest. On Tuesday, 60 members of the Wake Forest College faculty, speaking as "private citizens," asked the managers of five stores to open their lunch counters to all customers, regardless of race.

Winston-Salem's experience in the field of race relations tends to support the belief of the Wake Forest faculty members that the community would accept the change rather quickly, once it is put into effect. This community, moreover, has avoided the disorder that has accompanied the lunch counter protest in other Southern cities. One reason we have not had serious trouble here is that the store managers have had the good judgment to keep the lunch counters closed most of the time since the protest started, rather than to try to operate them on a segregated basis.

It may be wise to keep the lunch counters closed here for the time being. But it is logical to suggest that when they are opened again that they be opened on a desegregated basis.

Such action will not solve all of Winston-Salem's race problems. They cannot be solved here or anywhere else by a single stroke. But such a move would tell the Negro citizens that the white community is receptive to reasonable requests for removing racial discrimination. That in itself could advance the cause of good race relations in the community.

A private business, of course, has the legal right to serve or to refuse to serve any customer. Unwanted customers can be arrested for trespass if they disobey an order to leave the premises. But arrests for trespass are not the answer to the lunch counter protest.

The current protests are directed at business establishments that cater, in all departments except one, to customers without regard to race or color. The Negroes thus can logically complain of unfair discrimination when they are segregated or denied service at the lunch counter.
winston-Salem has already moved away from enforced segregation in its public school system, on city buses, on its public golf courses and in Memorial Coliseum. Desegregation in these areas has been accomplished with little or no fanfare. It is an accomplished and accepted fact. We could reasonably expect a similar result if lunch counters were added to the list.

The last paragraph of the editorial points out the paradoxical inconsistencies in Southern racial practices. In a report prepared for the Nashville Community Relations Conference, Wallace Westfeldt illustrates the same puzzling pattern:

In Nashville Negro and white children attend class together in public schools and parochial schools and in the city's major colleges and universities. In Nashville there are two Negro city councilmen, Negro policemen (one now in the process of being upgraded from enlisted to detective rank), and Negro members of the board of education, transit and hospital authorities. In Nashville, for years, Negroes have attended lunch dinner meetings of various social, religious, civic and professional groups with interracial memberships in downtown hotels. Among such meetings have been those of the United Givers Fund, the League of Women Voters and the United Church Women. In Nashville, Negro and white commuters ride the city buses in smooth, non-segregated style. In Nashville also, Negroes are welcomed as customers in the downtown stores where they spend an estimated $7,500,000 a year. In two department stores, for example, they are politely fitted for clothes from head to foot—and from skinside out. In downtown Nashville, however, Negroes have no adequate facilities for eating. Welcomed as customers for merchandise, they are refused service as customers for food.

The recent spectacles in Orangeburg (S.C.), Tallahassee (Fla.), Montgomery (Ala.), Petersburg (Va.), and a half-dozen or so other places drive a barbed wedge of hostility between the South's peoples, and obliterate that confidence in each others' motives which makes possible meaningful community discussion. The press reports and photographs concerning these mis-directed cities underline the justice of the comment of the Union of South Africa's Ambassador, in objecting to the United States protest of the Bantu killings by police of that country:

I emphasized to Mr. Herter that by calling such a [U. N.]
meeting... a precedent will undoubtedly be created which would enable the Security Council to discuss racial and other disturbances in any other country.

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With all respect, the situations are more than "a local matter for local authorities" as President Eisenhower described them. This is not to suggest that federal action is required, or even necessarily that federal rights are involved. But these situations, which put on exhibition before the world the American potential for police state methods, do raise far beyond their local settings the question of the recourse of a minority group when state or local governments are hostile toward it, rather than the impartial agents of all citizens.

The legal status of the demonstrators is no clearer than it was in February. Through March 31, nearly 1,300 arrests have been made, and the overwhelming bulk of these were of Negroes; there were nearly 400 arrests in Orangeburg, nearly 150 in Nashville, about 45 each in Tallahassee and Florence, S. C., about 80 in Atlanta, about 65 in Memphis, nearly 85 in Marshall, Tex. Trials are proceeding methodically, and there have so far been approximately 250 convictions.

Mississippi, apparently convinced that every fortress can be made a little tighter, enacted in March additional laws to forestall demonstrations. A bill to make "sit-ins" a trespass and a misdemeanor is still before the South Carolina legislature. Of great, but not immediate, importance was the action of the Supreme Court in late February, agreeing to review a trespass conviction of a Negro interstate bus passenger, refused service at a privately leased bus terminal restaurant in Richmond.

The demonstrations in Atlanta on March 8 were designed to raise with particular sharpness questions of discrimination in bus and train depots and in public buildings. In so doing, legal problems basically different from those arising from service in dime, drug, and department stores were put to the test. One interesting twist of the Atlanta "sit-ins" was the
selection of cafeterias in two office buildings of which the federal government is sole tenant.

During the whole critical period since 1954, the South has suffered acutely from lack of leaders. As in the great crisis of 1860, the South's political leadership has been almost entirely composed of nay-sayers. One of the more heartening occurrences of these past two months has been the temperate and affirmative stand of a number of Southern mayors, as well as the many informed and wise statements from church and private organizations. All these were joined on March 20 by Governor Collins of Florida in a radio-TV address:

***
Now, under our free enterprise system and under our laws, a merchant has the legal right to select the patrons he serves. And certainly he is going to be protected in that legal right.

***
The customer, of course, has the legal right to trade or not to trade with any man he wants to—and, of course, there is the right to demonstrate, and the people should be protected in that right, too.

***
But, actually, we are foolish if we just think about resolving this thing on a legal basis. In the first place, our merchants have too much involved so far as their business prosperity is concerned to have racial tensions of this order.

***
But, aside from that, we've got the moral rights and we've got the principles of brotherhood that are involved in these issues...

***
And, so far as I'm personally concerned, I don't mind saying that I think that, if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come into his department store and trade, then it is unfair and morally wrong to single out one department and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department.

***
We have got mobs beginning to form now in this nation, in this Southland and in this State. The time requires intelligent, careful, thorough study of big problems and the reaching of solutions that are going to be reasonable and sound and make good sense.

We cannot let this matter and these issues be decided by the mobs, whether they are made up of white people or whether they are made up of colored people.

(This is the second revision of the Council's special report; the earlier discussions, with but small changes, follow.)

