

## Approximate Chronology of the Danville Movement

### Introduction.

Having reread the transcript of my seminar presentation, it seems to me that my version of the events of this past summer was somewhat "overstructuralized": A particular kind of class structure is declared to exist within the Negro community. That class structure is held to have been modified in such and such a manner through the efforts of one class to mobilize the others to attain a given political objective. The objective is not reached and the situation swings part of the way back again....etc. I wonder if this sort of thing really gives the reader the sense of a crisis. Is it true, as I imply in the presentation, that the course of a crisis is at least roughly determined by the configurations of pre-existing social classes? Or, on the contrary, is the distinctive feature of a crisis the dissolution, at least in part, of the normal boundaries of classes, with the course of the action to be seen instead in terms of elites, masses, institutions, and charismatic individuals? To test this out, I decided, just for the hell of it, to set down the events of this past summer, as I saw them and heard of them, although not necessarily concentrating on my own experiences. I also threw in a rather miscellaneous assortment of background information at widely disparate levels.

The material in the following pages has been given some sort of analytic structuring, as I have been continuously mulling the stuff over in my mind for the past year. But precisely in what manner the material to follow presents a structural conception of the Danville

crisis at variance with that of the presentation.....This is not something that I particularly want to worry about right now. Tzuros enough I've got. I therefore suggest this to the reader: Since either part can just about stand alone, read the presentation first and then the chronology. Then give the thing to a friend, having him reverse the order. When both of you are finished, argue with each other about what it all means and get at the thing dialectically.

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The present writer, considering that he is about a year removed from most of the events described herein, takes full responsibility for any and all factual mistakes, errors, misrepresentations, calumnies, character assassinations, omissions, commissions, lies, damned lies, prejudices, slants, half truths, quarter truths, untruths, colored language, white language, and all other forms of distortion which abound in this writing.

Approximate chronology of the Danville Movement.

1960. Danville Christian Progressive Association (DCPA) founded; an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Martin Luther King's organization.

May 1, 1960. Nine Negro high school students stage sit-in to integrate the Public ("Confederate Memorial") Library. The Political boss, C.S. Wheatley, is determined to resist integration despite Federal Court order demanding the integration of the Library; he is smarting from a blow to his power and prestige delivered by the Byrd machine in 1958 when it declined to nominate him for Congress and quite possibly feels that he is in no position to risk what might be interpreted as a further show of "weakness".

July, 1960. Wheatley stages a referendum permitting the populace to choose among five alternatives, including closing the library altogether; opening it on an "integrated" basis with chairs; same without chairs; opening it on a segregated basis (the status quo) in defiance of the government; and opening it in the guise of a segregated private "foundation". With the backing of the city government, the latter choice wins. This incident inspires Harry Golden's whimsical Vertical Integration Plan. Plans for the private foundation move ahead. Judge A.M. Aiken donates his law books; etc., etc. With the DCPA leaders momentarily paralyzed by these moves, a group of about 35 middle-class white "liberals" (By Virginia standards, a "liberal" is anyone farther left than Richard Nixon who is not as far left as John F. Kennedy.), including Dr. Samuel Newman (A most interesting individual. By birth a Polish Jew, he is a resident of many years standing in Danville and has amassed considerable wealth from his medical practice. He is quite possibly the most intelligent man in town; and for this reason, as well as his ability to keep silent most of the time but to be blunt, forceful, and moralistic on the rare occasions when he does speak out; he is listened to by a segment of the upper and middle classes. While he refrains from overt involvement in politics, he is on cordial terms with leaders on both sides of the race line and seems to cherish the role of intermediary. But when the city government assumed an extreme posture, this role broke down, as it did in the cases of several other "intermediaries" as well.), who to all intents and purposes were motivated principally by the desire to read books, began the circulation of a petition to have the library reopened on a public and, if necessary, integrated basis.

August, 1960. The petition enlists mass support in the Negro (and part of the middle-class white) community. Both the city government does not budge, and several DCPA leaders almost bring about the acceptance of a deal proposed by Wheatley: The charges against the demonstrators would be dropped in return for the acquiescence in the new arrangement by the DCPA. But before this can happen, Wheatley receives a phone call from an unidentified party urging him to watch the TV news broadcast that evening. Doing so, he learns that Corning Glass Co. plans to build a plant at Durham, N.C., which remarkably resembles that planned for Danville. In panic, Wheatley assumes that Corning Glass has decided to move its plant elsewhere because of Danville's racial crisis; he does not know that this is merely another plant. At the same time, Negro and "liberal" leaders praise Corning Glass for its moral position (which it has not in fact assumed) in the crisis. Caught flatfooted, Corning Glass now urges speedy resolution of the library crisis. Wheatley rapidly arranges for the reopening of the library on a public and integrated basis.

September, 1960. Library reopens - without chairs (Vertical Integration). Chairs are ultimately replaced.

Also in 1960. Sit-ins accomplish the integration of a few lunch counters.

1961. The City of Danville abolishes all municipal ordinances specifically providing for segregated facilities in public accommodations as well as other manifestly Jim Crow legislation. This of course changes nothing in such instances <sup>as the</sup> city ordinances merely supplemented state legislation in force, or where segregation could be maintained by other means, such as trespass laws. Thus, theaters remained segregated under a Virginia state statute which is still the subject of litigation, and restaurants continue to this day to rigidly exclude Negroes by means of trespass laws. Nevertheless, buses and public parks, as well as other facilities, are at least nominally integrated in 1961.

E.G. McCain, a Bull Connor type, is appointed Chief of Police. He plays favorites among his men (who number 86 in 1963) and is otherwise incompetent, ~~and~~ and as a result the morale and efficiency of the police department falls. Consequently, by the Spring of 1963 he is in danger of losing his job because of the disgust felt by the city oligarchy for him.

