All of Africa Will Be Free Before We Can Get a Lousy Cup of Coffee: The Impact of the 1943 Lunch Counter Sit-Ins on the Civil Rights Movement

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ONE SPRING AFTERNOON, a group of young black students enter a local eating establishment with one modest desire—to sit with friends and enjoy a cup of coffee. They wait patiently, but are only served dirty looks, cold shoulders, and some choice words. Such an experience was not uncommon in Chicago in the early 1940s. Segregation, though illegal, was alive and visible to all who chose to notice. Despite the humiliation, the students remain seated, hour after hour. Such were the humble beginnings of the long and arduous journey towards social justice in America.

Most traditional histories of the African-American Civil Rights Movement focus on major events of the South during the 1950s-1960s, including desegregation of schools, Southern lunch counter sit-ins, and the 1963 March on Washington.[1] While such emphasis has illuminated African-American conflicts against de jure segregation of the Deep South, it has also, inadvertently, obscured earlier struggles against de facto segregation in the North.[2] In fact, the foundation of the civil liberties campaign was laid in Northern cities as far back as the early 1940s. Two of the earliest instances of Northern protests took place in Chicago in 1943 as sit-ins at Jack Spratt's Coffee House and Stoner's Restaurant. These and other early Northern nonviolent direct action sit-ins were seeds of the Civil Rights Reform Movement. While initially resulting in modest successes of limited scope, these seeds eventually grew into an effective strategy for achieving desegregation of local dining facilities and public accommodations, gained broader appeal in both Northern and Southern states, and blossomed to become a small yet integral component of the Mass Civil Rights Reform Movement of the 1950s-1960s, which ultimately led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Background

In contrast to the South, where legislation allowed state sponsored segregation (under the "separate but equal" doctrine), legislation adopted by many Northern

states prohibited racial discrimination. Yet, while Northern blacks did not face blatant Jim Crow Laws, they remained second-class citizens.[3] Employment opportunities with decent wages were scarce for blacks. Insufficient income led to blacks being trapped in poor neighborhoods. Furthermore, schools in black areas were underfunded, leading to inferior education. Even restaurants, hotels, and swimming pools were segregated due to the practice of informal Jim Crow Laws.[4] Hence, in many ways, the North was a paradoxical place for blacks to live. Northern whites claimed to be against discrimination, yet most would practice discrimination on a personal level. As one Brooklyn minister stated, "When it comes to the way a Negro is treated, the only difference between the North and South is the weather."[5]

While experiencing injustice and humiliation on a daily basis, the black community was also presented with news of the ongoing struggles of Indians and Africans against the British Empire. Black newspapers placed particular emphasis on the nonviolent, direct action methods developed by Mahatma Gandhi to gain India's independence from Britain.[6] It was the combination of the daily injustices encountered by African-Americans, along with the knowledge that other similarly oppressed people of color were fighting a non-violent war to win freedom, which ignited the spark of the Civil Rights Reform Movement.

While several organizations were involved in this early struggle for civil rights, including the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), both of which focused on the problems of discrimination in employment and segregation in housing and education, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) chose to target racial barriers in public accommodations. CORE was founded in Chicago in 1942 by a group of pacifist University of Chicago students. These students, including James Farmer, George Houser, and Bernice Fisher, had studied Gandhi's nonviolent disobedience campaign, and were deeply interested in applying his techniques of nonviolent direct action to achieve social justice in the U.S.[7] By targeting lunch counter and restaurant discrimination, CORE provided ordinary people of all ages and backgrounds with the opportunity to participate in a grassroots reform movement.

Jack Spratt's Coffee House—A Critical First Bite

One afternoon in 1942, after a CORE meeting, a few members decided to continue their discussion at a local coffee shop called Jack Spratt's (see photos in Appendix I). Upon entering, James Farmer was refused service by the manager for being Negro. Fellow white CORE member, Jimmy Robinson, calmly but sternly explained to the manager that he was in violation of the Illinois Civil Rights Act of 1885.[8] The manager reluctantly served both men. To further test Jack Spratt's policy, the CORE group returned two days later. The members were served without incident. They left their payment on the table and exited. Moments later the manager ran out, threw their money into the street, and screamed, "Take your money and get out! We don't want it!"[9] In reaction to these encounters, CORE decided that Jack Spratt's should be the site of their first nonviolent direct action campaign.[10]

As part of their "Action Discipline" method (modified Gandhian methods by which the CORE operated)[11], Farmer sought to negotiate with the manager, first by phone and then via letter. Both attempts were fruitless. Thus, on May 15, 1943, at 4:30 pm, Chicago CORE conducted one of the earliest civil rights sit-ins in American history. Twenty-eight people entered Jack Spratt's in groups of 2, 3, or 4. Each group had at least one black person. In each group, the whites were served while the blacks were refused service. The whites would either pass their food to the blacks in their group, or would refuse to eat until everyone in the group was served. Other customers in the coffee house also joined the sit-in.[12] Eventually, the manager told Jimmy Robinson that if the colored people would move to the basement, they could be served there. James Farmer replied that they would not eat in the basement. The manager then told Robinson that they could serve the blacks in the back corner. Again, Farmer politely refused. The manager then called the police. Unbeknownst to her, the group had already informed the police of their plans. Though the police did arrive, they refused to do anything, and told the manager that she would either have to serve the patrons or find another acceptable solution.[13] Everyone ended up being served, albeit hours after they first arrived. Subsequent test visits over the next several weeks confirmed that Jack Spratt's policy had successfully been changed by the CORE sit-in.

