SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT:
A RECAPITULATION
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September, 1961
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OVERVIEW

It is now little more than a year and a half since four Negro college students sat at a lunch counter in Greensboro and asked for service. A solitary instance of spontaneous rebellion has now become a movement of truly massive proportions which has stirred the conscience of the South and of the nation.

At the start of a new school year there is value in reviewing the phenomenon known as the sit-in movement*, where it occurred, who participated, and what it accomplished. A few generalizations first:

The movement, first begun as a protest against segregated lunch counter facilities, has, in the year and a half, embraced parks, swimming pools, theaters, restaurants, churches, interstate transportation, voting registration, libraries, museums, art galleries, laundromats, employment, beaches, and courthrooms.

The economic boycott, a natural by-product of reluctance to buy where not served, soon emerged as a powerful--and successful--means of achieving equal facilities and equal treatment.

More often than not, students began their protest without the knowledge of the established Negro leadership. They soon sought, and usually received, the cooperation of this leadership. In some places there were and are differences of opinion regarding pace and method, reflecting both disagreement and divergence of interest.

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* Note: This summary covers sit-in activity between February, 1960 and September, 1961. The Freedom Ride to Jackson (Miss.), which began in May, 1961, has not been included.
Organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (and its Youth Councils), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (and its affiliates) have aided the students in numerous places. In a few locations, initiative has also come from these groups, e.g., The NAACP Youth Council in Jacksonville, CORE in Rock Hill (S.C.), and SCLC in Petersburg (Va.). The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, founded April, 1960, has linked together students throughout the South and provided also a channel for student support throughout the nation.

The greatest achievement took place where there was the greatest, and most enduring, unity among all elements of the Negro community: professional men and women, students, working people, clergy, and businessmen.

Some white southern students participated from the outset.

At first spontaneous, the sit-in movement has gradually become directed through the students' own organizations and adult direct action groups.

In many cities and states, the sit-in movement elicited favorable responses from segments of the white population which had hitherto been silent.

Non-violence and direct action remain the philosophies upon which the sit-in movement is based. Among many students there is, understandably, an undercurrent of desire to defend themselves against physical attack; but, nevertheless, the willingness to suffer and endure provocation is prevalent.

The student movement touched a chord in American colleges, and support for southern students came from virtually every corner of the United States. It is probable that not since the late thirties and early forties, when campuses were swept by concern for the New Deal and world
peace, has any issue or idea so aroused American students. The methods and principles of the Negro protest movement have been adopted in other student protests, such as the demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee and nuclear armament. The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., is correct when he points out that Negroes are the pacesetters of this college generation.

The year-and-a-half sit-in activity has penetrated racial barriers in public accommodations with unprecedented speed.

SOME SPECIFICS

Since February 1, 1960, each southern and border state, as well as Nevada, Illinois, and Ohio -- 20 in all -- has been affected by protest demonstrations.

Over 100 cities in the South and in the border states have had sit-ins or other forms of direct action.

An estimated 3,600 students and supporters -- in southern and border states -- have been arrested.

At least 70,000 Negroes and whites in these states actively participated in some way; this figure counts persons who sat-in, picketed, marched, and attended mass meetings (sometimes in the face of intimidation). It does not account for thousands of others who supported the movement by letters to the editor, financial contributions, and expressions of moral support.

Numbers of students and faculty were dismissed, allegedly for sit-in activities. College administrations, however, generally gave other reasons for their leaving. At least 141 students and 58 faculty members were thus involved. In Baton Rouge (La.), 236 students withdrew in protest from Southern University after the dismissal of a group of sit-in leaders.
STATE-BY-STATE SUMMARIES*

ALABAMA

The movement began February 25, 1960 in Montgomery, when 35 from Alabama State College took seats in the county courthouse snack shop.

Cities affected: Tuskegee, Montgomery, Mobile, Huntsville, Birmingham.

Arrests: at least 86.

Charges include: disorderly conduct, failure to obey an officer, trespassing after being warned.

Demonstrators: estimated 5,500.

