



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D C. 20230

*File
ca.*

August 26, 1965

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Lee White, Special Counsel to the President

FROM: Calvin Kytle, Acting Director ↪

RE: Possible Racial Demonstrations Directed at the Administration
During 10-day Quadri-centennial Celebration in St. Augustine,
Florida, Beginning Saturday, August 28.

Assistant Postmaster General, Tyler Abell, will be the featured speaker on Saturday, August 28. The Master of Ceremonies, will be Representative D. R. Mathews.

Under Secretary of State, Thomas Mann, will deliver an address on Saturday, September 4. His remarks cover "Hispanic-American Relations." Other dignitaries participating in the events on this date include Lieutenant General Camilo Alonso Vega, Minister of the Interior of Spain; Spanish Ambassador Alfonso Merry del Val; Juan Plate, Chairman of the Council of Organization of American States; Jose Mora, Secretary General of OAS and the Pan American Union; and Senator Spessard L. Holland.

The high-level Federal presence at the celebrations in this city on these two dates, coupled with the predictated media coverage, present an ideal climate for Negro demonstrations.

Demonstrations have already been scheduled for the 28th, and some of the signs are said to be directed against the Federal Government. Dr. Robert Hayling, local SCLC leader, has been negotiating with the Atlanta office for organizational support.

I have been advised that 500 invitations to attend the celebration have been sent; only 30 were sent to Negroes. Since there are only accommodations available for 200 people, and the invitations were issued on a first-come-first-serve basis, the number of Negroes who attend might be far less than the number invited.

2--Mr. Lee White

A large segment of the local Negro community does not fully support a demonstration. They have drawn up a list of demands for submission to the white leadership. We have a conciliator in the community, Mr. Harold Hunton, who is trying to bring the white and the Negro community into agreement on these demands. But unless significant steps are taken in this regard, demonstrations are predicted.

Contact has been made and liaison established with the National Park Service and the Post Office Department. Both agencies are sending troubleshooters to advise local personnel.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1) Every effort should be made to assure that divisions of the Federal Government in St. Augustine employ a significant number of Negroes in meaningful positions.
- 2) Consider limiting, wherever possible, the extent to which Federal Government becomes visibly involved in the celebration.
- 3) Since protocol seems to demand the appearance of Under Secretary of State Mann, it would seem vital for his delegation to include a significant number of Negro officials from the Federal Government.

8/27

LCW--

Background from Calvin Kytile:

CRS has a Negro conciliator, Paul Jones, due to arrive in St. Augustine at noon today.

Harold Hunton, from CRS, who is now in St. Augustine has been in conversation constantly w/Hayling. This week Hayling showed particular interest in negotiating with the City Council. Hayling has petitioned on 9 points--the most important of which are the need for better police protection for Negroes and the need for some Negroes to be appointed to the city committees and boards. HHunton is trying to get the City Council and particularly the Mayor to listen to Hayling.

Calvin Kytile thinks Hunton has made progress, and feels that if Hunton could get concessions from the Mayor today on the 2 main points of Hayling's petition the demonstrations either might not occur at all or at least might not be of consequence. He thinks its possible some of the militant groups might seize on this event & make news. Kytile said Hunton has been working hard and feels encouraged by some of the people, particular] the Mayor.

Jones will be in touch today. Also, Culberson of CRS' conciliation division should be in touch w/Hayling today by phone -- he's been trying since last night.

Last, Kytile doesn't think the NAACP could muster enough local people to hold a demonstration of consequence.

8/27

LCW-- More from Calvin Kytile

2 CRS men in St. Augustine who feel they are able to cope with the situation except for 2 points. They have been negotiating w/Hayling and the Mayor and feel the problems are able to be worked out with the exception of these 2 areas where CRS men feel they need the backing of the WH behind them.

1) There is vacancy on the city planning commission. It would be possible for the Mayor to appoint a Negro. The Mayor has agreed but doesn't think ~~it can get~~ such an appointment would ever get approved by the City Council.

2) OEO Board needs to be set up in St. Augustine. Again nothing has been done because of this one particular guy on the Council (Calvin Kytile doesn't have his name but the CRS men in St. Augustine know who it is and he can get it for you) who keeps blocking anything biracial. The mayor is anxious to have the OEO board set up but this too requires the City Council to take the initiative.

Calvin Kytile's idea is to have the OEO representative, plus a representative from Governor Burns' office meet with Hayling's group ~~w/ someone~~ and possibly someone from the Mayor's ofc in an effort to establish the OEO Board in St. a

Augustine (Gov. Burns' ofc oversees the OEO operations according to CKytle and CRS has touched base w/them and they are willing & ready to move ahead). Gov. Burns thinks an appropriate time for this mtg would be after the celebration -- ebetween Sept. 10-15.

The block is this one member of the City Council who is in opposition to any negotiations with the Negro community . The one man who can get through to this guy and possibly break his influence is Herbert Wolfe (Calvin Kytle says you know him) who is a big supporter of Smathers.

Kytle suggests you call Smathers and ask him to call Wolfe, to help break the deadlock.

8/26

LCW-

Dr. Haley, area code 305, 636-2103, Cocoa, Fla. called and said that although his organization has been asked not to picket during the anniversary celebrations scheduled in St. Augustine he has people ready and Dr. King's ofc has additional people standing by as there is such strong feeling among the Negro community that the federal govt has not helped w/desegregation. He complained that St. Augustina is as segregated as Alabama, Mississippi etc. and that without concessions from the city fathers he will have to lead picketers if the fed govt participates in the celebrations. He said he was not trying to embarrass anyone of the scheduled federal speakers nor the govt itself but that he had agreed thru arrangements w/GReedy not to demonstrate when the VP was there in 1963 and no progress has been made in community relations and the VP didn't appear as scheduled so an opportunity to bring the plight of the Negro community to light was lost. He doesn't intend to miss the opportunity of focusing on the problem again. He cited the Head Start program as an example of a totally segregated federal program operating in St. Augustine and also had criticisms for the PO Dept. Anyway -- he intends to demonstrate unless some agreement is reached before the celebration begins.

lcw

Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney
General, Civil Rights Division

June 5, 1964

Joseph F. Dolan
Assistant Deputy Attorney General

Racial Situation, St. Augustine, Florida

Estimate - A strong federal judge has sub judice a class injunction suit by the Rev. Andrew Young (SCLC) against local law enforcement officials to restrain them from interfering with demonstrations. Testimony and argument have been completed. At the judge's request, plaintiffs agreed to halt demonstrations while the matter is under consideration by the court. The only planned demonstration in the area that I know of is a wade-in tomorrow at a State Park beach near Jacksonville (Green Cove Springs). The judge indicated that he may take "as long as a week" to decide the matter. Meanwhile, he stays in touch with Klan activity through the FBI, and will be active in urging the white community to enter discussion with negroes on the basic causes of the demonstrations. It would not be helpful for the executive branch of the federal government to be active as a mediator at this point. Discussions should be begun to buy time until the sit-in cases and the Civil Rights Bill are resolved. SCLC wants discussions and is presenting today to city officials 5 points for discussions that might lead to the end of mass demonstrations. H. E. Wolfe seems to be the most influential businessman in town.

The FBI seems to have good information on Klan activities. The potential for major violence comes from a small and readily identifiable group of poor white males. However, there has been a history of racial shootings and beatings in the community in recent years, and isolated night shootings or rock throwings are a distinct possibility. Vigorous local law enforcement would be able to cope with any foreseeable problems. Enforcement has not been vigorous, however, and the Sheriff has allowed his Special Deputy force to be infiltrated by Klansmen and disreputable, strongly segregationist whites. The Klan is small and its meetings are not well attended (15-25 persons at a meeting). There is a Klan meeting scheduled for tomorrow night, June 6.

Lee White

Background. The SCLC points for discussion are:

1. desegregation within 30 days of all restaurants, hotels and motels (lunch counters?)
2. Immediate hiring by the city of
1 Negro Fireman
1 additional Negro policeman
1 other Negro city employee
3. Creation of a Bi-Racial Committee, with two-thirds of the negro membership named by the SCLC.
4. Dropping of trespass charges against sit-ins, approximately 300 in number, including Mrs. Peabody.
5. Applications for employment with the city be accepted without regard to applicants' race.

(The foregoing were furnished to me in quick and summary fashion by telephone and may contain minor errors).

Population figures:

St. John's County (including St. Augustine) 30,000, 27% Negro
St. Augustine - 25,000, 23% Negro
Duval County (including Jacksonville) 455,000, 23% Negro
Jacksonville - 233,000, 41% Negro

Size of Law Enforcement Bodies

St. Augustine Police - 28
St. John's County Sheriff - 7 full time, 4 part time,
4 Auxiliary, 100-120 Special appointed since Easter
(FBI has list)
State Patrol - 4 (During recent demonstrations 12, then
12 more men were brought in).

INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



S/S 9124

Limited Official use
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

3307

White

June 19, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McGEORGE BUNDY
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Report on the Activities of the Department of State
Concerning Plans for the Quadricentennial Celebration
of the Founding of St. Augustine, Florida, to be
Held in 1965

The attached is submitted for the information of the White
House. Mr. Lee White has been concerned with this matter.

Ben H. Read
Benjamin H. Read
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

Report

Limited Official use

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Report on the Activities of the Department of State Concerning Plans for
the Quadricentennial Celebration of the Founding of St. Augustine, Florida,
to be Held in 1965

In 1962 the Congress established the National St. Augustine Quadri-centennial Commission. The President signed the Act in August, 1962 and subsequently appointed 6 members to the Commission; the Florida congressional delegation consisting of 2 senators and 3 representatives and the Director of the National Park Service are also members of the Commission. The Commission has the responsibility for the restoration of the colonial city of St. Augustine and the making of arrangements for the 400th anniversary of its founding. The purpose of the 1965 Celebration "is to focus national attention on the Hispanic origins of America in 1965, and to create in the restored Spanish colonial city a permanent cultural bridge to the Hispanic nations".

Earle W. Newton is serving as the Director-General of the Commission. Mr. Newton has been active since 1962 in making contacts with the Department of State, the OAS, the governments of Spain and Latin America and their Embassies in Washington. According to Mr. Newton, the Commission has directed letters to 200 American corporations, who are doing business in Latin America, requesting them to make financial contributions toward the establishment of a Latin American cultural center at St. Augustine.

Senator Smathers also has been active in the making of arrangements for the 1965 Celebration. He has sent letters to all the Ambassadors to the OAS, to the Presidents of Colombia and Peru, and to Secretary Rusk, and Assistant Secretaries Mann and Battle.

Inasmuch as Mr. Newton has not channeled his contacts to the Department through a single organizational entity, it is very difficult to make a complete inventory of commitments that he may have exacted from the various officers of the Department. His principal points of contact in the Department have been CU (CU/ARA - Mr. Espinosa) and ARA (ARA/COAS - Mr. Hartwick), and these two officers have maintained close contact in exchanging information on the subject as it has come to the attention of each respective office.

In an effort to make an inventory of the status of the Department's commitments and the commitments of other governments in support of the St. Augustine celebration, CU/ARA has reviewed the files on the subject of CU/EUR, CU/ARA, and ARA/COAS. The following is an inventory of the present status of private and governmental plans and commitments regarding the Celebrations in 1965.

Directions and Planning

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED ORIGINAL USE

-2-

Direction and Planning of the Celebration

The National St. Augustine Quadricentennial Commission is primarily responsible for the arrangements. The Florida Quadricentennial Commission, the 400th Anniversary Corporation, and the Catholic Diocese of St. Augustine, are also making simultaneous arrangements. The Spanish Government is participating through the Ministry of Information and the Institute of Hispanic Culture.

According to Mr. Newton, the following organizations are considering participation in the various planned events and exhibitions:

1. The Inter-American Committee on the Arts (Mr. Robert Wool, President) is considering holding one of its annual symposiums of Hemispheric distinguished artists, musicians, writers, painters, and leaders of thought.
2. The Inter-American Music Festival (Mr. Guillermo Espinosa, Music Director) has been approached to consider going to St. Augustine for a series of concerts.
3. The Pan American Congress of Architects has been approached to consider (a) holding meetings in St. Augustine in connection with its 1965 conference in Washington, (b) the National Trust for Historic Preservation has been requested to hold a conference in St. Augustine, bringing outstanding government officials concerned with the preservation of national monuments in Latin America, (c) the American Association of Museums which meets annually in late May has been requested to schedule a special meeting bringing leading museum people from Latin America to St. Augustine immediately preceding their annual meeting, (d) a conference on Latin American history is being considered through the American Historical Association.