Stoner's Restaurant—Sweet Taste of Victory

Encouraged by the success at Jack Spratt's, CORE decided to set their sights on a larger target, Stoner's Restaurant in downtown Chicago (see matchbook photo in Appendix I). Stoner's was famous for its good food, but also infamous for its open hostility towards blacks. On one visit, after being kept waiting for over 30 minutes, George Houser and his friends were finally were seated, only to have a tray of hot food spilled on a black member of the group. On another occasion, Houser, Farmer, and several others were served meat with eggshells on it, a sandwich with wet, wilted lettuce covered with coffee grounds, and food so heavily salted that it was inedible. A black busboy had witnessed Mr. Stoner picking the food out of the garbage, and immediately rushed to warn the group.[14]

In response to such incidents, CORE planned an action dinner at Stoner's during their first National Convention held in Chicago in June 1943.[15] A total of 68 CORE members participated in the sit-in. First, about ten groups of four each, all white, stood in line and were promptly seated. Next in line was George Houser with a black friend. They were asked to wait. After the line had been held up for some time, another CORE group of two whites inquired about the hold up. Stoner tried to seat them, but they refused to jump queue. Stoner begrudgingly seated Houser's group, just to move the line along. Next, were two groups of four blacks each. Stoner, at first, refused to seat them, claiming that the vacant tables were reserved. However, other guests in line as well as seated patrons all continuously questioned Stoner as to why the guests weren't being seated. Persistent pressure finally forced Stoner to succumb. All were seated at the "reserved" tables, and a tremendous applause erupted throughout the restaurant.[16] CORE had taken another small but important step in eliminating social injustices at eating establishments.

Short Term Impact

The triumphs at Jack Spratt's and Stoner's were minor reforms, scarcely noticed by anyone outside a small community of activists and readers of a leading black newspaper, *The Chicago Defender*. Yet this small flame would eventually spread like wildfire. Upon relocating to St. Louis, Bernice Fisher drew upon her vast experience in Chicago to co-found a new CORE chapter. The St. Louis CORE directly followed the lead of the Chicago CORE, and began weekly sit-ins at downtown eating establishments which were segregated not by law, but by custom.[17] The St. Louis sit-ins were not always immediately successful. Activists often met with reactions ranging from indifference to outright hostility. In addition, the white newspapers of the time—*Post Dispatch*, *Globe-Democrat*, and *Star-Times*—"all had a policy against publishing news of the sit-ins".[18] A result of this policy was that Jim Crow continued to remain invisible to much of the white population. Furthermore, this lack of media coverage contributed heavily to the Northern protests being forgotten over time. Nevertheless, the black press, which had nearly four million readers in the early 1940s, fulfilled the crucial role of disseminating information both of racial injustices across the country and of the challenges to these discriminatory practices.[19] The sit-ins continued in the 1940s and 1950s, reaching cities such as Baltimore, Wichita, and Oklahoma City.[20] Eventually, the lunch counter sit-ins spread to protests of discrimination at beaches, parks, swimming pools, libraries, and museums. Thus, the Chicago sit-ins had a direct impact on the social integration of many Northern public facilities, and were therefore, revolutionary.

Long Term Impact

By 1960, the time for change and action was ripe. What started as a simple, impulsive act of defiance, would eventually lead to a civil rights breakthrough. The Woolworth's sit-in of February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, NC was a small, unplanned event by four ordinary black students.[21] However, the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement was now in full force, and had captured the interest of the nation. Media attention of this event helped to fuel the flames of this latest spark.[22] By the end of April 1960, lunch counter sit-ins had spread to 78 cities with over 70,000 student participants.[23] New to these Southern sit-ins was the mass mobilization of students determined to assert themselves to secure full rights of citizenship. What remained unchanged, however, was the nonviolent direct action methodology of the North.[24,25] Veteran Northern activists rushed to share their hard learned experiences with their Southern counterparts.[26] CORE's James Farmer and James Peck, who had first implemented Gandhi's nonviolent techniques in the Chicago sit-ins, carried their now perfected strategies southward. Northern veterans provided assistance to student activists, and trained them on Gandhian direct action (see photo in Appendix II).[27] In addition, they published and disseminated pamphlets which detailed the early protests in Chicago and St. Louis. With the help of veteran activists, the students formed a new organization,

the SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), to plan further sit-ins and protest campaigns.[28,29] Thus, the early Northern protests served as a model upon which the massive 1960s Southern protests were based.[30,31]

Subsequent to the Southern lunch counter sit-ins came the Freedom Rides, voter registration campaigns, and the March on Washington. Through the concerted efforts of these and countless other nonviolent campaigns of civil resistance came the passage of the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed segregation in schools and public accommodations, and prohibited racial discrimination in employment.[32] The events of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s were not linear events, but rather multiple streams, all eventually emptying into the same vast ocean of civil rights.

