

by Jim Peck

(Combining "Erasing the Color Line" and "CORE-A Brief History" by George M. Houser and bringing them up-to-date through the crucial 1950s--a decade highlighted by the Supreme Court's historic outlawing of "separate but equal" and by the precedent-setting use of non-violence on a mass scale to defeat bus segregation in Montgomery)

I. HOW CORE GOT STARTEDPIONEER IN NON-VIOLENCE

"As part of the national Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the (New York) group has been effectively fighting bias here on the Gandhi non-violence principle, not only in hotels, but in swimming pools, barber shops, restaurants and other places of public accommodation long before Montgomery joined the passive resistance movement."

So wrote Ted Poston in a series of articles in the New York Post entitled "Prejudice and Progress in New York." The articles appeared in the first months of the 1956 non-violent protest action against bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama. According to Poston's good newspaper sense, public interest aroused by the precedent-setting protest in Montgomery would make it newsworthy, in New York, to state the little-known facts that New York CORE had been using non-violent techniques to combat racial discrimination for many years.

FIRST CORE GROUP

New York CORE, to which Poston refers, is not the first CORE group to be formed. The first CORE group was established in Chicago on a Sunday afternoon in April 1942 when about 50 persons met at Meadville House. A steering committee was chosen made up largely of persons on the preliminary organizing committee (James Farmer, Kenneth and Polly Cuthbertson, Bernice Fisher, Henry Dyer, George Houser, Homer Jack, Joseph Guinn, James Robinson). The name, Committee of Racial Equality, was not adopted until June. It was chosen primarily because the abbreviation, CORE, was at once a convenient designation and an indication of the aim of getting at the very roots of racial discrimination.

News about the activities of Chicago CORE reached other cities. Letters of inquiry came from many sections of the country to Chicago headquarters at the Woodlawn AME Church, where Rev. Archibald J. Carey, later a city councilman, was minister. Other CORE groups became established--in Detroit, New York, Syracuse. Much credit for this goes to James Farmer who, along with his field work for other organizations, spent considerable time on CORE. A number of groups, not bearing the CORE name but interested in non-violent action, wrote to Chicago for information.

FORM NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Because of this response, Chicago CORE decided to call a conference of the groups which had expressed interest, to explore the possibility of forming a national organization. This conference was held in June 1943. Delegates came from Baltimore, New York, Syracuse, Detroit, Colorado Springs, Columbus, Philadelphia, Chicago and Indianapolis. A national organization--the National Federation of Committees of Racial Equality was established. It was decided that this body should be a loose

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federation with a high degree of local autonomy and that the main emphasis should be non-violent action on a local level. A simple statement of purpose, constitution and action discipline were adopted--based largely on those which Chicago CORE was already using. James Farmer was elected national chairman and Bernice Fisher, secretary-treasurer.

During the first year of the national organization's existence, groups from Denver, Chicago, Detroit, Oberlin, Syracuse, New York and Columbus affiliated. The second national conference was held in Detroit in June of the following year. At that time the name was changed to Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a name which the organization has retained ever since.

National conferences have been held in June of each year in different cities --usually in conjunction with a workshop on non-violent techniques and sometimes with a local action project. At the 1946 conference, it was decided to set up a national advisory committee of prominent persons. Members of this committee during CORE's early years included Roger Baldwin, John Dewey, Allan Knight Chalmers, Charles Houston, E. Stanley Jones, Dorothy Maynor, A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, Ira DeA. Reid, Lillian Smith, George Schuyler, Howard Thurman, Goodwin Watson, Willard Townsend and Anna A. Hedgeman. Many of them have remained on the committee ever since. Others, like Martin Luther King, joined the committee more recently. Also in 1946, following the election of George Houser as secretary, CORE's national headquarters moved from Chicago to Cleveland and then to New York where it is located today.

A CASE IN POINT

Prompting establishment of CORE was a project which clearly demonstrated that legal action alone is inadequate in the struggle against discrimination--that non-violent direct action is essential. The project was Chicago's White City Roller Rink, which in 1942 tried to maintain a whites-only policy although the neighborhood had become predominantly Negro.

