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April, 1960

A SURVEY OF
THE SOUTHERN STUDENT SIT-IN
MOVEMENT
and
NATIONWIDE STUDENT ACTIVITY

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USNSA AND THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT

The United States National Student Association is a confederation of more than 375 colleges and universities in the United States represented through democratically elected student governing bodies. The USNSA was founded in 1947 and is the largest National Union of Students in the World.

USNSA's activities in connection with the sit-in movement are based on a part of the USNSA's Basic Policy Declarations and Resolutions. At the 10th National Student Congress in 1957, some 1,000 delegates from USNSA member schools passed a desegregation resolution which stated: "Segregation by race is incompatible with human dignity...USNSA reaffirms its acknowledgment of the concept of equality of opportunity for all people and remains unalterably opposed to all forms of discrimination in education which are based on race, religion, or national origin."

In the 1960 Codification of Policy at least eight pages are devoted to USNSA's resolutions and policies on human relations and civil rights. We endorse Brotherhood Week and the Panel of Americans; we have a special resolution on Civil Rights, a Desegregation Resolution. The sit-in movement has afforded students the opportunity of supporting in action the concepts which they supported in words in the past.

USNSA became particularly interested in the sit-in movement immediately following the arrest of students in Nashville, Tennessee. Since that time we have continued to act as an information center for our member schools, and to urge students outside the South to respond to the challenge in working toward total integration throughout the country.

Included are samples of the material USNSA has distributed on the southern sit-in movement, a summary of college and university activity, a list of organizations interested in the sit-in movement, and a copy of the Southern Regional Council Report which provides background material on the southern sit-in movement.

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(Copy of Press Release-Feb. 19, 1960)

The United States National Student Association indicated its intention today of supporting the Southern Students engaged in sit-ins in several southern metropolitan areas in order to bring an end to segregation in town retail establishments.

National Affairs Vice-President Curtis B. Gans left today to investigate more fully the situation in order that the Association might be in position to take effective action supporting the students.

He will be investigating rumors of administrative pressures in colleges and universities designed to keep students from participating in the sit-ins, and the student jailings which may be a source of Association action in the form of legal assistance.

① The sit-ins began several days ago in Greensboro, North Carolina, and spread throughout the Carolinas and Virginia, as students of high school and college age waged their fight against segregated eating facilities. Students

from several member schools of the Association have participated in the sit-ins.

The National Student Association has long been on record in opposition to segregation in education and related areas.

I feel these students deserve both praise and support for their courage and initiative, and if the investigation leads to conclusions that the National Student Association can take effective action in support of these students, we will not hesitate to do so, Gans said.

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(Copy of Press Release-Feb. 26, 1960)

The United States National Student Association has offered to help all students engaged in non-violent protest of unequal conditions throughout the country, said USNSA President, Donald Hoffman in a statement today.

Mr. Curtis B. Gans, National Affairs Vice-President, is currently in the South looking into the sit-in strikes and will recommend a course of action for the Association.

Mr. Hoffman added that USNSA fully supports the courageous and constructive action of students, negro and white, throughout the South who have acted upon their own initiative to change the present social conditions there.

Said Mr. Hoffman, "The inspiring action of these students in attempting to change the mores of the community so that all people, regardless of race, creed and national origin, will be given equal treatment by all, has spurred the USNSA to aid these students in all ways possible."

"We hope that students throughout the country will support the actions of the Students from the colleges in the South so that someday we may achieve in this country the type of mutual understanding and cooperation between races that is so much a part of the fundamental precepts of American Democracy.

Specific action by the Association is pending completion of the investigation currently being undertaken by Mr. Gans.

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(Copy of letter to MEMBER SCHOOLS-Feb. 29, 1960)

Dear Student Body President:

The United States National Student Association has consistently stated its belief in equality of opportunity under the law and in the dignity of all men regardless of race, creed, and national origin. We have also consistently stated that we believe in student responsibility and action, and a greater awareness of the greater community.

The Association has been continually involved and deeply committed to human relations' work and programming. We have established a sub-commission on human relations at St. John's University in New York. We hold an annual National Intercollegiate Human Relations Workshop and annually conduct a four week seminar on Southern Student Human Relations. This past fall, having received a \$60,000

grant from the Field Foundation, we initiated a two year Southern Project with an office in Atlanta, Georgia. One of the Project's goals is "a greater understanding of the total problems of human relations in the South."

The non-violent action of students, Negro and white that have been occurring in the South in protest of unequal conditions are in support of the principles that the Association wholeheartedly believes. The courageous and constructive action of these students who have acted upon their own initiative to try to end segregation in urban retail establishments, particularly in segregated eating facilities, is to be commended. To be deplored are the arrests of students who have remained passive even in the face of indignities.

Students throughout the country should realize that the struggle in which these students are involved is not limited to any one region of the country; this is a struggle in which the entire nation is involved. This is the concern of all students.

We now call upon you, every member campus, to express your sympathy and support of the non-violent sit-in movement in the South, and your protests of the arrests of students for participating in them. The following recommendations are ways in which you may express your concern and support:

1. Plan a "stand-in" protest in evidence of your sympathy and support. Have students stand at a focal point of the campus carrying signs indicating support and protesting arrests, particularly the arrest of 91 Nashville, Tennessee students. (see the enclosed press releases.)
2. Send telegrams and/or letters to
 - Governors, Senators and Congressmen of the states in which the sit-ins are occurring;
 - your Senators and Congressmen;
 - the officials of the cities where students are arrested and imprisoned without provocation;
 - the student leaders of non-violent sit-ins. Tell them of the action you are taking on your campus.
(Release your telegrams and letters to your campus and local papers, as well as to the AP and UPI.)
3. Have the student council or senate pass a resolution in support of the non-violent sit-ins and in protest of the arrests. Send these resolutions to those people mentioned in point 2 above. Be sure to send copies to your regional chairman and to the National office of NSA.
4. Get your campus paper and your local papers to cover any action that you take, as well as the action that is being taken by students nationwide. (see the NSA press releases)

In the 1960 Codification of Policy at least eight pages are devoted to USNSA's resolutions and policies on human relations and civil rights: we endorse Brotherhood Week and the Panel of Americans; we have a special resolution on Civil Rights and one on Desegregation; we encourage the establishment of a human relations institute to implement campus human relations; we have outlined a guide to the formation and operation of Human Relations Committees on campus; we advocate a National Conference on Human Relations - these, in addition to others, are our policy. These written words pledge support in writing. Do you support these words in action as well? especially now that you have this dynamic opportunity?

I am hoping that students throughout the country will support the actions of the students from the colleges in the South so that someday we may achieve in this country the type of mutual understanding and cooperation between races that is so much a part of the fundamental precepts of American democracy.

Sincerely,

DONALD A. HOFFMAN
President, USNSA

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(Copy of Press Release-March 4, 1960)

The United States National Student Association today dispatched telegrams of protest to Mayor Ben West of Nashville, Tennessee, and Attorney General Harry Nichols of Tennessee regarding the arrest of 79 Nashville students on charges of conspiracy to disrupt trade.

Arrested on this charge were the Rev. James M. Lawson, former fourth year Vanderbilt Divinity student, and 78 of the same students who were arrested last Saturday and convicted on charges of disorderly conduct.

Nashville police indicated that the Rev. Lawson was the leader of the sit-down strikes last Saturday. He was expelled yesterday from Vanderbilt Divinity School for his alledged part in the sit-ins. USNSA is now investigating possibilities of admission for the Rev. Lawson in other Methodist Divinity Schools.

According to USNSA Southern staff member Constance Curry, the students are now out on bail of \$500 a person which has been put up by Fisk University.

USNSA's wires read:

USNSA protests the unjust arrest of James M. Lawson and 78 Negro students on charges of conspiracy. We consider these arrests a gross miscarriage of justice and a misinterpretation of the spontaneous movement of students in Nashville and throughout the South in their quest for a full measure of human dignity. We urge immediate release of these students and reconsideration of your policies in connection with sit-ins.

Last Thursday the Association wired expressions of support to the nine negro students expelled from Alabama State College for participating in sit-ins in Montgomery, Alabama, and expressions of protest to President H. C. Trenholm of Alabama State College and Governor John Patterson of Alabama.

Since the first arrests of Nashville students last Saturday, USNSA has been engaged in a major campaign urging students in member colleges throughout the country to show their disapproval of Southern retaliation to the sit-ins.

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(Copy of Telegram-March 6, 1960)

The United States National Student Association has sent telegrams to six southern Governors expressing sympathy for the sit-in movement in the South and demanding action on the part of government officials toward equal opportunity for all in the South.

The telegrams were sent to Governors of Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, and Alabama.

The Telegrams read:

OUR WHOLEHEARTED SYMPATHY IS EXTENDED TO THE COURAGEOUS STUDENTS STAGING SIT-INS IN THE SOUTH. WE VIEW THIS AS ONE OF THE MOST POSITIVE STEPS TOWARD DESEGREGATION SINCE 1954. WE ARE SHOCKED AND DISMAYED BY THE ARREST OF THESE STUDENTS FOR NO JUSTIFIABLE REASON. YOU, AS THE HIGHEST OFFICIAL OF YOUR STATE, ARE IN A POSITION TO CORRECT THESE WRONGS. WE DEMAND ACTION.

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(Copy of USNSA Statement DRAFTED IN protest of Alabama State College Expulsions)

That American students are guaranteed the right to freely express their opinions and ideals so long as no other basic human right is placed in jeopardy is above question. To deprive a student of the opportunity to pursue his studies for expression of a belief is a flagrant violation of Academic Freedom.

This is particularly true in the case of the nine Negro students expelled from Alabama State College for Negroes last week. These nine students were part of a group of 35 students who staged a sit-down demonstration at a courthouse lunch counter in Montgomery, Alabama. These students were doing nothing more than advocating their personal beliefs and calling for recognition of a basic human right and "guaranteed" American Freedom. Moreover, their advocacy was non-violent, peaceful and orderly.

Nevertheless, Governor John Patterson of Alabama, and the 11-man State Board of Education of which Governor Patterson is chairman, ordered President H. Council Trenholm of Alabama State College for Negroes to expel the students or face a situation whereby appropriations to the State-supported College would be withdrawn.

Following Governor Patterson's threat of expulsion for all students involved in the sit-down demonstration, a group of students numbering nearly 1,000 met and pledged to withdraw en-masse from the College if any of the students were expelled.

Chanting students numbering well over 1,000 boycotted winter exams. They milled about the campus reiterating their pledge for a mass walkout to protest any expulsions.

Governor Patterson relented somewhat, and only nine so-called "leaders" of the demonstration were expelled. The remaining students were placed on probation. In referring to the nine expelled students, Governor Patterson said "the way they're spoiling for a fight indicates to me that they're not studying much and eating too well."

Governor Patterson told the State Board of Education the action (expulsion of the "leaders") was necessary "to prevent bloodshed in this City. If we ever bow to the threat of a mob, we are on our way out and they'll get more arrogant every day."

The entire student body of Alabama State College met last Friday and pledged to boycott registration for the Spring Quarter, which began Monday. As of Monday evening, only about 1,500 of the 2,300 students had registered for classes.

Even more odious than the dismissal itself was the method involved. The nine expelled students were charged with no transgression of institutional rules, they were given no opportunity to confront an accuser, and were given no trial or hearing. This is in clear violation of the American tradition of due process of law.

The pledge by other students to boycott registration for the Spring Quarter was indeed courageous and shows the depth of sentiment with which students object to the expulsions.

That the expulsion of the nine students is a violation of Academic Freedom is obvious. The United States National Student Association, because of its constitutional dedication to the rights and responsibilities of students, its commitment to the preservation of the interests and integrity of the democratic American way of life, and because of the expressed support it gives to the maintenance of Academic Freedom, condemns and protests the expulsion of the Alabama State College students, and has urged its member schools to protest this violation of Academic Freedom on the part of the Governor and State Board of Education of Alabama.

The United States National Student Association would like to see these nine students reinstated at Alabama State College for Negroes so that they may continue their education.

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Statement By Donald A. Hoffman, President, United States National Student Association Before Protest Demonstration By New York College Students in Washington Square, Saturday March 5, 1960

At this moment students throughout the country are lending their support to the sit-in movement. This rally in New York is the largest of the nationwide demonstrations. Simultaneously on campuses and in other cities, students will be standing as part of this mass student display of concern.

We are inspired by the courageous demonstrations of our fellow students in the South, both Negro and white, who have braved angry opposition to bring about desegregation of facilities in cities where they live and study.

The approach they have used is praiseworthy. Their firm but passive resistance commands the respect of American students everywhere. The civil rights situation in the United States is the blackest mark on our country's record; it is our gravest domestic problem and presents an unfortunate picture of the United States abroad.

We recognize that the situation will not change overnight. This is a highly complex sociological problem for which the final solution may be a long time coming. But it is essential that substantial progress be made at this time. This demonstration dramatically illustrates the strength of the American students' conviction.

American students throughout the country strongly support the sit-in movement and the principles which it articulates. Segregation by race is incompatible with human dignity. All individuals have the right to equal opportunities in education, equal facilities and fair and just treatment under the law.

In closing, as the President of the United States National Student Association, I would like to point out that the Southern students themselves are responsible for the sit-in demonstrations. National organizations have had no part in instigating the sit-ins, but the National Student Association, as a representative of American college students, has given and will continue to give, our wholehearted support.

