November 19, 2005

To: Planning Committee.

From: Lonnie [King]

Re: ROUGH DRAFT OF TIME-TABLE FOR THE ATLANTA STUDENT MOVEMENT FROM 1960 TO 1963.

February 1, 1960: 4 students from North Carolina A and T sit-in at lunch counters in Greensboro, N. C.

February 2, 1960: Atlanta Constitution carries article dealing with the Greensboro sit-in.

February 2, 1960: Lonnie King was having breakfast in Yates and Milton Drug Store at the corner of Fair and Chestnut and read of the Greensboro sit-in as reported in the Constitution. King speaks with his friend from high school, Joseph Pierce and Julian Bond, whom he had met upon his return from the Navy in 1957. (Bond and King stood in line next to one another for registration all day at Morehouse). King argues that sit-ins at lunch counters should also occur in Atlanta. Both men agree and begin to organize at Morehouse.

Within a few days, a meeting is called at Sale Hall Annex. King moderates the meeting. Approximately 15 students come to the meeting, including Charles Black, Morris Dillard. ,et al. It was agreed at the meeting that the movement could not be seen as a Morehouse led movement, with the preponderance of the participants coming from Morehouse. Students agreed to contact their friends at other institutions, seeking participation.

February 1960: King contacts Clarence Brown, who was a childhood friend from the Butler Street YMCA, and asks the whereabouts of his brother, Benjamin Brown. Clarence Brown had graduated from Clark in 1957. King suspected that his younger brother, Ben, probably had gone to Clark as well, and should be in school at this time. Clarence Brown confirmed that his brother Ben was presently at Clark, and gave King Ben's telephone number. King contacted Ben and requested that he help organize students at Clark.

February 1960: King and Pierce meet with Rev. Samuel Williams, philosophy professor at Morehouse, and president of the local branch of the NAACP, to discuss student plans. Williams is very supportive and suggests that King and Pierce meet with Attorney J. C. Daughtry. The students and Williams meet with Daughtry at his office on Chestnut Street. After a brief discussion, Daughtry agrees to represent the students for a $4000.00 retainer. This was out of the question. Students continue organizing.

Mid-February 1960: King, Pierce, and Bond are told by Mrs. Hill, secretary to Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, that Dr. Mays wants them to come to a meeting in the Atlanta University Administration building. No reason was given for the meeting, but it was

assumed that we were probably in trouble for our proposed sit-in activities. (In hind-sight, having involved Sam Williams, and other students at sister institutions, it was reasonable that the college presidents would become concerned due to their responsibility for the safety and welfare of the students at their respective institutions).

Late February 1960: Meeting with six college presidents. (Rufus Clement, Atlanta University; James Brawley, Clark; Harry V. Richardson, ITC; Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse; Frank Cunningham, Morris Brown; and Albert Manley, Spelman). Student Government Association presidents from all institutions were present. They were: Willie Mays, Atlanta University; James Felder, Clark; Rev. Marion Bennett, ITC, William Hickman, Morris Brown College; Don Clarke, Morehouse; Rosalyn Pope, Spelman. Additionally, Bond, Pierce, and King were in the meeting. Note: I believe that other SGA members such as Josephine Jackson from Spelman, and Mary Ann smith were also in attendance. We need to check this point. Council of College President minutes, etc.

Dr. Clement opened the meeting by stating the purpose of the meeting and concerns of the presidents. (Dr. Clement was Chairman of the Council of College Presidents).

After Clement's presentation, King spoke for the students who had been organizing the sit-in activities, explaining that segregation was ubiquitous through the South, and many students in the Atlanta University Center wanted to show their solidarity with the Greensboro students. Each president gave their position, beginning with Dr. Clement. Clement argued that segregation was wrong, but was afraid that some students would be hurt. Mays stated that he agreed that segregation was wrong, but students should let the NAACP handle the matter in the courts. He cited his long record of opposing segregation in his weekly column (My View) in the Pittsburgh Courier. Additionally, he brought forward that he was the current National Life Membership Chairman of the NAACP. Manley was also against segregation, but questioned whether the proposed tactics were appropriate at this time. Cunningham, and Richardson were fully supportive of the student's proposed activities. Brawley was adamantly against the activities, citing that if the students demonstrated in downtown Atlanta, he would be embarrassed.

