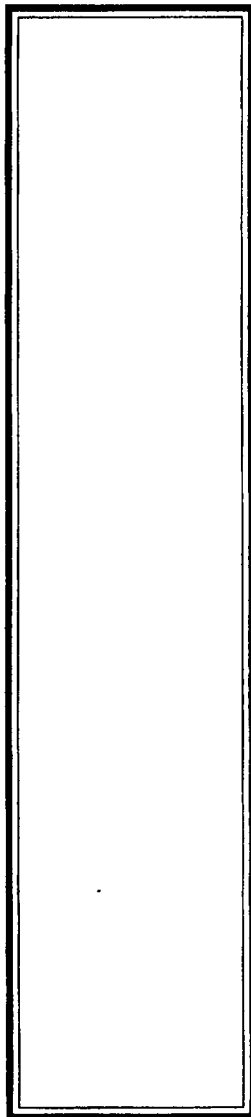


*A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of*

**BLACK STUDIES RESEARCH SOURCES**  
**Microfilms from Major Archival and Manuscript Collections**

General Editors: John H. Bracey, Jr. and August Meier

# **PAPERS OF THE NAACP**



**Supplement to Part 4,  
Voting Rights,  
General Office Files,  
1956–1965**

**UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA**

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# **PAPERS OF THE NAACP**

## **Supplement to Part 4, Voting Rights, General Office Files, 1956–1965**

**Edited by John H. Bracey, Jr. and August Meier**

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## SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

The records microfilmed for this supplemental edition document the NAACP's efforts between 1956 and 1965 to guarantee and extend the franchise among African Americans. Fighting for the franchise had been one of the NAACP's earliest major campaigns. As *Papers of the NAACP, Part 4, Voting Rights, 1916–1950* shows, the NAACP fought relentlessly, from the very beginning of its existence, against the denial of voting rights to African Americans. It filed an *amicus curiae* brief in a case against the “grandfather” clause in 1915, and it took the lead in the struggle to render “white primary elections” unconstitutional before the U.S. Supreme Court. The result was landmark constitutional rulings against both of these practices.

Yet black suffrage in the southern states was systematically thwarted for almost two decades after the last major case against the “white primary” in 1948. The use of other—ostensibly race-neutral—devices, such as literacy tests and poll taxes, were administered in a blatantly discriminatory manner. Violence and other forms of reprisals were also a pervasive form of discouragement. All of this was made possible by the fact that the federal government failed to protect the constitutional guarantee of the franchise—leaving enforcement of the right to vote to doggedly racist state officials.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the NAACP worked for a comprehensive “omnibus” civil rights bill that included the elimination of poll taxes and literacy tests and the guarantee of federal enforcement (see UPA's microfilm collection, *Papers of the NAACP, Part 13-B, Cooperation with Organized Labor, 1940–1955*, for the development of this campaign). In response to this NAACP-led campaign, Congress in 1957 passed the first civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. It was a mild civil rights act providing for federal commissioners to document voting rights denials and devise civil remedies. While the 1957 act fell far short of the demands of the civil rights movement—and far short of the future 1965 federal voting rights act—it nonetheless provided encouragement for the extension of the franchise to African Americans in southern states. Much of the material microfilmed for this supplemental edition documents NAACP efforts to capitalize on the 1957 act. The records reveal the association's frustration with the less than adequate implementation of the act and its persisting struggle to guarantee black voting rights in the late 1950s and early 1960s. However, by 1965, the chronological terminus of this edition, a new sense of optimism and dedication emerged with the

more comprehensive federal Voting Rights Act. The edition provides ample documentation on NAACP plans to capitalize on the 1965 act, including the 1965 Summer Project to register blacks in the Deep South.

The impact of the 1957 federal Civil Rights Act is apparent in several individual files and file series. For example, the Atlanta Meeting file at frame 0172 of Reel 1 covers the NAACP-led planning meeting on how best to capitalize on the 1957 act. The meeting developed a two-prong strategy of fielding registration drives where they were likely to succeed and initiating federal litigation where strong cases could be compiled against disenfranchisement. The 1957 Civil Rights Act files include planning memos, minutes of meetings, and reports by local NAACP leaders such as Medgar Evers of Mississippi. The file entitled Implementation Committee on Registration and Voting at Frame 0750 of Reel 2 documents a follow-up to the Atlanta Meeting.

The voter registration drive that came out of the Atlanta Meeting is exhaustively documented in the files of John M. Brooks, who initiated a successful registration campaign in the Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia, areas and rose to become the NAACP's national director of voter registration. His files, which begin on Frame 0256 and run through Frame 0946 of Reel 1 include correspondence and field reports from every region of the South. The reports cover increases in black registration, the establishment of African American political organizations, the impact of African Americans on local elections, conflicts with other civil rights organizations (such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Congress of Racial Equality, and Council of Federated Organizations), recruitment of local civil rights leaders, and the network formed by the NAACP and African American churches in the South.

A similar wealth of material on NAACP voter registration work in the late 1950s and early 1960s in the South is in the files of W. C. Patton, beginning on Frame 0656 of Reel 3 and running through 0716 of Reel 4. Patton was the field secretary for the NAACP Voter Registration Department. He was headquartered in Alabama, where the NAACP was outlawed in the late 1950s, and hence, Patton operated undercover as the head of a voter registration league. His first major registration campaign in Memphis, Tennessee, is particularly well documented, but his files are filled with reports from every area of the South.