Exhibitions

According to Mr. Newton, two types of exhibitions are being planned: (a) Individual permanent exhibition buildings for Spain, the United States, the State of Florida, and the various Latin American nations; (b) Outstanding exhibitions in the fine arts including painting, sculpture, and photography.

Mr. Newton has further indicated to the Department that the following actions have been taken to date with regard to the establishment of Exhibition Centers:

1. The Spanish Exhibition Center. Mr. Newton has informed the Department that the Spanish Government has committed \$100,000 for the land purchase of this center and for its construction, and that one-half of the property for this center has already been purchased.

2. The Latin

LIMITED ORIGINAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

-3-

2. The Latin American Center. Through the cooperation of the Pan American Union, the Commission hopes to elicit the participation of the various Latin American countries in the establishment of a permanent cultural center. Senator Smathers has directed a request to American corporations doing business in Latin America in order to raise \$200,000 for the center.

3. United States Government Exhibition Building. An arrangement is being worked out with the Post Office Department, the Office of the General Counsel and the General Facilities Division to obtain certification for a new Post Office for St. Augustine, so that the old one, which is the colonial Spanish Governor's Palace, could be restored as the U.S. Government exhibition center. The center is expected to serve as (a) a documentary exhibition hall and (b) a fine arts gallery.

4. The Florida State Exhibition Building. The Florida Cabinet has been approached to finance a state exhibition building which would tell the story of Florida from Spanish days to the present and to serve as the center for the Florida festival of the arts in 1965.

Senator Smathers' Activities

On November 14, 1963 Senator Smathers wrote to Secretary Rusk, inviting him to participate in ceremonies at the Pan American Union at which time a formal invitation was to be extended by the Commission to the Chairman of the Council of the OAS to participate in the Quadricentennial Celebration. The Department replied indicating that he would not be able to attend, and suggested in his place Mr. Battle and Mr. Allen. In subsequent correspondence the plans were changed to hold the ceremony in St. Augustine. Mr. Mann and Mr. Bunker were added to the Department representatives invited to participate. These revised plans were subsequently changed, and the ceremony was finally held at the Pan American Union here in Washington, D.C., on April 21, 1964. Various officers of the Department attended the ceremony, and Ambassador Mann and Assistant Secretary Battle made brief remarks concerning the significance of the St. Augustine Quadricentennial Celebration as a symbol of the cultural and spiritual bonds between the United States and the Hispanic world.

Pan American Union Activities Relating to the Quadricentennial Celebration

The Assistant Secretary General of the OAS, Dr. William Sanders, has designated an official of the Pan American Union (the OAS Secretariat) to serve as the point of contact with Mr. Newton, regarding informal assistance which the PAU might give the Commission. Dr. Sanders has sent to all OAS Ambassadors a letter concerning the Celebration "to make known to the governments of the member states the desires of the Special Subcommittee /of the National Quadricentennial Commission/ to have the direct participation of the sister republics of the hemisphere, through their most representative cultural exponents." (Letter, dated October 28, 1963).

Department of State

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

-4-

Department of State Activities

I. ARA has cooperated with Mr. Newton in the following manner:

(A) Arranged interviews for Mr. Newton with Latin American Embassies in Washington.

(B) Ambassador deLesseps Morrison, Deputy Assistant Secretaries Morales-Carrion and Stephansky, Assistant Secretary Martin, and ARA Office Director, were approached on different occasions by Mr. Newton concerning the Celebrations. Mr. Hartwick (ARA/COAS) reports that to his knowledge no precise commitments were made at these meetings which could be interpreted as official sponsorship of the Celebration, and that he had pointed out to Mr. Newton that he understood that the Department was not officially sponsoring the Celebration, although it would cooperate in every way possible.

(C) Informed the various Embassies in Latin America and has requested them to provide facilitative assistance to the Commission's representatives during their field trips to contact Latin American government officials.

1. On December 27, 1963 a telegram to San Salvador and Guatemala City requested "appropriate assistance" to Mr. Newton.

2. On May 1, 1964, a telegram to Montevideo announced the visit of Major General H.W. McMillan on behalf of the Commission, stating that "Department sees over-all merit in project, but has no direct relationship to the activity."

3. On February 26, 1964, a wirom was sent to Mexico City concerning Mr. Newton's visit there requesting the Embassy to assist him in obtaining appointments with Mexican officials, including the Foreign Minister.

4. On April 18, 1964, a telegram to Lima, Santiago, Montevideo, Asuncion, Quito, Bogota, and Buenos Aires stated the following: "In addition, to usual courtesies, Department requests that posts, if it is deemed appropriate, arrange appointments with Presidents of countries to be visited as well as with other high officials for discussions regarding the cooperation Mr. Newton is seeking. Posts are also requested, both at time of visit and as may be indicated afterwards, to offer whatever appropriate support may be necessary to assist in success of Mr. Newton's mission."

II. CU/EUR

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

-5-

II. CU/EUR sent an OM to Madrid informing the post of Mr. Newton's plan to visit Spain in May, 1962 and requested that assistance be extended to facilitate his visit there. (OM dated March 15, 1962). Also Mr. Roland (CU/EUR) attended a meeting between Mr. Newton and Mr. Alf Bergesen (EUR/UK) at which time he stated, in response to Mr. Newton's query regarding financial assistance for participants to the Celebration: "(A) the Department now has no funds for bringing foreign cultural attractions to the United States and only a very limited program for sending American attractions to Europe; (B) there is no surplus Spanish currency available and all funds used for CU programs must be covered by Congressional appropriations; (C) all funds available for the exchange of scholars and other academic exchanges with Spain are committed to the Fulbright program, but it is possible that some of the Spanish Fulbright grantees would be interested in taking part in the St. Augustine activities." (Memorandum dated May 3, 1963).

The CU/EUR files, in addition, indicate that Mr. Newton was not able to elicit the cooperation of the British Government in the Celebration. Mr. Newton approached the British Embassy on April 23, regarding the possibility of celebrating in 1963 the 200th anniversary of the installation of the first British Governor of St. Augustine, with the proposal that it build a pavilion which would remain as a permanent exhibition. The British Embassy replied that the brief period of British rule in Florida would not warrant recognition in the scale suggested by Mr. Newton. (Letter dated April 26).

III. CU/ARA. Dr. Canter (Director of CU/ARA), attended part of a meeting of the Commission arranged by Mr. Newton at the Capitol on May 9, 1963. Senators Smathers and Holland were in attendance. Dr. Canter was asked concerning the possible contribution that CU might be able to make to the Quadricentennial Celebration, and he said that it might be possible for CU to bring to the United States distinguished historians and other scholars from Latin America on leader grants during the course of the Celebration and that their visit to the United States might include attendance at events in St. Augustine. As a result of subsequent correspondence with Mr. Newton on this matter, CU/ARA indicated that it would inform various posts in Latin America of the plan to hold a Conference on the Preservation of Historic Monuments in St. Augustine in April, 1965, suggesting that they might wish to recommend leader grantees under the CU program whose visits could be timed to enable them to include attendance at the Conference in the course of their visits to the U.S.

On February 28, 1964 a circular airgram was sent to 10 Embassies in Latin America, informing them of the proposed Conference on the Preservation of Historic Monuments to be held in St. Augustine in April, 1965 and requesting the posts to indicate the possible extent of participation through the medium of leader grants. The Embassies at Lima, Buenos Aires, Mexico and La Paz have replied affirmatively.

In a letter

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

-6-

In a letter dated February 10, 1964, Mr. Newton informed CU/ARA that the Commission had invited President Belaunde of Peru to be guest of honor on the occasion of a Conference on the Preservation of Historic Monuments planned to be held in St. Augustine in April, 1965. He indicated that President Belaunde had expressed his interest in attending, in the event that other unforeseen commitments would not prevent him from doing so. This information was passed on to ARA. (Memorandum of February 19, 1963).

CU/ARA: JMEspinoza/PPSarro: hhb

June 19, 1964

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 23, 1964

Mrs. Juanita Roberts

It seems to me the President
will want to take a look at
this before I put it in the
file.

Lee
Lee C. White

file
L

REFERRED TO HANDWRITING FILE

*100-1116-1-1000 (10-15-64) - 1000
- 1000-1116-1-1000*

10-11-64

*See also the conversation with
a Gov. Bryant*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 22, 1964

MEMORANDUM TO THE FILES

Subject: Discussion with Governor Bryant Saturday, June 20.

Saturday night at 11:15 Governor Bryant called to report that he had early in the afternoon issued an order banning demonstrations in St. Augustine after 8:30 p. m. -- until daylight. His Attorney General had discussed the matter with Federal District Judge Simpson who a week or ten days ago had issued an injunction prohibiting the County Sheriff from interfering with night time demonstrations.

The Governor was not certain how the Federal Judge would regard the Governor's order but hoped that we would use every legitimate means at our control to emphasize that a few days of cooling-off are essential to maintaining peace and could conceivably hasten a settlement in St. Augustine.

I told the Governor that the Federal government was, of course, not a party to the suit but that to the extent that we could we would indicate our hopes that there be an avoidance of violence and an atmosphere conducive to negotiations between the white and Negro communities. I relayed this information to Joe Dolan of the Justice Department who has been in both direct and indirect communication with Judge Simpson.

The hearing on whether the Governor's order should be enjoined was to commence this morning (Monday). Dolan and I agreed that the Judge could properly call for a number of witnesses and delay any immediate decision - in the meantime leaving the Governor's order in effect.

Apparently Dr. King is most anxious to pull out of St. Augustine if he can possibly find a graceful way to do so. Curiously enough, the conflict to be resolved is whether a Bi-racial Committee should be appointed immediately and then followed by a 30 day truce, or whether the appointment of the committee should wait until the 30 day truce is over. King called Burke Marshall last Thursday urging either

-2-

the President's assistance or the Department's in resolving the dispute. Up to the minute there has not been any way that has occurred to us that we could intervene in the matter without having a harmful effect. From information on both sides, it is easy to conclude that King's people (or perhaps those over whom he had no control) over-played their hands and the settlement that was so near to achievement two or three days ago has slipped away for the time being.

It is obvious that the Governor is quickly coming to the end of his patience although thus far he has stuck to his agreement to preserve law and order - and impartially.

L.C.W.

Lee C. White
Associate Special Counsel
to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: St. Augustine

Burke Marshall reports that the situation in St. Augustine has become very tense. Establishments which admitted Negroes following enactment of the Civil Rights Bill have been subjected to intimidation by white hoodlums believed to be Ku Klux Klanners. For example, of seven restaurants retested on Monday of this week which had previously served Negroes, five refused service claiming that they were afraid to do so.

An unconfirmed report received via the Civil Rights Commission indicates that Martin Luther King has called for a mass testing in St. Augustine tomorrow night (Thursday).

Apparently only two State Troopers remain in St. Augustine, and requests to local police authorities by business owners have gone unheeded.

Governor Collins does not wish to be involved in this problem because he has not been confirmed yet.

Burke has suggested that because of the contact I have had with Governor Bryant in the past, it might be well for me to check with the Governor and express the concern that has been created. I believe that it is worth a call, but did not want to do so without clearing with you first.

Lee
Lee S. White

16a
Felt
Ch.
RECORDED TO RECORDS FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 26, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

SUBJECT: St. Augustine Situation.

Yesterday afternoon I returned Dr. King's call from St. Augustine. He indicated that he wanted to find some means of pulling out of St. Augustine and "saving face" in the process. He indicated that the President could be of tremendous help and that the local key to the situation was banker Herbert Wolfe. I indicated to him that I had seen the New York Times article of yesterday in which he had mistakenly advised that he had already been in touch with me to seek Federal intervention. I indicated that this was not particularly helpful as I saw it and, in fact, made our role more difficult. He expressed general agreement and advised that some times the pressures get so great you are forced to do things you don't believe you should do with hindsight.