Historical Significance

As a result of the early Northern sit-ins, and the subsequent Southern protests, lunch counter segregation is rarely visible today. Blacks have the right to enter and be served at any restaurant or diner. Thus, the impact of the 50-70 year old sit-ins appears to have been sustained long term. Yet, upon further examination, opening up public accommodations to blacks has actually not guaranteed access. The legal barrier has often been replaced by the economic barrier. As long as a large percentage of the black population remains in poor-paying, insecure jobs, the only blacks to enjoy the mid- to upscale restaurants will be the better off blacks.[33] In addition, even in less expensive eateries, blacks are often unwelcome, particularly when the establishment is not in a predominantly black area. In fact, in a 2007 survey, 50% of blacks reported discrimination in restaurants and retail stores, but only 12% of whites were aware of this phenomenon.[34]

The destruction of Jim Crow Laws in public accommodations was not primarily due to a shift in white attitude (see cartoon in Appendix III). Rather, it was a result of decades of sit-ins, protests, and boycotts, all of which had strong economic ramifications. For example, the Woolworth's store (of the initial Greensboro sit-in) registered a $200,000 drop in sales in 1960.[35] Thus, the tremendous economic pressure on merchants, rather than moral justifications, was likely a stronger motive for change. In the absence of a true shift in white attitude, blacks will continue to face racism. Recent examples can be seen in the Denny's and Cracker Barrel restaurant discrimination cases of the 1990s and 2000s, respectively. On one occasion, six black Secret Service agents were kept waiting for service for over an hour, while their white companions were seated and served promptly.[36] Frequently, black patrons were required to pay up front, while white patrons paid after their meal. Thousands of such claims have been filed against the Denny's chain.[37] Hundreds of similar cases, including segregating customer seating by race and allowing white servers to refuse to wait on black customers, were found in 50 different Cracker Barrel restaurants across seven states.[38] Furthermore, a recent study found that almost 40% of servers polled admitted to practicing 'tableside racism' (giving blacks inferior service).[39] Hence, while laws and policies have changed dramatically since the sit-ins at Jack Spratt's and Stoner's, attitudes

may not have experienced the same reform. Studying these issues encourages us to recognize and challenge discrimination in our own communities today (see cartoon in Appendix IV).

In the grand scheme of the Civil Rights Movement, the Chicago sit-ins were relatively minor acts of reform in comparison to the mass protests of the 1960s.[40] Yet, these and other early nonviolent protests did serve as models for future Southern campaigns. Furthermore, modern-day reform movements, such as the Arab Spring or Occupy Wall Street, have based their peaceful demonstrations and civil disobedience methods on the nonviolent resistance techniques of the American Civil Rights Movement.[41,42] Therefore, "every campaign for justice and human rights has relevance. We learn from history, our mistakes as well as our successes."[43] Thus, even a "lousy cup of coffee" can ultimately become revolutionary in history.

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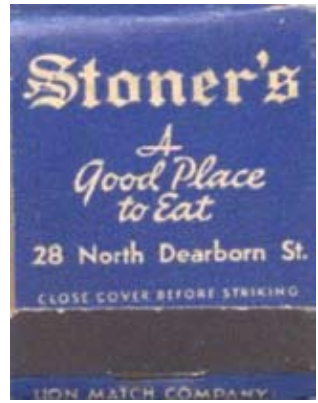
Appendix I

Jack Spratt Coffee House exterior, 1941

Jack Spratt Coffee House interior, 1941

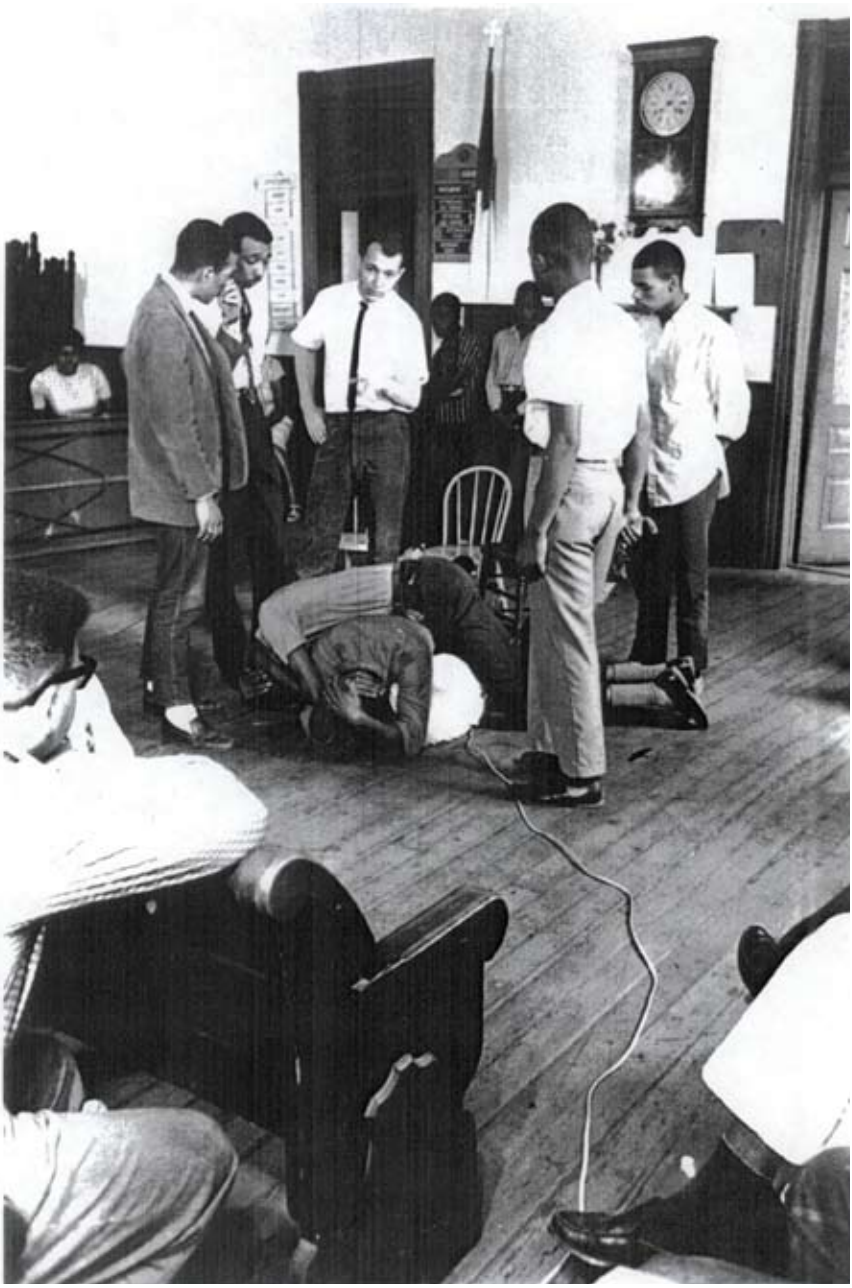
Two rare photographs from Jack Spratt Coffee House. (Courtesy of the *Chicago History Museum)*.