An even larger series under States (thereunder alphabetical by name of the state) begins on Frame of 0001 of Reel 5 and continues through Frame 0524 of Reel 6. The States files provide a great deal of material to complement the files of Brooks and Patton just described. They contain direct correspondence between the national office and local civil rights leaders such as Medgar Evers and Aaron Henry of Mississippi, C. G. Gomillion and Fred Shuttleworth of Alabama, W. W. Law and Hosea Williams of Georgia, and others. The Alabama files include extensive coverage of the Tuskegee racial gerrymandering case and also information on the NAACP role in the Selma, Alabama,

civil rights march of 1965. Episodes of conflict and cooperation with other civil rights organizations are a frequent topic after the early 1960s.

The NAACP's use of federal legal machinery to force southern states' compliance with the civil rights act and the guarantee of the vote to African Americans is also well covered by the States files. The Louisiana and North Carolina files document NAACP appeals to the Federal Civil Rights Commission, which had been established by the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to hear voting rights complaints. Both the Louisiana and the Mississippi files shed light on the involvement of the U.S. Department of Justice in handling voting rights complaints. The Georgia file documents the intransigence of a southern-based federal court as it resisted petitions by the NAACP.

The emergence of local civil rights organizations independent of the NAACP is also well documented. These include the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, the Tuskegee Civic Association, and others. There are numerous ad hoc voter registration drives covered in the files as well. Although the bulk of the documentation is greatest for southern states, there are also a few files on efforts to register African Americans in important states outside the south, including California, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Another file, entitled Northern Voting Registration (Reel 3, Frame 0500), provides material on NAACP registration drives in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles.

The file series entitled NAACP Summer Project, which begins at Frame 0822 on Reel 2 and runs through Reel 3, frame 0272, documents NAACP actions taken in anticipation of the 1965 Federal Voting Rights Act. The association targeted three of the most intransigent Deep South states—Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina—for an intense voter registration drive, staffed by volunteers from within and outside the target states. The files contain planning memos and press releases about the drive as well as field reports and a large compilation of press clippings on the campaign. A regular Summer Project newsletter reports on successful episodes as well as on resistance offered by White Citizens' Councils, the Ku Klux Klan, and state and local officials.

The political campaign leading up to the enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act will be fully documented in *Papers of the NAACP, Part 21, NAACP Relations with the Modern Civil Rights Movement*. However, the file entitled Federal Legislation at Reel 2, Frame 0248, includes NAACP testimony on various voting rights bills. Most of the testimony spells out the weaknesses of the 1957 act. It also makes suggestions that go beyond the final wording of the 1965 act.

Efforts to assess the strength of the black voting population are covered in scattered documents throughout several of the files, particularly those of John Brooks, W. C. Patton, and the States series mentioned above. However, the files entitled General on Reel 2, Frames 0550 through 0749, contain a great



deal of statistical information on black registration and voting strength, particularly for southern states. There are also analyses of the African American vote in the 1958 and 1960 elections.

## **NOTE ON SOURCES**

Records for this microfilm edition are drawn from the NAACP Collection at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

## **EDITORIAL NOTE**

The files reproduced in this microfilm edition have been selected from the General Office File for 1956–1965 (Group III) of the NAACP Collection by Professors John H. Bracey, Jr. and August Meier. The entire file series entitled “Register and Vote” is included in this edition. Each file has been microfilmed in its entirety.



# REEL INDEX

The following is an alphabetical listing of the folders comprising *Papers of the NAACP, Supplement to Part 4, Voting Rights, General Office Files, 1956–1965*. The four-digit number on the far left is the frame number at which a particular file folder begins. This is followed by the file title, the date(s) of the file, and the total number of pages. Information in brackets has been added to further assist the researcher in accessing the contents of the files.

## Reel 1

File Folder  
Frame No.

### Group III, Series A, General Office File

#### Group III, Box A-265

##### Subject File—Register and Vote

- 0001 **American Heritage Foundation, 1956–1965.** 67pp.  
*Major Topics:* 1956 national nonpartisan register and vote campaign; NAACP cooperation; Brendan Byrne's appointment as executive director; NAACP voter registration campaign.  
*Principal Correspondents:* John C. Cornelius; Roy Wilkins; Arthur B. Spingarn; Brendan Byrne; Henry Lee Moon; John A. Morsell; John H. Calhoun; Carl A. Fuqua; Thomas Brophy; W. C. Patton; Mildred Bond.
- 0068 **Articles, 1956–1957.** 104pp.  
*Major Topics:* Bloc voting; African American voters in the South; African American vote in 1956 presidential election.  
*Principal Correspondents:* J. Francis Pohlhaus; Henry Lee Moon; Roy Wilkins; Charles H. Thompson; Jack Squire; Charles A. McLean; John A. Morsell.