1962. Municipal elections are held in November. Julian R. Stinson, a colorless, narrowminded, weak, and vacillating machine hack, by trade a General Tire dealer, is elected Mayor. He retains T.E. Temple, a sanctimonious conservative, as City Manager. Five machine conservatives are elected to the City Council, as well as John W. Carter, a walking stereotype Southern racist demagogue who possesses an admixture of the Virginia genteel tradition (This estimation is based on a morning's observation of him at work in a Federal courtroom, as well as on some of his public utterances. He is tall, gray-haired, and distinguished-looking, speaking in a rich Virginia drawl and in full, resonant tones. What he has to say, though, is generally plain rubbish. I would like to add the following: Dick Bourne, Harvard '64, who supplied much of my information on the white power structure, tells me that local scuttlebutt insists that Carter's father is an alcoholic, his mother an alcoholic and a dope addict, his sister in an insane asylum, and his daughter a mental defective. In conclusion, I would like to mention that Carter once honored me during a City Council meeting by referring to "Foss, Zellner, and their ilk."), who was associated with the largest number of votes received by any candidate. Also elected ~~was~~ is Charles Womack, a "liberal" (i.e., an Eisenhower Republican type) and publisher of the Danville Commercial Appeal, a weekly booster sheet published on Monday mornings, which reflects the views of businessmen desirous of bringing fresh capital into the town, expanding the consumer market, and in general diversifying the local economy and thereby escaping the economic suffocation wrought by the central position of Dan River Mills (and secondarily the tobacco companies) in the local labor market and in other features of municipal life. Since the established industries, especially the Mill, have been traditionally hostile to the entrance of new capital into the town (though this has become decreasingly true in the past decade), they have operated in an artificially protected labor market, thus making for a depressed level of wages. The retail and commercial businessmen would hence like to see an industrial wage inflation, consequent expansion of consumer spending and credit, and greater profits for themselves. The "reform" clique elected in 1950 has partially reflected their interests, but the Womack people would like to go much further. I would also like to note that the Danville Register (morning) and Bee (evening), which are under one ownership and dominate the newspaper field, are Goldwaterite in ideology and probably reflect the views of the local oligarchy, whose policies they consistently supported during the 1963 racial crisis. The Commercial Appeal, on the other hand, called for reason, moderation, and other mealy-mouthedly platitudinous things.

Note: All members of the Danville City Council are elected at large. The Negro vote (about 2,000 registered in June, 1963) is thus

two

rendered ineffectual, since even assuming that all 2,000 voted this would not represent an impressive fraction of, say, the 10,000 votes cast in 1962. Also, under at-large conditions, it is difficult to mobilize a bloc vote so as to punish or reward individual candidates: The voters, especially those of the lower class whose political awareness may be poor, have much less sense of the specific objectives of their votes than ~~is~~ the case with single-member constituencies. An instructive comparison might be the poor support given by the Roxbury community to the Mel King campaign in the Boston School Committee election of 1953. Furthermore, this form of exclusion tends to discourage Negro registration in the first place (especially where a poll tax exists, as in Virginia). At least another thousand Negroes were registered in Danville during the Summer and Fall of 1963 (800 by early August) as a result of a massive drive; though it may be a long time before this increase has any effect at all on the city's electoral politics. The next City Council will probably be even worse than this one, since Womack is politically dead. But of that, more later.

Spring, 1963. Rev. Campbell loses first his radio program and then his insurance job.

Late April - Mid-May, 1963. Mass demonstrations in Birmingham receive national attention.

May, 1963. Student demonstrations paralyze the downtown area of Greensboro, N.C. (43 miles from Danville), for three weeks.

May, 1963. The Danville Police Department is rocked by scandal as Sergeant Raymond Hall is arrested and charged with attempting to bribe a U.S. Treasury agent to keep silent about his illegal traffic in bootleg liquor. For obscure reasons the government hands the case over to Judge Aiken's Corporation (i.e., State) Court. This assures an acquittal, since the evidence against Hall consists of a tape recorded conversation between Hall and the agent, as well as the testimony of the agent (who is a Negro). Judge Aiken throws ~~out~~ out the tape as evidence and the all-white jury refuses to ~~believe~~ believe the testimony of the Negro agent. Hall goes free but McCain, who disliked him previously for other reasons, avails himself of the opportunity to bounce him from the force.

Another scandal materializes as a City Councilman accuses the City Engineer making illegal profits from public contracts, and is in return sued for libel.

The DCPA, under the glow of an appearance by Martin Luther King in town in March, and receiving fiery leadership from Rev. Campbell, prepares for direct action after the manner of Birmingham and Greensboro. Rev. Chase is President (and a quasi-figurehead); Campbell is Executive Secretary; Mrs. Beatrice W. Hairston (a retired high school teacher and member of the Negro upper class. She is the author of a history of Danville used as a textbook in both white and Negro high schools - a stuffy and conservative volume which gives the most minimal attention to the place of the Negro community in the city's history and where it does mention the Negro population the reference is often unflattering. But it seems that Mrs. Hairston has become politicized in her old age. At any rate, her DCPA post seems to involve little real power or policy-making significance. She is a good-natured and chatty old lady, and seems to be valued more for her contacts - she knows Everybody in both City Hall and the Negro upper class - than for her leadership abilities) as Secretary; and Julius E. Adams (a young businessman. He is founder and owner of the Danville Taxi Co., the Negro cab fleet) ~~as~~ as Treasurer. Also prominent in the DCPA are Hester Womack, a barbershop owner; the Pinchbacks, father and son, also businessmen; Attorneys A.C. Muse, Harry I. Wood, and Ruth L. Harvey Wood. Two ministers, Rev. Alexander I. Dunlap and Rev. Hildreth G. McGhee (the former the pastor of

Three

the AME Church and the latter pastor of a church in South Boston, Va., though a Danville resident), were closely associated with Rev. Campbell in the leadership.

May 31 (Sunday). Rev. Dunlap leads first mass demonstration; 250 people march down Main Street singing freedom songs. No arrests.

June 2-4. Demonstrations continue. Still no arrests.

June 5. Rev. Dunlap and a group of Negro teen-agers stage a raid on the Mayor's office; Dunlap demands an interview with the Mayor, to no avail. The youths then sit in. Police arrive and make a few arrests. Officer E.N. Morris (one of McCain's favorites) distinguishes himself in "combat" by half-choking a girl with his arm. When she struggles to free herself, she is arrested for assaulting a police officer.

A special grand jury indicts Campbell, Dunlap, and Adams on charges of "inciting the colored population to acts of violence and war against the white population," a felony punishable by 5-10 years in prison. They are freed on \$5,000 bond.

June 6. Judge Aiken hands down a sweeping injunction prohibiting participating in, inciting, or encouraging demonstrations. The injunction provides for penalties of up to six months in jail plus fines of up to \$200.

The DCPA leaders seek immediate help from SCLC and Martin Luther King personally. They are stalled off.

June 8. Judge Aiken's injunction is thoroughly publicized.

Campbell calls SNCC for assistance. Despite the fact that SNCC prefers to work in rural areas and to manage its own projects, help is offered by James Forman, SNCC Executive Secretary.

June 9. Avon W. Rollins, member of SNCC's executive committee, arrives in Danville. He immediately calls for a mass demonstration the next morning to test the injunction, hoping for 500 demonstrators. He is up till 4am at Mrs. Hairston's House telephoning wire services and TV networks.

June 10. 4am. Foss arrives in Danville.

10am. Avon Rollins and Foss leave the Hairstons' house and go downtown to meet the demonstrators, who have assembled in a municipal parking lot. There are 50-60 of them, mostly (or almost entirely) teen-agers.

11am. Demonstrators march, chanting and singing, through the downtown streets for the better part of an hour. They are in perfect order and appear to march in step, four abreast. The leader of the march is Thurman Echols, 17, a high school honor student. He later turns state's evidence.