Matchbook from Stoner's Restaurant

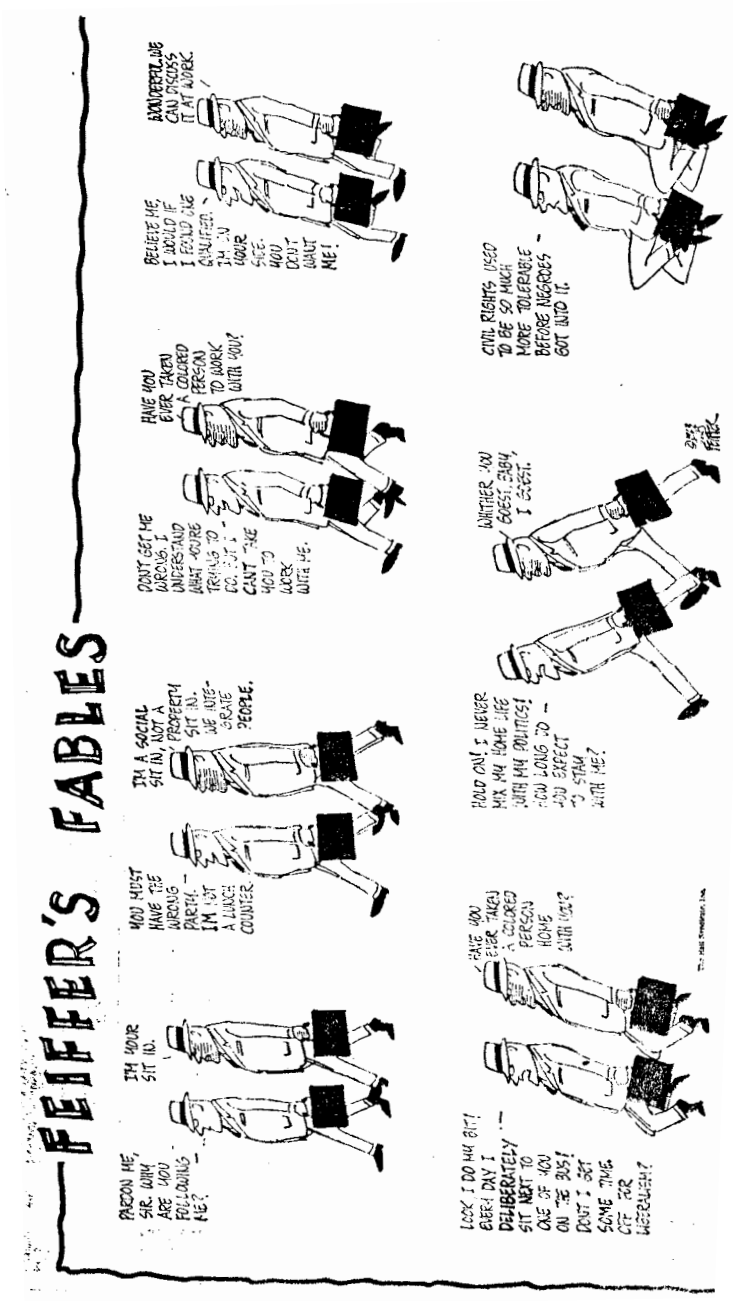
While no photos of Stoner's Restaurant are readily available, this matchbook is a fun piece of memorabilia. (From *Chuckman's Collection*)

Appendix II



This 1966 photo was taken at an SNCC Training Session. At such training sessions, veteran activists from early Northern protests provided guidance and support on nonviolent resistance.

Appendix III



This 1963 cartoon demonstrates that while many whites may have claimed to support equal rights superficially, they did not truly believe blacks were equals nor were they willing to accept integration on a personal level.

Appendix IV

The End of Racism? This 2008 cartoon illustrates that even 50 years after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, racism still persists at a personal level. Used with the permission of Barry Deutsch.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources:

"5 Sit-In Leaders Win CORE'S Gandhi Award." *The Chicago Defender* 9 July 1960, National ed.: 1. Print.