After checking with the President, I discussed this confidential fashion with Governor Bryant and called Senator Smathers to suggest that he urge his good friend Wolfe to agree to meet with a representative of the Negro community and perhaps some other outside force in an effort to begin discussions. I advised that I was confident King's people would stop their nonviolent demonstrations immediately upon announcement and that this would result in a drastic easing of the situation. Senator Smathers responded favorably to the suggestion, said he wanted to check it out and would be in touch with me this morning (I have not yet heard from him at 11 a. m.).

King called last night at 11:30 to say that the situation was worse than ever -- 30 or 40 people had been hospitalized, and the injured Negroes had to be taken to Jacksonville because they would not be admitted to the St. Augustine hospitals. He did not quite ask for Federal Marshals but indicated he had discussed the matter with Burke Marshall earlier in the evening. I told him, without being specific, that we were working on a Wolfe meeting, and I hoped to have some information today.

- 2 -

This morning Governor Bryant called to confirm that last night in St. Augustine was extremely bad. The white hoodlums and klansmen had attacked his State patrolmen. He intends to impose limits on the numbers who can meet even during the day. He was meeting with his Adjutant General, but made it clear that he was reluctant to escalate the situation by bringing State National Guard troops into the city. He left the impression, however, that he would do this if, in his judgment, it were necessary to preserve the community. In our discussion I suggested that since he himself was in St. Augustine if he talked to Mr. Wolfe and got Mr. Wolfe to agree to join in a request with King or King's representative to the Federal Government to send an impartial mediator, I was certain the response would be favorable. I indicated that I was not thinking about a civil rights specialist or, indeed, anyone who has an identity in the field, but rather one trained in mediating disputes among parties, for example, labor disputes. He said he would see whether this would work and would be in further touch.

Lee C. White

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Smathers - -
Red. Wolfe in N.C.
Not interested

{ H. E. Wolf
Mr. Harold, banker

& Gen. Commissioner
King would
issue statement
that

Ct. has gov. in summit
gov. - will call N. G.

will sit with
Murray col. Principal
of N.S.
Prunyan col Pres of
College.
will sit up Gov. Role

Condition -
Grand jury approve

UPI-219

(RACIAL)

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA.--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. TODAY SHARPLY
CRITICIZED THE "CLIMATE OF LAWLESSNESS" HERE AND IN MISSISSIPPI.

KING SAID HE HAD TENTATIVE PLANS LATER THIS WEEK TO VISIT
MISSISSIPPI, WHERE A SEARCH IS UNDERWAY FOR THREE MISSING CIVIL
RIGHTS WORKERS.

"IF WE HAVE NO SATISFACTION FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WE WILL
HAVE TO OFFER OUR BODIES AS SACRIFICE," HE TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE.

KING RETURNED TO ST. AUGUSTINE FROM ATLANTA TODAY AFTER A
ABSENCE OF SEVERAL DAYS.

THE CITY WAS RELATIVELY QUIET ALTHOUGH SEGREGATIONISTS JEERED
PUBLIC PRAYER SESSIONS HELD BY NEGROES.

A SECOND PETITION TO SET ASIDE GOV. FARRIS BRYANT'S BAN AGAINST
NIGHT DEMONSTRATIONS WAS FILED IN FEDERAL COURT IN JACKSONVILLE. A
HEARING WAS SET FOR FRIDAY BUT THERE WAS DOUBT THAT BRYANT WOULD
APPEAR IN COURT.

KING SAID RACIAL TROUBLES IN ST. AUGUSTINE HAD INCREASED
DURING HIS ABSENCE. "IT WILL GET WORSE IF SOMEBODY DOESN'T TAKE A
DEFINITE STAND," HE SAID.

"IT IS TIME FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO COME IN AND SEEK TO
OPEN CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION. THE GOVERNMENT MUST SEND SOMEONE HERE
AND GET ACTION GOING," HE SAID.

624--N732PED



UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MAR 23 1964

Dear Mr. White:

The National Park Service has been advised by Superintendent Bertrum Roberts, Castillo De San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine, Florida, that further racial incidents are expected at St. Augustine. His information was received from the F.B.I. He was advised that several bus loads of demonstrators would arrive in St. Augustine within the next few days and would remain there holding demonstrations through the Easter Holidays.

The participants are largely from New England colleges and predominantly from Massachusetts. Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, mother of Governor Peabody, is expected to arrive this coming weekend to participate in the demonstrations. It is the Superintendent's understanding that they plan to request the fort green for demonstrations. He has special use permits ready to issue to them. Also involved is an Easter Sunrise Service that is historically held on the fort green and is sponsored by the churches of St. Augustine. The Superintendent has advised the church representatives that the Sunrise Service will have to be open to everyone.

Sincerely yours,


Walter I. Pozen
Assistant to the Secretary

Mr. Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel to
the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

June 1, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

Subject: St. Augustine, Florida

Saturday night, May 30, I called Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in response to his telegram to the President asking for "federal protection through the Department of Justice for the members of the Negro community who seek redress of their grievances." Dr. King expressed the view that the situation in St. Augustine was such that the local police authorities and probably the state police were not capable of controlling the situation. He said that the Ku Klux Klan was unusually strong in the region and that two nights in a row attacks had been made on the cottage rented for his Assistant (a white man named Boyte) who apparently was going to be in the area for some time. He indicated that there was great likelihood that there would be destruction, injury and even death on Saturday night. I promised Dr. King to alert the Justice Department and to do whatever we could.

I then called Burke Marshall who had spoken to Dr. King earlier in the afternoon. We agreed that he would call the FBI and make sure that they stayed on top of the situation in St. Augustine and supplied up to the minute information. I would agree to call Governor Bryant to report our information to find out what the State of Florida was doing and to volunteer our assistance if needed and if appropriate.

I was unable to reach Governor Bryant Saturday night but left a message for him to return the call. I spoke to him this morning and his reply to Dr. King's expressions of concern is that they are watching St. Augustine on a continual basis. A Captain Pracer of the Florida State Police is stationed in St. Augustine on a continuing basis with authority to call sufficient state patrolmen to handle any situation in St. Augustine. In addition, General MacMillan, the head of the Florida National Guard has instructions to be ready to move his troops at the first indication that their force is necessary to handle the situation. The Governor pointed out that about two months ago when there was a march on Tallahassee by Florida Negroes the National Guard had been on an "alert" basis without the information even being known to the public until 3 or 4 days after the march.

JET 6/25/64

SHOULD KING RISK DEATH IN FLORIDA?

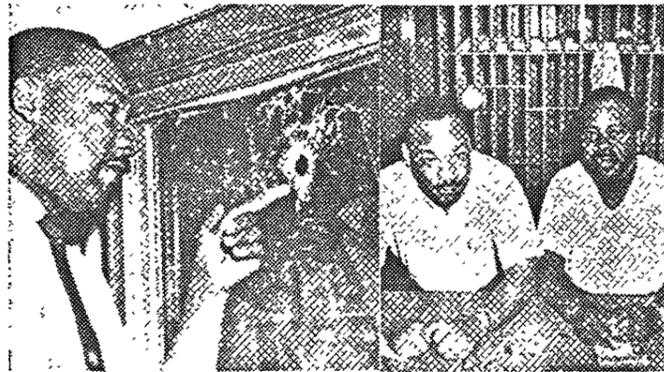
DR. KING RISKS LIFE TO RESTORE

By LARRY STILL

St. Augustine, Fla., the oldest city in the United States, may decide the future of America if Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), has his way.

As you enter the Atlantic Ocean resort area through a Spanish fortress-like stone gate, a colonial sign bids welcome to the city founded in 1513 and settled in 1565 and which calls itself the birthplace of Christianity. Across the street from the public area where the local NAACP forced removal of segregated signs, hangs another billboard advertising Ripley's "Believe It Or Not." One hardly knows which to believe.

Infamous for more than 400 years as a slave trading center and citadel of segregation, the city could set a new pattern in race relations as a result of Dr. King's decision to go to jail voluntarily and risk death by "using civil disobedience to break an unjust law against Negroes." Aware

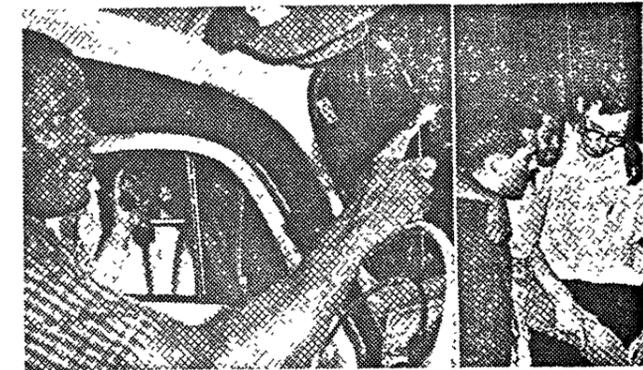


After pointing to bullet hole in home, jailed Dr. King, Rev. Abernathy explain rights struggle was getting too violent.

NON VIOLENCE IN CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT



Following surprise protest, wounded marcher was hospitalized as local leader, Dr. Hayling, examines woman hit with brick.



Versy Ward points to bullet hole in windshield as white SCLC aides help. Marchers packed jail like elephants in phone booth.

Demonstrators Calm, Newsmen, Police Jittery

of criticism that his actions may take the play away from the civil rights bill, the Mississippi Summer Project and the NAACP convention, Dr. King emphasized that SCLC moved into St. Augustine now to restore the "freedom movement" to its non-violent character.

Although he had been warned of a plot to kill him in the Southern Florida Ku Klux Klan stronghold and aides had been told "he would live only three days" in the ancient, insecure jail, Dr. King told Jrr. "I decided to come here because this city is the oldest symbol of segregation in the country and will be celebrating its 400th birthday next year.

After the Rev. King was led away to jail, aides anxiously checked reports that Klansmen invaded the Negro community dressed as white women to assassinate the Negro leader. Dr. King also appealed to President Johnson to send U. S. marshals and attorneys into the area and Dr. King's associates kept in close touch with the Justice Dept. on the treatment of the non-violent leader in jail.

With passage on the civil rights bill and new integration



Dr. King encourages young demonstrators who prayed in morning, picketed at noon, studied in afternoon and marched at night.

16



Negroes and white supporters met at nightly church meeting before picketing slave center, planned meeting at center.



Marching past old slave trade market, pickets faced hoodlums who threw bricks, bottles, firecrackers, gas and some gunfire.

17

Say Klansmen Posed As Women To Kill King

battlefronts opening in such places as Tuscaloosa, Ala., Newark, N.J., Vicksburg, Miss., and Oxford, Ohio, the SCLC leadership agreed that it was historically proper that the Negroes' "long, hot summer" drive for complete equality should start in outwardly beautiful and inwardly festering city of St. Augustine.

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, SCLC treasurer who has been to jail with Dr. King every one of 15 times "except once when he slipped away from me in Atlanta," explained: "We came to cleanse the movement. Demonstrations were getting out of hand and the people were beginning to believe in violence. We wanted to prove to the nation and Negroes that the non-violent method of Dr. King will work . . . even if it means risking our lives."

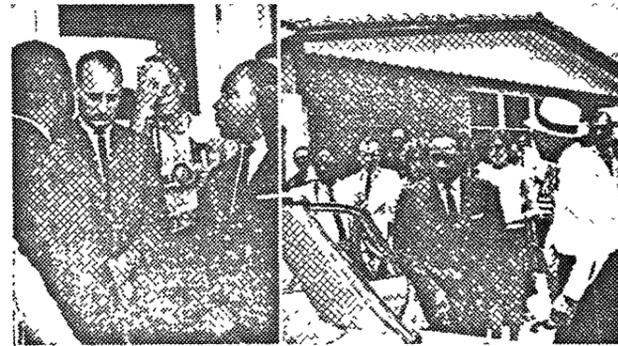
John Gibson, young SCLC field worker who quit operating an Atlanta clothing store to join "the movement," told why he came to St. Augustine four months ago to help lay the groundwork for Dr. King. "Dr. R. (Robert) B. (Bagner) Hayling, a dentist here, asked us to come because every other organization had turned down his request for help. They thought he was too violent . . . but we believed a town named after a black man who believed in the principles of equality, justice and freedom . . . deserved help." Gibson also revealed that SCLC was appealing to the English, French, British and all American and Organization of American States' United Nations delegations not to participate in the city's quadracentennial celebration next year unless the town was desegregated by then.