We support all students all over the world who attempt to secure equal rights in a free society. We especially support students in our own country, a nation which symbolizes the principles of the free world.

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Excerpts From A Statement By Curtis B. Gans, National Affairs Vice-President, United States National Student Association, Before A Protest Demonstration By New York College Students In Washington Square, Saturday, March 5, 1960 at 1:30 p.m.

This demonstration is only a small indication of the strong sentiment which has caused American students to rise up and express their deep concern over the civil rights situation.

There are many examples that I could cite, which explain what has motivated us to speak. The straw that broke the camel's back came from Nashville, where the public allowed Negro and white students, engaged in a completely non-violent demonstration, to be attacked by groups of white youths; where a public allowed the police to turn their backs on such violence, and allowed the Negro students to be arrested; where a public allowed Negro students to receive undignified treatment at the hands of local authorities and offered no protest.

There are many other incidents which have incited us to action. Take the case of Raleigh, North Carolina, where 43 Negro students were arrested for "trespassing on a private sidewalk", or in Durham, North Carolina, where a white student supporting a sit-in demonstration was arrested for "obstructing the pavement" shortly after being pushed almost in the path of an oncoming car by two white citizens. Or take the restaurants in Hampton, Virginia and Charlotte, North Carolina, where coffee is sold at \$1.00 a cup to Negro customers and 10 cents a cup to white customers; and coffee cake costs the Negro \$2.50 and the white 35 cents.

We're protesting injustice; we're protesting hypocrisy. We're supporting courage, human dignity, individual initiative, and that democracy which says that people should be judged on their own merits and not on the basis of race, creed or national origin.

But most of all, we're supporting the courage of groups of students who have found the strength to rise up against ancient traditions which marked a certain segment of our society as second class people; we're protesting the situation which allows attitudes to exist so that Negro students in the South can be mistreated without any objection.

We are glad, sometimes, when we see that perhaps that the citizens are waking up to the injustice and hypocrisy that is prevalent in the Southern situation...and when we see an incident whereby a white woman suddenly becomes an avid desegregationist after observing the unscrupulous actions of white youths in taunting and physically mistreating orderly, non-violent Negro students.

Until the laws, the leaders, the law enforcement officers and the average man on the street is cognizant of what we really mean by democracy, freedom is a very empty word.

These courageous Southern students have taken the lead; it is for us to follow.

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(Copy of first USNSA Mailing)

March 10, 1960

TO: Student Body Presidents
Campus Editors
National Executive Committee

FROM: USNSA National Staff

RE: The recent incidents at Alabama State College for Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama

THIS IS THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF WEEKLY MAILINGS REGARDING THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES AS IT REGARDS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, EQUALITY, AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM. THIS MAILING IS DEVOTED TO ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE.

Enclosed are:

1. An open letter to the student body of your campus written by USNSA President Don Hoffman. We request that your student newspaper print this letter in full.
2. A statement written by National Affairs Vice President Curtis Gans and prepared for distribution to several members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives to bring to their attention the grave concern American students feel over the violations of academic freedom and human rights in the Alabama State College situation.
3. A chronological fact sheet on the incidents in Montgomery, through March 12, 1960.

The National Staff urges member schools to support the Alabama State College students in their protests of the expulsion of the nine students.

1. By sending telegrams and letters of support to Mr. Bernard Lee, C/O Rev. Ralph Abernathy, First Baptist Church, 347 N. Ripley Street, Montgomery, Alabama.
2. By sending telegrams and letters of protest to Governor Patterson and the State Board of Education urging the reinstatement of the nine students.
3. By passing resolutions in your student senate or council meetings, and sending these to Mr. Lee or Governor Patterson.
4. By securing funds to aid in the legal defense of the nine expelled students, to help pay the \$208 per person fines for those 30 students and one faculty member convicted of disorderly conduct, and to help the Alabama State students maintain their protests if they decide to walkout from College within the next two weeks.

WHATEVER YOU DO, PLEASE BE SURE TO NOTIFY YOUR LOCAL PRESS IN ADVANCE OF YOUR ACTION AND TO SUPPLY THEM WITH A PREPARED RELEASE, STATING YOUR REASONS FOR DOING. WHAT YOU HAVE DONE, AND IDENTIFYING YOUR SCHOOL AS A USNSA MEMBER SCHOOL. ANY CLIPPINGS OF ARTICLES IN YOUR LOCAL PRESS SHOULD BE SENT TO MR. LEE SO THAT THE ALABAMA STATE STUDENTS WILL KNOW THEY ARE NOT ALONE IN THEIR STRUGGLE.

Any funds collected to aid the Alabama State College students may be sent directly to either Rev. Abernathy, or to Rev. S.F. Seay, Montgomery Improvement Association, 530 South Union, Montgomery, Alabama, earmarked for the Montgomery Improvement Association's "Student Defense Fund".

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LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

It appears that the conspiracy charges against the students from Fisk University, Vanderbilt University, and Tennessee A & I, in Nashville, may not be prosecuted. The students, all of whom were arrested and convicted on disorderly conduct charges earlier, were arrested again on conspiracy charges. They are now out on bail on this latest charge. The charge must first be considered by the Grand Jury before a trial date is set.

On Sunday, March 6, Attorney General Harry Nichol of Tennessee, came out with a statement which said, in effect, that the arrests of the students were unfortunate and should never have happened. He said, further, that he felt the charge of conspiracy should not be prosecuted. This is a state charge, and, if prosecuted, will mean that Attorney General Nichol must serve as prosecuting attorney.

All of the students who were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct in Nashville were convicted of this charge. This totals approximately 140 students. (Nearly 81 in the first sit-in demonstration, and some 60 students later in the week). All of these students intend to appeal their cases, asking for a "change of law" ruling.

Nashville Negro lawyers have all united in defense of these students and are asking no legal fees. However, the students are determined to pay the court costs from their own funds so the lawyers will not be burdened with this extra expense.

The Rev. James M. Lawson, a fourth year divinity student at Vanderbilt University,

who was expelled for his part in the sit-in demonstrations and arrested on a conspiracy charge, has said that he intends to remain in Nashville until June or September of 1960, when he will resume his studies at another university. He has had offers from Drew University, Chicago School of Theology, Yale Divinity School, Eden Seminary in St. Louis, and McCormack in Chicago.

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CHRONOLOGICAL FACT SHEET ON THE MONTGOMERY SITUATION

prepared by USNSA

February 25, 1960: Thirty-five students from Alabama State College for Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, staged a non-violent sit-in at a courthouse lunch counter.

Governor John Patterson threatened the students involved in the sit-in with expulsion from College. He also threatened to close the College if any more demonstrations were held.

February 26, 1960: Students, demanding racial equality, staged another protest demonstration, answering Governor Patterson's threats with a promise of another demonstration the next day. The students from Alabama State College said that if their school is closed, as Governor Patterson threatened, they would seek to enroll at state-supported white colleges like Auburn.

March 1, 1960 More than 1,000 Negro students from Alabama State College marched from the campus to the steps of the State Capitol building for a giant rally protesting the threatened expulsions for the 35 students involved in the sit-down. At the Capitol they sang the National Anthem and the Lord's Prayer.

March 2, 1960 More than 700 students pledged to quit school if any of the 35 engaged in the sit-in were expelled.

March 3, 1960 Governor John Patterson of Alabama, relenting somewhat on his original threat, ordered the expulsion of nine so-called 'leaders' involved in the February 25 sit-in. The order, given by Governor Patterson and the 11-man State Board of Education of which he is chairman, came in the face of a threatened mass walkout by other students enrolled at the College. Governor Patterson told the Board that the action was necessary "to prevent bloodshed in this city. If we ever bow to the threat of a mob, we are on our way out and they'll get more arrogant every day." Twenty other students were put on probation pending "good behavior." An estimated 1,000 students a few hours later voted to stay away from College (Alabama State) in a protest strike.

March 5, 1960 Nearly 1,000 students from Alabama State College, after boycotting winter exams, approved a mass strike when

Chronological Fact Sheet on the Montgomery Situation

March 5, 1960
(continued)

Spring Quarter registration begins Monday.

March 7, 1960

The first day of registration for the Spring Quarter. Newspapers reported that more than half of the students at Alabama State College indicated they would register. However, a USNSA representative in Montgomery reported the students were not registering, only picking up meal tickets.

3,000 Montgomery's Negroes, mostly students, on their way to the State Capitol to stage another demonstration, were met by a group of some 10,000 white citizens. Police broke up the white mob and sent the Negroes back before any violence occurred. No demonstration took place.

March 8, 1960

Alabama State College students staged a non-violent and orderly protest demonstration on the college campus. As the group of nearly 600 students and faculty members prepared to walk to the State Capitol, 30 students and one faculty member were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and disobeying an officer. Two other students were taken into custody while trying to get in to see the arrested students.

700 Students at Tuskegee Institute, 40 miles east of Montgomery, stayed away from classes in a sympathy protest. Some carried placards around the campus proclaiming their demand for equal rights.

March 9, 1960

Police set up a cordon around Alabama State College in an "attempt to prevent further demonstrations". Police carried tear gas and submachine guns.

Today was the last day for registration for the Spring Quarter at Alabama State College, however, President H. Council Trenholm announced that he would extend registration through Thursday. State officials are making an effort to "pressure" students into registering.

March 10, 1960

Governor Patterson and state officials have threatened, to close the College if students do not register. The students marched in a new anti-segregation demonstration. Governor Patterson ordered a "full investigation" of the College before deciding whether to close the school or not.

March 11, 1960

Word was received from Mr. Bernard Lee that the Alabama State College students had decided to return to school on Monday, March 14, for at least a week, perhaps two,

before resuming their walk-out. The decision was based upon the fact that an Alabama State Teachers Association meeting will be held on their campus March 16, 17, and 18. The students were afraid that if they continued their protest during that time, the visitors to the campus, not being versed in non-violent tactics, might become embroiled in some violence. Mr. Lee has told the National Office that the students plan to resume their walkout following the State Teachers Association meeting.

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OPEN LETTER TO THE STUDENT BODY

from

Donald A. Hoffman, President, USNSA

March 10, 1960

Eight days ago Governor John Patterson of Alabama forced the expulsion of nine students from Alabama State College because of their participation in a non-violent sit-down demonstration at a courthouse lunch counter in Montgomery, Alabama.

The students were charged with no violation of institutional rules, they were given no hearing, but they were arbitrarily dismissed from the College. On Monday, March 7, over 1/2 of the student body refused to register for classes for the Spring Quarter, and stated that they would remain out until the nine students were reinstated.

I personally talked with Mr. Bernard Lee, president of the Alabama State College student body and one of the nine expelled, on Saturday, March 5, Speaking as your national president, I expressed the shock felt by the American student community at the gross violation of academic freedom and the resulting injuries suffered by the Alabama State College students.

Since my conversation with Mr. Lee, the situation at Alabama State College has become more critical. Earlier this week Negro students in Montgomery, planning a demonstration of protest over the expulsions, were met by a crowd of 10,000 white citizens. Police broke up the mob before any violence occurred, but the demonstration was never held.

Tuesday police had set up a cordon around Alabama State College with tear gas and sub-machine guns, apparently waiting for another demonstration to begin. Allard K. Lowenstein, past president of USNSA who was in Montgomery Monday and Tuesday, said there is an air of terror surrounding the students.

The courage shown by the Alabama State College students in refusing to register and attend classes is inspiring, but the pressure is overwhelming to force them to return to classes. It appears that State officials are trying to break the boycott.

We can aid these students by giving our support to their cause. The Alabama State College students are in need of your moral support for their protest. By failing to register they are now unable to obtain room or board. The students are badly in need of funds to continue their crusade.

We cannot ask for an end to the oppression of students in other countries if we do not support the basic right of students in this country -- the right to an education.

On behalf of the United States National Student Association I personally offered our services to seek scholarships for the nine students if the Alabama State College crusade fails.

You can help by sending telegrams and letters of support and funds to the Alabama State College students in care of Mr. Bernard Lee, c/o Rev. Ralph Abernathy, First Baptist Church, 347 North Ripley Street, Montgomery, Alabama.

COPY OF SECOND USNSA MAILING

March 16, 1960

TO: Student Body Presidents
Campus Editors
National Executive Committee

FROM: USNSA National Staff

RE: Recent arrests in Atlanta, Georgia, and several South Carolina cities.

The sit-down demonstrations, which have for the past month been breaking out in numerous Southern cities, yesterday were hit by the retaliation of officials in four cities. A total of over 500 Negro students were arrested for participating either in sit-down demonstrations, or in marching demonstrations.

In Atlanta, Ga., 77 students were arrested for participating in non-violent demonstrations involving some 200 students in downtown Atlanta establishments. The Governor, in ordering the arrests from his sick bed, invoked a newly passed bill which makes it a misdemeanor to refuse to leave an establishment when requested to do so by the proprietor.

In Orangeburg, South Carolina, 350 Negro students were arrested when a group of 1,000 students began a march toward the center of the city.

In Columbia, South Carolina, nine Negro students were arrested for participating in a non-violent sit-down.

In Rock Hill, South Carolina, between 25 and 70 students were arrested for picketing the City Hall.