The demonstrators now mass near the top of the City Hall steps and continue to sing. The police, who have been surrounding and following the demonstrators since the beginning of the march, now move in and seize Echols and a few other leaders and drag them into the building to be booked. The remainder of the group now surges into the alley between the City Hall and jail, demanding to be arrested also. A police captain proclaims the demonstration a riot and announces that all other persons who do not clear out of the area at once will be "just as guilty as they are." A few moments later, the demonstrators are washed out of the alley by high-pressure hoses. Enraged and terrified, they flee up Spring St., the Negro business street. Police swoop down, arresting people indiscriminately. On Spring St., a few demonstrators rock a small foreign car whose owner allegedly had shouted, "Get out of my way, niggers!" This is the only attested act of "violence" committed by demonstrators all summer. (Note: The driver of the car later falsely

charged in court that the demonstrators threw trash barrels and other heavy objects, inflicting several hundred dollars' worth of damage. In actuality, the car was not even scratched.) A few demonstrators rounded the corner of Spring onto Floyd St., being hotly pursued by police. The latter seize a 17-year-old boy who was walking to the utility company office to pay an electric bill. They drag him into an entranceway and at least two officers club him over the head with blackjacks.

Avon Rollins and Foss are arrested while attempting to photograph the demonstration. (Note: Avon Rollins at this time was 21 years old and a graduate of the University of Tennessee. He had distinguished himself in leading protests in Knoxville, Tenn., during 1961-3.)

A total of 48 persons are arrested and held without bond on charges of violating Judge Aiken's injunction. Trial is set for June 17. Those under 16 are transferred to Juvenile Court and released. Male prisoners are transferred to the Farm where they are kept under miserably overcrowded conditions, being fed grits for breakfast and two bologna sandwiches per man for lunch and supper. The sandwiches prove almost inedible because of the heat.

5 pm. SNCC Field Secretary Bob Zellner and SNCC Coordinator Dorothy Miller arrive in Danville. Zellner is immediately arrested and released without charge.

7 pm. SNCC Field Secretary Ivanhoe G. Donaldson arrives in Danville and is arrested after asking directions to the High Street Baptist Church. He is charged with operating a car with defective hand brakes.

8 pm. A demonstration in front of the City Jail protesting the morning's mass arrests is broken up by mass police brutality. See pp. 14-15 of the presentation. 46-48 persons are treated for injuries at Winslow Hospital.

Late evening. Two members of SNCC's Freedom Singers, Cordell Reagon and a girl whose name I cannot remember, arrive in Danville.

July 11. SNCC Staff Photographer Danny Lyon arrives in Danville.

Demonstrations continue all day on Main and Patton Streets. No arrests are made, possibly because of the presence of large numbers of newsmen and FBI agents as a result of the previous day's events.

July 12. Demonstrations continue all day until about 4:30pm. Again no arrests are made.

Attorney Leo Brandt of San Francisco, Cal., flies in because, "I thought you might need a lawyer here." He persuades Judge Aiken to set bond (probably under threat of a writ of habeas corpus in US District Court) for those arrested on June 10. The demonstrators are then bonded out (between 4-5pm) at \$500 each.

4pm. SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman is arrested along with five other persons shortly after his arrival in Danville. He had participated in a sit-in at Howard Johnson's restaurant.

June 13. 5pm. 150 demonstrators <sup>including many adults</sup> crowd onto the City Hall steps and prepare to sit all night or until Mayor Stinson agrees to negotiate on the DCPA demands for municipal jobs and integration of all public facilities. The demonstration is led by Rev. Chase, Rev. Milton A. Reid of Petersburg, Va., state president of SCLC, James Forman, Bob Zellner, and Dorothy Miller.

7pm. A menacing aggregation of about two dozen white toughs and thugs assembles on Patton St., opposite the City Hall. The police, using as a pretext the possibility of violence, seal off the City Hall area to motor and pedestrian traffic. Since no instance of spontaneous white violence occurred all summer, the possibility exists that the whites were directed to the scene by the police themselves.

8pm. Over 350 persons attend a mass meeting at the Bible Way Church. Meanwhile, Chief McCain refuses to permit Rev. Campbell to send food and blankets to the demonstrators on the City Hall steps. The police are permitting persons to leave, but not to enter, the vicinity of the City Hall. The mass meeting continues all evening in a mood of tense anticipation.

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11pm. Avon Rollins, by dint of strenuous oratory, organizes a group of 200 persons to march to the City Hall and thereby force the issue with the police. He appoints Cordell Reagon and foss as leaders. At about 11:55 the demonstrators are confronted by a massed column of police at the corner of Lynn and Patton Sts., about a block from the City Hall. The police very nearly beat up a white<sup>16</sup> photographer, who is saved only by the intervention of the police lieutenant in command. The latter then orders Cordell Reagon to send his people back home. ("Now, we're reasonable people, and we want you to be reasonable too.") Cordell tries to stall for time, but the lieutenant then in addition refuses to permit the group to march back in an organized body, claiming that he has orders to "disperse this crowd." He gives the group five minutes to clear the corner. As the people turn to march away, the police fire tear gas into their midst, sending them into headlong flight with the police in hot pursuit, wielding clubs and firing an occasional shot. About six persons were hospitalized, and persons streamed into the Bible way church for half an hour, their clothing torn and bloody.

12 midnight. Meanwhile, on the City Hall steps, the demonstrators had continued to sit until Mayor Stinson sent word that he would meet with a committee of ten leaders at 10am the following morning. But now, shortly afterward, Chief McCain materializes with two fire trucks, whose hoses are pointed directly into the midst of the people. At this moment, 40 crash helmeted police burst through the City Hall doors directly behind the demonstrators. About half the people flee in terror. The rest remain under Forman's leadership. Chase and Reid escape into a waiting car. McCain, about to give the signal to turn on the hoses, is momentarily shaken when Forman shouts, "WHAT ARE YOU DOING?" Forman seizes this opening to lead the people off to safety.

1am. As the battered fugitives stream back into the Bible Way Church, a highly charged meeting takes place. Speaker after speaker addresses the maddened and terrified people. Finally, Reid declares, "We have won a great victory tonight." Most of the people prefer to believe this, since under these conditions it is difficult to believe that the situation could get much worse. They refuse to discern the hard political fact of the absolute determination of the city government to crush them. Several, however, are skeptical as to the mayor's good faith in calling the conference. All, however, are agreed that there would be no appeasement of the city officials in the choice of representatives. Those chosen included Forman, Reid, Campbell, Chase, Dunlap, , Mrs. Hairston, Julius Adams, Mrs. Hughes (see presentation, p. 18), Len Holt (a prominent Negro civil rights attorney and charismatic orator from Norfolk, Va., who had arrived in town early on the 13th and was being retained by the DCPA for the legal defense of demonstrators at the rate of \$75 a day. He had already agreed to represent several dozen persons.), and a tenth person whose name I forget. The meeting disbands in a mood of high anticipation.