#### Group III, Box A-266

##### Subject File—Register and Vote

- 0172 **Atlanta Meeting (November 17–18, 1957), 1957–1958.** 84pp.  
*Major Topics:* Discussions on effects of Civil Rights Act of 1957; NAACP voter registration campaign; invitations; South Carolina election laws; Atlanta urban renewal program; list of participants; program; minutes; expenses.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Gloster B. Current; Thurgood Marshall; Benjamin E. Mays; J. M. Hinton; C. R. Darden; John A. Morsell; John H. Calhoun; William B. Hartsfield; F. L. Shuttlesworth; Henry Lee Moon; W. Lester Banks.
- 0256 **Brooks, John M.: Director, South-Wide Voter Registration Campaign, 1957–1958.** 170pp.  
*Major Topics:* African American voter registration in Virginia; Virginia voting and registration requirements; appointment as director; list of NAACP branch offices; expenses; NAACP voter registration campaign; reports.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Philip Y. Wyatt; Roy Wilkins; Clarence Mitchell; Kelly M. Alexander; W. Lester Banks; John A. Morsell; Edward J. Odom Jr.; Henry Lee Moon; Gloster B. Current.

- 0426 **Brooks, John M.: Director, Voter Registration, 1959.** 130pp.  
*Major Topics:* NAACP voter registration campaign; shooting of African American youths in Richmond, Virginia, by whites; expenses.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; John A. Morsell; W. Lester Banks; Gloster B. Current; Kelly M. Alexander; Henry Lee Moon.
- 0556 **Brooks, John M.: Director, Voter Registration, 1960.** 67pp.  
*Major Topics:* Student sit-ins; NAACP voter registration campaign; African American vote in 1960 presidential campaign.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Kelly M. Alexander; L. C. Bates.
- 0623 **Brooks, John M.: Director, Voter Registration, 1961.** 109pp.  
*Major Topics:* NAACP voter registration campaign; list of registered voters in Monroe, Louisiana.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Berl I. Bernhard; Gloster B. Current.
- 0732 **Brooks, John M.: Director, Voter Registration, 1962–1963.** 95pp.  
*Major Topics:* Reports; NAACP voter registration campaign; NAACP political action program; citizenship tests for voter registration.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; W. Lester Banks; Kelly M. Alexander; Leslie W. Dunbar; Calvin D. Banks; Gloster B. Current; John A. Morsell; Henry Lee Moon.
- 0827 **Brooks, John M.: Director, Voter Registration, 1964–1965.** 119pp.  
*Major Topics:* Expenses; NAACP voter registration campaign; NAACP voter education project; lists of information on 1965 municipal elections in major U.S. cities; passage of Voting Rights Act of 1965; Crusade for Voters Committee of Virginia; African American vote in 1965 Virginia gubernatorial election.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Mildred Bond; John A. Morsell; Thomas H. Henderson; W. C. Patton; Robert W. Saunders; William S. Thornton; Alvie A. Benton.

## Reel 2

### Group III, Series A, General Office File cont.

#### Group III, Box A-267

#### Subject File—Register and Vote cont.

- 0001 **Correspondence: General, 1956–1965.** 233pp.  
*Major Topics:* Requests for information; Catholic opposition to segregation; restrictions on African Americans voting in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; American Heritage, NAACP, and Young Women's Christian Association voter registration campaigns; request for American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations funding for NAACP citizenship education projects; Civil Rights Act of 1957; political action plan for minorities; proposals for establishment of federal voting registrars and abolition of poll tax; Ohio NAACP Voter Education Workshop; NAACP civil rights legislative campaign; NAACP voter registration booklet and manual; Non-Partisan Crusade to Mobilize Negro Voters; reports on NAACP civil rights activities in North Carolina and in the Southwest Region; Virginia law preventing NAACP from acting in the courts in civil rights cases; Mississippi Freedom Summer; lists of NAACP voter registration chairmen; Voting Rights Act of 1965.

*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; John A. Morsell; William A. Mills; Clarence Mitchell; Albert Gore Sr.; Harold C. Flemming; Henry Lee Moon; William O. Douglas; George Meany; A. Philip Randolph; Alfred Baker Lewis; Paul H. Douglas; J. Edgar Hoover; J. H. Calhoun; W. C. Patton; Amos O. Holmes; Gloster B. Current; Hobart Carroll; William L. Taylor; Harris Wofford; Loula Lasker; Franklin H. Williams; Clarence A. Laws; Burke Marshall; Berl I. Bernhard; Kelly M. Alexander; Walter Reuther; Roy Reuther; Ruby Hurley; Calvin D. Banks; Dore Schary.

0234 **Evers, Charles, 1964–1965.** 12pp.

*Major Topics:* Statement before U.S. Civil Rights Commission in Jackson, Mississippi, on NAACP voter registration activities and white violence; report on NAACP 1964 voter registration campaign.

*Principal Correspondent:* John A. Morsell.

0246 **Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1957.** 2pp.

*Major Topic:* NAACP request for Federal Bureau of Investigation report on restrictions on African American voting in the South.

*Principal Correspondent:* J. Edgar Hoover.

0248 **Federal Legislation, [1957]–1965.** 296pp.