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### A Chronological Listing of the Cities in Which Demonstrations Have Occurred

**February 1 - March 31, 1960**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Date</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Sit-Ins at Private Establishments?</th>
<th>Bus &amp; Train Stations?</th>
<th>Public Buildings?</th>
<th>Other Forms of Protest</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 1</td>
<td>Greensboro, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>picketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 8</td>
<td>Durham, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>march</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 8</td>
<td>Winston-Salem, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 9</td>
<td>Charlotte, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>picketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 9</td>
<td>Fayetteville, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>picketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 10</td>
<td>Raleigh, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>picketing prayer meeting on state capitol steps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 11</td>
<td>Elizabeth City, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayor's committee recommended 60-day trial integration 3/31; no immediate response from variety stores.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 11</td>
<td>High Point, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 11</td>
<td>Hampton, Va.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>picketing march religious service on courthouse lawn, march</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 12</td>
<td>Concord, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This list is compiled principally from press reports. Although the record on these and the following pages is as accurate as we can make it, some events were undoubtedly unreported or not included in our files.*

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Private establishment?</th>
<th>Bus &amp; Train Stations?</th>
<th>Public Buildings?</th>
<th>Other forms of Protest</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 12</td>
<td>Norfolk, Va.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 12</td>
<td>Portsmouth, Va.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 12</td>
<td>Rock Hill, SC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>march, attempt-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 12</td>
<td>Deland, Fla.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>ed boy-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 13</td>
<td>Nashville, Tenn.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>picketing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 13</td>
<td>Tallahassee, Fla.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Student leader expelled from Vanderbilt Divinity School. Negroes served at Greyhound Station 3/12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 16</td>
<td>Salisbury, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>march</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 16</td>
<td>Shelby, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Police broke up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 18</td>
<td>Suffolk, Va.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>march 3/12 with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 19</td>
<td>Chattanooga, Tenn.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Police broke up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 20</td>
<td>Richmond, Va.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>march</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 20</td>
<td>Baltimore, Md.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Picketing direct-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Sit-ins at Private Establishments?</td>
<td>Bus &amp; Other Train Stations?</td>
<td>Public Buildings?</td>
<td>Other forms of Protests</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 22</td>
<td>Newport News, Va.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>picketing march</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 25</td>
<td>Montgomery, Ala.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>march, mass rally on campus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 25</td>
<td>Orangeburg, SC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>march</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 25</td>
<td>Henderson, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 25</td>
<td>Charleston, SC</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 27</td>
<td>Lexington, Ky.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 27</td>
<td>Tuskegee, Ala.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 27</td>
<td>Petersburg, Va.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>negotiating teams visited stores asking for desegregated service and rest rooms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Private establishments?</td>
<td>Bus &amp; Train Stations?</td>
<td>Public Buildings?</td>
<td>Other forms of Protest</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 28</td>
<td>Chapel Hill, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 29</td>
<td>Denmark, SC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 29</td>
<td>Tampa, Fla.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 1</td>
<td>Monroe, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 2</td>
<td>St. Petersburg, Fla.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 2</td>
<td>Sarasota, Fla.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 2</td>
<td>Daytona Beach, Fla.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>attempted boycott</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 2</td>
<td>Columbia, SC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>march</td>
<td>Negroes attacked several cars at a white drive-in restaurant 3/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 3</td>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>newspaper ad, picketing</td>
<td>Sit-in included theatrical performance at Municipal Auditorium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 4</td>
<td>Sumter, SC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>rally on courthouse steps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 4</td>
<td>Florence, SC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 4</td>
<td>Orlando, Fla.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 4</td>
<td>Miami, Fla.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>Participants were adult ministers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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<thead>
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<th>Public Buildings?</th>
<th>Other forms of Protest</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 5</td>
<td>Houston, Tex.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>picketing</td>
<td>Negroes served in City Hall cafeteria 3/23; lessee announced return to segregation 3/25. A Negro brutally tortured by white youths 3/7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 5</td>
<td>Xenia, Ohio</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>Restaurant desegregated after 3-day closing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 7</td>
<td>Sanford, Fla.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>students met with city manager and petitioned unsuccessfully for use of civic center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 7</td>
<td>Bluefield, W. Va.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>picketing</td>
<td>Theatre included in demonstrations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 7</td>
<td>Knoxville, Tenn.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 8</td>
<td>New Orleans, La.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>on-campus parade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 10</td>
<td>Little Rock, Ark.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 10</td>
<td>Huntsville, Ala.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>march</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks

Negroes served in City Hall cafeteria 3/23; lessee announced return to segregation 3/25. A Negro brutally tortured by white youths 3/7.

Restaurant desegregated after 3-day closing.

Students met with city manager and petitioned unsuccessfully for use of civic center.

Theatre included in demonstrations.

State Atty., Gen., smeared president of students' college (Philander Smith) as suspect of left-wing subversion.
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<th>Other Forms of Protest</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 11</td>
<td>Austin, Tex.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>march, picketing leaflets</td>
<td>Demonstrations were directed against the segregationist housing, athletic, drama policies of the University of Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 11</td>
<td>Galveston, Tex.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 12</td>
<td>Jacksonville, Fla.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 13</td>
<td>San Antonio, Tex.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>ultimate conference</td>
<td>Six variety stores and a city-wide drug chain began desegregated service 3/16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 15</td>
<td>St. Augustine, Fla.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fights suppressed by police 3/17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 16</td>
<td>Savannah, Ga.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>picketing attempted boycott</td>
<td>White and Negro mobs dispersed by police 3/17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 17</td>
<td>New Bern, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 18</td>
<td>Memphis, Tenn.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>meeting with City Com- mission</td>
<td>Most important sit-in has been for library service. Art gallery also a target.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 19</td>
<td>Wilmington, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 19</td>
<td>Arlington, Va.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sit-in led to fight between store owner and Negroes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xxiv
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Date</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Private establishments?</th>
<th>Bus &amp; Train Stations?</th>
<th>Public Buildings?</th>
<th>Other forms of Protest</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 19</td>
<td>Lenoir, NC</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Negroes entered library and were not disturbed in using the facilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 21</td>
<td>Statesville, NC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 25</td>
<td>Pine Bluff, Ark.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>attempted boycott</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 26</td>
<td>Lynchburg, Va.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 26</td>
<td>Charleston, W. Va.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 26</td>
<td>Marshall, Tex.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>mass gathering on court house square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 28</td>
<td>Baton Rouge, La.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>march</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 31</td>
<td>Birmingham, Ala.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders of demonstration expelled by Southern University; other students are staying out of classes in protest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUPPORT THE SOUTHERN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

WHO WHILE MAKING PEACEFUL PROTESTS AGAINST WOOLWORTH'S WHITE SUPREMACY TACTICS, WERE TEAR GASED, BEATEN, FIRE HOSED, AND ARRESTED. THESE YOUNG AMERICANS, SEEKING THE DIGNITY AND RESPECT TO WHICH THEY ARE ENTITLED AS HUMAN BEINGS, ARE NOW IN JAIL CELLS OR FACING HEAVY FINES. WHEN YOU GIVE YOUR DOLLARS TO WOOLWORTH, YOU HELP TO MAINTAIN THE UGLY INSTITUTION OF WHITE SUPREMACY. PLEASE HELP OUR OWN "FREEDOM FIGHTERS" BY TAKING YOUR BUSINESS TO A COMPANY THAT IS NOT ENGAGED IN THE DIRTY BUSINESS OF DISGRACING OUR NATION BEFORE THE WORLD IN ITS BLIND QUEST FOR THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR.