2am. foss' car, with this writer driving, and containing as passengers Forman, Avon Rollins, Danny Lyon, and another person, is stopped by a  roadblock consisting of a state riot tank with mounted machine guns, a police cruiser, and several local and state police with dogs, placed about two blocks from the Bible Way Church. All inside are frisked and the car searched (But the police fortunately do not find Danny Lyon's camera, hidden under debris and filth on the floor of the car, and containing valuable shots of the scene at the City Hall at midnight. Danny had posed as a racist and won the confidence of the Danville Register photographer, who even gave him some of his own pictures which were being kept top secret and which SNCC later published.). The cop waxed very moralistic about "you leaders sitting back here in comfort while your people are being beaten up," and then permits us to go on our way.

June 14. 10am. The Negro representatives enter the mayor's office to find Stinson surrounded by state troopers. Stinson announces that he will not meet with "criminals", meaning Campbell, Dunlap, and Adams. Len Holt

walks out in disgust and is immediately arrested for violating the injunction, having been seen in the vicinity of the City Hall the previous day (He is quickly released in \$500 bond.). Campbell, Dunlap, and Adams voluntarily withdraw and ~~are treated to a brief harrangue~~ the remaining six are treated to a brief harrangue and thrown out. End of conference.

Morning. The City Council passes a new ordinance outlawing all demonstrations ~~morning~~, except under the conditions specified on page 20 of the presentation. Penalties for violations are to range up to a year in jail and/or a \$500 fine. During this session, Carter denounces Womack for his association with Dr. Newman. Carter also introduces a motion of confidence in the mayor and his policies during the racial crisis. Womack decides not to risk a breach, and the motion is carried unanimously.

Also on the 14th, (I believe), Stinson announces the formation of a Special Committee to advise him during the duration of the racial crisis. The three members are the general manager of Dan River Mills, the manager of the Corning Glass plant, and ex-mayor Curtis H. Bishop, now president of Averett College.

8pm. This night's mass meeting is held in the High Street Baptist Church in an atmosphere of gloom. Attendance is off. In addition, police have surrounded the church, holding warrants for the arrest of 16 individuals, including Forman, Bob Zellner, Chase, Dorothy Miller, Danny Lyon, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Cordell Reagon, and others, for violation of the injunction. But Forman had left ~~the~~ in the early morning, while Dorothy Miller and Danny Lyon got out of town at 3 following a hair-raising escape. Cordell Reagon had also gone.

June 15. A skimpy crowd of 40 persons shows up at the next mass meeting, scheduled for 2pm at the High Street Baptist Church. In light of the terrified state of the people and the confusion of the leadership, Bob Zellner quickly decides on an immediate demonstration to challenge the new ordinance. 18 persons march downtown and are all arrested, including Bob Zellner, Chase, Thomas C. Holt, a student leader and a senior at Howard, and ~~the~~ foss.

8pm. Another small demonstration takes place: 17 persons participate and are all arrested.

June 17. Trials begin in Judge Aiken's court of persons arrested on June 10 under the injunction. Ezell Barksdale, 17, a high school student, and Ernest Howard Smith, 38, a cab driver employed by Julius Adams, are convicted and sentenced to 90 days each, 45 to be served and 45 to be suspended. They are sent to the Farm. Judge Aiken denies bond while the convictions are being appealed. The lawyers meanwhile have petitioned US District Judge Michie for removal of the cases to his court. Michie sets June 24 as the date on which he will hold hearings in Danville as to whether or not he will remand the cases to Judge Aiken.

June 18. Trials resume. Thurman Echols pleads guilty and is sentenced to 2 days on the farm and 30 days suspended. A girl also pleads guilty. Afternoon. A small demonstration 16 persons, mostly women, arrested. Evening. Another small demonstration, 17 persons arrested.

June 19. Judge Michie has issued an order halting trials pending the outcome of his hearing. The movement lawyers counsel a halt to demonstrations.

June 21. The special grand jury indicts 11 more persons for inciting to racial violence, including Avon Rollins, Bob Zellner, foss (the latter two having been released under \$800 bond the day before), Forman, Dorothy Miller, Chase, Reid, Rev. ~~W~~ Curtis Harris (Reid's deputy), Len Holt, and Rev. William Gray, Dunlap's successor as AME minister, who had, the week previously, ~~made~~ made several highly charged statements in the course of a CBS television interview which the Danville city government found offensive to the extent that they sued CBS for \$3,000,000 in damages.

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Police once more surround the High Street Baptist Church. After the mass meeting Avon and Bob, along with SNCC worker Cortland Cox, attempt to escape in order to bring a film documenting the June 10 brutalities to the Justice Department in Washington, but are driven back inside by police gunfire. They spend the night inside a locked office inside the church as the police patrol outside the building.

June 22. 7am. Cox quietly slips out with the film.

8:45am. With Rev. Campbell and three other bystanders present, police break into the church and smash open the office door. They arrest Avon, Bob, and ~~James~~ Foss, accusing them of concealing a gun on the premises. This charge is never formalized, but it appears in the newspapers and is widely believed, even by Negroes.

June 24. Judge Michie opens hearings and reverses the convictions of Barksdale and Smith as illegal since the cases were under his jurisdiction at the time of the trials. The prisoners are released, having been beaten by guards on the Farm.

June 25. Hearings are concluded.

June 26. Len Holt is arrested while returning to Danville.

June 27. Foss is finally released as the \$5,000 bond money is raised with great difficulty.

June 28. Martin Luther King holds a mass rally in Suffolk, Va., with 5,000 persons present. His speech is also carried by radio through large parts of Southern Virginia and northern North Carolina. King calls for a mass descent upon Danville on July 3, and promises to arrive with his entire "task force".

The above event marks the close of the first phase and the beginning of the second phase of the Danville crisis. During this first month of action the following general developments occurred:

First, the original shock and fluidity in the situation had dissipated. The crisis was now clearly routinized. The movement had clearly failed to achieve its announced political objectives and clearly could not do so without massive outside intervention (from either the federal government or Martin Luther King or both) to offset the external resources of force available to the city government. Those willing to demonstrate were by now reduced to a hard core of students and attendance at the daily mass meetings was down. The number of sympathizers was still large, however, as witness the fact that the DCPA published a petition of 1,000 names via a full page advertisement in the Bee on June 24. The movement, in short, survived, and by this fact alone it compelled the city government to maintain Danville in the state of an armed camp, since the city officials, or those interests behind them, refused to contemplate compromise or even negotiation (William Geoghegan, a Justice Department mediator, failed to persuade ~~the~~ Stinson and other officials to negotiate substantively during June 17-20. The mayor had hoped to split Chase and Campbell and force a quick capitulation, but failed and tentative talks were broken off. Much reliance had been placed on the assumption that Chase was, according to the Bee, more "pacific" than other leaders - which might explain why he was not indicted along with Campbell, Dunlap, and Adams - but he did not yield to the city's demand that he order the cessation of ~~non-violent~~ demonstrations as a precondition to further negotiation.). The movement leaders were beginning to acquire greater sophistication and to vary and elaborate their originally crude conceptions and methods. They were also proceeding with the rationalization of administration and finances within the movement itself. But while the DCPA leaders were abandoning the idea of a quick and easy victory with local resources, they seemed to have no clear conception of their post-crisis role, if any such role would become possible.