Not long before the initial meeting of Chicago CORE, an interracial group of 24 persons tested the skating rink and found that Negroes were barred. This exclusion was accomplished through a device encountered by CORE groups in many of its projects: the phony "private club." In this case, it was called the White City Roller Club. The testing group found that, while whites could enter the rink by simply purchasing an admission ticket, Negroes were told that only members of the "club" could get in.

At a subsequent meeting with a committee of the by-then established CORE group, the manager insisted that the "club" was legitimate. So, in view of the fact that Illinois has a strong civil rights law, the group decided to file suit on behalf of its Negro members who had been refused admission.

The case was continued six times and did not finally come to trial till eight months later. By that time a number of the plaintiffs had either graduated from school or had been drafted. Only three of the 24 participants in the project were still in Chicago. Also, the state's attorney, although ostensibly defending the plaintiffs under the law, did everything possible to influence the judge toward a non-guilty verdict for the skating rink. The legal case was lost.

HAPPY ENDING

But the action campaign was eventually resumed and brought to a successful conclusion. For many months after the legal defeat, the White City campaign lagged. Occasionally interracial groups conducted tests which showed that the discrimina-

tory policy still prevailed. A few leaflet distribution were conducted, with the result that some young people started to boycott the rink.

Starting in the fall of 1945, Chicago CORE resumed the campaign in earnest. Under the leadership of Gerald Bullock, group chairman, a united committee of many Chicago organizations was established. Every Saturday evening a picket line of from 75 to 150 walked in front of the rink's entrance. Management tried unsuccessfully to obtain an injunction.

Finally, in the course of court litigation, the owner promised the judge to change the rink's policy and to admit all, regardless of color. Chicago CORE followed through by continuing to test the rink. On one occasion when discrimination was encountered, the group had the owner called back to court for violation of his agreement.

Victory in the White City case led the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations to call a meeting of all roller rink owners in the city. Out of this meeting, held in the spring of 1946, came an agreement under which discrimination at all rinks was to be ended.

II. CLOSE-UP OF A CORE PROJECT

In the first year of Chicago CORE's existence, the group engaged in a project which set the pattern for many CORE actions. A close-up picture of this project is given by George Houser in "Erasing the Color Line," a pamphlet about CORE's early years. His account follows.

NEGOTIATIONS

Stoner's is an upper middle-class restaurant located in the heart of the Loop. CORE first learned of discrimination there in October 1942, when three of its members (two white and one Negro) tried to eat lunch. The proprietor of the restaurant, Mr. Stoner, met the three as they came through the swinging doors and said he could not give them a seat--he did not serve colored. He seemed annoyed when the three asked him why he had this policy. When he stated that he could do as he liked in his own restaurant, they sat down at a sofa near the door to await service. They waited for forty-five minutes in vain. They asked for seats at tables on several occasions. Mr. Stoner refused to make an appointment to discuss the question with CORE committees. Attempts were made by letter or phone. Finally CORE decided to send committees to see him without appointment. Two white women ate lunch there one noon, and had a brief talk with Mr. Stoner. He claimed he would lose all his white trade if colored people came to his restaurant. He said that 90% of his trade came from women and they would not want to eat beside Negroes. He said that if members of the two races ate in the same restaurant, it would lead to interracial marriage and he was opposed to this.

Another interracial CORE committee visited Mr. Stoner in his office one morning before the restaurant opened for business. This committee talked with him for fully half an hour, but without satisfaction. He claimed that other restaurants of his class did not serve Negroes.

PERSUASION

Following these attempts to negotiate, small interracial groups visited the restaurant on many occasions to try to get service. At first Mr. Stoner refused to allow the hostesses even to seat the groups at the tables. As time passed, some

of the small test groups would be seated after a considerable wait, only to be served meat with egg shells scattered on it, or a plate of food salted so heavily that it could not be eaten, or a sandwich composed of tomato and lettuce cores picked out of the garbage in the kitchen (so the group was told by colored bus girls who witnessed the making of the sandwiches). For one entire week in December 1942, CORE passed out leaflets to the patrons of Stoner's both at noon and in the evening, calling their attention to the policy of discrimination and asking them to protest as they paid their bills.

The facts of the case were publicized among many groups in Chicago and again and again the question was asked of CORE: "Why pick on Mr. Stoner? Don't other restaurants discriminate as well?" As a result of this prodding, CORE investigated the policies of all eating places within an area of sixteen square blocks in the Loop. In not a single case was outright discrimination practiced. A leaflet entitled "50 Loop Restaurants Which Do Not Discriminate" was published by CORE as a result of this investigation, and it received wide circulation among both Negro and white groups.