*Major Topics:* Report on the federal government and the right to vote; proposed establishment of federal voting registrars; testimony of Joseph L. Rauh Jr. before Senate Committee on Rules and Administration on civil rights legislation; voting record for Maryland and West Virginia congressmen on civil rights legislation; NAACP support for Washington, D.C., voting rights amendment; statement of Erwin Griswold before Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights; opposition to literacy tests as a voting qualification and to the poll tax; NAACP statement on federal voting rights legislation; NAACP voter registration programs; Dodd-Cooper Equal Voting Rights Bill; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Voting Rights Act of 1965; President Lyndon Johnson's right to vote message; amendments proposed by Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

*Principal Correspondents:* Herbert Hill; Roy Wilkins; Clarence Mitchell; W. C. Patton; Joseph L. Rauh Jr.; William P. Rogers; Erwin Griswold; Kenneth Keating; J. Francis Pohlhaus; Sam Ervin; Robert Byrd; Michael Quill; John Sherman Cooper; Stuart Symington; Andrew Biemiller; Hubert H. Humphrey; John G. Tower; John Marshall Butler; Estes Kefauver; Henry M. Jackson; Emanuel Celler; James Farmer; Paul Douglas; Clifford Case; Gloster B. Current; Lee C. White.

0544 **Freedom Schools, 1964.** 6pp.

*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Gloster B. Current.

0550 **General, 1957–1965.** 165pp.

*Major Topics:* Statistics relating to NAACP voter registration activities in the South; special report on 1958 elections; call for assembly of unrepresented people in Washington, D.C.; NAACP voter registration campaign; meeting between Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King Jr.; report on distribution of registration pamphlets to key NAACP branches; Non-Partisan Crusade to Register One Million New Negro Voters; NAACP Voter Registration Committee budget; proposals for voter registration programs; voting rights cases in the U.S. Supreme Court; passage of anti-poll tax amendment to the Constitution; 1964 NAACP election survey.

*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Ruby Hurley; Kelly M. Alexander; Henry Lee Moon; John M. Brooks; Leo Pfeffer.

- 0715     **General, Undated.** 35pp.  
          *Major Topics:* Voter registration deadlines; NAACP political action program; economic intimidation of African American voters in Tennessee; distribution of registration pamphlets to key NAACP branches; NAACP voter registration plans.
- 0750     **Implementation Committee on Registration and Voting, 1957–1959.** 72pp.  
          *Major Topics:* Passage of Civil Rights Act of 1957; NAACP Conference on Registration and Voting; meetings; recommendations on NAACP voter registration campaign in the South; NAACP political action program; committee recommendations; statistics on potential African American vote in the South.  
          *Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Gloster B. Current; Clarence Mitchell; Martin Luther King Jr.; Kelly M. Alexander.
- 0822     **NAACP Summer Project, 1964–May 1965.** 206pp.  
          *Major Topics:* Risks involved in civil rights work in Mississippi; program and planning for Mississippi summer project; NAACP voter registration campaign in Mississippi; Alabama summer project plans; passage of Voting Rights Act of 1965; invitations to voter registration planning conference; population statistics for Mississippi summer project; South Carolina summer project; status reports.  
          *Principal Correspondents:* Henry Lee Moon; Gloster B. Current; Herbert Hill; Robert L. Carter; Roy Wilkins; Althea T. L. Simmons; Leon Schull; Edwin J. Lukas; Theodore Leskes; Dore Schary; Joachim Prinz; Walter Reuther; Raymond Hilliard; Dorothy Height; William A. Ryan; William H. Oliver; John W. Nixon.

## Reel 3

### Group III, Series A, General Office File cont.

#### Group III, Box A-268

#### Subject File—Register and Vote cont.

- 0001     **NAACP Summer Project, June–August 1965.** 76pp.  
          *Major Topics:* Planning; NAACP voter registration campaign; NAACP summer projects in Maryland, Florida, South Carolina, and Alabama; contributions; Mississippi summer project orientation; progress reports; police intimidation of Alabama summer project volunteers; Voting Rights Act of 1965; request for federal registrars in South Carolina; NAACP lawsuit to force reapportionment of South Carolina state legislature.  
          *Principal Correspondents:* Ulysses S. Wiggins; John A. Morsell; Althea T. L. Simmons; Gloster B. Current; Henry Lee Moon.
- 0077     **NAACP Summer Project, September–October 1965.** 136pp.  
          *Major Topics:* Publicity; contributions; report on Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina summer projects; assignment of federal registrars in the South; abolition of poll tax; newspaper articles; bombing of car of Natchez, Mississippi, civil rights worker; southern opposition to Voting Rights Act of 1965; workers' weekly reports; appointment of Reverend Johnny Barbour as coordinator of Mississippi Voter Education Program.  
          *Principal Correspondents:* Gloster B. Current; Althea T. L. Simmons; Thomas H. Allen; Roy Wilkins; Johnny Barbour; John A. Morsell.
- 0213     **NAACP Summer Project, 1965 (Undated).** 60pp.  
          *Major Topics:* Planning for Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina summer projects; applications for volunteers; proposed summer project for Texas.  
          *Principal Correspondent:* Gloster B. Current.