When it became clear that the students could not be dissuaded, Clement and Mays suggested that the students consider writing a position paper on the reasons for the sit-ins and place a full page advertisement all Atlanta newspapers, prior to any demonstrations. Clement agreed to raise the money to pay for the advertisement. He raised $12,000.00 from supporters in New York. The full-page ads cost $4000.00.

While Dr. Clement was raising the money, a writing committee was named to write the position paper. On the committee were: Rosalyn Pope, Julian Bond, Charles Black, Albert Brinson, et al. Get additional names as we go through the process of verification.

The committee began its work, using many references such as the publication, A Second Look by the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action (ACCA). M. Carl Holman was

the principal author of this publication. The committee proposed that An Appeal for Human Rights be published.

Many drafting meetings were held and a proposed draft was presented to the college presidents and the other student leaders around the first of March of 1960. At that meeting, it was agreed that the document should be signed by all six SGA presidents. William Hickson of Morris Brown refused to sign the document, citing his fear of reprisal. It was agreed by Morris Brown representatives that May Ann Smith, SGA secretary would sign for Morris Brown. Publication date was set for March 9, 1960. Governor Vandiver condemns the Appeal, asserting that it had to be written in Moscow, and that no college student in the stat of Georgia could have written the document.

The New York Times reprinted the Appeal in mid-March 1960. (Get copy from the archives). This is the only document by any student group that set forth the philosophical and democratic arguments for why segregation at lunch-counters, and other places of public accommodations should end now, and not wait for rights to "metered out one at a time."

Concurrent with the writing of the Appeal, King, Bond, Pierce, et al continued to organize for the first sit-in, which was to occur on March 15, 1960.

March 1960: King meets with Q. V. Williamson, Dr. Albert Davis, Whitney Young, John Calhoun, Harold Ross, et al to discuss bail money for the students. All agree to put up the bail money.

March 1960: Lonnie King, Joe Pierce, and Dr. Samuel Williams meet with attorney J. C. Daughtry regarding representation. He wants $5000.00 up front for his services. We refuse to consider him any further.

March 1960: Sam Williams arranges for Lonnie King to meet with Donald Hollowell about possible legal representation. Hollowell agrees.

March 15, 1960: Concurrent sit-ins began in approximately 11:30 A. M. in places of pubic accommodations that were housed in tax supported buildings. (This suggestion was discussed with the college presidents who felt that this initial tactic would probably reduce the chances that violence would occur). See Atlanta Newspapers for names of students, etc. (March 16, 1960). All students, except one, were bailed out by the adult community and Ross, the bail bondsman. The student who was not bailed out was a student named Pegues from Birmingham, Alabama. He was 16 at the time, and was sent to Fulton County Juvenile court. A judge ordered him out of the state immediately, which effectively ended his academic career at Morehouse. Note: If a minor in Georgia breaks the law, he/she is under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court. I feel very badly about the fact that we as a group did not keep up with Mr.Peguses. We probably should have arranged for him to return to Morehouse when we settled the lunch-counter issue. Alas, hind-sight is 20/20. We cannot change the past, but we can impact the future. I

suggest that we find Mr. Pegues and include him in any meetings in the future. It has been 45 years, but it is not too late.

April or May, 1960: Check dates with newspaper, etc. Dr. Lonnie Cross, a brilliant mathematics teacher at Atlanta University, encouraged some of his math students to attempt sit-ins outside of COAHR. Lonnie King and Dr. Clement met this small insurrection head-on and met with the entire Atlanta University student body to emphasize that we had to work together, and that it would be folly for any of the member institutions in the A. U. Center to go it alone. To do so would do nothing but assist the segregationist. We emphasized that we had to stay united. (In that Dr. Clement was Dr. Cross' supervisor, he reluctantly complied with our request).

June 1960: Students open office in Mutual Federal Building on Auburn Ave for the summer.