Participants: students from Tuskegee Institute, Alabama State College, David Payne College, Miles College, and Huntington College; Alabama Civic Affairs Association; Montgomery Improvement Association; local ministers.

Other demonstrations: consumer boycotts, kneel-ins, boycott of classes, mass meetings, parades, marches.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Montgomery, where a Negro woman, a Negro photographer, and a jailed student were beaten. There were other minor incidents in Tuskegee and Birmingham, which involved a scuffle during a march and the dragging of a Negro minister from his home to jail in the middle of the night.

Biracial committees formed to seek a solution to protests: none.

Desegregation: none. (The Freedom Ride resulted in availability of service at Montgomery bus terminal.)

ARKANSAS

The movement began March 10, 1960 in Little Rock, as 50 students from Philander Smith College sat-in at Woolworth's.

Cities affected: Pine Bluff, Little Rock.

Arrests: at least 20.

* These data are compiled from press and other sources; it is important to note that while estimates are as nearly exact as possible, they are only estimates.
Charges include: loitering, breach of peace, threatened breach of peace.

Participants: students from Philander Smith College, high schools.

Other demonstrations: kneel-ins, boycotts, picketing, mass meetings.

Biracial committee: appointed in Pine Bluff.

Desegregation: one city.*

FLORIDA

The first sit-in occurred on February 12, 1960 in Deland and quickly spread to Tallahassee on February 13, 1960, when nine Florida A. & M. University students sat-in at Woolworth's.

Cities affected: Deland, Tallahassee, Tampa, Gainesville, Pensacola, St. Petersburg, Sarasota, Daytona Beach, St. Augustine, Ft. Lauderdale, Miami, Jacksonville, Ocala.

Arrests: at least 243.

Charges include: disturbing the peace, unlawful assembly, vagrancy, disorderly conduct, improper language, violation of state law which provides for ejection of "undesirable guests," inciting to riot.

Demonstrators: estimated 2,500.

Participants: students from Florida A. & M. University, Florida State University, Florida Normal and Industrial College, high schools.

Other demonstrations: marches, picketing, boycotts, wade-ins, kneel-ins, local Freedom Rides.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Tallahassee and Jacksonville. In Jacksonville, one person was killed and 70 persons injured during a three-day riot; a white sit-in student was attacked in jail and suffered a fractured jaw; a 16-year old boy was pistol-whipped by Ku Klux Klansmen. In Tallahassee, tear gas was used to disperse a march; several persons were burned. Minor altercations between Negroes and whites occurred in St. Augustine and Tampa.

* Names of all cities which have one or more desegregated establishments as a result of sit-in activity are listed on page 14.
Biracial committees: Auburndale, Coral Gables, Daytona Beach, Delray Beach, Eustis, Ft. Lauderdale, Ft. Pierce, Miami, Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, Tampa, West Palm Beach, Orlando.

Desegregation: 15 cities.

GEORGIA

The movement began in Atlanta March 15, 1960, as 200 students sat-in at ten eating places simultaneously, including the State Capitol, city hall, and county court house.

Cities affected: Atlanta, Savannah, Macon, Columbus, Augusta, Marietta.

Arrests: at least 292.

Charges include: refusing to leave private property, disorderly conduct, loitering, violating city ordinance against picketing without license, violating local statute against disrobing in public, trespass.

Demonstrators: estimated at 7,000.

Participants: students from Atlanta University Center, Emory University, Paine College, and high schools; Committee on Appeal for Human Rights.

Other demonstrations: picketing, mass marches, laying of wreath at capitol, kneel-ins, stand-ins at registry, mass meetings, boycotts, picketing for fair employment, riding front seats of city buses, picketing golf course.

Major acts of violence occurred in Atlanta and Savannah. In Atlanta an acid-like substance was hurled at a student picket; in Savannah, a white youth fractured the jaw of a Negro, and five persons received hospital treatment as the result of fighting between Negro and white teen-agers. Both of these cities also experience minor disturbances.

Biracial committee: Savannah.

Desegregation: three cities.