Following the survey, CORE felt intirely justified in taking action against Stoner's , for no other place was known to be so flagrant in its violation of the civil rights law of Illinois. Mr. Stoner was informed of the results of the survey. When a few further attempts were made to receive service in Stoner's without success, it was decided that a sit-in should be tried. CORE realized that it would be difficult to stage a successful sit-in at Stoner's, for this restaurant could seat at least 200 persons. Nevertheless, the sit-in was planned and executed in June 1943.

ACTION

Approximately sixty-five persons participated--sixteen of whom were Negroes. All participants were pledged to non-violence. The whites had agreed to remain in their seats (all night if necessary) until the Negroes were seated and given good service. The action took place in late afternoon and early evening of a Saturday. Between 4:30 and 5:10 most of the white participants went by twos, threes and fours into the restaurant. They were, of course, seated without difficulty by the hostesses. At 5:15 the first of two interracial groups consisting of six Negroes and two whites walked through the revolving doors of the restaurant. This group was ignored when the spokesman asked for seats. So the group stood quietly at the front of the restaurant, waiting to be seated and watching while others who had come in after them were seated by the hostesses. Finally, after a wait of only half an hour, one of the hostesses approached the group and asked them to follow her. A special table, large enough for all, had been set in a prominent place. The only regrettable event marking the seating of this first interracial group was that Mr. Stoner without provocation kicked one of the white persons in the leg. Immediately service was given these persons.

The seating of the first group was the signal for the second group to enter. Nine Negroes and one white made up this unit. They were not seated by the hostesses, but rather were threatened by Mr. Stoner. For an hour and a half this group of ten persons stood at the front of the restaurant. During that period of time the police were called on three occasions. The police were, however, quite friendly to the CORE members. They wanted to know what was going on and were told. There was nothing they could do, for the interracial group was far from causing a disturbance. The third time the police were called, they told Mr. Stoner not to call them again or they would take him in.

The attention of everyone in the restaurant was, of course, attracted to the interracial group. CORE members who were seated explained the situation to other patrons. Much sympathy was aroused. Even some of the white employees expressed

sympathy, including one of the hostesses who whispered into the ear of a sitdowner: "Keep it up--we're all with you " The Negro bus girls were excited about the non-violent action. They said to several CORE members that they planned to quit their jobs immediately if the interracial group were not served. Only two persons (a middle-aged couple) were observed walking out of the restaurant without eating. It was evident that most of the patrons supported the action.

SUCCESS

It began to look as though the second group might have to stand all night. But unexpectedly the deadlock was broken. An elderly woman, not connected with CORE, walked up to one of the negro girls who was standing and asked if she would sit down at the table with her. Of course, the CORE member accepted. Then several of the seated white CORE members followed the lead of this woman. In a very few minutes only two of the ten persons in the second interracial group were still standing. One of the hostesses advanced toward them and asked them to follow her. She seated them at a table for two near the center of the restaurant. Then a very unexpected, spontaneous demonstration took place--a wild applause broke out. Practically everyone in the restaurant took part in this sustained acclamation. It was a fitting climax to a well-executed non-violent demonstration for racial justice.

FOLLOW-THROUGH

Although good food was served to all the persons who participated in this action, Stoner's was not yet entirely clear of discrimination. On two occasions, Negroes received service, but only after carrying on a conversation with Mr. Stoner, explaining why they wanted to eat there. On another occasion two girls, one white and one colored, were seated but were not served for the hour in which they remained in their seats. But finally the policy of the restaurant changed completely, according to all reports. Over three years after the sit-in, in the fall of 1946, interracial groups visiting the restaurant indicated that they had no trouble.

That's the happy ending of George Houser's true story. Since then the same non-violent techniques have been used successfully in countless restaurants, not to speak of other types of public facilities. As this pamphlet goes to press a recently-formed CORE group in East St. Louis, Illinois, far south of Chicago on the Missouri border has started working on restaurants. Tests showed that almost all East St. Louis restaurants have the same policy that Stoner's in Chicago had prior to 1942. The jimcrow line is receding southward and CORE is working, non-violently, to speed the process.