Although SCLC started the St. Augustine campaign without the aid of their top strategist, Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, who recently resigned, the Revs. C. T. Vivian, Young and ex-NAACP leader Hosea Williams appeared to have taken over complete command of the well-planned drive to integrate the nation's oldest city. "If I had known what I know now about this town, I doubt if I would have come here," Williams admitted. "Man, these Negroes were really violent. We had to go around the community and

knock on each door and convince the people that violence begets violence and we couldn't win that way."

Explaining that he attempted to resign from all civil rights activity until his home was shot into last February, Dr. Hayling said bitterly: "They killed my pet dog and would have hit my pregnant wife if I had not just called her to the phone. I decided we had to have help from somewhere." The dentist explained that President Johnson promised to have the city appoint a bi-racial commission to consider desegregation demands if Negroes agreed not to picket his appearance at the Centennial dinner last year. The commission was never appointed.

When Federal Judge Bryan Simpson ordered local officials to use all of their force to protect Negro marchers instead of attacking and arresting them, the white crowds turned on the police and photographers, calling, "Hey, you white niggers . . . who's marching, the police or the niggers . . ." Although newsmen and police appeared jittery during the demonstrations, the marchers, ranging from 13-year-old school children to 72-year-old women, marched back from the slave center to the Negro section loudly singing, "We shall overcome . . . because we are not afraid . . ."



Refused service by Brock, Dr. King, Rev. Abernathy were arrested by Sheriff Davis. Brock was made deputy to stop protest.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 13, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

SUBJECT: Conversation with Wyatt Tee Walker.

At the President's suggestion, I returned Wyatt Tee Walker's phone call of June 11. He told me that there were only two reasons for his call:

1. To report that the State Police were doing an effective job in St. Augustine, and the King people had no complaint on that score at the moment.

2. That he wanted to reiterate the statement in Dr. King's telegram earlier this week that the President had committed himself to securing a "dialogue" between the Negroes and White of St. Augustine while there as Vice President last year.

I indicated to him that I was not aware of the particular situation, but that without regard to any intimations that might have been made, the situation as it was today was rather hopeful. There are newspaper accounts indicating negotiations are going forward, and the Justice Department has advised us that there is reason to be hopeful about them. I further told Walker that my own personal view was that the less the Federal Government were involved in the situation, the more likely there was to be fruitful discussions and negotiations.

The conversation was extremely short, and ^{he} did not question or challenge what I described as my personal view.


Lee C. White

June 11, 1964

Dear Dr. King and Dr. Hayling:

In reply to your telegram to the President indicating your deep concern over the possibility of loss of life, injury or destruction of property in St. Augustine, we have been advised that sufficient state law enforcement officers are present in St. Augustine to preserve law and order. We are further informed that Governor Bryant yesterday issued a statement calling on local officials to exercise all diligence to ensure that peace be maintained and added, "I would not hesitate to exercise every power available to me as Governor to ensure that law and order prevail."

FBI agents on the scene are under continuing instructions to provide up-to-the-minute reports to the Justice Department and any information that you may have should be brought to their attention.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Associate Special Counsel
to the President

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Dr. Robert B. Hayling
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
St. Augustine, Florida

cc. Paeley

175

RACIAL (TOPS 17)

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA. (AP)-INTEGRATION LEADER DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. SAID TODAY HE WILL ASK PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO SEND FEDERAL MARSHALS INTO THIS CITY TO HELP PRESERVE LAW AND ORDER.

"AFTER WHAT TOOK PLACE TUESDAY NIGHT AND THE ABSOLUTE REFUSAL OF THE POLICE TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT UNTIL TOWARDS THE END, I THINK THERE IS A NEED FOR SOME FEDERAL RESTRAINT FORCE," KING SAID AT A NEWS CONFERENCE SHORTLY AFTER ARRIVING IN ST. AUGUSTINE FROM ATLANTA.

WHITE GANGS ATTACKED DEMONSTRATORS IN A NIGHT MARCH TUESDAY. KING SAID HE WOULD URGE IN A TELEGRAM TO JOHNSON NOT ONLY PROTECTION BUT ALSO PERSONAL INTERVENTION BY THE PRESIDENT TO OPEN COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE WHITE AND NEGRO COMMUNITIES.

DESPITE VIOLENCE, KING SAID ANOTHER DEMONSTRATION WAS PLANNED FOR TONIGHT. HE SAID HE WOULD ENGAGE IN SOME FORM OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE TOMORROW. HE INDICATED IT MIGHT BE A SIT-IN AT A SEGREGATED RESTAURANT.

WE424PED 6/10

See Civil Rights

1
JUN 10 10 11 08

WA072 PD

ST AUGUSTINE FLO JUN 10 646P EST

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON ST AUGUSTINE FLORIDA POLICE STOOD BY AND
WATCHED AS NEGROES MARCHING PEACEFULLY WERE BRUTALLY ASSAULTED
BY WHITE HOODLUMS THIS WAS THE MOST COMPLETE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND
ORDER SINCE OXFORD MISSISSIPPI CONTINUOUS SHOOTINGS RECEIVED NO
ATTENTION FROM LOCAL STATE OR FEDERAL INVESTIGATORS NEGROES HERE
LIVE UNDER CONSTANT OPPRESSION AND TERROR THIS SITUATION DESERVES

THE FULL ATTENTION OF YOUR OFFICE AMERICA'S OLDEST CITY SHOULD
NOT SO PERVERT THE IMAGE OF DEMOCRACY BEFORE THE WORLD MAY WE REMIND
YOU OF YOUR PROMISE TO ST AUGUSTINE NEGRO CITIZENS DURING YOUR
VISIT AS VICE PRESIDENT TO ARRANGE SOME CHANNEL FOR REDRESS OF
GRIEVANCES THIS IS NEEDED NOW MORE THAN EVER WE MERELY SEEK 1
DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS 2 HIRING OF POLICEMEN FIREMEN
AND OFFICE WORKERS BY THE CITY 3 A BI-RACIAL COMMITTEE TO MEET
CONTINUING PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY 4 DROPPING OF CHARGES
ON UNCONSTITUTIONAL ARREST 5 HIRING THROUGHOUT THE CITY'S BUSINESS
LIFE ON THE BASIS OF MERIT NOT RACE WE URGE YOU MR PRESIDENT TO

PERSONALLY INTERVENE IN THIS CITY TO PREVENT POSSIBLE LOSS OF LIFE AND
NEEDLESS DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE MARTIN LUTHER KING JR
PRESIDENT ROBERT B HAYLING PRESIDENT OF ST AUGUSTINE CHAPTER.

FOR: LEE WHITE

FROM: DOUGLASS CATER

The Wyatt T. Walker call came after I talked to you yesterday.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1964

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Douglass Cater

1. Martin Luther King's Deputy, Wyatt T. Walker, phoned me from Atlanta to put in a personal entreaty following up King's request that you send Federal marshals to St. Augustine. He said that, in line with your assurances a year ago, you might ask the community whether they would accept a Federal mediation team. He considers the Negro demands reasonable and, presumably, subject to negotiation. They are: 5 policemen, 4 firemen, 3 clerical workers in city employment, a bi-racial commission, motels, hotels and lunch counters opened to Negroes, and a commitment from the business community for fair hiring practices. They have proposed a 90-day deadline for employment, a 30-day for public accommodations.

2. Harold Fleming, former head of the Southern Regional Council and a very able worker in race relation matters, reported on a meeting at the Commerce Department yesterday on the preparatory discussions for the Conciliation Service and said it was highly discouraging. He reported that the Commerce officials did not seem to be familiar with the Bill, as revised, and the enormous burden that will be dumped on them the day it is enacted into law. He estimates that there will be an immediate "crunch" on the Public Accommodations Section and the urgent need for the Conciliation Service.

I have talked to Lee White about this. One positive step you may wish to take is to be prepared quickly to name a head of the Service. Fleming has suggested that Governor Coombs might have both the stature and the ability to handle this difficult job.

Martin Luther King and 17 Others Jailed Trying to Integrate St. Augustine Restaurant

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

ST AUGUSTINE Fla., June 11—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was jailed today after he attempted to eat in one of St. Augustine's finer restaurants overlooking Matanzas Bay.

As Dr. King and 17 others were arrested under Florida's unwanted-guest laws, Negroes planned more and larger marches into the town square where violence sparked by white toughs has erupted nightly.

The city took two steps to reduce the danger. Workers removed the bricks that board flower beds in the little park that adjoins the old slave market, and an electrician installed seven mercury vapor lights that will illuminate dark corners of the square.

Last night, white men and youths lurking in the shadows hurled bricks at state troopers who were trying to guard civil rights demonstrators from a cursing mob. The whites broke through the police line and slugged and kicked several demonstrators. Other marchers said they were burned by acid thrown from the crowd.

Tranquil During Day

By day downtown St. Augustine is the picture of tranquility, with old men playing checkers in the slave market and tourists viewing old Spanish buildings from horse drawn surreys. At night it is the scene of an outpouring of racial hatred and violence.

Dr. King was arrested on the doorstep of the Monson Motor Lodge Restaurant after a 20-minute confrontation with the president and general manager of the concern, James Brock.

Everyone in town had known for 24 hours that Dr. King would be arrested. He had announced yesterday that he would go to jail to dramatize discrimination against Negroes in the nation's oldest city.

When Dr. King and his chief aide, the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, arrived shortly after noon, Mr. Brock was waiting.

The night before Mr. Brock, who also is president of the Florida Hotel and Motel Association, had been seen on a downtown street carrying a shotgun, a billy stick, a pistol and a

vision cameras, smiled and said, "I would like to invite my many friends throughout the country to come to Monson's. We expect to remain segregated."

As the cameras and reporters recorded the colloquy, a burly white man, impatient for his lunch, bulled his way through the crowd, violently shoved Dr. King aside and entered the restaurant.

Finally, Sheriff Davis and a deputy arrived and whisked Dr. King and his companions off to jail. Dr. King was expected to remain in jail for a few days while demonstrations continue.

There were indications that the authorities were beginning to crack down on the gangs of whites who have repeatedly set

off violence in the town square without arrest or punishment. State troopers, sent in yesterday by Gov. Farris Bryant, used tear gas to break up the mob that caused last night's outbreak. And for the first time white assailants were arrested. Sheriff Davis said four St. Augustine youths were charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest and a fifth was charged with carrying a concealed weapon, a large chain.

White House Informed

In Tallahassee, Governor Bryant said he had informed the White House law and order would be maintained without use of Federal troops or marshals. Dr. King earlier had asked President Johnson to send

marshals because of an apparent breakdown of law enforcement locally. "It is anticipated there will be more demonstrations," Governor Bryant said. "We cannot guarantee that someone won't throw a rock. We cannot completely stop every overt act. To do that we'd have to line the sidewalks with police. But law and order can be and will be maintained."

Before he went to jail, Dr. King observed that law enforcement had improved since state troopers reinforced the local authorities.

In Jacksonville, Federal District Judge Bryan Simpson said in a court order that there had been a deliberate attempt by law enforcement officers in St.

Augustine to break the civil rights demonstrators to-day, arrested their leaders and broke up a planned protest march before it got started. Negroes later filed suit in Federal Court at Birmingham and ordered Sheriff Davis to stop putting prisoners in an outdoor pen in the open sun and in padded cells. "More than cruel and unusual punishment has been shown," Judge Simpson said in his order. "Here is exposed in its raw ugliness, studied and cynical brutality deliberated and contrived to break men, physically and mentally."

Tuscaloosa March Balked

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., June 11 (UPI)—The police surrounded a church packed with Negro

civil rights demonstrators to-day, arrested their leaders and broke up a planned protest march before it got started. Negroes later filed suit in Federal Court at Birmingham and ordered Sheriff Davis to stop putting prisoners in an outdoor pen in the open sun and in padded cells.