eight

The city government and police, for their part, were perfecting their machinery of terror. They were abandoning the use of mass brutality, thereby minimizing both investigation by the FBI and the presence of reporters. Brutality continued to be used against selected individuals, however. They now increasingly relied on the corrosive effects of constant surveillance of the movement headquarters, the constant trailing by police cruisers of cars ~~led~~ driven by persons known to be supporting the movement and the arrest of the latter for minor traffic offenses whenever possible, the tapping of dozens of telephones including even coin boxes near the movement headquarters and in public places where movement personnel were known to congregate, midnight raids ~~again~~ and other forms of pressure used against persons known to be providing housing for "outside agitators", withholding of unemployment insurance due to demonstrators by the state officials in charge of administering federal funds, expulsions from public housing projects, the firing of demonstrators by private employers, economic losses suffered by demonstrators when the courts required their appearance even when no trials were possible, and possibly most important, compelling the movement to raise vast amounts of bond money.

It was also clear, by this time, that nearly all segments of the white community would remain politically passive during the crisis. There would be neither substantial liberal opposition nor white mob violence. But the situation did permit the leading extremists, McCain and Carter, both formerly out of favor with the city boss, to improve their political positions and their popularity with the "respectable" public (McCain was given a public service award by the American Legion.).

By the end of June the interest of the national press in the Danville situation had virtually disappeared. This provided still further cover for the police repression.

Finally, it was by now strongly indicated that neither the Justice Department nor the federal judiciary would or could intervene decisively in favor of the movement. The FBI collected large numbers of sworn statements as to police brutality and investigated jail conditions, but this had little effect other than perhaps to mitigate or forestall some of the more blatant and open forms of police violence. The FBI was strongly suspected of leaking information to the police, though this was never proved. Also, Judge Michie was obviously in no hurry to grant legal relief.

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June 29. Mayor Stinson, in a message published in the Register, warns all citizens against "harboring" any "agitators" who might enter the city to stir up trouble. He hints darkly about "subversives". The same newspaper also announces that 7 Negro children will enter previously all-white schools in the fall. They all turn out to be the children or grandchildren of DCPA officers (including Campbell and Chase) or other persons associated with the movement. This is apparently either a bribe or an attempt to convince the Negro community that the leaders are selling out.

Police take steps to seal off the city in anticipation of King's arrival and of the descent of masses of people whom King has directed to descend on the city. Rumor has it that three Negroes were seized by police as they left a Greyhound bus for a rest stop.

June 30. Rev. Doyle J. Thomas, pastor of the Loyal Baptist Church (see presentation, p.11), denounces King from the pulpit during his sermon. He claims that local people can handle the situation themselves. He accuses King of selfishly seeking power and prestige (Note: this might possibly have been an attempt to recover power and prestige within the Negro community for himself, his NAACP chapter, and the traditional Negro upper class).

July 2. The city condemns Peters Park, a ratty grandstand in Almagro in which the DCPA had planned to hold the King meeting, as unsafe. The city petitions Judge Michie for an injunction against demonstra-

tions as a result of King's activities.

July 3. 9am. Movement leaders are served with Judge Michie's injunction. 10 am. Reid brings word that King cannot come that afternoon because of "an important meeting that demands his personal attention." 11am. With the King threat gone for the moment, the city graciously grants a permit to use Langston High School athletic field for the meeting.

4-6pm. The meeting is held, with Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of SCLC standing in for King. Three police cars filled with cops, including McCain himself, park ~~beside~~ beside the speaker's platform, but this does not inhibit the oratory at all. Campbell points to McCain and shouts, "THAT MAN BEAT MY WIFE!" The entire meeting resembles a grotesque kind of Fourth of July ceremony in reverse.

*The DCPA moves into a large office on North Union St.*

July 5. Large scale picketing gets underway on Main and Patton Sts. and in front of the Dan River Mills employment office. The pickets obey the letter of the June 14 ordinance.

Afternoon. Judge Michie dissolves his injunction but remands the injunction and ordinance cases to Judge Aiken. This latter decision is despite the fact that the Justice Department has filed an amicus curiae brief charging that Aiken wears a pistol in the courtroom and that he is openly biased against the defendants.

King's arrival is now rescheduled for July 11.

July 7. A large crowd attends an afternoon mass meeting at the Bible Way Church to hear Campbell and other speakers, who exhort them to a renewal of demonstrations. Black Muslims show up, do a lively trade in Muhammad Speaks among the curious, but attract no further interest.

July 8. A massive voter registration campaign gets under way under the direction of SCLC's Herbert Coulton. 56 persons register on the first day, setting an all-time city record.

Picketing is intensified in downtown Danville.

July 9. Picketing still intensifies in downtown Danville and in front of Dan River Mills' Schoolfield plant. SNCC worker Sam Shirah attracts notice by parading with an American flag ~~before~~ before the City Hall.

July 10. Morning. The barricades in front of the City Hall steps, which had been taken down a few days before, are replaced.

4pm. Bob Zellner organizes a lie-in at the employees' exit gate of Dan River Mills' Schoolfield plant. The demonstrators, including Sam Shirah and Claudia Edwards of CORE, are declared under arrest when police arrive. A Mill executive says something to the police, who then withdraw, admonishing the pickets not to leave. After the shifts have changed, the pickets leave and lie down in front of a truck exit. While this does not seriously inconvenience the truck traffic (there is another exit), the scene is recorded by reporters, photographers, and television newsmen. The four demonstrators bear signs accusing Dan River of discrimination, supporting segregation, and violation of the fair employment provisions of its government contracts. No arrests are made.

Dorothy Day, editor of the Catholic Worker, joins a picket line downtown as the picketing reaches its height.

Evening. The City Council revises the June 14 ordinance to ban all picketing without a parade permit approved by the Chief of Police 30 days in advance. The vote is 7-1, the dissenting vote being cast by Womack, who has finally decided to break with Carter. The latter submits a petition to the Council from an assortment of rabidly segregationist citizens, and asks for the Council's approval, which he obtains, with Womack again casting a dissenting vote.

July 11. 10:0am. Pickets leave the High Street Baptist Church, but are

police warn them that they will be arrested. Most return to the church, but SNCC Field Secretary Matthew Jones and another picket march to the City Hall and picket unmolested.

11:30am. Sam Shirah and foss are seized by detectives and state troopers while observing the scene before the City Hall. Shirah is beaten by four detectives inside police headquarters. His right leg is badly twisted and his clothing is torn.