The National Staff urges member schools to respond to these unjust arrests in the same manner in which they responded to the Nashville arrests, by:

1. sending telegrams and letters of support to the student body presidents of :

Friendship Junior College, Rock Hill, South Carolina
Morris College, Columbia, South Carolina
South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, South Carolina
Claflin College, Orangeburg, South Carolina

and in: Atlanta, Georgia, to:

Willie Mays, president, Atlanta University Dormitory Council
James Felder, president, Student Government Assn., Clark College
Marion D. Bennett, president, Student Assn., Interdenominational Theological Center
Don Clarke, president, student body, Morehouse College
Mary Ann Smith, secretary, student government association, Morris
Brown College
Roslyn Pope, president, student government association, Spelman College

2. sending telegrams and letters of protest to:

Governor Ernest Vandiver of Georgia in Atlanta, Ga.
Governor Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.

3. By passing resolutions in your Student Government meetings and sending them to the above-mentioned people.

The retaliation of Southern officials is becoming entrenched, so that students are:

1. getting expelled
2. being unjustly jailed
3. paying excessive bail
4. paying for prolonged legal battles
5. paying excessive fines and court costs
6. paying for food in situations where their posttest engenders loss of room or board at the College in which they are enrolled.

In the light of this, the United States National Student Association feels that a creative response to the challenge presented by the Southern movement would be the raising of funds on the local campus and in the surrounding community, so that the students realize that they are not alone in their battle.

USNSA maintains contact with the major organizations in the Human Relations field, and with the different locales involved in the Southern movement where money is sorely needed.

We would be glad to receive and distribute student funds to the most needy of the causes. Any funds collected may be sent to the National Office, either for general use in all situations in the South, or earmarked for a particular incident.

WHATEVER YOU DO, PLEASE NOTIFY YOUR LOCAL PRESS IN ADVANCE OF YOUR ACTION AND SUPPLY THEM WITH A PREPARED PRESS RELEASE GIVING THE REASONS FOR YOUR ACTIONS AND IDENTIFYING YOURSELF AS A USNSA MEMBER SCHOOL.

ANY CLIPPINGS OF ARTICLES IN YOUR LOCAL PRESS SHOULD BE SENT TO THE STUDENTS IN THE SOUTH, TO ASSURE THEM THAT THEY ARE NOT ALONE IN THEIR BATTLE.

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CHRONOLOGICAL FACT SHEET
EVENTS IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA CULMINATING IN 77 STUDENT ARRESTS MARCH 15, 1960

As a result of non-violent sit-in demonstrations in other states, Governor Vandiver of Alabama signed a bill in late February which made it a misdemeanor for persons to refuse to leave an establishment when asked to do so by the proprietor. This bill affects the entire state of Georgia. The passage of the bill, as stated in several Southern newspapers, was a direct "hit" at the sit-in movement.

Monday, Feb. 29

Governor Vandiver said he "feels confident that local level law enforcement agencies will be able to control any disturbances which may arise in Georgia from lunch-counter demonstrations by Negroes. If local police are unable to cope with the situation, state resources will be available to them." He said he didn't know why Georgia so far has not had the sort of demonstrations as in other Southern states, but he said he hopes Georgians "will not have to endure such situations".

Georgia first lunch counter demonstration was staged in a downtown Atlanta department store. Seven male Negro students, accompanied by a white youth attempted to enter the basement grill at Rich's department store. The group was told the store had separate facilities for Negroes next door. The students talked with the general manager for about 15 minutes and then left. The white student claimed that he and his friends (presumably Negro) had received service at the same store the Saturday before. A store vice-president confirmed this and said the incident took place near closing time. White persons already seated left and others were denied entrance until the Negroes finished eating. Bolts of drygoods loaded on carts were placed before the grill entrance to obscure the view while Negroes ate.

Tuesday, March 8

Negro university students from throughout Atlanta pledged their support of passive sitdown strikes to protest segregation and decided they will use "every legal and non-violent means" here to gain "full citizenship rights." Six student leaders of the affiliated institutions which form the Atlanta University Center signed a declaration of the students' intentions. The declaration is reprinted in part in this mailing.

Wednesday, March 9

The declaration, signed by student leaders of the six Atlanta colleges which make up the Atlanta University Center, was printed as a full-page advertisement in Atlanta newspapers.

Governor Vandiver criticized the "Appeal for Human Rights" declaration of the students. Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta had kinder words to say, added "it must be admitted that some of the things expressed...are, after all, the legitimate aspirations of young people throughout the nation and the entire world." He went on to point out some of the advantages which Atlanta Negroes enjoyed, adding that some of the charges made in the declaration were irresponsible examples of "complete falsity and hypocrisy". The Mayor said, however, that he was glad to see the promise of non-violence and of a peaceful approach. He said it "lets the white community know what others are thinking". Governor Vandiver, on the other hand, termed the Declaration "a left wing statement...calculated to breed dissatisfaction, discontent, discord and evil". "Had evertones which are usually found in anti-American

propaganda pieces"...and "it didn't sound as if it were prepared in any Georgia school or college; nor, in fact, did it read like it was written even in this country."

Thursday, March 10 Five Negro men and one Negro woman attended a matinee performance of "My Fair Lady" at Municipal Auditorium and sat in reserved seats in the orchestra section. There is an upstairs section of the Auditorium reserved for Negroes. They were identified as part of the cast of "Finian's Rainbow" at Atlanta University, and came to the performance to pick up pointers. They had purchased the tickets by mail. The auditorium manager immediately declared the block of seats where the Negroes were sitting a Negro section. At intermission he asked the white persons around the Negroes if they would like to move. Six did. No extra policemen were called in to the auditorium, and at no time was there any commotion or disorder.

Tuesday, March 15 Seventy-seven Negroes were arrested for participating in sit-down demonstrations involving 200 students at ten downtown eating places. There was no violence. The sitdowns occurred at noontime at the State Capitol, Fulton County Court House, Atlanta City Hall, two Bus stations, two railway stations, and two buildings housing Federal offices. Governor Vandiver personally ordered the arrests from a sick bed. He said, "these mass violations of State law and private property rights definitely are 'subversive' in character."

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EXCERPTS FROM "AN APPEAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"

AN AD RUN IN ATLANTA NEWSPAPERS AND SIGNED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF SIX ATLANTA COLLEGES

Student leaders of the six affiliated institutions which form the Atlanta University Center signed a declaration of the students' intentions to join their "hearts, minds and bodies in the cause of gaining those rights which are inherently ours as members of the human race and as citizens of these United States."

"...We must say in all candor that we plan to use every legal and non-violent means at our disposal to secure full citizenship rights as members of this great Democracy of ours."

"...We pledge our unqualified support to those students in this nation who have recently been engaged in the significant movement to secure certain long-awaited rights and privileges."

"...The students who instigate and participate in these sitdown protests are dissatisfied, not only with the existing conditions, but with the snail-like speed at which they are being ameliorated."

"...We do not intend to wait placidly for those rights which are already legally and morally ours to be meted out to us one at a time".

"Today's youth will not sit by submissively, while being denied all of the rights, privileges, and joys of life. We want to state clearly and unequivocally that we cannot tolerate, in a nation professing democracy and among people professing Christianity, the discriminatory conditions under which the Negro is living today in Atlanta, Georgia--supposedly one of the most progressive cities in the South...."

"...It is unfortunate that the Negro is being forced to fight, in any way, for what is due him and is freely accorded other Americans."

"...The time has come for the people of Atlanta and Georgia...to stop believing those who tell us that everything is fine and equal, and that the Negro is happy and satisfied."

"It is to be regretted that there are those who still refuse to recognize the overriding supremacy of the federal law."

"Our churches which are ordained by God and claim to be the houses of all people, foster segregation of the races to the point of making Sunday the most segregated day of the week."

The declaration protested seven areas of "inequalities and injustices in Atlanta and Georgia--education, housing, jobs, voting, hospitals, law enforcement, movies, concerts, and restaurants.

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TEXT OF GOVERNOR VANDIVER'S
STATEMENT WITH REGARD
TO THE STUDENT APPEAL

"I have read the 'paid advertisement' purporting to come from 'students of the six affiliated institutions forming the Atlanta University Center'."

"The statement was skillfully prepared."

"Obviously, it was not written by students."

"Regrettably; it had the same overtones which are usually found in anti-American propaganda pieces."

"It did not sound like it was prepared in any Georgia school or college; nor, in fact, did it read like it was written even in this country".

"This left-wing statement is calculated to breed dissatisfaction, discontent, discord and evil."

"It is strange that this statement allegedly comes from a group receiving opportunities not enjoyed by most young people of both races."

"For nearly a decade now salaries for Georgia teachers of both races have been equalized. New school plant facilities and school transportation facilities for Negro children have been provided. In many, many cases these buildings are better and more modern than provided for white children. It should be borne in mind, too, that in those states with mixed schools, Negro teachers lose out."

"Let it be further noted that white taxpayers are paying over 80 per cent of the bill for Negro students in Georgia."

"All Georgians are working diligently to increase and expand job opportunities for all of our people. In this way, and in this way only, can the standard of living and per capita income be raised to a level comparable to that of sister states."

"The rights, privileges, and joys of life' in this country are limited only by the imagination and capability of the individual and his willingness to work for their attainment."

"White or colored, the individual must strive for opportunity and acceptance in society. No group, acting through the use of any means, plan, artifice or device can achieve these objectives through the use of unorthodox and unacceptable methods. No group of persons utilizing the so-called 'sit-downs' in defiance of the rights of every man to conduct his business as he deems proper can accomplish anything. Nor can these demonstrations accomplish anything in defiance of the will and opinion of the great body of the people and through infringement on the rights of the majority."

"All Georgians reject the implication and charge that our capital city and our state is a land of inequality and injustice."

"In Atlanta, Georgia, there are more Negro property owners, more bankers, more insurance executives, more doctors, more lawyers, more real estate concerns, and more Negro school teachers and more colleges than in any city on the face of the earth."

"This is a graphic illustration of the total and complete falsity and hypocrisy of the charges made in this irresponsible, 'so-called' paid advertisement appearing in today's press."

"As governor of Georgia, I hereby call upon those who would cause hatred, strife and discord in this state and the capital city thereof to cease and desist in their efforts, which can do much harm to all and can gain good for no one."

CHRONOLOGICAL FACT SHEET

EVENTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA THROUGH MARCH 16, 1960

Feb. 26, Orangeburg, S.C.: Two persons were arrested when a group of young
Friday Negroes tried to demonstrate for the second time at a local variety
store lunch counter. A white man and a Negro were charged with
fighting.

Feb. 29 Denmark, S.C.: 14 Negro students were arrested on disorderly conduct
Monday charges for participating in a drug store lunch counter sitdown.
The demonstration lasted only a few minutes and the students,
between 25 and 40 of them, were from Voorhees College.

March 1 Rock Hill, S.C.: A robed but unmasked Ku Klux Klansman paraded on
Tuesday Main street as a threat to any further demonstrations. Students
of Friendship Junior College here had staged previous demonstrations.

Orangeburg, S.C.: About 400 students staged a slow, silent march
through City streets. The students came from South Carolina State
College and Claflin College, which have adjacent campuses. All
students were Negroes and carried anti-segregation signs.

March 2 Columbia, S.C.: About 200 Negro students from Allen University and
Wed. Benedict College marched around a three-block downtown area
for nearly two hours. They left at the request of the City
Manager when a group of white youths began heckling. About 50
students from Allen and Benedict staged a brief noon hour
demonstration at two stores. One of the lunch counters was closed

March 4 Sumter, S.C.: 26 Negro students from Morris College were arrested
Friday on breach of the peace" charges for participating in sitdowns
at local dime and drug stores. They refused to leave upon request
of the managers and were arrested.

Columbia, S.C.: Students from Allen and Benedict agreed to dis-
continue. protests, after 154 demonstrators were arrested.

March 5 Columbia, S.C.: Violence broke out at a drive-in restaurant near
Saturday Allen University and Benedict College. Negro students carrying
clubs attacked the cars at the drive-in and fled before police arrived.

March 11 Columbia, S.C.: Governor Hollings warned that a Negro student
Friday demonstration planned for tomorrow would not be permitted.

March 12 Columbia, S.C.: David Carter, a Benedict College theology student
Saturday and president of the South Carolina Student Movement Assn., called
off a scheduled march to the state house.

March 14 Columbia, S.C.: Two Negro college students were arrested after they
Monday took seats at a white lunch counter.

Rock Hill, S.C.: A newly formed York County Citizens Council, Inc., mailed a letter to some 2,000 persons asserting that sitdown demonstrations are dangerous and must be stopped. The letter also said that recent demonstrations there have afforded an "excellent opportunity" to prove that segregation can be maintained in "a lawful and peaceful manner". "In troublesome times such as these organizations will spring up with high sounding names and profess principles and ideals but in reality will be nothing more than pressure groups to foster foreign ideologies by further spreading hatred and mistrust among our people." "The South Carolina Association of Citizens Councils have been advocating a lawful and peaceful approach emphasizing that the laws of South Carolina are adequate to maintain the rights of the state to protect our time-honored institutions of separate but equal facilities".

The letter pointed out that intensifying the activities of local law enforcement officers has helped in lessening the "extremely tense situation in Rock Hill" and in preventing what could have been a terrible tragedy. "Thanks to these men Rock Hill is quiet and segregated."