The Rev. T. Y. Rogers, leader of the local desegregation movement, said further marches would be held up pending a ruling of the court.

Mr. Rogers said local officials could also prevent further demonstrations if they would mediate this conflict and arrive at a solution.

Protest Halted in Austin

AUSTIN, Tex., June 11 (AP)

The police tore placards from the hands of a group of Negro civil rights demonstrators, mostly women and children, in the Austin City Council chamber today.

About 15 demonstrators, including only one man, defied an order from Mayor Lester Palmer and Police Chief Bob Miles to remove the signs. Most of the signs were held by persons in the front row of the demonstrators' section of the chamber.

The hand lettered placards, held at eye level, read "We want an effective ordinance that covers job opportunities, education, housing and public accommodations."

seven mercury vapor lights that will illuminate dark corners of the square

Last night, white men and youths lurking in the shadows hurled bricks at state troopers who were trying to guard civil rights demonstrators from a cursing mob. The whites broke through the police line and slugged and kicked several demonstrators. Other marchers said they were burned by acid thrown from the crowd.

Tranquil During Day

By day downtown St. Augustine is the picture of tranquility with old men playing checkers in the slave market and tourists viewing old Spanish buildings from horse drawn surreys. At night it is the scene of an outpouring of racial hatred and violence.

Dr. King was arrested on the doorstep of the Monson Motor Lodge Restaurant after a 20-minute confrontation with the president and general manager of the concern, James Brock.

Everyone in town had known for 24 hours that Dr. King would be arrested. He had announced yesterday that he would go to jail to dramatize discrimination against Negroes in the nation's oldest city.

When Dr. King and his chief aide, the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, arrived shortly after noon, Mr. Brock was waiting.

The night before Mr. Brock, who also is president of the Florida Hotel and Motel Association, had been seen on a downtown street carrying a shotgun, a billy stick, a pistol and a flashlight. He was one of several businessmen in town who were made special deputies yesterday by Sheriff L. O. Davis. The sheriff said he had appealed to the city's civic clubs to help maintain law and order.

Mr. Brock told Dr. King that he and his party of eight persons were not wanted. The two then began a polite debate of the civil rights issue.

Fears for His Business

Dr. King asked if Mr. Brock understood the "humiliation our people have to go through." Mr. Brock replied he would integrate his business if the substantial white citizens of the community asked him to or if he were served with Federal Court order.

"You realize it would be detrimental to my business to serve you here," Mr. Brock said. "I have unfortunately had to arrest 84 persons here since Easter."

Then he turned to the tele-

whites who have repeatedly set asked President Johnson to send law enforcement officers in St. a church packed with Negro AUSTIN, Tex., June 11 (AP) modations.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : William L. Taylor, General Counsel

DATE: June 11, 1964

FROM : M. Carl Holman, Information Officer

SUBJECT: SCLC Complaint of Alleged Federal Inaction in St. Augustine,
Florida.

Harry Boyte, Executive Secretary to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conference, reports from St. Augustine that Dr. King (now in jail along with Rev. Ralph Abernathy following their attempt to enter a segregated restaurant) and the Negroes of St. Augustine are disturbed about the seeming lack of Federal response to requests for protection. Boyte points out that, though some 200-odd State troopers were present during the march last night, they did not clear hostile whites out of the area or prevent their infiltrating to attack the marchers. Other demonstrators are arriving from Savannah (one of the two busloads expected is already there, according to Boyte) and others are expected from Williamston, N.C. and elsewhere. If necessary, he reports, the jails will be filled (Estimated capacity: 400). He reports that King has said privately that if even an ordinary white person had requested assurances of protection from the President and the Justice Department in similar circumstances it would have been forthcoming. King's associates who are not in jail have expressed concern for King's safety, claiming that "the Klan element has complete free run of the jail." Boyte says that he had a long talk with the Chief of Police today and is convinced that the Chief, who refused to speak firmly to his men about protecting all persons, is himself sympathetic to the segregationists and cannot be expected to provide protection. The State troopers are now mounting floodlights in the square in preparation for tonight. Two more demonstrations are planned for tonight, Boyte says. He feels that unless Governor Bryant has insisted on more determined efforts to curb violence, the demonstrators will be in even greater danger than before. He and the other SCLC officials ask why the Federal Government is still silent and apparently unconcerned about what is happening in St. Augustine.

June 10, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

Subject: St. Augustine

Governor Bryant called this afternoon to report that he had ordered 100 state highway patrolmen to the St. Augustine area, 20 conservation officers to patrol the waterfront and 20 state beverage officials to police the bars and taverns of St. Augustine. In addition, he has ordered that an independent communications network be established to obviate the need for using the county sheriff's office and communications facilities. The Governor is preparing an Executive Order which would deputize all of these individuals to act as general law enforcement officers.

He gave his flat assurance that the situation would be under control.

I took the occasion to relay to him some information that Joe Dolan of the Justice Department had given me about the St. Augustine situation based on his visit there last week. In short, the information was that negotiation between the white community and the Negroes in St. Augustine was not impossible. I read to him figures indicating the decline in visitors to the Castillo de San Marcos national monument in St. Augustine during the past two months. He agreed that this information would be of considerable interest in St. Augustine, which relies heavily on tourist trade for its economy. The figures are as follows:

	1963	1964
March	32,400	36,600
April	44,100	26,200
May	27,000	24,864

The Governor said that he would talk to the Mayor about the possibility of calling a meeting and left the distinct impression that he was concerned about the matter and that he would take a strong personal hand in it. His action today tends to bear this out.

Lee C. White

June 10, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

Subject: St. Augustine

Yesterday afternoon Burke Marshall called to advise that the father of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had called the Justice Department expressing concern over the safety of his son who was heading into St. Augustine today (Wednesday, June 10). The Department had received information that Federal District Judge Simpson of Jacksonville was about to issue an order enjoining the local police authorities from interfering with civil rights demonstrations and, in effect, nullifying the ban on night time demonstrations imposed by the St. Augustine Chief of Police.

This obviously presented an explosive situation and we agreed that perhaps the best course was for me to alert Governor Bryant to the latest developments and to again volunteer our concern and willingness to be of any proper help. Neither of us believe that there was any basis upon which Federal marshals or Federal troops could be used. There was no suggestion that the local authorities would refuse to obey Judge Simpson's order. The UPI on June 5 reported that Dr. King was alleged to have been told by me that "the Federal government would not stand by while the rights of Negroes are not protected." No such statement was ever made in the suggested sense that Federal troops or Federal marshals would intervene in any situation that was within the control of state or local authorities. As my earlier memos to the files following those conversations with Dr. King indicate, the tenor of my conversation with Dr. King was that the state had been advised of the explosive character of the situation and that the Governor stated clearly that the conditions in the community were being followed closely by state officials and that adequate force was there to control the situation.

Following yesterday's discussion with the Justice Department I talked last night with Governor Bryant in Cleveland who was attending the Governors' Conference. I advised him of the scheduled visit of Dr. King

-2-

to St. Augustine today and the Federal court's order. He apparently had not received this information before and evidenced considerable concern. He was leaving early this morning to return to Florida and indicated he would ask for a full and complete report from his state highway officials and would look into the problem without delay. He reiterated his desire to keep in close touch with us and seemed genuinely appreciative of the information I had given him.

Lee C. White

TELEGRAM

DAY LETTER
NIGHT LETTER
RADIOGRAM
CABLEGRAM

The White House
Washington

June 10, 1964

Mr. Wyatt Tee Walker
Executive Director
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Atlanta, Georgia

This is in reply to your telegram to the President regarding the visit to St. Augustine of Martin Luther King, Jr. I have this afternoon been advised that State Personnel adequate to maintain order in St. Augustine have been sent to that City. FBI agents on the scene are under continuing instructions to provide up to the minute reports and any additional information that you may have should continue to be made available to the Justice Department.

Lee C. White
Associate Special Counsel
to the President

cc: James Kynes, Attorney General, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Florida

0 11 04

OWA046 PD

FAX ATLANTA GA JUN 9 717P EST

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR MR. JOHNSON: I HAVE BEEN EMPOWERED BY THE BOARD OF SCLC TO REGISTER WITH YOU OUR UTTER DISMAY THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS TAKEN NO PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES TO SAFEGUARD THE LIFE OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING AND THE STAFF OF SCLC NOW ON ASSIGNMENT IN ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA. IN THE WAKE OF DOCUMENTED LAWLESSNESS THE ARMED ATTACK ON OUR STAFF COTTAGE AND ITS SUBSEQUENT BURNING ON

SUNDAY NIGHT, NOT A SINGLE INQUIRY OR CONTACT HAS BEEN MADE WITH ANY OFFICIALS OF SCLC IN ST. AUGUSTINE OR HERE IN THE ATLANTA OFFICE TO ESTABLISH THE WHEREABOUTS OR MOVEMENTS OF DR. KING. IT SEEMS CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT DESPITE DR. KING BEING A DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN AND RELIGIOUS LEADER, NOT VERY MUCH CONCERN FOR HIS LIFE IS EVIDENCED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MERELY BECAUSE HE IS A NEGRO. IT IS A SAD COMMENTARY TO KNOW THAT ALLEGED MEMBERS OF THE MAFIA HAVE FBI SURVEILLANCE WHILE ANY NEGRO, NO MATTER HOW SIGNIFICANT HIS POSITION MUST FEAR FOR HIS LIFE IF HE PURSUES THE SIMPLE FULL EXERCISE OF HIS CONSTITUTIONAL PRIVILEGE AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

IT IS OUR SINCERE HOPE THAT THIS DEPLORABLE SITUATION WILL BE IMMEDIATELY CORRECTED OUR OFFICE STANDS READY TO COOPERATE IN ANY MANNER THAT WE CAN

WYATT TEE WALKER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE.

101 BOB PRINTED BY THE ST. AUGUSTINE TELETYPE COMPANY U.S.A.

101 BOB PRINTED BY THE ST. AUGUSTINE TELETYPE COMPANY U.S.A.

101 BOB PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER COMPANY U.S.A.

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR FARRIS BRYANT ISSUED
JUNE 10, 1964, CONCERNING RACIAL DISTURBANCES
IN ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA:

"I have learned this morning of the Federal Court Order entered last night enjoining the local officials in St. Augustine from interfering with night time demonstrations. I have asked the Attorney General to advise me as to its legal implications. I will not condone violence on any scale and appropriate action has been taken to prevent it. Sufficient state law enforcement officers are on hand to achieve this objective. I have called on the local officials to exercise all diligence to insure that peace be maintained. I would not hesitate to exercise every power available to me as Governor to insure that law and order prevail. "

11 9 05

WA130 PD

FAX SAN DIEGO CALIF 29 503P PDT

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

I AM WIRING YOU OUT OF THE UTMOST URGENCY. AS YOU MUST KNOW, ALL SEMBLANCE OF LAW AND ORDER HAS BROKEN DOWN AT ST AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA. IN THE LAST FORTY - EIGHT HOURS, WE HAVE WITNESSED RAW AND RAMPANT VIOLENCE EVEN BEYOND MUCH OF WHAT WE HAVE EXPERIENCED IN ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI.

OUR DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE BEEN ABSOLUTELY NONVIOLENT. YET THE

ONLY POLICE RESTRAINT HAS BEEN DIRECTED AT THOSE WHO SEEK THE JUST GOALS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE IN THE NATION'S OLDEST CITY. ONE OF MY CLOSEST AIDES HAS BEEN BRUTALLY BEATEN, NEWSMEN HAVE BEEN ATTACKED AND THEIR CAMERAS DESTROYED, THE HOMES OF OUR PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SHOT INTO AND AT LEAST THREE ATTEMPTS AT ASSASSINATION HAVE BEEN MADE AGAINST SCLC STAFF.