In the South all Woolworth stores serve white persons at fine lunch counters where tired shoppers can sit and rest — but Negroes are forced to go to small and separated counters in the back of the stores and STAND in order to get something to eat. It is quite profitable for Woolworth's to serve Negroes who make up a large fraction of their customers, but in order to amuse and woo local white bigots, the Woolworth company makes the Negroes STAND to eat as a gesture of white supremacy.

WOOLWORTH TRIES TO PRETEND THAT IT IS AN INNOCENT VICTIM OF RACIAL TENSIONS — BUT WOOLWORTH, WITH ITS WHITE SUPREMACY TACTICS, IS A CO-PERPETRATOR OF THE STRIFE AND IS HUMILIATING NEGROES AS A METHOD OF PROFIT MAKING.

HERE IS THE PRINCIPLE FOR WHICH WE STAND — FOR WHICH WE MARCH:

No individual in our democratic society, no group, no institution, and no business organization is exempt or excused from the moral obligation to recognize the sacred dignity of human beings.

Can you, in good faith with your conscience, give your dollars to a company that is making its profits by destroying the dignity of mankind everywhere that they think they can make an extra dollar—that way. Many Southern cities are now proving that lunch counters can be operated serving all people equally — but the immoral giant, Woolworth, refuses to take a stand for simple fairness and moral justice.

Please join us in saying NO! to this kind of degenerate business ethics.

This united social protest is being coordinated by the Univ. of Colorado Chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. — Supported by the Boulder ACLU and the University: Young Republicans, Student YMCA, YPSL, Channing-Murray, Politics Club, CPRD, Enquirers, Graduate Club, Ad Hoc Committee on Student Discipline, and the Roger Williams Fellowship.

For a Better America.....
February 16, 1960

MEMORANDUM TO MR. HENRY L. MOON FROM CLOSTER E. CURRENT

Mr. Wilkins' agrees that there should be some publicity upon our action supporting the protest demonstrations in the South by calling upon our branches, North and South, to give further support to our brothers and co-workers by protesting to the presidents of Woolworth's and Kress. In the North, our letter calls for peaceful demonstrations and consideration should be given to including this in the release.

GEC: jw
GC: I mean, Are you in the office?
Ans: No, No, I'm not in the office, I'm at my uncle's house.
GC: Now would you be kind enough to read that letter to me slowly
Ans: The whole letter?
GC: Yes, I would like to get it down. Its addressed to whom?
Ans: James Lawson, that is, to the attention of James Lawson.
GC: Have you mailed it?
Ans: Yes, I mailed it.
GC: Would you read it so we can take it down?

LETTER
Hello James:
I am one of the leaders whom you met at the ______ convention.
I represented the _______ sit-ins with others of course. I have an idea which will work if there are competent people who can among other things give impetus to a stronger line of sit-ins in September to show most of the _______ maturity of the young Negro and something of his potential power plus do all the things that sit-ins do within the embodiment of our non-violent philosophy. Consequently, I believe that you are the logical man. I refer to setting up an office in Washington. On the 8th of August, Congress has a special session. We would by lobbying to use political terms. Both parties have strong civil rights planks and the Democrats have even endorsed sit-ins as you probably know. As usual they have made promises, but you know how that is. Here is a chance for us to push to actualize their promises or face exposure at a time when all November races will be based on civil rights and there connection with the sit-ins. I have access to an office in Washington (I just assumed that NAACP would let us use their offices) and from this office we could diseminate information gathered from interviews of all delegates present in November. Maybe we could even get audiences with Nixon, Kennedy,
Johnson and others. They could hardly risk denial of words with young men and women who speak so loud to the consciences of both Negro and white in this country and in the world. These moves would have far-reaching affects and there is much room for variation and adjustment in accord with our whole struggle. I further propose that we appeal to two Republicans and the same number of Democrats to present same spring or fall proposals both to the House and the Senate, for example to the world that Congress make a formal resolution in regard to the sit-ins. That Federal scholarship be available for students who are dismissed from school and are otherwise reprimanded when seeking civil rights. That point three of the 1957 civil rights bill be reinstated. Whether or not these things are done, there will be far-reaching ramifications especially evidenced will be the effect it will have on students all over the country who participate in the sit-ins. That attitude that "we have just begun to fight" will be prevalent and the September students all over the country will be in the spirit of things. I have to work to go to school and am presently employed by the . Although all types of newspapers are at my disposal I have been unable to understand any of how the coordinating committee is functioning. No information is being received by any of my friends except epitome of alot of convention. It is my considered opinion therefore, that this is an opportunity for coordinating committee to spring alive and show itself to our fellows. We as followers would have a greater sense of confidence in you that simple efficiency would cease to be of nonsensical deliberation as was the case in Raleigh. I have a week off between August the first and August seventh and will be in Richmond at that time. You may contact me there. Please be prompt for it would be good if the machinery was set up by the 8th. I have talked with T. Walker, my friend but, he will
be engaged in moving to Atlanta and so his direct advice will not be available. For that reason he advised me to "cool" the idea until later but, impatient man that I am I feel of the spirit of God saying "no". After giving the matter some thought you will feel the same way. We will definitely need you. Give my regards to [name]. Please let me know at once for then I will probably have to do most of the pushing otherwise I feel confident that the men you have working on the coordinating committee will suffice.
March 2, 1960

MEMORANDUM TO MR. HENRY LEE MOON FROM GLOSTER B. CURRENT

RE: NAACP UNITS SUPPORT SOUTHERN PROTESTS

Acting on the call of the Executive Secretary, Roy Wilkins, NAACP Branches throughout the country have written the presidents of Woolworth and Kress variety stores in support of the protest of southern Negroes and students against their policies of refusing to serve Negroes at lunch counters throughout the South.