III. A TALE OF TWO CITIES

The two cities are St. Louis, Missouri and Baltimore, Maryland. The tale is about how CORE techniques changed city-wide patterns of restaurant discrimination. When St. Louis CORE started its campaign in 1949 and Baltimore CORE in 1953, no eating place in the two cities with the exception of those in the railroad station and those in Negro ghetto areas, served Negroes. When St. Louis CORE concluded its campaign in 1953 and Baltimore CORE in 1954, all downtown dime stores in the two cities served everybody, regardless of color, at their lunch counters.

Once the dime stores' policy was changed, CORE found it less difficult to get drug stores, cafeterias and department store restaurants to end discrimination-- the jimcrow pattern had been broken.

ST. LOUIS

St. Louis CORE's dime store campaign ended in the spring of 1953 when McCrory's district manager ordered the local manager to serve Negroes. In appealing to McCrory's national office, Billie Ames of St. Louis CORE reviewed the campaign thus:

"Three and a half years ago, CORE began talking with the managers of all four downtown dime stores. In some instances we felt our talks were unsuccessful and CORE resorted to peaceful direct action such as picket lines and sit-in demonstrations to bring the matter to the attention of the public.

"Shortly thereafter an agreement was made with Mr. Dwyer, who was then local manager of McCrory's, to allow one or two Negroes a week to be served at white counters to test customer reaction. Very soon the other dime stores in the downtown area started similar experiments. The experiments continued for many months and showed that most white people are completely indifferent as to whom is sitting at the counter.

"Since conducting the experiments, three dime stores--Kresge's, Neisner's and Woolworth's--have changed their policies and are now serving everybody. Before Mr. Dwyer left the employ of McCrory's, he stated several times that McCrory's would start serving Negroes when the other dime stores did. We hoped this would be true even though your store now has a new manager, Mr. Brown."

While it was not true when Billie Ames made this statement, it became true soon thereafter, bringing the dime store campaign to a successful conclusion.

CAMPAIGN HIGHLIGHTS

CORE's plan of experiment testing, in which the dime stores started by "trying on" non-discrimination before "wearing" it, succeeded in proving the stereotyped fears of management to be unfounded--fears of business losses, riots, etc. In some instances management agreed for CORE to send only one group to their lunch counter a week; in other instances, as frequently as one group a day. The fact that there were no adverse reactions from other customers was a real "show-me" proof to management.

As a CORE pamphlet entitled "It Can Happen in Missouri" expresses it; "The 'show-me' state of Missouri has been shown."

At the halfway mark of the campaign, in the summer of 1951, CORE participants faced a number of violent assaults by members of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party. But the CORE members responded non-violently and by summer's end, the attacks ceased.

During a sit-in in August 11 at Kresge's, three Christian Nationalists were permitted to distribute racist leaflets inside the store. CORE got a snapshot of one of them in friendly conversation with the assistant manager. On this occasion, Willie Mae Humphrey, Negro CORE member, sat at the counter with a sign on her back saying: "We have been waiting for service ...hours and ...minutes. Another group member changed the time on the sign as each quarter hour passed. In the next seat was Billie Ames with a little box of CORE leaflets on her back inscribed with the words: "Take one". Customers took 800 of them.

DEPARTMENT STORES

About a year after the end of the dime store campaign, following 18 months of sit-ins and leaflet distributions by CORE, Stix Baer & Fuller, a big department store, opened its downstairs lunch counter to everybody. The group had initiated its

campaign there five years previous even before starting on the dime stores. Famous-Barr, another big department store where CORE had been using the same experiment testing plan as in the dime stores, soon followed suit and opened its lunch counter.

Extending the new pattern from downtown into the suburbs, by the fall of 1954 CORE succeeded in changing the lunch counter policies at all three dime stores in suburban Wellston.

By the fall of 1958, Famous-Barr extended its non-discriminatory lunch counter policy to the table restaurants - not only at the main store but at branches in outlying shopping centers.

Several months previous, in an attempt to persuade Stix Baer & Fuller to extend its lunch counter non-discrimination, 10 CORE members stood in line for two hours seeking service at the tearoom--and it became a sort of alumni day.

Although several years had elapsed since the group's 18-month campaign to open the lunch counter, several of the store personnel and particularly the detectives, recognized CORE members, greeted them, asked after their families, how many children they had, etc.