This newspaper article described an event at which five students received CORE's Gandhi Award for their participation in Florida sit-ins in 1960. The students had been jailed for taking part in the nonviolent direct-action campaign. This article was important in demonstrating that veteran Northern protesters, such as James Robinson, were also active in the Southern mass protests.

Baker, Ella and Martin Luther King, Jr. *Youth Leadership Meeting – Shaw University.* Raleigh: South Christian Leadership Conference, 1960. Print.

This announcement for the founding meeting of SNCC demonstrates that although the Southern protests were carried out by mass mobilization of students, veteran Freedom Fighters were present to provide counsel and guidance on non-violent resistance.

Baker, Ella. "Bigger Than a Hamburger." *The Southern Patriot* May 1960. Web. 8 Dec. 2011. <http://http://crmvet.org/docs/sncc2.htm>.

This article is a summary of an address given by Ella Baker at the SNCC's founding conference at Shaw's University in 1960. The article interested me because it emphasized, yet again, that the Northern and Southern sit-ins were always about much more than coffee, a Coke, or a hamburger. It also indicated that the goal of both Northern and Southern blacks was the same—to rid America of segregation and discrimination.

"Break Down Race Bars at 47th Street Cafe." *The Chicago Defender* 15 May 1943, National ed.: 8. Print.

This newspaper article described the sit-in at Jack Spratt's Coffee House in Chicago. Not only was this event one of the earliest examples of nonviolent sit-ins in the U.S. Civil Rights movement, but it was also the foundation for future sit-ins as well. Media coverage of these early events was rare.

Brewster, Zachary W., and Sarah N. Rusche. "Quantitative Evidence of the Continuing Significance of Race Tableside Racism in Full-Service Restaurants." *Journal of Black Studies* 43.4 (May 2012): 359-84. Print.

This primary research article presented the results of a survey carried out to examine racial prejudices and discriminatory treatment by restaurant servers. The study found that almost 40% of servers admitted to practicing 'tableside racism' (providing inferior service to blacks). This study, published in 2012, highlights that while overt racism of the Jim Crow era has subsided, covert forms of racism continue to exist in our society.

Chuckman, John. *Stoner's Matchbook*. Digital image. *Chuckman's Collection (Chicago Postcards) Volume 5*. 04 Apr. 2007. Web. 30 Nov. 2011. <http://chuckmancollectionvolume5.blogspot.com/search/label/CHICAGO%20-%20RESTAURANT%20-%20STONER%27S%20-%2028%20N%20DEARBORN%20-%20MATCHBOOK>.

This blog had a photo of an actual matchbook from Stoner's Restaurant in Chicago. While it did not provide me with any information, it was just fun to discover a piece of history that was related to my topic. This photo is shown in Appendix I.

"Civil Rights Act of 1964." *OurDocuments.gov*. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. Web. 13 Jan. 2012. <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=97>.

This document, signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson on July 2, 1964, prohibited discrimination in public places and in employment, and provided for the integration of education. Enacting a law, and implementing a law, however, are two completely different matters.

"CORE Group Forms National Federation." *The Chicago Defender* 19 June 1943, National ed.: 5. Print.

This newspaper article described the first national convention of CORE, as well as the subsequent action dinner at Stoner's restaurant. This was one of the few pieces of media coverage of an early Northern protest.

Deutsch, Barry. "The End of Racism?" Cartoon. 9 July 2008. Print.

This cartoon from 2008 is used in Appendix IV. The cartoon demonstrates the continued practice of racism at a personal level 50 years after the historic Civil Rights Movement.

Dudman, Richard. "St. Louis' Silent Racial Revolution." *St. Louis Post Dispatch* 11 June 1990, Op-Ed sec. Print.

This commentary by Richard Dudman, a reporter for the Post Dispatch for 31 years, discussed how St. Louis newspapers had a policy of not publishing news on lunch counter sit ins back in the later 1940s and early 1950s. This policy was responsible, in great part, for the lack of knowledge of the early Northern protests.

Farmer, James. *Lay Bare the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Arbor House, 1985. Print.

This memoir documented James Farmer's experiences and struggles against racial injustices. It included very detailed accounts of the Jack Spratt's and Stoner's sit-ins. It also included information on how the early protests helped shape the protests of the 1950s and 1960s.

Feiffer, Jules. "Feiffer's Fables." Cartoon. *The Village Voice*. 1963. Print.

This cartoon from 1963 is used in Appendix III. The cartoon demonstrates the common practice of integration at a superficial level, yet internal/personal beliefs of segregation and racism.

Hartford, Bruce. "Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement—Timeline." *Civil Rights Movement Veterans - CORE, NAACP, SCLC, SNCC*. Westwind Writer's Inc., 2011. Web. 31 Oct. 2011. <http://www.crmvet.org/tim/timhis60.htm>.

This website included a wealth of information provided by Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement. Much of the primary information, including photos, articles, and veteran interviews, covered the timeframe of 1951-1958.

Jackson, Robert L. "Denny's Facing Charges Over Racial Bias." *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* 24 May 1993, sec. A: 5. Print.

This article provided information on the racial injustices encountered by blacks in Denny's restaurants in the 1990s.