- 0273     **"Non-Partisan Crusade to Register One Million New Negro Voters," 1960.** 90pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Report on activities; financial summary; planning; newspaper articles; strategic significance of African American vote in 1960 presidential election.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Gilbert Jonas; Franklin H. Williams; A. Philip Randolph; Martin Luther King Jr.; Aretha B. McKinley; Benjamin E. Mays.
- 0363     **Negro Voters, 1956–1965.** 137pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Statistics on African American vote in northern and southern cities in 1952 and 1956 presidential elections; statistics on African American voting strength; NAACP voter education project in the South; report on the African American voter in the North; Southern Regional Council special report on the African American voter in the South; Chicago plan to increase power of African American voters; Non-Partisan Crusade to Mobilize Negro Voters; NAACP election survey; strategic significance of African American vote in 1960 presidential election; report of NAACP Voter Registration Committee; report on shift of African American voters from Republican to Democratic parties; Civil Rights Act of 1964; statutory restrictions on African American political party participation.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Henry Lee Moon; George D. Flemming; Roy Wilkins; John A. Morsell; Lemuel E. Bentley; Bennett J. Johnson; Jesse DeVore; Franklin H. Williams; A. Philip Randolph; Martin Luther King Jr.; Kelly M. Alexander; John M. Brooks; W. C. Patton; Mildred Bond.
- 0500     **Northern Voting Registration, 1964.** 156pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Information on Voter Registration Committees; 1964 registration information; voter registration campaigns in Philadelphia, New York, New Jersey, California and Washington, D.C.; voter registration leadership; progress reports on northern voter registration; Senate vote on Civil Rights Act of 1964; NAACP political action workshop; NAACP opposition to Barry Goldwater; statistics on northern voter registration campaign.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Calvin D. Banks; Roy Wilkins; Henry Lee Moon; Leonard H. Carter; Thomas H. Allen.
- 0656     **W. C. Patton, 1956–1959.** 210pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Request for permanent NAACP employment; expenses; Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting program and activities; voter registration campaigns in Alabama, Memphis, Nashville, and Chattanooga, Tennessee, New Orleans, Louisiana, and Miami, Florida; Ku Klux Klan attack on African Americans in Alabama; 1959 summary report on voter registration activities; travel itineraries.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Gloster B. Current; Carl R. Johnson; Alfred Baker Lewis; Eleanor Roosevelt; Kivie Kaplan; Ruby Hurley; John A. Morsell; Richard McClain; John M. Brooks; Herman H. Long; Ralph D. Abernathy; Lucille Black; James Mapp.



## Reel 4

### Group III, Series A, General Office File cont.

#### Group III, Box A-269

#### Subject File—Register and Vote cont.

0001 **W. C. Patton, 1960.** 153pp.

*Major Topics:* Voter registration campaigns in Alabama, Tampa, Florida, and Memphis, Tennessee; report on Fayette County, Tennessee, situation and recommendations; Governor John Patterson's opposition to Alabama school desegregation; expenses; NAACP political action program in the South; NAACP poll tax campaign in Texas; reports of NAACP Voter Registration Committee.

*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Lucille Black; John A. Morsell; Leonard H. Carter; Gloster B. Current; Ruby Hurley; John M. Brooks; Jesse DeVore; Kelly M. Alexander.

0154 **W. C. Patton, 1961.** 122pp.

*Major Topics:* Discrimination against African Americans by Illinois Central Railroad; expenses; voter registration campaigns in Jackson, Mississippi, and Memphis, Tennessee; list of significant NAACP activities; NAACP political action program in Mississippi and Tennessee; African American lunch counter sit-ins in Memphis; progress report on Mississippi voter registration campaign; opposition to poll tax in Mississippi; report on political action in the South.

*Principal Correspondents:* Gloster B. Current; John A. Morsell; Wayne A. Johnston; Roy Wilkins; Robert L. Carter; Lucille Black; John M. Brooks; Kelly M. Alexander; Clarence Mitchell.

0276 **W. C. Patton, 1962.** 57pp.

*Major Topics:* Voter registration campaigns in Tampa, Florida, Albany, Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi; Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting activities; Richmond, Virginia, city job policy; expenses.

*Principal Correspondents:* John A. Morsell; Gloster B. Current; Roy Wilkins; John M. Brooks; Medgar Evers.

0333 **W. C. Patton, 1963.** 105pp.

*Major Topics:* Voter registration campaigns in Florida, Kansas City, Missouri, Oklahoma, Greenwood, and Jackson, Mississippi, Memphis, Tennessee, and Shreveport, Louisiana; voter registration progress reports; NAACP voter education project; expenses; President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation; Florida voter registration laws.

*Principal Correspondents:* John A. Morsell; Roy Wilkins; Mildred Bond; Gloster B. Current.

0438 **W. C. Patton, 1964.** 115pp.

*Major Topics:* Voter registration campaign in Texas, Georgia, and Memphis, Tennessee; expenses; NAACP voter education project; budget for Florida voter registration campaign; Council of Federated Organizations pamphlets; Mississippi Freedom Summer; support for Civil Rights Act of 1964; NAACP civil rights program in Mississippi; report on NAACP political action program in the South.

*Principal Correspondents:* Mildred Bond; John A. Morsell; Robert W. Saunders; Roy Wilkins; Gloster B. Current.