The store personnel could not help but be impressed by CORE and its non-violence. They had not forgotten over the years. Their friendliness reflected the attitude of many in St. Louis toward CORE's campaign.

BALTIMORE

In Baltimore in 1954 an award which carries considerable prestige, that of the Sidney Hollander Fund, was voted to CORE "for service rendered in helping to make the lunch counters in the five-and-dime stores available for use by Negroes as well as whites." The year-long campaign of Baltimore CORE was also hailed editorially by the Baltimore Afro-American and Pittsburgh Courier, two leading Negro papers. Like in St. Louis, the Baltimore campaign ended the city-wide jimcrow eating pattern.

Early in 1953 shortly after its formation, Baltimore CORE launched its lunch counter campaign, which in addition to the downtown section included the vicinity of Morgan State College. After several leaflet distributions, Woolworth's and Kresge's changed their lunch counter policies. Then, came Shulte-United. McCrory's followed suit a few months following its policy change in St. Louis, having received orders from its main office in New York. The local manager, with whom Baltimore CORE had been in contact, called the group to inform them of the change.

The lone holdout was Grant's--and this required a major campaign. In the late fall, Baltimore CORE initiated a program of weekly sit-ins. On December 12, 38 people took part. When the white members of the group were served, they passed their food to Negro members. The employes thereupon roughly yanked plates, cups and silver off the counter and the group continued to sit there.

In support of the Baltimore campaign, New York CORE started picketing and distributing leaflets in front of Grant's store located in the center of Harlem, the city's biggest Negro section.

FINAL ROUND

On April 27 New York CORE picketed the annual stockholders meeting while the author of this pamphlet, representing a minority stockholder, raised the Baltimore discrimination issue on the floor. Until then the head office had maintained a

hands-off policy, contending that the question could be settled only locally in Baltimore. But at this meeting, the chairman, Lewis C. Lustenberger, first vice president of the company, promised that the head office would intercede. Nine days later the Baltimore group received a letter from Lustenberger announcing that thereafter eating facilities of Grant's Baltimore store would be open to all, regardless of color.

Thus the Baltimore CORE dime store campaign ended successfully. A favorable factor was that during the campaign, restaurant discrimination in nearby Washington, D. C. ended following the Supreme Court decision in the Thompson case (June 2, 1953). A large part of the action groundwork for that decision had been made by CORE during its annual summer workshops in Washington.

Immediately following the end of the dime store campaign, Baltimore CORE, working closely with other community groups, started negotiations with Read Drug & Chemical Co., operator of 37 local drug stores with lunch counters. After eight months of negotiation, Arthur Nattans Sr., company president, announced that thereafter everybody would be served regardless of color at all 37 stores. In December 1956, the group started its first action campaign at a white tablecloth restaurant-- Wilson's. While the campaign was not immediately successful, within two years, the restaurant changed policy.

IV. NOT ONLY EATING PLACES

Not only in restaurants, but in all types of public accommodation has the CORE method proved successful. It has been used by various groups to end discrimination in theaters, amusement parks, swimming pools, barber shops, hotels, motels, drive-ins, bowling alleys, skating rinks, playgrounds and YMCAs.

THEATERS

The technique of peacefully waiting in line, insisting on the right to buy a ticket, was first used by CORE in a theater situation in the fall of 1949. The theater was the Trans-Lux in Washington and the film showing was "Home of the Brave," first Hollywood production to deal forthrightly with the issue of racial discrimination. Leaflets explaining the waiting line to the theater's patrons, pointed out that "Home of the Brave" shows "colored and white fighting together to protect those rights and ideals which are denied them in this theater."

While this action was effective, the Trans-Lux did not become the first Washington theater at which CORE was successful. The first was the Playhouse, the city's leading art theater. An 8-month campaign by CORE's Washington group ended on April 18, 1951 in a striking movie-climax manner.

The occasion was the grand opening of Tales of Hoffman, produced by Lopert Films, which also operated the Playhouse. It was a benefit performance for the National Symphony Association, with seats at \$10.

Two weeks before the opening, CORE picketed the theater. A week later Victor Orsinger, local representative of Lopert films asked for a conference. Between then and the opening CORE held long conferences with Orsinger and with Jerry Wagner, the manager. A second picket line took place April 14. Within the next two days, CORE contacted every city editor and drama critic telling them about the 8-month campaign.