Kimbrough, Mary, and Margaret W. Dagen. *Victory Without Violence: The First Ten Years of the St. Louis Committee of Racial Equality (CORE), 1947-1957*. Columbia: University of Missouri, 2000. Print.

This book provided detailed recollection of the nonviolent direct action campaigns that took place in St. Louis in the later 1940s and early 1950s. The earlier protests by CORE members in Chicago greatly influenced the St. Louis campaigns. Similarly, the St. Louis protests then influenced subsequent Northern and Southern protests.

"Oral History Interview with James Farmer." Interview by Eugene Pfaff. *Civil Rights Greensboro*. University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2008. Web. 30 Sept. 2011. <http://library.uncg.edu/dp/crg/oralHistItem.aspx?i=509>.

This interview of James Farmer, conducted by Eugene Pfaff, included information on CORE's strategies for nonviolent campaigns, as well as information on how CORE was an important influence in the 1960s sit-in movement.

Robinson, James R. *The Meaning of the Sit-Ins*. Tech. CORE. *King Institute Home*. Web. 04 Oct. 2011. <http://mlkkpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/the_meaning_of_the_sit_ins/ >.

This original document was prepared by James Robinson, then executive secretary of CORE, in 1960. In the statement, he described the strategy of the sit-ins and the method of nonviolent direct action. This document supported the fact that veterans of early Northern protests were instrumental in the massive Southern sit-ins of the 1960s.

Sykes, Marvin. "A & T Students Launch Sit Down Demand For Service at Downtown Lunch Counter." *The Greensboro Record* 2 Feb. 1960: 1B. *Greenboro Sit-Ins*. News and Record, 2004. Web. 04 Oct. 2011. <http://sitins.com/index.shtml>.

This newspaper article and photo of the famous 1960 sit-in at Woolworth's in Greensboro, NC was an excellent primary source. It not only provided information of the sit-in by the Greensboro four, but also of the sit-in at the same location the following day by 20 students. The article was also an example of media coverage of such events, and was a contrast to the lack of coverage of the earlier Northern sit-ins.

SNCC Training Session. 1960. Photograph. Raleigh, North Carolina.

This photo from 1960, cited in Appendix II, was taken at an SNCC Training Session. At such training sessions, veteran activists from early Northern protests provided guidance and support on non-violent direct action techniques.

"Summary of the Cracker Barrel Consent Order." *#04-289 - 05/03/04*. Department of Justice, 03 May 2004. Web. 05 May 2012. <http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/hce/documents/ crackerbarrelpr.php>.

This is a summary of the Consent Order (DJ 167-19-205) which was implemented in response to a lawsuit against Cracker Barrel. The lawsuit, filed by the United States of America, alleged that Cracker Barrel restaurants practiced racial discrimination against African-Americans, including segregated seating, allowing white servers to refuse to wait on blacks, and seating blacks after whites who had arrived later. These practices too place in 50 restaurants over seven states. This document again emphasized that although the protests of the 1940s-1960s resulted in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, discriminatory practices and attitudes are quite pervasive throughout our country.

White, Lula, and Nancy Ahearn. *Protest Segregation & Arrests.* Coordinating Committee to Support Southern Student Protests, 1960. Print.

This original flyer from 1960 was a call to action for Chicago students. It demonstrates that Northern support of Southern protests was an important aspect of the massive sit-ins of the 1960s.

Personal Communications:

Zwerg, James. E-mail Interview. 07-08 Mar. 2012.

Mr. Zwerg joined SNCC in 1960, and actively took part in non-violent direct action campaigns at lunch counters and movie theatres. He also took part in the 1961 Freedom Rides. During this time, he was brutally attacked, yet was denied prompt medical attention on the pretext that no white ambulances were available. He was unconscious for two days. The post-attack photos of Mr. Zwerg were published in many newspapers and magazines across the country. This e-mail interview not only provided me with details of Mr. Zwerg's involvement in various campaigns, but also helped me to understand how each campaign, no matter how big or small, is important to the overall cause. In addition, despite being raised in an insulated, all white community in Wisconsin, Mr. Zwerg was raised with the belief that all men are created equally. This, to me, highlights the importance of changing people's attitudes and beliefs rather than only changing the laws.

Armstrong, Thomas M. E-mail Interview. 07-15 Mar. 2012.

Mr. Armstrong first became involved in the Civil Rights Movement in 1958, at the young age of 17 years. During an NAACP "mass meeting" at a local black church in Jefferson, Mississippi, he learned that several of his family friends and relatives back home in Jefferson County were among the hundreds of eligible black voters who had been arbitrarily stricken from county voting roles. Thus, he became an active participant in both voter registration drives as well as weekly sit-ins and protests. Mr. Armstrong also became a Freedom Rider in 1961. Mr. Armstrong was an extremely generous with his time in this e-mail interview. Not only did he provide me with a detailed account of the past protests, including how the Northern protesters directly assisted the Southern campaigns, but he also described in great detail how the struggle continues today. One especially striking figure that he provided was that while Blacks are 12% of the general population, they are almost 45% of the prison population. He described a national trend of young men of color being funneled from public schools into the juvenile and criminal justice systems. He also described how the unrest all over the world today is the result of people rising up to demand political and economic justice from their governments.

Brisben, John Q. E-mail Interview. 07-08 Mar. 2012.