KENTUCKY

The movement began February 27, 1960, when 20 Negro students from the University of Kentucky sat-in at a variety store in Lexington.

Cities affected: Lexington, Frankfort, Louisville.
Arrests: at least 374.

Charges include: breach of peace, disorderly conduct, blocking entrances to theater, delinquency.

Demonstrators: estimated 6,000.

Participants: students from University of Kentucky, Kentucky State College, University of Louisville; Lexington Ministers and Deacons Association.

Other demonstrations: stand-ins, boycotts, picketing, parades.

Violence occurred at Frankfort, where the gymnasium at Kentucky State College was burned.

Biracial committees: Louisville, Lexington.

Desegregation: nine cities.

LOUISIANA

The first public demonstration took place March 8, 1960, when more than 200 Negro students paraded on Dillard campus in New Orleans. The first sit-in occurred in Baton Rouge, March 28, 1960, as seven Southern University students sat-in at Kress'.


Arrests: at least 71.

Charges include: taking temporary possession of a man's business, disturbing the peace, obstructing public passage, criminal mischief, criminal anarchy, violation of municipal ordinance requiring parade permit, holding unlawful assembly, vagrancy (by remaining in a place after being forbidden to stay), "open charge."

Demonstrators: estimated at 10,000.

Participants: students from Dillard University, Xavier University, Southern University; Consumer's League of New Orleans.

Other demonstrations: kneel-ins, prayer meetings, mass marches, boycott of Mardi Gras, picketing, picketing for fair employment, boycott of classes, picketing of library, read-ins, protests of Freedom Rider beatings.

Biracial committees: none.

Desegregation: none.
MISSISSIPPI

The movement (exclusive of Freedom Riders) started with a boycott by the NAACP April 11, 1960 in Jackson. The first demonstration occurred March 27, 1961, when nine Negro students from Tougaloo Southern Christian College attempted to use facilities of the municipal library in Jackson and were arrested.

Cities affected: Jackson, Biloxi, Starkville (four Little Rock Negroes seeking service at an all-white cafe were arrested), Gulfport, Clarksdale, McComb.

Arrests: at least 40.

Charges include: breach of peace, contributing to the delinquency of a minor, trespass.

Demonstrators: estimated at 1,600.

Participants: students from Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Jackson State College, and students from Nashville, Tenn.

Other demonstrations: sit-ins, marches, campus prayer meeting, mass meetings, sit-ins at benches in zoo, attempts to use park, demonstrations at county clerk's office to register and vote.

Major acts of violence occurred in Jackson and Biloxi. In Jackson, police used clubs and tear gas to halt a march of students. Two police dogs attacked the crowd, inflicting injury on several persons. Negro women and children and a photographer were beaten by police and bystanders. In Biloxi, ten persons suffered gunshot wounds in street clashes after wade-ins. Negroes were attacked on beaches by whites with clubs and chains. Other manifestations of violence in Biloxi included stonings, police patrols equipped with riot guns, attacks on seven white airmen, and Negroes staying at their jobs all night in fear of violence on the streets.

Biracial committees: none.

Desegregation: none.

NORTH CAROLINA

The sit-in movement began February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, when four Negro students from North Carolina A. & T. College asked for service in Woolworth's and sat quietly when refused.

Cities affected: Raleigh, Fayetteville, Greensboro, Durham, Wilmington, Statesville, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Chapel Hill.
Henderson, Shelby, New Bern, Rutherfordton, Elizabeth City, High Point, Concord, Monroe, Salisbury.

Arrests: at least 268.

Charges include: obstructing sidewalk, trespassing, affray, assault and battery.

Demonstrators: estimated 4,200.

Participants: students from North Carolina College, Duke University, Winston-Salem Teachers College, Wake Forest College, Shaw University, St. Augustine College, Fayetteville State Teachers College, North Carolina A. & T. College, Bennett College, University of North Carolina, Kittrell College, Barber-Scotia College, University of North Carolina (Woman's College at Greensboro); Negro Passive Resistance Group.

Other demonstrations: mass meetings, picketing of stores, movies, and swimming pools, boycotts, stand-ins, parades, prayer meetings, courtroom demonstrations.