WE CALL ON YOU AS PRESIDENT OF OUR NATION TO USE THE INFLUENCE OF YOUR HIGH OFFICE TO IMMEDIATELY PROVIDE FEDERAL PROTECTION THROUGH THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY WHO SEEK REDRESS OF THEIR GRIEVANCES UNDER THE FIRST

AMENDMENT. THE CHIEF OF POLICE HAS PUBLICLY ADMITTED THAT HE DOES NOT HAVE THE RESOURCES TO RESTRICT THE VIOLENT ONSLAUGHT OF THE RACIST OPPOSITION. WE CANNOT IN GOOD CONSCIENCE POSTPONE OUR NONVIOLENT THRUST MERELY BECAUSE VIOLENCE HAS ERUPTED AGAINST US BUT WE SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT AS AMERICAN CITIZENS OUR RIGHT TO PEACEABLE ASSEMBLY MUST BE GUARANTEED AND NOT ABRIDGED BECAUSE OF THE UNRESTRAINED LAWLESSNESS OF THE KLAN ELEMENT. UNLESS IMMEDIATE AND DECISIVE ACTION IS TAKEN, THOSE WHO HAVE DEGENERATED TO THE USE OF VIOLENCE WILL BE ENCOURAGED AND THERE WILL BE INESCAPABLY THE NEEDLESS LOSS OF LIFE AND

PROPERTY. VERY TRULY YOURS

MARTIN L KING JR. PRES S.C.L.C.

STRAIN SHOWING IN ST. AUGUSTINE

First Week of Rights Drive
Regarded as Inconclusive

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times

ST. AUGUSTINE Fla., May 30 — The first week of the summer civil rights drive of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference ended here today with results satisfactory to neither side.

The tourist-based economy of the nation's oldest city already reflects the strain of mass demonstrations, sporadic violence and unrest.

Officials of the conference, whose president is the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., concede that they have failed to arouse the widespread support among Negroes necessary for early success.

The Negro community here is generally poor, apathetic over the civil rights drive and relatively small. It makes up 23 per cent of the population of 15,000 persons. The violent opposition appears to be centered in Ku Klux Klansmen and other whites from surrounding towns and rural areas.

Both white and Negro leaders expressed concern, for quite different reasons, over the prospects arising from the drive against discrimination in public accommodations and employment.

Most of all whites fear that the controversy will defeat efforts to obtain cooperation from Federal official and foreign governments in the quadricentennial celebration next year of the city's founding.

Dr. King and his aides are exerting pressure on this very

sensitive spot with a pamphlet entitled, "400 Years of Bigotry and Hate Supported and Maintained by Northern Tourist Dollars."

Whites were already worried over the possibility that demonstrations last March would cause a drop in attendance at parks and beaches in this east coast resort and fishing center. These were highlighted by the arrest of Mrs. Malcolm Peabody of Cambridge Mass., mother of that state's Governor, Endicott Peabody, in a sit-in at the Ponce de Leon Motor Lodge.

Closer to home, Negroes have initiated a boycott with a flyer that says:

"Men with whom we do business had clubs and chains and were ready to kill us. The city policemen refuse to protect us. We must not spend downtown."

The absence of organized support for the boycott and the low buying power of the Negro community cast doubt over its effects. However, shopkeepers reported that receipts were dropping.

"People are just afraid to come downtown," said the operator of a drugstore. This reflects the pattern established elsewhere in racial controversies, where a desire to avoid incidents has kept whites out of business sections.

Six of the horse-drawn surreys used for transporting tourists on tours of the old city stood empty this afternoon as 53 Negro pickets walked slowly by on the waterfront drive carrying signs protesting discrimination in public accommodations.

Klansmen driving automobiles equipped with two-way radios cruised the city. J. B. Stoner of Atlanta was seen sitting in one car with two other men, one of whom was armed with a revolver and a sap.

Mr. Stoner, a lawyer who has defended Klansmen and other whites arrested in racial vio-

lence, is the Vice Presidential nominee of the National States' Rights party.

Actually, the trouble here has turned on newsmen. Several been confined to a relatively small area of the city around its central plaza and to brief periods on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday nights. White

Other incidents reported included the shooting up of a beach cottage rented by Negro there to oppose scores of mostly silent Negro demonstrators who gathered around the plaza and Harry Boyte of Atlanta, special then returned to their own section.

An attempt by more than 175 Negroes to March into the downtown area last night was

The police, who have been reblocked by 40 law enforcement officials and police dogs. White sheriff's deputies and state troopers, have said that they could not control the violence entering the area where the demonstrators and the police were confronted each other for a brief period.

All law enforcement units in the area are under

The most serious outburst Sheriff L. O. Davis Jr.

Re-Print From Daytona Beach News Journal

Editorial

4—DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL Sat., May 30, 1964

The Tolerance Of Violence

PERHAPS the marching of Negroes to the old slave market in St. Augustine in order to hold public prayers there is a form of hysteria. But at least it is unarmed hysteria. It offers no threat to violence. It merely serves peacefully to advertise their protest against discrimination.

But the massing of men with sticks and clubs, shouting insults, is hysteria of a far more dangerous kind. This could lead to another round of turmoil and bloodshed in the South.

It is hard to believe that this could happen just 60 miles north of Daytona Beach.

* * *

OUR REPRESENTATIVE who witnessed the scene Thursday night, says that the contrast was marked—a show of unreasoning hatred and scorn against one of great courage and peaceful intent. If the Negroes wished to dramatize their impatience with their lot, it was only with words of prayer that they did so, not with sticks and clubs.

In their eyes was determination, but not hatred.

For this, St. Augustine should be grateful perhaps to Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference for taking over leadership in the festering racial tension in that city.

This leadership says to the Negroes: "Do not think of these people as Whites—don't judge them on the basis of their

color. Keep love in your hearts for them. You must go on loving them, even if they set upon you. If you must hate, hate only what is eating at them and has made them this way—the system. But do not hate your brother, the White man."

The rabble rousers with the sticks and stones are flagging another message. In effect it is: "Hate Negroes who have the audacity to think they have rights in our democracy. Shut your hearts. Be prepared to beat and even to kill."

* * *

WE BELIEVE that a strong effort is needed by the state government to end this conflict in St. Augustine. Let its representatives gather around the conference table with leadership in the city and formulate some ground rules for demonstrations, and resolve to enforce them.

Then let the Negroes hold their prayer session in the old slave market—on official invitation—with police prepared to protect them. Let them get their message across to any listeners.

All hurlers of invectives and insults and brandishers of sticks and clubs should be arrested.

And then the leading citizens should get together in a spirit of calm determination to work out rational solutions to the city's racial problems.

The tolerance of violence can lead only to more violence and a bad name for St. Augustine and for Florida.

St. Augustine

May 20, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR

**Ira Kapestein, Special Assistant to the Postmaster General for
Public Information, Post Office Department**
**F. Peter Libassi, Assistant Staff Director for Liaison & Information,
Civil Rights Commission**
Walter Posen, Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Interior
Benjamin Read, Executive Secretary, Department of State
William Taylor, General Counsel, Civil Rights Commission

The forthcoming Quadricentennial Celebration in St. Augustine, Florida appears to have involved the Federal Government in promoting a tourist oriented celebration for a community which will not house or feed Negro visitors.

It seems to me to be desirable to evolve a government-wide position on the subject and I would appreciate it, therefore, if you could participate in a meeting on Thursday, May 21, at 11:00 a. m. in my office. Please give my office a call if you can not make that hour.

Lee C. White
Associate Special Counsel
to the President

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

May 19, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE LEE C. WHITE, ASSOCIATE GENERAL COUNSEL
TO THE PRESIDENT, THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM : General Counsel *WT*
SUBJECT: St. Augustine, Florida

Here is the memorandum I promised you on St. Augustine. It outlines the continuing racial unrest in the community, the activities of the Quadricentennial Celebration and the extensive involvement of the Federal Government in the planning and execution of forthcoming activities.

Our conclusion is that the Federal Government's involvement in St. Augustine is potentially a serious source of international embarrassment to the United States. Federal agencies have been promoting both nationally and internationally a tourist oriented celebration in a community which will neither house nor feed Negro visitors.

Since the major problem is racial discrimination in public accommodations, passage of Title II of the pending civil rights bill will provide a means for dealing with the situation. But St. Augustine is a hard-core community and enactment of the civil rights bill will not in itself remove the problem unless the Federal Government takes affirmative steps to see that the community desegregates. Thus, we recommend that future Federal support be conditioned upon a decision by the community to desegregate and deal with its racial problems. While there are no vast sums of money involved, the promoters of the Centennial are relying upon the prestige and involvement of the Federal Government to make their celebration a success. Encouragement from the Presidential appointees on the Quadricentennial Commission as well as from the Federal agencies will facilitate racial change.

I would suggest that the agencies involved be invited to the White House and a coordinated approach be developed along the lines suggested in the attached memorandum. A draft memorandum to the agencies is also attached.

William L. Taylor

Attachments - 2

**UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425**

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA

St. Augustine, Florida, the oldest, permanent and continuous settlement in the United States, is located in the northeastern part of the State, thirty-eight miles southeast of Jacksonville. It is the County Seat of St. Johns County. The 1960 population of St. Augustine was 14,734, with a Negro population of 3,396, or twenty-three percent of the total population. The tourist trade is the principal source of income for the community which is closely linked with Jacksonville both economically and politically.

I. THE NATURE OF RACIAL UNREST

Public Accommodations: Demonstrations throughout 1963 and 1964, including those during the Easter season which received nationwide publicity, have been directed at desegregating St. Augustine's public accommodations. To date, some 288 persons have been arrested for sitting in on private property. Among those arrested were Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, mother of the Governor of Massachusetts, and Mrs. John M. Burgess, wife of a Negro Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts.

A recent St. Johns County grand jury reported, after hearing from a number of witnesses of both races, that the ". . . primary point of difficulty . . . centered around the desegregation of privately owned tourist accommodations and eating establishments . . ."

The few municipally owned public facilities are desegregated; interstate facilities of two bus companies are available to all. Of the privately owned facilities, three restaurants are desegregated (Howard Johnson, and two Five and Ten Cent store lunch counters). The Ponce de Leon Hotel advised Commission staff that it would provide desegregated facilities but has not made this policy public. The president of the local restaurant association, who favors desegregation of all public accommodations, operates his restaurant also under an unannounced policy of desegregation. The six other hotels and 73 motels, and all other restaurants refuse service to Negroes.

Administration of Justice and Civil Protection: While no formal charge of police brutality has been leveled at the St. Augustine Police Department, dogs and cattle prods have been used to disperse demonstration groups. The death of a Negro youth shot by police in effecting arrest, ". . . could have been possibly avoided if proper police procedures had been followed . . ." in the words of the coroner's jury. Negro youth have been arrested on a charge of littering while passing out reprints of a newspaper article on racial conditions in St. Augustine whereas Ku Klux Klansmen were permitted to pass out announcements of a Klan meeting without interruption. The home of a Negro leader was shot into, killing his dog. Three automobiles and a home of Negroes were mysteriously burned. No arrests were effected. Four Negroes were beaten when found near a Ku Klux Klan rally. Four Klansmen were arrested, but cases against three of them

were nolle prossed for lack of identification; the jury found the fourth not guilty. The four Negroes were charged with and convicted of assault. Negro youth have been adjudged delinquent and sent to reform schools upon being charged with violating the Florida unwelcome guest law as part of the local civil rights demonstrations.

There is one Negro policeman on a thirty-two man force and he believes himself to have limited power of arrest; he receives less pay than white officers and is not appointed under civil service regulations as his white colleagues are. Negroes serve on both grand and petit juries.

Many Negroes, lacking confidence in the willingness or ability of local police to protect them, have armed themselves for protection of home and family.

Education: The public school system is operated by St. Johns County. There are a total of fourteen schools in the County with an enrollment of 6,400 pupils, one-third of whom are Negroes. The schools within St. Augustine have an enrollment of 3,082 pupils, 895 of whom are Negroes. Following the institution of a school desegregation suit, the Board of Education adopted a policy of free transfer. However, only six Negro children have transferred to previously all white schools. The automobile of the parents of one of these children was burned while they were attending a PTA meeting, and the home of two others was destroyed by fire. Within the schools themselves desegregation has proceeded without incident.

Catholic schools in St. Augustine have not been attended by Negroes, but two Negro pupils have reportedly been admitted for the Fall term, 1964-1965. There are two all Negro parochial schools in St. Johns County outside of the city.