- 0553     **W. C. Patton, 1965.** 164pp.  
    *Major Topics:* Poll tax campaigns in Mobile, Alabama, Jackson, Mississippi, and Texas; NAACP voter education project; sample voter registration test questions; expenses; Alabama population and registration statistics by race and county; theft of money from Birmingham, Alabama, Branch office; voter registration campaigns in Arkansas and Alabama; NAACP summer project in Alabama; Southern Christian Leadership Conference voter registration activities in Alabama.  
    *Principal Correspondents:* John A. Morsell; Mildred Bond; Roy Wilkins; Gloster B. Current; John W. Nixon.
- 0717     **President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation, 1963.** 6pp.  
    *Major Topics:* Establishment of commission; request for NAACP cooperation.  
    *Principal Correspondents:* John F. Kennedy; Donald G. Herzberg; Roy Wilkins.
- 0723     **Althea Simmons: Correspondence, 1964-1965.** 192pp.  
    *Major Topics:* Washington, D.C., voter registration workshop; voter registration campaigns in New York City, New York, Wilmington, Delaware, and Indianapolis, Indiana; northern voter registration campaign; voter registration reports; NAACP political action campaign; opposition to Barry Goldwater's presidential candidacy; NAACP-sponsored Citizenship Week; requests for information on voter registration activities; report on 1964 NAACP voter registration and get-out-the-vote campaign; Mississippi voter registration campaign.  
    *Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Thomas H. Allen; Thomas Cobb; Calvin D. Banks; Clarence A. Laws; U. Simpson Tate; Leonard H. Carter; Daisy Bates; Charles A. McLean; Ruby Hurley; Robert W. Saunders; Gertrude Gorman; Sidney Finley; I. DeQuincey Newman; Barbee W. Durham; A. J. Chapital Sr.; John M. Brooks; W. C. Patton; C. Anderson Davis; John A. Morsell; Kivie Kaplan; Daisy Lampkin; Alfred Baker Lewis; William Robert Ming Jr.; J. M. Tinsley; Gloster B. Current.
- 0915     **Special Meeting, January 1958.** 8pp.  
    *Major Topics:* Virginia State Conference suffrage program; plans for Southwide voter registration project.  
    *Principal Correspondents:* W. Lester Banks; Roy Wilkins; C. R. Darden; A. T. Walden; John A. Morsell.

## Reel 5

### Group III, Series A, General Office File cont.

#### Group III, Box A-269 cont.

#### Subject File—Register and Vote cont.

- 0001     **States: A-O—General, 1958-1965.** 26pp.  
    *Major Topics:* NAACP voter registration campaign; press releases; opposition to seating of Jesse Gray as delegate to New York State Conference; New York State election laws; establishment of Colored Voters of America; statistics on African American vote in Oregon.  
    *Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Eugene Reed; John A. Morsell.

**Group III, Box A-270**

**Subject File—Register and Vote cont.**

0027 **States: Alabama, 1956–1957.** 165pp.

*Major Topics:* Report on African American voter registration; White Citizens Council election activities; information on voter qualifications; state constitutional amendments; progress reports on voter registration campaign; Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting meetings and activities; effort to gerrymander African American voters out of city of Tuskegee; African American economic boycotts; restrictions on registration and voting in Macon County; NAACP-sponsored public meetings; proposal to abolish Macon County to avoid African American takeover.

*Principal Correspondents:* Ruby Hurley; John A. Morsell; W. C. Patton; Gloster B. Current; Roy Wilkins; J. H. Calhoun; Sam Engelhardt Jr.

0192 **States: Alabama, 1958–1959.** 204pp.

*Major Topics:* NAACP political action program; race relations address at Tuskegee Institute; progress reports on voter registration campaign; proposal to abolish Macon County to avoid African American takeover; report by Tuskegee Civic Association on the Civil Rights Act of 1957; Tuskegee Civic Association Crusade for Civic Democracy; Civil Rights Commission hearings; voter registration laws; Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting meetings and activities; African American economic boycotts; ban on NAACP; NAACP–Southern Christian Leadership Conference cooperation in voter registration activities; Atlanta voter registration planning meeting.

*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Charles G. Gomillion; Julia E. Baxter; William P. Rogers; W. C. Patton; Robert L. Carter; Martin Luther King Jr.; Gloster B. Current; C. K. Steele; C. O. Simpkins; Fred Shuttleworth; Ella J. Baker; Ralph Abernathy; Joseph Lowery; L. D. Reddick.

0396 **States: Alabama, 1960–1965.** 100pp.

*Major Topics:* Progress reports on voter registration campaign; U.S. Supreme Court review of Tuskegee vote case; *Alabama v. NAACP* case; list of candidates in 1960 Democratic primary; white opposition to African American bloc voting; Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting meetings and activities; African American voter registration in Tuskegee and Macon County; complaint against Jefferson County Board of Registrars; police brutality against reporters and African American voters in Perry County; NAACP support for Selma voter registration campaign; request for federal registrars for Jefferson County.

*Principal Correspondents:* Robert L. Carter; Kelly M. Alexander; Randolph L. White; F. D. Gray; Burke Marshall; Emory O. Jackson; Roy Wilkins; George C. Wallace; Gloster B. Current; Althea T. L. Simmons; John W. Nixon; Nicholas Katzenbach.

0496 **States: California, 1957–1964.** 35pp.

*Major Topics:* Los Angeles Branch contributions to special registration and voting committee; Los Angeles voter registration campaign; March on the Conventions Movement for Freedom Now; report on civil right voting records of California legislators; state constitutional amendment to overturn Rumford Fair Housing Act.

*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Maurice A. Dawkins; Martin Luther King Jr.; A. Philip Randolph.