Minor altercations were reported in Durham, Henderson, Shelby, High Point, Raleigh, and Greensboro. These included confiscation of newsmen's cameras; fist fights; hurling snowballs, bricks, bottles, rocks, and eggs at Negro demonstrators; and the setting of a Negro student's coat on fire. In Monroe, however, a more serious situation occurred. For two days, veritable battle lines were drawn between a white mob and followers of Robert Williams, a Negro advocate of retaliation in kind against intimidation; a white couple was held hostage for several hours, leading to indictments against Williams and others for kidnapping.

Biracial committees: Asheville, Chapel Hill, Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Gastonia, Greensboro, High Point, Kinston, Laurinburg (Chamber of Commerce committee), Raleigh, Winston-Salem.

Desegregation: 17 cities.

OKLAHOMA

Sit-ins have been held continuously since 1958. Although non-violent direct action techniques have appeared sporadically for almost twenty years in the United States, the first concentrated employment of these techniques began in Oklahoma City.

Cities affect: Oklahoma City, Enid, Tulsa, Stillwater.

Arrests: at least eight.

Charges: disorderly conduct.
Participants: high school students.

Biracial committee: On March 30, 1960 Governor J. Howard Edmondson appointed a state-wide Governor's Committee on Human Relations.

Desegregation: 116 eating places have been opened to everyone as the result of the three-year campaign of sit-ins and other demonstrations in Oklahoma City. Some desegregation has occurred in five cities.

SOUTH CAROLINA

The first demonstration in the state, a sit-in, occurred February 12, 1960 in Rock Hill, when about 100 students from Friendship Junior College and Clinton Junior College entered Woolworth's and McCrory's and asked to be served.

Cities affected: Rock Hill, Orangeburg, Denmark, Columbia, Sumter, Florence, Myrtle Beach, Charleston, Hartsville, Greenville, Spartanburg, Darlington.

Arrests: at least 947.

Charges include: trespass, breach of peace, loitering, obstructing sidewalk, conspiracy to breach the peace, distributing leaflets without license, disorderly conduct.

Demonstrators: estimated 4,000.

Participants: students from Friendship Junior College, Clinton Junior College, Carolina State College, Claflin College, Voorhees Junior College, Allen University, Benedict College, Morris College.

Other demonstrations: kneel-ins, picketing, marches, boycotts, wade-ins, distribution of leaflets, read-ins.

Major acts of violence occurred in Rock Hill, Orangeburg, Columbia, and Greenville. In Rock Hill, ammonia was thrown at sit-in students. In Orangeburg, students were hosed; a Negro sit-in student was almost fatally stabbed in Columbia; a Negro girl was knocked down by police in Sumter; and in Greenville a white sit-in demonstrator was beaten by white men. Minor disturbances in these same cities were also reported.

Biracial committees: Florence, Rock Hill.

Desegregation: none.
TENNESSEE

The movement began in Nashville on February 13, 1960, when 40 students from Fisk University, Tennessee A. & I. University, and American Baptist Theological Seminary took seats in Woolworth's and requested service.

Cities affected: Knoxville, Memphis, Oak Ridge, Nashville, Chattanooga, Jackson.

Arrests: at least 692.

Charges include: disorderly conduct, committing an affray, breach of peace, vagrancy, loitering, threatened breach of peace, conspiracy to obstruct trade and commerce, obstructing sidewalk, creating public annoyance.

Demonstrators: estimated 16,000.

Participants: students from Tennessee A. & L. University, Fisk University, American Baptist Theological Seminary, Vanderbilt University, Howard High School, Lane College; Associated Council for Full Citizenship; Memphis Ministerial Alliance.

Other demonstrations: ministers' seven-day march in downtown Knoxville, boycotts, picketing, read-ins, attempts to enter art gallery and municipal museum, kneel-ins, ministers' riding front seats of city buses, stand-ins, picketing for fair employment, mass meetings, sit-ins at jail, mass marches, mass prayer meetings, demonstrations at courthouses and at mayor's office, picketing of Vanderbilt University, parade to courthouse protesting violation of voting rights in Fayette and Haywood counties.