Supporting demonstrations have been planned by many northern branches in addition to telegrams and letters which have been sent to the companies. Some of the branches holding protest demonstrations include:

- Easton, Pennsylvania Branch
  Letter to Woolworth. Also noticed that Negroes not employed in Easton.

- Wichita, Kansas Branch
  Letters to Woolworth and Kress.
  Organizing protest picket line in front of local stores.

- New York State Conference (and Branches)
  Organizing protest picketing Saturday.

- Flushing, New York Branch
  Holding protest meeting Sunday.

- Broome County Council of Churches
  Letter supporting drive.

- Maywood, Illinois Branch
  Letter to Woolworth and Kress.
Memorandum

Page Two

March 2, 1960

Louisville, Kentucky Branch
Sponsored anti-segregation public accommodations ordinance which was rejected by Board of Alderman last week. Youth picketing segregated showing of Porgy and Bess at local theatre.

Portsmouth, Virginia Branch
Letter to Woolworth and Kress.

New Jersey State Conference
Letter to Woolworth and Kress.

Members and pastor of Bright Hope Baptist Church, Rev. William H. Gray, Jr. minister, Philadelphia

Pinal County, Arizona Branch
Protest letter

Chicago, Illinois Branch
Telegram on behalf of 20,000 members.

San Mateo, California Branch
Protest demonstrations.

St. Louis, Missouri Branch
Letter to Woolworth and Kress.

Rochester, New York Branch
Sending letters to Woolworth and Kress.

On Saturday, March 5, the following youth councils will hold Student Protest Rallies:

Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan
Peekskill, New York (Branch and Youth Council)
City College of New York
Columbia University
Queens College
Brooklyn, New York Community College
Rutgers University (Newark Division)
Rochester University

It would be safe in saying that the majority of NAACP branches in the North have followed through on our action and are urging other organizations to do so.
Memo to Moon
Page Three
March 2, 1960

There should be a box on the press release calling on citizens to support the southern protest demonstrations by writing individual letters to the variety store owners.

JW
March 2, 1960

MEMORANDUM TO: Mrs. Ruby Hurley

MEN: L. C. Bates
Medgar Evers
Amos Kelmers
Clarence Laws
Charles McLean
W. C. Patton
Robert Saunders
Herbert L. Wright

SUBJECT: Sit-Ins and Protest Demonstrations

FROM: Clester B. Current, Director of Branches

Please send the National Office a detailed report of
the protest against variety stores in your jurisdiction.
The information should include cities involved, the names
of colleges and high schools and specific information
about how the protest began, arrests, bail bonds, etc.

We are also interested in learning the extent of
NAACP participation including the names of those who are
in charge of activities or who are assisting in any manner
whatsoever. We also want to know the names of the attorneys
working in the cases.

This information is vitally important because the only
information we are able to obtain at the moment is from the
press and telephone conversations. We need a complete
record of our participation in this.

Let us have this report at once.

Sincerely,


cr

GC: JW
Draft of copy for leaflet

Full Service

or

NONE

If you can't buy and each lunch in any

Woolworth or Kress Store

anywhere

Why buy shoelaces, thread, cosmetics

paper plates or anything in

any of these stores?

Demand

Full Service

or

NONE

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.
TELEGRAM

EDWARD TURNER
AND ART JOHNSON

YOUR TELEGRAM REGARDING THE STATEMENT WHICH I MADE ABOUT SITDOWNS IN THE RESTAURANTS IS CORRECT. I WOULD DO JUST WHAT IS SAID I WOULD DO. NAACP IS AN ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS BEEN WORKING FOR GOODWILL AND COMMONSENSE IN THIS SITUATION WITH WHICH WE ARE FACED. WHEN THEY DO THINGS THAT CAUSE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN AS FRIENDLY TO THEM AS I HAVE BEEN TO FEEL THAT THEY ARE DOING THE WRONG THING, THEY ARE LOSING FRIENDS INSTEAD OF MAKING THEM. IF I WERE IN DETROIT I WOULD SAY THE SAME THING TO YOU PERSONALLY FOR ALL THE NEWSPAPERS AND TELEVISION IN THE COUNTRY. I CAN'T COME TO DETROIT BECAUSE OF ILLNESS IN THE FAMILY BUT IF I WERE THERE I WOULD TELL YOU EXACTLY WHAT I AM SAYING NOW. THIS IS NOT PERSONAL NOR CONFIDENTIAL.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.
IN EXPRESSING A DESIRE TO MEET WITH MR. TRUMAN AND TO ACQUAINT HIM FURTHER WITH SOME OF THE FACTS AND UNDERLINED ISSUES THAT ARE INVOLVED IN THE SITDOWN PROTEST-Demonstrations BY STUDENTS IN THE SOUTH, WE HAD HOPED THAT MR. T. MIGHT COME TO A CHANGE OF MIND IN THIS MATTER. IN A SPIRIT OF FRIENDLINESS AND OUT OF OUR CONCERN FOR THE PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE FOR THIS TROUBLE, THE FORMER PRESIDENT COULD FIND COMMON GROUND WITH THE YOUNG PEOPLE AND OTHERS WHO ARE CHALLENGING THE CONTINUANCE OF RACIAL SEGREGATION AT SOUTHERN LUNCHCOUNTERS. THAT THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE IS MORE THAN DISAPPOINTING, IT IS TRAGIC. WE ARE HOWEVER ENCOURAGED BY THE FACT THAT A GROWING NUMBER OF AMERICAN LEADERS AMONG THEM THE PRES OF THE US, MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT AND GOV. LEROY COLLINS OF FLA HAVE RECOGNIZED BOTH THE BASIC ISSUE IN THE LUNCHCOUNTER PROTEST AND THE INESCAPABLE FACT THAT IT MUST BE DEALT WITH IN REALISTIC TERMS. AS FOR THE ROLE OF THE NAACP, WE THINK THAT THE ASSOCIATION WILL REMAIN DEDICATED AS MR. T. RECOGNIZES SO WELL TO THE TASK OF WORKING FOR GOODWILL AND COMMON SENSE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT EVEN OUR FRIENDS AT TIMES MAY NOT AGREE WITH OUR METHODS AND CANNOT FULLY APPRECIATE OUR ANXIETY IN THIS STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND YET, IF WE ARE TO CONTINUE TO MAKE PROGRESS SOMETIMES THIS IS THE PRICE WE HAVE TO PAY. THE OCCASIONAL DIFFERENCES OF OPINION SHOULD NOT DIVERT EITHER OURSELVES OR OUR FRIENDS FROM A COMMON GOAL.
TELEGRAM

February 11, 1960

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE deplores continued refusal of Woolworth, Kress and other variety stores to serve Negro patrons in North Carolina and elsewhere in South on same basis as whites at lunch counters and soda fountains. We fully support the protest demonstrations of students in North Carolina. There is no law in that state supporting present racial discriminatory policy. Even if there were such a law, we could not countenance it in view of present rulings of courts on segregation.