- 0531      **States: Florida, 1956–1965.** 114pp.  
    *Major Topics:* Violence against African American leaders; political situation; cross burnings; Florida Voters' League activities; Gadsden County voter education project; voter registration campaign in Orlando, St. Petersburg, Tampa, and Jacksonville; white intimidation of African American voters in Liberty County; voter registration statistics; NAACP political action program; progress reports on voter registration campaign.  
    *Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Robert W. Saunders; Gloster B. Current; Edward D. Davis; Kelly M. Alexander; A. Leon Lowery; John A. Morsell.
- 0645      **States: Georgia, 1957–1964.** 144pp.  
    *Major Topics:* Voter registration statistics; list of NAACP state and district organizers; progress reports on voter registration campaign; Georgia Statewide Registration Committee activities; Governor Marvin Griffin's plan to purge voter registration rolls; plans for ministers' workshop on voter registration; failure to change state voting qualifications; federal courts' refusal to appoint federal registrars in Terrell County; Chatham County and Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters activities; voter registration campaign in Atlanta and Augusta; NAACP voter education project.  
    *Principal Correspondents:* J. H. Calhoun; Roy Wilkins; W. W. Law; John A. Morsell; John Wesley Dobbs; Edward J. Odom Jr.; Ruby Hurley; John M. Brooks; Hosea L. Williams; Wiley Branton.
- 0789      **States: Louisiana, 1958–1965.** 60pp.  
    *Major Topics:* Voter registration statistics; voter registration campaign in Ouachita and East Carroll parishes and in New Orleans; NAACP voter education project; U.S. Justice Department investigation of Webster Parish voting procedures; state voting laws; complaints regarding voter registration denials to U.S. Civil Rights Commission; *United States v. Cecil Manning, Registrar of Voters of East Carroll Parish* case; harassment of NAACP voter registration workers; complaint to U.S. Justice Department Civil Rights Division against Ouachita Parish registrar; NAACP demand for removal of New Orleans registrar; request for federal registrar in Shreveport; Louisiana summer project.  
    *Principal Correspondents:* John M. Brooks; Roy Wilkins; Arthur J. Chapital Sr.; John A. Morsell; J. A. Phillips; Clarence A. Laws; Edward J. Odom Jr.; J. H. Scott; Gloster B. Current; Althea T. L. Simmons.
- 0849      **States: Maryland, 1957–1965.** 50pp.  
    *Major Topics:* Voter registration campaign in Baltimore; Lou Harris study on 1958 elections in Maryland; progress report on statewide voter registration campaign; efforts to defeat George Wallace in 1964 Democratic presidential primary; NAACP demonstration in Annapolis to protest denial of African American voting rights on Eastern Shore.  
    *Principal Correspondents:* John L. Tilley; Gloster B. Current; Roy Wilkins; Clarence Mitchell; H. Octavius Graham; Lillie M. Jackson.

0899     **States: Mississippi, 1956–1965.** 144pp.

*Major Topics:* U.S. Justice Department prosecution in vote denial cases; NAACP appeal to Senator James O. Eastland to support free elections; progress reports on voter registration campaign; voter registration campaigns in Jackson, Meridian, McComb, and Laurel; complaints regarding refusal to register African American voters in Humphrey, Tallahatchie, and Forest counties; voter registration rally in Jackson; NAACP lawsuit challenging Mississippi voting laws; Crusade for Voters meetings in Meridian and Jackson; statement of Reverend J. M. Barnes before House Judiciary Subcommittee regarding denial of the vote; violence against and intimidation of NAACP voter registration workers; Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations aid to African American victims of white economic intimidation; Aaron Henry's write-in campaign for governor in 1963; Civil Rights Conference in Jackson; NAACP voter education project; efforts to seat Mississippi Freedom delegation to 1964 Democratic convention; NAACP protest demonstrations; voting laws; request for federal registrar in Jones County; Mississippi summer project.

*Principal Correspondents:* Maxwell M. Rabb; Roy Wilkins; Medgar W. Evers; Paul H. Douglas; Henry Lee Moon; Robert L. Carter; Clarence Mitchell; John M. Brooks; C. R. Darden; Richard McClain; Alfred Baker Lewis; Aaron Henry; John A. Morsell; Gloster B. Current; Johnny Barbour Jr.; Althea T. L. Simmons.

## Reel 6

### Group III, Series A, General Office File cont.

#### Group III, Box A-271

#### Subject File—Register and Vote cont.

0001     **States: Missouri, 1956–1964.** 15pp.

*Major Topics:* Voter registration campaigns in St. Louis and Kansas City; public accommodations referendum vote.

*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; Ernest Calloway; Richard McClain; John A. Morsell; Leonard H. Carter.

0016     **States: North Carolina, 1956–1965.** 173pp.

*Major Topics:* North Carolina NAACP Political Action Committee contributions; progress reports on voter registration campaign; NAACP political action program; shift in African American voting patterns from Democratic to Republican parties; Roy Wilkins's testimony before U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights; complaints against Wilkes and Bladen counties' registrars; restrictions on African American voting; North Carolina Voter Registration Conference; opposition to Beverly Lake's candidacy for governor; voter registration statistics; complaints regarding administration of voter literacy test; complaints to U.S. Civil Rights Commission regarding intimidation of African American voters.

*Principal Correspondents:* Roy Wilkins; N. L. Gregg; Kelly M. Alexander; Clarence Mitchell; Sam Ervin; Charles A. McLean; Henry Lee Moon; Edward J. Odom Jr.; Gloster B. Current; John A. Morsell; Louis Martin.