Mr. Brisben was born in Oklahoma in 1934. He joined the NAACP in Oklahoma in 1953, and assisted with the research that led to *Brown vs. Board* in 1954. He became associated with Chicago CORE in 1960, and took an active role in the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964. In the e-mail interview, Mr. Brisben discussed how the Chicago protests of the 1940s were models for the sit-ins of the 1960s and the 1947 Freedom Ride was a model for the Freedom Rides in 1960. A great quote by Mr. Brisben in the interview was, "The past is our great laboratory for understanding and planning social change."

Booth, Heather Tobis. E-mail Interview. 07 March 2012.

Ms. Tobis Booth joined CORE in New York City as a teenager in 1960, where

she participated in the protests of Woolworth's stores. Ms. Tobis Booth also joined SNCC and went to Mississippi for the Freedom Summer Project in 1964. Her e-mail interview reinforced that the Northern protests provided the Southern protesters with a model of organization and bravery, and with support and resources. Ms. Tobis Booth also emphasized the challenges that we face today, including Occupy Wall Street and immigration struggles.

Secondary Sources:

Ackerman, Peter, and Jack DuVall. *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: St. Martin's, 2000. Print.

This book described how the African American struggles for civil rights were influenced by Gandhi's nonviolent techniques.

Alter, Peter. "South Side Sit-In." *Chicago History Museum | Blog*. Chicago History Museum, 05 Jan. 2010. Web. 01 Oct. 2011. <http://blog.chicagohistory.org/index.php/2010/01/south-side-sit-in/>.

This blog gave a detailed account of the Jack Spratt's sit-in. This blog also had two rare photographs of the interior and exterior of Jack Spratt's Coffee Shop. These pictures are cited in Appendix I.

Blake, John. "Freedom Riders Inspire New Generation of Arab Protest Leaders." CNN U.S. 15 May 2011. 15 Nov. 2011< http://articles.cnn.com/2011-05-15/us/ freedom .riders. arab _1_ civil-rights-protesters-freedom-rides?_s=PM:US>.

This article describes how the leaders of the uprisings in the Middle East are studying and utilizing non-violent resistance techniques that were used by American civil rights activists in the 1950s and 1960s.

Carson, Clayborne. *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1981. Print.

This book described the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and also discussed SNCC's involvement in the mass student protests of the 1960s.

Dean, Michael. "Oklahoma Journeys - Katz Lunch Counter Sit-In, 1958." *Oklahoma Historical Society Home*. Oklahoma Historical Society, 15 Aug. 2009. Web. 04 Oct. 2011. <http://www.okhistory.org/research/hmresults.php?mobi>.

This website described an early Southern lunch counter sit-in carried out by a local NAACP youth group. These non-violent sit-ins were the first to be carried out by any NAACP group.

Dunham, Randall B. "Denny's and Racism." Lecture. University of Wisconsin School of Business, 03 June 2001. Web. 8 Jan. 2012. <http://instruction.bus.wisc.edu/obdemo/suplmnts/dennysgbu.htm>.

These lecture notes provided me with excellent background information on the claims of discrimination at Denny's restaurants.

Everingham, Karen E. "African Americans in Illinois." *Welcome to the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library*. Illinois Historic Preservation Agency. Web. 08 Mar. 2012. <http://www.state.il.us/hpa/lib/AfAmHist.htm>.

This website discussed the Illinois Civil Rights Act of 1885, which forbid

discrimination in public facilities and accommodations including hotels, restaurants, theatres, and rail roads.

Gregory, James N. *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005. Print.

This book discussed how the great events of the 1960s civil rights movement were built upon a foundation of earlier struggles and campaigns.

Hopkins-Hayakawa, Sachie. "St. Louis CORE Campaign for Lunch Counter Desegregation, 1948-52." *Global Nonviolent Action Database*. Swarthmore College, 02 Feb. 2011. Web. 01 Oct. 2011. <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/st-louis-core-campaign-lunch-counter-desegregation-1948-52>.

This database of nonviolent campaigns provided a massive amount of information in one single location. The database was especially helpful as it included information on campaigns that influenced and campaigns that were influenced by a particular event.

Johnson, Crystal L. *The CORE Way: The Congress of Racial Equality and the Civil Rights Movement 1942-1968*. Diss. University of Kansas, 2011. 2011. *KU Scholar Works*. Web. 15 Nov. 2011.<http://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/dspace/bitstream/1808/8133/1/Johnson_ku_0099D_11675_DATA_1.pdf>.

This dissertation provided me with an additional source of the history of CORE. It contained much of the same information as in *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968* and Lay *Bare the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement*, but nevertheless provided a good summary of a great deal of information.

Jolly, Kenneth S. *Black Liberation in the Midwest: The Struggle in St. Louis, Missouri, 1964-1970*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Print.

This focus of this book was the struggles for civil liberties which took place in the Midwest, particularly in St. Louis.

Kapur, Sudarshan. *Raising up a Prophet: the African-American Encounter with Gandhi*. Boston: Beacon, 1992. Print.

This book detailed how various civil rights leaders were influenced by Gandhi's nonviolent direct action methods, and how these methods were modified to be used in the African American struggle for civil liberties.

Lawson, Steven F. "Segregation." Freedom's Story, TeacherServe©. National Humanities Center. 11 Dec. 2011. <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/freedom/1865-1917/essays/segregation.htm>.

This website provided a concise yet informative summary of the history of segregation, and explained the reasons for *de facto* segregation in the North and *de jure* segregation in the South.