Health Facilities: The City's only hospital, Flagler Memorial, which was improved with Hill-Burton funds, is privately operated on a segregated basis. Negroes occupy one floor in one wing regardless of the nature of their illness. Toilet facilities and waiting rooms are segregated. Negro employees (65 out of a total of 183) allegedly enter through a separate entrance. Negro nurses administer to all patients alike but white nurses are never assigned to Negro patients.

Employment: Negroes are employed in the traditional service trades associated with the tourist industry. Only a few white merchants employ Negroes in public contact positions. The largest single employer is a government contractor employing from 700 to 1100 workers. At the time of Commission staff interview, 8% of the work force was nonwhite. Two of the thirteen employees participating in an in-service training program were Negroes. The union which represents these employees, International Association of Machinists, apparently does not discriminate against Negro employees of the firm in its membership policies.

Housing: There is no classic pattern of segregation of housing by areas since Negroes live throughout the City. However, Negroes tend to be offered and to buy only those houses previously occupied by Negroes. There are no federally assisted housing programs in St. Augustine.

Voting: There are no impediments to Negro registration and voting.

II. NEGRO DEMANDS AND COMMUNITY RESPONSES

In the summer of 1963, the Negro leadership requested the creation of a bi-racial committee to work towards the solution of local grievances. City officials responded by publicizing the fact that St. Augustine had no ordinances requiring discrimination or segregation in public facilities, and they offered to explore the possibility of establishing a bi-racial committee. Dr. Robert B. Hayling, a St. Augustine dentist, and President (at the time) of the Youth Council of the St. Augustine N.A.A.C.P., demanded that his organization be authorized to name the Negro members of the committee and that decisions of the committee be binding on the City. While these demands were being considered by City officials, Dr. Hayling, who along with other Negroes began to receive threatening phone calls, stated publicly that Negroes were armed and ready to fight for their rights if necessary. Thereafter City officials have refused to consider further the creation of a bi-racial committee. The N.A.A.C.P.

has since rejected the leadership of Dr. Hayling but the Branch President, Mrs. F. L. Fullwood, in January, 1964, appeared at the public meeting of the City Commission and presented the following recommendation:

"We recommend the establishment of a bi-racial committee, consisting of citizens interested in the welfare of all people in the progress of our City to study remaining areas in which segregation is practiced in our City, especially in businesses serving the public, and to begin immediately by working cooperatively with these establishments for the elimination of service and employment on a segregated basis."

The Commissioners have not responded to this request.

In the white community Herbert E. Wolfe appears to be the key to local decisions, especially those relative to the Quadricentennial Celebration. He, the Mayor, the Chief of Police and perhaps two City Commissioners are avowed segregationists. The other two Commissioners are probably moderates. In the business community, moderate leadership appears to rest in Frank Harrold, President of the St. Augustine National Bank, and in James Kalivas, the President of the St. Augustine Restaurant Association.

The Mayor and the City Solicitor are firmly of the opinion that the City government should not be involved in the creation of a bi-racial committee nor in applying pressure to the business community to desegregate public facilities. They assert that if business people should form a bi-racial committee and should they choose to desegregate, the City government will honor their decision. Again, in the words of the St. Johns County grand jury, "the primary point of

difficulty centers around the desegregation of privately owned tourist accommodations and eating establishments."

III. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INTEREST AND INVOLVEMENT

In addition to the Federal Government's normal interest in the deprivations of civil rights, denials of equal opportunity and general racial unrest, the Government has a compelling local interest in St. Augustine by virtue of the Quadricentennial Celebration scheduled for 1965. Stated simply, the Federal Government is a partner to the celebration which hopes to attract visitors from other countries as well as from the United States. Besides the Quadricentennial Commission, several other Federal agencies and the White House are and will be facilitating and actively participating in the celebration. The Federal Government, lending its name and prestige, has a vital concern in everything that will take place in St. Augustine during the celebration year.

The Quadricentennial Commission: On August 14, 1962, the President of the United States approved a joint resolution of the Senate and the House of Representatives establishing the St. Augustine Quadricentennial Commission "to develop and to execute suitable plans for the celebration, in 1965, of the four hundredth anniversary of the founding of St. Augustine . . ." (Public Law 87-586, 76 Stat. 386). The Commission is composed of eleven members: Senators Spessard L. Holland and George A. Smathers of Florida, appointed by the President

of the Senate: Representatives D. R. Matthews and William C. Cramer of Florida, appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives; the Director of the National Park Service, Department of Interior, ex officio; and Herbert E. Wolfe, Charles Patrick Clark, Henry Ford II, J. Peter Grace, Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley, and Dr. Edward W. Litchfield, appointed by the President. The President designated Herbert E. Wolfe as Chairman. Bruce C. Roberts, Superintendent of the Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments represents locally the Director of the National Park Service. The Commission accepted Earle W. Newton, Executive Director of the Florida State Commission (which Wolfe also chairs), as its Acting Secretary and Director General. Two bills, H.R. 6086 and S. 1411, to add two additional public members and authorize a \$350,000 appropriation for the Commission were introduced in 1963 and referred to the Judiciary Committees. Hearings were held on the House bill on June 17, 1963. No other action has been taken by either Committee.

State Department: Mr. Earle W. Newton, with the cooperation and assistance of the State Department, has visited Mexico and Columbia to confer with officials of the respective governments about their participation in the celebration. Contact has been made with the Spanish Government as well. As a result of these efforts thus far, Spain has reportedly purchased land in St. Augustine and plans to erect a permanent exhibition hall. The status of the plans of

other foreign countries is not certain. The proposed plan for the celebration does anticipate the construction of three exhibition buildings, representing the United States, Spain, and Latin America. A further report from the Department of State is expected.

Post Office Department: The Post Office Department reports that it has received a request for a stamp commemorating the 400th anniversary of Spanish settlement of North America with its first-day issue scheduled for St. Augustine. No action has been taken on this request. In addition, the Post Office has been asked to vacate the Federal Building it now occupies, and to move to another building to be constructed under a lease arrangement. G.S.A. would then be asked to turn the Federal Building, which is of historical significance, over to the Quadricentennial Commission for restoration and use as its headquarters during 1965. After the celebration the Park Service would be expected to maintain the building as a tourist attraction.

Interior Department: By statute the Director of the National Park Service or his representative is designated as the executive officer of the Quadricentennial Commission. In addition, the National Park Service is participating in the local planning in St. Augustine and is expected to make its facilities available during the celebration year for the special events contemplated. Some repairs and renovations are being made at the Park in anticipation of celebration.

Other Federal Involvement: The proposed plan for the 400th anniversary also envisions, among other activities, the following:

1. Official endorsements from the President of the United States and the President of Spain for reproduction and distribution to the press.
2. Formal opening of the celebration with address by President of the United States or Secretary of State. Luncheon or dinner to follow.
3. Symbolic flight of U. S. Air Force planes from Aviles to St. Augustine (landing at McDill Field), with the Mayor of Aviles representing the Spanish Government.
4. Meeting of the Inter-American Committee in St. Augustine arranged by Quadricentennial Commission.
5. Arrival of "typical Spanish family" from Aviles, under auspices of Junior Chamber of Commerce and U. S. Peoples-to-Peoples Program.
6. Formal opening of Spanish, Latin-American, United States and Florida exhibits.

IV. CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES

It is safe to predict that St. Augustine will continue to be a target for civil rights demonstrations particularly as the Federal Government's participation becomes more obvious. It therefore is

important for the Federal agencies to adopt a uniform policy position. The continued cooperation of Federal agencies in the celebration should be conditioned on the following:

1. Complete desegregation in attendance and seating at all Quadricentennial events and affirmative efforts to include Negroes.
2. Complete desegregation of all hotels, motels, restaurants and other places of public accommodation, and good faith compliance with the letter and spirit of Title II of the Civil Rights Act.
3. Full participation on a desegregated basis by Negroes and whites in the planning and in the presentation of all events in the celebration.
4. The general improvement of relations between whites and Negroes in the community in such areas as police-community relations, schools, medical facilities and employment. The appointment of a bi-racial committee or other means may be appropriate for the accomplishment of this objective, giving some assurance that racial demonstrations will not break out in the midst of the Celebration.

Pending concrete signs of desegregation in public accommodations, the Federal agencies should suspend further support of the celebration by:

1. Withholding transfer of the Federal Building to the Quadricentennial Commission for use in the celebration and withholding approval of a new Post Office location.
2. Advising representatives of OAS, Spain, Mexico, Columbia and of other countries planning to participate that the Federal Government is suspending further support of the Quadricentennial pending the elimination of racially discriminatory practices in public accommodations.
3. Discontinuing further steps encouraging foreign governments to locate buildings or exhibitions in St. Augustine or to participate otherwise.
4. Withholding approval of the use of National Park Service facilities for any event of the celebration.
5. Withholding approval of a commemorative stamp.

V. CONCLUSION

St. Augustine represents a potential source of continued racial unrest and agitation and of embarrassment to the Federal Government. In 1963, when the then Vice President Johnson went to St. Augustine to address a dinner meeting, Negroes had been excluded and threatened to picket the occasion. Following President Johnson's intervention, tickets were made available to Negroes in the community. Instances

such as that are bound to recur at every point of prominent Federal participation during the celebration.

Preliminary discussions with the Federal agencies indicate a general willingness to cooperate in an effort to encourage local initiative in correcting existing conditions. Also three Commission members (Ford, Litchfield and Grace) have indicated their desire that attention be given to the amelioration of racial unrest. In light of this, the Presidential appointees on the Quadricentennial Commission might be advised by the White House of the President's wish that they use their influence to assure that steps are taken immediately to desegregate public accommodations. Such action, combined with steps by the Federal agencies, will facilitate racial change.

The Federal agencies will need to know that they are acting with White House approval in view of the Congressional interest in the St. Augustine celebration.

Prepared by the staff,
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

May 18, 1964

May 8, 1963

Dear Mr. President:

I am forced to agree 100% with the enclosed letter, and I am therefore formally requesting that you consider disassociating yourself from the Commission to celebrate the Quadricentennial of St. Augustine, Florida, and that federal funds and facilities not be made available.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

ADAM C. POWELL
Chairman

The Honorable
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

cc: Mrs. F. Fullerwood
Vice President Lyndon Johnson

ACP:ms

By sgl SANITIZED
NARS, Date 7-1-81

It was a very busy day on Aug. 1st. The day was disturbed by a strong wind blow in off the Atlantic ocean. It was distributed throughout St. Augustine inviting "all the people" to attend a rally of the Ku Klux Klan. I was asked to attend as an observer.

With a sense of mingled anticipation and apprehension I made my way to the site of the evening meeting. The place chosen was outside the city, approximately one-half mile off U. S. Highway #1, down a narrow, dirt woods road. The spot selected was a clearing at the edge of the woods.

On turning off the highway, I noticed a number of robed and hooded men, most of whom were directing the parking of cars. No law enforcement officer was in evidence, either at the highway for directing traffic, or at the meeting to insure orderly procedure. A dozen or more children, ranging in age from eight through twelve years, were positioned at irregular intervals along the lane. They were selling Confederate automobile tags.

I was told by a hooded man that I might drive all the way to the end of the road or park alongside the road. I chose to park half way between the highway and the meeting place, backing up my parking place in case a hasty exit were indicated.

No sooner had I arrived at the clearing than a red-robed klansman ordered the lighting of the cross. It was my first experience at seeing this well-known desecration of the time-honored Christian symbol, and I felt a sense of revulsion at it. A huge cross, possibly twenty feet high, had been wrapped in burlap, soaked in a flammable liquid, and placed in an upright position. A man was

XEROX FROM QUICK COPY

8724 72 COPY
Lyndon B. Johnson Library

applied and the cross immediately was covered with flames. Klansmen and Klanswomen, two dozen strong, walked in a circle around the burning cross, giving a sort of sloppy, left-handed sign of abstinence. It was vaguely reminiscent of the sig-hell salute of the Nazis.

As this procession occurred, one could hear the faint strains of "The Old Ragged Cross" floating across the crowd. A group of girls, early teen-agers, were humming and singing as the fire burned more and more intensely.

Before this ceremony was to have been concluded, large stacks of floating burlap were carried by the high winds into the nearby grass, and small brush fires were started. It was necessary for the Klansmen to push the cross to the ground and to stamp out the fire.