- 0189     **States: Ohio, 1956–1962.** 113pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Establishment of Cleveland Branch Political Action Committee; progress reports on voter registration campaign; 1956 voter's guide and precinct official's guide; minutes of Voter Registration Committee meeting; report on assault on Ralph Abernathy and arrest of Martin Luther King Jr. in Alabama; voter registration campaigns in Lorain and Columbus; Ohio NAACP Voter Education Workshop; Mae Mallory case.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Ted W. Brown; Henry Lee Moon; Charles J. Francis; Gloster B. Current; Roy Wilkins; Serena Davis; John A. Morsell; Edwin C. Washington Jr.; Clarence A. Laws; James E. Levy; Alfred Baker Lewis.
- 0302     **States: Pennsylvania, 1961–1962.** 11pp.  
      *Major Topic:* Progress reports on voter registration campaign.  
      *Principal Correspondent:* Henry R. Smith Jr.
- 0313     **States: South Carolina, 1956–1965.** 74pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Progress reports on voter registration campaign; report on antisegregation activities and subversive influences at Louisiana State University; voter registration statistics; contributions for voter registration program; NAACP voter education project.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Levi G. Byrd; Roy Wilkins; J. M. Hinton; I. DeQuincey Newman; H. P. Sharper; John A. Morsell; Gloster B. Current.
- 0387     **States: Tennessee, 1960–1964.** 25pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Voter registration campaign in Haywood County and Memphis; request for federal registrars in Haywood County; complaints regarding intimidation of African American voters in Fayette County; progress reports on voter registration campaign.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Clarence Mitchell; Gordon Tiffany; Harold Tyler; John A. Morsell; Robert F. Kennedy; Roy Wilkins.
- 0412     **States: Texas, 1957–1965.** 14pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Voter registration statistics; *Dallas Morning News* support for African American voting rights; progress reports on voter registration campaign.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Edwin C. Washington Jr.; Roy Wilkins; Carter Wesley.
- 0426     **States: Virginia, 1956–1965.** 99pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Instructions for block leaders; progress reports on voter registration campaign; report of Virginia State Conference Political Action Director; voter registration statistics; complaints regarding intimidation of African American voters; contributions to voter registration campaign; proposed elimination of state public school system; voter registration laws; analysis of African American vote in 1961 elections; list of African American voters in Powhatan County; Senator Harry F. Byrd Sr.'s opposition to the Voting Rights Act of 1965.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Andrew D. Wineberger; Roy Wilkins; W. Lester Banks; E. B. Henderson; David Longley; J. M. Tinsley; Harry F. Byrd Sr.; John A. Morsell; John M. Brooks; Gloster B. Current.
- 0525     **Taconic Foundation Voter Education Project, 1961.** 78pp.  
      *Major Topics:* National Urban League voter registration activities; Congress of Racial Equality voter registration program; NAACP structure and activities in voter registration; voter registration conference; Southern Regional Council memorandum on organization of coordinated southern voter registration campaign; NAACP concerns over cooperation with other agencies in coordinated voter registration project.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Lester B. Granger; Stephen R. Currier; James Farmer; Roy Wilkins; Henry Lee Moon; Whitney M. Young Jr.; Wyatt T. Walker; Charles McDew; Timothy L. Jenkins; Leslie W. Dunbar; John A. Morsell; Kelly M. Alexander; John M. Brooks; Clarence Mitchell; Gloster B. Current; W. C. Patton; Ruby Hurley; Clarence A. Laws; Roy Reuther.

- 0603     **Taconic Foundation Voter Education Project, 1962.** 99pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Wiley Branton appointed project director; announcement of coordinated southern voter registration campaign; NAACP concerns over cooperation with other agencies in coordinated voter registration project; Congress of Racial Equality–Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee report on voter registration program; organization and expenses of voter registration project; Internal Revenue Service approval of tax-exempt status for project; contributions and applications for grants for voter education project; progress reports.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Leslie W. Dunbar; Roy Wilkins; John A. Morsell; Martin Luther King Jr.; Whitney M. Young Jr.; W. W. Law; Wiley A. Branton; James Foreman; James Farmer; Constance Curry; Calvin D. Banks; John M. Brooks; Arthur J. Chapital Sr.; John Walker; Daisy Bates; Ruby Hurley.
- 0702     **Taconic Foundation Voter Education Project, 1963–1964.** 93pp.  
      *Major Topics:* Progress reports; expenses; grants to NAACP; report on acts of violence and intimidation against African Americans in Mississippi; 1963 poll tax campaign in Arkansas; appointment of Vernon Jordan Jr. to voter education project staff.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Wiley A. Branton; John A. Morsell; John M. Brooks; Stephen R. Currier; Roy Wilkins; W. C. Patton; Jane Lee Eddy; Mildred Bond; Freeman Pollard; George C. Simkins; Martin Luther King Jr.
- 0795     **Voter Registration Campaign Report, 1964.** 13pp.  
      *Principal Correspondents:* Thomas Brophy; Roy Wilkins; John M. Brooks.

# PRINCIPAL CORRESPONDENTS INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major correspondents in this microform publication. The first number after each entry or subentry refers to the reel, while the four-digit number following the colon refers to the frame number at which a particular file folder containing correspondence by the person begins. Hence, 2: 0248 directs the researcher to the folder that begins at Frame 0248 of Reel 2. By referring to the Reel Index, which constitutes the initial segment of this guide, the researcher will find the folder title, inclusive dates, and a list of Major Topics and Principal Correspondents arranged in the order in which they appear on the film.

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