Meier, August, and Elliott M. Rudwick. *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968*. New York: Oxford UP, 1973. Print.

This book was a very detailed history of the CORE, starting with its formation, through the Northern and Southern campaigns for civil rights, to the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of the 1960s.

Raines, Howell. "James Farmer: A Chicago Lunch Counter Sit-In." *Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago Historical Society, 2005. Web. 30 Sept. 2011. <http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1496.html>

This entry provided a very brief description of the Jack Spratt's sit-in.

Richardson, Henry J. "Two Treaties, and Global Influences of the American Civil Rights Movement, Through the Black International Tradition." *Virginia Journal of Social Policy and the Law* 18.Fall (2010): 59-81. Web. 03 Dec. 2011. <http://scs.student.virginia. edu/~vjspl/18.2/Richardson.pdf>.

This article discussed how Blacks in North America were influenced by the news of the mass organized struggles of people of color throughout the world, and provided examples of how the American Civil Rights Movement had a global impact.

Rosenberg, Gerald N. *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991. Print.

From this book, I was able to learn that the civil rights sit-ins and boycotts were often successful because of economic reasons rather than purely moral or idealist reasons. I also became aware that the various civil rights organizations (NAACP, CORE, SNCC, etc.) were not always a cohesive force. The organizations were competing amongst themselves for membership, income, and power.

"Sit Ins." *Home Page*. CORE - Congress of Racial Equality, 2011. Web. 30 Sept. 2011. <http://core-online.org/History/sit_ins.htm>.

This website provided more information on the history of CORE, and on the early CORE activities.

Slate, Nico. *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2012. Print.

This book was a very unique look at how the Indian struggles for freedom from the British and the African American struggles for civil rights both influenced each other. It described the interaction between key players in both struggles, and discussed how each group supported the other. The book provided many stories of unsung heroes in both movements.

Smitha, Frank E. "Africa: Freedom Movements South of the Sahara, to 1963."*Macro History: World History*. 2000. Web. 15 Dec. 2011. <http://www.fsmitha.com/h2/ch23sahara. htm>.

This website provided a summary of the African struggles for freedom which were taking place across the globe during the time of the African American struggles for civil rights. Learning of these battles for freedom greatly encouraged African Americans for stand up for their rights.

Sitkoff, Harvard. *The Struggle for Black Equality: 1954-1980*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981. Print.

This book was the source of my title quote. James Baldwin was an African-American novelist, short-story writer, and essayist. He was actively involved in the Civil Rights Movement, and had marched with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to Washington, D.C. This quote is in reference to the anti-colonial struggles in Africa. In 1960 alone, some 17 African nations gained independence from European powers. These struggles and triumphs inspired American Civil Rights Activists.

Sugrue, Thomas J. *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North*. New York: Random House, 2008. Print.

This book provided an excellent in-depth analysis of the civil rights movement. It discussed both the Northern and Southern struggles, and how the Northern protesters also participated in and guided the Southern campaigns. It also described the impact of the Civil Rights Acts, noting that many whites feel that there is no longer widespread discrimination, while blacks express the viewpoint that they still face injustices quite frequently.

Swicord, Jeff. "Occupy Movement, African-American Leaders Form Coalition." Voice of America 15 Dec. 2011. 15 Jan. 2012 <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/usa/Occupy-Movement-African-American-Leaders-Form-Coalition-135696648.html>.

This article described the joining of the forces between protesters of the Occupy movement and veterans of the American Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

ushistory.org. "The Sit-In Movement." *U.S. History Online Textbook*. Independence Hall Association in Philadelphia, 2011. Web. 04 Oct. 2011. <http://www.ushistory.org/us/54d.asp>.

This website provided a brief summary of the sit-in movement, though it claimed that the "civil rights sit-in was born" on February 1, 1960. This was an example of how the early Northern protests are often forgotten.

Whitaker, Jan. "Righting Civil Wrongs in Restaurants | Restaurant-ing through History." *Restaurant-ing through History | Exploring American Restaurants over the Centuries*. Word Press, 26 Feb. 2010. Web. 01 Dec. 2012. <http://restaurant-ingthroughhistory.com/2010/02/26/righting-civil-wrongs-in-restaurants/>.

This website provided a very brief history of racism in restaurants. The site was unique in that it also provided several examples of little known challenges against restaurant discrimination which occurred prior to the 1960 Greensboro sit-ins.

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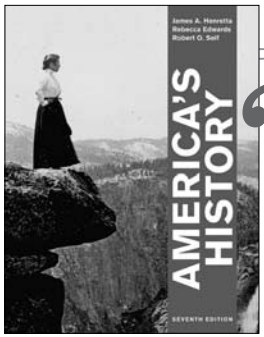

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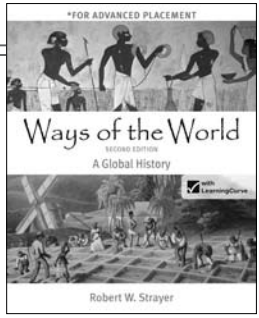

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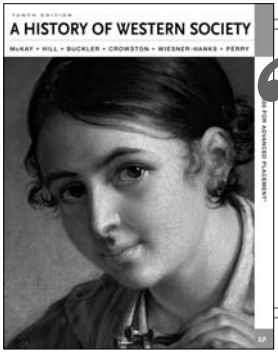

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