Afternoon. Waves of students march downtown in response to the arrest of Shirah and foss. About 60 are arrested.

Evening. King addresses a mass meeting at the High St. church. About \$4,000 is collected, including contributions from Jewish merchants, who may be hoping for relief from the DCPA boycott, which has gradually been getting more effective. King, when asked to lead a demonstration, refuses, claiming that he has stomach trouble. He leaves town on the next plane. But about 100 people are sufficiently fired by enthusiasm to march downtown anyway. They are met by police. McCain tells them, "Why don't you niggers get on back where you came from?" They are then dispersed. Thirteen persons are arrested, including Chase and Matthew Jones.

July 12. Demonstrations continue. 30-40 more arrests are made, making a total of over 110 now in jail.

July 13. Wyatt T. Walker, one of King's aides, proposes that Campbell conserve his forces for a huge, decisive "D-Day".

July 14. Buford Glendale Holt, a pfc at Ft. Bragg and home on furlough, announces that he is willing to demonstrate. Bob Zellner arranges for him and six others to march in front of Stinson's home. Holt marches in uniform, carrying an American flag. The demonstrators picket for 35 minutes and are arrested.

July 15. The commanding general at Ft. Bragg issues a hold order to prevent Holt from being released on bond. Secretary of Defense McNamara issues a directive forbidding military personnel to demonstrate in uniform. Holt appears to face court martial. (Note: He spent 45 days in jail, until he was finally released thanks to a petition to McNamara and President Kennedy asking his release.)

July 16. DCPA attorneys file petitions with Judge Simon Soboleff of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, asking that he hold hearings to declare the injunction and ordinance unconstitutional.

July 17. Dan River Mills, reacting to a mass demonstration held on July 10 before its New York (Wall St.) office by SNCC, has the Jim Crow signs in its plant facilities ~~blacked~~ painted out. It also announces that the employee Training School has been integrated.

July 19. Mrs. Jacob Karro of Bethesda, Md., wife of a Labor Department executive, arrives in Danville to demonstrate. Bob Zellner, with difficulty (because of the imminence of D-Day, scheduled for July 21, and the consequent unwillingness of people to take smaller-scale events seriously), arranges for six other persons to demonstrate with her. All seven are arrested. (Note: I think that this may have actually happened on July 22.)

Evening. SNCC worker Mary King and Mary Collins, a National Guardian reporter, flee the city on a rumor that the ~~National~~ special grand jury is preparing further indictments. It does not do so, however.

July 21. D-Day is postponed one week. Campbell collects written pledges to demonstrate. The police use the breathing space to ship prisoners to jails in Chatham and Halifax, Va. Shipments to Chatham are halted after the local Negro community holds a mass meeting (addressed by Avon Rollins and Bob Zellner) and leaders warn the mayor of Chatham that, "If you fill that jail, you're going to do it with Chatham people."  
EVEN

July 23. Shirah and foss are released, Sex-starved, they leave town in quest of c\_\_\_\_\_.

July 25. Rev. Chase is released.

July 27. Rev. Campbell has collected over 300 pledges. He confidently predicts that as many as 1,000 people may demonstrate. Somehow this is reported in the newspapers. The police announce that they are prepared to house as many persons as may be necessary in the city armory.

7pm. In a secret strategy meeting, Campbell adopts a plan of march proposed by Bob Zellner. Campbell, symbolically enough, proposes that the column be headed by the Negro businessmen.

July 28. D-Day is an utter fiasco. Only 77 persons demonstrate, and all are arrested. Fifteen of this number are students from Virginia Union University (a Negro school) in Richmond, brought down by Prof. Ben-Zion Wardy, an Israeli and one of the most bizarre characters to show up in Danville all summer. He has also brought several pounds of hamburger impregnated with aphrodisiac as a weapon against police dogs. Four other demonstrators have come under SNCC auspices.

5pm. Bob Zellner is arrested after police report having seen him downtown observing the demonstration.

6pm. At a mass meeting in the Bible Way Church, desperate efforts are made to restore morale. Six volunteers are requested for a sit-in, but only three women raise their hands. Reid, presiding, asks, "Won't a man come forward?" Avon Rollins comments, "Ain't none in here."

7pm. A few people forlornly try to march around the streets of Almagro, but the police swoop down and chase them away.

\*

D-Day marks the close of the second phase of the crisis. The police terror was by this point so effective that people could no longer be brought to demonstrate. The Negro community was bankrupt. Only isolated acts of desperation and a successful legal defense remained as politically feasible avenues of action. Recriminations erupted between the SNCC and CORE people, who had opposed the D-Day notion, and Campbell and other leaders. The SNCC staff progressively diminished.

The second phase had seen the DCPA become an increasingly elaborate and efficient organization, with personnel beginning to perform specialized jobs such as voter registration, and with a nucleus of volunteers who could be counted on to show up for work every day. But it was difficult to mobilize masses under conditions of intense and sustained repression, and so organizational work shifted in emphasis away from direct action and toward activities that could be more bureaucratically administered and organized, such as the economic boycott and voter registration.

No mob violence on the part of the white populace had yet occurred, as witness the fact that the plate glass window of the DCPA office remained intact since ~~it was~~ the new quarters were occupied on July 3. No assaults by non-uniformed whites were reported. (This did not, however, imply that many whites were in the least friendly.) On the other hand, a few middle class whites began to edge over toward Womack's position, in response to their weariness with the continuing crisis, as well as to Avon Rollins' persuasion. The white minister (Rev. Andrews) whom I mentioned in the presentation is an illustration of this.

In short, during the second phase the DCPA, with increasingly undivided leadership under Rev. Campbell, was taking on certain characteristics of permanence, though it was losing its charismatic hold on the mass of the Negro population.

\*

July 29. 5am. Chase is arrested at his home and carried off to jail in his bathrobe. He is charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor and non-support. He is released in \$1,500 bond in the afternoon. Morning. Mary King prepares a news release reporting Chase's arrest

XII

and also quotes Avon Rollins as saying, "Those of us who are non-violent are becoming outnumbered by those of the violent persuasion," and warning that, if something were not done soon, "blood will flow in the streets of Danville."

8pm. Sam Shirah and Mary King get involved in an argument with Rev. Campbell. The latter claims that the news release tends to create an illusory impression of SNCC predominance in the Danville movement. He charges that SNCC is mentioned an excessive number of times in the release, and that this is to the exclusion of CORE ~~and other groups~~ (as personified by Bruce Baines and Claudia Edwards) and other groups. The SNCC workers in return charge that Campbell has been remiss in his duty to stir the people to action without reference to King or other outside support. They claim that King is a professional symbol and is only interested in lending assistance where there are headlines to be made. Therefore, he would come to Danville only if the movement were on the verge of success. (Note: This position was unrealistic in that even Campbell's oratorical gifts and leadership qualities were inadequate to rouse the people to take to the streets again in defiance of the repressive power which the opposition was prepared to use.)