"The climax came at 7:45 p.m., opening night," relates Albert Mindlin of CORE. "A brass band was on hand. Klieg lights flooded the street. A crowd of

spectators gathered. Police were on hand in large numbers. About 25 of us were assembled ready to start picketing. Suddenly Orsinger appeared, appealed to us to call off the picket line and made a very strong moral commitment, which he subsequently kept. The picketing was called off. The Playhouse was opened to all, regardless of color."

The waiting-line technique was also used effectively in a campaign by Columbia (MISSOURI) CORE, which ended discrimination at the Tiger Theater in the winter of 1954. A number of University of Missouri students participated.

DIFFERENT TECHNIQUE

A slightly different technique was used by the Denver group, in CORE's first campaign involving theaters. In that city in 1943, Negroes could buy tickets and enter, but could not sit in the orchestra.

So, Negro members of the group simply took seats in the orchestra, ignoring attempts by the ushers to steer them up to the balcony. The campaign wound up following the arrest of seven pickets who raised their placards in front of the Broadway Theater after a group had been refused orchestra seats inside. Their attorney wrote the Denver safety commissioner pointing out that the theaters' discriminatory policy violated the state's civil rights law. There ensued a conference between the commissioner and the theater managers which resulted in the theaters' changing policy.

AMUSEMENTS PARKS, SWIMMING POOLS

At amusement parks and swimming pools, as well as at theaters, the waiting-line technique has proved effective. A waiting-line on wheels, involving CORE members in cars, was used by the Cincinnati group in an attempt to enter Coney Island Amusement Park through the auto entrance. This was in the first summer of the group's successful 3-year campaign which ended discrimination at the Park by the spring of 1955. A waiting line of autos was also used during Nashville CORE's campaign at drive-in movies in the spring of 1957.

On "All Nations Day", 1958, an annual event at Baltimore's Gwynn Oak Amusement Park where only white nationals are admitted, the local CORE group added the waiting-line technique to its habitual picketing, and thereby gained considerable publicity. For three years previous, Baltimore CORE in conjunction with other community groups had picketed the event to spotlight the inconsistency of an "All Nations Day" which bars Negroes.

In two CORE campaigns--at Palisades Park swimming pool, opposite the Hudson from New York and at Bimini Baths in Los Angeles--waiting lines were met with violence on the part of management. But in both cases, CORE participants remained non-violent and stood their ground. Both campaigns were eventually successful in ending discrimination.

NON-VIOLENCE VERSUS VIOLENCE

The provocation in the Palisades campaign was extreme. The author of this pamphlet on one occasion suffered a broken rib and on another was knocked out by Park guards. Other CORE participants were slugged mercilessly by these guards. This brutality took place in full view of local police, some of whom worked as Park guards on their days off. But despite the violence, interracial CORE groups returned to the Park each weekend throughout the summers of 1947 and 1948 until the pool finally admitted Negroes. Ironically, management's brutality speeded the campaign. Newspaper stories about how CORE members were manhandled, and critical editorials, helped toward

enactment of the 1949 Freeman civil rights act, which names swimming pools as one of the types of public accommodation where discrimination is prohibited in the state of New Jersey.

Following passage of the law Palisades reached a verbal agreement with New Jersey's newly-established Division Against Discrimination. This agreement was observed fairly well throughout the summers of 1949 and 1950, CORE tests showed. But by the summer of 1951 management began to backslide, admitting only Negroes recognized as being CORE members and who would therefore take action. Other Negroes were barred.

So, early in the summer of 1952, four Negro CORE members who had not been recognized as such and had been refused admission filed complaints under the Freeman act. Faced with an impending public hearing, Palisades put into writing the verbal agreement made with the Division Against Discrimination three years earlier and since then a policy of non-discrimination has been observed.

Regarding the new policy, Irving Rosenthal, the Park's owner, who had said as late as the summer of 1948: "You'll all be dead before I change," told Harold Lett of the Division Against Discrimination that he had been a fool not to change long ago. Rosenthal had discovered, first hand, that his fears of loss of business--fears expressed by so many business men faced with the prospect of integration--had not materialized.