This is a free country, not South Africa. Apartheid has no place in American thought, law, custom, or practice. Just as Africans are tired of segregation, so do American Negroes want freedom in all phases of life in this country.

Would like to remind you that your stores enjoy wide patronage of Negroes not only in North Carolina but all over this country. We urge you give immediate consideration to changing outmoded policies to one of serving all customers on same basis without segregation or discrimination, or we shall have to advise Negroes everywhere that some stores in which they spend their money are contributing to maintenance of outmoded and unlawful practices.
February 11, 1960

TEXT OF TELEGRAM SENT BY NAACP EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ROY WILKINS TO GEORGE COBB, NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF S.H. KRESS AND COMPANY, AND R.C. KIRKWOOD, NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF F.W. WOOLWORTH AND COMPANY:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE DEPLORES CONTINUED REFUSAL OF WOOLWORTH /KRESS/ STORES TO SERVE NEGRO PATRONS IN NORTH CAROLINA AND ELSEWHERE IN SOUTH ON SAME BASIS AS WHITE CUSTOMERS AT LUNCH COUNTERS AND SODA FOUNTAINS. WE FULLY SUPPORT THE PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS OF STUDENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA. THERE IS NO LAW IN THAT STATE SUPPORTING PRESENT RACIAL DISCRIMINATORY POLICY. APARTEID HAS NO PLACE IN AMERICAN NATIONAL POLICY. YOUR STORES ENJOY WIDE PATRONAGE OF NEGRO CITIZENS NOT ONLY IN NORTH CAROLINA BUT OVER ENTIRE COUNTRY. WE URGE YOU GIVE IMMEDIATE CONSIDERATION TO CHANGING PRESENT OUTMODOED POLICY TO ONE OF SERVING ALL CUSTOMERS ON SAME BASIS WITHOUT SEGREGATION OR DISCRIMINATION. OUR MEMBERS AND FRIENDS IN MANY CITIES ARE WATCHING THE NORTH CAROLINA DEVELOPMENTS WITH KEEN INTEREST AND DEEP SYMPATHY.

*Note: Same text sent to Messrs. Cobb and Kirkwood
March 2, 1960

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Letter to Woolworth. Also noticed that Negroes not employed in Easton.

Wichita, Kansas Branch:
Letters to Woolworth and Kress.
Organizing protest picket line in front of local stores.

New York State Conference (and Branches):
Organizing protest picketing Saturday.

Flushing, New York Branch:
Holding protest meeting Sunday.

Broome County Council of Churches:
Letter supporting drive.

Maywood, Illinois Branch:
Letter to Woolworth and Kress.
Memo: Moon  
Page Two  
March 2, 1960

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Sponsored anti-segregation public accommodations ordinance which was rejected by Board of Alderman last week. Youth picketing segregated showing of Porgy and Bess at local theatre.

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Letter to Woolworth and Kress.

New Jersey State Conference:  
Letter to Woolworth and Kress.

Members and pastor of Bright Hope Baptist Church, Rev. William H. Gray, Jr. minister, Philadelphia

Pinal County, Arizona Branch:  
Protest letter

Chicago, Illinois Branch:  
Telegrams on behalf of 20,000 members.

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Sending letters to Woolworth and Kress.

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Peekskill, New York (Branch and Youth Council)
City College of New York
Columbia University
Queens College
Brooklyn, New York Community College
Rutgers University (Newark Division)
Rochester University

It would be safe in saying that the majority of NAACP branches in the North have followed through on our action and are urging other organizations to do so.
Memo: Moon
Page Three
March 2, 1960

There should be a box on the press release calling on citizens to support the southern protest demonstrations by writing individual letters to the variety store owners.

GB: jw
MEMORANDUM
March 3, 1960

TO: Mr. Wilkins
FROM: Herbert L. Wright
RE: Emergency Conference on Youth

I am requesting authorization to sponsor a one-day national emergency
conference on sit-down protests in Washington, D.C., on Saturday,
March 24, 1960. The objectives of the conference will be:

1. To map plans for a mammoth nationwide sit-down campaign against
discrimination in all places of public accommodation in the
United States — north and south.

2. To inform and educate student leaders on effective techniques
which they may use in order to carry out their protests to a
successful conclusion.

3. To mobilize the vast resources of our youth and student popula-
tion in the fight against racial discrimination and segregation.

4. To inspire and motivate student protest leaders to continue the
fight.

5. To enable the Association to gather factual information about
the current protest demonstrations in the South.

6. To project the NAACP, and enable it to assume the major coordinat-
ing role in the protests.

The conference would be held at the Congressional Hotel and would have a
maximum attendance of 200 youth and student leaders and representatives
from civil rights organizations with which the Association cooperate.

Participating in the conference would be: leaders of all student protest
movements; high school and college student body presidents; high school
and college student editors; representatives from NAACP youth and college
unions; representatives from national youth serving organizations such as
the U.S. National Students Association, WAC and WCA's, Students for
Democratic Action, and church youth groups, etc.

The conference would cost the Association approximately $2,500. Most of
this expense would be defrayed by charging a registration fee of $3 per
colleague. In addition, we could sponsor a public mass meeting on Saturday
evening and raise a minimum of $500 to apply towards the expenses. At the
close of the conference we would launch a nationwide petition campaign to
gather 250,000 signatures to be sent to the management of Sears and
Goodwill stores respectively, requesting them to open the full facilities
of their stores in the South to all of their customers without distinction
as to race, or color.
We could also launch a parallel campaign to get students and adults to sign pledge cards which might read as follows:

I solemnly pledge that I will not knowingly patronize any establishment or business which refuses to serve persons because of race, color or national origin.

Signed

Buttons with appropriate slogans could also be distributed through the delegates at the conference and the various youth and adult organizations which cooperate with us in our civil rights program.

I firmly believe that interest in such a conference is quite high and if the Association does not act immediately to sponsor it I am afraid that we may be out-manuevered by some other organization.

Please let me have your reaction to this as soon as possible.

MLI/sw

cr to:
Mr. Current
MEMORANDUM
March 3, 1960

TO: Mr. Wilkins
FROM: Herbert L. Wright
RE: National Youth Conference on Sit-down Demonstrations

I am requesting authorization to sponsor a one day national emergency conference on sit-down protests in Washington, D. C., on Saturday, March 26, 1960.