Demonstrations continue in Warmville (Prince Edward County, Va. This county has been without ~~any~~ public schools for five years because of resistance to desegregation.), about 80 miles from Danville. They were instigated by Ivanhoe Donaldson and Rolin Sherrod, two SNCC workers operating out of Danville. Donaldson is arrested.

July 30. Judge Aiken opens hearings as to whether his injunction should be made permanent.

July 31. 1pm. Avon Rollins collapses in the DCPA\*SNCC offices from an excess of spinal fluid and is rushed to Winslow Hospital. After undergoing a spinal tap, he is examined by a Dr. McNeely who is employed by the city and ~~represents~~ presents a court order requiring that Avon be examined with reference to his ability to appear in Judge Aiken's court under a subpoena requiring him to testify for the State (concerning his statement in the news release issued July 29) in the hearing to determine the permanence of the injunction.

Evening. Matthew Jones, newly released from jail and Acting Director of the project, has formed a secret Strategy Committee among the most radical local youths. Its purpose is the execution of non-violent commando raids.

August 1. Dr. McNeely once more attempts to examine Avon, but this time does not bring the court order. Avon refuses to be examined. Preparations are made to surround the hospital with demonstrators to prevent the police from arresting him in his hospital room.

4pm. The Strategy Committee strikes: Four demonstrators foul up traffic for 15 blocks in all directions as they lie down at the intersection of North Main St. and Riverside Drive.

5 pm. Judge Aiken signs the order making the injunction permanent. It contains new provisions banning mass meetings and financial contributions to the movement.

11 pm. Foss is arrested on a traffic charge ("improper license tag lights") and is held in \$100 bond. Bob Zellner and Julius Adams raise the money within an hour but the bonding officer at the jail stalls until it is necessary to rouse the FBI to force action. (Note: The next day this arrest of the notorious criminal was reported on radio news every hour on the hour. The administration of justice in Danville was by now such a farce that this sort of nonsense had become standard practice.)

Also on this day the Strategy Committee struck again with two hit-and-run sit-ins.

August 3. 11am. Avon Rollins is seized by police upon being discharged from Winslow Hospital.

August 5. 10am. Avon is tried in Corporation Court on a charge of contempt of court. Judge Leon Bazile, a senile idiot and normally Circuit Judge of Lee County, Va., presides. He had come to Danville to assist Judge Aiken in trying the injunction cases. The trial is a classic in the administration of injustice. The prosecutor, City Attorney Link, calls Dr. McNeely as his only witness. Dr. McNeely, who appears to be a pot-bellied, grinning fool, testifies that many spinal tap cases have recovered in as little as six hours. Therefore, Avon may have been able to testify on the 1st., but he was unable to determine this as the defendant was unwilling to be examined. Under cross-examination McNeely admits that he would have been unable to determine Avon's fitness to testify since he did not have access to certain equipment, including an electroencephalograph. Judge Bazile has never heard of such a thing and McNeely must explain its function. Judge Bazile is unimpressed and appears to feel that a trick is being played on himself. Dr. McNeely proceeds to state that his own examination on July 31 revealed an excessive number of red blood cells in the spinal fluid as well as two soft spots on Avon's skull. It appeared likely that something quite serious was wrong and that extensive tests would be required to make sure. Dr. McNeely further admits that he felt that the court order had been valid only for the day on which it was issued, July 31. He did not bring the order on August 1, he says, because he came purely for reasons of personal interest in the case. Dr. McNeely grins and swings his leg while saying all this. Link turns various shades of purple and pces up and down the courtroom as if about to hit someone. The defense next calls the superintendent of the City Jail (under subpoena) who testifies to the effect that the accused had fainted in his cell on August 4. Finally Dr. Harvey (see presentation, p. 19) is called. He testifies that Avon was definitely unable to leave the hospital on August 1. Link now appears to be ready to throw a fit in the middle of the courtroom. Legally he has no case unless he is forced to the absurd contention that the court order was intended to be valid to the end of the defendant's natural life. But Link makes exactly this contention. The defense insists that Link has no case and urges sympathy for the defendant in that he needs immediate medical attention. Link glowers murderously (Note: Link was not the only terrible-tempered prosecutor that summer. In early July Len Holt was physically assaulted by Assistant Commonwealth Attorney Wilson during a trial in Municipal Court.) while judges Aiken and Bazile flutter about in their black judicial robes like a couple of vultures. Finally Bazile pronounces sentence: Ten days in jail and a \$100 fine. He gives no explanation of how the decision is arrived at. Appeal bond is set at \$500. Rev. Chase asks M.C. Martin, the banker, to get the money together. For reasons that are yet obscure, Martin takes his time and it is two days before Avon is released (Note: The delay sent SNCC headquarters in Atlanta into a conniption fit.). I have described this case at some length because it seems to be almost the perfect illustration of Danville justice.

August 7. 9am. foss is tried for the tag light crime. Reporters are present in the courtroom and Judge Berry insists on full trial procedure despite the plea of nollo contendere entered by Atty. Harry Wood. During the cross-examination the arresting officer insists that the defendant's vehicle was equipped with Mississippi plates, since he had written MISS. instead of MASS. in his note pad. Another cop meanwhile loudly hisses, "Massachusetts. Massachusetts." foss is with great solemnity pronounced guilty and fined five dollars and costs. foss is then subpoenaed before the special grand jury once again. It turns out that this is an act of spite on the part of a Sephardic Jewish record dealer named Ben-Yunes who merely wishes to subject foss to a tirade (accusing him of renouncing Judaism in that he took the Fifth) in order to prove that Jews are just as Nazified as anyone else.

2pm. Chkef McCain crashes into the DCPA office at the head of 12-15 cops and gleefully arrests Emmanuela Ross, one of the white students who arrived under SNCC auspices for D-Day. Although the girl had given her

age as 20, her overprotective mother, who has just arrived from Chicago, insists that the girl is only 16 and swears out a warrant for her arrest. The charges are transferred to Juvenile Court, where they are dropped in exchange for a promise that the girl and her mother will get the hell out of town as fast as possible. The movement is made to appear ridiculous.

August 8, 10am. (Note: It may have actually been the 6th.) The city assigns defendants in injunction cases in the Corporation Court to courts in remote parts of Virginia (see presentation, p. 20). "Rev." Harold Millbrook (an SCLC agent and a jive-talking, scrawny cat who insists that he is a Baptist preacher ~~he is~~ He arrived in town on Aug. 4 and is already calling himself "office manager". The people find his oratory hard to take, since he uses a copious sprinkling of swear words.) issues a statement that if the change-of-venue scheme goes through, Danville people would become "apostles of revolution" all over the State.