Major acts of violence occurred in Chattanooga, Nashville, and Knoxville. In Chattanooga, a massive three-day street brawl was described by the Chattanooga Times as "the most massive racial clash in the history of Chattanooga." In Nashville, a Negro defense lawyer's home was bombed; Negro sit-in students were burned with cigarettes; and a white sit-in student was beaten. In Knoxville, a white professor was beaten. Minor incidents took place in these same cities, as well as in Memphis and Jackson.

Biracial committees: Athens, Chattanooga (merchants and ministers), Knoxville (good-will committee of white leaders appointed by Mayor and Chamber of Commerce), Memphis, Nashville, Oak Ridge.

Desegregation: seven cities.

TEXAS

The movement began in Houston, March 5, 1960, when 100 Negro students from Texas Southern University staged an orderly sit-in at a supermarket lunch counter.

Arrests: at least 317. (Note: this figure includes 55 who were arrested and 200 who were taken into custody in Marshall.)

Charges include: assault, loitering, unlawful assembly.

Demonstrators: estimated 6,500.

Participants: students from University of Texas, Rice, Texas Southern, Wiley College, Bishop College, high schools; Progressive Youth Association.

Other demonstrations: picketing, stand-ins, mass meetings, boycotts, wade-ins, sit-in at laundromat, attempts to enter city-owned park.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Houston and Marshall. After a sit-in in Houston, a Negro man was stabbed by a white man in a parking lot. Another Negro was flogged with a chain by three whites; the symbol KKK was carved on his chest and stomach; and he was hung by the knees from an oak tree. In Marshall, a crowd of Negroes was hosed by policemen accompanied by three K-9 dogs. Minor occurrences also were reported in Austin and San Antonio.

Biracial committees: Houston, Dallas, Galveston (informal, all-white committee), San Antonio (group of white religious leaders acting as mediating committee, later set up as an interracial committee), Texas City, La Marque.

Desegregation: ten cities.

VIRGINIA

The first demonstration in the state took place February 11, 1960 in Hampton, when approximately 25 students from Hampton Institute sat-in at Woolworth's.


Arrests: at least 235.

Charges include: trespass, violation of municipal ordinance against passing out handbills, disorderly conduct, and violation of city code prohibiting public parades, demonstrations, or speeches in public places without written permission of the city manager.

Demonstrators: estimated 11,000.
Participants: students from Hampton Institute, Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, Norfolk Division of William and Mary, Virginia Union, Howard University (in Washington, D.C.), Hampton Extension of Virginia State College, Sweet Briar College, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, St. Paul's College, University of Virginia, Virginia Theological Seminary, Lynchburg College, high schools; Hopewell Improvement Association; Petersburg Improvement Association; Lynchburg Improvement Association.

Other demonstrations: rallies, marches, stand-ins at theatres and voting registry, prayer meetings outside jails, boycotts, picketing, withdrawal of Negro children in elementary school in protest, sleep-in at hotel lobby, mass meetings, read-ins at public libraries, petitions, boycott of segregated theatre.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Portsmouth, Petersburg, and Danville. In Portsmouth, Negroes were attacked by white teen-agers carrying wrenches and hammers. Violence continued for two straight days in a parking lot outside a supermarket, and police used the K-9 Corps to restore order. In Petersburg, a store manager threw ammonia at three Negro high school students. In Danville, crosses were burned in front of a Negro church and a local Negro leader's home. Minor violence was reported in these same cities and in Richmond and Whaleyville.

Biracial committees: Arlington, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Roanoke, Richmond.

Desegregation: 23 cities.

PROTESTS IN OTHER STATES

Protest against segregated facilities occurred in Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, Nevada, Ohio, and West Virginia.

Cities affected: East St. Louis, Deerfield and Murphysboro (Ill.); Kansas City (Kan.); Baltimore, Chevy Chase, and Laurel (Md.); Jefferson City, Kansas City, St. Louis, St. Joseph, and Maplewood (Mo.); Las Vegas and Reno (Nev.); Xenia (Ohio); and Bluefield, Charleston, and Morgantown (W.Va.).