June 1960: The majority of COAHR's manpower (the students) has either graduated or has gone home for the summer. We had a dilemma. How do we keep the movement alone until the students return in the fall? We decided to conduct an education campaign. We felt that if Rich's department store was to be targeted and ultimately gave in, then al the rest of the merchants would fall in line. Therefore we began a campaign against Rich in June, 1960. It was an education campaign. A small number of students went to the Magnolia Room, seeking service. In that group were Lonnie King, Mary Ann Smith, Carolyn Long, and others. (Let's get the names, if possible). The group was met by Negro employees at the door. Leading the group of Negro employees was Mrs. Ella Mae Brayboy, who worked in the Magnolia Room as a waitress. Mrs. Brayboy told Lonnie King to go home because she knew that King and her daughter Wilma were good friends. King respectfully requested Mrs.Brayboy to step aside so that we could focus on the real target, Rich's department store and its segregationist policies. After this small encounter, the students sat down and requested service, which was refused. The police came and ordered the students out. They "arrested" Lonnie King and took him to jail. When they arrived at the jail, King was taken to the office of Chief Jenkins. When he entered the office, he found Richard Rich, President of Rich's, waiting there. Dick rich began a lecture of King and told him that he and the students were violating the anti-trespass laws of the state, and that Rich's Department Store was private property. He added that if King and the students returned again, he was going to put them all in jail.

King responded by telling Dick Rich that he and the students would be back and in full force in the fall, and they did not mind going to jail because segregation was wrong and had to be stopped. It was a very tense meeting. Both King and Rich stood their ground. A showdown was to come in the fall.

June, 1960: SNCC moves into the Mutual Federal Building. COAHR begins paying the rent. COAHR paid SNCC's rent and telephone bills for approximately 12-to 18 months.

June, 1960: Ed King and Jane Stembridge begin working in the SNCC office.

June, 1960: Bob Moses comes to Atlanta to work with COAHR for a few weeks, before going on to Mississippi.

June, 1960: James Gibson, brother of John Gibson, returns to Atlanta for the summer and works with the movement .

June, 1960: Students begin selective buying campaign against Rich's, entitled CLOSE OUT YOUR ACCOUNT WITH SEGREGATION, and OPEN UP YOUR ACCOUNT WITH FREEDOM. In this campaign, the students asked adults to send their Rich's charge cards to the students at their headquarters on Auburn Avenue. Many adults did just that. The charge cards were placed in a safe deposit box provided by Jack Gloster, Executive Vice-President of the Citizens Trust Bank. The cards were returned after the merchants agreed to desegregate the lunch-counters.

The students did not have an organ to publish their views. Moreover, the Atlanta papers began to play down the sit-in activity in other part of the South. We needed a voice to promote the movement. We began a publication entitled "THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND YOU." This publication was a mimeographed document on legal size paper, which was handed out at churches throughout Atlanta. Approximately 20 thousand copies were passed out each Sunday.

June, 1960: Students begin a series of mass meetings around the town in order to educate the public about the selective buying campaign.

June, 1960: Students begin campaign for butchers and cashiers at A and P, Colonial, and a grocery store on Hightower.

June, 1960: Pickets were placed at the A and P on Boulevard and on Edgewood Avenue, across from the Municipal Market (Curb Market). Alice Bond walked nearly everyday for the entire summer in this campaign. John Gibson, Ruby Doris Smith, Mary Ann Smith, and Mrs. Bertha Thrasher also provided much of the manpower. Additionally, pickets were placed at the Colonial Store on Ashby near Hunter. The campaigns were over 90 percent effective. (See Atlanta Newspapers, and Jet magazine during this period).

June, 1960: The grocery store on Hightower was the first to hire a cashier. (We need to get her name).

June-July, 1960: King is summoned to the Atlanta Daily World office to meet with C. A. Scott, Publisher. Scott informed King that the World had a $9,000.00 ad with A and P and the picketing and boycott of A and P was going to lose the ad for the paper. He wanted King to call off the picketing and take the matter to the courts. Let the NAACP settle the issue. Moreover, he contended that the students were violating private property rights by their actions. King refused his request.

July, 1960: Lonnie King is requested to attend a meting at the Regional Director's office of A and P on Memorial Drive to discuss the issues being raised by the boycott. In attendance were: Gid Parham and Tony Zivolitz of the Teamsters, the Regional Director, his personnel chief and King. The meeting ended in a stalemate. A and P did not budge and neither did King. The boycott continued.

June – July 1960: King is approached by K. Hill and Bill Strong about a new paper that Hill has started and Strong was the editor. It was called the Atlanta Inquirer. They offered to provide the media voice for the movement in order to maximize the educational campaign. There was much discussion about the opposition to the movement on the part of the Atlanta World. King discussed the offer with the committee. It was agreed that we would support the new paper and give it as much information as possible.