The objective of the conference will be:

1. To map plans for a mammoth nationwide sit-down campaign against discrimination in all place of public accommodation in the United States - north and south.

2. To inform and educate student leaders on effective techniques which they may use in order to carry out their protests to a successful conclusion.

3. To mobilize the vast resources of our youth and student population in the fight against racial discrimination and segregation.

4. To inspire and motivate student protest leaders to continue the fight.

5. To enable the Association to gather factual information about the current protest demonstrations in the South.

6. To project the NAACP and enable it to assume the major coordinating role in the protests.

The conference would be held at the Congregational Hotel and would have a maximum attendance of 500 youth and student leaders and representatives from national, adult organizations. Participating in the conference would be the leaders of all student protest movements; high school and college student body presidents; high school and college student editors; representatives from NAACP youth and college units; and representatives from national youth serving organizations such as the U.S. National Students Association, YMCAs and YMCAIs, Students for Democratic Action, church youth groups etc. Estimated cost of the conference is $.........
March 4, 1960

Rev. William H. Gray, Jr., Minister
Bright Hope Baptist Church
Twelfth and Oxford Streets
Philadelphia 22, Pennsylvania

Dear Reverend Gray:

We are in receipt of the communication expressing your views with respect to the situation which has arisen in certain cities of the southeastern section of the United States where eating facilities are not on an integrated basis.

Our Company has always considered itself a guest in any community in which it is located. As such, we endeavor to be good neighbors and to abide by local customs established by local people for the conduct of business in their town. As you undoubtedly know, the customs to which you take exception had been in vogue for many years before our stores were established. In our opinion, under these circumstances it is unrealistic to expect that Woolworth should take the initiative in endeavoring to change them.

We appreciate the interest prompting your letter and are forwarding it to our Atlanta Office which has complete jurisdiction of the stores in the southeastern part of the country.

Very truly yours,

L. F. Harrigan
Vice President
March 8th, 1960

Dear Mr. Wilkins;

Enclosed speaks for itself. I've also just wired a "Letter-to-Editor" of N.Y. POST as follows:

"Do all Woolworth Stockholders realise that the World is waiting to hear their voices in this tragic crisis. Each Stockholder now carries personal responsibility for those bloody KKK's. The world waits for the army of stockholders to stand up, speak and be counted."

It is a very tiny gesture but is made wholeheartedly. Don't bother acknowledging this, for I realise how frantically occupied you all must be.

It's a hideous battle, will probably grow hideously bloody, but it has to be fought until you win. You will... That isn't really "you will", but "we will", for this is not a fight for negroes -- it is a fight for human decency; my fight just as much as your fight.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Andrew Winton Roth
March 8th, 1960

Chairman of Bd. & Directors Of F. W. Woolworth Ins.
Woolworth Bldg.
New York City

Gentlemen:

In this sorrowful crisis I am, of course, remaining out of all Woolworth stores as a token gesture in support of equal civil rights for all Americans.

It occurs to me that your Stockholders have a clear duty here. Should you not seek their vote on such a vital matter? The blood of the unfortunate KM-branded negro is staining them, too.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Andrew Winton Roth
March 9, 1960

Mr. Roy Wilkins  
NAACP Headquarters  
20 West 40th Street  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

Pursuant to your directive of February 19, 1960, there is enclosed a copy of a resolution prepared by the Des Moines Branch and which has since been adopted by more than a dozen churches in this area. In addition, letters and telegrams pursuant to the resolution have been sent to our congressional representative and senators and our delegate is presently in Washington to help urge civil rights action. We hope that our efforts are to some avail and you may rest assured that our branch stands ever prepared to forward the cause of first class citizenship for every human being through our United States of America. Kindest personal regards.

Very truly yours,

James B. Morris, Jr.
President

JBMJr/mr
Encl: resolution
cc: Leonard H. Carter, Region IV
WHEREAS, a series of non-violent protests have been undertaken by Negro citizens of the United States of America because of the denial to them of equal facilities for public dining and refreshment; and,

WHEREAS, such movements when lawfully and peacefully conducted are a legitimate means to voice dissatisfaction with this undemocratic denial of a legal right; and,

WHEREAS, such movements merit and deserve the moral, spiritual and financial support of all citizens who demand equality and democracy for every citizen of the United States; therefore,

BE IT AND THE SAME IS HEREBY resolved that this congregation here assembled go on record in favor of the peaceful protests now being carried on in certain cities in the southern part of the United States and that we earnestly request and demand that our legislators take a positive and forthright stand in the current battle for civil rights legislation in the Congress of United States and that they do everything possible to bring about first class citizenship for every citizen of these United States and the alleviation of this undemocratic situation.

That a copy of this resolution be immediately forwarded to Senators Martin and Hickenlooper and to Congressman Neal Smith.

BE IT AND IT IS HEREBY FURTHER RESOLVED that the presidents of two chain stores, namely, F. W. Woolworth Company and H. S. Kress and Company be immediately called upon to change their policy which denies eating accommodations to Negro citizens in certain parts of the United States. These are:

George Cobb, President
S. H. Kress and Company
114 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

and

R. C. Kirkwood, President
F. W. Woolworth Company
Woolworth Building
New York, New York
We are in receipt of the communication expressing your views with respect to the situation which has arisen in certain cities of the southeastern section of the United States where eating facilities are not on an integrated basis.

Our Company has always considered itself a guest in any community in which it is located. As such, we endeavor to be good neighbors and to abide by local customs established by local people for the conduct of business in their town. As you undoubtedly know, the customs to which you take exception had been in vogue for many years before our stores were established. In our opinion, under these circumstances it is unrealistic to expect that Woolworth should take the initiative in endeavoring to change them.

We appreciate the interest prompting your letter and are forwarding it to our Atlanta Office which has complete jurisdiction of the stores in the southeastern part of the country.

Very truly yours,

E. F. Harrigan
Vice President
Mr. Roy Wilkins  
20 West 40th Street  
New York, New York 18  

Dear Roy:  

We are all proud of the college students who are demonstrating in the south for their right to be served at public lunch counters. This is basically the use of a powerful economic weapon. Some effort has been made in the north to bring economic pressure on national chains whose stores are involved.  

There is yet another economic weapon that we can use and I solicit your thinking on what I propose. Woolworth, for example, is a publicly owned corporation. Anyone can buy its stock. If Negroes bought Woolworth stock and then brought pressure to bear on management from the inside as a stockholder whose investment is made less productive by the students' sit-ins, it might have an effect. Here would be another approach, that of a person interested in protecting his money. This procedure could be extended to other publicly owned corporations such as air lines and textile and chemical corporations now establishing in Dixie. Annual meetings could be attended and management's racial policies questioned.  