It was mildly amusing to note that this extreme racist group was robed in three colors, white, red and black. It seemed ironical that white and black should be mixed so freely in such a ceremony, though one guessed that the black was coldly symbolic.

The meeting was called to order. "Our Brother Klansman, Gene F. (his surname is not firmly fixed in my mind, though I think I remember it) will lead in the invocation." Then a man in a dark suit and white shirt, "O God, we thank you for this occasion which brings together good white people together. We know it is your good will that we be here, that we be stirred to the fact that we've got to fight for what you've given us. All we want is to do your precious will. Help us to be ready to fight, to shed blood if necessary, to maintain our way of life. In Jesus' precious name we pray, Amen."

Without further preliminaries, the presiding officer said,

"Brothers and Sisters;—our speaker of the evening is a man who has been a minister of the gospel for more than 35 years. It is my pleasure to introduce to you Brother Connie Lee, of Alabama." No further biographical information was presented.

"My friends," Lee began, "I want to share with you something of the history, the glorious history, of the klan. The klan was born out of bloodshed, out of a real need to protect the southern white man from the carpetbaggers---the Jew Carpetbaggers. You know, of course, that the carpetbaggers was Jews, and they come down here and teamed up with the Niggers and tried to take away everything that the white man had. But they learned that the white man would not take all this lying down. He organized. He organized into klans. He 'rose up to defend his honor and his interests. And, I'll tell you that to this day, the Jews, the Niggers and all the rest of the colored people are not afraid of anything else, but they are afraid of the klan.

"For the last thirty years, the klan has not been strong, has not been militant. But the klan is on the move again, and it is not going to let the Niggers and the Jews take over our country.

"Now, some of you say, 'But Jesus was a Jew.' That just goes to show you how these cotton pickin', half-witted preachers has fooled you. Jesus wasn't no Jew, he was a white man. Jesus said that the Jews was descended from Cain, the cursed side of creation. He said that they was children of the devil. So don't let no sentimental fool tell you that Jesus was a Jew.

"I've been through a lot of battles in my time, and I am still battling for what I know is right. I'm speaking for God, and you'd better hear what I say.

and to poison me if they can. So I kill 'em all, and if there's four less Niggers tonight, then, I say, 'Good for whoever planted the bomb.' We're all better off.

"Some people say that we'll all be in heaven together. The hell we will! Only God's family will be in heaven, and Niggers and Jews ain't God's family. Ain't gonna be no animals in heaven, and ain't gonna be no sons of perdition there. It's just a damn some people brought these black animals over here, animals mighty enough developed so that their seed can mix with your seed. But they won't be here much longer, because the klan is getting stronger. People up North are begging us to come up there to help them organize. Imagine that! They've decided they don't like the Niggers too well, neither, and they want help. And we are busy and growing in the South.

"I believe in violence, all the violence it takes either to scare the Niggers out of the country or to have 'em all six feet under. My old Daddy told me never to trust that old lying mule we had, and never to trust a Nigger. That was good advice.

"Some of the Niggers say, 'We want to go to your churches.' There ain't but one manly, Christian thing to do when they try, and that is to meet 'em at the church house door with a baseball bat and to beat their brains out.

"I'll tell you something else. You've got a Nigger in St. Augustine ought not to live.....that kurr-headed bastard of a dentist. He's got no right to live at all, let alone walk up and down your streets and breathe the white man's free air. He ought to wake up tomorrow morning with a bullet between his eyes. If you were half the men you claim to be you'd kill him before sunup."

At this point an elderly bystander shouted, "Tell us about King!" Lee answered, "Oh, you mean Martin Luther Coon. That's the greatest enemy we've ever had. He's crooked as a snake. He ought to have been killed a long time ago. I heard him on TV the other night saying, 'The Nigger is not satisfied.' Well, he never will be, because before they are satisfied they all will be six feet under the ground. That Elijah Muhammed said the other day that they were ready to sacrifice 10,000,000 Niggers in their fight. Well now, that's just fine, because if they are willing to sacrifice 10,000,000, I'll be sure to be happy to help them sacrifice the other 10,000,000."

"They want to mix with you, do they? Well listen, if you mix ice cream and axel grease, you don't hurt the axel grease much at all, but you play hell with the ice cream. In spite of what these numb-skull idiots on the Supreme Court say, they ain't got no right to mix with you and don't you let 'em. If you have to fight and shed blood, theirs or yours, do it! You won't hear the white man whining when he has a few casualties like the Niggers do. They scream and cry about those dead animals in Birmingham. The Niggers started the war, and when you start a war, you expect some to die. More will die, and you'd better be ready to see to it that they do. I'm speaking for God, and you'd better listen."

"We've got guts enough to do something about the situation and no other organization has. We need a good strong group in St. Augustine. You come and sign up. But don't come if you are weak or a coward. This ain't no peaceful organization. We aim to do whatever is necessary to put the Nigger back in his place, preferably in his grave."

(6)

The speech lasted an hour and a quarter. It was met with frenzied,

screaming approval and rebel yells, especially throughout the first half. The crowd, largely young adults and children with but few oldsters, had been at fever pitch emotionally. However, after an hour, some began to drift away and the crowd dwindled to about two-thirds its original size of 250 persons.

Following Lee's address, Gene F. again was introduced, and this time he was identified as being from MacClenny. He was a singularly dull, inept speaker and the crowd shrunk rapidly until it numbered about 100. The earlier speaker tried to inject enthusiasm and life into his address by shouting his approval of what was said and by calling for the crowd to do so. Two or three times he met with some success, but finally only he was clapping and shouting. The crowd had become restless and inattentive. Having stamped and shouted approval for so long, they now seemed bored.

At this point, there came shouts from the bushes. "Niggers! Niggers! Niggers!" Frantically, Connie Lee jumped from the platform and jerked a gun from his coral-colored Cadillac, cocking it as he handed it to a younger man. Another gun appeared as if from out of the air and large knives, sticks and brass knucks appeared on all sides. Twenty or more men went into the bushes to the north and in a few moments, they brought four Negro men to the platform. Each Negro was prodded by a knife or a gun in his back.

There were all sorts of taunts, vile, vicious, frantic. "Boy, what're y'all doing out here?" "We just came out to run our fish lines," came the reply. Inasmuch as the spokesman wore a short-sleeved white shirt, a tie and neat slacks, the crowd screamed their unbelief. One of the Negroes was snatched around and ordered, "Wipe that smile off your face," which he attempted to do immediately. I marveled

at the Negroes' apparent composure throughout their ordeal.

Two young men, whom I observed closely, held guns toward their captives, while no one seemed to know what to do. There was considerable swaggering and big talk, but a look at the faces of those who held the weapons indicated that they were perplexed and afraid. A few moments before, it had been easy for them to scream approval of "killing all the Niggers," but now holding real weapons and faced with real people, they hardly knew what to do.

My first impression was that everything was too precise in this occurrence, that probably it was a planned show. I hardly could believe that these Negroes would accept pay for such a performance, yet it all seemed quite unreal. The Negroes had been produced at a time when the meeting was dying; they were unbelievably calm; their tormentors were so uncertain that they appeared to be merely bad actors; and besides, this was Florida, U.S.A., in the year 1963. I was frozen, numb, in disbelief.

If the white men had fears and were reluctant to do harm, their women took care of that. They cajoled, shouted and prodded the men into action. Children joined in the chorus of demands that the Negroes be killed. At this point, two white men stripped their shirts away and began to strike with their fists. At the sight of blood, I finally was jolted into an awareness of the fact that this was, indeed, a tragically real occurrence.

My first impulse was to stand silently and unobtrusively in the crowd, seeking to be the most observant witness of which I was capable. After a few moments of this, I realized that the only matter of importance was to try to save the men from a brutal beating and almost certain death.

Having observed the confusion and cowardice written in the men's faces, I had a fleeting impulse to step forward and to say, "All right, I am a white Southerner, too, but you've lost your minds. Shoot these men if you wish, but shoot through me. Come on, fellows, let's go," and then to take them to my car. I still wonder if call their bluff in this way might not have worked. I must say, however, any plan to follow such a course was short-lived.

The beating continued, the women persisting with, "Castrate the bastards!" "Kick their balls out!" "Knock their heads off!" "Kill 'em. Come on, do something!" "They had to trespass to get here, they've got no right to live. Strang 'em up."

Nearby, a robed woman spoke in a semi-whisper to her husband, "Go get the head chopper....and get the rope, and for God's sake, take off your robe and leave it in the car. You don't want to mess it up." It was then I knew I had to leave the crowd, make my way to a telephone and summon police help. But I was almost in the middle of the mob, and to get away was extremely precarious. My automobile was a quarter mile away. The people had been reminded repeatedly that "spies" doubtless were present. No one else was leaving at this time, and there was no certainty that a person leaving would not be shot.

At each blow of the fist and responding shout from the crowd, I managed to take a few steps through the mob, and to take up a new position for a few seconds. Finally, after an eternity of seconds, I had worked my way to the extreme edge of the gathering. There then was nothing to do but to saunter casually toward my automobile, kicking aimlessly in the sand as I walked along. Once in my car, I left

quickly but not at excessive speed.

Stopping at a nearby bowling alley, I noticed at least two men who earlier had been at the rally, so I casually asked the manager for enough change for three packages of cigarettes and a couple of phone calls. I had only a five dollar bill and two pennies with me. Then I learned that the sole telephone booth in the bowling alley was occupied. I waited two or three minutes, drinking a soft drink so as not to appear too anxious. When the telephone was not released, I drove north in search of another toll telephone.

First I called the sheriff's office and reported the incident. The way in which I was answered with, "Is that so? Thank you," left me with the feeling that he almost had been expecting such a call, and again I wondered if perhaps I had become unnecessarily excited. But with the shouts, the blood, the weapons still vividly in my mind, I knew the beatings were not a sham. Aware that local law enforcement had been reputed to be somewhat inequitable along racial lines, I still feared that nothing might be done in time to save the four Negroes. I had known that Negroes recently had been arrested and sentenced for "littering" when they passed out handbills. I knew also that the Ku Kluxers had not been arrested for doing the same thing on that day, or rather that some had been brought in and released, the police saying, "but they weren't littering."

Having this anxiety, my next step was to call the state Adjutant General's office. I was required to give considerable information about myself before making a report on the current fracas, but someone in that office did take the information from me.

Still wondering if enough had been done, I then placed a long distance call to the F.B.I. in Jacksonville. I fully identified my-

self by name, profession and address and I made a report on the current mob action. It seemed to me that both federal and local laws were being flaunted and that each agency at least should have the information, beginning on the local level and going to the top.

At the time I had left the meeting, I had decided that to call the authorities was about all I could do to alleviate the situation and that it would be dangerous and foolish to drive along back down the narrow, dark road into the woods. So far as I know, I was the only person to have left the meeting during the fever pitch of excitement. I know a few within the crowd had seen me leave and that if I rejoined them, my own safety might be in jeopardy. Yet I could not leave the area without knowing that the men either were safe or dead.

I then drove back to the bowling alley (which was by the entrance to the woods road) and parked in front of it. A small group of young men from the rally had gathered by the corner of the bowling alley. They were about forty feet from me. After waiting for about 10 minutes, I saw a green, unmarked automobile pass, in which were two officers and the four Negroes. With this I felt free to leave, and I headed for home.

Since then I have learned that four white men from among the mob were arrested on a charge of assault and battery, and that they were released on \$100 bond each. (This, incidentally, is as small as the smallest bond exacted of the Negroes in recent demonstrations. Some have been as high as \$750). The sheriff is reported to have said that by the time of his arrival, the crowd had dwindled to nothing. However, as I left the bowling alley to return home, I looked down the

lane and there were many more than four or five persons along the way to the meeting place. Perhaps some of these brave klansmen and their vocal women had made for the bushes, and perhaps only four people still were in evidence, but I have no doubt that a minimum of effort would have revealed others.

I also have learned that while I was telephoning, the beatings became more brutal ~~and~~ than any which I had witnessed and that three of the Negroes are hospitalized at this writing. To give proper credit to the sheriff, I must say that he arrived on the scene within a very few minutes after he was called.