Desegregation: 14 cities.
**DESEGREGATION:**

Listed* below are cities in which at least one establishment has desegregated its eating facilities. Desegregation of other public accommodations has occurred only where specifically noted.

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<th>ARKANSAS:</th>
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<td>FLORIDA:</td>
<td>Bradenton</td>
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<td>Cocoa</td>
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<td>Daytona Beach</td>
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<td>Ft. Lauderdale (also beaches)</td>
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<td>Key West</td>
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<td>GEORGIA:</td>
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<td>Jefferson City</td>
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<td>NEVADA:</td>
<td>Las Vegas</td>
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* This list may not be complete. Similar lists, previously released by merchant organizations and action groups, have included some places which we have been unable to verify, and in some instances have classified suburbs and unincorporated places as cities. In several cases in Florida our efforts to verify reports of desegregation have not succeeded in erasing doubts, as, e.g., in Coral Gables, where the city attorney said he did not know, he ate lunch at home. No one in the mayor's office in Lantana knew whether lunch counters had been desegregated. The mayor of North Miami Beach wrote that he had no official knowledge. In Hialeah, the mayor's secretary thought so. The assistant city manager in Pompano Beach said there were no signs or separate counters in the variety stores. In Ft. Myers, the mayor did not know of any desegregation. In Bristol (Tenn.), the mayor said he did not know whether desegregation of the lunch counters had taken place; he never ate there himself and had no more idea than we did.
NORTH CAROLINA:
- Asheville
- Chapel Hill (also movies)
- Charlotte
- Concord
- Durham
- Elizabeth City
- Fayetteville
- Gastonia
- Greensboro
- High Point
- New Bern
- Salisbury
- Raleigh
- Winston-Salem
- Wilmington
- Goldsboro
- Wilson

OKLAHOMA:
- Enid
- Oklahoma City
- Shawnee
- Tulsa
- Bartlesville

TENNESSEE:
- Chattanooga
- Kingsport
- Knoxville
- Johnson City
- Madison
- Nashville (also movies and employment)
- Oak Ridge

TEXAS:
- Austin
- Brownsville
- Corpus Christi
- Dallas
- Galveston
- Houston
- La Marque
- San Antonio
- Texas City
- Temple

VIRGINIA:
- Arlington
- Alexandria
- Charlottesville
- Falls Church
- Fairfax
- Fredericksburg
- Hampton
- Harrisonburg
- Manassas
- Newport News
- Norfolk
- Petersburg
- Portsmouth
- Richmond
- Roanoke
- Staunton
- Suffolk
- Williamsburg
- Winchester
- Hopewell
- Annandale
- Middleburg
- Leesburg

WEST VIRGINIA:
- Bluefield
- Morgantown
- Charleston

NATIONWIDE SUPPORT FOR THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT

It would be almost impossible to enumerate the many thousands outside the South who joined sympathy protests, rallies, and picket lines. However, the broad appeal of the sit-in movement can at least be partially illustrated by the following:

1. There are on record favorable statements from over 40 religious groups, representing every major faith.
Addition (April, 1962):

At least one eating establishment in the following cities has desegregated since the publication of this report:

- FLORIDA: Pensacola
- GEORGIA: Augusta, Columbus, Macon
- TENN.: Memphis
- TEXAS: San Angelo
2. Support came from numerous labor organizations -- locals, national unions, and district councils.

3. Students in at least 70 colleges outside the South actively campaigned in behalf of the southern students, either by financial collections or by sympathy rallies, picketing, and mass demonstrations.

4. Many organizations concerned with civil rights gave endorsement.

FOR THE FUTURE

In the last year and a half, emphasis was placed on the desegregation of eating establishments, although considerable energies were devoted to other forms of public accommodations. The enthusiasm generated by the student movement will not die out. Students and adult supporters will undoubtedly continue their campaign to help the South overcome racial injustice in public accommodations, in voter registration, in employment, and in churches.