No large investment would be required. One share of stock makes a stockholder.  

What do you think?  

Sincerely,  

Cornelius McDougald  
Counselor at Law  

2000 Seventh Avenue  
New York 30  
Auburn 5-3344  

15 March 1960  

CMD/vhd
Expanded Racial Defense Policy
MEMORANDUM

March 16, 1960

To: All Officers of NAACP State Conferences, Branches, Youth Councils and College Chapters

From: Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary

Subject: EXPANDED RACIAL DEFENSE POLICY

Yesterday, March 15, it was publicly announced by F. W. Woolworth, S. S. Kresge, S. H. Kress and W. T. Grant stores that they will continue their policy of refusing to serve Negro customers at lunch counters in their stores in Southern states.

Yesterday, March 15, the police forces of Southern states arrested more than 500 Negro students who were protesting the lunch counter policies of the chain stores.

Orangeburg, S.C., police used tear gas and fire hose on Negro students as the young people were walking peacefully along the streets before they had reached the retail business district.

Students numbering 350 were arrested in Orangeburg and held in a stockade. Others were arrested in Rock Hill and Columbia, S.C.

In Atlanta, Ga., 77 students protesting the lunch counter policies of the chain variety stores were arrested by police.

Gov. Ernest F. Hollings, Jr., of South Carolina, has stated that these protests against lunch counter policies will be crushed even though technically no law is being violated. Gov. S. Ernest Vandiver of Georgia has echoed the policy of Gov. Hollings.

Gov. John Patterson of Alabama is the original "get tough" Southern governor. Protesting Negro students have been expelled from Alabama State College in Montgomery, the capital, and the chief of police has urged the governor to close down the college.

Yesterday, March 15, in the House of Representatives in Washington, Congressmen played games with the civil rights bill, with Southern Democrats and many Republicans jockeying for partisan advantage.

It is apparent that the full power of Southern state governments, including special laws rushed through the legislatures, as well as state, local and county police forces, is being used to support chain variety stores in their anti-Negro lunch counter policies, and that at the very height of this persecution the Federal government, through the Congress of the United States, is steadfastly refusing to legislate adequate relief.

Thus, in their campaign for equality and human dignity, Negro Americans are forced to fall back upon their own resources, spiritual, economic and political.

Therefore, under the provocations of March 15, cited above, and in accordance with the clearly expressed consensus of the Board of Directors at its meeting March 14 to support fully the protest demonstrations aimed at the humiliating policy of chain variety stores and to resist persecution connected therewith, all organized units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are advised that a racial self-defense policy on an expanded scale is in effect as of the date of this memorandum.

The policy is to withhold retail patronage from all units of the chain variety
stores in all sections of the country which maintain a policy in their Southern stores of refusing to serve Negro customers at lunch counters on the same basis as other customers.

This withholding policy includes, also, Thalhimer's Department Store in Richmond, Va., which was the first to swear out individual warrants for students by name and where, outside the store, Richmond police, using a huge police dog, dragged the wife of a National Board member off to jail. This policy does not include stores in several Southern cities which have changed their practices and are now serving Negro customers at their lunch counters.

NAACP officers will call meetings of their executive committees at the earliest possible hour after the receipt of this memorandum to devise plans for the conducting of the local withholding campaigns.

A supplementary memorandum on procedures included instructions on organizing the local campaigns and conducting peaceful picketing and a warning against attempts of Communists and related groups to infiltrate the movement and join the picket lines. "Every reasonable and firm effort should be used to prevent such intrusions," the memorandum asserts.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street • New York 18, N. Y.
March 14, 1960

POSTSCRIPT: EVENTS FEBRUARY 26 - March 13

SPREAD OF THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT, FEBRUARY 26 - March 13

Student leadership continued to characterize the protest movement which, by mid-March, had grown yet more expressive of the impatient resentment of Negro Southerners. Although lunch counter demonstrations were still at the center of public attention, other objectives had been marked out, and marches, rallies, and manifestos became increasingly prominent as techniques of protest in addition to the "sit-ins" and the picket-line.

Demonstrations of some type had spread to another score of cities, bringing the movement to every Southern state except Mississippi: Huntsville and Tuskegee, Alabama; Little Rock, Arkansas; Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, St. Petersburg, Sarasota, and Tampa, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; Lexington, Kentucky; New Orleans, Louisiana; Chapel Hill, Monroe, Salisbury, and Shelby, North Carolina; Charleston, Columbia, Denmark, Florence, and Sumter, South Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee; Austin and Houston, Texas; Petersburg, Virginia; Xenia, Ohio; and Bluefield, West Virginia.

Students from at least 20 colleges and universities participated in these new demonstrations since February 25, and by now over 100 campuses of the South have accepted a role. A number of Northern campuses have found means of dramatizing their sympathy. (At Michigan State University the demonstration was led by Ernest Green, the first Negro graduate of Little Rock's Central High.)

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

1. There was a far greater intervention of municipal and state authorities, and arrests in considerable numbers were made in several cities. Nashville outdistanced all others. There, on February 27, over 75 students were arrested after refusing to obey a police order to leave a lunch counter in a variety store. The police issued the order after three fights had broken out; the circumstances of these were reported by an AP dispatch in the Chattanooga Times as follows:

   A white youth attacked another white youth who was sitting beside a Negro girl at McClellan's counter after getting no reaction when he called the frictionizing white a "nigger-lover."

** Demonstrations began February 18 in Shelby, which should have been included in our February 25 report.

** In Oklahoma City, there has been at least one recent renewal of the 1958-59 "sit-ins," with quick success. In Sanford, Florida, high school students have appeared before municipal authorities, asking for use of the town's civic center (refused).
A white man attacked a Negro student after receiving no reaction when he repeatedly blew cigar smoke into the student's face.

A group of white boys attacked two Negro demonstrators after receiving no response from comments such as, "Go home, nigger," and "what's the matter, you chicken?" A third demonstrator was pushed down the stairs in the accompanying confusion.

Whether justified on February 27, later developments show that coercion cannot be counted on to end the demonstrations, given the present determination of the Negro participants. The protests in Nashville continue, and so do arrests; constitutional grounds of appeal are obviously being laid in some of the trials.

On March 6, the UPI reported a total throughout the South of at least 136 arrests; the figure had risen by March 13 to over 500.