STORY OF A BARBER SHOP

A novel method of ending barbershop discrimination was evolved by CORE in 1949 at State College, Pa., a college town of 20,000. The usual CORE method--which has proved successful in many localities--of simply having a group, with Negroes first-in-turn, sit down in the shop awaiting service, did not work in State College. The town's barbers had formed a united front against any policy change, despite a CORE-initiated petition bearing 2000 signatures.

So, CORE embarked on a plan of selling haircut tickets which would be presented at any barbershop that would adopt a policy of non-discrimination. This produced over \$1800, which CORE offered as cash in advance to any shop that would change. None accepted the offer.

CORE then placed ads in nearby metropolitan papers: "Students and citizens of State College offer location and \$1800 cash advance toward patronage to barber without racial prejudice." Over 60 inquiries were answered in detail. More than 20 barbers came for interviews.

The man who finally set up the shop was Mark Butler of Philadelphia. After his equipment had been installed, CORE paid him the \$1800 cash in advance and he agreed to service holders of the non-discriminatory haircut tickets. The shop opened without fanfare. Negroes patronized it freely and none of the white customers showed any surprise. Butler and his assistant barbers were overworked. The shop soon had to expand.

One man whom CORE members had come to consider perhaps the most extreme racist in town had his hair cut twice at Butler's shop during the first months. His only explanation was: "I like Butler: he's a good guy."

V. SCHOOLING AND VOTING

Following the Supreme Court's historic decision in 1954 outlawing school segregation and Congress's enactment in 1957 of the first civil rights law in 87 years, aimed primarily against discrimination in voting, schooling and voting became the chief focus of the equal rights struggle in the south. In both of these areas, CORE has done significant work.

THE NASHVILLE STORY

In Nashville, CORE together with the Negro PTA helped to make school integration work despite mob violence which marked the change-over from segregation in the fall of 1957. In so doing, CORE evolved a workable, community program which could be applied successfully in Little Rock or in any southern community where court-ordered school integration is being thwarted.

"If Little Rock had had a similar interracial group, Governor Faubus might have been checked without the use of federal troops," wrote Martin Luther King, Negro leader of non-violence. Specifically, he points out: "The key to success in Nashville was CORE's policy of backing up the parents--by visiting them and by escorting their children to integrated schools."

King wrote this in a preface to the pamphlet, "A First Step Toward School Integration," in which Anna Holden, a leader of Nashville CORE, gives a vivid account of the group's campaign.

For example, the day the Hattie Cotton school was bombed, the pamphlet relates: "Mrs. Watson telephoned Dr. Miller (a member of the CORE group).

"'If I ever needed anybody, I needed somebody that morning,' she recalled. 'I had gotten a phone call threatening to set the house on fire if Barbara Jean went to school. I couldn't go off and leave the rest of the children alone. And I knew she had to go to school.'

"Barbara Jean was dressed and ready. Dr. Miller came promptly. He drove the child five blocks to her school. Then he took her by the hand and they walked through a crowd of jeering whites.

"The same morning Mrs. Charles Martin, another CORE member, walked to the Jones School with her neighbor, Mrs. Myrtle Battle and another first grader, Charles Edward Battle. In the Glenn School area of East Nashville the Rev. R. W. Kelley of Clark Memorial Church accompanied several children to school. Teen-age boys in the booing crowd got themselves photographed for newspapers by standing behind Rev. Kelley, pretending to measure him for a coffin."

HAPPY ENDING

The pamphlet goes on to relate how "the crisis was soon reduced to manageable size" and how "Kasper (John Frederick Kasper, professional segregationist who had come to Nashville for the occasion) and his mobs were suppressed."

As Anna Holden explains it: "The tide was turned because the police finally enforced the law and because a handful of Negro parents, staunchly backed by the Negro PTA, CORE, ministers and other forces of decency, persisted in sending their children to formerly white schools."

The following year, 1958, Nashville took the second step of its grade-a-year plan, extending integration from first to second grade. Though Anna Holden feels that the grade-a-year plan is too slow (total number of Negro children enrolled for the 1958-59 school year was 34), she concluded: "Considering the general pattern in the south and last year's mob violence, CORE and other interested organizations feel gratified by the outcome of Nashville's 'second step.'"