March 15
Tuesday

Orangeburg, S.C.: Three hundred and fifty Negro students were arrested in an incident in which police brought firehoses into play and tear gas. Nearly 1,000 Negroes marched toward the center of Orangeburg. There was no violence on the part of the demonstrators, newspapers reported. Governor Hollings called for an end to the demonstrations, and he reiterated his statement that law enforcement agencies would bring an end to demonstrations. The demonstration was timed for noon. The students were from South Carolina State College and Claflin College. Several hundred whites watched the demonstration. The police asked the leaders of the demonstration to step forward. When none did, the arrests began. UPI reported that the students were marched into a compound next to the county courthouse to await trial on breach of peace charges. Many had been soaked by the fire hoses and waited in the 40-degree cold. A bus stood outside to take those found guilty and unable to pay a \$100 fine to the State Penitentiary at Columbia.

Columbia, S.C.: Nine Negro students were arrested for seeking lunch counter service.

Sumter, S.C.: Thirty Negro students appeared on the courthouse steps and sang three verses of "America". There were no arrests.

Rock Hill, S.C.: Between 25 and 70 Negro students were arrested for picketing the City Hall. Most of them are from Friendship Junior College.

March 16 Trials began for those students arrested March 15.
Wednesday

COPY OF THIRD USNSA MAILING

March 29, 1960

TO: Student Body Presidents
Campus Editors
National Executive Committee

FROM: USNSA National Staff

RE: Incidents in Tallahassee, the "public library" sit-ins, and
a request for assistance from Southern University.

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

On Monday, March 28, 1960, the National Office of USNSA received the following telegram from the Student Senate of Southern University, a member school.

SEVERAL STUDENTS ARRESTED DUE TO DEMONSTRATION IN BATON
ROUGE LA REQUEST ASSISTANCE IMMEDIATELY.
SU STUDENT SENATE

The National Office learned, upon subsequent investigation, that seven students, staging a non-violent sit-in at the lunch counter of a downtown Kress variety store, were arrested and charged with disturbing the peace. The seven students were released on bail of \$1500 a person a total of \$10,500, which was supplied by local Baton Rouge residents.

The National Office then telegraphed one person in each of the USNSA regions, asking that person to contact as many schools in his region as possible to send telegrams and letters of support to the Baton Rouge students, and to raise funds which will eventually be needed for legal defense. The National Office also sent the following telegram to the Baton Rouge students:

THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS ITS FULL SUPPORT FOR THE SEVEN SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ARRESTED TODAY. THE COURAGE DEMONSTRATED BY THESE STUDENTS AND OTHERS THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH TO BRING ABOUT JUSTICE OUT OF INJUSTICE IS INSPIRING PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, AND BRINGING A REALIZATION OF THE GREAT JOB AHEAD TO PERFECT AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. WE ABHOR THE CONDUCT OF LOCAL OFFICIALS WHO SEEK TO STOP PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH THROUGH UNJUST ARREST, AND SYMPATHIZE WITH THOSE STUDENTS ARRESTED. WE HOPE THAT STUDENTS AT SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY AND THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH WILL NOT BE DISCOURAGED BY THE CONDUCT OF THEIR ELDERS, AND WILL CARRY ON THE FIGHT TO BRING EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.

USNSA

Of the seven students arrested, two were women, one a ~~senior~~ and the other a Freshman at Southern University. All messages of support should be addressed to: Marvin Robinson, student body president

Southern University
C/O Shelby Faye Lewis
Progress Hall Box 225
Southern University
Baton Rouge, La.

The seven students arrested were:

Marvin Robinson
Janett Houston
Donald Moss
John Johnson
Kenneth Johnson
Felton Daldroy
Jo Ann Morriss

We urge all of our member schools to send messages of support to these students. We also urge that funds be raised for use in the legal defense of these students and others throughout the South. Any funds raised may be sent to the National Office of USNSA, earmarked for the United States National Student Association Scholarship and Defense Fund.

TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

Eight students, enrolled at Florida A & M, have chosen to serve 60 day jail terms in the Leon County Jail rather than pay a fine of \$300 on their convictions for 'disturbing the peace'. These students are part of a group of some 30 students arrested for participating in non-violent sit-in demonstrations.

They will need support from college students throughout the country during their 60 day vigil. All mail should be addressed to them c/o Leon County Jail, Tallahassee, Florida. Their names are:

Barbara Broxton
John Broxton
Clement Carney
William Larkins
Angelina Nance
Henry Steele
Patricia Stephens
Priscilla Stephens

SUGGESTIONS FOR CAMPUS ACTION

The National Staff urges member schools to continue their support of the nonviolent actions of fellow students in the South. Support may be given in many ways, including:

1. Telegrams and letters to the students involved.
2. Telegrams and letters of protest to city and state officials in areas where students have been arrested for engaging in non-violent demonstrations.
3. Resolutions passed by your student governments.
4. Funds raised specifically for scholarships and legal defense of Southern students.

WHATEVER YOU DO, PLEASE BE SURE TO NOTIFY YOUR LOCAL PRESS IN ADVANCE AND SUPPLY THEM WITH ADEQUATE INFORMATION, STATING YOUR REASONS FOR ACTING AND IDENTIFYING YOUR SCHOOL AS A MEMBER OF USNSA.

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN BATON ROUGE....

Thursday, March 31, 2:00 p.m.

SINCE THIS MAILING WAS WRITTEN ON TUESDAY, 16 STUDENTS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED FROM SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY BECAUSE OF THEIR ARREST AND BECAUSE THEY HAD "VIOLATED UNIVERSITY POLICY".

MANY STUDENTS BOYCOTTED CLASSES YESTERDAY IN PROTEST OF THIS ACTION. BY NOON TODAY 2,000 STUDENTS HAD WITHDRAWN IN PROTEST AND THE WITHDRAWAL LINE WAS STILL FOUR DEEP AT THIS WRITING. (SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY HAS 5400 STUDENTS) "WE WON'T GO BACK TILL THEY CAN GO BACK," THEY SAID.

THE 16 STUDENTS WERE ARRESTED FOR PARTICIPATING IN NON VIOLENT SIT-INS IN KRESS AND WALGREEN VARIETY STORES AND THE GREYHOUND BUS STATION. NINE ARE STILL IN JAIL: THE OTHER SEVEN ARE OUT ON BAIL. ALL COME UP FOR TRIAL ON WEDNESDAY MORNING APRIL 27.

THE STUDENTS WERE SUSPENDED YESTERDAY FOLLOWING AN ULTIMATUM ISSUED TO UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT FELTON G. CLARK BY THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

UPON LEARNING THESE FACTS, USNSA SENT TELEGRAMS OF PROTEST TO FELTON G. CLARK, PRESIDENT OF SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY, BATON ROUGE, LA. AND GOVERNOR EARL LONG OF LOUISIANA, AND A TELEGRAM OF SUPPORT TO MARVIN ROBINSON.

WE URGE YOU TO SEND MESSAGES OF SUPPORT TO THE STUDENTS OF SOUTHERN, LARGEST NEGRO UNIVERSITY IN THE SOUTH.

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CHRONOLOGICAL FACT SHEET

TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

March 12
Saturday Following a day-long series of demonstrations, police used tear gas to break up a march from the campus of Florida A & M toward the center of town. Twenty nine Negro and six white students were arrested during a sit-in demonstration at a local dime store. Following the first arrests, Negro students held several more demonstrations, and at one time a group of Negro students was met by 35 white men and angry words were exchanged. The Negro students turned back and regrouped later in the day. Florida's Governor Leroy Collins instructed college officials to confine the students to the campus in an effort to head off "imminent serious disorder and danger."

March 14
Monday The 35 students arrested pleaded innocent to charges of disturbing the peace. Meanwhile Ira C. Robinson, president of the student government at Florida A & M, announced that the students planned to call off future demonstrations because "we feel we have achieved impact on the community in focusing attention on one of the pressing problems of the community."

March 18 Friday Eleven Negro students, of the 35 arrested, were convicted on charges of disturbing the peace and fined \$300 or 60 days in jail.

Eight of the students convicted chose the jail term, as sacrificial lambs. "The impact can only be felt by people suffering unjustifiably, and we are encouraging those who can undergo the hardships to offer themselves as sacrificial lambs."

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA

February 27 Saturday 140 Negro students from Peabody High School and Virginia State College walked into the Petersburg, Va., public library. They took all available seats and roamed library aisles, reading magazines and checking book titles. Police said the students were orderly. The library closed 15 minutes before the regular closing time and City Manager Roy F. Ash said the library would remain closed until the City Council considered the matter. There were no arrests.

March 7 Monday Eleven Negroes were arrested in the Petersburg public library under a new ordinance passed March 1 prohibiting any person from remaining on city property after they are asked to leave. The ordinance provides maximum fines of \$1,000 or one year in jail. Library officials said they had asked the eleven Negro students to leave, but they refused saying they "chose to go to jail".

March 8 Tuesday Five of those arrested refused bail and remained in jail. Seven others posted bond and were released.

March 9 Wednesday At a mass rally, Negro leaders said they will file suit demanding desegregation of the public library. Plaintiffs will be the eleven Negro students arrested last Monday.

March 14 Monday The eleven Negro students were convicted. Six other Negro students were arrested while singing hymns and praying on steps of the courthouse during the trial. These six were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct.

Thirteen students filed suit with the Federal court in Richmond asking an end to Petersburg library segregation. The city has 21 days to answer the injunction.

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

March 19 Saturday Police jailed 36 students and 5 newspapermen arrested at two public libraries. They were booked on charges of disorderly conduct, loitering, and breach of peace.

March 20 Sunday The students arrested were released on bail of \$352 each.

- March 21 Monday 37 Negro students were convicted of disorderly conduct and fined \$25 each. A Negro editor was fined \$50. Charges of loitering and disturbing the peace were dropped but all were also held for grand jury action on a state charge of disturbing the public peace.
- March 22 Tuesday Police arrested 23 Negro students during new demonstrations at the public art gallery and at a downtown branch library. Seven students were arrested inside the art gallery and six others while they stood outside. The art gallery is open to white persons only except on Thursday when it is reserved exclusively for Negroes. Ten students were arrested at a branch library reading room.
- March 23 Wednesday Trial of the students was put off two weeks to allow for a cooling off period and efforts to settle racial grievances.

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ELSEWHERE

Atlanta: A group of 1400 Negro college students agreed to discontinue "sit-in" demonstrations at least until court cases that grew out of the arrest of 77 students are settled. 139 Atlanta white students pledged to help Negroes in their "campaign to secure full citizenship rights".

Montgomery: Seven Negroes, four boys and three girls, applied for enrollment at the all-white University of Alabama Center at Montgomery, a night school.

Nashville: Another sit-down demonstration was held on March 25 in Nashville. There were no arrests and the students left when asked to do so by police. Nashville students had been meeting with the Mayor's Committee to discuss discrimination prior to this, but nothing had come from the Committee yet. Seven white students from Vanderbilt University were among those participating in the demonstration.

(Copy of Press Release-April 1, 1960)

The expulsion of 18 students from Southern University in Baton Rouge, La., last Wednesday was called a violation of both academic freedom and civil rights by a spokes man for the United States National Student Association (USNSA) yesterday.

Speaking on behalf of USNSA, Curtis B. Gans, National Affairs Vice-President, pledged aid in securing scholarship and legal defense funds for Southern University students suspended by President Felton G. Clark on an ultimatum from the State Board of Education.

The same students were arrested earlier this week for participating in sit-down demonstrations in Dress, Walgreen and the Greyhound Bus Terminal in Baton Rouge.

"The right to study," said Gans, "is one of the basic rights of the American citizen. The right of any student to freely express his opinion so long as no other individual's basic rights are jeopardized is also above question. To deprive a student of the opportunity to pursue his studies for expression of a belief is a flagrant violation of academic freedom."

In statements of protest wired to President Clark and Louisiana's Governor Earl Long, Gans urged immediate reinstatement of the expelled students.

A telegram to Marvin Robinson, Southern University student body president, expressed USNSA support for the expelled students and sympathy with the 5,400 students who have pledged to boycott classes until the 18 are reinstated. Gans called their action a courageous stand against injustice.

"It is the right and responsibility of the student to participate fully in independent inquiry and criticism," said Gans. "It is his right to question, criticize and dissent from ideas with which he comes in contact, and to hold and advocate his personal beliefs."

"The sitdown demonstrations," Gans added, "are the means through which Southern students are expressing their dissatisfaction with existing conditions. So long as this means of expression is non-violent, the student is within his right as an American citizen."

Southern University, a USNSA member school, appealed to the Association for assistance when several students were arrested last Monday. The Association immediately called upon all member schools to wire messages of support to the Southern University students and to begin raising funds for scholarship and legal defense.

USNSA has established a National Student Scholarship and Defense Fund to aid Southern students in areas where arrests or expulsions have occurred.

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(Reprinted from the NATIONAL STUDENT NEWS, March, 1960)

A Negro stood up in a Little Rock meeting. He spoke slowly, but what he had to say had import. "My family has just told me to quit demonstrating," he said.

"They told me to get out of jail. They said to get back to studying. They told me of the sacrifices they had to make for my education, and how I would probably lose all that if I didn't quit. And I thought, and then I realized that the education was fine, but it didn't mean a thing unless I had a situation in which equal opportunity prevailed, and I could use some of that education. So I'm staying with the movement."

Two weeks earlier in a meeting in Durham, another youth stood up and said, "Yes, we're fighting for service at counters now, but the battle does not end there, it will only end when skin color or race is not used as a determinant of equal opportunity and equal rights. It will end when all people in the United States are free."