June – July, 1960: Q. V. Williamson, and W. L. Callaway approached King about taking all of the Empire Real Estate Board Advertisement out of the Atlanta Daily World, and placing it in the new paper, the Inquirer. They took all of the real estate ads out of the World and placed them in the new paper. This action caused pandemonium at the World and also gave the students an organ dedicated to presenting their views. The students stopped publication of THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND YOU immediately. Lonnie King requested that Julian Bond, Charlayne Hunter, John Gibson, and Jim Gibson, John's brother, work with the Inquirer.

Summer of 1960: Bill Strong and Mr. K. Hill fall out. Strong leaves the paper. Hill speaks to King abut the situation. King asks M.. Carl Holman if he would become editor of the Inquirer. He agrees. King is given a front page column, entitled "LET FREEDOM RING," which ran until approximately July of 1961.

July, 1960: Some prominent Atlantan's daughters get engaged and place their patters, etc. at Rich's. Julian Bond, who was one of the writers for THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND YOU wrote about this fact. Lonnie King is scolded by Daddy King, and other members of the King family for Julian's article. Lonnie King informs the King's that the movement is too big for any one person to call the shots. What should happen is that the families who are supporting their daughters in breaking the boycott should stop forthwith. This was a very tense time because longtime allies were now having conflicts over personal preferences exercised by members of their families.

July – August, 1960: COAHR continues to campaign, and prepares a schedule of non-violent actions designated to desegregate the lunch-counters for the fall. They decide that Richard Nixon and John Kennedy should take a stand on the issue of civil rights for the Negro. They agreed to send a telegram to both campaigns, requesting that they take a stand. Moreover, they also instruct Lonnie King to contact Martin King and request that he also go to jail in an effort to dramatize the effort. A date of October 19, 1960 is set for the sit-ins, with the focus on Rich's Department store and Woolworth's. (We can check with the respective libraries to get a copy of the telegrams).

Late June or early July, 1961: Campaign for cashiers, and butchers begin at Mann Brothers grocery store on Gordon Street in West End. Student participants were: Charles Black, Frank Holloway, Julian Bond, and Lonnie King.

During this campaign at Mann Brothers, King was beaten by a Southern Bell telephone operator and had an acid like substance thrown in his face, which almost blinded him, if he had not been wearing shades at the time. When the acid like substance was thrown on King, he was blinded. Ronald Yancey, a student at Morehouse, was passing by and saw his predicament, and jumped out of his car and told him to hold his hands and follow him. He took king to the first service station diagonally across the street from Mann Brothers, seeking some water to relieve the pain that King was suffering. The service station owner refused to let his water be used. Yancey then told King to continue holding his hands while he ran to the next service station down the street. This station owner agreed to let Yancey run water on King's face and body in order to relieve the pain.

Subsequently, Captain Little, the police officer assigned by Jenkins to monitor the movement, came to the service station and took King to Grady Hospital. It took approximately one hour to make the trip, even though it was a Saturday and traffic was very light. The trip under normal circumstance could have been made in 15 to 20 minutes. An even shorter time as possible, had the Captain used his emergency lights to clear traffic. (Note: Relieving King from pain was not a priority for Captain Little. Moreover, Little took king's shirt as evidence and refused to return it, when it was requested, stating that it had been destroyed because it could not be worn again anyway).

Late August – Herschelle Sullivan returns to Atlanta and meets Lonnie King at Mt. Zion Baptist Church on Boulevard N. E.

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September 1960: Many, Many student meetings, planning for October 19, 1960.

October 18, 1960: Lonnie King requests that Martin King Jr. join him on the bridge at Rich's ay 10:00 A. M. on October 19th. He agrees.

October 19, 1960: Lonnie King requests Herschelle Sullivan to call King and remind him of the place and time of his participation. Martin King had changed his mind, due to influences of his advisors, and his father.

October 19, 1960: Lonnie King calls Martin King to discuss his changed position. After much discussion between Martin King and his aides, Lonnie King reminds Martin that he has become the spokesman for the movement, and that he cannot lead from the back. At that point, Martin tells Lonnie King that he will meet him on the bridge at Rich's the next morning at 10:00 A. M.