2:30pm. Len Holt brings word from Baltimore that Judge Soboleff has enjoined arrests and trials (In actual fact Soboleff's injunction covers only ~~arrest~~ trials) under both the injunction and the ordinance. A group of people rush out of the office and they dance and sing in front of the door. Police swoop down out of nowhere and arrest seven persons, including Herbert Coulton (SCLC), Bruce Baines (CORE), - and Bob Zellner, who is dragged out of the office and charged with violating the injunction, parading without a permit, disturbing the peace, and resisting arrest, the bond being set at \$2000. Bob had intended to get married that night.

7pm. Foss, enraged, has concocted a harebrained scheme to foul up the City Hall communications by having hundreds of people call city offices, yell "FREEDOM!" and hang up. He now approaches Millbrook, the only man in the movement crazy enough to put it into effect.

8pm. Tonight, a thousand people attend the nightly mass meeting at the High Street Baptist Church. They are celebrating the legal victory in Baltimore. The legal corps returns as conquering heroes.

11pm. Millbrook proclaims Operation Telephone for 8:30am next day.

August 9, 9am. Matthew Jones conducts Foss to <sup>the</sup> hideout of Avon Rollins, who is supposed to be out of town for medical treatments.

9:30am. Police attempt to arrest Matthew Jones, but lack a warrant. He walks away.

10:45am. Foss flees the city in the direction of ~~the~~ Atlanta. Matthew Jones has ordered him to take SNCC worker Annie Pearl Avery to Atlanta ~~so~~ so that she can make a bus connection to Gadsden, Ala., for trial. In Atlanta he learns that he needs eye surgery and returns to New York.

Evening. The City Council passes an ordinance making it a misdemeanor to call a city office without a substantive message.

\*  
The decision of August 8 established a legal stalemate which still endures (since September 27 the case has been "under advisement" at the Fourth Circuit). This, you understand, meant only that people could be arrested and placed under high bond, but not tried. Direct action, as I have said above, was politically unfeasible, and it remained so after the decisions were handed down.

The third phase of the crisis, then, lasted from July 28 to October 17. By the latter date, in all probability, it could no longer be called a crisis. But whatever this may mean in terms of a social analysis of the movement and of the City of Danville as a whole I have no idea, since all I know is what I see in the papers (although I did make a few long-distance calls down there in the fall).

Here, anyway, is a further chronology:

August, 1963. The League of Women Voters and similar liberal types write letters, mostly to each other, but a couple get into newspapers. They advocate a bi-racial commission. Mayor Stinson does experiment with a committee of Toms, but this gets nowhere.

15

I know of two demonstrations which occurred during August. One occurred about the middle of the month and involved two SNCC workers and a student leader who sang "We Shall Overcome" in a courtroom and were jailed for contempt of court. One of them, Matthew Jones, was beaten. The other one occurred on Aug. 27 (the day before the Washington March and inspired by it), led by Campbell. It was a very small affair.

A pathetic circular was issued on Aug. 21. It noted that, "our numbers are dwindling," and begged outsiders to descend on Danville at the time of the March on Washington. Leaders of the latter rejected requests by Len Holt to divert a few thousand people in the direction of Danville.

On August 25 Mrs. Karro brought eleven carloads of her neighbors to Danville. But they came to look, not to demonstrate.

September, 1963. On September 7, 25 high school students staged a lie-in before the entrance to a predominantly white school, demanding ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> the recently-introduced tokenism. This, so far as I know, was the very last one.

Carter ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup>rove for the political annihilation of Womack. His remark ~~is~~ referring to the Commercial Appeal as the Congo Chronicle is "said" to have alienated many liberals.

Campbell negotiates with the president of Dan River Mills. The latter denies practicing job discrimination as well as supporting the segregationist political edifice in Danville (A DRM public relations man now writes press releases for the city. Also, when city officials wished to confer with the Mill president, they went to the plant. He did not come to City Hall..... There is no end to obvious connections. Any such denial must have meant that DRM is now confident that its public image cannot be scratched.

The small, segregated union locals <sup>in the Mill</sup> finally merge into one, with a white president and a Negro vice president.

October, 1963. On October 16 the Negro cop in 90 years was appointed to the Danville Police Department. Chief McCain attributed this to a lack of suitable candidates.

November, 1963. A spasmodic twitch of militancy attended yet another promise by King to lead demonstrations ~~here~~ in Danville. King gave his definite promise to come on November 10, and there was further talk of the "task force", Wyatt T. Walker, etc., but the Messiah never showed up.

C 16 9

foss: Negroes, if you haven't realized it yet, are like other Americans, they don't like to join mass political organizations and participate in them over an extended period of time; they don't respond to highly-organized and bureaucratized directives - the political behavior is temporarily very restricted.

Bernie: I ask you, how can 10,000 people - what's the number - be planted into one Southern state? Is this a chance phenomenon?

Phyllis: A thousand people, how many Forman said?

Bob: A thousand...some sources had said two thousand.

Bernie: You know, this is not just a...

Voice: (unintelligible) just a summer job.

Phyllis: A job? They aren't paying you...  
(five seconds of confusion)

Bernie: The point of it is I'm not suggesting that there's this tremendous organization, but neither is it a completely fragmented, completely leaderless, unplanned phenomenon.

foss: I didn't say it was. I said that there is a generalized sense of the movement...but anyway...If this movement here in Danville as well as other places, had so little effect on its announced objectives, what then was the progressive effect of this movement? Also, in view of the fact that the economy on which the original institutions of segregation were based is changing in favor of a national economy in which a northern type of segregation is developing - of course you see this already in Atlanta or Greensboro - and which does not depend on legal segregation for its effects, what then is the progressive effect; and I say that it is the abolition within the Negro community itself of the repressive class structure of the Negro community. That this is the first step - the Negro community must cease to feed on itself before it can become effectively mobilizable. (Note: I don't only mean politically, but economically and educationally and other things as well. But anyway, my last sentence there doesn't mean anything anyway.) And it's here that the serious undermining of the prestige of the Martins and the Doyle Thomases and the Mrs. Hugheses and of the ~~class biases~~.....the reduction of the class biases and the color casting and all the other nonsense that went on in the Negro community.....This is going to make future progress that much faster.

Ben Orr: I would just want to react to your description tries to portray people looking on the general war from the standpoint of ~~an~~ a lot of front. From this point of view I would say that three settlements in the Hebron area south of Jerusalem lost the War of Independence. They were eliminated; they are no more; some settlements all of them are prisoners' ~~the settlements~~ taken by Jordan; but this little war saved Jerusalem. So you have to look on local war on local battle from the standpoint of the general nature of war. And you have to be ready as a national organization to betray local soldiers...You lose them part of the time and they may be lost forever; at the same time you're winning your war....

foss: Yah, but this is America...

Ben Orr: From the point of view of the local community it might be just another defeat.

foss: I know that these people in Danville don't want to be the local soldiers who get sacrificed. I've heard it said that there was a.....

Dr. Schwartz: Dan, you're going to have to stop now...we're getting a little restless...you can carry this on after class if you want....  
(gleeful sounds of escape into the sunshine)

END OF CLASS

25