And the refrain is heard throughout the south. There are slight modifications in lyrics in different locales, but the basic song remains the same. It is the chant that was heard in a rally in Durham, N.C., where Martin Luther King spoke or at a school meeting in Charlotte. It goes:

We Want Freedom
We Want Freedom
How Long? Not Long!
We Want Freedom.

It started quietly and spontaneously in Greensboro, N.C. a little over a month ago, when a group of neatly dressed Negro students sat at a lunch counter in a 5 and 10 cents store and refused to move until served. Then another group started in Durham, N.C., and then it spread to almost all the states in the south. They followed the same pattern, orderly, neat, non-violent demonstrations, either in the form of sit-ins at restaurants or pickets at similar businesses. Only in two spots did violence break out, and then it was because high school students hadn't the restraint of their older leaders.

And leaders these students are. Calm in the face of hardship, taunts and abuse, they proceeded calmly with their chosen task of pointing out to the south, the nation and the world, the error of their ways, the injustice of discrimination by race or color.

It is a curious group of students, these southern Negroes. Calmly and quietly they have thrown off what they had been carefully taught by their southern counterparts of another race, their families and their environment.

It is a jealous group of students who are leading this crusade for freedom. They are jealous of the outsider who comes to claim credit, to interfere, or to molest their action. They accept support gladly and gratefully, but the outsider realized that it is in one important sense a Southern battle—the battle of one group for its rights and in rare, but noteworthy cases, the battle of entire communities for simple justice.

And inevitably they will succeed. They have, without trying, convinced people of the justness of their cause. A segregationist woman in Raleigh who observed white youths taunting the Negroes who quietly and respectably were demonstrating, declared a switch in viewpoint. And hers is but a case in point. They have succeeded in mobilizing white support, without calling a single white in to assist them. Letters have been written by the thousands to counter managers, telling them that they would not lose patronage by a switch to the right. Ministers have finally accepted the call of their church and the principles hammered out at regional meetings and have come to vocal support of the movement. Lawyers

who cannot afford it, are accepting cases gratis to fight unjust arrests and prosecutions.

A sign carried by a Negro student picketing a Walgreen Drug Store in Durham stated in simple lettering: "This is not the Old South, but the birth of a NEW South." And these students, mid-wives to this birth, have just reason to be proud of their job, for they have perpetrated the most important and significant single movement in the history of the area toward right within a democracy.

But with every birth there are labor pains, and for all the good the students' protest has brought out amongst men of good and wavering will, it has brought with it some extremes of bad. The moral protest of those with strength to have restraint, has made others, both in leadership positions and followers, forget their moral commitments and lose their restraint.

Indications are that in the deep south, the violations of human rights, of academic freedom, and of equal opportunity may get worse before they get better, but the rugged determination of the students make it impossible to conceive that with nominal support, the situation will not get better.

The protest, has had nationwide repercussions. It has stirred the imaginations and sensibility of the supposedly inert and non-thinking American Student and has made him realize that he too has a definite stake in the values of his country. It has launched a nationwide student movement unprecedented in American history.

Letters and telegrams from students have been pouring in to leaders of the Southern movement. Protest demonstrations have been held throughout the country. Money has been raised from student bodies reluctant to contribute a nickel to other causes. The protest has served to focus attention on situations close to home and has activated people within both college and civic communities to move in and deal with their local situations. This movement, suppressed by many newspapers, has swept the country.

In conclusion it needs to be asked, what is the meaning of all this. It can be illustrated by an incident in Charlotte, when two light colored Negroes walked into a chain dept. store lunch counter and were served, only to embarrass the management upon leaving the store and joining their fellow demonstrators outside. The owner of the chain issued a hurried, but belated statement saying that his chain had never served anyone but Caucasians, but the laugh was on him. And this is what the movement is doing. It is showing the nation, the world, and the people themselves involved, that hypocrisy of the attitudes that currently prevail, the injustice and bitterness that exists and the irrationality of prejudice.

What the movement is saying is that until the laws, the leaders, the law enforcement officers and the man on the street are cognizant of what we really mean by democracy, freedom is an empty word.

These courageous Southern students have taken the lead; it is for us to follow.

Curtis B. Gans
National Affairs Vice-President

SURVEY OF ORGANIZATIONS ACTIVE IN SUPPORT
FOR SOUTHERN STUDENTS

Included is a list of organizations who have expressed interest in the sit-in movement and have been active in supplying information on the Southern situation to college and university students throughout the country. Any of these organizations may be contacted for information.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
and Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for
Freedom in the South
312 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

EPIC (Emergency Public Integration Committee)
333 Harvard St.
Cambridge, Mass.

National Student Christian Federation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York
(Herluf M. Jensen, General Secretary)

American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York
(Patrick Murphy Malin, Executive Director)

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th St.
New York, New York
(Herbert L. Wright, Director, Youth and College Division)

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main St.
High Point, N. C.
(Max Heirich, College Secretary)

National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students
6 East 86th St.
New York, 28, New York

World University Service
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, New York

NFCCS
1312 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, D.C.

Young Christian Students
College Headquarters
1700 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago 12, Illinois

Confederation of Northwest Catholic College Students
c/o St. Martin's College
Olympia, Washington
(Wayne Schwesinger, President)

National Student Council YMCA
291 Broadway
New York 7, New York
(Mr. Bruce Maguire)

National Student YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York
(Miss Celestine Smith)

Young Adult Council
345 E. 46th St.
New York 17, New York

Conference On Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

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SUMMARY OF COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY ACTIVITIES

NOTE: THIS SUMMARY INCLUDES ONLY THOSE ACTIVITIES OF WHICH USNSA IS AWARE.

ALLEGHENY COLLEGE
MEADVILLE, PA.

The Allegheny Student Government passed a resolution on March 22 which supported the Southern student movement in general and the Nashville students in particular. The resolution was sent to Senators Clark and Scott of Pennsylvania; to the chancellor of Vanderbilt University; to the general offices of the Woolworth Company; to the Mayor and police chief of Nashville; to the Meadville Tribune, and to the Campus (student newspaper).

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Sent telegrams of support to Nashville students and wires of protest to Nashville city officials.

AMHERST COLLEGE AMHERST, MASS.	Participated in a "March on Washington" and picketing of the Capitol with men students from other New England colleges on April 15. The March protested President Eisenhower's weak civil rights program and supported the Southern movement.
AUGSBURG COLLEGE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.	Sent telegrams of support to students in Nashville.
BETHEL COLLEGE ST. PAUL, MINN.	Sent telegrams of support to students in Nashville.
BOSTON UNIVERSITY BOSTON, MASS.	Participated in "March on Washington" on April 15.
BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY WALTHAM, MASS.	Campus newspaper published a special supplement on the Southern-sit-in movement. Students participated in picketing and "March on Washington" April 15. Postcard protest campaign on campus with post cards being mailed to the central offices of chain stores. Called for boycott. Circulated petitions supporting the Southern movement.
BRIDGEWATER STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, BRIDGEWATER, MASS.	Sent telegrams of support to students in Nashville.
BROOKLYN COLLEGE BROOKLYN, NEW YORK	Student Executive Council passed a resolution protesting discrimination at lunch counters which was sent to the central offices of certain chain stores.
BUTLER COLLEGE INDIANAPOLIS, IND.	Joined motorcade to Nashville formed by students from the University of Minnesota.
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY WASHINGTON, D.C.	Student government passed resolution supporting the Southern movement.
CEDAR CREST COLLEGE ALLENTOWN, PA.	Sent letters protesting discrimination to members of the U.S. Congress.
CENTRAL MISSOURI STATE WARRENSBURG, MO.	Sent telegrams of protest to the Mayor of Nashville.
CHATHAM COLLEGE PITTSBURGH, PA.	Sent telegram to Nashville. Held sympathy demonstration protesting the action of city officials in Nashville.
CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK	All campuses participated in sympathy demonstrations and picket lines in downtown New York. Sent telegrams to Nashville.

COLLEGE OF SOUTHERN UTAH CEDAR CITY, UTAH	Sent letters of protest to the governor, mayor and police commissioner of Nashville.
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY NEW YORK, NEW YORK	Sent telegrams to Nashville, participated in sympathy demonstrations and pickets in downtown New York.
CORNELL UNIVERSITY ITHICA, NEW YORK	Formed a "Cornell Committee Against Segregation". Participated in picketing. The student government circulated anti-segregation petitions. Held a rally for entire student body in the University auditorium at which a member of the University Board of Governors spoke.
DOUGLASS COLLEGE NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.	Picketing, protest demonstration in front of the Student Center, sent telegrams of support to students in Nashville and telegrams of protest to Nashville officials.
EASTERN WASHINGTON COLLEGE OF EDUCATION CHENEY, WASHINGTON	Sent a telegram of support and sympathy to the student body president at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana on April 2.
FAIRLEIGH DICKINSON COLLEGE 3 CAMPUSES IN NEW JERSEY	Sent telegrams to Nashville.
FERRIS COLLEGE BIG RAPIDS, MICHIGAN	Sent telegrams to Nashville.
FLINT JUNIOR COLLEGE FLINT, MICHIGAN	Sent telegrams to Nashville.
GALLUDET COLLEGE WASHINGTON, D.C.	Gave support to Nashville students.
GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIV. WASHINGTON, D. C.	Support for Nashville students
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY WASHINGTON, D. C.	Support for Nashville students
HAMLIN UNIVERSITY ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA	Sent telegrams of support to Nashville students.
HAMPTON INSTITUTE HAMPTON, VA.	Demonstrations of sympathy for southern movement.
HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE, MASS.	Sent telegrams to Nashville. Joined in pickets in Boston area, held protest demonstrations, participated in "March on Washington" on April 15.
HERSHEY JUNIOR COLLEGE HERSHEY, PA.	Sent letters of support to students at twelve Southern colleges.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Sent telegrams of support, held sympathy demonstrations, held a march on the capitol and picketing of the capitol as a protest against segregation.

HUNTER COLLEGE
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

The student government of the Bronx campus appointed a five-man committee to educate Hunter students about the problems facing Southern Negro students. Held campus rallies, participated in downtown New York pickets. Sent letters of protest to Governor of Alabama, letter of support to Bernard Lee of Alabama State College, circulated petitions gathering support for Southern students. The Park Avenue student council voted to begin collecting funds to aid southern students.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE
EASTON, PA.

Sent telegrams to Nashville and held sympathy demonstration for Nashville students.

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY
BETHLEHEM, PA.

Held sympathy demonstration of 300 students on library steps, sent telegrams protesting the arrest of Nashville students to six southern governors, a Lehigh student visiting the South during Spring vacation described the problems of students in the South to the entire student body.

LOS ANGELES STATE COLLEGE
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Participated in pickets of local chain stores.

MACALESTER COLLEGE
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

Sent telegrams of support to Nashville students.

MARYGROVE COLLEGE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Sent telegrams to Nashville.

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE
BALTIMORE, MD.

Sympathy demonstration for Nashville students.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY
BOSTON, MASS.

Students from MIT took part in the "March on Washington" on April 15.

MUHLENBERG COLLEGE
ALLEN TOWN, PA.

Telegrams to Nashville.

NEWARK STATE COLLEGE
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

Sent telegrams to Nashville.

NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY
BOSTON, MASS.

Students took part in area picket lines.

<p>OBERLIN COLLEGE OBERLIN, OHIO</p>	<p>Sent telegrams to Nashville. Sent funds to Alabama State College upon emergency request. Established a "fund for Nashville" which raised \$2709.10 in a week and a half drive. Joined in a silent march in support of sit-ins in Cleveland, Ohio. The Seminary Union of the Graduate School of Theology passed a resolution supporting James Lawson and condemning his expulsion from Vanderbilt Divinity School.</p>
<p>PRATT INSTITUTE NEW YORK, NEW YORK</p>	<p>Student government passed a resolution supporting the southern students. The student government and the Pratt NSA Committee distributed information booklets and letters with suggested individual action to students. Held a "Support Southern Students" rally in Student Lounge. Heard Bernard Lee and other speakers. Sent telegrams of support to southern students. Joined in picket lines in downtown New York City.</p>
<p>PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY</p>	<p>Participated in the "March on Washington" on April 15.</p>
<p>QUEENS COLLEGE NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK</p>	<p>Student Senate passed resolution supporting southern student movement and condemning chain stores. Advocated boycott of chain stores by Queens College students.</p>
<p>RADCLIFFE COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE, MASS.</p>	<p>Sent telegrams to Nashville.</p>
<p>REED COLLEGE PORTLAND, OREGON</p>	<p>Sent telegrams to Nashville.</p>
<p>REGIS COLLEGE WESTON, MASS.</p>	<p>Passed a resolution endorsing the principle of peaceful demonstration and condemning discriminatory practices in the area of education.</p>
<p>ROSARY COLLEGE RIVER FORREST, ILL.</p>	<p>Student Council adopted a resolution of support which was sent to the student body presidents at Alabama State College, Florida A & M, Fisk University and Southern University.</p>
<p>RUTGERS UNIVERSITY NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.</p>	<p>Sent telegrams to Nashville. Held sympathy demonstration for Nashville students.</p>
<p>SHIMER COLLEGE MT. CARROLL, ILL.</p>	<p>Sent telegrams of protest to Nashville authorities. Telegram of commendation to Diane Nash, leader of the Nashville students.</p>
<p>SIMMONS COLLEGE BOSTON, MASS.</p>	<p>The student government council passed a resolution of support for students in the south. Petitions were circulated. Sent letters to the central office of Woolworth. Sent telegrams to Diane Nash and the Mayor of Nashville.</p>

SKIDMORE COLLEGE
SARATOGA SPRINGS, N.Y.