PILGRIMAGE TO RICHMOND

Another outstanding CORE achievement on the school issue was mobilization of the Pilgrimage of Prayer for Public Schools, which brought 2000 persons to Richmond on New Year's Day, 1959, to protest Virginia's "massive resistance" program.

"Passive Resistance Opposes Virginia's Massive Resistance," was the apt headline of one southern newspaper. The demonstration was precedent-setting in that it took place--not in New York, Washington, Chicago, etc., where the big civil rights rallies had been held in the past, but in a southern city. This Pilgrimage played a significant role in the subsequent collapse of Virginia's "massive resistance" program which had deprived 13,000 children of education for the first half of the 1958-59 school year.

Major credit for mobilizing the Pilgrimage goes to a young Petersburg minister, Wyatt Tee Walker, who is state director of CORE and Gordon R. Carey, a CORE field secretary. The state NAACP and ministers in many Virginia communities helped the mobilization.

VOTING IN SOUTH CAROLINA

On the voting issue, early in 1958, James T. McCain, a CORE field secretary, started organizing a registration campaign in an area of South Carolina where he has lived and worked for the major part of his life. Aim of the campaign was to translate the newly-enacted federal civil rights law into reality by getting Negroes to exercise their right to vote.

McCain's procedure was to establish in each county a committee which instructs persons on how to fill out application blanks, accompanies them to registration offices and remains with them until they receive their certificates for voting. Applicants who fail to receive certificates because of any error on the blank are given further instruction by the committee and are taken back to the registration office to re-apply.

These committees are called Committee on Registration Education (CORE). Within the first two months, four such committees were established--in Charleston County; Sumter County, where McCain's home is located; Richland County, which includes the city of Columbia, and Clarendon County, where the first school desegregation suit originated. Other committees have been established since.

ONE YEAR LATER

Commenting on the South Carolina registration campaign a year after it started, McCain said: "In counties where we have CORE affiliates, the percentage of Negroes registered is higher than in counties where no such group has been organized. For the first time, during the year's primary runoffs, candidates have invited Negroes to meet with them and discuss community problems. In a number of communities candidates who stressed segregation were defeated. Negroes ran for public office in larger numbers this year than in any year since Negroes won the right to vote in the South Carolina state primaries."

For example, in 1958 Negroes for the first time took over all Democratic Party offices in Sumter's Precinct 3-B and elected 16 of the 17 delegates to the Democratic County Convention. Rev. Fred C. James, a Negro and a leader of Sumter CORE, set a precedent by running for city council. In Columbia, according to The State, local newspaper, "the predominantly Negro ward 9--was more than enough to make the difference" of 14 votes by which Lester Bates nosed out his strongly segregationist opponent in the 1958 mayoralty election.

In the South Carolina campaign there has been excellent cooperation between CORE and Martin Luther King's Crusade for Citizenship, the NAACP and various local groups such as the Palmetto Voters Association.

TRANSPORTATION

In addition to continuing work on registration, South Carolina CORE groups started action in 1959 in a number of other areas, including transportation. Both the Columbia and Charleston groups undertook a campaign urging Negroes to ride the city buses in an unsegregated manner.

A pioneer in the area of transportation, CORE initiated the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation, in which a group of 23 men rode buses through the upper south in an unsegregated manner, refusing to move to the jimcrow sections when ordered to do so. Their basis was the 1946 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in interstate travel. This project gained national publicity. In January 1957 Leroy Carter, a CORE field secretary, acted in an advisory capacity to a group of ministers in Atlanta who defied bus segregation and were arrested. Two years later, following a legal victory, Atlanta buses became integrated.

FACING THE FUTURE

As the jimcrow line recedes southward, so does the focus of CORE activity. But while CORE groups further south concentrate on schools and voting, those further north concentrate on employment and housing. Throughout the upper-south, where schools were peacefully integrated following the 1954 Supreme Court decision, there remains the job of desegregating restaurants, theaters and other public accommodations, an area where the CORE technique has proved particularly effective.

CORE hopes to continue its job in the years to come, emphasizing non-violent direct action, while cooperating with other organizations such as NAACP, Urban League etc. The Pittsburgh Courier expressed the viewpoint in an editorial November 7, 1953: "Not enough credit has been given to CORE and its affiliates for the good work done in various parts of the country to eradicate the pernicious practice of racial discrimination." CORE will strive to keep us that "good work".

END