2. In Montgomery, the state government led by Governor Patterson was directing the disciplining of the students, with the willing and full support of the city administration and police. The Alabama Board of Education ordered the expulsion of nine and probation of 20 students of Alabama State College; the Governor also threatened to cut the college's funds.*

In Montgomery itself, where the passive resistance method was most notably developed under the guidance of the Rev. M. L. King, Jr. in the famous bus boycott, a race riot was narrowly avoided on March 6 when scores of policemen were required to hold back a white mob. Montgomery is again a tense, violence-prone city, as is Tallahassee, where, on March 12, police broke up a march of Negro students with tear gas. In Houston, a Negro was brutally tortured. Orderly demonstrations and passive resistance still typified the student's tactics. But in a few places, notably Columbia, South Carolina, and Henderson, North Carolina, the movement produced short-lived but serious violence.

Vanderbilt too has expelled a student, a young Negro minister enrolled in the divinity school, and the seeming leader of the Nashville demonstrations: 14 of 16 members of the theological faculty rebuked the university's administration for its action.

3. After its riotous spasm of February 23-25, Chattanooga was quiet.

4. So too was there quiet, and also hopeful progress, in North Carolina, where the movement originated. Mayors' committees were appointed in Greensboro and Raleigh (in Nashville too), and several responsible sources

* Northerners especially might note that the home states of four of the nine were California, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania. It is probably still true that the South provides more accessible educational opportunities for Negroes than does the rest of the country.
were suggesting "plans," most of which proposed to solve the controversy by
some ingenious out-flanking of it. Some testing went on: in Winston-Salem,
for example, four stores re-opened their lunch counters on March 4; all four
were closed within thirty minutes the next afternoon as a group of Negroes
moved soberly from one to the other.

5. In Salisbury, North Carolina, Livingston College students were re-
 fused service on March 8 in two drug stores, but given service without ques-
tion or trouble in three others -- the first genuine victory of the movement
so far. A day earlier, a group had been served at the lunch counter of an
appliance store in Winston-Salem, but immediately afterwards the store removed
all stools.

6. Activity in Atlanta probed along three lines. On March 3 and 4,
students were quietly served at a white counter in the Southeast's largest
department store, and on March 7 were refused. On March 10, four students
and two faculty members with tickets ordered in advance took orchestra seats
in the Municipal Auditorium for a showing of My Fair Lady; the manager
promptly and inspiredly designated their seats a Negro section. On March 9,
the Atlanta newspapers carried a full page advertisement, signed by the stu-
dent-body heads of the city's six Negro institutions. Titled "An Appeal
for Human Rights," the statement was an eloquent, classic listing of grievances.
In outline, the Appeal was similar to a pamphlet issued a month earlier by a
committee of young Negro professional and business men. By raising many and
broad questions for what it hoped would be a thoughtful city, the Appeal gave
confirmation to something said by the Protestant ministers of Raleigh, North
Carolina, in a statement supporting the student protests: "The issue of dis-
criminatory service at lunch counters is only a symbol of the many problems
which need to be faced openly and frankly."

Atlanta's Mayor Hartfield said of the Appeal, that it "performs the con-
structive service of letting the white community know what others are think-
ing." A very different reaction was that of Governor Vandiver, who denounced
the students at length, and with heated accusations. One sentence of the
Governor's stands out, however, because it reveals so much of what the Negroes
have to overcome. "Obviously," he said, "it was not written by students."
The unhappy fact is that he was probably bespeaking the unwillingness of many
white Southerners to take the educated Negro seriously, and their consequent
failure to accord respect for his talents and status.

7. In Petersburg, Virginia, "sit-ins" were used, not for food service,
but for library privileges.

8. Although most demonstrations occurred in localities with reputations
for good race relations, there were exceptions, such as Montgomery and Tuske-
gee. Especially remarkable has been the activity of students from small,
isolated campuses of South Carolina's rural Black Belt. That youth from
Voorhees Junior College and Morris College, as well as South Carolina State
College, should be ready to challenge the almost monolithic placidity of that
state by carrying the movement into Bamberg, Sumter, and Orangeburg Counties
is a measure of how powerful is the resolve underlying the Southern protests.

viii
AFTER SIX WEEKS

During early March there were not nearly as many charges as there had been earlier that the movement was under outside control. The protests spread through their own momentum, spurred no doubt by a natural spirit of emulation, and this fact was by mid-March generally recognized by public opinion. The more important question was that of future direction. In one or two places, demonstrations subsided and spokesmen announced that they had "made our point." Public opinion in the South, however, was still far from having decided what to do about it.

It has been sometimes said that the "sit-ins" are evidence of the much improved status of the Negroes, that only people relatively well-off would make an issue of lunch counter service. This is of course true, but no discerning observer thinks that lunch counter seating is anything but a convenient symbol. The Appeal of the Atlanta students put the controversy into perspective. There should be no surprise if the demand for food service leads quickly into other, perhaps more basic, claims. A good example of this, although from a white school, is the manner in which a long and angry editorial of February 29 in the Old Gold and Black, campus newspaper of Wake Forest, moved with hardly a change of pace from support of the demonstrators to a denunciation of the College trustees who "have made no provisions for Negro applicants." When asked if he did not believe the prospects for school desegregation had been set back by the "sit-ins" Dr. O. C. Simkins, president of the Greensboro NAACP chapter said: "If anything, they will hasten it. They will make Negroes more conscious of their rights. It will make them feel that they should seek their rights more. The trouble with the school thing is that we haven't had applicants to file for the white schools."

On February 25, the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce said, "the business and industrial climate is in jeopardy, the jobs of present employees possibly affected, and the hope of attracting new business and industry positively affected." Our modern industrial patterns, with their delicately balanced interrelations, cannot breathe in a climate of disorder. At some point, the crisis will have to be ended; the questions were, on what terms -- and how soon? Three thousand Negroes turned out for an NAACP meeting in Richmond, where they were exhorted to stay out of recalcitrant stores and to close out their accounts. All over the South, Negro adult leaders moved to support the movement begun by students. In Chapel Hill, a group of white and Negro collegians, acting with the embarrassing directness which, whether calculated or not, has frequently been displayed, chose for their "sit-in" not only a national firm (Howard Johnson's), but one that occupied a building owned by Governor Hodges and U. S. Senator Jordan.

Left to their own workings, economic pressures and civic sense of responsibility could probably open up their own satisfactory solutions. It would quite likely be a better settlement than one hammered out through litigation in already over-burdened courts. Law enforcement officials have an obligation to maintain order and respect for law. If state and local officials go beyond that neutral ground, the predictable result will be that questions of civil rights and liberties will be thrown up for court decision, and court order. Municipal and state administrations can help tremendously toward a solution of the controversy through mediation and opinion leadership. But if they