Held demonstration at noon on March 22. Following the demonstration there were individual protests in groups of two walking in front of the local Woolworth every hour. Six of these students were brought before the police for questioning, but were not arrested. As a result, picketing was discontinued. Funds are being collected and information leaflets are being distributed. Sent telegrams of support to Nashville.

SMITH COLLEGE
NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

Established a "Smith Support for Southern Students" fund drive. Sympathy Demonstrations. Passed resolution supporting the southern students. Sent telegrams to Nashville.

SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Sent telegrams to Nashville.

ST. BENEDICT'S COLLEGE
ATCHISON, KANSAS

Sent a telegram of protest to the Mayor of Nashville.

ST. CATHERINE'S COLLEGE
ST. PAUL, MINN.

Sent telegrams to Nashville.

ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Sent telegrams to Nashville, held sympathy demonstration and participated in downtown New York picket lines.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA

Passed a resolution regarding discrimination, particularly on SUI campus.

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE
SWARTHMORE, PA.

Picketing. Joined in picketing in Philadelphia. Circulated petitions opposing racial discrimination. Held demonstrations on campus. Raised funds for Alabama State College. Sent telegrams to Diane Nash.

TRENTON STATE COLLEGE
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

Sent telegrams to Nashville.

TRINITY COLLEGE
HARTFORD, CONN.

Student senate sent telegrams of protest to Nashville officials.

TRINITY COLLEGE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Gave support to the Nashville students.

TUFTS UNIVERSITY
MEDFORD, MASS.

Joined in picket lines, took part in the "March on Washington" April 15.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Picketing. Held downtown march. Sent telegrams to Nashville.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA	Picketing in area.
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CHICAGO, ILLINOIS	Raised funds for Alabama State College. Sympathy demonstration at Loop in Chicago. Rallies to hear students from Alabama State College.
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER, COLORADO	Passed a resolution supporting southern movement and sent copies to Southern officials. Joined in peaceful demonstrations and picketing. Sent funds to Alabama State College.
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS URBANA, ILLINOIS	Picketing. Attempted to circulate handbills. Formed a committee for Liberal Action. Passed a resolution supporting the Southern movement.
UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS CITY KANSAS CITY, MO.	Passed resolution commending action of southern students and sent a copy to Senators Symington, Hennings, and Boeling of Missouri.
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN	Picketing. Sent letters to central offices of chain stores and eight southern governors. Urged boycott. Sent letters to Alabama protesting the use of law enforcement officers to break up non-violent demonstrations.
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA	Formed group called "Students for Integration." Participated in pickets, campus rallies, formed motorcade of students to Nashville. Newspaper distributed protest petitions which were signed by students and sent to Nashville city officials.
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA DULUTH, MINNESOTA	Sent telegrams to Nashville.
UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE DURHAM, NEW HAMPSHIRE	Sent telegrams to Mayor of Nashville and to Diane Nash.
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO	Sent telegrams to Nashville. Picketed local chain stores.
UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER ROCHESTER, NEW YORK	Fund drive with door to door canvassing for funds for scholarships for southern students. Telegrams to Nashville. Picketing.
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AUSTIN, TEXAS	Held non-violent demonstrations and marches on Campus.
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON SEATTLE, WASHINGTON	Sent telegrams to Nashville. Passed resolution supporting southern students. Held protest march.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON, WISCONSIN

Protest rally on campus at which governor sent message. Local picketing. Distributed information sheets to students. Sent funds to Alabama. Formed "Dollar for democracy" committee for fund raising campaign. Sent telegrams to Nashville.

WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE
PULLMAN, WASH.

Passed a resolution supporting the southern student movement.

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Picketing, passed resolution and distributed handbills and petitions. Sent telegrams to Nashville.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

Boycotts. Participated in "March on Washington" on April 15.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE
WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

Participated in "March on Washington" on April 15.

XAVIER UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Telegrams to Nashville.

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Yale "Challenge" Spring Colloquium considered the sit-in movement. Heard speakers and discussed problems of the southern students and support for southern students. Raised funds. Participated in "March on Washington" on April 15.

A FOLLOW-UP REPORT ON THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT
AFTER TWO MONTHS

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

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 closely violated, does not alter the essential nature of the "sit-ins" as an aspect 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 obnoxious action of police in quietly enforcing laws (e.g., in Atlanta), and the heavy-handed imposition of force to suppress and punish dissent which has been evident in all too many places. The issue now is no longer between citizens and state power.

THE STUDENT PROTEST
MOVEMENT, WINTER 1960

The government 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. It carried through this all over 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 that 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 lead of nonviolent by the first important American instance of student direct action for social reform. In San Antonio, "sit-in" demonstrators were evicted by a businessmen's decision, reached through the mediation of the city Council of members, to suspend segregated lunch counters.

SRC-13
April 1, 1960 (Revised)

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COUNCIL, 63 AUBURN STREET, ATLANTA 3, GA.

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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,

*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.

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.

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 busses 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.

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 fore. 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.)

REPORT OF FEBRUARY 25, 1960

BACKGROUND

On February 1, 1960, at 4:30 p.m., four freshmen from North Carolina A. & T. College sat down at the lunch counter of a Woolworth's dime store in Greensboro, N. C., and requested service. They remained until 5:30 p.m., when the store closed: they had not been served.

What happened in Greensboro on February 1 had occurred in recent years elsewhere in the South. The Greensboro incident grows in importance, however, because of the accumulating evidence that Negroes throughout the South saw in its example a means for release from discrimination and slights. The "sit-in" demonstrations, manned almost entirely by students from Negro colleges, have spread with such contagion as to make brightly clear that the South is in a time of change, the terms of which cannot be dictated by white Southerners. To react to these events with the old conditioned reflexes--indignation, reprisal, new laws and prosecutions--is absurd. The deeper meaning of the "sit-in" demonstrations is to show that segregation cannot be maintained in the South, short of continuous coercion and the intolerable social order which would result.

Since February 1, the "sit-ins" have spread from Greensboro to Durham, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Fayetteville, Raleigh, Elizabeth City, High Point, Concord, Salisbury, Shelby, Henderson--all in North Carolina;

to Hampton, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Richmond, Newport News, and Suffolk in Virginia; to Rock Hill and Orangeburg, South Carolina; to Deland and Tallahassee, Florida; to Nashville and Chattanooga, Tennessee; and to Montgomery, Alabama.

In some of these cities, lunch counter service at the target stores has been suspended. In nearly all localities, the deep implications of the student protest have been sensed, and quiet discussions are under way among business and community leaders; there is an evident reluctance, however, to "negotiate" with the students or their representatives. Several score of persons have been arrested on trespass and more serious charges. Nowhere, yet, have the demands of the students for integrated lunch counters been met.

The reaction in several localities has been violent. Mobs have rioted in Portsmouth, Virginia, and Chattanooga, Tennessee, and other cities have come to the edge of the same ugly possibility. The scene in Chattanooga, on February 24, was, as the Chattanooga Times called it without exaggeration, "fantastic".

With developments such as these, and the chance of them elsewhere, city and school officials are justified--perhaps obligated--to take such measures as have been adopted or proposed in some localities: staggered school sessions, police organization for riots, appeals to parents to keep their children home. The good performance of Southern police forces is, in several cities, about all that has prevented chaos. This is a harsh comment to have to record about a situation rooted in a triviality, the matter of who sits next to whom in a public eating place.

EARLIER EXAMPLES

The present wave of protests has had certain characteristic features, which are likely to continue. The movement has been spontaneous and contagious; it has been carried out by students; it has concentrated for the present on one sort of service-lunch counters of stores which sell other commodities to Negroes; it has tended to concentrate on branch stores of large chains; it has been generally non-violent.

Because the outcome of the campaign is still undetermined, there is all the more value in a backward look at an earlier, less publicized chapter of the same story. This occurred in 1958.

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, "sit-in" occurred in Wichita, Kansas, in August, 1958, and after about four days, led to service at the lunch counters of one chain. The next week, the movement spread to Oklahoma City. It was the culmination of a long and planned project of the local NAACP Youth Council, and was supervised throughout by the Council's advisor. Beginning in October, 1957, occasional Negro youth had sought service at downtown lunch counters. On August 19, the "sit-in" began at the Katz Drug Company. This was one of five stores selected, and by the end of a fortnight all of the five except the John A. Brown department store (said to be the largest in town) had changed their policies. (One store--Kress--removed all stools at lunch counters before complying;

everybody--white and colored--had to stand.) During this time, Negro youths from 6 to 17 (a 15 year old girl was spokesman), sometimes accompanied by adults, and varying in number from a usual 35-40 to a high of 135 on August 28 at Brown's, had occupied all available seats at the recalcitrant stores; they were clean, well dressed, disciplined, and mannerly: before and after their activity they held prayer-sessions. There was little disturbance: a few jeers from white youths, and a one-day counter "sit-in" by 15 white boys, was about all; the police were generally in attendance. On Sunday, August 24, the Negro youths divided into 20 pairs, and attended 20 white churches: they were put out at only three.

The movement spread, with some success, to a few other Oklahoma cities, such as Enid, Tulsa, Stillwater. In Oklahoma City, it ended with Brown's still a holdout and with the appearance of a church-affiliated mediation committee of citizens. In early October, the Youth Council began a mail survey of restaurants in the city to determine their policies. The churches mediation committee began discussions, which still continue, with proprietors. The result is that by now there are over 30 establishments which say they are open to all customers; Negroes have found, however, that the new policies are sometimes forgotten, sometimes followed, at several of these places. Brown's remains adamant, and is regularly picketed each Saturday.

The issue flared again, with different implications, in 1959. On two occasions--in February and December--Negroes sought service at the cafeterias of a county commissioner and were refused. The gentleman was obviously singled out because he represents District 1 of Oklahoma County, which is said to include 90% of the county's Negro population. The February attempt was made by four members of the Youth Council, and the December attempt by adults and youths. Since then, district lines have been redrawn and at the next election the commissioner will face a predominantly white constituency.

From November, 1958, to February, 1959, other tactics were used in Kansas City, where three years earlier a single Negro minister, by repeated and persistent visits, had effected a policy change at the lunch counters of a drug-store chain. Refused restaurant service at five downtown department stores, Negroes began (a) to picket the stores, especially during the Christmas rush, asking Negroes not to shop at them; (b) a campaign--which they claimed to be pretty successful--to get Negroes to cancel their charge accounts at these stores. Rather prolonged negotiations set in, which ended abruptly when Negroes scheduled a downtown protest parade on Saturday morning, February 28. Four of the five stores capitulated on February 27, and the parade was called off.

The Miami events of 1959 followed a different pattern from those of Oklahoma City. In the first place, not the NAACP but the Congress of Racial Equality was the supporting organization. Secondly, the "sit-ins" were not sustained, and led to no definite outcome, except the closing of all eating facilities in one downtown department store. Thirdly, some flare-ups of violence occurred. Activity dragged off and on from May 1959 through September.

LEGAL PRECEDENTS

The "sit-ins" mark a new trend in the Negro attack on segregation, adding to legal suits the use of economic pressure and direct action. The "sit-ins" are, nevertheless, subject to legal interference, with Negroes potentially in the role of defendants.

The legal rights of the participants are still cloudy. Apparently American law has never generally extended the old common law innkeeper's rule* to restaurants and lunch counters, or even, in fact, consistently recognized it as applying to hotel lodgings. Privately owned eating places generally have been considered free to refuse service to whom they please, even if the right is not specifically recognized by state law or municipal ordinance. There is another question, however, regarding the right of a proprietor of such an establishment to order unwanted guests from the premises.

What seems to be a leading case did uphold that right. It arose, coincidentally, in Durham, N.C., in 1957 when several Negroes sought service in the white section of an ice cream parlor. They were refused and ordered out, and arrested when they did not comply. The Supreme Court of North Carolina sustained their conviction on a charge of trespass.**

More recently, in July, 1959, a federal appellate court sustained the dismissal of a suit brought by a Negro against a chain restaurant in Alexandria, Va., which had refused him service. The Court found no discrimination forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment, nor any restriction on interstate commerce.*

Perhaps relying on these precedents, the Attorney-General of North Carolina publicly remarked that the right of an owner in North Carolina to select his customers was well established, and that he could order the arrest of anyone refusing to leave his property on request. The American Civil Liberties Union took immediate issue with the Attorney-General. The ACLU's contention is two-fold: (a) the students' peaceable demonstrations are an exercise of their right of free speech, for which they cannot constitutionally be punished; (b) they cannot be arrested for trespass on property (e.g. shopping centers, dime stores) where they are free, and invited, to enter.

* The aged common law principle obliged innkeepers to accommodate all travelers for whom they had room.

** State v. Clyburn, 3 Race Relations Law Reporter 218

* Williams v. Howard Johnson's Restaurant, 4 Race Relations Law Reporter 713. On February 16, 1960, a federal district court in Baltimore ruled, according to a press report, that "a restaurant has the right to select its clientele and make the selection on the basis of color if it so desires."

The legislatures of Georgia and Virginia, which were in session during February, took the opportunity to enact measures making it a misdemeanor for a person to refuse to leave an establishment when ordered out by the proprietor or manager. Similar legislation was passed in Mississippi in February, 1956 and in Arkansas in February, 1959, and is under consideration in South Carolina.

PUBLIC REACTION

Whatever the law, nothing should be more apparent to responsible persons than that legal suppression, over and above the necessary maintenance of public order, is a thoughtless and self-defeating reaction. The present wave of Negro protests may or may not peter out; it may or may not utilize other methods than the "sit-in". Whatever turn immediate events take, what has happened so far is another warning--how many are we entitled to?--that Southerners must build into their social, economic, and political practices which meet the needs and aspirations of a new order of Negroes.

Fortunately, reaction to the "sit-ins" has shown an awareness of this. The police of the various localities have responded generally with professional performance. The municipal officials have been concerned to find viable solutions. The local newspapers have exerted a calming influence and have emphasized the challenge to community responsibility. The following excerpts, even though one may not agree altogether with them, are indicative of the press reaction, and of its general level of serious reflection:

from the Raleigh News and Observer, February 11, 1960

The Woolworth stores against which the first moves were made undertake to follow "local customs," yet Woolworth is a name which makes its mercantile appeal in every section of America, in New York as well as in North Carolina. It has 2,000 stores across the nation, 200 of which are in the South. Also, it is a chain of stores which by the very nature of its appeal seeks the patronage of people of limited means all over America, many of whom are Negroes.

The "local custom" which has been followed by these and other stores in North Carolina eagerly welcomes Negro trade at all counters but one. Furthermore at that counter where food is served, Negroes have been served standing up but not sitting down. The distinction may make sense in "custom". Perhaps the supposition was that the Negro who purchased standing up was buying the food to take to others. That gave clearance to his presence as a servant. But the Negro, sitting down and eating where he sat, assumed the position of a guest.

But an odd "guest". In effect, he was cordially invited to the house but definitely not to the table. And to say the least this was complicated hospitality. As a very natural result the action of the Negroes has been embarrassing to stores which are not merely ready but eager to serve Negroes in most stores but not in Southern ones.

from the Raleigh Times, February 16, 1960

Two things are sure:

This thing cannot be solved by a continuance of mass protests by the Negro students. That could bring only continued closing of lunch counters, continued use of "no trespassing" signs at counters which are open. And, it could bring only continued potential of actual violence, such as did erupt yesterday in High Point.

This thing cannot be solved by more mass arrests, either. The arrests already made have solved nothing and may well have been the first step toward other problems.

from the Greensboro Daily News, February 15, 1960

...the only sensible course is to find some way to serve all those customers who want to be served. It should be done if it means setting up little separate but equal areas as a start, or ripping out all the seats and letting everybody eat standing up or simply at some unannounced time initiating a policy of service for all.

The issue will not quiet down without a decision-either to cope with the moral question or to cease all food service. The variety chain stores would serve their own ends poorly elsewhere if they decided they couldn't find an accommodating answer in the South.

This means, then, that the leadership of North Carolina's assailed cities must assert itself. An effort must be made not to coerce Woolworth and Kress into a particular decision but simply to serve as mediators, to counsel and to help North Carolina dispose of this sometimes ridiculous controversy over where and how people have lunch.

The Negro students (and their few white fellow-students) have conducted themselves creditably. They have chosen a goal which no one can legitimately grudge, have pursued it by means which were selected after mature pondering, and have in almost all places shunned the use of force even when provoked. As the Richmond News Leader said editorially on February 22:

Many a Virginian must have felt a tinge of wry regret at the state of things as they are, in reading of Saturday's "sitdowns" by Negro students in Richmond stores. Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them was reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the sidewalk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud and honored flag of the Southern States in the last war fought by gentlemen. Eheu! It gives one pause.

Indeed it does.

Negro adult leadership has widely and firmly supported the movement. No better statement dealing with the issues has been made than that of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, issued February 12, from which the following sentences are taken:

...instead of expressing disapproval, we have an obligation to support any peaceful movement which seeks to remove from the customs of our beloved southland, those unfair practices based upon race and color which have for so long a time been recognized as a stigma on our way of life and a stumbling block to moral and economic progress of the region.

Approximately two years ago, the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs conducted a survey of the 5 and 10 cents stores located in Durham. This survey indicated that between 50 and 60 per cent of the persons entering the Kress, Silvers and Woolworth stores, were colored people. Obviously, the students' protest is against a system which solicits and accepts the trade of Negro patrons while denying them employment opportunities and the use of dining facilities...

The Negro citizens of our community hope for successful negotiations between student leaders and representatives of the various stores affected. We are also hopeful that these negotiations will lead to formation of fair employment practices and an enlightened policy providing for a cordial invitation to all patrons to use the dining facilities without being segregated according to race.

In conclusion, we commend these students for the dignified manner in which they have demonstrated the kind of poise and maturity which have enabled them to smile while being cursed, showered with eggs, and threatened with physical violence by irresponsible elements...

THE SOUTHERN PATTERN

Elsewhere in the South, there is deep interest and uneasy anticipation. There is also a display of the conditions which cause the student protest movement.

As far north as Arlington, Va., a locale but loosely "Southern" there is as yet no non-segregated eating. Nor is there in Knoxville, despite lengthy discussions with several leading stores. Nor is there in another state university town, Gainesville, Fla., except at a drive-in with outside tables. In Salisbury, N. C.--the one Negro college center in the state without a demonstration-integrated service is already an occasional practice. So is it, on a stand-up basis, at other scattered places in the South.

A Negro attending a convention in Houston might well be served at the Rice or Shamrock hotels; but the lone Negro, with no convention to attend, has to hunt out a segregated eating place, or stand at the integrated counter of the S. H. Kress dime store. But in Oklahoma City, the Biltmore is open for food and lodging, and since the 1958 demonstrations so are a number of restaurants and lunch rooms. In little Rock, the segregated counters of one dime store and of one bus terminal are the only places Negroes can eat downtown. In Atlanta there are several segregated places,

also one Negro restaurant in the heart of downtown. In Roanoke, Va., the segregated lunch counter at W. T. Grant's variety store is the only eating place for Negroes downtown.

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TOWARD A SOLUTION

What has happened these last few weeks, and what may lie ahead, has worried and dismayed many Southerners. These include not only the persons who are the everyday enemies of Negro equality, and those others who see in each new Negro demand a "setback to race relations." There are Southerners friendly to the Negro cause who have doubts as to the practical wisdom of the student protests, and the turn toward violent conflict has deepened their concern. This is not a point of view to be shrugged off. At the very least, it is an indication of a segment of Southern opinion. More basically, it is an expression of a view, which has been implied in some of the Negro press as well, that the student protests will hurt other more important objectives, especially school desegregation.

To this there are several things to be said.

The movement began in North Carolina, the state most commonly identified with so-called token desegregation. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that one irritant which motivated the students was resentment over the pace of school desegregation. As such, the lunch counter demonstrations are a sign of the hollow inadequacy of a desegregation scheme designed simply to skirt the law.

Moreover, white Southerners have almost always underestimated the extent of Negro dissatisfaction. Consequently, they have tended at all times to be shocked when Negroes demand something which the whites had hardly bothered to notice they didn't have. To say again that these are times of change is trite; but unfortunately the white leadership of the South has hardly yet begun to conceive the dimensions of change, or to say publicly that the white people must learn to live with change, or to acknowledge that the present problem is to reconcile the Negroes of the south to their communities on terms of dignity.

The use of economic pressures, rather than legal attacks, could have immense implications. Techniques similar to the lunch counter "sit-ins" could be developed for many other objectives, including employment. In this connection, it is worth noting that the students had enough practical shrewdness to direct most of their effort at national chains.

Yet the onus of decision should not have to fall on any one business, nor should a region which is so desirous of attracting branch businesses be shortsighted enough to allow that to happen. Because Woolworth, Kress, and the other chains are peculiarly vulnerable is no reason why they should have the largest burden. To extricate a city from the predicament in which 20-odd Southern cities now find themselves is a task for the whole business community of each city, guided and supported by elected officials and civic leaders.

And businessmen and officials of cities yet unaffected would be blind to their own advantage if they did not address themselves to the same problem. There is no doubt that integrated eating facilities will be more difficult to establish now than they would have been two months ago in the North Carolina cities. There are real doubts, on the other hand, that stores which have been struck will be able to resume untroubled operations on the old pattern. The meaning of this for other cities should be transparent.

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The Negro potential for economic pressure is great. The New York Times (February 19), reported the statement of an S. H. Kress executive that business in some of the affected stores had dropped 15-18%. Other reports have said that a variety store in Charlotte has had a 65% drop in business, and a Greensboro store is down 35%. The Wall Street Journal reported that Negro expenditures in Charlotte are estimated at \$150 million annually.

The alternatives in the present situation are few and plain. One is to maintain segregation: this is to invite a test of strength and to create the sort of atmosphere in which the apostles of violence will inevitably take over; it is also to alienate the Negro students, and educated Negroes generally, yet more severely from their local communities.

A second is to eliminate the beleaguered facility. Abolish lunch counters this time, and whatever else it is next time (schools, perhaps). The end of this is to have nothing left that is recognizable as a community.

A third, and final, alternative is equal treatment. If Southerners are sensible, even if they have only a lively sense of self-interest, treatment will be equally good; if Southerners prefer, it can be equally bad. As profound as anything said in the lunch counter controversy is the terse sentence of the student leader in Charlotte--and only the unthinking would regard it as arrogant: "We are not only entitled to service, but we want it."

It is a biting commentary on the present state of American civilization that practiced techniques of protest against racial discrimination have been developed. In a few of the North Carolina cities, the students have had, after the initial movement, the guidance of staff members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), who have brought them lessons of experience going back to 1942, and learned largely in the North and border states. The assistance may have contributed to the discipline of non-violence, which has generally held firm. Adult community leaders of the South might well seek some guidance as well. One example which they might study is that of the Greater Oklahoma City Council of Churches, which pulled its city out of the confusion of 1958, and in doing so has acquired the trust of both races.

The North Carolina Council on Human Relations has well said: "Confidence in the basic good judgment and sense of fair play of the majority of our citizens could be our most valuable asset in solving the problems. Experience in many areas of desegregation--in churches, schools, airports, and auditoriums, and particularly in the Armed Forces--has taught us that where policy is firmly agreed upon and where people are expected to behave properly toward each other, they almost always do. Except for our fears, many of our problems would melt away." What the Southern cities need most is leadership that will show them how fragile are their fears.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS TO FEBRUARY 25, 1960

GREENSBORO, N. C.

The "sit-ins" began February 1 and continued, joined by several white students, through February 6, when a two-week halt for negotiations was announced; on February 20, the students voted to continue negotiations; just what "negotiations" consist of is not clear, as the store managers have not met directly with the students. At least one meeting was held between the stores' representatives and officials of the four colleges whose students have participated: North Carolina A & T, Bennett, the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, and Greensboro. On one day, the demonstrators numbered about 250. On February 6, two chain stores were

cleared of all customers following a telephoned warning. On February 8, their lunch counters closed and have remained so.

DURHAM, N. C.

A one-day demonstration on February 8, of students from North Carolina College and a few from Duke, resulted in the closing of lunch counters in two chain stores. During the day, a telephoned threat led to a temporary complete closing of both stores. A brief scuffle occurred in a store one day when employees resisted photographers on the day the Rev. M. L. King, Jr. visited. A faculty-student committee at North Carolina College is in being, ready to negotiate or otherwise discuss the issue. On February 21, Durham was the site of a statewide meeting of student leaders of the protests.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Nearly 300 lunch counter seats were closed, beginning February 9, after "sit-ins" which started the previous day; one locally owned drugstore closed its counters, but only after serving all customers--Negro and white--who were seated. Demonstrations have continued, led by students from Winston-Salem Teachers College and joined by students from Wake Forest. Some counters have remained closed, some have reopened and then closed again when Negroes appeared. Integrated stand-up service is and has for long been available in at least three stores. On February 23, one Woolworth store reopened its lunch counter after partitioning it off and placing in front a sign saying, "employees and guests." Twelve Negro and nine white students were arrested for trespass on complaint of the manager when they attempted to enter.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.

The movement began February 9; students from Johnson C. Smith University were the participants. Lunch counters at variety stores closed on the 9th and remain closed. Demonstrations continued until February 20, when the students announced a halt, with the further statement, "To believe the matter will lie dormant is naive." Nonetheless, on February 23 a group was downtown, and a short scuffle occurred: two Negroes and one white man were arrested.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.

Students from Fayetteville State Teachers College appeared at lunch counters on February 9; two chain stores suspended food service, which is still not offered. Demonstrations continued until February 11, when a week's halt was announced in hopes of discussions. On February 15, picketing of the stores began.

RALEIGH, N. C.

Protests began February 10, by students from Shaw University and St. Augustine's College. The state's capital city has been the scene of more turbulence than elsewhere in North Carolina. Forty-three Negroes were arrested for trespass on complaint of a shopping center official. Their trial on February 25 was postponed for a week after a crowd of 700 persons, including several hundred Shaw students, jammed the court room. Two white men have also been arrested in the course of rather general disturbances. One of them has been sentenced to 60 days on the roads. Lunch counters are closed at several stores. The Negroes continued demonstrating; picketing has generally replaced "sit-ins." At least one firm--S. H. Kress--has reopened its counters on an integrated basis, after removing the stools; pickets have been withdrawn from its stores.

ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.

Students from Elizabeth City Teachers' College occupied seats at a chain store on February 11. The counter was promptly closed and they continued to sit, resuming their places on the next day until the stools were removed and the counters roped off.

HIGH POINT, N. C.

Several stores have been involved in demonstrations which began February 11; something of a truce was arranged on February 19, with store managers agreeing to keep their counters closed until a definite policy was formulated. On two days, Woolworth's has shut an entire store because of disorder or on advice of police. There have been a number of fights, at least one incipient mob, and several arrests. This is the only city of the state where high school, rather than college, students are leading; also a group of adult Negroes has been quietly soliciting service at one restaurant, and several Negro ministers, including the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, have advised the students.

HAMPTON, VA.

Beginning February 11, Hampton Institute students began to "sit-in". The Woolworth counter closed that day, re-opened on February 18 despite continued presence of the Negroes, closed again the next day. At least one other store has suspended lunch service. On February 22, one shop offered to serve Negroes: coffee, \$1.00 a cup; hot dogs, \$1.45.

CONCORD, N. C.

A "sit-in" of students, presumably from Barber-Scotia College, occurred February 12 at a department store; they remained after the counter suspended service.

NORFOLK, VA.

At least two chains have closed lunch counters after "sit-ins" which began February 12; demonstrations have continued.

PORTSMOUTH, VA.

Small on-and-off demonstrations began February 12 in the luncheonettes of two stores. Since then the demonstrations have seemed rather aimless. This is not to say the situation has not been serious. There have been two days when white and Negro mobs of youngsters, 200-300 on a side, confronted each other, and a number of fights have occurred. Twenty-seven youths, white and colored, were arrested on February 17. The Negroes appear to be mainly high school students; there was a leadership group initially, but it seemingly lost influence.

ROCK HILL, S. C.

Students from Friendship Junior and Clinton Junior colleges appeared at lunch counters of two chains on February 12 -- both of which suspended service, and later in the day closed entirely when a telephoned bombing threat was received. The students went then to two drug stores, from which they were escorted by police after a mob collected. The next day, a new tactic emerged: white demonstrators began to urge a boycott of any store which did not keep its lunch counters open and segregated. For several days the city was very tense. On February 23, the students "sat-in" again.

DELAND, FLA.

A demonstration on February 12 caused a chain store to close its counter.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

The protest movement was begun February 13 by students from Fisk University; some Vanderbilt students joined them on later days, as the "sit-ins" have continued. Lunch counters in four stores were closed February 18.

TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

A campaign which began February 13 ended at least for the present on February 20 when eleven Negroes, sitting at the closed counter of a dime store, were arrested on the Mayor's order. Florida A & M students led the protests; two of the group arrested were high school students.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

On Saturday, February 13, three chain stores were picketed in Harlem, out of sympathy for Southern Negroes; picketers claimed that 90% of the trade was turned away.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

"Sit-ins" of high school students occurred on February 19 at two stores, and were repeated by a larger number of youths at four stores on February 22; on both days, the counters were promptly closed, and there was no further trouble. When the Negroes arrived downtown on February 23, after school let out, a crowd of white youngsters was waiting. What ensued was called by the Chattanooga Times, "the most massive racial clash in the history of Chattanooga." On the next day, throngs numbering in the thousands were dispersed by the police; on February 25, there were still disturbances, though smaller.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Eight Yale University students, three of them Negroes, picketed a chain store on February 19, out of sympathy for Southern Negroes.

RICHMOND, VA.

Protests, led by Virginia Union University students, began February 20. At least six stores have closed their counters. On the complaint of Thalheimer's department store, 34 students were arrested on February 22; pickets appeared on February 23 to urge Negroes to boycott Thalheimer's and to cancel their charge accounts. A sizeable crowd of white teen-agers caused some apprehension of trouble, but there has been none as yet.

SUFFOLK, VA.

Lunch counter protests began February 18. On February 20, an extension student of Virginia State College was arrested for demonstrating in a public place without prior official permission.

BALTIMORE, MD.

Bandleader Duke Ellington was the last of a number of Negroes who throughout February 22 sought service at a restaurant; after refusing Ellington, the restaurant closed early.

NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

"Sit-ins" occurred February 22.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

On February 25, the lunch counter in the county court house was visited by 35 students from Alabama State College. The shop closed, and the students were lined up and photographed by law enforcement officers. Governor Patterson demanded their expulsion from school, and ordered the college president to investigate the student body; the Montgomery Mayor endorsed the Governor's position.

ORANGEBURG, S. C.

A "sit-in" occurred at one chain store on February 25, and the counter was promptly closed. The city is the location of South Carolina State College.

HENDERSON, N. C.

On February 25, students from Kittrell College were refused service at a chain store; some took seats at the counter.

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POSTSCRIPT OF MARCH 13, 1960

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 manifestoes 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, although the one incident in Louisiana was slight: 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 and Monroe, North Carolina; Charleston, Columbia, Denmark, Florence and Sumter, South Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee; Austin, Galveston, 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 40 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.)

* 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).

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 at McClellan's counter after getting no reaction when he called the fraternizing white a "nigger-lover."

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 436 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.

* 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 opportunities in higher education for Negroes than does the rest of the country.

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 students' 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 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 reopened 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, Livingstone College students were refused service on March 7 in two drug stores, but given service without question 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 student-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 discriminatory service at lunch counters is only a symbol of the many problems which need to be faced openly and frankly."

Atlanta's Mayor Hartsfield said of the Appeal, that it "performs the constructive service of letting the white community know what others are thinking." 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 Tuskegee. 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, Morris, Claflin, and South Carolina State Colleges 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.

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 provision for Negro applicants." When asked if he did not believe the prospects for school desegregation had been set back by the "sit-ins" Dr. G. 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 overburdened 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 take sides, the chances of a solution on the local level, without court orders, will be dim.

All in all, these weeks have been, as Claude Sitton put it in the New York Times, a time of disenchantment for the South. The South is learning, harshly, how its race relations really do look to its Negro citizens.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF THE CITIES IN WHICH
DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED

FEBRUARY 1 - MARCH 31, 1960*

First Date	City	Sit-ins at			Other forms of Protest	Remarks
		Private establishments?	Bus & Train Stations?	Public Buildings?		
Feb. 1	Greensboro, NC	Yes	No	No		
Feb. 8	Durham, NC	Yes	No	No	picketing	
Feb. 8	Winston-Salem, NC	Yes	No	No	march	There have been occasional attempts to re-open lunch counter. Stools removed at one store and counter desegregated.
Feb. 9	Charlotte, NC	Yes	No	No	picketing	
Feb. 9	Fayetteville, NC	Yes	No	No	picketing	
Feb. 10	Raleigh, NC	Yes	No	No	picketing prayer meeting on state capitol steps	
Feb. 11	Elizabeth City NC	Yes	No	No		
Feb. 11	High Point, NC	Yes	No	No		<u>Mayor's committee recommended 60-day trial integration 3/31; no immediate response from variety stores.</u>
Feb. 11	Hampton, Va.	Yes	No	No	picketing march	
Feb. 12	Concord, NC	Yes	No	No	religious service on court-house lawn, march	

*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.

First Date	City	Sit-ins at			Other forms of Protest	Remarks
		Private establishments?	Bus & Train Stations?	Public Buildings?		
Feb. 12	Norfolk, Va.	Yes	No	No		
Feb. 12	Portsmouth, Va.	Yes	No	No	march attempted boycott	White and Negro mobs dispersed by police 2/16-17
Feb. 12	Rock Hill, SC	Yes	No	No	picketing	
Feb. 12	Deland, Fla.	Yes	No	No		
Feb. 13	Nashville, Tenn	Yes	Yes	No	picketing	Student leader expelled from Vanderbilt Divinity School. Negroes served at Greyhound Station 3/16
Feb. 13	Tallahassee, Fla.	Yes	No	No	march	Police broke up march 3/12 with tear gas.
Feb. 16	Salisbury, NC	Yes	No	No		Three drug stores gave desegregated service 3/7 -- apparently the first genuine victory of the movement.
Feb. 18	Shelby, NC	Yes	Yes	No	picketing	Negro picket attacked
Feb. 18	Suffolk, Va.	Yes	No	No		Stools removed at one store and counter desegregated; business declined an estimated 75%.
Feb. 19	Chattanooga, Tenn	Yes	No	No		Riots 2/23-25
Feb. 20	Richmond, Va.	Yes	No	No	picketing	
Feb. 20	Baltimore, Md.	Yes	No	No	picketing	Picketing directed at theatre.

First Date	City	Sit-ins at			Other forms of Protest	Remarks
		Private establishments?	Bus & Train Stations?	Public Buildings?		
Feb.22	Newport News, Va.	Yes	No	No	picketing march	
Feb.25	Montgomery, Ala.	No	No	Yes	march, Mass rally on campus	Violent attacks on Negroes 2/28. Riot 3/6. Leaders of demonstration were expelled from Alabama State on order of State Board of Education. Touring Northern white students and instructor jailed for eating with Negroes in a cafe.
Feb.25	Orangeburg, SC	Yes	No	No	march	Police used fire hose and tear gas to disperse Negro marchers 3/12.
Feb.25	Henderson, NC	Yes	No	No		Negro student assaulted white man.
Feb.25	Charleston, SC	No	No	No	march	
Feb.27	Lexington, Ky.	Yes	No	No		
Feb.27	Tuskegee, Ala.	No	No	No	march, attempted boycott	One march of Tuskegee students was in Montgomery.
Feb.27	Petersburg, Va.	No	No	Yes	negotiating teams visited stores asking for desegregated service and rest rooms	Sit-in took place in public library.

First Date:	City	Sit-ins at			Other Forms of Protest	Remarks
		Private establishments?	Bus & Train Stations?	Public Buildings?		
Feb. 28	Chapel Hill, NC	Yes	Yes	No		
Feb. 29	Denmark, SC	Yes	No	No		
Feb. 29	Tampa, Fla.	Yes	Yes	No		
Mar. 1	Monroe, NC	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 2	St. Petersburg, Fla.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 2	Sarasota, Fla.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 2	Daytona Beach, Fla.	Yes	No	No	attempted boycott	
Mar. 2	Columbia, SC	Yes	Yes	No	march	Negroes attacked several cars at a white drive-in restaurant 3/5
Mar. 3	Atlanta, Ga.	Yes	Yes	Yes	news-paper ad, picketing	Sit-in included theatrical performance at Municipal Auditorium
Mar. 4	Sumter, SC	Yes	No	No	rally on courthouse steps	
Mar. 4	Florence, SC	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 4	Orlando, Fla.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 4	Miami, Fla.	Yes	No	No		Participants were adult ministers

First Date	City	Sit-ins at			Other forms of Protest	Remarks
		Private establishments?	Bus & Train Stations?	Public Buildings?		
Mar. 5	Houston, Tex.	Yes	No	Yes	picketing	Negroes served in City Hall Cafeteria 3/25; lessee announced return to segregation 3/26. A Negro brutally tortured by white youths 3/7.
Mar. 5	Xenia, Ohio	Yes	No	No		Restaurant desegregated after 3-day closing.
Mar. 7	Sanford, Fla.	No	No	No	students met with city manager and petitioned unsuccessfully for use of civic center	
Mar. 7	Bluefield, W. Va.	Yes	No	No	picketing	Theatre included in demonstrations.
Mar. 7	Knoxville, Tenn	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 8	New Orleans, La.	No	No	No	on-campus parade	
Mar. 10	Little Rock, Ark.	Yes	No	No		State Atty. Gen. smeared president of students' college (Philander Smith) as suspect of left-wing subversion.
Mar. 10	Huntsville, Ala.	No	No	No	march	

First Date	City	Sit-ins at			Other forms of Protest	Remarks
		Private establishments?	Bus & Train Stations?	Public Buildings?		
Mar. 11	Austin, Tex.	No	No	No	march, picketing leaflets	Demonstrations were directed against the segregationist housing, athletic drama policies of the University of Texas
Mar. 11	Galveston, Tex.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 12	Jacksonville, Fla.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 13	San Antonio, Tex.	No	No	No	ultimatum conference	<u>Six variety stores and a city-wide drug chain began desegregated service 3/16.</u>
Mar. 15	St. Augustine, Fla.	Yes	No	No		Fights suppressed by police 3/17.
Mar. 16	Savannah, Ga.	Yes	No	No	picketing attempted boycott	White and Negro mobs dispersed by police 3/17.
Mar. 17	New Bern, NC	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 18	Memphis, Tenn.	Yes	No	Yes	meeting with City Commission	Most important sit-in has been for library service. Art gallery also a target.
Mar. 19	Wilmington, NC	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 19	Arlington, Va.	Yes	No	No		Sit-in led to fight between store owner and Negroes

First Date	City	Sit-ins at			Other forms of Protest	Remarks
		Private establishments?	Bus & Train Stations?	Buildings		
Mar. 19	Lenoir, NC	No	No	Yes		<u>Negroes entered library and were not disturbed in using the facilities.</u>
Mar. 21	Statesville, NC	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 25	Pine Bluff, Ark.	No	No	No	attempted boycott	
Mar. 26	Lynchburg, Va.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 26	Charleston, W. Va.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 26	Marshall, Tex.	Yes	Yes	No	mass gathering on court house square	Police used fire hose to disperse crowd 3/30. Bishop College fired an instructor after governor charged demonstrations Communist inspired
Mar. 28	Baton Rouge, La.	Yes	Yes	No	march	Leaders of demonstration expelled by Southern University; other students are staying out of classes in protest.
Mar. 31	Birmingham, Ala.	Yes	No	No		

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Columbus & Howard Street